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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXVIII. NO. 24.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

THE METHODIST CHURCH SOUTH.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at its late session in Nashville, expunged from the Book of Discipline all reference to the subject of buying and selling slaves. According to the constitutional law of the Church, three-fourths of the annual Conference must concur in this action.

Resolved, That in adopting the foregoing resolution, this Conference expresses no opinion in regard to the African slave trade, to which the rule in question has been applied, and no opinion in regard to the expediency of this action in due form to the Annual Conference for ratification, and requesting the bishops, in the pastoral address, to define the position of the church on slavery, which is, that slavery is a civil institution, with which the church has nothing whatever to do.

Resolved, That the adoption of these resolutions might be followed by a renewal of the slave trade, Bishop Pierce explained the matter thus:—

The whole philosophy of the proceeding seems to be based on the fact that it is not the province of the church to decide any question with reference to African slavery. The Church South maintains that slavery is not a subject of ecclesiastical legislation.

The Conference by its action this morning has not parted with its authority, or the authority of the church over the members in any respect. Every member of the church claims to be a loyal citizen.

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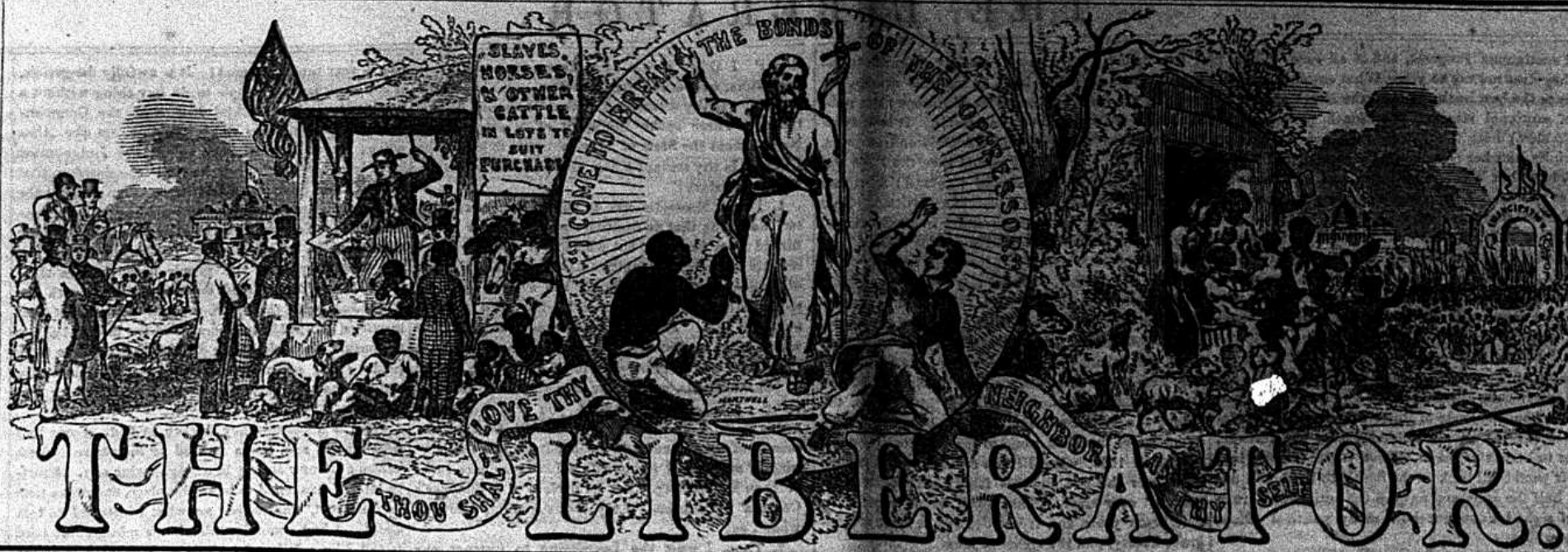
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THE LIBERATOR. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1858. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

UNRIGHTEOUS GOVERNMENT.

Speech of Rev. Theodore Parker, at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Wednesday Morning, May 26, 1858.

Look a moment more at this constitutional guarantee. It is often said, 'The People of the United States, as a whole, have no right to meddle with the local institutions of any special State; that each is 'absolutely sovereign.' But, then, what does this constitutional guarantee mean? Are these mere words of ceremony? Nobody can believe it.

The fact that good men are involved in this conspiracy of silence, is what makes it so fearful, so powerful. If they were openly bad men, or had not gained the respect and confidence of the community, this conspiracy at this sin and their defence of it would not be endured at all. It is thus that they are guilty of double treason against God, in using the reputation which he has given them to give currency to wickedness and lying.

When moderate and reasonable men desire to do good, the Tappans, Cheevers, and this whole class of impracticals, are ever present to hinder and retard the work of rational reform. These are the men that really prevent the truth from having free course, and render it necessary to preach the Gospel with much contention.

THE LIBERATOR.

REV. DR. CHEEVER'S ADDRESS.

The Boston Transcript, speaking of the anniversary in that city, says:

The American Missionary Association listened to an address from Rev. Dr. Cheever, which for power of a certain kind has seldom been equalled. He made the church and ministry out colossal sinners, and in great earnestness he rebuked the most ardent devotees of the world.

Within two years, the progress of the slave despotism has been appalling. For a while it was somewhat slow and doubtful; now it rushes, plunges, and sweeps all before it, like a ground wave driven by an earthquake.

The Rev. Caleb Stetson, a Unitarian, declared that he has no right to do what man has no right to do. He said that he would not do what he would not do. He said that he would not do what he would not do.

But there is but one power under heaven that can stop this iniquity, or do the least thing against its stay or hindrance, or hold out the least hope that we can be saved from utter destruction by it, and that power is the Word of the Spirit of God.

The American Missionary Association, by its testimony as to the sinfulness of slavery, by refusing, in the name of God and his righteousness, to enter into covenant with any of the Churches where it is sustained, by rejecting their offerings, and by preaching his truth against the sin, are dealing with it, and the doctrines of devils growing out of that decision, in the place of the throne of God.

It does not need that a man should be an acknowledged villain to do this, or a pirate, or an apostate from Christianity, or a United States Marshal, or hangman, or Slave Commissioner and Judge of Probate, whose living depends on the support of an

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

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution.

There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in sending men on an unrighteous yoke.

On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWORED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1434.

ABRAHAM AS A SLAVEHOLDER.

Abraham was a slaveholder, that Moses authorized bondage; and to have read the New only to find divine inspiration in the words of Paul, which they wrest into this: 'Slaves, obey your masters!'

Resolved, in a progressive People there must be a progressive interpretation of many institutions and statutes. Thus the laws of England did not change, but ship-money became illegal; and slavery perished by an interpretation.

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A Republican form of Government applies more to the liberation of slaves; one day, the humanity and knowledge of the age will decide that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution itself are adequate to secure the natural rights of wrongs not less than men. But let us take one step at a time: no shall we be ready for the next.

It is not only unconstitutional, it is also most dangerous to admit that slavery is consistent with a Republican form of Government. The South claims a constitutional right to that anti-republican institution. In her own affairs, she North decides against it, and casts it away with scorn and loathing; but she forgets the sacred obligation of the Constitution—its solemn guarantee—and allows the minority of the South to have their wicked way at home. See the pernicious consequences. In each Southern State there has grown up a hateful oligarchy, a few men; it is not an aristocracy—the rule of the best—but a kakistocracy—the rule of the worst, of the worst rules of conduct, if not the worst conduct. There is a privileged class, with the odious monopoly of making property of men.

The few slaveholders rule the majority in all the Southern States—they own the blacks, they over-power the poor whites.—While enriching themselves, they impoverish the community and the State; they hinder education; they debauch and demoralize the People. They control the nation. It is their creature who hold the Federal offices, and rule the North. They invade the local rights of the Northern States—in the examples I have already given, and many more. If the North makes the law, the South appoints the judges, who can unmake it by their exposition. The Supreme Court is a judicial revolver in the Southern hand—or is it, rather, only a bludgeon?

It is painful to see the increase of central power, and the decay of local self-government. Northern State rights are trod down to the dust beneath the hoof of the Federal power. Slavery is the cause of this vicious centralization. Since the Alien and Sedition laws were made, intended to gag men, I think of no advance towards despotism, except what has been made by the Slave Power to defend its peculiar institution. The guarantee of a Republican form of Government is a security against centralization of power. It is the People's command to establish local self-government in every State by the Principles of the Declaration, and for the Purposes of the Constitution.

