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OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Hartford Christian Freeman.

A PLEA UNCALLED FOR.

A writer in the Anti-Slavery Standard very justly rebukes the American Anti-Slavery Society, as it calls itself, for its spirit of intolerance and want of Christian charity toward the Liberty Party. This is as it should be—but in the following sentence, we are confident that the writer is greatly in error. Speaking of the transfer of the Emancipator, he says: "Many considerable number of the Liberty party) acquiesced in the doings of those who transferred the *Emancipator*, I very much doubt, but I venture to say that seven-eighths of them will pronounce that an act of manifest injustice, and demanding of them retraction and restitution. This is shared. The transfer of the Emancipator was approved of, at the time, by nine-tenths of the abolitionists in the country, including Liberty men and anti-Liberty men—*and still it is.* We have never met with an intelligent Liberty man who did not fully sanction it both as legally and morally right—and no Liberty man will think the Standard's recommendation of his disclaimers on our behalf. For ourself, we glory in the act as one in which was involved the integrity of the anti-slavery cause, which was then imperiously demanded. The Garrisonians were greatly enraged that they lost the much-coveted opportunity of getting the paper into their hands to make it an organ of dissension and proscrimination, and have not ceased since then, to misrepresent and libel the old Committee, until even their own friends were ready to do them injustice done to men whose integrity has ever been above suspicion. But this disappointed clique will probably rave on as long as they have any one to listen to them—but they will be cautious how they *libel it to the facts* in the case, as a knowledge of them will be fatal to that influence they are striving to exert. As for the Standard itself, the mere opinion that that graces its editorial head, is not more obscured and blurred, than it has degenerated in talent, in temper and integrity from what it was under the admirable conduct of Mrs. Child. What marvellous changes have a few years wrought! The American Anti-Slavery Society, once the terror of the Slave Power, has made itself ridiculous by its Quixotic crusade against the Union, and its official organ has degenerated into a mere vehicle of vituperation against the great body of American abolitionists.

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE.—Dr. Hudson and Abby Kelley have encountered much opposition, I think, in creating no little excitement in this quiet city, by their brutal denunciation of churches and ministers, and their violent attacks upon all who do not agree with them as to the best means of abolishing slavery. We regret their course, because it is manifestly adapted to protract the evil which they profess to oppose. This is a good deal of anti-slavery feeling in Wilmington, and in other parts of Delaware, which, under proper treatment would rapidly increase, and become the predominant sentiment of the State. But Dr. Hudson is not the man to treat it properly. He may be a good man—but he is also a passionate man, and, instead of *tolerance*, to the *ministry*, and to the Union, indulges him to say harsh and unjustifiable things of the supporters of our religious and political institutions, at which they very naturally take offence. Such a course will convince no one of the evils of slavery;—it will convert no one to abolitionism; and for the sake of the cause, if not for their own sake, we could wish that these zealous friends would follow wiser counsels.

Several years ago, we lectured upon slavery in Wilmington and other towns in Delaware, to large and attentive audiences, and no attempt was made to doubt or question the fact that our auditors generally were as throughly imbued with anti-slavery sentiments as Dr. Hudson's are. There is certainly a choice of *means* for the prosecution of abolitionism, and we could wish that these zealous friends would follow wiser counsels.

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SELECTIONS.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

REMARKS OF MR. WILSON, OF MIDDLESEX,

On submitting his amendment to the Resolves against the admission of Texas, that the act should be repealed if passed by Joint Resolution.

Mr. Wilson said that he did not intend to occupy the time of the Senate in entering into a general discussion of the Texas question. The discussion, during the past year, had been presented directly to the country. Its merits and demerits had been presented to the public mind in every form. The motives and purposes of the advocates and opponents of annexation, were clearly and fully understood by the country. It could not be denied that the friends of that measure, by great skill and management, had gained the advantage in the contest through which we had just passed. They demand a verdict in their favor, by the result of the election but if the friends of human rights were true to principle and to duty, their triumph would be a barren; empty and fruitless one.

The sentiments and opinions of the great mass of the people of Massachusetts are well understood on this subject. Their opinions have been early expressed. Seven years ago, resolutions against the admission of Texas were presented to this body, by the late lamented James C. Alvord, of Greenfield, which received the cordial support of the Legislature and the people. The Legislature of 1843, Democratic as it was, passed resolves, declaring that 'under no circumstances whatever' would this State consent to the admission of Texas. The last Legislature, when rumors were rife that efforts were making to consummate annexation, passed the resolutions, adopted resolutions as strong as could well be drawn, presented by the Senator from Suffolk, (Mr. Adams) with great unanimity. Constituted as this body was, there could be no doubt of its opinion on the subject of annexation, but there might be some difference of opinion in the manner of declaring our opposition to it.

He had read the report with much pleasure. It was written with great clearness and force. He would give his cordial support to the resolutions. There was not a word in them he wished to change; but he wished to go further—to take stronger and higher ground. The resolutions set forth that Massachusetts has been deceived and betrayed by the General Government to admit a foreign State into the Union—that there has been no precedent of the admission of a foreign State—that such an act of admission of a foreign State, would have no binding force upon the people of this State—that the power to admit a foreign State is reserved to the people, and that the people of Massachusetts will never consent to use the reserved power they possess, to admit Texas, or any other foreign territory without the Union, into it. These positions had been taken by past Legislatures. The crisis demanded strong and bold action. The hour to speak out had come. We should meet the aggressions, boldly, and as it became Massachusetts men to act, in this hour of trial.

The measure had been pressed upon Congress by the executive. It had passed the House by a majority, obtained by the treachery of men who had betrayed and disregarded the known wishes of their constituents, clearly expressed in their recent elections. Among the number was a son of Massachusetts—one who, he regretted to say, of late, was county of Middlesex. He had been generously supported by the people of his district, for eight years, and now he had turned his back upon them, betrayed their confidence, and trodden, in the dust, and sacrificed their feeling, sentiments and principles upon the altar of slavery, to propitiate the incensed slaveocracy of the South, and that he might receive his thirty pieces of silver, as the reward of his treachery; but he had forever lost the respect and confidence of the people of Massachusetts.

The measure was now before the Senate of the Union. There is imminent danger that Texas will be brought into the Union at this session, in some form. A project had been matured by Col. Benton, which may pass, should the resolution of the House fail. Col. Benton, by his opposition to the Tyler treaty, had done much to gain the confidence of the friends of humanity; but there was much reason to fear that he would yet prove the most formidable advocate of annexation, and slavery in the Union. He was one of its earliest and ablest friends, and he might yet be the means of accomplishing it.

The object of annexation is, the extension and perpetuation of slavery. The whole history of the scheme, from its inception to the present time, proves it beyond the possibility of a doubt. The union is openly and unblushingly avowed by the highest officers of the Government, in the face of the civilized world. We stand in that attitude before the world. It is a shameful and humiliating position to occupy, in this age of light and knowledge; but we have brought it upon ourselves by our own statesmen, mortifying as it is, to every lover of the good name of his country.

What, then, is the duty of Massachusetts, in this crisis? Shall she lay down her arms? The path of duty is open before her. Let her walk that path with a firm and open step. She should exert every constitutional power she possesses, to arrest and defeat this lewd and daring scheme of the slave power. These resolutions declare that such an act of Congress can have no binding force upon her people. Let her, then, solemnly declare, that if Texas is forced into the Union, in violation of the Constitution, by a joint resolution of the two Houses of Congress, such act is null and void, and may, and should be, repealed and blotted out from the statute book, at the earliest practicable period. Let Texas know that if a bare majority can put her into the Union, a majority can put her out. Let the country know that we are in sober earnest—that we mean what we say. He had studied his amendment for the purpose of making that declaration to the country; and he was not only in favor of saying it, but of doing it, if he could get the power. If the States opposed to the admission of Texas into the Union, she would never consent to come in. He wished Massachusetts to take the lead, as she had a right to do, in opposing every encroachment of the slave power, now and hereafter. The people expected it, and would sustain it. They were far in advance of the public men, in their hostility to annexation and the objects of its advocates.

Let this Legislature place her in the van in opposition to the slave power. She has a right to be the standard-bearer in this great conflict. The people will go with her. This attempt to uphold slavery, against the current of an enlightened public sentiment, which is sweeping against the slave system, has touched the heart and conscience of the people. They will yet come to the support of the right; and if Texas is kept out of the Union, it will be put off if she is put in, the object for which she is sought will be defeated. Let us, then, put Massachusetts on the right ground, and pledge her anew to the cause of human liberty, for all time. The people of New Hampshire, (Mr Lawrence) opposes the amendment, because he does not wish to assume a position that we may be called on to perform, at some time, when the Democracy have done. True, the Democracy, one short year ago, when the iniquity of the Texas conspiracy was but just seen, and before it had exhibited itself in all its deformity, were with us, willing to go as far as the boldest. Now, when this scheme stood out before the world in all its naked deformity, its objects all avowed, they had changed front, and turned right about face, abandoned their principles, swallowed their own words, and with the zeal of new converts, assailed the motives of those who remained true to their principles. The records of human depravity and party recreancy will hardly furnish a parallel of such utter abandonment of principle, as the leaders of the Massachusetts Democracy have exhibited. They had done no more than he expected they would do. He never had any confidence in their professions of regard for human rights. Did the Senator from Hampshire suppose that under any circumstances whatever, we could withdraw our opposition to the Texas scheme, and follow the example of our political opponents? If he supposed such a thing within the range of possibilities, he would turn his back upon his party, and leave it at once and forever.

He not only wished to place this State in her true position, but if he had the power, he would place the party with which he acted, at once, in opposition to slavery. He would say to his political friends in all the free States, where nearly all have strength to place themselves upon the Constitution—to walk up to the extreme verge of their constitutional rights, and use every power they possessed, to free our country from the curse and shame of slavery. He would not infringe upon the rights of the States, but he would use the Constitutional power of the General Government to blot out the last vestiage of human slavery from the land. He would not be a party to any compromise, or any rally, *profection to man as well as protection to land.* To belong, and should go together. He would have the world know that we would be as true to the one as we are to the other; and if we should have the government placed in our hands, we would use it for the cause of freedom. We have a right to claim that position, we should do it at once.—We had gone too far in our defence of the rights of man, ever to gain any support from the great mass of the South, until we had put the slave power in reach the free heart of the North. If we now had the boldness and sagacity to take our true position, we should have the heart of humanity, with its warm and generous sympathies, with us, and laid the foundation of a permanent triumph. At any rate, if we did not win power, we should deserve it. We should have done our duty, and have the satisfaction of the approbation of our own consciences, and the confidence of the good and the true, whether over, we were defeated or victorious. We ask, we do not, not of us, who would leave us, and sacrifice the cause of right and humanity, if they could make their leaders balance right by it. Let them go. We should gain in the confidence and affections of the people by it.

He hoped the amendment which he had offered would be adopted. He believed that nine-tenths of the people of the Commonwealth were opposed to the Texas project, and would sustain them in taking a bold and upright position. We should disobey the assailed, our motives impugned, and our views and acts misrepresented, by that unprincipled and unscrupulous faction, for they were not worthy the name of a party, in this Commonwealth, who were riding rough-shod over the Constitution, in obedience to the mandates of the slave power, for the mere paltry consideration of obtaining a little government patronage. Let them do their worst. He did not fear the abuse of those who could in front of the slave power, bow the knee, and worship, over the fact that the House of Representatives had violated the Constitution, which they were sworn to uphold, and had admitted the known wishes of their constituents, clearly expressed in their recent elections. Among the number was a son of Massachusetts—one who, he regretted to say, of late, was county of Middlesex. He had been generously supported by the people of his district, for eight years, and now he had turned his back upon them, betrayed their confidence, and trodden, in the dust, and sacrificed their feelings, sentiments and principles upon the altar of slavery, to propitiate the incensed slaveocracy of the South, and that he might receive his thirty pieces of silver, as the reward of his treachery; but he had forever lost the respect and confidence of the people of Massachusetts.

