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THE LIBERATOR

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons. . . . Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is, to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and hereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. | OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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Refuge of Oppression.

HENRY CLAY.

Extract from an editorial article in the New York Tribune, in panegyric of Henry Clay:—

Mr. Clay has since remained in retirement, hardly speaking of public affairs, except once in condemnation of the War on Mexico, and in earnest entreaty for Peace, until now that the people of Kentucky have decided, without a shadow of interference on his part to hold a Convention for the revision of their State Constitution. That Convention is soon to be chosen. It of course presents a crisis in which an effort may be made against the continuance of Slavery, without a probability of doing much harm and little good. The question is legitimately before the People of Kentucky, and some agitation of it is unavoidable. Mr. Clay reiterates afresh his life-long convictions, and urges his fellow-citizens to take the needful steps to ensure the ultimate deliverance of their State from the last vestige of Human Servitude. His letter is calm, moderate and conciliatory in its tone, but no one can fail to see that it is calculated to exert a greater influence adverse to slavery, not alone in Kentucky, but throughout the South, than all that has been written and said by Abolitionists and distinctive Free Soilers since they were born.

True, Mr. Clay does not view the question precisely as they nor as we do; but what of that? Does any sober man believe that his letter, if written to the dictation of William Lloyd Garrison or Gerritt Smith would have had a better effect throughout the Slave States? Is there a well informed man who desires the extinction of slavery more than to achieve notoriety and power by opposing Slavery, who would prefer that Mr. Clay had taken the ultra ground? We all know that he is, in the better sense of the term, a Conservative, hostile to sudden and violent changes of institutions and public policy, and believing that true progress must resemble that of a tree or other living organism, which is effected through imperceptible gradations of growth rather than by sudden amputation and replacement. Insist if you will that there is a deeper philosophy, but Mr. Clay speaks to a class of minds that you cannot reach, and wields an influence that you should prize the more because it is so different from yours. Before insisting that he shall pronounce your Shibboleth exactly as you do, consider whether his ability to serve the cause of Freedom does not depend entirely or mainly on those very qualities which you regard with such aversion.

The moral of the spectacle presented by the attacks of the Abolition presses on Mr. Clay's letter is —Be not the slave of a hobby—Be not men of one idea. If the idea is a good one, embrace it; but do not let it run away with you; do not imagine that nothing else can be important or righteous but that. Opposition to Slavery is right; but the use made of it to elect Polk, and thus involve us in Annexation and war was *not* right, and never can be made so. We made no 'choice of evils' in supporting Mr. Clay in 1844, but went for the greatest attainable good, which is the best we know how to do. Anti-Slavery is right—so is Free Soil: so is Land Reform; so is hostility to War; so are a great many other things. But no one of them is *exclusively* right, nor exclusively important; and whoever surrenders himself utterly to any one is in danger of depriving himself of opportunities to do good, and even of culpably neglecting public duties. Accept every truth, and give to each its just weight; and in order to do so, maintain a position of just independence and calm consideration. To-Day has its round of duties; do them; but be not so entangled in any one that you cannot discharge with perfect freedom and impartiality all those of To-Morrow.

AN AGITATED VIRGINIAN.

'A Native Southron has found in the Tribune the letter of a Yankee in Fairfax, (by a printing-office mistake dated 'Halifax,') which he introduces to the astounded readers of the Richmond Enquirer as follows:

'PEOPLE OF HALIFAX!!!—I am no alarmist. If I know myself, I *cannot entertain* a wish to produce unnecessary fear, solicitude, or sensation upon any matter. But when 'the wolf' *actually* does appear, surely it is high time then to raise the cry, 'the wolf! the wolf!!'—'The Abolitionist' is among us; yes, '*the Abolitionist*,' who is less excusable than the wolf, because he is without the pretext of hunger—*worse*, because he has been endowed with a reason that would guide his honesty, if a relic of that virtue were to be found in him at all. A few days since, chance threw in my way a number of the New York Semi-Weekly Tribune, dated Saturday, March 17, 1849—a paper known to be an Abolition issue of an ultra spirit, one of whose Editors is *Hon. Horace Greeley*, the noted arch-enemy of *everything Southern*. To my utter astonishment and deep mortification I found in the columns of that number of the paper referred to the following letter.'

Here follows the Yankee's letter, and thereupon a column of comments like these:

'People of Halifax! Slave-owners of Halifax and all! do you, can you realize the fact that the author of the above letter is in your midst—that he is living moving, acting and settled among you? If there is *any* truth in such a man—(a supposition we fear almost *unsupposable*,)—*then it is all so*—for he avows that he is one who has 'emigrated from the Northern portion of the Union, and taken abode in this section of Virginia.' I announce to *all* of our people, Whig and Democrat, without distinction of party, that *this enemy* is in our midst, and if we may judge from his letter, one continuous, unblushing falsehood as it is, then we would do well to hunt him out, and fix our eyes upon him. He cannot be too good to tamper with our negroes, and disseminate dangerous notions among them insidiously and clandestinely,' &c. &c.

From the Louisville Journal.

PANATICISM.

The 'Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society' has recently held a convention. This society is composed of that interesting class of persons who regard our General Government as one of the greatest iniquities, and, thus viewing it, are ardently in favor of overturning and destroying it. The terms on which persons are admitted to membership in this society are so exclusive that very few even of the regular Abolitionists of Massachusetts are able to get into it. Abby Kelley and Lloyd Garrison are very prominent members, and exert their sweet voices on all occasions for the purpose of proving that all good Christians are bound by consistency to their faith to oppose with all their hearts the perpetuity of our Union. They denounce the members of the other Abolition Society as timid people, who are untrue to their principles, because they are willing to remain under the Federal Government. These immaculate persons at their late convention adopted a resolution commending in the highest terms the 'earnestness, intrepidity, consistency and self-sacrifice' which distinguish the Hon. John C. Calhoun in his efforts to bring about a dissolution of the Union.

Thus it is that extremes meet. While the Southern fanatics think that in disunion will be found a means of protecting slave property and of perpetuating the system of African Slavery, the Northern fanatics urge disunion as necessary to the consummation of their duties. This fact ought to convince all sensible men that it is their duty zealously and perseveringly to oppose all movements which conflict with that fervid and unsectional patriotism which regards disunion with profound aversion.

The Liberator.

THE CLERGY AND AATI-SLAVERY.

In our last number, we gave some pungent extracts from a tract published in England, by JOSEPH BARKER, the intrepid Christian reformer, respecting the non-attendance of the ministers of Leeds, at an anti-slavery meeting held in that place. This week we give the concluding portions of the tract, which deserve an equally attentive perusal. The portrait which is drawn of the clergy of Leeds is an exact likeness of the American clergy in all the prominent outlines, and shows the limner to be a first rate artist.

Thus far have I spoken as in the name of the ministers; I shall now speak in my own name, and state my views of their conduct with the greatest freedom. I must say, then, that I consider your conduct in reference to the cause of American slavery, as exceedingly unbecoming—as exceedingly disgraceful and anti-christian. The religion of Christ is love; the mark of discipleship is love; the proof that men have passed from death unto life is love; love to the brethren. Love to the brethren is the proof and manifestation of love to God. The man who says he loves God, while he hates or loves not his brethren, is a liar. To do good and to communicate is the Christian's proper business, the sacrifice that God requires of him, and the sacrifice which is peculiarly pleasing to God. And what good thing is more called for in the present day, than the advocacy of liberty, and the emancipation of the down-trodden bondmen of America? What greater evil can afflict men than slavery? What greater blessing can you confer upon men than liberty? We grant that liberty itself is not all that men need; but it is essential as a first blessing—it is necessary to bestow liberty preparatory to the bestowment of every other blessing. And here you are, furnished with the opportunity of conferring this inestimable boon on your brethren, and you refuse to confer it. Three millions of your fellow creatures, the children of the same Father as yourselves, and sharers of the same divine nature, and destined for the same immortality, are imploring in tears, and sighs, and groans, and blood, that you would afford them help—that you would aid in promoting their deliverance—and you stand aloof. By improving public opinion on the subject of slavery in this country—by publishing your declarations of non-fellowship with the slaveholders—by sending forth your expressions of indignation against the oppressors and plunderers of your brethren—by rebuking with all plainness and faithfulness the ministers and the churches implicated in the guilt of slavery—you have it in your power to give strength to the cause of freedom, to strike slavery a blow which shall make the cruel and ungodly institution reel and fall to the ground; and you refuse to do it. You shrink aside, and let the cries and groans of the slave go up unheeded or unregarded. You allow their tears and their blood to flow, unnoticed. I say such conduct is most disgraceful, most criminal, most anti-christian. If you were ignorant of the evil which you are called to remove, or ignorant of the influence which the public expression of your sentiments and feelings would exert in favor of emancipation, there would be an excuse for you; but you are not. You are acquainted with the evil; you know that it is a most grievous and intolerable one; you see it spreading, and you have the fullest assurance that if your voice were lifted up against it as it ought to be, the evil would quickly disappear; yet you are silent—silent as the grave. You neither visit the platform to speak for the oppressed, nor do you make use of the pulpit for that purpose. Your tongues and your pens are alike inactive; and the press, that mightiest engine of all, sends forth no complaints from you, no stern rebukes from you, against the churches and ministers that are the chief supports of the ungodly and inhuman institution, nor any cheering voice in favor of the men who are employed in seeking to bring the corrupt institution to the ground. Nay, worse; instead of opposing slavery, you are obstructing abolition; instead of disowning and rebuking the slaveholders, you are rebuking and slandering the abolitionists. Your Christian Witness, your Watchman, as well as others of your publications, are warning the public against the men who are devoting their time and their powers to the cause of freedom; the men who are sacrificing domestic comfort and personal interests, and even risking their lives in behalf of the slaves. You are opposing them, not openly and manfully, but meanly and clandestinely. You are representing them as infidels and as anarchists; as men opposed to government, religion and law. Men who are treading in the steps of the master whom you profess to serve—men whose spirits and conduct are amongst the fairest, the truest, the most striking and consistent exemplifications of the religion which you profess to preach, you are endeavoring to make odious amongst the people, by the falsest misrepresentations. You are not content with refusing to co-operate with them; you must use your influence in the most objectionable way to lessen the effect of their labor, and to prevent the accomplishment of the great object to which they have devoted their lives.