Northern men are strangely unfaithful. They do not attack slavery itself. I think there is now no political party in the United States which declares itself hostile to slavery. It is only the incidents or the accidents of slavery which the Republican party opposes. They cry out against 'extension of slavery,' not against the existence of slavery itself. So they have measures without a Principle. Commissioner Loring, while Judge of Probate for Suffolk County, kidnapped a man, and sent him back to slavery; he put off the widows and orphans who came to his Court, thinking the sacrifice of a man was more to be desired than mercy, or even justice. The State was moved with indignation, and sought to haul the unjust Judge from the office he disgraced. After many delays, shufflings and dodgings, the matter was brought before a Republican Governor, who removed him, but took pains to declare that he did not do this because her Loring had kidnapped a man—no official opinion of his entering into my consideration of the question, and no official act constituting an element in the judgment I have formed.

Thus the Republican party fails to satisfy the moral sense of the People, and to command the respect of the merely thoughtful, who, if they do not feel justly or love mercy, can yet see inconsistency, and despise measures which are bottomed on no principle, and scorn the men who are false alike to their convictions and their opportunities. Thus in the late Presidential campaign the party nominated for its champion a man never before identified with its principles, or even devoted to its measures. Hence, fortunate for itself, it was defeated. No Political Party has yet a platform high enough to command a full view of the field, or lift its representatives up to such a moral elevation as shall draw the eyes of all good men.

It is clear what we ought to do—the North must declare 'SLAVERY NOT TO BE TOLERATED IN A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. NO PROPERTY IN MAN. IMMEDIATE ABOLITION. NO SLAVE STATE IN THE UNION.' We shall come to that by and by, not all at once—little—step by step, and not by a jump. *Nihil saluti, gradatim omne*, is good Latin. Already the People look that way. What they want is a LEADER, who is not only intellectually sharp, but also morally just. Mere intellect, looking only after what is profitable for to-day, can never see Justice, God's idea of what is profitable to all men, and forever; while yet a conscientious woman will know it at once, and can give the counsel which would save a State. The nice ear, laid to the ground, hears the sly footstep of the thunder, when a great way off, yet it never sees the Rainbow, close at hand, which yet every clear-eyed boy in the farmer's barnyard looks on with wonder, delighted at that handsome angel who tells him the storm is over and gone! Each faculty has its function; those of cunning and conscience are not the same.

In 1787, the People of the United States tolerated slavery as a measure—all the States had it then, save Massachusetts alone, as I think—though Mr. Hale adds also New Hampshire, and I wish he may be as correct here. He is commonly right elsewhere. But the People of the United States never admitted slavery as a Principle. So, not only in the Declaration do they lay down maxims, the norm of Institutions, and in the Constitution, the norm of Statutes and Customs, do they also propose purposes utterly destructive of Property in man, but in the Constitution they would not tolerate the word Slave or Bondman, lest they should be thought to admit, as a permanent principle of Politics, what they only tolerated for the moment as a measure of necessity.

But, after the People, in their weakness or wickedness, allowed slavery as a measure, then the Southern States got possession of the Government, claimed that slavery was a Principle, a Constitutional Principle, a necessary Principle, and developed it into numerous measures hostile to the self-evident Truths our fathers fought for, and subversive of all the great Purposes for which they built the Union up. Slavery is a Principle—the special Principle of the Southern States—the distinctive Shibboleth thereof. But Freedom is also a Principle—the distinctive Principle of our Revolutionary, and our Constructive Purpose. The two cannot long continue in the same Government. The People cannot go backwards to Slavery, and the despotic ruin which that abuts on; and at the same time go forward to Freedom, and the manifold welfare it leads to. America cannot have Regress and Progress at the same time.

There is one great Political question before the American People.—Is Slavery consistent with the Republican form of Government which the Revolution was fought to secure, and the Union established to found? Parties represent the tendencies of the People. They are experiments, guide-boards, to point this way or that. There is no political party whose finger indicates the road to that true Republican Government which shall realize the Principles and Purposes of those great documents of the People. It is only on this platform that these great questions of all matters can be now discussed; no where else are they looked fairly in the face. But still the question forces itself into the Politics of the nation, of every State, of each considerable town, nay, into all the theological sects. The slaveholders and their vessels, North and South, loudly declare, 'Slavery is essential to the Republic, a form of Government.' The rest of the nation feel that Freedom is the essential of a Republic, yet

of all continuous Progress, and of all true Welfare; but they dare not say so yet. What towards we are! Hence the best institutions of the North are an object of continual attack. The South (I mean the slaveholders) hate the North, hate her Republican Principles, hate her Democratic Purposes, hate her Progress, hate her Welfare, hate her best men. They seek to ruin us. Forty years ago, they made a tariff to ruin the commerce of the North; then they unmade it, to ruin our manufactures. The Senatorial executive repeals the Bounty paid to the Northern fisheries; Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina, proposes to abolish all custom-houses, and collect the nation's revenue by a direct tax. I also wish the plan might succeed, and will do all in my little power to help the work. But while I would recommend this as a great Principle of Democracy, which will deprive the Federal Government of the means of corruption, the Hon. Senator from the State of Bully Brooks and Kett designs it only as an oligarchic Measure of Revenue, meant to harm the North. That stone thrown into the air would fall back on the Southern head, and destroy half the army and navy of the nation, and crush out of sight I know not how many political officeholders.

I say the Federal Government greates at the expense of the Northern States. Every increase of that central power enlarges the courage, the strength, and the malignant insence of your Southern masters. Listen to Senator Hammond: the New England men are slaves; you and I are slaves; but alas! we have no masters bound to take care of us when sick and old! Compare the last four Administrations—that of Polk, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan; see with what accelerated velocity they descend towards slavery.

What efforts have been made by the Slave Power to prevent the people of Kansas from establishing a Republican form of Government! what monstrous money has been spent to enslave Kansas! what efforts are making still! The battle between Freedom and Slavery is now waging there. The question is now before her people. 'Will you make a Republican form of Government, or take the anti-Republican which the Slave Power seeks to force on you with the bayonet?' The Measure is of great importance, the Principle of yet more. There are two plans of action for the people there to choose between.

I. The wicked plan—to accept the Lecompton Constitution, take the bribe of English's Bill, come into the Union as a slave State; then repudiate that Constitution, and make a new one prohibiting slavery. This course will be recommended by political jobbers, land-speculators, and many men, who have axes to grind; but it is wrong, it is impracticable, and liable to defeat at every step; it is not likely to succeed, and is disgraceful if it prosper.

II. The just plan—to vote down the Lecompton Constitution, repudiate English's Bill, organize under the new Leavenworth Constitution, and appeal to the freemen of the North. There will be no violence offered by the Federal Government. A new election of Representatives to Congress takes place next autumn. Then the Northern men who voted for Mr. English's Bill to force the Lecompton Constitution on Kansas, will go where they voted for Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Bill were driven at the subsequent elections. The new House of Representatives will come together in December, 1859, fresh from the people. Some advantageous changes will have taken place in the Senate; Unitary New England will count twelve in a column of Freedom! Kansas will apply for admission as a free State; Mr. Buchanan, unpopular, going out of power, will not be able to scare men, coax, or even to buy them as now. The House of Representatives will accept the new State, and offer her a richer dowry than the Slave Power now tries to tempt her with. The Senate will seek to settle the Kansas difficulty before the Presidential election of the next year, and so will gladly admit her. Kansas will lose nothing but a little time, and that loss will be a gain to the Anti-Slavery party of the North.

Within a few days, Minnesota has become a State; Oregon will soon come within the ring; Kansas cannot be kept out. All these will be Anti-Slavery States. While territories, they are necessarily kept tied to the politics of the administration party; but when independent States, their individual character will straightway appear. Soon there will be a majority of Senators hostile to Slavery. I think we shall never see another slave State added to the Union, nor another slavery-President defiling the Capitol. After long waiting for 'something to turn up,' Mr. Everett, it seems, has now nominated himself for the highest American office, and put himself on the country. Guided by the 'Southern matron'—a woman from the Bludgeoned State, who had never a husband nor even a child—this professional rhetorician has gone down to the electioneering deep to do (fishing) business in the great waters. With the cold lead of his charity sermon for sinker, and a small piece of General Washington's dead body as bait, he casts his line upon all waters, bobbing for the Presidency. But, alas! I think he will toil all the night of his old age, and catch nothing, for the South has just repudiated the bounty on Northern fishery! Instead of the spoils of that deep, he will take only an 'anodyne,' and serve to 'point a moral and adorn a tale.' No, Mr. Chairman, I think we shall never have another slavery-President. That creature has been weighed in the balance, and found wanting; his days are numbered, and will be finished soon. No victory of the Slave Power endures to the advantage of that Power. The Mexican War, the Fugitive Slave Bill, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the English Bill, they are four jumps of the frog in the well—each time he went up a foot, but slid down three more before he leaped again! Slave-President Pierce came into power with a vast majority—he went out with more; slave-President Buchanan could not get the People's vote—he is a minority President! But what power he had last December, a majority of twenty-two in the House of Representatives! What is it now? Where will it be in December, 1859?—where will he and his party be in December, 1860?