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He supposed the organ of that faction would continue its work of detraction. A large convention of the people, which had lately met in Faneuil Hall, to consider the subject of the annexation of Texas, in which all parts of the State were represented, and which was composed of men of all parties, distinguished for their talents and integrity, had, it was avotedly attached to the country and its institutions as any body of men that were ever assembled in it period. He supposed that that body would be denounced as disunionists. We should fare no better. The old cry of Hartford Convention, would be rung in our ears. It had no terrors for him. That miserable party cry of British influence, he was tired to hear it. We should be denounced as disunionists. Yes, we who plant our feet upon the Constitution and maintain it in its true spirit, we who wish to keep out of the Union an element that will ever disturb its peace and harmony, and endanger its very existence, we shall be denounced as disunionists and enemies of the country. We shall doubtless be held up as narrow and short-sighted politicians, who oppose the great permanent interests of the country, when our great object is to make this country great and glorious—the home of the oppressed, where every man shall be protected in the enjoyment of all his rights, whatever may be his color. Let that organ keep up its work of misrepresentation and detraction; it can do us no harm, but may serve to open our eyes more fully, and do less was to obtain some of the drippings of the treasury.

He hoped that his amendment would be adopted in some form. Senators might put it in any shape they pleased. The idea was all he cared for; and that idea he wished to put forth as the basis of our action. He would not be embarrassed by any discussion here. He had made his motion in sincerity, as he did not think the resolutions went as far as it ought to go, and he was willing to go. Senators, in motions, he had the wished to gain the favor of a certain political party, in what he had said.—That was not his object. He had been an anti-slavery man for nineteen years, and he had never received any support, favor or sympathy from the political abolitionists, and he expected none. What he desired was, that we should do what was right—take such a position as our own hearts and consciences should approve of, and maintain that position to the last. Come what may, the Democracy of Massachusetts would be true and faithful to the Constitution and to the cause of human liberty. Let other States act as they may, she should 'fight on, and fight for ever,' against the extension, perpetuation, and existence of slavery.

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

The following article from the New York Mirror the editors say is an emanation from one of the best minds they know.

Sir,—You requested my views on the subject of Texas, but I have time at present only for a very meagre outline. Texas, I say, ought to be left out of question—increase of wealth and diminution of political power; and to the South, increase of population and power, are the great objects which they take such a position as our own hearts and consciences should approve of, and maintain that position to the last. Come what may, the Democracy of Massachusetts would be true and faithful to the Constitution and to the cause of human liberty. Let other States act as they may, she should 'fight on, and fight for ever,' against the extension, perpetuation, and existence of slavery.

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WORK! WORK!

Now that Texas is added to the Union, many of our friends who have been hagridden doubtful of their duty, will pour upon us, ere long, their fears. Many who have not heretofore been reckoned as among our friends, will be ready now to make basic choice between our principles and slavery, and will learn at length that they cannot exist together. Now, then, is our time to work. The ears of the people are open as they never have been before.

Let them not listen in vain. Disunion will not come of itself, nor will it come immediately. We must both work and wait. Let none then be found idle. Let none be found so silly as to say or hinted to say, I can do nothing.

There is work for all of us. Circulate our papers, circulate our tracts. Disunion and Come Outerism, the Mallison papers, Edward Davis's penny tracts, all new and valuable pamphlets, recently published, should be in the hands of all ceiling themselves abolitionists, and scattered with a lavish hand among those who are not. The Liberator, the old pioneer shea—aher Herald of Freedom, dealing its blows as thickly and effectually as ever it did—the Pennsylvania Freeman, with its bold but truthful and uncompromising spirit—and the Standard, such as it is, should all receive a wider circulation. Your neighbors, friends, will take an Anti-Slavery paper now, if you will ask them. There are thousands of a portion of the people will be softened towards us. Let them not sink back into apathy or dislike. Conventions should be held, and we should form local anti-slavery societies, and where these do not exist, call meetings to form them. Remember, that the Liberty Party convention extended always this week over a country equal to seven of New York or Pennsylvania, *nine* of Ohio, and *forty-three* of Massachusetts. The nation has done what she could to perpetuate human bondage in the Northern States, where it must soon have perished for want of subsistence.

Remember these things. Remember how dreadful a curse has fallen on the slave this week. Work, then! work! Let none be idle.

Let the Church be up in arms against the most High God, to be repented of and abandoned as in the fear of a judgment. *Anti-Slavery Standard.*

From the Barre Patriot.

TEXAS.

It is a source of no little gratification to us, that we are enabled to afford the 'democratic masses,' a little light upon this subject, by spreading before them the following from the Worcester Palladium of Sept. 27, 1837:

'Texas may ask for admission into the Union; but who has any right to consider the request? The duties of the President are specified in the Constitution, and nowhere does he receive giving his assent to a union of a foreign State with this government. Should he do it, as the Constitution now stands, he is guilty of a WILFUL VIOLATION of the oath of office, the history of civil government; *and fortunate would he be, if he could escape the merited indignation of an injured people.* Congress has power to admit a State. Should both Houses pass a law authorizing the annexation; should it receive the assent of the President; and should it receive the sanction of the Supreme Court, *we should hold it invalid, because it would be to all men a gross usurpation of power not delegated by the people in the Constitution, a palpable violation of the Constitution. In this matter, it behooves the States that are opposed to the annexation of Texas, to stand sentinels on their reserved rights;* and if the General Government should be guilty of such an usurpation of power as to consummate the union, we should hold them released from all obligation to continue in the UNION, REGARDING THE UNION AS VIRTUALLY AND FOREVER DISSOLVED. *If this Union is to be maintained, it must be by the people, who have constitutionally given the exercise of such powers only as are delegated to it,—and retaining, with an unflattering grasp those that are reserved to the States.*'

THE VOICE OF OHIO.

The course of Senators Allen and Tappan, in disregarding the will of the People of Ohio on the subject of Texas, has excited much feeling in that State. The Ohio State Journal says that the question of calling a State Convention of the Sons of Freedom, without distinction of party, is agitated. It says:

'The voice of Ohio should be heard on the momentous questions now pressing upon us. The action of the People is called for—their Representatives have shown that they have forgotten their duty as watchmen and sentinels of Liberty, and submitted to be driven before the Slave Power like cattle. They have permitted the Nullifiers of the South—the enemies of the Union—the advocates of a Southern Confederacy, to mould their views upon the question, to excite much feeling in that State. The Ohio State Journal says that the question of calling a State Convention of the Sons of Freedom, without distinction of party, is agitated. It says:

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'THE BEGINNING OF THE END.'

The annexation of Texas is the first grand march of the Republic of the United States to conquest,—for our people *conquered* Texas from Mexico, and we backed them up in it. There no stopping in the career of conquest when once a Republic begins. It is a Maelstrom, that when once a Republic is in, it cannot be got out of. We shall go on to take Mexico, Canada, Cuba, Hayti, Jamaica, Montreal, Quebec, St. John's and Halifax, hereafter. War sooner or later is our destiny now,—for there is no conquest without wars. With these come taxation, conscription, distinguished military heroes, and necessary military despotisms. Our career, no doubt, will be a brilliant one, but we must pay for it by the blood and treasure of every Cæsar or a Napoleon on our backs through fields of blood and amid hecatombs of slaughtered human beings. Nevertheless, we have had a long career, there is a gloomy consolation in this extension of the area, not of freedom, but of slavery. The miserable fools, who, in the North and West, calling themselves democrats, advocated this measure, knew not what they were doing, and, in the increase of slave States, MASTERS, who, if they have the name of democrats, yet have been so long in governing slaves, that knows how to govern them, whether white or black. The spirit of slavery is anti-democratic, and the democrats who have lived in the North and in the West, as in the South, the ignorant and unthinking, men born to be governed and led, as such, from democratic principles there seem to be, whether black or white.—*New-York Express.*

MISS DELIA A. WEBSTER.

This young lady, together with her venerable father, is now at the Franklin House, in this city. We have, at the request of Mr. Webster, carefully examined all the evidence introduced upon the trial, and that which has since been obtained, and find it to be perfectly consistent with the entire innocence of Miss Webster.

Upon their arrival here, they became acquainted, they say, for the first time, with the account of her trial, as given by some correspondent of the Louisville Journal, from Lexington—which Mr. Webster and his daughter say is erroneous in many particulars, and especially in that part of the testimony of Mr. Musick, the landlord at Washington, who is represented as stating that Fairbank and Miss Webster *looked themselves up in a room*, and remained so locked up for several hours. They have laid before us a copy of the testimony taken in the case, certified to by Mr. Shy, her attorney, and as they say, admitted by the prosecution and the Court to be correct, in which Mr. Musick says nothing about any locking of doors, but on the contrary says that he 'sat in the same room with them while they remained'—and there is nothing in any part of the evidence hinting at the slightest indelicacy in any of the intercourse between Fairbank and Miss Webster.

Her story is, that Fairbank invited her to attend the wedding of Mr. George Clark, a friend of his, who was about to be married to Miss Emma Smith, then in the neighborhood of Paris, Kentucky—that they spent the intervening time, several times, as at last consented to go—that, near Paris, Mr. Allen and Miss Smith got into the buggy with them, and proceeded to Ohio, and crossed the Ohio, that finding herself deceived in the distance, she refused to go any farther—that Fairbank returned in a few days, and reported that they were married by Rev. Mr. Rankin, of Ohio, and that they then returned to Lexington—that no slaves rode with them in the back, that she saw no slaves, and had no knowledge of any abduction—that she is not, and never was, an abolitionist, and never had any sympathy with their principles.—Fairbank himself, has also given his testimony under oath, of the entire innocence of Miss Webster, in an affidavit, from which we extract the following:

'I do know to positive certainty, that Miss Webster is innocent of assisting Lewis, wife and child to escape, and I have every reason to believe she knew nothing of them, and never saw them in her life.'

This was sworn to before the clerk of the Court.

In short, taking all the facts and circumstances together, we believe, not merely that the conclusion that she was the innocent and unfortunate victim of the secret and fanatical scheme of Fairbank in the abduction of his slaves, but that the Court were carried away by the strong excitement which exists against abolition in every form, and transcendent right by admitting the letter found on Fairbank, which was never addressed to her, of which she had no knowledge, and with which she was in no way connected, to go to the jury as evidence against her. It was on this letter, alone, that she was convicted, and sentenced to a disgraceful punishment. A young lady of irreproachable character—of refined education—lady-like manners—and high intellectual endowments—and guilty of no offence, has, we believe, through the base conduct of a fanatic, been made a prisoner, and is now, of whose high-minded people, been subjected to the ignominious punishment of the Penitentiary! We rejoice that Gov. Owsley, of whose kindness they speak in high terms, has thus early released her from imprisonment.

On her return to Vermont, she intends to publish a full account of her trial and imprisonment, at the same time to express her views upon slavery, and point out the folly and injurious course of the Abolitionists.—*Cincinnati Atlas, March 1.*

DELIA WEBSTER AGAIN.

S. G. W. J. Rankin, son of Rev. John Rankin, of Ripley, Ohio, publishes in the Cincinnati Herald and in the Cincinnati Herald a letter, pronouncing Miss Webster's attempt to exculpate herself from the charge of aiding in the escape of Fairbank's slaves to be a piece of deception and falsehood. He says:

'In reference to her story, I am prepared to say, that there is no want of evidence to prove what I affirm; but I will only mention one fact to begin with: That Miss Webster did accompany Fairbank to Ohio, I know to be true; but that Mr. Allen and Miss Smith accompanied them to Ripley, Ohio, and were married by Rev. John Rankin, I know to be false. Mr. Rankin never heard or saw of Mr. Allen or Miss Smith.

'In regard to her not knowing of any abduction, and never seeing the slaves, or riding with them in the buggy, together with Fairbank, I am prepared to prove, when the time comes, that she did ride with the slaves, and that she did see them.'

From the Newtown (Pa.) Journal.

DISGRACEFUL OUTRAGE.

We regret to state that a most shameful outrage was perpetrated in our borough, on Friday evening last. Stephen S. Foster and Charles Lenox Remond, the colored orator, were to have been delivering a series of lectures here on the subject of American slavery; and on the evening referred to, they were assailed by a mob of persons who threw a stone through the window—striking Remond whilst speaking—and by firing off crackers, and other acts of a similar character, they rendered it impossible to proceed. Such conduct reflects dishonor upon the character of our borough, and we sincerely hope the miscreants will be ferreted out, and severely punished. It is a burning shame that we should be disgraced by the acts of some of our constitutional rights. Every man is entitled to express his opinions, we don't care how erroneous or absurd, if he do it in a gentlemanly manner, and bands that 'error of opinion can be tolerated so long as reason is left free to combat it,' and whether right or wrong, (we were absent and did not hear them,) it was the duty of the people of Newtown to protect them in the expression of them. If every lover of liberty should continue to be hunted down, hooted and insulted, our boasted liberty of speech is a mere farce. We have the satisfaction of knowing, that the outrage was committed by a few, not, we do hope, the sentiment of the community. We, and others of a similar nature, have degraded themselves far below the level of that unfortunate class of our citizens, which is the object of their especial enmity—the negro.