As to the reasons which you assign for your refusing to co-operate with them, I cannot regard them as creditable either to your heads or to your hearts. You say these men are not orthodox. What then? Is it so certain that orthodoxy is true, and that heterodoxy is false, as to justify you in taking the truth of the one and the falsehood of the other for granted in every case? But suppose it were settled that the great principles of orthodoxy were true, and that the leading principles of heterodoxy were false, is that a reason why you should refuse to co-operate with an heterodox man for the emancipation of the slave? Some of the founders of the anti-corn-law league, and many of its most active agents were heterodox; yet many of you could co-operate with them in their anti-corn-law labors, especially when the principles of the anti-corn-law league began to be popular in the country. Many of the friends and active laborers in connection with Mechanics' Institutes are heterodox, yet occasionally you can co-operate with them. Nay, more; it is a fact, that where your own interests are to be promoted by it, you are prepared to co-operate with men called heterodox on any occasion, without a moment's hesitation. Even now, if your house were on fire, and your wife and your children in danger of being consumed by the flames, the aid of an heterodox man would be welcomed by you with joy. And if instead of one, a dozen should come to your assistance, the greater would be your gratitude. Or if your wife and your children were stolen by some gang of kidnappers, and a number of heterodox men could assist you in recovering your lost relatives, you would co-operate with them most readily; and if they succeeded in recovering for you your lost invaluable treasures, your nature would thank them in spite of your creed. How is it, then, that you cannot co-operate with heterodox men in extinguishing a more consuming fire than can be kindled in your habitations—a fire that is burning up both body and soul and estate of multitudes? How is it that you cannot co-operate with heterodox men to recover the wives and the children of others that have been stolen and doomed to slavery? How is it that you cannot co-operate with heterodox men to bring man-stealing and child-stealing and woman whipping in America to an end? The explanation of the matter is simply this: You do not love your neighbors as yourselves. You do not sympathize with those in bonds as bound with them. You have regard to your own domestic comfort—to your own social enjoyments—but to the domestic comforts and social enjoyments of your colored brethren, you have not regard. You are not prepared to do to others as you would that others should do to you. If you were the slaves, and your black neglected brethren of America were the freemen, you would wish your black free brethren to assist in delivering you; but now that you are the freemen, and they are the slaves, you are not prepared to unite and co-operate with the friends of the slaves in delivering them. Cloak it as you will, it is your selfishness that keeps you from the anti-slavery platform. It is your want of love that prevents you from lifting up your voice, and employing your pen, and working the press against the tyrants of your race. If you had the spirit of Jesus, it would be one of your first objects, it would be your great endeavor, to proclaim liberty to the captive, to open the prison to them that are bound, and to hasten the year of universal jubilee. If you had the spirit of your master, you would rebuke the man-stealing, the slaveholding professors and ministers of America, with the same stern and terrible fidelity with which he rebuked the guilty and high-professing Scribes and Pharisees of his day.—If you had the spirit of your master, you would forget the peculiarities of your creed, and think only of the great work that is to be accomplished in behalf of suffering humanity. If you had the spirit of your master, you would commend the good Samaritan for his labors and sacrifices in the cause of an injured, bleeding brother, instead of abusing and persecuting him, notwithstanding the heterodoxy of his creed. If you had the spirit of Christ, you would be found more forward to co-operate with an heterodox Samaritan in doing good, than to spend your time with orthodox priests and levites, in offering sacrifices and defending creeds.

Again, you assign as your great reason for not attending the Anti-Slavery meetings, and for not co-operating with the agents of the Anti-Slavery League, that those men have not given satisfactory proof of the orthodoxy of their belief. We are afraid that this is only an excuse. If your objection were simply against working with heterodox characters in the great work of emancipation, why do you not unite, and form an orthodox Anti-Slavery League? If, while absenting yourselves from the meetings of the catholic League, you had been attending meetings of your own Anti-Slavery League; if, while you were warning your friends against listening to the lecturers of the League, you had been lecturing in favor of abolition yourselves; if, while you were refusing to take part in the labors of the League, you had been laboring zealously among yourselves—we could have given you credit for good motives; but this has not been the case. You neither work with the League nor without the League. You neither countenance the lecturers of the League, nor deliver lectures of your own. Your tongues are silent, or speak only to abuse the lecturers. Your pens are lying idle; you neglect the great work altogether. Your conduct, therefore, justifies us in suspecting that your excuses are insincere, that your motives are not good.

Again, you say you are concerned for the cause of God. We answer: the cause of God was never injured by truth, and it can never be supported by compromise. The cause of God is the cause of humanity, and the cause of humanity is the cause of God. The cause of sects and priesthoods is only so far the cause of God as they are devoted to the interests of humanity. The cause of God and of humanity, the cause of Christ and of human liberty, the interests of religion and the interests of mankind, are one. Instead of injuring the cause of God by denouncing the slaveholding professors and preachers of America, you would befriend and further it. Instead of injuring the cause of God by exposing the faults and inconsistencies of American professors and ministers, you are injuring it by your silence and inactivity. The exposure and reproof of sin can injure no cause that is good and godly. To identify the cause of God with slaveholding and kidnapping—to speak of the religion of men who are guilty of the grossest crimes, as if it were the religion of heaven—to talk of the churches and ministers who commit the greatest wrongs against men, and offer the most fearful insults against God, as if they were the churches and ministers of Christ —is nothing less than blasphemy.

You talk as if your creeds, your churches, your ministers were to be secured, whatever becomes of the slave. Let me tell you that the slave is of more importance than all the creeds and churches and ministries upon earth. The slave is a man, and the worth of a man is infinite. The slave is a man; and we know nothing that is above man, nothing that is greater, nothing that is higher, nothing that is more sacred or venerable than man, except God himself. However great the importance of your creeds, your churches, your ministers may be, the importance of man is still greater. Man is God's child, and nothing is more dear to God than man's welfare. Man is God's image, and indignity offered to man is indignity offered to God. Such is God's interest in man that he considers what is done to man as done to himself. All things are put under man's feet; but man himself is put under no one but God. All things are made for man. The sun, the moon, the stars, the hills and valleys, the fountains and rivers, the day and night, the changing seasons, and all the riches of the earth, and all the glories of the skies, and all the arrangements of God's infinite providence, are all for man. All things are made for man, while man is made for none of them. The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath. And bibles, and revelations, and laws, and governments, and churches, all are made for man—not man for them. And the church, and the creed, and the government, and the laws that are war with man, are at war with God, and are doomed to perish. Man is the most sacred of all things upon earth; and other things are sacred in proportion as they tend to promote man's improvement, his perfection, his welfare. The church and the ministry that enslave men, or sanction man's enslavement, are of the devil; and their downfall should be a cause of joy, not of grief. And such are the churches of America. They both sanction the enslavement of men, and take part in the work of enslaving. They are the bulwarks of slavery. Slavery lives at this hour through their support. They are then of the devil, and your aim and endeavor should be to break them up. You may say it is their ignorance that makes them give countenance to slavery; but we have reason to think otherwise. And if it were ignorance, are ministers and churches that are too ignorant to know that man-stealing and slaveholding are sins, to be called ministers and churches of Christ? Is the cause of such churches and ministers to be called the cause of God?

You think religion will suffer if such exposures be encouraged; we think religion has suffered already by the crimes committed in its name, and that the exposure of those crimes is the first step towards remedying the evil. We think it is the slaveholding and slavery-sanctioning churches and ministers that injure religion; and that the abolitionists are the men who are stopping the mischief, and rescuing religion from its foes.

You are afraid of losing popularity if you join the abolitionists. We think you will lose your popularity if you do *not* join with them, unless you begin to work as you ought for freedom among yourselves. Think what you will, the people of this country will either have churches and creeds and ministers that are friendly to humanity, or they will have none.—They will either have creeds and churches and ministers that war with slavery and oppression, and help to promote the freedom and purity, the peace and the blessedness of mankind, or they will have done with creeds and churches and ministers altogether. And they are right. Even the Bible itself would perish, if it were found at war with the freedom and the interests of mankind. And you will perish—your influence will vanish like the dew, and your names be a byeword of reproach and infamy, if you allow your brethren to be in bonds without endeavoring to free them. You will perish, or become a loathing to every man of worth and piety on earth, if instead of pleading for the slave you plead for the chapel-going and sermon-preaching slaveholders. You will perish, and be remembered only as pests and plagues, if you help the strong against the weak, the rich against the poor, the oppressor against the oppressed, the tyrants against the slaves. Already your reputation and your influence are on the decline. Already large masses of the people look upon you as their foes.—Already they suspect you as leaning more to the side of the strong than to the side of the weak in your own country. Already they begin to feel as if the religion which is to bless them must be something different from the religion which is preached from your pulpits; and that the church which is to aid them is not composed of the churches of which you are the guides. Already you have sunk in the estimation of multitudes. Your conduct in connexion with your Evangelical Alliance sank you in the estimation of many, and still you are sinking. And unless you make haste to amend, unless you prove yourselves the friends of your race, you will sink to rise no more.

I beseech you to consider your position, and to begin to do your duty like men. Do not think me your enemy because I speak thus. I am an enemy to no man living. I am an enemy to nothing but to ignorance, to error, and to sin. I am your friend; and my advice, if followed, cannot fail to do you good. I wish to see you honored, but I wish you first to be honorable. I wish to see you powerful, but I wish to see you first employing what power you already possess for the good of your brethren. Do right, and honor and influence will come as a matter of course in due time. Do right, and you then ally yourselves with God, and prosperity and blessedness are as sure as the almightiness and eternity of God himself.

From the North Star.

COMMENTS ON GERRIT SMITH'S ADDRESS.