Slavery is immoral; it is also unconstitutional. It must be put down by the social action of the People—if not by Local Self-government in the Southern States, then by the Federal Arm of the whole nation;—possibly if they will, forcibly if we must. The work of Abolition is moral in its substance; it is likewise political in its form. While from the stand-point of individual conscience, slavery is a Wagon—what ministers call a Sin—from that of American Politics, it is the denial of a Republican form of Government, a repudiation of the Principles and Purposes of the American People, solemnly set forth in both the Revolutionary and the Constructive Programme—the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. All Federal officers hold office under the Power of Attorney which the People swear them on; by that, Congress has no authority to establish slavery in any territory, to protect it in any territory, or to allow it in any State; the President has none, the Supreme Court has none. Not a man in the United States is Constitutionally a slave; for the language of that Power of Attorney is imperative—the People command: 'the United States SHALL guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of Government.'

Now, I often hear it asserted, by wise and good men, that the American people never will abolish slavery. They do not mean, I take it, the 'never' of eternity, but the never of a very long period, say a thousand, or five hundred years. Now, look at this. Within the last 340 years, three great questions have come up before the Anglo-Saxon People. I. The first was the question of the 16th century. It was this—Shall the Pope of Rome rule the British Church, after his own sort, or shall the British People rule that Church,—determine its doctrines, define its form, and control its practice? At first, it seemed as

if the British People must certainly succumb to the Roman Pope, for in his hand he had the armies, the treasure, the learning, the talent of Europe; the public opinion of the world was on his side. It took more than half a century, well-nigh a whole hundred years, to settle that great question, and then the Pope was cast out from the four seas of England: from that day to this, he has been a heretic in Britain. That was the question of the 16th century in England, and thus did our fathers meet, and answer it there.

II. In the 17th century, there came another question, equally terrible. It was this—Shall the Stuart kings control the British State, or shall it be annexed to the British People,—King, Lords and Commons, with a Constitution bottomed on the People's consent? Here, too, there was an immense power opposed to the People, for the Stuarts had possession of the throne; they had the armies, the institutions, the treasure. The quarrel began in 1603, when James the First, came to the crown; it did not end until 1688, when Britain cast James the Second clear over the sea, and his family have been 'Pretenders' ever since. That strife lasted more than four score years, and it was decided in favor of progress, liberty, and the rights of man.

But to settle that question, some of the ablest and most spiritual families of England must flee from their native land, and here find a home in the wilderness. So, while this question was getting settled, the American Colonies were at the same time getting planted. They grew up under the shadow of the American forest, wherein they started with nothing but their manhood in them, and the wilderness about them.

III. In the 18th century, they had grown a great and powerful people, then esteemed some two or three millions strong. Then came the third great question,—that of the 18th century,—namely,—Shall the American People be controlled by the British King and Parliament, or shall they make their own laws and found their own institutions, such as suit alike the instinct and consciousness of the People? Here, too, it seemed as if the power was all on one side, and only all the right on the other; for the British King had the navy and the army, he had the offices, the institutions, the church and the treasure, and of course he had the means to buy up young ambition, and control much energetic talent. That quarrel began in 1768, and it was not settled until 1783. But here, too, the same spirit prevailed, and the American People answered that question as all the three others had been settled, in favor of progress and the rights of man.

IV. Now, in the 19th century, with the same race of men, there comes up this terrible question, likewise to be passed on by the same People,—Shall the American Republic be a Democracy, guaranteeing to every man his natural, essential, inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, or shall it degenerate down into a despotism, where property in man is recognized as sacred, and that despotism spreads itself until every footstep of Democracy is wiped clean out of the continent? Now, as before, the chances seem to be against us; for the Slave Power has got possession of the Government, it controls the Church likewise, it has the army and navy, it holds the mighty treasure of this continent; and it has the means to buy up young ambition, and take aspiring talent in its hand. But the Anglo-Saxon blood is still the same as it was in the 18th century, in the 17th, in the 16th, and it will decide this question as each of those others,—in favor of progress and the rights of man. A nation, a great tribe of men, does not lose its historic continuity of action, unless it grows feeble either by natural or premature decay, or mingles an excess of other ethnological elements in its veins, and so corrupts its blood, and perishes. The American people has done neither the one nor the other. It is not old enough either maturely or prematurely to perish by decay, and it has not yet fltered bad blood enough into its veins to change its character. Depend upon it, we shall do as our great grandfathers did in Britain in the 16th century; as our grandfathers in Britain did in the 17th century; and as our fathers in America did in the 18th century.

But, alas! each of these three great questions was settled by war. Yet, it seemed at first the evil night be abolished by peaceful arbitration. Surely, there were historical precedents and theological doctrines enough in the 16th century to have given the People of Britain control over their own church; in the 17th century, there was law enough to secure Britain a constitutional and limited government; and in the 18th century, our fathers had enough charters, statutes, customs on their side, and still more, enough Right to enable them to settle the question, we should suppose, peacefully, and without drawing the sword. But the party that was to be overcome, the party that must yield, in the 16th century, in the 17th, in the 18th, was the same that held the purse in its left hand, and the sword in its right hand; and when did such a party ever yield until that purse was clutched back, and that sword was taken to cleave the tyrant down from crown to groin? Never yet.

The time, I think, has passed by when the great American question of the 19th century could have been settled without bloodshed. In 1850, it was possible. It may be that in 1854, when the Kansas-Nebraska question was before Congress, there was still a chance for a peaceful settlement of the matter. But as that opportunity has been lost, I think now this terrible question must be settled, as all the preceding ones, by violence and the sword. I deplore it exceedingly. I hate war, but injustice worse than war. Had I lived in the sixteenth century, I would have entreated the Pope; and when he would not be supplanted with words, I would have persuaded him with the battle-axe. In the 17th century, I would have argued, and quoted Magna Charta, customs, statutes; and when the Tyrant would not yield, I would have shown him, what Cromwell also taught, that kings, too, had a joint in their necks, and that the People could find it. In the 18th century, I would have petitioned, and remonstrated, and cast 'myself at the foot of the throne,' as our fathers did; and when spurned from that throne, I would have done as they did, cast my pewter spoons and platters into bullets, sold my last load of hay to buy a musket, beaten my ploughshares into a sword, and said 'Liberty first, plunging afterwards.' So, in the 19th century, sad as it is, I think we must come at last to that same issue.

New England, Massachusetts—I do not know what there is in her blood, but there is this in her history, that all the great ideas which have made her fortune in America, and which at the same time have also made America's fortune, they are New England ideas, Massachusetts ideas. There was something in the blood of those Puritans who planted themselves on these shores which gave their descendants a power of ideas, and a power of action, such as no people before our time has ever had. It was Massachusetts that took the initiative in the great strife of the 18th century; it is Massachusetts that has taken the initiative in the greater strife of the 19th century. Wherever the Platform of Freedom is laid down, it is New England men, Massachusetts men who stand up thereon. It may be in New York, in Washington, in Cincinnati, in Philadelphia, in California,—no matter where, it is New England blood that is there; it is New England's voice that speaks. Here, too, this great work began, here let the first decisive step be taken.

There are two things I want Massachusetts to do. A few years ago, Charles Sumner was raised at in the Senate because he had sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, and was asked how he could do that. He said, 'I support the Constitution of the United States as I understand the Constitution of the United States.' They then asked him, 'would you do this thing?' 'Yes.' 'Would you do that thing?' 'Yes.' 'Would you return a fugitive

? I think it was Mr. Mason, or some of his coadjutors, who asked that question,—and Mr. Sumner said: 'Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?' There spoke the spirit of Massachusetts! Now, I want the State of Massachusetts to say to the Union, 'Is thy servant a dog, that she should return a fugitive slave?'

I. I want Massachusetts to pass a law, next winter, declaring that no fugitive slave shall ever be returned from her soil; but whatever fugitive slave sets his foot here, that fugitive slave is free, and the arm of Massachusetts, which holds the sword, shall be stretched out over that man, and strike down whoever strikes at him. There is a resolution before this body which looks to that very purpose, and next autumn, there will be a petition circulated before the People of Massachusetts, asking the Legislature to do that thing. I hope every man of you will put your name to it: I know every woman will, for the conscience of woman outruns the prudence and the cunning of man, and I would follow her conscience rather than his cunning. Let us declare a Kidnapper's Court a 'Nuisance.' I say that solemnly, knowing what I say.