EXTRADITION TREATY.—A correspondence is published between Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of State, and Mr. Pakenham, the British Minister to England, concerning seven slaves, who are alleged to have committed robbery, arson, and murder, in East Florida, and have escaped from Florida to Nassau, New Providence. The grand jury in Florida returned bills of indictment against them, and the U. S. Marshal in Nassau, New Providence, made a demand for slaves on the ground of their being *criminals* according to the indictment, and claimed therefore that they should be delivered, under the treaty which provides for the mutual surrender of criminals. The Chief Justice, however, *refused* to surrender them on the ground that the indictment was not sworn to and recognized by act of Parliament; that an indictment *per se* can never be received as evidence; that the mere fact that an American jury thought the slaves guilty of crime, was not a ground on which they thought them guilty, are also necessary.

Mr. Calhoun writes to Mr. Everett about it, and makes a demand of course; and Mr. Everett discusses the matter with Lord Aberdeen, as the slaveholder's Attorney. Lord Aberdeen told Mr. Everett that he would sustain the opinion of the colonial Court, *that an indictment was not of itself evidence.* He admitted that slaves were moral agents; but there would be difficulty in the way of different countries as to what constitutes murder; and Her Majesty's Government would not bind itself as to action on future cases.

What a Falling Off.—In an official document, read by Mr. Downs in the Connecticut legislature, it was set forth that in 1840 the number of slaves in this city was 22,448, while in 1844 it was but 8,963. This seems to be a rapid falling off in the numerical strength of our slave population.—*N. O. Pic. Feb. 2.*

End of the Cuba Slave Trade.—The Captain General of Cuba has issued a Proclamation declaring all vessels, arriving at Cuba, with slaves on board, confiscated.

From the Practical Christian.

ADMISSION OF TEXAS.

The deed is done. Political iniquity has triumphed. The slaveholders have gained their point. Mexico has been robbed of a great Province. The press has resolved Texas into the Union. We predicted this a year ago; likewise that the mass of the people would sanction it. We predicted that it would be intended as Hartford Convention seditionists, *fanatics*, or something worse! and that not a single State would possess virtue and strength enough to stand aside from the leathern embrace. And so will it prove. Texas is now to all intents and purposes one of the sisterhood of 'our glorious Union!' and we shall see, ere long, a lot of those who sleep in shame and disgust over the profligacy of their country and its ripening ruin, we shall see how many execrations will be poured on *traitor, fanatic, knave or fool!*

The great Democratic party, with a few honorable but helpless exceptions, notwithstanding their specious and unqualified professions of devotion to universal liberty, equality, and anti-monopoly, &c., are emphatically the *slaveholders' party*. No matter what their Southern masters require, they seemingly will, and even pride themselves in it. No matter what those Southern masters do, they will unblushingly justify it. If they give way for one instant, humanity or their better nature, they will immediately with the dictates of their professed principles, as to pass resolves against slavery and its vile abjects, presently orders will come from their masters, and they have their resolutions behind them, as soldiers do a dream or a spasm of the night, and file into their old lines without a murmur.

The Whig party have done more than we could have expected of them in opposition to this Texas abomination. They have borne many noble testimonies and done what they could, under circumstances to prevent the overt act which has been consummated. But they have failed. But might have been expected from them. In the first place, there is a powerful class in their party who, through the corruptions of wealth, trade, and other deadening influences, are either indifferent to the question, or decidedly in favor of Texas. These have sold but little, and that little most equivocally, while by winks and signs sufficiently intelligible, they have given their more unsophisticated brethren to understand, that it was not best to carry the *matter too far. That* is the invisible under current which, for many years, has been flowing, with a tremendous protest, many a loud and solemn remonstrance against the annexation of Texas, &c. into *stormier waters*. The Whig class is partially represented by the three Whig Senators in Congress, who turned into the pro-Texas ranks. Still more important developments will take place in the heart of New-England, by and by.

Then it must be remembered that the Whig party is Constitutionally conservative in more senses than one. It instinctively opposes all innovations, whether for *better* or *worse*. If any good change is sought, it must be brought about gradually, in the form, without unsettling the old foundation. The union must not even *repent* of its damning pro-slavery sins *too suddenly*. Hence its statesmen and orators are perpetually proclaiming their devotion to the Federal Constitution, and to the Union as it is (or was.) And although they get up many strong protests and resolutions against the Texas iniquity, and further extension of slavery, they are entitled with a long line to a post in the ground, they soar and gyrate for awhile, only to come back again to the same position. They have sworn to the Constitution, and lament the injuries that are being done to its sacred prescriptions, seemingly regardless of the fact that it is the very mother of all this iniquitous chief. Those faint compromises were the first false steps; steps never to be retraced; steps that tended to the chambers of death; steps that have been successively repeated in the same direction, till they have brought this nation where it is. South Carolina and Georgia slaveholders dictated the terms on which they would come into the Union. They had their way *then*. They have had their way ever *since*. And they *still* have their way by general consent, till they are so far overwhelmed in all the horrors of foreign and civil war.

Our foolish politicians may think themselves wise. They may glory in the success of their schemes of plunder, oppression, and self-aggrandizement. They may sneer and mock at the fanatics who rebuke them and prophesy evil. But the time is rapidly approaching when they will find, to their cost, experience, that there is a righteous Ruler of the Universe; that his laws cannot be legislated down by human Congresses; that they cannot be trampled under foot with impunity; and that neither *cunning* nor *might* will deliver a nation from self-procured destruction. Then they may cry 'Texas! Texas! Constitution! Constitution! Texas! Texas! Slavery! Slavery!' But Union, Constitution, Texas and Slavery will go down as the dregs of a decorbant elements together. Because sentence is not speedily executed upon them, their hearts seem fully set in them to do evil.

'Well,' says the politician, 'what is all this to you? You are neither Democrat, Whig nor Liberty Party man. You eschew office and the Polls. You call yourself a practical christian—a reformer, &c. Texas was in the world before. It is no more than in it now. Why do you trouble yourself with the doings of politicians? It was not by one of them, why not let them alone?' Well tell you friend, if you will hear. We are not indifferent to the welfare of our country and of this human race. We know that national sins are national curses, and that national curses are curses to the human race. We know that such oppression and robbery as have been perpetrated by the United States must inevitably overwhelm after them incalculable mischiefs. We know that general corruption, partizan intrigue for power, intestine broils, domestic insurrections, and probably foreign war, are the legitimate fruits of this national wickedness. We know that when these fruits have ripened, the whole kind will become manifest. We know that all moral influence will cease; that depravity in its worst forms will break loose on the livesand property of the innocent as well as the guilty; and that we ourselves and all we hold dear are liable to perish in the general calamity. Can we then be indifferent? Well, then, why do you not come to the polls and save your country? Come to the polls and save our country! Come to *what* polls, with *what party*, pray? The very *polls* have been all baptized into *slavery and Texas*. We cannot even go to the polls without swearing to uphold the very evils we would go there to put away. We must say *shibboleth*, or we can't vote and, by the foundations we ROOM. The iniquity lies so deep that voting will not reach it. Public sentiment and opinion are radically wrong. The Political Constitution is wrong. It is a solemn compact to sustain slavery and war. And every existing political party is based upon a *magical*, if not a *real* covenant to all the baneful principles which have been developed in this Texas abomination. The only remedy is to eschew those fatal first principles of evil—those latent causes of all that threatens general ruin. We stand aloof from politics and the polls, not because we are indifferent to our country's good, but that good forbids us to touch the present polls; because these polls are Constitutionally committed against that good; and because if anything can be done to save our country, it must be done by a radical change of public sentiment. The people must be brought to conviction of the evils they are sanctioning, to repentance of the enormous national sins they are committing. If this cannot be done, *nothing* effectual can be done. The mass of the people are selfish, sordid, insensible to their own highest good. They are blindly intent on making money, grasping territory, and bullying down foreign nations. Talk to them of 2,700,000 slaves, and nine tenths of them might as well be shot of 700,000 souls. They care, they feel as they ought to feel, according to their general professions, the bare mention of a slave in their country would tingle every drop of blood in their veins, and they would never cease till such a blot had been wiped from their national escutcheon. Tariffs, Banks, Sub-treasuries, would all be on the table till the vital question of liberty had been gloriously settled. *Then*, to propose such an act as the admission of pro-slavery Texas into the Union; rightfully the territory of a neighboring nation, known to have been placed in a state of rebellion by a horde of renegades; known to be the very Pandemonium of slaveholders; would have been received by the nation at large with unutterable horror and disgust. How how do they feel!! What do they care!! Words are useless. They evidently need to be born again. If that can be done, there is salvation. If it cannot be done, there is *perdition*. We have but a little influence. That little we shall not throw into the ballot box till it ceases to be a pro-slavery and pro-war ballot box (as it now is by Constitution and law.) But we shall cast our handful of 'bread upon the waters' of mind, and find it again 'after many days.' In the mean time we shall fall back with unwavering confidence upon Divine providence; resting assured that 'though hand join in hand, iniquity will not go unpunished.' But if our institutions must be precipitated into the yawning gulf of intestine violence and general war, we may be prepared to suffer what awaits us with patience; and if I may be so, to behold a favorable issue of all impending calamities in a new and better state of society.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

WE MUST REPUDIATE THE CONSTITUTION.

How long will the American people keep feeding upon the husks and chaff of liberty, how long will they deceive themselves with this ostrich-like concealment of their sin by thrusting their head in a hollow stump, or grance which sooner of later overtakes national as well as private iniquity, remains to be seen. They are beginning to ask with more and more distinctness that the Constitution is not which they have so irrevocably linked, to which freedom is chained—as in China, the living criminal is fettered to the lushsome corpse. Have we reached a point, or a problem something of this kind—if fifty-eight years of glorious union have rendered so despicable abroad and corrupt at home, that the question shall we become honorable and prosperous? What, after all, is this Constitution, that it should have become so sacred that even our priesthood have broken the first law of the Decalogue in its behalf? Can sixty years' sanction tyranny and justify hypocrisy and barbarism in the sight of God? Are our hopes of a higher civilization so completely shipwrecked, that we must needs cling to so rotten a plank as this? No! The Constitution is just as sacred as any other instrument of human making which just few expressions, and no more so. It is just as despicable as any other piece of cant and hypocrisy, and no more so. We are glad that we can proclaim it every one who knows the Constitution will allow us to do. Political and priest are in the same tale. But that all-pervading and inscrutable instinct, which, in the aggregate, is always true to the level of truth, tells us, not that we *may*, but that we *must* oppose slavery, so far as God will allow. If there is no hope that our Constitution will be so, which our fathers entered into, there would be an end to all advancement from barbarism. Such an argument would justify the perpetuity of every tyranny, every wrong that the earth ever grew pale under. Now the inevitable conclusion to which logic and conscience (the best kind of logic) allow us to go, is that we must repudiate the Constitution altogether and at once. A compromise, a middle place between freedom and slavery, is as easily made a power between heaven and hell, as that, when God's lightnings were plunging in a cataract of fire upon the fallen angels. Nor can the Constitution escape the lightning. Stand by under the shroud of slavery is being woven, stick by stick, rises its funeral-pile, and when the vengeance at last overwhelms it, will they who stand upon the ashes of its own friends from the most prominent places. Mr. Archer is displaced from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to make room for Dickinson, who made a speech on the Texas resolution as foolish as the resolution itself was wicked. It could not be expected that Mr. Dallas would give the leading committees to the Whigs, but he might at least have placed the ablest democrats in them, and he sought to another all the talent of both parties.—*Providence Journal.*

A MISSIONARY'S REBUKE OF SLAVERY.