It will be remembered that Mr. Smith referred us in last week's paper to this address, for his views respecting the Constitutionality of slavery; and virtually said to us, dispose of these, and if it shall then be necessary, you shall have more. To us, the address is quite unsatisfactory and unsound. About what a government ought to be so far as relates to a crime like slavery, there is no difference of opinion between us. That it is the duty of a government to protect the rights and liberties of its subjects, there is no question; and that that government which fails to do this is extremely guilty, there is equal agreement. What a government ought to do, is one thing; but not the thing germane to the question at issue between Mr. Smith and ourselves. That government ought to be just, merciful, holy, is granted. The question is not, however, what a government ought to be, or to do, but what the government of the United States is *authorized to be, and to do, by the Constitution of the United States.* The two questions should be kept separate, that the simplest may understand, as blending them only leads to confusion.

It is because we hold civil government to be solemnly bound to protect the weak against the strong, the oppressed against the oppressor, the few against the many, and to secure the humblest subject in the full possession of his rights of person and of property, that we utterly abhor and repudiate this government and the Constitution as a dark and damning conspiracy against all the purposes of government. Both its framers and administrators were, and have been until now, little better than a band of pirates. We would make clean work of both the government and the Constitution, and not amend or force a new construction upon either, contradicted by the whole history of the nation; but would abolish both, and reconstruct a Constitution and a government which shall better answer the ends of justice. To think of good government in a Union with slaveholders, and under a Constitution framed by slaveholders, the practical operation of which for sixty years has been to strengthen, sustain and spread slavery, does seem to us delusive. We are not for mending old clothes with new cloth, or putting new wine into old bottles, but for starting afresh under a new and higher light than our piratical fathers saw, and form a Constitution and government which shall be so clear and explicit that no doubt can be entertained as to its minutest purposes.

That this cannot be truthfully affirmed of our present Constitution, we need not insist upon at this time. Even our friend Smith virtually admits that it would be dangerous to leave the question of the slave's redemption to be decided in the light of the Constitution. The 'old tattered parchment' receives no great deference from him after all. Disdaining it altogether, he says, '*Whatever may be said of the lawfulness of slavery, government must abolish it. If it have a Constitution under which it cannot abolish slavery, then it must override the Constitution, and abolish slavery. But whether under or over the Constitution, it must abolish slavery.*' We like this for its whole-souled devotion to a glorious object. It is revolutionary, and looks as much like the fanaticism of Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison, as if it had been cast in their mould. In plain terms, Mr. Smith is for the abolition of slavery, whether in accordance with, or in violation of, the Constitution; and while the declaration is worthy of his noble heart, we cannot think such of his head. The doctrine laid down in this declaration, runs through the whole address, and gives it a vigor and warmth from beginning to end. We shall therefore express a few thoughts upon it.

It will be seen that the doctrine in question makes the government superior to, and independent of the Constitution, which is the very charter of the government, and without which the government is nothing better than a lawless mob, acting without any other or higher authority than its own convictions or impulses as to what is right or wrong. If this doctrine be sound, it is a mere farce to have a written Constitution at all; for if the government can override and violate its Constitution in one point, it may do so in all. There is no limit or safety, or certainty. If it can abolish slavery in violation of the Constitution, because it conflicts with the moral sentiments of the majority, the same may be done in other cases for the same reason. All the safe-guards of that instrument, providing for its own interpretation and its own amendment, are worthless and needless, if this doctrine be true, and government will merely be the voice of an ever-shifting majority, be that good or evil.

Among the causes which have convulsed and revolutionized Europe during the past year, none has been more prominent or effective than the want and rational desire of the people for Constitutional government—not an unwritten, but a WRITTEN CONSTITUTION, accurately defining the powers of government. But these revolutions and Constitutions would be a mere mockery, if government has a character independent of, and powers superior to the Constitution creating it. In the light of such doctrine, Constitutions are impotent and useless, and not worth the trouble of making them, to say nothing of the blood and treasure expended in their support. We hold this doctrine to be radically unsound, (and although brought forward to promote a noble object,) its tendency immoral. We say to our friend Smith, and to all others who sympathise with his views on this subject, If you profess to hold to the Constitution maintain its provisions. If you cannot, in accordance with your conscience, perform its requirements, or submit to its limitations, then we say, it is your plain duty to come out from it, forsake it, repudiate it, abandon it, do anything rather than seem to be in harmony with an instrument which you would set aside and destroy. Do not, for the sake of honesty and truth, solemnly swear to protect and defend an instrument which it is your firm and settled purpose to disregard and violate in any one particular. Such a course would unsettle all confidence, invert all the principles of trust and reliance which bind society together, and leave mankind to all the horrors of anarchy, and all the confusion of Babel. We hold in respect to this, as the apostle held of old in respect to another Constitution—'They that be under the law, are bound to do the things contained in the law.' We repudiate the law, and the things contained in it, while friend Smith holds to the law, but makes it subject to the understanding of right. But, says Mr. Smith—

'Civil government is to protect rights; and it might as well be openly repudiating its functions, and destroying its very existence, as to be giving countenance to searches after authorities for destroying rights. Laws, which interpret, define, secure rights, government is to respect: and laws, which mistakingly, yet honestly, aim at this end, it is not to despise. But laws, which are enacted to destroy rights, it should trample under foot; for, to say nothing worse of them, they are a gross insult upon it, inasmuch as they are a shameless attempt to turn it from good to evil; and from its just and heaven-intended uses, to uses of a diametrically opposite character.'

Here again, the argument goes to the extent of assuming that civil government in this country has a separate existence from the Constitution, and, as if the Constitution were not the supreme law of the land, that the government can consistently overthrow the Constitution whenever it shall think proper to do so. In answer to this statement, it is enough to say that the government of the United States is limited in its powers and action by the Constitution, and that beyond those limits it cannot go, by any pretext whatever; and that the Supreme Court, the appointed agent to decide the meaning of that instrument, has only to decide a law to be unconstitutional, and it is null and void. It may indeed be said, that the Supreme Court of the United States has no right to legalize what is unjust and in derogation of or against human freedom; but the answer is, that that is legal in this country which is Constitutional, and that the Supreme Court has no conscience above the Constitution of the United States, and certainly no power to set that instrument aside, either by declaring it to be null and void, or wrest it from its true intent and meaning, by a class of rules unknown and unsustained by a single precedent in this country.

As to what Mr. Smith says of determining the meaning of the Constitution by its letter alone, and disregarding as utterly worthless the intentions of the framers of that instrument, it may require consideration when he gives us some fixed and settled legal rules sustaining his views on this point. Such rules may exist, but we have not yet seen them; and until we do, we shall continue to understand the Constitution not only in the light of its letter, but in view of its history, the meaning attached to it by its framers, the men who adopted it, and the circumstances in which it was adopted. We have not read law very extensively, but so far as we have read, we have found many rules of interpretation favoring this mode of understanding the Constitution of the United States, and none against it, though there may be such.

It can scarcely be necessary, after what we have already said, to spend much time upon the following extraordinary declaration of Mr. Smith, respecting the Constitution, in which he declares that it 'is drawn up with the intelligent and steadfast purpose of having it serve and be forever fully and gloriously identified with the cause of liberty, republicanism and equal rights, must of necessity be shut against the claims and pretensions of slavery.' That it was drawn up with the purpose of serving the cause of the white man's liberty, is true; but that it was meant to serve the cause of the black man's liberty is false. That a Constitution so drawn, must necessarily be shut against the claims of slavery, is an error. We are not deeply skilled in the science of human language, and use language in the sense in which it is generally used, rather than scientifically, and we do know that 'Liberty, Republicanism and Equal Rights,' words constantly on the lips of this nation, are deemed to be no more hostile to negro slavery, than the same words, when used by the Greeks, were supposed to be against the enslavement of the Helots. Ours is not the business of a lexicographer, but to receive the idea meant to be conveyed by the language of those who use it, and condemn or approve accordingly.

In the letter of Mr. Smith which we published last week, he assumes that the material thing for us to prove, in order to establish the wrongfulness of voting and acting under the United States Constitution is, that the Federal Government has no right to abolish slavery under that instrument. With all deference, we must say, we see no such necessity laid upon us. We might, for argument's sake, grant all that Mr. Smith claims as to the power of the Federal Government to abolish slavery under the Constitution, and yet hold, as we certainly do hold, that it is wrong to vote and take office under the Constitution. It is not enough that a man can demonstrate that his plan will abolish slavery, to satisfy us that his plan is the right and best one to be adopted. Slavery might be abolished by the aid of a foreign arm; but shall we therefore invoke that aid? We might, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, break into the house of Mr. Smith, and steal the wherewithal to do these things, but the question of the rightfulness of such conduct would be still open. If there is one Christian principle more firmly fixed in our heart than another, it is this, that it is wrong to do evil that good may come; and if there is one heresy more to be guarded against than another, it is the doctrine that the end justifies the means. We say, therefore that it is not incumbent upon us to show that, by a forced and latitudinarian construction of the Constitution, Congress may not abolish slavery in all the slaveholding States, in order to establish the doctrine which we lay down, and justify the course which we feel bound to pursue in regard to voting under the Constitution of the United States. It is enough for us to know that the Constitution requires of those who are parties to it to return the fugitive slave to the house of bondage, and to shoot down the slave if he rises to gain his freedom, to justify us in repudiating and forever casting from us, as a covenant with death, the American Constitution.

Of course those who regard the Constitution in the light that Mr. Smith does, are bound by their convictions of duty to pursue an opposite course; and we candidly confess that, could we see the Constitution as they do, we should not be slow in using the ballot-box against the system of slavery, or urging others to do so. But we have learned enough of the elements of moral power, to know that a man is lame, impotent, and worse than weak, when he ceases to regard the clear convictions of his understanding, to accomplish anything, no matter how desirable that thing may be. We shall therefore continue to denounce the Constitution and government of the United States as a most foul and bloody conspiracy against the rights of three millions of enslaved and imbruted men; for such is the conviction of our conscience in respect to both the Constitution and the government. Down with both, for it is not fit that either should exist!—F. D.

From the Cayuga New Era.

TO HON. HENRY CLAY OF KENTUCKY.

YOUR PLAN OF EMANCIPATION.