2. Then, I want the Legislature to instruct our Senators and request our Representatives in Congress to use all their influence to fulfil the guarantee in the 4th article of the Constitution, and secure 'a Republican form of Government to every State in the Union.' Let Massachusetts do these two things, and you will see presently the other New England States follow. New York, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, even Illinois and Indiana, will presently take the same ground; and if we go on in this way, it will not be long before slavery is abolished in this nation, and when the Declaration of Independence is read on the Fourth of July, 1875, there will not be a slave in the United States.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. PRESIDENT.—I have listened, for one, with the most hearty delight to the announcement that Mr. Parker has made, of what he thinks should be the main purpose in the labor of the coming year, especially that which relates to an enactment, on the part of Massachusetts, that she ignore the existence of the Fugitive Slave Clause, and takes her neck out of the yoke, at any rate. I am exceedingly glad to have his assent and concurrence in that resolution. Although that resolution stands, I believe, for the first time, here, and a fortnight ago in New York, in the list of our principles and measures, it is some three or four years since our friend Henry C. Wright has been accustomed to urge it upon us. We have at last come up to him. I remember, at college, when our Natural Philosophy Professor used to put down a morsel of granite, or some minute atom of diamond, and then bring to bear upon it the positive and negative poles of the electric battery, it disappeared in the blaze. Now, my friend Henry C. Wright stands outside of the Constitution,—the negative pole,—and sends in upon us this message:—'Let Massachusetts enact that nobody shall be tried on her soil as a fugitive slave.' Mr. Parker stands with his theory, inside of the Constitution,—he is the positive pole. They are brought together; and I expect to see that clause vanish, as the diamond did, in the shock of the concurrence between these elements that have hitherto stood apart on this measure. I expect,—yes, I say it seriously, for I believe in the triumph of ideas,—I expect that in the shock of that mutual labor, the time will yet come when Massachusetts will tear it out of her records, either by force or by construction,—I do not care which. We have never yet asked anything of the Legislature which they have not granted us—nothing! In the long list of our petitions, we can write 'Granted' against every one. We cannot sit idle.

Satan finds some mischief still, For idle hands do good, and so we turn our endeavors towards a new point. They have granted us the schools—they have granted us the railroad cars—they have granted us internarrage—they have granted us the welcome absence of Judge Loring from the Commonwealth. (Loud Applause.) And now, having nothing else to do, and looking round for employment, we have accepted one of the 'crotchets' of Henry C. Wright, and mean to stereotype it into a statute. (Applause.)

Some people think it will never come. We must learn to labor and to wait. It is astonishing how many evidences there are that it is coming, and coming very fast. You can hardly turn anywhere without finding evidence that it is coming. Up in the State House last winter, Caleb Cushing was continually taunting the Legislature that they were making themselves a mere bolt to the kite of Garrisonianism; and yesterday, if you had been at the meeting of the Tract Society, you would have found an eloquent merchant, making his maiden speech, and the gist of it was, that the Congregationalists were trying to tie him, an Episcopalian, to the tail of the kite of Garrisonianism! You cannot go anywhere but you find one man charging another with becoming the tool of the Abolitionists. It is just like the poor lunatic in the Scotch hospital, who thought he had dined off of roast beef and turkey, fruit and jelly and preserves, but said, after all, it tasted wonderfully like gruel, the whole of it. (Laughter.) So, whether you go to a meeting of the Tract Society, or to the Legislature, or to a private gathering in New York or Boston, the cry is still the same. You cannot go anywhere but somebody is charged with trying to pull the whole body into an anti-slavery agitation. Well, this is the instinctive, unconscious, unpremeditated, involuntary expression of the feeling which every body has, that they are gravitating toward radical anti-slavery, and cannot keep out of it. It is a very welcome proof. Here is another.

I sometimes think I will buy an old book of fables, learn them by heart, and then come to the conclusion that I know everything; for it seems to me as if old proverbs and old stories, the concentrated wisdom of ages, led nothing to be learned. Do you remember the story, old as the grayest and brownest-paired school-book, of the farmer in the lawyer's office, and undertaking to state a case? He said that his bull had gored the lawyer's ox. 'Very well, it is very plain,' said the lawyer; 'you must pay me damages.' 'Stop,' said the farmer; 'I have made a mistake. It was your bull that gored my ox.' 'Ah,' said the other, 'that is a different matter, and I will consult the books: call again to-morrow.' It is hard to say how the rule stands? (Laughter.) Well, in 1835, the Boston Courier was in about the same state of mind that it is now. (Laughter and applause.) It has not grown any. It has been bought and sold a great many times since, publicly as well as privately, but it stands just where it did. But, mark! in 1834, it was the farmer's bull that had done the mischief, and so the Courier defended the 'gentlemen of property and standing,' in broadcloth and broad daylight, in State street, who undertook to put down a legal meeting of certain women in behalf of the abolition of American Slavery; and it thought,—the press of Boston generally thought,—that it was an exceedingly republican, and safe, and excellent principle, that 'citizens of eminent gravitas,' meeting in the vicinity of the Atlas office, or on the sidewalk of State Street, should undertake to settle for themselves whether legal meetings of other people were for the public benefit or not! They saw no danger in the present there, and made a fool of Mayor Lyman; it was the 'gentlemen of property and standing,' it was the 'conservative element of the Commonwealth.' The boot was on that leg, you see. It has got on the other now. Chief Justice Shaw has decided that anybody may go into a liquor shop, where rum is sold without a warrant, take out the bottles and demijohns, and break them on the curb-stone,—and this same Cow-

er is very much alarmed! It is awfully dangerous, it is illegal for the people to do anything without a warrant! It is the Chief Justice of the Commonwealth now that lays down the law, not the Atlas office; but still the Courier thinks the Judge must have been 'jocular' when he made the decision, that he could not have intended it to be taken as law; the consequences are such as is the other bull that has done the mischief. (Laughter.) The moderate people, the sensible people, the people with dust on their shoes, that do not tread on the pavement with the Chief Justice on their side, proceed to abate, not legal meetings, but public nuisances, and the lawyer has got to consult his books to see whether damages are to be paid. 'Call again in a day or two; this is a very serious matter,' says the Courier. (Laughter and applause.)

Here is another—they thicken so fast. Some half dozen years ago, I was invited to deliver an address before a literary society in a neighboring city. Shortly after, I happened to be in the place, and met a man in the street, who asked me what I intended to talk about. I had some dim idea in my mind, and I tried to tell him. When I had done, he said, 'You may speak of any thing you please, for Rufus Choate came here, and gave us a defence of the Fugitive Slave Law, as a literary exercise.' I came down to Boston, and at graduated exercises, I read a paper to Boston, and met graduates of Harvard, who had just come from the first meeting of the Alumni of that institution, met to celebrate the literary anniversary of the college, steeped in Greek and Latin, and not one of them with an idea less than two thousand years old, except a very few perhaps, deemed 'dangerously' fast men' because just waked up to the admiration of a post-Rufus Choate was called on to address them, and he delivered another eulogy on the Fugitive Slave Law and Daniel Webster. Now see where he has got. A party of young men address him a letter, asking him to deliver a Fourth of July oration, in which they say—

'Although this committee acts at the appointment of an association partly political, it is proper that we should say to you that, by its express direction, we are instructed to avoid with care whatever might give rise to the festivities of our national holiday any color of partisan character.'

'The great mass of our citizens have a hearty aversion for the localism and partiality which have become the established features for the celebration of our 'independence day,' and hunger and thirst for some taste of the boundless patriotism of earlier days. It is our desire to minister to this taste, and not ourselves commit the offence we reprobate in others.'

To which Mr. Choate, having many a sin like those two on his conscience, replies—

'I appreciate very sensibly the courtesy of this notice, and with your opinions I perfectly concur. Whatever our public may choose, or whatever they are fatigued or desirous, or whatever may be afforded to me, of one thing I am sure, that this ought to be a day for the whole of our America, not a part of it; for the country, not for faction; for the creation, and memory, and diffusion of a comprehensive national feeling, not for the advocacy of a party.'

Once ten thousand youthful orators, on the sunny Fourth of July, argued lustily that Liberty meant permission to buy and sell slaves; and Union signified the South everywhere—the North nowhere. But the boot has got on the other leg, you perceive! The channel has shifted clean over, and the thoroughly roused public have taken possession of every occasion and every platform to thunder forth Anti-Slavery truth. Call a meeting for what you will, it turns into an Anti-Slavery Debate. The prophet now cannot curse if he will—no praise of slave-hunting will issue from his lips; spite of himself his lips break into blessings, and say, 'Down with the bill—Liberty for the bondman!' Old Concord bells refuse to ring in a pro-slavery Fourth of July, and from Bangor as far west as there was a Fremont voter, the glorious old day swells and sings, roars and thunders, 'Break every yoke'—Liberty first, Union afterwards!—Hunkerdom in vain crying out for refuge and quarter, now at last betaking itself how wrong to use such a day for party purposes!