We have been asked to publish the following letter, and we may as well do it, for the truth will come out. It is, however, very hard for Christians, and especially for such the slaveholding Baptists of the South, who have helped sustain our missionaries, ever received. What must be their feelings when the letters of their friends are found to be returned to this country, for the object designated in the following note? We hope they will not be ashamed of themselves seriously, now, after a few years residence in Burmah, they would look upon the heathenizing system of oppression which prevails in their native country, and consider the reason of foreign missionaries are becoming quite as fanatical on this subject as we are of the free States; but whether we have reason to be ashamed of our friends? How it is that good men come to detest slavery so, when they are out from under its influence? —*Christian Reflector.*

TAVOY, May 2, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR:

A circular, signed by yourself, reached me a year or more since, and has been lying among some severed letters ever since. I have frequently asked myself if I ought not to answer it, but a reluctance to entertain a question in which I felt so little, at present, of the distance of half the globe, and in which parties run so strong, has made me hesitate whether I had any duty to perform in the matter. A circumstance of yesterday, I have just received from one of the slaveholding churches, has, however, decided the question. I feel it incumbent upon me to bear my testimony against slavery, and I feel I have an invincible hatred to slavery, and I shall say so. It is the foulest blot on the American flag, and which makes it to be regarded by the intelligent and conscientious by every friend of liberty abroad, in all nations. I believe it to be the greatest sin that ever clothed itself under the cover of Christianity,—the greatest attempt to be defended from the scriptures. It must fall, ere long, in some way or other, but how, I know not. I hope it will be brought down by the power of Christian principle. I believe God will pursue no course but such as Christ will approbate at the day of judgment. It is better to suffer than to do wrong; but if it should come to the worst, even to imprisonment and death, as our Saviour taught, surely it is right to run away from slavery, which for me would be worse than death. I have, therefore, determined to do what I can on our treasurer, which I will thank you to pay over to the Committee in New-York, to *assist in the escape of runaway slaves*. This money is not sent you out of my abundance, but because there seeming is no ground for neutrality now, and I wish to show *decidedly*, that I have no sympathy in the matter. Perhaps, my motto in this work is, '*Delenda est Carthago.*' Yours very sincerely,

FRANCIS MASON.

Lewis Tappan, Esq., Treasurer American and Foreign Anti-Society.

☞ In the Liberator of the 21st ultimo was a letter from N. P. Rogers to W. L. Garrison, in the name of the Anti-Slavery Society of Concord, of the New-Hampshire Anti-Slavery Board to continue his labors as editor of the Herald of Freedom, Mr. R. says:

They had occasion to say to the abolitionists, that they had proffered me charge of the paper. I speak of it as proffered, for I had not, at first, thought of proposed, at parting, that they might publish that I was declining, for the present, the editorship of the paper. I would probably resume the editing on my recovery. I told them I could not consent to that, and that if they were determined to publish anything in my name, I wished them to put their proposal in *writing*, and take my *written* answer, which would prevent all misunderstanding and mistake. They very accordingly put me a proposal in writing, and I promptly returned them an ANSWER in writing—'To your proposal to continue my name, I RESPOND that what they had occasion to instead.' I impute no bad individual motives to them. They were a Board.'

In reviewing Mr. R's letter, I took no notice of this insinuation against the Board, because I did not know it was true in any sense. But in the case, A reader of the letter would naturally suppose, that the publication of the correspondence was suppressed by the Board, because they dreaded to be exposed to the public! Well, here it is—and what a contemptuous and insulting spirit it reveals on the part, of Messrs. Rogers and French! Its 'suppression' would have been an act of the greatest kindness to them. The manner in which the magnanimous officers of the Board are treated by them is excessively supercilious. 'As Committee men, I do not recognize you'—'An Board men, I must decline recognizing you.' 'To answer a Board purpose before the abolitionists'—'As men, you would not do so'—' Your Board do not want me for their editor'—'The invitation to me is for a Board-like purpose'—'Boards do not know any thing'—&c. &c. &c. O, this is pitiful!

☞ See correspondence in the next column.

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON, MARCH 21, 1845.

PERSEVERANCE IN THE WRONG.

The first number of a new paper, printed by John R. French and edited by Nathan P. Rogers, has just made its appearance in Concord, N. H., bearing the title, 'THE HERALD OF FREEDOM.' A more appropriate name would be, 'THE USURPER.' It makes the very highest pretensions to freedom and honor; but this is not the first instance in which those terms have been stolen for diabolical purposes. The Inquisition of Texas, for example, is cantingly declared by the political villains who have advocated it, to be 'the extension of the area of FREEDOM,' though all intelligent men know, that its real object is to lengthen the cords and strengthen the stakes of SLAVERY. But, with all this, treachery and fraud may assume, or however bold and confident may be the conduct of those who wear that mask, it is impossible by any such *ruse* to alter the character of deeds, or the relation of things.

As all the facts of the deplorable controversy which has arisen, respecting the proprietorship and printing of the Herald of Freedom, have been laid before the readers of the Liberator, and repeatedly presented to their notice, it is scarcely worth while to recapitulate them in detail on this occasion. There is, we choose to suppose, a short cut to their memory, but are determined to be governed by their prejudices or personal predilections, let the right or the wrong of the case be where it may, (and there are such,) must be left to pursue their own impulsive, wayward, or blind course—as any appeal addressed to their reason and conscience would in all probability be entirely unavailing. Yet, for the sake of others, who may have seen little or nothing of the evidence which has been given on the subject, it may not be wholly needless to restate some of the most prominent of those facts.

The old Herald of Freedom, the property and organ of the New-Hampshire A. S. Society, continues to be regularly published, under the editorial care of Parker Pillsbury. Here is another paper, styling itself 'The Herald of Freedom,' and claiming to be the friend and paper which has been established in the Granite State! Now, one or the other of these papers is guilty of fraud and usurpation—which is it? The act, *by which ever party committed*,—it will be seen at a glance,—is dishonorable and unjust. The new paper does not profess to be a continuation of the many years' publication of Pillsbury, but unequivocally assumes to be *the* Herald, which has reached its *tenth volume!* It does not recognize the existence of the Herald, edited by Parker Pillsbury; or, if it does, only to denounce it as a spurious sheet, deserving of no countenance, and published for its baneful purposes! The case, then, is a very serious one, deeply involving the moral integrity of one party or the other. Either Messrs. Rogers and French, or the New-Hampshire Board and Parker Pillsbury, are guilty of misrepresentation, slander, and injustice. The appearance of the new sheet, with its title and pretensions, renders the last tie that has bound me to its editor and publisher. I compassionate their departure from the path of honor, but I cannot connive at their conduct in order to retain their friendship.

The editor of the new paper says—'We are to republish, as I understand it, our *old paper*—edited and published on the same voluntary principles—as when it was struck down.' He speaks of 'our old *suppressed* sheet'—and says his new sheet 'is wanted in assertion of the principle struck down in the *press treaties of the old*.'—It is the same paper, he says. 'This is the issue before the public. The assumption is made in clear and emphatic language. Is it a true or a false one?

In the number of the old Herald, dated December 6, 1844, Messrs. Rogers and French say, 'Under their valedictory, we have become publisher. The former then said—' I will have no controversy with any of the old friends in this matter—I shall not hardly words about the paper'—and, to make those declarations good, they proceeded to purchase a new type, a new publication, and now appears in the field, armed and equipped, not merely to 'hardly words,' but, if possible, to bestow mortal blows on the old sheet, which, to his mortification, he finds still living, notwithstanding his cruel abandonment of it.—Again, in his paper of Jan. 1, 1845, he says, 'Our only chance of regaining any degree of health would be in retreating some where, where I could find a plot of ground to dig for health and bread. . . Shattered health drives me out of the anti-slavery field.' In his new paper he says—'Our paper was written amidst *shattered health*, and spirits saddened at the positions of some of my old and admired allies. They are now in the attitude of enemies.' It is a pity that, to work mischief to the old Herald, he should abandon his 'only chance of regaining any degree of health,' and, instead of retreating with spade and hoe to 'obtain bread,' should resort to the use of his pen to create divisions in the anti-slavery ranks! He is mistaken in imagining that his old allies are now his 'enemies.' They are inimical to that which, in their judgment, is unjust and fraudulent; but they do not make it their duty to hate greatly. An occasion has arrived when they must cut off a right hand and pluck out a right eye; and they are exhibiting the spirit of martyrdom, not of malevolence, in performing the painful act.

In his valediction, Mr. French said—'The falsehood and slander which have pursued me for the last eighteen months, I have no desire farther to encounter—especially now it is to be backed by William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips ()—I cannot, I shall not longer attempt the publication of the Herald . . . Whether an attempt will be made to continue the paper, in other hands, or not, I cannot say.' To demonstrate his sincerity, and fulfil his word, he now appears as the publisher of a new Herald, in spite of the backing up of falsehood and malicindness' by William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips! In the new paper, he says, 'I will farther to encounter them'—and to gratify that desire, he again 'attempts the publication of the Herald.'

So much for the declarations and acts of Messrs. Rogers and French, in the commencement. They are just as consistent in some others, to which reference will be made in the course of this review.

In the same paper, (of Dec. 6th,) Mr. Rogers accounted for the sudden discontinuance of the Herald, by saying—'A very little withholding of supplies would have prevented, or have delayed for the last eighteen months, I have no desire farther to encounter—especially now it is to be backed by William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips ()—I cannot, I shall not longer attempt the publication of the Herald . . . Whether an attempt will be made to continue the paper, in other hands, or not, I cannot say.' To demonstrate his sincerity, and fulfil his word, he now appears as the publisher of a new Herald, in spite of the backing up of '

Edward, and by subscriptions of from twelve to twenty-five dollars, have put *the Society* in possession of its type and types, for the publication of the Herald.'

At the annual meeting of that year, it was Resolved, That the sincere thanks of *this Society* be given, to the generous individuals, who came to the rescue of the Herald,' &c.

Yet, the body thought of the Herald as a piece of 'property.' The press and type, and subscription list, were 'property,' belonged to 'nobody'—and being 'property,' nobody's business is what manner there might be appropriated, or to what uses they might be put by Messrs. Rogers and French!

The Board annually appointed N. P. Rogers *editor*, and J. R. French as printer, just as though they had a right, and it was their official duty, to attend to that business; and neither they, nor the Society, ever relinquished their right to make these appointments. Yet Mr. Rogers avers that, 'since the Herald'.... No marvel that, in view of all these facts, the Board of Managers, in their address to the public, feel constrained to say, they can scarcely believe that the most wanton perversion of the rights and property of the Society, without color of justification in honesty.'

As to the Board of Managers being a spurious one, the charge is hollow on some of the best spirits in the Non-Hampshire. All the officers of the Society were chosen in due form, at the last annual meeting. If not few voted on the presentation of the list, it was from the less valid. None voted against the proposition to 'wait' for a dissolution of the Society—not even Mr. Rogers, with all his horror of 'corporations.' Strangely enough, Mr. R. professes to have no controversy with the N.-H. Society, and claims it to be on his side. But why is he bound not receive his donation, why is it not as 'objectionable, as the Anderson of Massachusetts A.'S. Society, I do not understand. It is as much 'a corporation' as either of the others—it is governed by a written constitution and officers—it is, I believe, auxiliary to the National Society.

The Board, on the suspension of the Herald in June last by Mr. French, perceiving that he was determined to violate his written contract, hold possession of the press and type, and prevent the publication of the paper, except as often as it might suit his convenience, very properly resolved to call a special meeting of the N. H. Society, for the purpose of being governed by its decision, and effecting an amicable arrangement with Mr. French, if practicable.. Before this meeting Mr. F. professed his readiness to go, and to abide by its decision. It was just what he wanted, and he should not shrink from a searching investigation. Certainly, if he were in the right, and the Board in the wrong—he had nothing to fear in the trial. But what said Mr. Rogers about this meeting of the N. H. Society, only notified in the Herald, and all its members and friends summoned to attend it? This was his extraordinary language:

'I am sorry the publisher consented to any thing like a trial before the recent meeting held in this city. The notice he had sent out (?) *I am glad was free of the abolitionists in the neighborhood attended*. I was sorry the publisher said he meant to be master of the paper before them, in his official character. *I wouldn't have gone to the meeting had I been here*, and ever so well, but to protest against the character of its call and purposes, (?) and to take occasion to denounce the movement in behalf of which it was got up, and of which it was part and parcel.'