'Whatever may be the day fixed, whether 1855 or 1860, or any other day, all born after it, I suggest, should be free at the age of twenty-five, but be liable afterwards to be hired out, under the authority of the State, for a term not exceeding three years, in order to raise a sum sufficient to pay the expenses of their transportation to the colony, and to provide them an outfit for six months after their arrival there.' *Extract from your letter.*

SIR:—If your plan is a good one to commence with 1855 or 1860, why is it not good for 1849 or 1850? If the institution of Slavery, as you have asserted in your letter, is 'A GREAT EVIL *to both races*;' a 'GREAT WRONG to the African race;' and if, according to your religious hope and belief, the slaves are to '*be returned to their original home, civilized, and imbued with the benign spirit of Christianity, and prepared ultimately to redeem that great continent from barbarism and idolatry,*' why continue the great evil to both races?—why persist in the infliction of the great wrong upon the bondmen?—why withhold them from the performance of their God-designed mission of African redemption, till all born in 1855 become twenty-five years old, and have, from the age of twenty-five to twenty-eight, been hired out to pay the outfit for their glorious mission? Why not begin now to hire them out to earn the money for the outfit, or rather, why hire them out at all? Has not a slave, already arrived at the age of twenty-eight, earned as much as one will have earned who may be born in 1855, arrived at the age of twenty-five in 1890, and then hired for three years? Will slave labor be any more profitable for three years subsequent to 1890, than it has been for the last three years? Will not slave labor be less profitable then than now? Will not all the evils of the institution be worse thirty years hence than they are at this day? Where is the common sense of the plan to allow evils and wrongs to go on unchecked and growing worse for thirty long years, and to put off, during all that period, the performance of a great Christian duty, the ultimate result of which is to redeem the great continent of Africa from its bondage to idolatry and barbarism?

If emancipation should have begun in 1799, why would you hold every slave in bondage till near the end of the nineteenth century? You say in your letter that it was your opinion, in 1799, that Kentucky was in a condition to admit of the gradual emancipation, and that your opinion has never changed. If so, why is she not in a condition at this day to begin to act upon the system? Is there anything in her present condition to forbid the policy of emancipating a few thousand slaves a year, beginning with the middle of the glorious nineteenth century to hire them out to pay the expenses of their mission to Africa?

You think five thousand a year can be sent off when your system begins to work. But it must not work for the benefit of any one now living. All now in bondage must die with the 'wrong' pressing them to the grave; and all born for six years to come must be buried in the grave of the slave. It must be for the unborn thousands only. If it is for the unborn, and those alone, why make a distinction between them, and allow the thirty thousand—the five thousand a year, born for six years—to die without its benefits? Is it not a dead loss of thirty thousand missionaries in the holy cause of religion and humanity, who are to '*redeem that great continent*' from its sins?

The first principle, you say, that should regulate the working of the system is, that it should be 'slow in its operation, cautious and gradual, so as to occasion no convulsion, nor any rash and sudden disturbance of the existing habits of society.' If you, or the contemplated Kentucky Convention, should substitute 1850 in the place of 1855 for the starting point, would not the working of the system be just as gradual and just as free from disturbance and convulsion? Which bear sway in your decision in relation to the time for taking the incipient steps, your principles of Christianity, benevolence and humanity, your liberal and far-reaching statesmanship, or a narrow, selfish policy, truckling to popular favor and the prejudices and the acquisitiveness of slaveholders in other States throughout the South? Do you not know that your plan of emancipation is far behind the liberal views of a majority of the people of your own State? With all your show of liberality, then, are you not still bowing before the altar of the Moloch of slavery, where '*well-fed, fat and sleek*' slaves are to be offered up for centuries yet dark in the future with the curse?

You give no other reason far this delay than this: 'I incline to a liberal margin, so as to obviate as many objections and to unite as many opinions as possible.'

That is, when the idea of getting rid of slavery in Kentucky becomes a very popular one, you are willing to take the tide at its flood and be wafted on to fortune. You speak with the heart of neither the statesman nor the philanthropist, when you give so liberal a margin for the increase of wrongs and evils; but your words come forth with the caution, the coldness, the heartlessness of a hackneyed politician seeking for paltry fame, but not in the noble tones of one who is battling for the earliest predominance of the eternal principles of right.

If the nobler feelings of your nature are gratified by the publication of such a long-delaying, slow and cautious policy as comes forth with the high sanction of your great name, small callipers would answer for the measurement of the organs that contain them, whether of head or heart, and such organs must require but little nutriment in proportion to their size.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

SAMUEL J. MAY'S VISIT AND MEETINGS.

This good man and devoted friend of humanity, has been among us, and our hearts have been cheered and strengthened by his visit. He has not been in Philadelphia before since the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society in '33, when he was here to share the toils and dangers of the pioneers in the philanthropic but unpopular cause; and his return to the scene of that important meeting, very naturally revives many interesting memories of those days of hope and trial. During his brief stay he has addressed several meetings in the city, much we believe to the gratification and profit of his audiences.

On Friday evening, he spoke upon anti-slavery in Clarkson Hall, giving a hasty sketch of the "rise and progress of the present anti-slavery movement, and recounting from his personal memories, interesting facts illustrative of the difficulties encountered in the beginning of the work, by the brave men who dared to stand forth, to defend the poor, the helpless and dumb, against the many, the rich, the great and powerful.

Mr. May's personal connection with the events he recited, and the evident delight with which he recurred to them, and contrasted the past with the present, gave to his narrative a freshness and life most pleasant to the hearer. He closed his address by a forcible description of the present condition and wants of our cause, and a hearty appeal to every one, to join in the holy work for its promotion.

On Sunday afternoon, Mr. May addressed a small audience at the Rosine Institution, and in the evening he preached in Mr. Furness's church. Beginning with a brief historical account of Moses,—as the deliverer of Israel, who chose 'rather to suffer affliction with the people of God" than to enjoy the pleasures of the Egyptian court, with the tyrant—he made his text the hook on which to hang appropriate reflections

and practical truths, peculiarly adapted to our times and people. He pronounced a solemn and severe condemnation upon the slavery of our own land, "worse than Egyptian bondage," vividly portrayed. He lamented the blindness of the people, for the love of gain and of God, and in obedience to their own good impulses, to join in efforts for its abolition. His comparison between the characters and the consequences of slavery under our Pharaohs and the Pharaohs of Egypt, and between Mr. Clay's proposal for the long-continued and slow steps necessary for the complete banishment of its victims, and the probable suggestions of "the Ashland Sages of Egypt" for averting the threatening dangers of their slavery, were evidently unpalatable to some of the "Egyptians" present, and all persons, whom we might have taken for gentlemen, published their irritation and weakness by leaving the house, while some others laughed loudly, as though their seats were too warm for them. The sensation was doubtless evident to the preacher, but with calm and effectionate earnestness he proceeded to speak the truth upon their consciences, showing that he loved the truth and their own true welfare, better than their prejudices. Without any attempt at display or rhetorical ornament, this sermon was a direct and effective appeal for practical godliness and manliness. That pro-slavery politicians and money-seekers were annoyed, is no evidence to us that it will not work as a leaven of truth in the hearts of its hearers.

We came from the meeting rejoicing that, among the multitude of money-seeking and money-loving people, there were some who dared to proclaim God's truth, without taking counsel of their own fears,—men too honest to defraud the Holy Spirit, like Ananias and Sapphira, by keeping back part of the price, and too humane to forget the woes and want of the poor, while standing in the costly temples and courts of the rich. God bless the brave preacher, who seeks not money and honors, and even bread, in the honest utterance of unwelcome truth. Aye, God *does* bless him in the very courage, self-reliance and strength, and clear perceptions of truth which prompt and enable him to do it. He has his reward, not from the gift of man, but from the Infinite Fountain of good, and secure from the power of the world, and of hell.

Mr. May's lecture on Monday evening in Franklin Hall, upon Modern Reforms, was attended by a respectable audience, who listened to it, fully deep interest, to his views of Temperance, Anti-Slavery, Peace, the rights of labor, the equality of woman, and the true development of man, as a physical, intellectual, and moral being.

After its close, Abby Kelley Foster addressed the audience, at some length, urging them to devotion and practical zeal to promote the reversal of many of the principles they had heard; she also alluded to the present struggle in our country, and declared her conviction that the slave power would triumph over the Free Soil movement, and would continue to triumph, so long as the North consents to give it place in the government; and that in this arm can be broken only by moral power, and the resolute will of northern freemen to sunder all union between it and themselves.

From the Anti-Slavery Bugle.

FROM THE FIELD OF LABOR.

RANDOLPH, Feb. 7, 1849.

Tuesday night spoke in Brimfield, in the Baptist church, and appointed a meeting in the same place for the next evening, but the weather was so cold it was held. Staid in Brimfield till Saturday noon, writing. Put up with H. L. Carter, formerly one of the pillars of the Liberty Party in this county, but now engulfed, swallowed up, lost, in the Free Soil movement. Quite a rapid descent has he accomplished from the comparatively high position he occupied in 1840—alone with seven thousand who could not vote for a slaveholder or a pro-slavery man, (that is, pro-slavery in the political parties, for they all voted for those who were pro-slavery,) in the churches, in the present depth in the mud and mire of slavery, along side of three hundred thousand others floundering in the same black morass, and yet he can persuade himself and others in its surface in their attempts to elevate to the first office in the nation a man who goes in for the continued existence of the whole system of slavery, both in the fifteen States and in the District of Columbia. And why this descent? It was for the sake of three hundred and thousand; that is, for the sake of "*availability*!" And why was Gerrit Taylor nominated at Philadelphia? Simply for the sake of this same 'availability.' So the members of the old Liberty party are guilty of the crime of tyrannicy to principle for the sake of success which they charge so lustily upon the northern Whigs for their support of the South, and every one of them, if he looks down the whole bitter pill of slavery undiluted, for the paltry consideration of three hundred thousand votes against the further extension of it, and the reproduction on the stage of the old tragedy of Jonah in the whale's belly, only with new names for the actors, I do not know what could be. Why can't the Liberty men see that they are not responsible for *half* as much now as they were eight long years ago? And why can't the Free Soilers *all* see that while they were refusing their votes to slavery in its *tension*, they are at the same moment *giving* it to slavery *existence*? Why can't they see that their votes just as much say that they will perpetuate slavery in *fifteen old States*, as that they will not *create* it in *two new ones*? Why can't they see it is no worse to hold a few slaves a thousand miles off, than to hold three millions at our very door? Why can't they see that the Free Soilers did not vote for the continuance of slavery where it already exists—even if they all considered the Constitution sustaining it, when their suffrages for a man who, like Gerrit Smith, would carry it out as such, thus voting for *immediate abolition*? Why can't they see that such a man, who would not manifest so strong disapprobation of the system as they would by separating from those who are guilty of it, and saying to those monsters of wickedness who would not hear to us, stand by yourselves, we'll have nothing to do with you?' Why can't all men see that 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!' is not merely the only consistent position of those who are opposed to those slaveholders, but is in *itself the only real opposition*, everything that is in any other shape, being simply, whatever voluntary association necessarily implies approval?