It is your ball, you see. 'I will look into the statutes,' says Mr. Choate. It used to be, 'Hang out your banner on the outer wall.'—'We are Unionists, Daniel Webster men, Fugitive Slave Law advocates.' Our castle's strength can laugh a jeer to scorn.' It is the white flag now! 'Gentlemen, let us not minister to individuals! Let us be very general—no biting allusion to individuals.' 'Don't mention the gallows in the house of a man whose brother has been hanged! (Loud laughter and applause.) A momentous change! They cry quarter. They go back to justice. They used to say, 'Let us get all we can, and let the losers talk in vain of rights.' They are the losers now, and they begin to talk of rights, and proprieties, and national courtesies. It is a sign that the balance has kicked the beam. It is a pregnant sign, when Rufus Choate takes refuge from Fugitive Slave Law advocacy in the 'boundless patriotism,' in the 'specious and glittering generalities' of an earlier period. Well, we do not mean they shall have any such luxury.

you in November for a vote, you say, 'It depends upon whether you think Congress has the power to abolish slavery, and whether, if you think so, you mean to exercise it.'—he will study the question in morning. I remember, some seventeen years ago, that Abbott Lawrence wrote a letter to Francis Jackson, saying that he did not have any opinion upon a question which Mr. Jackson had asked in regard to certain alleged powers of Congress. Every man who goes to Congress now, has a very definite opinion, and is rather anxious to have an opportunity to answer an anti-slavery letter inquiring what his opinions are.

What we want, then, are acts following these theories. Bring them down into daily life. This discussion in the Tract Society yesterday amounting to nothing, if the same amount of money continues to go to New York. You may argue for ever, Massachusetts may resolve for ever, her speakers may be eloquent for ever, she may exhaust the dictionary in epithets to describe James Buchanan; but the moment you check-mate the government, by refusing to vote the appropriations, that moment the dictionary may be closed,—you have reached something better than the dictionary. All I wish to add to that excellent programme which Mr. Parker started to-day is, that those men who do vote, who undertake to carry their ideas into politics, are not to shelter themselves from our criticism or our rebuke by going into Anti-Slavery meetings, and covering themselves over with these theories. No! No matter what persons men of the Republican party think—we care not; no matter what is the theory of the hearth-side; we want the theory avowed in its platform, the purpose declared in its methods announced to the public, and reduced to practice at the ballot-box. You may think I am talking twenty years before the age,—no, not at all. I am talking on the very eve of the age. We are rushing toward the cataclysm, nobody can tell how fast. The rank and file, the people, are infinitely nearer the consummation of this purpose than you imagine. All we want is the courage to own it. Massachusetts might be led out of the Union in five years. If, when Kansas takes her seat, by the Union in five years, as I believe she will, in the Senate of the United States, the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts could have the vote put to them whether they would remain in the Union under such a perversion of the Constitution or repudiate it, except the commercial, you might say, the *conserved* Boston, to vote, there is every fair probability, would be, 'No! Come out!' Anti-Slavery has done it, and far more thoroughly, than we suppose; and if not here, then at least in the far West. In the new States, where the weight of conservatism in Church and State is less marked, there, where the popular voice is closer and warmer to the government itself, you would find a readiness to adopt and to meet this question of separation. But, what I claim of politicians, what I claim of the Church, is simply consistency,—that they shall act on the principle that they avow. What care I for the eloquent denunciations even of that Giant at Brooklyn! He may exhaust the genius which he has inherited from the largest brain in the Orthodox doctrine of Gravity, in denouncing the American Church as the refuge of slavery, and when he goes into the chamber of the city of New York to build up, with both hands, a revival which is to strengthen that refuge of the slaveholder, he more than undoes the strength of the ten previous years; for every atom of rebuke that is contributing to the already tottering battlements of that Church is laid on the heart of the bondman, (applause)—and he knows it, or he ought to know it.

In an age like ours, the eloquence of the pulpit is little or nothing, if there be not behind it the better eloquence, the louder protest of the LIFE. The surroundings of Henry Ward Beecher, give us with a family of clergymen, his reputation for orthodoxy yet unshaken, his standing as an evangelical Christian yet unshaken, if he were to stand in a church door against the American Bible, Tract and Missionary Societies, it would be like the first page of Lexington, 'heard round the world.' (Applause.) There would be no more pro-slavery refugees in the European continent, robbing themselves in anti-slavery professions, and trying to explain their sins a home on the ground that Garrison was an infidel, and Theodore Parker did not fancy John Calvin. There would be met with the admitted fact that the son of Lyman Beecher, the brother of Harriet B. Stow, had shut his church against the benevolent institutions of the Northern States, and that fact, that fact,—facts have giant boots, and travel forty leagues a minute,—would journey the world over. The telegraphic wires would be attached to the steeple of the Brooklyn church, and the other end would be sent Christian heart on the continent of Europe. We should need no explanations, no buts, no apologies. The Christianity of Europe would overwhelm the wretched, the faltering, the evasive, the ambiguous Christianity of these thirty-two hypocritical States.

The American religion, the American Tract Society, (both sides) the resolutions of the protestants, and the resolutions of the Southern, remind me of ways of that nonsense of Maria Edgeworth—I went into the garden, and cut a cabbage leaf to make an apple pie, and gunpowder run out of the head of her boots. (Laughter.) It means nothing; there is no cohesion in it. There stands Leonard Bacon, a fair-minded, intelligent, determined, a son of the Puritans, with the New England Review for his organ, and Yale College for his certificate of orthodoxy; and they gagged him on the floor of the Tract Society, and about all he had opportunity to say was, to say to the very man who was fastening on the gag, Dr. Bethune, and call him 'his worthy Christian brother.' How much do you suppose Dr. Bethune would for any vote, any protest of the man who admitted his Christian character, at the very moment that he was trampling him under his feet?

This Society said, eighteen years ago, that no manholder in the American States, in this age of enlightenment, could be a Christian. The world cried 'Nonsense!' That was one end of the wire. The other end of indignant anti-slavery instinct, never returned, never explained, never compromised, never retreating, ringing through the clear air to-day, denying the Christian character of every man that holds himself on the heart of the slave,—men said, 'It is in vain. The bayonet is always harsh; but it was the sword's points of Abernethy, Howe and Rawdon, that forced the reluctant British soldiers up Bunker Hill the third time, and carried the rampart against Prescott and Putnam. It is the bayonet of Henry C. Wright and Theodore Parker, and William Lloyd Garrison, that has forced Leonard Bacon and Ward Beecher, and the third time, against these ramparts of the wretched Christianity, and almost carried them. (Enthusiastic applause.) Just before 1831, when the Duke of Wellington feared that the British people meant to vote the Reform Bill by numbers over the House of Lords, he sent word down to Lancashire, to some several of eight thousand trusty guards, to 'grind their wheels.' All I have to say to the people who call this to be slavery denunciation harsh is this—I hope it will be harsh as truth, and uncompromising as justice; and if the bayonets are not sharp enough, Henry Lloyd Garrison,—'grind' them! Force these reluctant Christians up to the rampart between truth and the false Christianity which they are bound to unmask!

For me, the argument is simple. If this is wrong, and I put chalk into it, there will be a storm; and I am certain it is chalk, and when I drop it there is no agitation, then it is not vinegar. So when I see a Christian Church, so-called, with forty thousand members, and an unmistakable, impenetrable darkness, drop the awful sin of American Slavery, if every

ing member does not rise up and seize it by the throat, it is no Church of Christ.

Every thing encourages us,—every thing! This Anti-Slavery movement commenced nigh thirty years ago, in an upper chamber, with twelve or fifteen men to launch it.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, JUNE 11, 1858.

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION OF INDEPENDENCE DAY.

The Anniversary of American Independence will be celebrated this year as usual, (under the direction of the Managers of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,) on MONDAY, July 6th, by a MASS MEETING of the friends of Universal Emancipation, at the beautiful Grove in BRIMINGHAM.

SPECIAL TRAINS for the Grove, on the Boston and Worcester Railroad and its Branches, will be run as follows:

Table with 2 columns: Location and Time. Rows include Worcester at 9 o'clock, A. M.; Milbury at 9:30; Northboro at 9:30.

RETURNING, leave the Grove at or near 5 1/2 o'clock, P. M. FARES AS FOLLOWS: Boston, to the Grove and back, } Seventy cents for adults; to Worcester, } thirty-five cents for children.

CHRISTIAN ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

In the lists of meetings for anniversary week, published in the daily papers of this city, appeared the somewhat remarkable notice:—

Wednesday, CHRISTIAN ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING. In Park street Church, 7 1/2 P. M.