This looks like having great respect for and confidence in the N. H. Society! This looks like believing that 'the Society wished the paper published as it had been,' and that 'they were glad to have John R. French publish it yet!' It was a meeting of the State Society, with which Mr. Rogers professes to have no controversy! and yet he says if he had been in Concord at the time, he would not have attended it, except for the sole purpose of pouring his denunciation and contempt upon it! And why did he then write? It is unjust to say, because he knew that a verdict must be rendered against Mr. French, and, consequently, against himself for his participation in the affair? What reason can be given, in view of all the facts? Conscious integrity and meek-eyed innocence never believe in this unseemly manner.

Mr. French it is true, came to the meeting, and treated it as a meeting of the State Society. Before it he made his defence, and agreed to the committee of arbitration, chosen by the Society to hear the parties and decide finally. Yet he had the baseness to oppose the proceedings of the Society, and even the report of the committee, so that the abolitionists of Non-Hampshire and elsewhere should not be apprised of what had been actually done, except from his own distorted account of it! He refused to be expressed as follows:—

'[? The proceedings of the recent Convention, with Mr. Garrison's Report, have been furnished us for publication. We have neither the room (!) nor *the disposition* to do any thing of the kind.'

In this most unjust and arbitrary procedure, he was supported by Mr. Rogers—and yet they are those who profess to fear nothing, who are assuming to be the special champions of free investigation, and who are loudly crying out, 'Free Speech—Free Meeting—The Volunteer Press'—&c.&c.!! Truly, as John Milton said of such in his day—

'License they mean when they cry liberty!'

Mr. Rogers persists in asserting, what he has most unjustly repeated over and over again, that, in complaining of J. R. French for his conduct as printer of the Herald, the Non-Hampshire Society acted a cowardly and hypocritical part, as well as all others co-operating with them; inasmuch as their real object has been either to drive the editor from his post, or to restrict the freedom of his mind and pen!!—He deals freely in this kind of villification. Thus:

'The *pretended* occasion on the part of the Massachusetts *managers* was to settle the ownership of the Herald of Freedom, about which there existed no question or dispute between the parties concerned. The *real* occasion was to beat down the idea of a volunteer press, and unincorporate anti-slavery action.'!!!

Once more:

'Had the Standard and Liberator *conceived* that they were interfering with the publication of the Herald of Freedom, in behalf of a *self-created* Board, instead of the Society,—and against the Society (!) as well as the paper, (!) *for the sake of enabling the Board to trample on both*, (!)—THEY HAD AYOWED THEIR FUR-POSE AS SUCH!!! Nothing! That is, if they had told a gross, deliberate falsehood, they would have acted honestly and fairly!] But they *naturally* refrained from the true avowal. They had *no motive to conceal*, (i. e. an iniquitous purpose,) which called for publicity, [i. e. cunning,] and compelled them into it.'

Finally—though a score of similar quotations might be made—

'What is this assault on the New-Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society (!) and the Herald of Freedom but an attack on account of measures?—A barbarous assault, that will cost every one engaged in it, *his anti-slavery life*?'

These insinuations and charges are of the vilest character; and to regard the author of them as disordered in mind, or under the influence of monomania, on the one topic of 'corporations,' would be the largest charity. If he be truly rational, then nothing can mitigate his wilful slander. If he believes what he says, if he means what he says, then he looks upon such men as Benjamin Comings, Luther Melendy, Wesse Tappan, Jonathan Walker, Parker Pillsbury, Wendell Phillips, Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, (myself included, of course,) as wearing two faces, hypocrites, the enemies of a free press, and actuated by detestable motives!!—He, therefore, can no longer have any respect or friendship for them.

In establishing his new paper, he asks to be sustained by the abolitionists in making these blasting accusations—in denying that J. R. French (his prospective sub-in-law) has violated his contracts, or needlessly embarrassed the pecuniary affairs of the Herald, or been in any manner to blame—in exposing 'the Board' of injustice and usurpation, of being self-created, of stealing 'the old Herald title, press, and remains of type,' of seeking to exercise censorship over the editorial department—and in calling for the extinction of every anti-slavery society in the land—&c. &c. This is a task which he boldly undertakes; and every man or woman who subscribes for his paper will be regarded by him as endorsing his views and declarations on this subject. 'Let such of our anti-slavery friends, therefore, as believe that he and J. R. French are blameworthy in this affair of the Herald, pause and reflect whether they can honestly or justly give their countenance and support to the new paper—however much they might desire to patronize it under other circumstances. How can they do it?

N. B. No copy of 'The Herald of Freedom' has yet been sent to me, I am innocent blood, but for the sight of it. I have no desire or intention to say any thing more about it. My testimony is registered.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NEW-YORK SOCIETY.

A quarterly meeting of the Worcester County (South Division) Anti-Slavery Society was held in Brinley Hall, Worcester, on Tuesday last—John M. Fisk, the President, in the chair. Delegates were present from Holden, West Brookfield, Hopedale, Millbury, Southbury, and other places. It was an occasion of deep interest to all who were present. The following resolutions were presented to the meeting for discussion by William Lloyd Garrison:

1. Resolved, That in the presentmergency of the anti-slavery enterprise—in this dark hour of national history—it behooves abolitionists to summon all their manhood for a final conflict with the Slave Power; to be more united than ever in their means and modes of action—more zealous than ever in the promulgation of their doctrines—more uncompromising than ever with the pro-slavery Church and State—more willing than ever to contribute liberally of their substance to scatter light on the subject of slavery, by the dissemination of anti-slavery publications, and the employment of able and devoted lecturers—more clear-sighted than ever to discern where the foe has intrenched himself, and in the most effective mode of accomplishing his destruction.

2. Resolved, That to continue in partnership with robbers, until they voluntarily cease from their robberies—with rum distillers and venders, until they choose to poison the community no longer—with slaveholders and slave-traders, until they are willing to let the oppressed go free—giving them the benefit of our credit, capital, and co-operative power—is not to lay the axe at the root of the tree, nor to bear a consistent testimony against crime, nor to keep our garments unstained from the guilty blood; but is the way to perpetuate what we profess to abhor, to make ourselves participants in all the guilt of unrighteousness, to dishonor our own testimony against evil-doers, and to base our reformatory movement on the sand of expediency, and not on the rock of principle.

3. Resolved, That the religious and political partnership which exists between the people of the North and the slave-tyrants of the South, is one of fearful criminality, by which the slave system is made secure and prosperous, and without which it would speedily fall.

4. Resolved, That it is as impossible to reconcile, under a republican government, the enemies and friends of absolute despotism, as it is to effect a oneness of spirit and purpose between Christ and Belial; that liberty and slavery are natural and implacable enemies, and cannot, even for a moment, be companions in chains; and that they who are for trying the experiment, on the plea that a separation of the parties would work disastrously, and that an alliance between them is the best way to effect a general reformation, are cherishing a fatal delusion. Therefore,

5. Resolved, That the dissolution of the American Union, which is emphatically 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell,' is the only rallying-word which should be found in the mouths of abolitionists, and the one grand object which they should now aim to accomplish, in order to deliver their own souls from guilt, and to demolish the very Gibraltar of the slave system.

6. Resolved, That while the Whig party of this country have done well in so far as they have resisted the annexation of Texas as an iniquitous and unconstitutional measure, and while the conduct of the Democratic party, on the same question, has been profligate and perfidious almost beyond parallel in the criminal history of political parties, we can make no truce with either of them, so long as they resolve to cling to 'the Constitution as it is,' and to 'the Union as it is.'

7. Resolved, That, for the same reason, we register our testimony against the Liberty party, as occupying a pro-slavery position under the Constitution, and absorbing the moral energies of its adherents in a mere political crusade.

8. Resolved, That the American Church, by its hostility to the anti-slavery cause, continues to demonstrate that it is a 'synagogue of Satan'; and the American clergy, as a body, that they are 'a brotherhood of thieves,' by their religious fellowship with those who make merchandise of their fellow-men.

The above resolutions were discussed with an earnestness and thoroughness, worthy of the present solemn crisis, by W. L. Garrison, Frederick Douglass, W. B. Earle, Samuel May, George W. Stacy, Theron Hall, Charles White, and Messrs. Swain and Rockwood, before a crowded audience and unanimously adopted.

The following resolutions, offered by William B. Earle, of Leicester, were also adopted unanimously:

1. Resolved, That as the American Senate is now constituted, we have every reason to suppose that the rights and the politics of the people, and the acts and resolutions of our Legislature, will continue to be trodden under foot as heretofore, without a voice from Massachusetts raised in their favor; and that dodging the vote upon resolutions in favor of slavery will be the order of the day, in coming as well as in past time. And we respectfully request our Legislature, whenever such resolutions shall come in the delegation of Massachusetts, that they will fill such vacancies with men, instead of politicians.

2. Resolved, That there is no salvation for the people at the hands of statesmen, politicians, or ecclesiastics; that they will sell us, in time to come, to the slaveholders, as they have in times past, for the purpose of securing inferior places in command for themselves; that it must now be evident to the people of the American Union, that the present government thereof is finally and forever abandoned to the slaveholders, unless the assertion of the sacrifice of Texas is resisted even unto disunion. We therefore call upon the people of Massachusetts to take the matter into their own hands, and to see to it that they and their posterity are not to be enslaved forever.

3. Resolved, That the profession of the Whig and Democratic parties of Massachusetts, of a determination to maintain *all* the compromises of the Constitution, must pass with Abolitionists for political chicanery; inasmuch as we believe that Massachusetts has been disgraced, for the last time, by the surrender of a fugitive slave.

The meeting continued through the day and evening, increasing in interest and numbers up to the hour of the final adjournment. It was truly a refreshing time to the spirits of the faithful band of uncompromising abolitionists assembled on the occasion. The unanimity with which the resolutions were adopted was a cheering indication of the advanced state of sentiment prevailing in our ranks, in regard to a peaceable dissolution of the present bloodcemented Union.

The next quarterly meeting of the Society will be held in Uxbridge. JOHN M. FISK, *President*.

GEORGE EVANS, *Secretary*.

☞ No. 5 of the Voices of the True Hearted is received, and, together with the previous numbers, is for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office. We again commend this choice publication to the patronage of all the friends of Literature and Reform.

LETTERS FROM HENRY C. WRIGHT.

Mauthen a small village, some eight or two miles from Salzburg, I was met by the Bavarian government, in the shape of policemen and custom-house officers. The policemen demanded our passports, which they have taken into their office, and here we await their pleasure. The custom-house officers found our baggage sealed, and they dare not touch it. Nothing could exceed the picturesque scenery between this and Salzburg; all around us on the plain were meadows, harvest fields, and flower gardens, and beautiful cottages and farm-houses; and the people, in the country, were busy in mowing, reaping, binding, and gathering in the grain. We came out through a gate out through a solid, lofty rock; and as we came out, a military man came running fur life, and calling out in German—'Stop! stop!' We stopped. He came up, looked into the carriage, and said—'Is there an officer of the English army in the wagon?' 'Yes,' I said, 'that is he'—pointing to one of my companions who was very plainly dressed. He raised his cockaded cap, and bowed low and reverentially, and we passed on. But our passports are signed, we are duly registered, and our driver is arranging his harness and whip, to proceed.

12 *o'clock*.

We are now passing through mountains that rise several thousands of feet on either hand. All the passengers have alighted from the carriage to walk. We are ascending, amid the Salzburg Alps, up the deep valley or ravine, down which dashes the river Saal. No language can paint the wildness and magnificence of this scenery. The bottom of the ravine is but a few rods wide, and the mountains and rocks rise up each side to the height of 1000 feet. It is cheerfully wild. We are now in Bavaria.

Unkin, 2 o'clock, P. M.

This little village, located in a deep and romantic dell, and consisting of post-house and twenty other houses, was burned in 1805, in a contest between the Bavarians and the Tyrolese. Here we stop, for this place is the boundary between Bavaria and Tyrol. Bavaria is a nation by itself. Tyrol is part of Austria. As we came out of Bavaria, a few rods back, and entered this village, we came under another government. Of course our passports are examined here again by Austrian officers. We have been out of Bavaria enough to travel only 12 miles. Yet we are now under different laws and different obligations (*as human* governments tell us) from those under which we were living a few minutes since. What would have been considered high treason in Bavaria, is considered wrong here. Soon as we entered this village, the Austrian police beset us, arrested our course, and demanded our passports. I am disgusted at the system! There is no love, no confidence between nations! Here sits the double-headed, black *Eagle* of Austria—watching for prey; yonder crouches the Bilbgian *Lion*, ready to spring upon its victims. Nations are like the beasts that represent them. The murderous hand of war has been here. It could not spare this little hamlet. Its women and children were driven out by brutal soldiers to perish.