This same H. L. Carter used to be a Colonel, but resigned some time ago, and now calls himself a disciple of Elihu Burritt—whom he calls a man, he has read—and a non-resistant. A fine specimen of non-resistance! Refuse to be a Colonel, and then employ somebody else to be, for you, a Colonel, and then appoint Martin Van Buren commander-in-chief of the army and navy. Denounce war, and then take an oath of allegiance to the war governments of Ohio and the United States, and in particular swear to support the Constitution of the latter, which expressly authorizes piracy! And even Burritt's Christian Citizen recognizes no purer morality, no higher reform than this! Why will men consent to have their opinions moulded by the teachings of such a man? Why will they consent to drink in the sentiments—mere milk-and-water dilutions—of this Citizen, the National Era, Ohio Standard, and Cleveland Herald and Democrat? There is not a soul of true progress in one number of Garrison's Liberator, than in the weekly issues of all these papers for a whole year.

Saturday afternoon went to the corner of Rootstown, and spoke an hour in the league-meeting that evening. Talked the next day on the subject of sectarian combination which was in Ravenna, and when we got to the school-house, we found six of our Methodist friends assembled for a prayer meeting. From conversation with them, I could learn, that in candor to believe that they came there on purpose to conflict with our appointment, made the evening previous; for they said, it had been the custom to meet there every Sunday night, yet they had not been there for three or four weeks on account of preaching at the centre—they were having a revival there—and there was preaching there that night. The house was full, and all were in favor of our having a meeting, except the six Methodists. In fact, there would have been none but friends to our cause, had been given out that there was to be an Anti-Slavery lecture. So we asked them to give way. They refused. We then told them that we would give way, and stay and hear them till they got through, only asking, that afterwards they would stay and hear us. So they went on with their meeting, exhorting, singing, in which the congregation took no part, but joined, and praying seven times, particularly 'for the young man who was going to give an *oration*, or whatever else it might be called, that God would give him *religion*.' The instant they were done, the Heightons broke out in one of the most beautiful and christian songs I ever heard. It was so good that the leader of the former meeting, though he had his hat in his hand ready to jump the moment it was finished, could not stir to go. But as soon as the echoes ceased, almost before I could rise to my feet, he was marching straight out of the house, followed by one or two of the others, in the midst of the pleasant and earnest entreaties of those whom they passed in getting to the door. I immediately commenced talking in a kind and affectionate manner to the three or four who remained. Presently I had occasion to speak of the great sin of voting for Taylor, when one of those, who was the leader of the meeting, jumped for hat on at that very meeting—nudged his nearest neighbor's elbow, and whispered 'let's go,' and out they all walked but one, who, we learn, came the next evening, and to whom I lectured personally I should think nearly two hours. But they *carried out our offer*—*very* carefully, I should think. They listened, for the most part attentively, to an exposition of the nature of true christianity, and to the teachings of God himself on the subject of religious meetings, as recorded in the first chapter of Isaiah. By the way, the good Methodist friend who was so effectually placed *hors du combat* by my rebuke of the sin of voting for Gen. Taylor, subsequently, when the Philadelphia nomination, that he had rather his right hand should drop from its shoulder blade, than cast a ballot for that great slave-holder, and christ, till after, when, still later, a hand-bill was posted up on that very school-house, calling on the people to attend a Free Soil Convention at Ravenna, to be addressed by Thomas Corwin, for the sake of the election of Gen. Taylor, he said he wished somebody would go and write on that notice '*Is a——Ho!*' In his case, therefore, no wonder 'the bit bire pinched.'

JOSEPH TREAT.

From the same.

DISUNION.

The Cincinnati Globe, in referring to the petition for dissolution of the Union, has discussions about which we publish in this paper, says:

We trust that Virginia and Carolina resolutions, which are to have some effect though from an opposite point of view, may also be referred to the Lorain Representative among others, and considered in the same connection. Let us have a discussion, rebuking, if need be, all the aspects of disunion.

This, we think, is using the Anti-slavery men of Ohio very discourteously. Ranking them among the Disunionists, we should imagine, would indicate that they were just as guilty in advocating or desiring disunion as the Southerners. To determine the comparative guilt of parties in this case, we must observe the reasons why each side disunion. How different, then, are these reasons. Southerners threaten disunion provided the principles of Free Soil prevail—they desire dissolution in preference to the passage of the Wilmot Proviso; the most desirable measure. Nor so of the Ohio disunionists. They have grievances on the Union, but they do not agree with those reasons why they seek the same end. They are worthy of notice when such a standard Free Soil paper will thus compare them together. Our sentiments opposite views—slave propagandists with the slave's warmest friends. These reasons are to be found attached to the petitions which have been sent to the Ohio Legislature. We give them in a brief form, for we can be being too lengthy to give in full. They ask the Legislature to "call a convention to consult measures for effecting the most safe and peaceable secession of this State from the Union."

1. Because Ohio, in voluntarily keeping with Slaveholding States, is countenancing and supporting Slavery in those States.

2. Because the 2,000,000 of people in this State are throwing the shield of respectability over the 500,000 slaveholders.

3. Because in no other way could Ohio more strongly testify her abhorrence of the system sustained by those with whom she is now in connection.

The 4th reason we quote in its own language, as we cannot well abbreviate it.

"Because the people of Ohio cannot remain in the Union even for a single hour, only as, in compliance with the agreement which they have themselves made to aid the slaveholder, and which they solemnly and publicly have sworn to do, they must, by their votes or in the general government as a premium for every slave he shall kidnap, breed, or hold: only as they make their votes, their influence, and their hearts, bend into the hell of slavery whence they have escaped, his runaway victims; and, only as they pledge themselves to keep the door fast and bolted against those poor victims, when, in the agony of their despair, they resist the monster's authority, and rise to assert their liberty."

5. Because the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution were made requisite to the Union.

6. Because by virtue of those compromises and the aid of the North pledged, slavery has existed as long as it has.

7. Because, as the Union was formed for mutual protection, the Constitution which, in its first clause, protecting the most heinous system of wickedness that ever existed.

8. Because (for the above reasons) Ohio never had a right to from the Union, or enter into it.

9. Because our representatives in Congress cannot take their seats beside the slaveholders from the South without recognizing the fitness of those tyrants to make laws for Ohio.

10. Because the Union—having *nationalized* Slavery or made it a *national* concern—has involved the people of Ohio in the guilt as well as the disgrace of that system.

11. Because the South is an immense tax upon Ohio.

The 12th reason we give entire.

Because, finally, the people of Ohio have clearly the *right* to secession. It is full of hope, and in no way a *means*, and if the people of Ohio think that the ends that *ought* to be attained by it, not attained, or if they think that the means used to attain it, are such, they have the right to come out from it, and set up a new government. This right is distinctly asserted in the Declaration of Independence, and has founded in the very nature of State sovereignty. And by exercising it, Ohio would interfere with the rights of no portion of the Confederacy, even with those of the South.

Now, it would seem, by these reasons, good or bad, that they do not merit the same rebuke with the outbreaks from the South. Ohio petition, if disunion seal is blind, let not the Globe rank such friends of liberty with the friends of oppression, when the rebuke must come.

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

DELAWARE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We find in the *Blue Hen's Chicken*, (Wilmington) the Fifth Annual Report of the Delaware Anti-Slavery Society. It is full of hope, and in no way disheartened that its efforts for the overthrow of Slavery in that State have not yet been crowned with success. We make an extract:

That the exodus from Slavery, and elevation in the scale of being of the dusky sons of America, is no less certain than that the Mississippi has been may be as fully relied upon as that there is a God who rules the universe and dispenses his blessings to his children justly. Why will men, of whatever clime, complexion or condition they may. In vain was in that our Legislature, at its last session, endeavored to interpose its paralyzing hand in the tide of moral revolution. It might, with equal wisdom and effect, have attempted to stay the resistless waves of the noble Delaware, and to roll back its tides to their fountains, as to attempt to stay the tide of Time, in its foundation in the nature of things, and has God for its author, and its members by its action are attempting to stay the course of Divine Providence, and the decrees of the All-wise. In their efforts to dam the resistless stream, they will find their work, and themselves swept away by its rapid, and fearful waves and deeds enrolled on the annals of infamy, or lost beneath the dark waters of oblivion. Unconsciously to themselves, they have been setting a power in motion that will overwhelm them.

In their opposition to the expressed will of a thousand of our most worthy citizens, and the undoubted wishes of the majority of the people, they have a great question of reform; in their neglect to do the will of the people in various minor though important matters; they have been teaching the people that, if they wish their bidding done, they must take the matter in their own hands, and see to it that they elect men who will fulfil their duties as their servants, and not arrogate to themselves to be their masters. They have been teaching them that if they wish to enjoy liberty for themselves, just have and an impartial administration of laws, they must first remove this insidious power, and then the throne will do their bidding. This is the lesson the people have been learning; may they con it well before they are again called upon to choose their representatives, that their choice may be made intelligently, but their wishes may be done, that our State may be made free.