On Wednesday afternoon, there appeared in the Transcript an indefinite postponement of the meeting thus named and notified, with a 'reason annexed' (as the catechism hath it) as follows:—

The Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting advertised to be held in Park street Church this (Wednesday) evening, will not be held this evening, in consequence of the fact that the anniversary of the American Tract Society—whose several of the speakers relied upon for the Anti-Slavery meeting have been officially requested to attend—will occur at the same hour (7 1/2) in Tremont Temple.

This is all that has been seen of the CHRISTIAN ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING. Anniversary week has passed away, and left no further trace of it. The two foot-prints above copied are all that remain of this visit of the very peculiar animal thus named.

It may here be explained that, though the tautological term which we have placed at the head of this article—as preparatory in its repetition as Christian Temperance Society, or Christian Orphan Asylum, things which never existed before Christianity, and which have grown out of it, and belong to it as plainly as a branch to a tree—through this tautological term was invented only a year ago, Anti-Slavery meetings have been held in Boston twice or more every year for more than a quarter of a century past, and have been as well known and as widely commented on as any institution of the city.

Anti-Slavery meetings then, (however discounted by people of the Park street Church, who robbed a black man of his pew, for no other reason than because he was black, and have never made him restitution, nor even been called on by their minister to make him restitution,) are well known in Boston. They were commenced, and have ever since been periodically held, by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and their constitutional distinction and most marked characteristic is, the representation of slaveholding as a SIN—in the language which they have frequently used, 'A HEINOUS SIN AGAINST GOD.'

These things being so, and having been so for twenty-seven years, there suddenly appeared, a year ago, a notice that a 'Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting' would be held, and held (of all places in the world) in Park street Church, May 28th, 1857. The pastor of that church had been announced (in the advertisement) as the first speaker. This, of course, was suited to awaken the idea that penitence was to be officially expressed by the church, for the sin in which they had so long persevered, and restitution made to the plundered black man, as the fitting inauguration of a Park street Anti-Slavery Society—in the work they proposed to carry their faith so far towards works as to form a Society.

'Wife, when she crossed that door, she was free!' Massachusetts, I say, will catch up the echoes of the glorious principle, and put it on the statute book: 'Sam Adams's door-sill is no more sacred than the limits of the Commonwealth. We extend his parlor to Berkshire.' (Loud and prolonged applause.)

In fact, however, no such penitence was expressed, and no such restitution hinted at, either by this brother or the absent delinquent, or by the existing pastor of the church. Church and minister were silent upon that subject, and interest is still accumulating, in heaven and on earth, upon the property forcibly plundered, by Park street Church, from Mr. Frederick Brinsley.

Its single merit was that the speakers, (all of them Orthodox clergymen in ecclesiastical fraternity with slaveholders and defenders of slavery,) said some of the same things in opposition to slavery which have been said at Anti-Slavery meetings in this city for its past twenty-five years.

Its counterbalancing (and preponderating) defects,—besides the failure in confession and restitution above-mentioned,—which would have been so appropriate for a meeting called together under such a title, and assembled in the house, and composed, to a large extent, of the members, and addressed, by the pastor, of the guilty church—were the following:—

1. Every one of the speeches contained expressions more or less at variance with the good ones already alluded to, implying that the clergymen who used them had been, all along, and still were, in a right position in regard to the slaveholder and the slave.

2. Although these clergymen are well aware of (and heedful to use, in cases where they really desire vigorous movement) the benefits of organized action, they made no attempt to direct that throng of earnest, willing souls to any method of systematic opposition to the slave power, either through a new organization, or by co-operation with the existing one.

Holding this first meeting with the pretence of a desire to revive anti-slavery, and finding it did not respond to their people, they then did not even attempt or suggest the use of those methods for continuing and extending this interest, which they find so successful in a 'revival of religion,' but, leaving this collected electricity to disperse itself into empty air, they dismissed the people as sheep without a shepherd.

3. The ablest and best of the speakers at this meeting—a man who said many admirable things, which we thankfully acknowledged in the Liberator following—a man most efficient of all the speakers, alike in attracting the vast audience to that place, and in arousing their interest sympathies and interest when there—a man who had assumed to take his stand upon conscience, right, justice, the command of the most high God, who thundered and lightened against reservation and compromise—Rev. Geo. B. Cheever gave such evil counsel as to say, that the voting that all children of slaves should be born free for forty years would be 'THE SIMPLEST REMEDY OF THE WHOLE INIQUITY THAT COULD BE CONCEIVED OF.'

A statement so false in fact, so dilatory and compromising in method, and so deficient in justice and righteousness as this, was yet the thing nearest to action against slavery recommended in the 'Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting' of 1857!

It remains for us to inquire—What new characteristics of this Park street 'Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting' have been brought to light by its transactions in 1858, quoted at the commencement of this article—namely, an advertisement and an indefinite postponement? What contribution to our knowledge of the creature is made by these two latest foot-prints, which, being added to the record of 1857, will complete the stock of possible knowledge on that subject, up to the present time?

The 'reason annexed' in explanation of the indefinite postponement of the meeting in question, (or more correctly speaking, the decision to dispense with it altogether, as nothing has since been heard of it,) is that several of the speakers relied upon to give that meeting a character at once 'Christian' and 'Anti-Slavery' had been 'officially' requested to address a meeting of the Tract Society on the same evening. Of course, these officials invited persons, who considered the Tract Meeting more important than the 'Christian Anti-Slavery meeting,' are the very persons (some or all of them) who were advertised to address the Tract Meeting—namely, Rev. Dr. Bacon of New Haven, Rev. Dr. Storrs of Braintree, Rev. Dr. Ide of Medway, and Rev. Horace James of Worcester.

And let it be noticed—the coming of these two meetings on the same evening made no conflict between the business of the Tract Society and the work of 'Christian Anti-Slavery' (so called). The business meetings of the Tract Society were finished on Tuesday afternoon; their officers were chosen, their old Secretary thrust out of office (with a certificate of his 'faithful' labors, and a presentation to him, for the coming year, of their 'kindly wishes' and 'sincere prayers' instead of a salary,) and their plan of action (if the little they proposed to do may properly be called action) laid out for the coming year. The Tract meeting then, for which the 'Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting' was displaced and sacrificed, was a show meeting, to display and triumph in the work already accomplished, and to rejoice over (what they called) a victory, though why so called it would be hard to say, since the party claiming this victory (represented by Rev. Mr. Dexter of the Congregationalist) had deliberately given up their pro-slavery opponents the strongest item in their printed programme of Resolutions—that, namely, which proposed a separation from the pro-slavery New York Society.

How much Anti-Slavery these four persons would have contributed to the sacrificed meeting, had it been held, may be judged by the manner in which they have spoken of Anti-Slavery, either at the Tract Jubilee on Wednesday evening, or on other previous occasions, or both.

Dr. Bacon, (in the business meeting of the Tract Society, Tuesday, P. M.) advised the meetings not to separate from the pro-slavery New York Society; and (in its show meeting, Wednesday evening, he called Bishop Meade (the Bishop of Virginia, whose whole episcopal life has been spent in the defence of slavery) a 'venerable and most godly man.' Dr. Storrs did not speak. Dr. Ide (in the business meeting of the Tract Society, Tuesday afternoon,) said he was annoyed at an unjust accusation which had been brought against the movement party. We are charged, said he, with wishing to make this an Anti-Slavery Society. It is false; we are wronged!

Rev. Horace James said, at the very Tract meeting for which he had chosen to sacrifice the 'Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting'—'Let it not be said that our action yesterday has abolished this Society. It is no such thing. I deprecate both the word and the reality implied in it. It is no such thing.'

All these persons sympathize with the declaration, repeatedly made by members of the movement party in one or other of the Boston Tract meetings—that they wished to avoid both slavery and anti-slavery, and to take a course between; and all of them sympathize with that which the leader of this movement (Rev. Henry M. Dexter) has just said in the Congregationalist, in view of the Tract action in anniversary week—

It appears from the foregoing, that the special characteristic by which Mr. Dexter and his friends wished to have their Park street meeting distinguished from the Anti-Slavery meetings which have been held twice a year for more than a quarter of a century in Boston—and on account of which they thought proper to call it a 'Christian' Anti-Slavery meeting in distinction from those—was that, while the latter treats slaveholding as a sin against God, and therefore makes direct, and persistent, and uncompromising war upon it, the former does neither.

Slavery stands on one side, Anti-Slavery on the other; Christian Anti-Slavery shrinks from the latter much more unequivocally than from the former; adheres to the pro-slavery New York Tract Society, gives up its own meeting as less important than that of the pro-slavery Boston Tract Society, and yet, without blushing, continues to call itself both Anti-Slavery and Christian!