Strub, 4, P. M.

We are now in a very narrow defile. Though the sun be shining in all his splendor, his rays scarcely penetrate this deep, gloomy pass, which in fact forms the portal of the Tyrol to Bavaria; and only by passing through this deep, narrow defile could the Bavarians and French enter the Tyrol on this side. A stone pillar, four feet high, marks the boundary; and a decayed arch-way, flanked by a tower, formerly closed the passage up and down. This defile was defended by the Tyrolese in 1805. Three attacks of the Bavarians were repulsed by a mere handful of peasants, who, at length, though compelled to retire, left 1500 of the enemy dead on the field, having lost 170 themselves. Again, the pass was defended in 1809, with most unequal force, against Gen. Wrede. Such is the language in which one describes it. I am now on the spot, where those Bavarians were slain. Here, where I stand, they were shot down by the Tyrolese riflemen, stationed up on the heights behind the rocks, and crushed to death by rocks and stones rolled down upon them. I shall see the wives and daughters of the Tyrolese aided. It was a fearful and bloody struggle. '*Love your enemies*.' This comes to my heart with inexpressible sweetness at this moment.

Weidring, 6 o'clock, P. M.

This is a post-town. We stopped here to change horses and to rest. It was all for us, to be the midst of a great rout. We changed the comfortable wagon with which we started, soon as we had advanced sufficiently on our way to render it improbable that we should send back to Salzburg to demand redress. Some of the passengers were exceedingly indignant at the sudden change. The wagon which we now have is small, and most uncomfortable, into which the passengers could scarcely be stowed. Here the driver assumed the right to put another man in. A passenger, named G——, flared up. The officers found our baggage sealed, and they dare not touch it. Nothing could exceed the picturesque scenery between this and Salzburg; all around us on the plain were meadows, harvest fields, and flower gardens, and beautiful cottages and farm-houses; and the people, in the country, were busy in mowing, reaping, binding

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

THE SLAVE GIRL'S LAMENT.

BY E. H. COGGIN.

Oh, Afric! loved Afric! I pine to behold
Thy balm-breathing, sun-lighted valleys once more;
Where oft in the radiance of morn I have strolled,
With the zephyrs that blow on the river's green shore;

A stranger to gloomy and sorrowful thought,
With a fluttering spirit untutored to grieve,
Every feeling and wish its own happiness brought,
As I danced in the morning, or carolled at eve.

The plantain and pomegranite fell to the sod,
The citron tree freighted the air with perfume,
And scattered the blossoms profusely abroad,
Like jewels of light in the shadowy gloom.

The lizard and changeful chameleon reposed
In the sunshine that warmed the dark rocks of the vale,
While vistas through tamarind and myrrh trees disclosed
The antelope bounding, like bark in the gale.

And well I remember that scene of delight,
When last I reclined by the hut of my sire;
The long shadows told of the swift coming night,
And the cloud-castles floated, their turrets on fire.

My arms with the gold of Melinda were bound,
The plume of the ostrich waved o'er my dark brow,
And the strings of the Korro breathed melody round,
As I touched them, and whispered my languishing vow.

The teeth of the leopard, a necklace of white,
Shed round me a potent and mystical charm,
Impervious to phantom or demon or spirite,
And shielding my life from dismay and alarm.

The black eagle soared through the vanishing glow,
The tiger was howling afar in the shade;
And coiled in the path of his light-footed foe,
The dread anaconda was dimly betrayed.

But poisonous serpent, and beast of the dell,
And bird of the mountain, and spirit of air,
Were harmless to me as the accents that fell
From the lips of my parents with musical thrill.

A foe more relentless and fearful than all,
Was lurking undreamed of unseen by my side;
He came as the lightning from Heaven's dark pall,
And my sire and my brother defending me died.

'Twas the men of the ocean, the dealers in blood!
My brain was consuming, my heartstrings all torn,
As they bore me away to the wide foaming flood,
Unheeded, unpitied, to languish and mourn.

The light golden bracelet, untarnished by rust,
Were gone—but the cold iron fetters were there;
And the plant that corrodes them to ashes and dust
Is far, far away in my own native air.

The hold of that vessel! what tongue shall proclaim
The horrors concealed in its damp wooden walls?
The agonized groaning, the hell-lighted flame,
That tortures the heart, and the spirit appals!

The slow waning day seemed eternal to me,
As bound on the mountainous surges we rode;
But we floated at last to 'the land of the free,'
To the home of the stranger, the wanderer's abode!

Where the star-spangled banner is waving on high,
And Freedom her work of perfection hath done;
Where the page of the Bible unveils every eye,
And the light of the Gospel outrivals the sun.

But, alas! when I touched your hospitable strand,
I was bartered and sold like a brute of the stall;
Yet Religion and Freedom restrain not the hand,
Or the lash of the driver, on Sunday they fall.

Oh, Afric! loved Afric! I long to behold
Thy balm-breathing, sun-lighted valleys once more;
Where oft in the beam of the morning I've strolled
With the breezes that blew on the river's green shore.

Philadelphia.

From the Foreign Quarterly.

FREEDOM AND RIGHT.

(*Translated from the German of Freiligrath.*)

Oh say not, believe not, the gloom of the grave
For ever has closed upon Freedom's glad light,
And the sword set the lips of the honest in slave,
And the scorners of baseness are robbed of their right!

Though the true to their oaths into exile are driven,
Or, weary of wrong, with their own hands have given
Their blood to their jailors, their spirits to Heaven,
Yet immortal is Freedom, immortal is Right!
Freedom and Right!

Let us not be by partial defeats disconcerted;
They will make the grand triumph more signal and bright;
Thus whetted, our zeal will be doubly exerted,
And the cry be raised louder of Freedom and Right!
For these both are one, and they mock all endeavor
Of despots their holy alliance to sever;
Where there's Right, be ye sure there are freemen, and ever
Where freemen are found, will God prosper the Right!
Freedom and Right!

And let this thought, too, cheer us, more proudly defiant
The twins never bore them in fight after fight,
Never breathed forth a spirit more joyous and buoyant,
Making heroes of bastards in nature's despite.
Round the wide earth they're marching; their message they've spoken,
And nations leap up at the heart-thrilling token;
For the serf and the slave they have battled; and broken
The fetters that hung upon black limbs and white.
Freedom and Right!

And battle they still, where the voice of earth's sorrow
Tells of wrongs to revenge, of oppressors to smite;
And conquerors this day, or conquered to-morrow,
Fear ye not, in the end they will conquer outright.
Oh! to see the bright wreath round their victor brows shining,
All the leaves that are dear to the nations combining,
Erin's shamrock, the olive of Hellas entwining
With the oak-leaf, proud emblem of Germany's might!
Freedom and Right!

THINK FOR THYSELF.

Think for thyself—to thee is given,
For thy own use, a soul;
What more have others, that to them
Thou should'st yield up control?

Think for thyself, and let thy thought
Be firmly fixed and right;
Then like the pearl unto the rock,
Cling fast with all thy might.

Think for thyself;—one good idea,
But known to be thine own,
Is better than to filter through
A host from others thrown.

SELF-SEEKING.

The honest mind disdains the tricks of art,
Disdains the selfish thought that, in the guise
Of generosity, intent pursues
Its own ignoble ends. The bitter fruit
Of Sodom, blushing in Pomona's hues,
Is not so nauseous. Not more foul is plague
Vermilioned o'er with health; nor death, with grin
Terrific, lurking in the robes of life.

REFORMATORY.

For the Liberator.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

'God walked alone unhonored through the earth;
To him no heart-built temple open stood;
The soul, forgetful of her heavenly birth,
Had hewn him lofty piles of stone and wood,
And left unfinished, and in ruins still,
The only temple he delights to fill.'

JONES VERY.

Religion is 'voluntary obedience to the will of God.' This is a life.

Public worship is the public vocal expression of homage to God. This is a rite or ceremony, differing according to the customs of different sects and nations, but periodically performed by all or almost all of them.

It would be unreasonable to conclude that a man is irreligious or impious, merely because he refuses to join in the worship of the Hindoos, the Chinese, the Shakers, or the Catholics. He may sincerely think the rites of these people unacceptable to God, and therefore useless or injurious to himself.

But a man may also have serious and valid objections to the rites of every worship existing, and even to the idea of performing periodical public worship at all, and yet lead a life acceptable to God and useful to man.

Let us inquire into the testimony of reason and revelation concerning public worship.

To our Creator, Preserver and Benefactor, our homage is unquestionably due. But how is it to be paid? If he has prescribed or designated the mode by which our reverence or allegiance shall be shown, the question is settled; if he has not, we are left at liberty to choose that mode of expressing our veneration which we shall individually judge to be best suited to his nature and ours.

We are told that God in former times required men to perform certain specified rites and ceremonies in a certain specified place, as testimonials of their allegiance to him. But these ceremonies were, that they should place perfumes, wine, hot bread and lighted lamps in a room in which God was supposed to be peculiarly present: others were that they should mutilate their bodies, shave their heads, wash at particular times, and in particular kind of water, kill and burn certain specified animals, waves a specified joint of meat in the air, &c. &c. We do not now suppose, however, that God is pleased with such things as these.

We find in the instructions of Christ the best information as to what God expects of us; and we are not authorized to consider any thing *not there specified as essential* to the perfect service of our Maker. What then does Christ say?

He teaches us that holiness is not the attribute of times or places, but of God alone; he denounces sacrifice and ceremony, and makes the performance of no outward act whatever; he declares that God is to be served and honored by keeping his commandments; and informs us that his commandments are two and two only; the first, to love God with the whole heart; the second, to love our neighbor (any fellow-creature who wants what we can give) as ourselves. Such is Christ's testimony. And his testimony being such, we have no *authority* for the performance of any external rite or ceremony whatever.

But even without a divine command, it is not well to meet together on Sunday to express our reverence to our Creator? Is it not well publicly to profess ourselves religious by joining some regularly organized church?

I answer, it would be well, if these things could not be better done in some other way. But it is much better to be, in the sight of God and man, what we seek to *appear* by the use of these observances. If we really have this character, our daily lives will manifest it without a formal proclamation.

God sees every heart at every moment of time. Why does the sinner stand uncovered and bow in the presence of his earthly sovereign? Because that sovereign *cannot* read the heart, except through the medium of external actions. Would it not be absurd to make a bow to God by way of informing him of our reverence? Our daily lives, our eating and drinking, our sitting, standing and walking, our lying down and rising up, our business and pleasure, our labor and rest, infallibly show him the real regard we have for him. How useless, then, when our day has been spent unmindful of him, his will, how impious, when it has not, and we continue unrepentant, to bend our knees and lift our eyes at its close, and solemnly say, we honor and reverence thee, O Lord!

But in a depraved and sinful world, the true children of God should make themselves known as such to their fellow-men.

True! and how much more efficacious would be the testimony of their daily lives to this effect than of their lips! A bad man can profess as plausibly as a good one, and often does so. Though a man's life does not always reveal to us his true character, it is far the best criterion we can have. How unwise, then, to divert our attention from this best evidence, by making *profession* the prominent testimonial of principle! We should think it absurd for a man to come before the congregation to *profess* himself honest, or for a woman to stand in the broad aisle to *profess* herself chaste. We should say—Their lives must decide it. But custom has led us into the habit of judging of a man's *religion* mainly by his professions. Thus a profligate, who to sin adds hypocrisy, may and often does, stand high in the church.

But ought we so to judge of God?

Yes, by making a right use of his blessings, and leading lives in accordance with his will; but not by complimenting him with high-sounding epithets, such as the Persian or Chinese uses to his monarch. The extravagance and fulsomeness of the praise in the cases alluded to, does not form the only objection to it. We do not address even a really excellent man with an enumeration of his virtues; and can it be acceptable to God to be assured verbally, *so many times a day or week*, that we admit and believe that he is the wisest and the wisest and the best of beings, *for the purpose of praising him?* Expressions like these have sometimes, undoubtedly, an important use to the petitioner, in bringing before his mind a more vivid sense of the true character of the being he is addressing; but this use of them cannot properly be called 'praising God,' and their periodical use plainly shows the necessity that the speaker feels of winding himself up to the performance of a supposed external duty.

But should we not *pray* to God.