During the past year, in consequence of the political excitement of a Presidential campaign, there has not been the same opening as usual for our labours in the moral field; nevertheless, something of efforts has been made, not without effect is hoped. There have been some public meetings held, and during the early part of the year, we had a lecturing agent in the field for a short period. We were not able to secure his service for a greater period, as it was, it was sufficient to show that we had not overrated by a strong position of the people will gladly embrace the truth, when properly placed before them. It is a subject of regret that our limited means will not admit of our employing a lecturer in this field of labour. We are it calculated to the extent for which there is opening, there is no doubt that an abundant fruitage would be gathered in. The publication of our paper, which was continued until recently, has now ceased. The fund created for its support having been expended, and no sufficient subscription, to warrant its being, it is thought, a continuance this course was found necessary. The subscription price being merely nominal, has only defrayed a small part of the expense of publication. Under these circumstances, we have, in our opinion, it would be difficult to express an intelligent opinion. That it has been taken and read, by a considerable number of the intelligent people of this State, is evident, but the circulation has been limited, and as a matter of course its usefulness, by the unnecessary excitement of the subscribers, and the fear of the people of the citizens at the outset, is no less true, as the experience of every day of its publication has manifested.—That its circulation would have been much more extended, if its influence had been in the direction, we have generally felt, had not this been the case, we have no doubt. We are not without hope, however, that its temporary suspension will be found to be in vain, if it has been the medium of conveyance of a great deal of valuable information to the minds of its readers, many of whom, without the aid, would be destitute of the knowledge they now possess of the workings of the "peculiar institution."

The remainder of the Report is devoted to a consideration of the general aspect of the cause throughout the world.

NORTHERN PLUCK.

"There are at least some symptoms that the North is recovering from the spiritual paralysis, which so long prevented her from standing erect in the presence her southern masters. The Washington correspondent of the *New-York Post* says, that when the Cabinet nominations were under discussion, we must observe the reasons why each side disunion. How different, then, are these reasons. Southerners threaten disunion provided the principles of Free Soil prevail—they desire dissolution in preference to the passage of the Wilmot Proviso; the most desirable measure. Nor so of the Ohio disunionists. They have grievances on the Union, but they do not agree with those reasons why they seek the same end. They are worthy of notice when such a standard Free Soil paper will thus compare them together. Our sentiments opposite views—slave propagandists with the slave's warmest friends. These reasons are to be found attached to the petitions which have been sent to the Ohio Legislature. We give them in a brief form, for we can be being too lengthy to give in full. They ask the Legislature to "call a convention to consult measures for effecting the most safe and peaceable secession of this State from the Union."

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3. Because in no other way could Ohio more strongly testify her abhorrence of the system sustained by those with whom she is now in connection.

The 4th reason we quote in its own language, as we cannot well abbreviate it.

"Because the people of Ohio cannot remain in the Union even for a single hour, only as, in compliance with the agreement which they have themselves made to aid the slaveholder, and which they solemnly and publicly have sworn to do, they must, by their votes or in the general government as a premium for every slave he shall kidnap, breed, or hold: only as they make their votes, their influence, and their hearts, bend into the hell of slavery whence they have escaped, his runaway victims; and, only as they pledge themselves to keep the door fast and bolted against those poor victims, when, in the agony of their despair, they resist the monster's authority, and rise to assert their liberty."

5. Because the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution were made requisite to the Union.

6. Because by virtue of those compromises and the aid of the North pledged, slavery has existed as long as it has.

7. Because, as the Union was formed for mutual protection, the Constitution which, in its first clause, protecting the most heinous system of wickedness that ever existed.

8. Because (for the above reasons) Ohio never had a right to from the Union, or enter into it.

9. Because our representatives in Congress cannot take their seats beside the slaveholders from the South without recognizing the fitness of those tyrants to make laws for Ohio.

10. Because the Union—having *nationalized* Slavery or made it a *national* concern—has involved the people of Ohio in the guilt as well as the disgrace of that system.

11. Because the South is an immense tax upon Ohio.

The 12th reason we give entire.

Because, finally, the people of Ohio have clearly the *right* to secession. It is full of hope, and in no way a *means*, and if the people of Ohio think that the ends that *ought* to be attained by it, not attained, or if they think that the means used to attain it are such, they have the right to come out from it, and set up a new government. This right is distinctly asserted in the Declaration of Independence, and has founded in the very nature of State sovereignty. And by exercising it, Ohio would interfere with the rights of no portion of the Confederacy, even with those of the South.

Now, it would seem, by these reasons, good or bad, that they do not merit the same rebuke with the outbreaks from the South. If Ohio petition, if disunion seal is blind, let not the Globe rank such friends of liberty with the friends of oppression, when the rebuke must come.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, APRIL 13, 1849.

No Union with Slaveholders!

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Fifteenth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Tabernacle, Broadway, New-York, on Tuesday, the 9th day of May next.

The Annual Meeting of the American Society is the most important anti-slavery meeting held any where during the year.

The Anniversary at the Tabernacle represents to the country at large the progress, the efficiency, and even the existence, of the Anti-Slavery cause. It is to vast numbers of people, the only sign of the continued real and spirit of the Abolitionists, whose local meetings they never hear of.

The Business Meetings of the Society have always brought together in counsel a larger number of Abolitionists from various parts of the Northern States than is ever convened on any other occasion. The general interests of the cause command, at that time, a consideration which at no other can be given them.

It has never, since the formation of the Society, been more apparent than at this moment, that the Anti-Slavery cause is left where it ever has been, in the hands of the friends of the Anti-Slavery Society. There is as yet no reason to suppose that Slavery will ever be abolished, except through its efforts.

The general importance of the annual meeting, and the aspect of the cause at this moment, which gives us every thing to hope for if we persevere—every thing to fear if we relax, suggest alike loudly to Abolitionists, all over the land, to make the ensuing Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society one that shall do more even than any previous one has done to drive the South to despair in defence of its felonious system of society, and the North to more determined action, in behalf of a people who has ever ventured to assume in defence of its own rights, and the assertion of the rights of the slave.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, } *Secretaries.*
S. H. GAY, }

WHYMOUTH.

An Anti-Slavery Convention was held at Richards's Hall in this town on Sunday last. The meeting was opened at 10 1-2 o'clock, A. M., by singing an Anti-Slavery song. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Gen. Agent of the Mass. A. S. Society, stated briefly the objects and purposes of the meeting; after which, ELIZA ROBBINS was chosen to preside, and DR. HERVEY WESTON, of Weymouth was chosen Secretary. Mr. May read some passages from the first chapter of Isaiah, and commented upon them, and offered prayer.

PARKER PILLSBURY then addressed the audience. He regretted to what had been said that the prophets (who are now held in such high estimation in the 'Church,') were rejected in their day by both priests and people, and said that the persecuted of one generation had invariably become the honored and the sainted even of the next or of succeeding generations. The Anti-Slavery enterprise, he said, was of a kindred enterprise, will be all that, two hundred years hence, will be remembered of this age; other things, now so engrossing, other names now deemed so great, will all be forgotten. "We have come here to day to do a work of emancipation; we have come to expose the character of many of the institutions which have to save you from the influence of institutions which sustain slavery and which must be overthrown before slavery can be. Our national Constitution was formed and arranged with an express view to the support of slavery, and to the establishment and perpetuity of conformity thereto. The State is the nursing father of slavery, and the Church of the country is its nursing mother. The Free Soil party, by sustaining the Constitution and the Union, sustains slavery, from Martin Van Buren downward, if there can be any downward from Martin Van Buren. This sentiment, if universal, it will be though the efforts of those who stand *outside* of the State and the Church, and who lend no aid or sanction to institutions which sustain slavery, and by so doing degrade all who belong to them. It may be hard for some of you to believe it, friends, but I tell you that the slaveholding institution of your religion does you any good; but, on the other hand, much harm. With respect to *Temperance*, for instance, that cardinal Christian virtue, it has no home in the church, as the walls of this room [hung with Temperance pictures and mottoes] abundantly show. For the most part it is banished from the Church. I therefore that the committee on the district of Columbia be instructed to bring in, as soon as practicable, a bill prohibiting the slave trade in the said district.

Such a resolution commits not only the party, but the House of Representatives, beyond recall. The resolution was laid on the table, by a vote of 82 to 70, amid a storm of protest and defiance. They who take their stand on the federal character of the Constitution and the independence of the Union, and who have no sympathy with the objects of union, are highly indignant at what they consider an attempt to dictate the internal economy of the States. The House of Representatives has now doubly censured slavery. The Senate, at Washington as the type of the whole Union, and pronounced a condemnation on the part for the whole—the head for the body—and we, the body, by ourselves undertake to say that this is not in some sort an infringement of that federal compact which makes Washington the metropolis of slavery. In our public meetings, which does not otherwise admit the idea of a metropolis, and which leaves to every State the care of its own religion and morality. But the rigor of political systems must sometimes bow to necessity and common sense. The Union is no longer a cluster of independent States; it is now an aggregate of provinces, and the metropolis is giving laws to a world. It stands in the midst of unpeopled or half-peopled regions, of vast and sudden accumulations of wealth, and of population of all kinds of order. It cannot refuse the mission which is pressed upon it. It has no alternative but to declare a moral preference when it is expected and it is the mission desired. If a Republic of a federal Union wishes to remain in its primitive integrity, it must eschew conquest. Washington is no longer the metropolis of a thirty-millions nation, but is the metropolis of the greater part of North America, and claims a revolutionary interest in the whole. It finds itself compelled to act in the place of country, and to speak in a general and imperial capacity.

As might be expected, the southern representatives have taken high offence and have spoken out in decided proceedings. Their first impulse was to defy the northern States, and threaten resistance to the decision of the Federative Government, as being just the act of a foreign power. Subsequent giving counsels prevailed. It is now hoped that after much angry discussion, the question may be indefinitely postponed. Nothing, however, has yet sent known opinions of the Senate against abolition, delay offers the best chance of success. As far as we can judge from the effect of popular decisions in the British Parliament, the Senate, we should pronounce it impossible that this stigma shall long survive in the Union. Every year strikes another blow at slavery, and brings another adhesion to the cause of Abolitionists, who are exposing the corruptions of the false and Anti-Christian Church of this land, and calling upon every honest and humane man to come out from them, and give them no more aid or countenance, are, in so doing, the Christian part of the Church of Christ. Indeed, said he, even in the pulpits of this vicinity a doctrine like this is already taught; and people have been taught that there, if the church, [i. e. the so-called church,] continues to be not only cold and indifferent, but absolutely hostile, to the cause of humanity, *men will learn to be Christ's name, and from their very devotion to true and pure Christianity.*

Adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON. Met according to adjournment. The audience much increased. The song 'I am an Abolionist' was sung with much spirit.