What a comment is here upon the two great commandments of the Christian law! 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself.' Think, for a moment, of what is implied in the transactions upon which we have been commenting. The managers of an Anti-Slavery meeting exulting in the fact that they do not oppose slavery so strongly as some others do! The managers of a Christian meeting carefully avoiding to stigmatize slavery as a sin! The inventors of a new sort of meeting calling it 'CHRISTIAN ANTI-SLAVERY' because it fraternizes with pro-slavery men, and treats them as Christians!!! The getters-up of the latest improvement in Anti-Slavery, which was to add to its virtue faith, and to its practice profession, and to admit it to good and regular standing in the Orthodox church, thinking it, on the whole, not worth while to hold their meeting, because the Tract Society was going to hold one!!!!

Truly, the Lord (of the church) has energetic servants in these days!—c. x. w.

In a speech before the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Mr. Phillips charitably took for granted that the managers of the meeting in question had been earnest enough in their opposition to slavery, to form a Society, instead of merely holding a meeting; he therefore erroneously spoke of the 'Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting' as the Christian Anti-Slavery Society, assuming that it had the cohesiveness, and ought to do the work, of a Society.

Worcester, June 6th, 1858. DEAR GARRISON,—Will you allow me space to add another testimony to the general excellence of the sermon preached in this city on Sunday last, by Mrs. Gage, and to join Mr. Higginson in the wish and hope that it may be often repeated? Hers is eloquence which reaches both the head and the heart. Could I always listen to such preaching, I should spend few Sundays at home. S. S. FOSTER.

A slight error occurred in the notice, last week, of the Worcester North meeting at Athol. It will be found corrected this week, and it is hoped that the friends of the Society and of the Anti-Slavery cause, in that section of the State, will not fail to through the Athol meeting next Sunday.—x.

Wm. M. Connelly is now on trial before Judge Lewis of Cincinnati, for protesting and aiding two fellow-creatures in their escape from the hands of American Slavery. He acted simply the part of the Christian and Good Samaritan. He betrayed not the wanderers. He delivered not unto the master the servants which had escaped from the master unto him. He took them to his home and heart. 'bound up their wounds, pouring in oil and wine.' For obeying this plain command of God—this natural impulse of human nature, he is put on trial, in a Free State, before a United States Court! Judge Leavitt is a prominent Presbyterian of Cincinnati. But the public know his infamous antecedents. He is a pious, blood-stained wretch. Neither his Presbyterianism, nor the influence of the 'powerful religious revival' in Cincinnati, will save poor Connelly from the rigors of Christian American 'Law,' made and provided for those loving and Christ-like ones who 'remember those in bonds as bound with them'—who find their brother 'an hungry and feed him, naked and clothe him, thirsty and give him drink, sick and minister unto him.'

The U.S. House of Representatives have given the seat for the third representative district of Ohio, to Mr. WILLIAM WALKER, Democrat, ousting Mr. Lewis D. CAMPBELL, Republican. The ground on which the seat was contested, was that several 'negroes' voted for Mr. CAMPBELL, and that he owed his election to these votes.

In Congress on Saturday, the death of Senator Henderson of Texas was announced, and both houses at once adjourned. Mr. Henderson was elected for the term which expires in 1861. It is mentioned as a remarkable circumstance, that his colleague, Senator Houston, who announced his death and pronounced his eulogy, has not spoken to him for ten years.

Frightful Tornado. A terrible tornado passed over the village of Ellison, Illinois, May 31st. Every house in the place was blown down, and 10 persons killed, and several fatally injured.

Hurricane. The parish of St. Anne des Plaines, Terrebonne, Canada, was visited by a destructive hurricane on the 15th ult. In a district two miles long by one broad, forty buildings, including eleven dwellings, were destroyed. Fortunately there was no loss of human life. The damage done is estimated at \$80,000.

A recapitulation of the damage done by the recent hail storm in the vicinity of Fredericksburg, Va., estimates the loss to be \$150,000. Over 600,000 bushels of wheat were destroyed within a length of ten, and a breadth of three miles.

Distressing Casualty. Eight children of Rev. Horatio Halsey, of Boston, Ill., were drowned on the 6th inst, in a flood caused by the destruction of a dam which swept away his house. It has been since ascertained that the mother of the children was also drowned. Mr. Halsey formerly preached in Monson, Maine, and has a brother in this city.

A party of thirty-six, from Needham, went down Boston Bay on Thursday, and were nearly all violently sea-sick. Among them was Eben B. Jones, Cashier of the Worcester Railroad, who took chloroform to overcome the illness. But it had the melancholy effect to bring on convulsions, which resulted in death before the boat could reach Hainsford Island, and obtain help.

The trial of General William Walker at New Orleans, for a violation of the neutrality laws, has resulted in a disagreement of the jury.

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings in Vermont, &c., as follows:

Table with 2 columns: Location and Day. Rows include Woodstock, Sunday, June 13; Randolph, Tuesday, 15; Brookfield, Thursday, 17; Williamstown, Tuesday, 22; Northfield, Thursday, 24; East Montpelier, Sunday, 27.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture on Sunday next, June 13, in Lowell, all day and evening. Also, in Rutland, Vt., on Sunday, June 20.

NASHUA.—An Anti-Slavery Meeting will be held at Nashua, N. H., on Sunday next, June 13, afternoon and evening. PARKER PILLBURY, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will attend the meeting.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION FESTIVAL.

The undersigned, who have for so many years done their utmost to promote the Anti-Slavery Cause, and especially through the medium of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will, as usual, hold their (twenty-fifth) anniversary at the close of the year, with the same purpose of still further strengthening the beneficial influences of that Society, moral, religious and political, for the extinction of slavery.

At the beginning, before the principles of the Cause were understood, we could not, with the slightest hope of success, ask of the public, whose affair it is no less than our own, direct contributions of money. We therefore, devised an Annual Bazaar for the sale of contributions of articles, and thus afforded an opportunity of great usefulness, both financial and social, to the Cause.

But the changed state of the public mind now suggests greater directness in the method and increase in the usefulness of this anniversary; and we propose, this year, to give our usual annual sum, and our accustomed collections by direct cash subscription, and we entreat the friends, both at home and abroad, who have been wont to co-operate with us, to do the same, nothing doubting the result will much exceed the amount (\$4000) raised last year.

To our Southern friends, we present this prospect with increased hope of their cooperation in so noble a cause; for, as none better than they know what slavery and the daily increasing risks of its tenure are, so none have a deeper concern in seeking the most effectual means of putting an end to this common sin and suffering of our native land.

The money we have annually raised has been hitherto employed to sustain the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, the organ of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; but, following the recent indication of the Executive Committee in making individual efforts to place that paper on a self-sustaining subscription basis, we shall enable them to devote the result of our joint financial effort to sustain eloquent and faithful lecturers, now so much needed, in far greater numbers than ever before.

By this plan, we may accomplish double the amount of service to our cause, and thus furnish our friends and our own with a two-fold motive to continue and increase their contributions.

No words from us at this late day are needed to stimulate a prudent generosity by description of all the means that are to be changed the mind and the heart of a great nation, on the central question of its policy, or to kindle a sublime one by commendation of a cause identified with every thought that is ennobling and holy, with every hope that is august and magnificent, with every memory that is precious and sainted, with every ideal that is consoling and beautiful, with every effort that is ennobling and beneficent, with every association that is history, or poetry, or patriotism, or philanthropy, or Christianity, or life or death, has sanctified and blessed.

We cordially and respectfully invite the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the world over, to meet with us at the close of the year, (time and place named hereafter,) to receive our subscriptions, our good wishes, and our thanks, and to unite with us on an occasion which, as the end of one quarter of a century of labors and the beginning of another, will be of no ordinary commemorative interest and prospective significance to us.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, MARY MAY, LOUISA LORING, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, L. MARIA CHILD, HENRIETTA SARGENT, MARY WILKINSON FOSTER, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, HELEN ELIZA GARRISON, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, FRANCIS MARY ROBBINS, SARAH LINDY WESTON, MARY WILKEY, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, SUSAN C. CABOT, LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZA P. EDDY, ABY FRANCIS, SARAH RUSSELL MAY, ABBY KELLEY POSTEL, SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, EVELINA A. S. SMITH, ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL, AUGUSTA KING, ELIZABETH VON ANNIM, ANNA SHAW GREENE, ELIZA AITHOOP, MATTIE GRIFFITH, MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT, ANNE LANGDON ALGER.

FREE CONVENTION.

TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS. The identical of humanity from all such influences, as fetters natural 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 at the points where it records the encroachments of human freedom on the natural limitations or 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 state which both are yet destined to attain. Every Philanthropist, therefore, welcome 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 sentiments, and great topics of Reform. That there would be native 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 these convictions, 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 23rd, 26th and 27th of June next, to discuss the various topics of Reform that are now agitating the minds of all progressive and generous hearts. By a 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 Shilbottle of its own to be mounded with provincial acrimony—but the unanimous movement of those who have been everywhere, in the great Army of Reform, and who have no watchword but Humanity. The catholicity of spirit and purpose, which will characterize the proposed meeting, are thus sufficiently guaranteed, and the assurance well-grounded, that every theme will be frankly and fairly treated at the hands of the Convention, and that the interests of the largest philanthropy secured.