Yes! each for his peculiar needs, in lowliness, humility and sincerity, *in secret*, in spirit and in truth, as Christ commanded. The heart knoweth its own joys, sorrows and wants, its own dangers and temptations. No one can pray intelligently for another without knowing all these things; therefore prayer is the very act of all others that will least endure to be performed by proxy; it is the communion of the soul with God. The best and most intimate communion of *another* soul with God is not the thing required. Every one must pray for himself, and the time to do this is when the individual feels the need of prayer.

But many of our wants are common to the whole race. May we not pray in concert for the supply of these?

Prayer is desire, thought, feeling. But these, though they may sometimes be influenced by the will, can never be controlled by it; they will not obey the word of command, or the signal of a fleleader. An officer may successfully command a simultaneous advance or retreat; but let him order his men to think of an eagle, or to wish themselves in Arabia—nay, let him command them all at that instant to wish success to the campaign in which they are engaged, and their thoughts and wishes will be as various as their persons. Let any man honestly recall his thoughts and feelings from the time the minister said, Let us pray—to the close of the twenty minutes, more or less, and he must acknowledge that the prayer *was not his*; that his mind, during more or less of that time, was wandering to matters entirely different. The united prayer of a majority, even, of a congregation, is *one* of the, rarest things in the world, because very rare are the combined circumstances required so to combine and concentrate the thoughts and desires of the various persons assembled as to form even a tolerable union. What a mockery then is it to pretend that such a union takes place every congregation four times every Sunday; what a mockery for the minister to say to the Searcher of Hearts, for the promiscuous assembly before him, *We* desire, we confess, we repent, whenever the clock points the customary hour for the form of prayer to be observed.

Mr. Barbauld observes, in her reply to Mr. Wakefield's remarks on Public Worship, that—'Such is the temperament of man, that in every act and every event he naturally looks around him to claim the gratulation or sympathy of his fellows. Religion, says Mr. Wakefield, is a personal thing. So is marriage, so is the being in love, so is the loss of a beloved relative; yet on all these occasions, we are strongly impelled to public solemnization. We neither laugh alone, nor weep alone; why then should we pray alone?'

I am inclined to think, that in some of Mrs. Barbauld's own instances, public sympathy is obtruded rather than solicited or desired. But there are two states of feeling so absolutely and peculiarly individual, that their truest and best developements cannot be shared, except by the one other being who excites them. These are devotion and love. All that we can communicate of these emotions to others, must be comparatively outward. We feel a natural, and almost invincible repugnance to speak of the depths of feeling stirred by the most intimate communion with either our Heavenly Father, or our earthly beloved. If this feeling seems any exception, it is only in favor of the most intimate friend, at some twilight hour, when circumstances have called forth a whispered mingling of heart with heart, an equal interchange of the selectest confidence; and if even with this best friend we should appoint a meeting twice a week, to talk of our religion or our love, we should find that the chord would cease to vibrate. The feelings themselves, their states of excitement and repose, and the disposition more or less fully to communicate them, are involuntary, and dependent on circumstances not under our control; as it was before remarked, they may sometimes be influenced by the will, but can never be controlled by it. Hence the coldness and deadness so constantly complained of in religious meetings. The emotions in question cannot be excited by the mere touching of the electric fluid, by moving the customary machinery. It is true that this same dulness and deadness may exist in private; the thoughts may wander in the closet when the door is shut; but in the closet we may refrain from the pretence of prayer when the feeling is wanting; in the church or meeting-house people must go through the form when the clock strikes, though the soul may be wandering to the ends of the earth. This is no indifferent matter. It is lip-service, formality and hypocrisy, a grieving of the Spirit, an abomination in the sight of God.

It has been claimed as an advantage of public worship, that it teaches those to pray, who, not being accustomed to think, cannot of themselves pray with judgment. But a little reflection will compel us to acknowledge that the habit thus formed, of praying without thinking, can be no more a good than is implied in remembrance of the things usually prayed for, is injurious rather than beneficial. The very essence of prayer, the individual 'soul's sincere desire,' is left out of sight. Go into a prayer-meeting, and you will hear the same sort of petitions uttered, over and over again, by persons very dissimilar in their characters, dispositions, habits and desires. They pray for just what they have been accustomed to hear the minister pray for; for what they know it is generally considered proper to pray for, rather than for what they truly and heartily desire at the time. And if they have newly commenced the practice of public prayer, you can plainly perceive that they have prepared themselves for the performance by a mental list of the things you will hear the Deity, and the order in which they should be introduced; and novelties in the practice are often painfully disconcerted by the utterance of a phrase, warm from the heart, which they immediately perceive, and know that their auditors perceive, to be a variation from the authorized language of the rest. Prayer is represented to be a duty, and it must be addressed to men far more than to God; and the sarcasm is not undeserved which spoke of the prayer offered on some public occasion as 'the most eloquent prayer ever offered to a Boston audience.'

But there are some specific precepts and declarations of Christ, to which a fair consideration of this subject requires us to attend.

The force of the injunction, (Matt. vi. 5,) 'And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are; for they love to pray standing in the synagogues,' &c., seems to be mainly, if not exclusively, directed against public individual prayer; and perhaps the corresponding injunction—'But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet,' may have reference only to the proper performance of individual prayer, without being designed to prohibit public social prayer. Moreover, certain expressions of Christ, as the use of the plural pronoun in the Lord's prayer, and the promise that whatever two of them should agree to ask should be granted, and the declaration that where two or three were gathered together in his name, there he would be in the midst of them, seem to show that Christ did not oppose social prayer, though we are not informed that he ever practised, or ever recommended the periodical practice of it to his disciples. The truth seems therefore to be, that social prayer is a proper exercise to be practised it, when circumstances authorize the belief that a decided, active, and unanimous impulse to pray is then felt by the persons assembled. Such was the feeling, as we are informed, when the assembled disciples prayed, and were found themselves in one moment transformed from chattels to men. Prayer was the natural and necessary expression of their emotions; there the soul's 'sincere desire' truly expressed itself in shouts, broken ejaculations, groans and tears, followed, when the first tempest of excitement had passed, by more deliberate, but equally real and hearty thanksgivings to Him who had delivered them from the house of bondage. But it is obvious that the cases must be rare indeed in which one feeling thus really animates a whole assembly with the spirit of devotion, supplication or thanksgiving. Certainly the weekly prayers of our meeting-houses, in which an assembly of good, bad, and indifferent persons rise to pray, twice every Sunday-forenoon, and twice every Sunday afternoon, for no reason applicable to each particular time, except that the minister has invited them to do so, have nothing of this character.

But Christ 'blessed' before he broke the bread.

It is probable that Christ followed the Jewish custom of pronouncing this formula before taking food;—'Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the king of the world, who hast produced this food or this drink (as the case may be,) from the earth or the vine.' But I suppose his compliance with the harmless or indifferent customs of his native land to be quite distinct from what he did and said as reformer, or the teacher of a new system. He also ate at the passover, and went up to Jerusalem at the feasts, and directed the cleansed leper to offer a sacrifice in the temple; but I suppose that in these things we are not expected or desired to imitate his example. His relation to the Temple and the Mosaic rites, as a Jew, has no relation whatever to us. With Judaism we have nothing to do; and for the ritual observances (if any) of Christianity, we must look to the sayings and doings of the founder of Christianity *as such*.

It is common for the advocates of periodical public worship to assume, that Christianity is not the assembling of yourselves together, as full proof of the duty of joining in the Sunday observances of our churches; but, not to speak of the fact that Christ, not Paul, is our master, the connection in which that passage occurs shows so clearly that the assembling referred to was not public worship, or to be conducted and controlled by one individual, but a meeting of equal brethren and sisters, to exhort one another to love, and to good works. Meetings like these must always be beneficial, and a sense of their advantages would lead us to establish such meetings, if their place were not pre-occupied by others founded on the fancied duties of periodical public worship, and the establishment and support of an order of clergy.

But if public worship were to be abandoned, what have we to take its place?

We want nothing to take *its place*. No system merely external can be free from the main defects of the present one. What we need is, for every Christian to let his *life* preach the Gospel to all who are conversant with him; to show his regard for God by keeping his commandments, not by inventing and setting up new commandments, like this of weekly public worship; to make it his own business to advance the kingdom of Christ, by observing what he has required, and refraining from what he has forbidden, in his ordinary occupations, in his eating and drinking, in his lying down and rising up; and to be always ready to give a reason for his faith and hope, and to state the plain and simple principles of the Gospel which regulate his own life, to any of those with whom his daily business brings him in contact, who may desire to hear and learn from him. Such a sanctification of every day would be that obedience which is better than sacrifice, and would accomplish vastly more for the reformation of the world than the human inventions of keeping a Sabbath and hiring a minister.

What is the practical tendency of periodical public worship?—is an inquiry of great interest, and the true answer, could we find it, would convey to us most valuable information. Its almost invariable connection with sectarian preaching prevents us from distinguishing between what it would be and what it would have by itself. We may reasonably suppose, however, that its tendency is to make its advocates value religious forms and ceremonies more than Christ valued them, and to substitute these, to a greater or less extent, for an actual conformity in the performance of lives to the Christian rule. Of the *negative* tendencies of preaching and worship combined, we can speak more confidently. That they do not reform the public morals, and discountenance the popular sins, is shown by the continued existence of slavery, and the system of preparation for war; and that they have no *tendency* to effect these reformations is shown by the facts that the most honored members of the churches are among the strongest advocates for the continuance (for the present) of slavery and war, and that all the organized opposition to opposition to these vices have originated out of the churches, and without the sympathy or aid of a large part of their members.

It is proper in this place to remark upon one of the vicious elements of the system of public preaching now in vogue; namely, the systematic invitation of the practice of periodical worship, as a duty, the performance of which is essential to the Christian character. The advocates of our Sunday services will point to the drowsiness, indifference and mental abstraction of the majority of church-goers, (the natural result of their want of nutritious mental food,) as evidence (mournful evidence in their opinion) that little effect is produced by this inculcation of ceremonial observances. It is true that little effect is produced at any one time, except in those sectarian epidemics called revivals. But great effect is produced in the long run. The young and thoughtless, who go to meeting because their parents require it, and their neighbors do so, and it has become habitual with them, and they can there show their best clothes and see those of their neighbors, and hear the news, before service commences, in the porch, and afterwards from 'the long prayer,'—the thoughtless young people, I say, who go to meeting a hundred times every year for no better reason than these, do, through the constant repetition of the same ceremonies, the same forms, the same ideas in the practice are often painfully disconcerted by the utterance of a phrase, warm from the heart, which they immediately perceive, and know that their auditors perceive, to be a variation from the authorized language of the rest. Prayer is represented to be a duty, and it must be addressed to men far more than to God; and the sarcasm is not undeserved which spoke of the prayer offered on some public occasion as 'the most eloquent prayer ever offered to a Boston audience.'

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Christianity is the perfect law of liberty. 'He is the freeman whom the truth makes free.' But the institutions of public worship and Sunday preaching have no tendency to create or diffuse a true sense of impartial justice and human rights, far less of disinterested benevolence towards our fellow-men. This is shown by the spirit of caste which refuses our colored fellow-citizens equal social intercourse with their fellow church members, and banishes them to the worst and most inconvenient portion of the very house of worship, merely because they are similarly despised and abused by those whom these church members call the world. The same spirit leads people to use the rights and comforts of these poor Pariahs in a nominally Christian land would be yet further abridged, had they not meekly retired from the field, feeling the hopelessness of any present attempt to maintain their rights. The most noteworthy of the cases in which such vindication was vainly attempted, occurred in Park-Street-Church, Boston, which bears the very highest reputation for orthodox piety. This church deliberately voted, in a church meeting called for that purpose, that a colored man should not be permitted to come into the pew which he had bought and paid for in their meeting-house. A constable, employed by their committee, forcibly prevented his entrance into his own pew; and since, like Haman, they thought scorn to lay hands on this man alone, but wished to put his whole people under the ban, they proceeded, in five or six church meetings, each opened and closed with prayer, the most convenient and effectual means of excluding the whole colored race from equal participation in their worship. In these meetings, after full and free discussion, a plan was suggested, by one who then been, and still bears the highest reputation for piety in that church, the chief feature of which was that a new pew deed should be formed, containing a provision enabling them to effect their purpose, and that the owners of pews should exchange their old deeds for new ones. This was accomplished, and the pew in question that one now held under that deed. This church is the fair representative of nine-tenths at least of the churches of our country, and in this fact we have abundant evidence of the slight regard felt for humanity and the rights of man by these institutions.