The President said that a petition for the commutation of the punishment of Washington Goode was in the hall ready for signatures. Mr. May made some remarks upon the case of Goode, a colored man, poor and friendless, convicted of murder upon evidence wholly circumstantial. In the recent case of Tyrrell the evidence of guilt was very much stronger than in this case of Goode; and Lyt Tirrell was saved from death. Was it because he was a white man, and had powerful friends? Let not Massachusetts show a cruel partiality *against* the colored man, the more ignorant, unfortunate, and friendless, of the two. He expressed the hope that the petition would be largely signed in Weymouth, as it had already been in other towns.

Mr. May then addressed the meeting upon the superiority of the objects of the Abolitionists to those of the sectarians and political partizans about us. The Anti-Slavery cause has conferred an unspeakable benefit and blessing upon those who have espoused it. It has given them a glorious object of the fullest and the constant consecration of our best powers. It ennobles life, and makes us understand why life was given us, as only this or a similar use of it can.

PARKER PILLSBURY spoke very forcibly in elucidation of the character of the *true* Church; showing that we must come out of the false Church in order to come into the true. He offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery movement at the present time constitutes the vanguard, the strength of the true Church; and consequently every one should belong to it. But no Anti-Slavery work, with a religious, wise and self-sacrifice are not equal or superior to the most devoted of those who are laboring to enlarge the borders of their favorite sectarian denominations.

Lucy Stone spoke. She said she knew it was very difficult for many to admit the unfaithfulness of the Church, for which they had so long felt a reverence. She understood this feeling well, for she had long been a church-member, and conscientiously at the time believed herself right in that position. But her eyes were opened to the narrow, selfish, and treacherous course of those churches, their neglect of humanity and freedom, and she felt it her duty to leave them. She now understood the meaning of the phrase 'pray without ceasing'; what does it mean? she had often asked. A praying disposition, some said; but she could now answer, 'Deeds are prayers.' God is not like man, needing words and assurances; he needs them not. 'What hath the Lord required of us, but *to do justly*, to love mercy, to walk humbly with him?' Probably not a Church in this town, certainly very few anywhere, would open its doors to William and Ellen Craft, and suspend its services for a single half day to allow them to tell the thrilling story of their escape from slavery, and its cruel wrongs. Vain were the prayers of such a church! How much more acceptable to God were those prayers which were hearty efforts in every good cause.

Mr. Pillsbury spoke again to the resolution he had introduced, and particularly upon the duty of contributing to the anti-slavery cause.

EVENING. Commenced with the Anti-Slavery song, 'Ye herald of Freedom.' The Hall was filled to its utmost capacity.

P. Pillsbury offered two resolutions upon the character of the Government, and the duty of withholding all support from it. These resolutions we have not at hand.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr. spoke on the iniquity of the Constitution and the Union in sustaining slavery, in allowing to slavery a fraudulent representation in Congress, in protecting a State-Trade between Virginia, &c., and the Southwestern States, as wicked and piratical as the Slave-Trade between Africa and Brazil, and in pledging the whole force of the North to keep the slaves in their chains.

Lucy Stone enlarged upon the wickedness of giving any aid to a government based upon compromises with Slavery.

Mr. BLANCHARD, of Weymouth, defended political action under this government; and said we ought to use our political power for the overthrow of Slavery. He said Massachusetts was a slaveholding State, and by which, as he admitted, the slave-property of the South has now 24 votes in Congress) was in his opinion *against* slavery, rather than in favor of it; as otherwise, the whole number of the slaves would be reckoned. He maintained that we were not obliged by the Constitution to protect the slaves; and declared that Congress might at any time break up the Slave-Trade, if it would.

P. PILLSBURY replied to Mr. Blanchard, and showed the impossibility of having any political action, under this government, save such as is pledged beforehand to sustain the compromises of slavery. Slavery is not a foot of *free soil* in the Union; if a slave wants to find such a spot, he must escape into Canada, and go back under the rule of a government from which our fathers broke away, to obtain freedom! And yet, since the Union was formed, there has not been an inch of free soil—not an inch that is not made humiliating ground for the slaveholder. This Government strips Thomas Gannatt, of Delaware, of $5000, another friend of $2500, and shuts up in a felon's cell Capt. Drayton, of the schooner Pearl, and Charles T. Torrey, and many others—all *for doing deeds of mercy, of humanity, of Christian duty*; deeds which Christ required them to do if they would be his disciples. John Quincy Adams, George N. Briggs, Wm. B. Calhoun, and others told us that we ought to dissolve the Union if Texas was annexed. What then is our duty, now, when not only is Texas is annexed, but a long train of evils has followed, as a consequence, in which this country, compelled to 200 Mexicans to a bloody grave, and an immense territory has been annexed, into which Slaveholders are already carrying their Slaves, in order to re-instate slavery where Mexico had abolished it. Prominent Free Soil men have courted Garrison and his friends to stand firm to their post. You, who are Free Soilers, think that your action has put some better men into Congress; and I think so too. But I'm not *glad* of that; I cannot be glad to see men so good as they swearing that horrid oath to uphold Slavery. I am sorry for them, for Slavery has encompassed them in her toils, and is using them for its vile purposes, and making them drink of the cup of her intoxication.

After an excellent meeting, continued to a late hour; adjourned.—M.

PETITIONS FOR WASHINGTON GOODE. Persons who desire to sign petitions asking for commutation of punishment in the case of Washington Goode, the hapless colored man who is to be hung in this city on the 26th of May, will find them at the Anti-Slavery Rooms, 21 Cornhill, Bela Marsh's, 25 Cornhill, Prisoner's Friend office, 21 Cornhill; Chronotype office, 15 State street, Republican office, 2 Devonshire st., and Washingtonian office, 123 Washington st.

THE *Norfolk County Anti-Slavery Society* will hold its annual meeting in DEDHAM, on THURSDAY, April 26. Official notice, with further particulars, next week.—W.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—In the Senate, on the 9th inst., the resolution relative to Slavery in the District of Columbia, on motion of Mr. Pennington, was taken up and passed by the following vote;

YEAS—Messrs. Bigger, Brainard, Brewer, Cockrell, Copeland, Crittenden, Dickinson, Dodge, Dodge, Hasdesty, Howard, Johnson of Medina, Julian, Marsh, Montfort, Morris, Morse, Norris, Olds, Pennington, Pitman, Pratt, Rockwell, Smith of Brown, Smith of Madison, Scott, Thompson, Towgood, Truman, Van Doren, Watt, Will, Woodford—33.

NAYS—Messrs. Armstrong, Burt, Daiseil, Dreaback, Durbin, Edson, Foster, Franks, Hamilton, Keller, King, Larimer, Long, Miller, Mott, Meyers, Pierce, Phillips, Ringwood, Roedter—20.

During the calling of the Yeas and Nays, Mr. Armstrong said he could not vote for the resolution, owing to the wording of it.

Mr. Long also objected to its language.

Mr. Mott thought 'God Almighty intended the niggers for Slaves.'

Mr. Montfort objected to the bombastic of the resolution!

Reported for the N. E. Washingtonian.

ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING AT THE TEMPLE,

IN BEHALF OF WASHINGTON GOODE.

The noble response of our citizens to the call made by the friends of the ignorant and unfortunate victim of society—Washington Goode—to assemble on Friday evening of last week, at the Temple, "to hear argument why Goode should be reprieved, or to give plausible reasons why they, the people, require that his neck should be disjointed, and he be choked to death for the good of the State, furnishes simple evidence of a corresponding in the world of reform. Boston has, in this instance, established a wide precedent for the State. If the presence of a large and intelligent audience, and their hearty and universal applause to sentiments like these we have reported below, be any proof of the existing public sentiment upon the sacredness of human life, or the false theological notion that the State should, 'pull up a hair' of a man, but that man should be sacrificed to the State, then we have double cause to rejoice. We consider this monster gathering to be but an earnest of 'the good time coming.'

ABIJAH G. ADAMS, Amasa Walker was called to the Chair, and the writer appointed Secretary.

The Chairman, after briefly stating the object of the meeting, introduced W. H. Channing, who commenced by saying 'that it seemed timely and appropriate that such a meeting as this should be assembled in the evening of the Sabbath—the day consecrated in the hearts of Christians by the memory of the crucifixion of their master. What a contrast between that scene and this; there a maddened, superstitious multitude, gathered to heap upon the head of the spotless in holiness their wrath—here a christianized assemblage, considering not whether one man in enlightened community shall take the life of one stayed in a—there a love wholly divine giving life away for a blessing to mankind—here a crowd of fellow-citizens discussing whether to kill a wretched brother for self-protection! The contrast was indeed extreme. It was in the light of this crucifixion of God's beloved Son had poured over the ages, that we should regard our present duties. From that cross shone out *Forgiveness*; its meaning was, the redemption of the lost, the restoration of the fallen. And then, in view of that exhibition of heavenly mercy, let us ask what should be done with Washington Goode on the ground of *Christian Justice*.'

The speaker then passed to a consideration of the influences amidst which Goode had probably grown up from boyhood; described the career of thousands in our communities, who even from the cradle are surrounded with an atmosphere of temptation—fed on curses—trained to anger—taught to fight in self-defence or vengeance—through rye and ear accustomed to drunkenness and lust, and undisciplined in heart or mind—in every way neglected, an outcast.

Then he sketched the course of the sailor, cooped up in a floating hell, surrounded by conflicting, and coarse companions, subjected to the tyrannical discipline of the ship, habituated to blows and profanity, poorly paid, and turned ashore to find such low enjoyments as society offers for his class.