Come, then, friends of Free Thought. Come, come, all Men of all religious creeds, and men of no creed, shall find equal welcome. And woman too, let her come, both to aid by her presence, and strength, in her thought, and give depth and earnestness to the action of this gathering in behalf of Humanity. Let her vindicate, by her own eloquence and zeal, the social position she is so nobly and rapidly winning for herself. The only common ground on which we seek to meet, is that of human sympathy, and the only pledge we make is to bring a rational investigation to the solution of every problem involving the social or religious duty and destiny of the race. In this faith we hail all as brethren and co-laborers.

(Signed by JOHN LANDON, NEWMAN WEEKS, ALBERT LANGDON, W. W. RUSSELL, of Rutland, and one hundred and fifty others, belonging to various towns in Vermont.)

WORCESTER COUNTY NORTH.—A quarterly meeting of the Worcester County (North) Anti-Slavery Society will be held in ATHOL, in the Freeman's Meeting-house, on Sunday, day and evening, June 15th.

All who desire the triumph of Freedom and Justice are invited, as usual. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Rev. Mr. O'DAY, S. M. SARGENT, Mrs. J. J., and other speakers, are expected to be present. JOEL SMITH, President.

Atlantic Monthly FOR JUNE. IS NOW READY. THIS NUMBER BEGINS A NEW VOLUME. Price, \$3.00 per annum, at 25 cents a number. For sale by all booksellers and periodical dealers. PHILLIPS, GAMPSON & CO., May 21, 6m. Publishers, Boston.

HITCHINGS & DENNETT, DEALERS IN PAPER HANGINGS, AT WHOLESALE AND RETAIL. No. 113 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON.

WHAT SOUTHERN MEN HAVE SAID IN TIMES PAST. THE SOUTHERN PLATFORM, ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY. COMPILLED BY DANIEL R. GOODLOE.

A perfect magazine of Anti-Slavery sentiment, from the writings of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Chase, Adams, Wilson, Madison, King, Morris, Randolph, Sherman, Mason, Patrick, Henry, McDowell, Fremont, and numerous others, and highly recommended, by the newspaper press of the country, by distinguished living statesmen, Senators Sumner, Wilson and Hale, and Hon. Wm. Blair, Price, 25 cents. Published by JOHN F. JEWETT & CO., 41w. Boston, May 21.

THE REAL 'UNCLE TOM' TRUTH STRANGER THAN FICTION! Father Henson's Story OF HIS OWN LIFE. WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY MRS. H. B. STOWE.

AN extraordinary story, of an extraordinary man. His early and his later life—his trials, his sufferings, his stripes, his wonderful escapes, and his present position. Reader, would you know what American slavery is, purchase and read this book, more thrilling than a romance, more startling in its details than any work of fiction, and yet a true story of one colored man's experience, and that man THE ONE FROM INCIDENTS IN WHOSE LIFE MRS. STOWE DREW SOME OF THE MOST INTERESTING AND THRILLING SCENES IN HER WORLD-RENOUNDED STORY OF 'UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.'

WE SHALL PUBLISH THIS Remarkable Book ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF MAY. The First Edition will consist of 5000 COPIES.

Those expecting to be supplied with this edition will please forward their orders at an early day. We can employ 1000 TRAVELLING AGENTS, MEN AND WOMEN, and at such a discount from the retail price as will make the business profitable to them.

FATHER HENSON, Taken in his 68th Year. PRICE AT RETAIL, 75 CENTS. JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS, No. 20 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. To whom all orders must be addressed. May 14, 4w. Just Published, By R. F. WALLCUT, 21 CORNHILL, 'THE ESCAPE, OR, A LEAF FOR FREEDOM.' A Drama, in Five Acts. By WILLIAM WELLS BROWN. Price 20 cents.

REV. DR. CHEEVER AND HON. GERRIT SMITH AND WOMEN. TWO PAMPHLETS FOR THINKING MEN AND WOMEN.

No. 1. Rev. Dr. Cheever's Great Speech before the Abolition Society of New York. No. 2. Hon. Gerrit Smith's Discourse on Creeds and Ecclesiastical Machinery, delivered at Peterboro'. Price 6 cents each—\$3 per 100. Everybody should read these masterly productions. Published by JOHN F. JEWETT & CO., 20 Washington Street, Boston. May 28, 3w.

INFORMATION WANTED. PREVIOUSLY to saying 'farewell' after a sojourn of nearly eight months in America—A LADY, who lived with the philanthropist, the talented and the affluent as a teacher in England, but who thought she would like to reside some time in America, and who would still remain in it on the event of her meeting with suitable encouragement, will be obliged to any ladies or gentlemen who will supply her with authentic information regarding good localities for PRIVATE TEACHING, exclusive of the slave States. She teaches English, French, Music, Drawing, and sometimes other branches of education. Her testimonials are from the Principal of the Normal Institution, Edinburgh, Scotland, and from English, French, and American gentlemen. The desired information will be gladly received by MISS DICKSON, 2045 Chestnut street, Philadelphia. May 28.

BREAD WITHOUT POWDERS OR YEAST. How to make light, delicious Bread with simple FLOUR AND WATER ONLY. THIS Bread is prepared for the oven in a few minutes, (with fine soft coarse flour,) and may be eaten warm without injury. A little Hand-Book containing the above and 30 other receipts for Healthful Cooking, &c., sent post free for 11 cents in stamps, by WM. HUNT, (Boston Water Cure,) 18 and 20 La Grande Place, Boston. May 28.

Speech by Theodore Parker. THE PRESENT ASPECT OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA, and the Immediate Duty of the North: A Speech delivered in the Hall of the State House, before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Convention, on Friday night, January 29, 1838. By THEODORE PARKER. Price, 17 cents. Just published, and for sale by BELA MARSH, No. 15 Broad Street. Also, for sale as above, all of Mr. Parker's works, either in pamphlet form, or bound in cloth. Mech 24

DANIEL MANN, M. D., SURGEON DENTIST, AND MANUFACTURER OF MINERAL TEETH. (Formerly Mearns & Malcomb's, Summer St. 82.) Has an office in SUFFOLK PLACE, (two doors from Washington Street), and invites old friends and new ones to visit him. Invalids and others who dislike to visit a Dentist's Office will be waited upon at their own houses.

POETRY.

WHO ARE THE DEAD.
Who are not dead, but gone before.
Who are not dead? The Good, the Great;

SELECTIONS.

THE MARAIS DES CYGNES MASSACRE.
MORNING, Linn Co., K. T., May 20.
Yesterday a party of Pro-Slavery men, from Missouri, came into the 'Trading Post,' situated on the military road leading from Fort Scott to Fort Leavenworth, where it crosses the Osage river,

leader, deliberately shot them. At the first fire all of the eleven prisoners fell. The murderer, to make sure work, loaded and fired several times. Some of them used their revolvers. One of the survivors, who was severely wounded, and who was lying on the ground, had a pistol ball put in his head. He says that one of his party stooped down over him, and put a pistol to his ear and fired. The ball ranged downward, and glancing along the jawbone, came out near his mouth, without inflicting a fatal wound. Others were shot at from the ground. For some minutes the scene must have been perfectly horrible—these twenty-three assassins loading and firing at the dead and wounded party of unarmed men. At last, when they believed that their bloody work was completely done, they turned from the scene of horrors, and fled to Missouri.

Dr. Caspar Morris.
Much comment upon the above correspondence is unnecessary, and the many friends of Mr. Tyng now in this city will wait with some anxiety to see what course will be pursued by Dr. Cummins. There is but one thing for him to do as a Christian Gentleman, and that is publicly to correct his erroneous statement. It is to be hoped he will take an early opportunity to set himself right on this matter.

A SLAVE AT THE WORLD'S FAIR.
[From 'Father Henson's Story of his own Life,' published by John P. Jewett & Co.]
The history of my connection with the World's Fair is a little amusing. Because my boards happened to be carried over in the American ship, the superintendent of the American Department, who was from Boston, (I think his name was Riddle), insisted that my lumber should be exhibited in the American Department. To this I objected. I was a citizen of Canada, and my boards were from Canada, and there was an apartment of the building appropriated to Canadian products. I therefore insisted that my boards should be removed from the American Department to the Canadian. But, said the American, 'You cannot do it. All these things are under my control. You can exhibit what belongs to you if you please, but not a thing here must be moved an inch without my consent.'

IT IS NOT A DYE!
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 Zylolabium or
Dressing, cures diseases of the hair or scalp, and
RESTORES GRAY HAIR TO ITS NATURAL
COLOR!