In view of the considerations above mentioned, a most serious practical interest attaches itself to the inquiry—What is now the duty of Christians relative to the custom, so highly respected and so universally prevalent, of meeting on Sundays, to unite, under the direction of a hired minister, in public worship, in the performance of what is now an opportunity to pray? It is plain then, that no prejudice against the mode of publishing the work will be allowed to hinder its success, at least, from enquiring whether the cause of Religion not be advanced by this means.

The work will be issued in the best style, printed, and will be afforded to subscribers at *one dollar* a copy. Those who send $4, or four good names, will be entitled to two copies.

☞ Anti-slavery papers, and other papers friendly to the cause, are respectfully requested to give the Prospectus the two or three insertions in their column. All orders may be addressed to 25 Cornhill.

CHARLES C. GREEN

Boston, March 14, 1845.

Social Reform Bookstore.

BELA MARSH,

No. 25 Cornhill, Boston,

HAS FOR SALE,

THE WATER CURE JOURNAL and Tome of Health, edited by Joel Shew, M. D. Ten one dollar a volume—24 numbers—in advance. In Shew's large work on Hydrotherapy or the Water Cure; a new edition, very much enlarged and revised: Conversations on some of the Old Path, by Jan of Leyden: Spiritual Mysteries and Revelations, by Eugene Beckhard, M. D.—Moral Philosophy, or a brief and plain treatise on an important subject, by Philomathes: Phrenology, the work of Owen; Brisbane, Godwin, Boyle and others on Social Reform: The Phalanx, Social Reformer, Capital and Phrenological Works of Fowler, Combe, &c. of Hopedale Community: Mrs. Child's Letters Life of Follen, Dr. Alcott's Works, the Physiological and Phrenological Works of Mrs. Gove, Graham, others. Spear's, O'Sullivan's and Chapin's Wn on Capital Punishment: The Sections of Rev. Theodore Parker's, The True Position of Mr. Parker, a Sermons by Rev. John T. Sargent. Woman in a Nineteenth Century, by S. Margaret Fuller.

Feb. 28 tf

PIANO-FORTE SCHOOL.

THE citizens of Boston and vicinity are informed that JAMES PEIRCE, *Teacher of the Piano-Forte and Singing*, continues to give instruction to such as may engage his services. For terms, &c. inquire the Anti-Slavery Office, 25, Cornhill.

EDUCATION AND INDUSTRY!

THE NORTHAMPTON ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRY have appointed a competent gentleman for the accomodation of a few more boarding pupils. They will be member of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife and other Teachers, and be subjected to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the Association. The name of this Association indicates the idea of union towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed a dispensable part of education, which shall aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year (one half in advance) as an equivalent for instruction and board, in the simple and without deduction, from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

A. M. ALCOTT, *Director of Education.*

BROOKFIELD MEADOWS, *Northampton, Feb. 14, 1845.*

☞ Papers friendly to a reorganization of society upon the basis of the laws of God, and the welfare of man, are requested to notice the above advertisement.

Feb. 7 2m

RESPIRATORS,

OR,

BREATH-WARMING INSTRUMENTS.

THE subscriber continues to have Respirators manufactured under his immediate direction, and supplies others by the dozen. The use of them for years has more than confirmed the anticipations he had formed from the philosophical construction of instruments, and has proved of great relief in all pulmonary complaints where exposure to cold atmosphere produces evil consequences. During the cold weather, many persons have used them with exceeding comfort when travelling in very cold weather, and without any subsequent injury to the lungs. The instruments may be procured at 142 Washington-street, at his agent's, Theodore Metcalf's, Dispensary, Boston, and at several of the Druggist stores in this city and of the country.

H. I. BOWDITCH, M. D.

Boston, Oct. 12, 1844.

VOICES OF THE TRUE-HEARTED.

FOR sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 1 Cornhill, a collection of poetry, published at Philadelphia. It contains a variety of beautiful selections. Also—The Constitution of Pro-Slavery Compromises, with Extracts from the Slave Code, &c.; neatly bound. Jan. 31

AGENTS FOR THE LIBERATOR.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.—Leonard Chase, *Milford.*

VERMONT.—Rowland T. Robinson, *North Ferrisburg.*

MASSACHUSETTS.—John Levy, *Lowell*;—Robert C. French, *Fall River*;—Isaac Austin, *Newburyport*;—Elias Richards, *Weymouth*;—George W. Benson, *Northampton.*

RHODE-Island.—Amaranny Paine, *Providence*; William Adams, *Pawtucket.*

NEW-YORK.—S. H. Gay, *New-York City*; Isaac C. Fuller, *Skaneateles*;—Thomas McClintock, *Waterloo*;—John H. Parker, *Perry.*

PENNSYLVANIA.—Mr. Cunningham, *West Grove*; James Fulton, Jr., *McWilliamstown*;—Thomas Hibleton, *Rugglesville*;—B. Kent, *Andrew's Depot*; John Cox, *Pittsburg*; Joseph Noble, *Philadelphia*; Joseph Fulton, *Pennsingtonville.*

OHIO.—Lot Holmes, *Columbiana.*

FROM THE POSTMASTER GENERAL.

Respitmances by Mail.—A Postmaster may enclose money in a letter to the publisher of a newspaper to pay the subscription of a third person, and frank the letter if writ ten by himself.

☞ A gentlemen remit money should always designate the persons to whom it is to be credited.

NEW

Furniture and Feather Store.

No. 43, OF STAIRS, NORTH SIDE BLACKSTONE-STREET, BETWEEN HANOVER AND ANN-STREETS, BOSTON.

WHERE may be found a general assortment of FURNITURE and FEATHERS, all of which to sell, and at low prices too for the quality, for cash or on credit. Purchasers are requested to call before purchasing elsewhere.

C. W. BRABROOK

N. B. The first price is the only price, except a small discount for cash.

March 14.

NEW BOOKS.

FLOWERS FOR CHILDREN, by L. Maria Child: Letters from New-York, (new edition) Hours of Communion, by Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D., Pilgrim, or Flowers from the Grave of a Child, by Rev. Bacon. The Rose of Sharon, a Religious Poem, for 1845, edited by Mrs. Sigourney, with a variety of other Books, Albums, &c. suitable for Christmas and New Year's Presents.

For sale by BELA MARSH.

Dec. 20. tf 25 Cornhill.

PROSPECTUS.

THE subscriber proposes to publish a series of ANTI-SLAVERY DESIGNS,—to be called

THE NUBIAN SLAVE.

The series will consist of seven Designs, drawn, stone, and bound together in book form; the intermediate Designs illustrating, by a poem, which, uniting the scenes, preserves the unity of history.

THE FIRST

Is a vignette TITLE PAGE, embodying the emblem of *American Liberty.*

THE SECOND

Is the AFRICAN FAMILY, SITTING AT THE DOOR OF THEIR HUT, in the distance are the slave-dealers unobserved by them.

THE THIRD

Is the AUCTION SCENE.

THE FOURTH

Is the SEPARATION OF THE FAMILY AFTER THE SALE.

THE FIFTH

Represents the BRANDING AND SCOURGING.

THE SIXTH

Is the ESCAPE of the slave family

THE SEVENTH

Shews the family PURSUED WITH BLOODHOUNDS, overtaken and seized.

It is proposed to publish by *subscription*, because the market is so glutted with all sorts of productions, but it is *only safe* to attempt to introduce a NEW THING. The application of Dr. Graham's Celestial Bed, Texas is capable of producing a grand, and, as yet, almost untried fortune, which will be offered to the public in advance of public worship? To those who are satisfied, as the writer is, that Christ never instituted, and never intimated by word or deed that his disciples should institute, either an order of clergy, or a weekly Sabbath, or a system of periodical vocal worship, either for congregation, family or individual, the way seems plain, *it* they have previously established in their minds the conviction that TRUTH is better than all things else, and that neither fashion, custom, deference to public opinion, nor fear of suffering in their own reputation or interest should deter them from a practical allegiance to it. Such persons can quietly refrain from attending the church, and decline contributing to the support of the minister, holding themselves always ready to render a reason for their dissent to those who ask it, and endeavoring always to exemplify in their lives that obedience which is better than sacrifice, and that love to God and man which is the fulfilling of the law.

RELIGION AND CASTE.

FRIEND GARRISON:

It may be useful to record in the Liberator my conversation with a lady, the wife of a Boston deacon, who was so much interested in my spiritual welfare as to invite me to attend her church last Sunday. We have not been accustomed to worship together, by which the clergy seek to appropriate to themselves the first day of the week, but the sequel will show that she did not fully understand the grounds of my dissent. We had spoken of various miscellaneous matters, when she said,

Mrs. X. Have you heard Mr. Parker preach?

Mrs. X. No, and I think I shall not go.

W. I shall try to hear him to-morrow.

Mrs. X. Why will you not come to our church to-morrow? I think you will like Mr. Z., and I shall be glad to give you a seat in our pew.

W. I have sometimes wished to hear Mr. Z., but circumstances have prevented me. Have you room for more than one person?

Mrs. X. Yes. Why do you ask?

W. I am ashamed to bring a friend with me, if you have an additional seat.

Mrs. X. Oh yes; there is plenty of room. And come to see us this evening; we have a pleasant little circle of friends, whom I know you will like; bring your friend with you then also. Who is he?

W. His name is T. He is a very worthy man, well educated, of good principles and good manners. I should mention to you also that he is a colored man.

Mrs. X. (with a sudden start) Oh!

W. I am glad you have invited us, for I have heard Mr. Z.'s sermon much praised, and we shall both be gratified to hear him.

Mrs. X. (recovering herself) Well, you *will* come, won't you?

W. Certainly, it will give us the greatest pleasure. What is the number of your pew?

Mrs. X. (with a sudden quiver) Pew quite forgotten it.

W. Never mind. I will ask the sexton to show us to deacon X's pew. We shall easily find you.

Mrs. X. But, Mr. W., you are not in earnest.

W. In most serious earnest, I assure you. I tell you sincerely, that we shall be delighted to sit with you.

Mrs. X. (with a sudden start) Oh!

W. I am glad you have invited us, for I have heard Mr. Z.'s sermon much praised, and we shall both be gratified to hear him.

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Mrs. X. But, Mr. W., you are not in earnest.

W. In most serious earnest, I assure you. I tell you sincerely, that we shall be delighted to sit with you.

Mrs. X. Why do you insist upon bringing a black man to our pew?

W. You mistake. I insist upon nothing. You invite us to go there, and we accept the invitation with pleasure.

Mrs. X. But cannot you go without him?

W. It is out of the question. He is a brother of mine. It is quite impossible for me to go without him.

Mrs. X. (quickly,) Now I think of it, there is but one seat vacant in our pew.

W. I am very sorry to hear about that. My friend will sit there, and I can easily find another place.

Mrs. X. (embarrassed,) I think the church would not seat him your friend in our pew.

W. Ah, that is another thing. I am sorry then that I shall not have the pleasure of hearing Mr. Z.

Mrs. X. Mr. Z. is a good man, I suppose, and I hope you cannot sit with us without this black man.

W. Mrs. X., you have heard of the Siamese twins. There is an invisible ligament, as real as theirs, so connecting me to my brother T. that I could not possibly enter your meeting-house without him.

Mrs. X. I think such a person would not wish to have such a man in our pew, but I will ask him when he returns.

W. You are perfectly right. 'Wives, obey your husbands.' If, on consultation, you think it safe to invite us to come, Mr. T., Freedom street, and shall be happy to hear from you.

Mrs. X. Will you not come to us in the evening?

W. Thank you. If we do not go to church with you, I shall be otherwise engaged. But I must now tell you that I have been before prevented from hearing Mr. Z. in the evening. I noticing, in a singular fact, that the solicitude of my friends to have me enjoy the privileges of their sanctuary suddenly ceases, when I propose to share those privileges with my brother Y. Recollect the number, if you wish to send for me. Good morning. C. K. W.

The Chinese call their great wall 'The Wall of a Thousand Leagues.' The same name would apply admirably to a wall which might be built between the United States and the Indian territory.—*New-York Mirror.*

When the electric telegraph comes into general operation, we may expect 'shocking news' from all parts of the country.—*Bost.*