'And now,' said the speaker, 'what has Christian Justice done for this poor Goode man? Has it baptized him with the purest of holy influences, of purity, temperance, gentleness, wisdom? No! It has baptized him rather with the lava of intemperance, and the leprosy of licentiousness. Has it trained him to self-command, rectitude, usefulness, benevolence? No! but rather to passion, brutal impulses, sloth, revenge, inhumanity. And now, when the natural results of such a youth and manhood manifest themselves in crime,—when the poisonous fruit, engrafted on the original stock of native honesty and good affections is ripe,—when, amidst drunken den and loathsome cellar, the fruit of such a manhood ripens down with churches yet tolerate and support, the accumulated passions of years of debauchery break forth in deeds of insane violence, is it Christian Justice which sternly cries to the supposed criminal, 'Be sotted, abandoned wretch, unfit for our society, or cast you out?' Is this the Christian doctrine of the lost, the restoration of the fallen?—this the teaching of the New Commandment?

Christian Justice says, 'Brother, have we thus forgotten, abused and neglected you!—thus debased, by the temptations we spread around you, your spiritual being? Then, even at this late day, will we begin to fulfil our duties to you. We will separate you from scenes of sin, we will surround you with refined, gentle, holy influences. Have we wronged you by indifference?—then will we right those wrongs by merciful care. Have we brutalized,—then will we humanize you. Have we sunk you in the dust!—then will we, by God's blessing, raise you to the skies.'

Having thus struck what it seemed to him should be the key-note of the evening, *Christian Justice*, the speaker said he would give way to others, who would present the case in detail, and in view of all its legal and moral bearings. He had brought to the hearts of his disciples, upon the worst supposition—that Goode had committed murder; but he could not refrain from expressing his astonishment that upon such testimony a jury could have found themselves clear in judgment to pronounce him guilty.—

WENDELL PHILLIPS was introduced as the next speaker. He said, the object of this meeting is to save Washington Goode from the gallows. We do not complain of the action of the executive or of the verdict of the jury, nor do we wish to seize this occasion to discuss the grand question of the abolition of the gallows. But we ask the assembled citizens of man and woman in our city, to unite to induce the Governor to commute the sentence. No matter what be your opinion—whether you object to this execution on the ground of your general hostility to capital punishment; or whether, holding to the expediency of those, you think the evidence so feeble and circumstantial as to be unwilling to see the Commonwealth to break into the bloody house of life—or again, even believing him guilty—you can see nothing in the circumstances of this case to take it out of those to which mercy has been so often of late extended; whatever be your motive—we ask your name and aid to save the life of a poor friendless creature, and that the executive some reasonable ground for a change of purpose.

The notice that this execution was to be has taken the whole community by surprise. We had most of us made up our minds that no one would be hung in Massachusetts. Public opinion is in a state of rapid change on the subject of capital punishment; the Governor had twice recommended to the Legislature such a modification of the law as would take this case from the list of capital offences; it is said that the Legislative Committee are ready to report accordingly—What is there, then, in the case of this unhappy man to make it impossible to have him live? Did he murder in cold blood, with deliberate purpose, in his sane mind? Is the proof clear and unquestionable? Was it some sleeping companion, some confiding friend, in hours of social intercourse, whom he treacherously stabbed? Is he an educated man, the child of social privileges, claiming against light, and almost without temptation? Is this but the climax of a long list of atrocities, which seem to show him utterly unfit to live? Such cases is the least alone, we should suppose, would seem to the Governor and Council worthy, at this moment of legal changes, to successfully demand the gallows. But from all this is Goode. He was drunk when he committed the act, if he be indeed guilty. No threat to commit it is proved to have been uttered by him before he was drunk. The evidence comes, most of it, from prostitutes and men of hardened vengeance to Goode; and so far from being a gross sinner against right and education, this poor man during his whole life has been the victim of the worst social influences. He belongs to that unfortu-

ate class whom a cruel social prejudice banishes from all those best influences which elevate and restrain men. Do we select such a man as an example?—While others are pardoned, what is there to prevent us to demand the last dreadful penalty of the law? Neither is he a murdered villain. He never injured man, woman or child before. He never was arraigned before any Court but one, and that was for an act for which Rome would have given him a civic crown rather than a prison—for helping a slave escape from Missouri. Surely, if Tirrell goes free—if Dutee is commuted, if white men were gift about with friends—men who knew better, who were unprovoked, who were as clearly guilty of the acts charged upon them as the sun at noonday!—this man, the victim of laws in our Southern States, where he has passed much of his life, including all instruction, all religious privileges, grinding out his moral nature—laws to which it is a compliment to say they are only as bloody as those of Draco; this man, whom I do not think it is too much to say, has never been *proved guilty*—why should he be selected to be hung?

Mr. Phillips spoke at length into the circumstances of the case and the life of Goode, and concluded by asking for the names of those present, and their aid in getting other names, expressing his belief that the eloquence of 10,000 signers would save his life, and give the unhappy man time to learn to live.

At the close of Mr. Phillips's speech, quite an effort was made to obtain the petitions upon the Secretary's desk; a collection was also taken up; during the operation of which.

Rev. James Freeman Clarke, made a short speech, full of sound reasoning and valuable thoughts. We regret exceedingly that we were not able to report his excellent address. The petitioning claimed on attention during its delivery.

Rev. A. A. Miner was next introduced, who remarked that the latence of the hour rendered it improper for him to speak long. He said: Washington Goode I never saw; but I must confess that the circumstances which have been detailed here this evening in regard to him, have deeply moved my sympathies. Nor is it my sympathies alone that are moved in his behalf. My coolest judgment and most impartial understanding pronounce in favor of the effort here made; I can but think that the sympathies of this audience have been deeply moved. And yet some of you may hesitate to petition the Executive of the Commonwealth for a commutation of the unfortunate man's punishment. Some of you may feel that these sympathies should not be indulged—that rigid justice demands his sacrifice—that the sentiments to which you have listened are the offspring of a morbid sentimentality, and that if the ship of State were committed to such guidance, it would soon be wrecked; slaughter would abound, and rivers of blood down our street. With such fear you demand the execution of the ignorant, intemperate viciously educated, colored man; and lay your demand on abstract justice!

But what kind of justice is that on which you rest? It is a justice that deals blow for blow! that pays off culprit in precisely his own coin! If so, why not punish more exactly according to its dictates? Why not conform to all the circumstances, so far as is possible? If he kills with a bludgeon, why not kill him with a bludgeon? If with a knife, why not with the same? If he inflict the wound nine inches deep, why not measure it back to him, plunging the blade to the hilt? Why not, indeed, go back to the torture of old time—the wheel, the gibbet, the rack,—and thus give the murderer pain for pain, an exact measure? Why hang him simply? How do you arrive at the stupendous conclusion that simply hanging is the precise demand of such a justice?

Do you reply, that it is not the outward circumstances which measure the demerit of the criminal and determine the claims of justice upon him?—that justice deals not blow for blow, but looks to the inmost thought, and estimates guilt by the purpose of the heart and the light sinned against? I answer, then much less should you hang Washington Goode. To look upon the heart is what man cannot do. To tear away all the veils that obscure the inner light and the secret purpose of another's soul, is beyond our power. Man is not competent to it. God alone is able to do it. If, then, the justice you seek be not the justice that deals blow for blow, but that which conforms to the absolute demerit of the criminal, it is a work to which you are not competent. Neither the revelations of God, nor the experience of man, enables you to compass that end.

In saying this, I do not deny that the penalty of death may be expedient under some circumstances. The prophetic declaration to Noah, "Whose sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," might have been expressive not only of what would be, but of what it was it should be, in that age of the world. But you cannot say, that if it was fit then, it must always be fit. The first murderer, though judged by God himself, was not put to death. Nor did all murderers subsequently to Noah's time, suffer that penalty. Instance Moses, who slew the Egyptian. Nor can we see the death penalty for our time on the Jewish code; because then we should inflict death, not simply for murder in the first degree, as our chief magistrate recommends, but for near forty other crimes, among which is the picking up of sticks on the Sabbath. But some of us should go back to that antiquated code. By what logic, then, do we gain any countenance there for our modern barbarities?

No, my friends, the Scriptures lay no injunctions upon us in this age of the world to choke the life of a man as though he were a dog. Nor does any principle of Christian justice demand this. Suppose two men grew up in a vicious section of the city. Both are passionate and revengeful. They meet with provocation—like provocation. They are alike angered. The one pays back with a cutting retort; the other deals a blow—it proves a fatal blow. The one has broken no human law; the other is arraigned, condemned, hung. And yet, who can say that he was guiltier than the other? Who can say that this is the absolute demand of justice?

But if you reply, that the safety of the community requires that the two individuals should be differently dealt with—that the latter is a more dangerous man than the talker, I may admit it. But this is no defending the gallows on the grounds of justice, but on what is supposed to be required for the safety of the community. But here, too the old custom is predicated on false assumptions. We look upon the murderer as one whose trade is to kill—who thirsts for blood as for cooling waters. While the truth is, the crime is usually committed in some moment of passion—passion which bursts like lightning from the thunder cloud, and which may never appear in the same form again. Even should they remain at large, it is not to be presumed that murder will become their vocation. Now and then a murderer does escape. We do not hear of his repeating the offence. There are eight murderers now in the prison at Charlestown. We do not hear of their repeating their crimes. Indeed, they must so compare favorably with the other prisoners. Shall we be safer, then, to hang Washington Goode? No, so far as security is concerned, he can be safely kept in prison. So far as the example is concerned, the community justly fear for the hanging, and require that it shall be private. Its only effect upon the vicious will be to brutalize them, and sharpen their appetite for blood. If Goode shall be hung, we are all safer persons in the deed being committed, than we shall be afterward.

But there is one other consideration, the reformation of the criminal himself. We never should lose sight of this. In securing this, we secure the safety of the community, and the abstract ends of justice. Justice demand, that he should love God with the whole heart, and his neighbor as himself. It can never be satisfied till this end is secured. Then it will ask nothing more. Then the community will be safe. Then the criminal will be reformed. In asking for the commutation of Washington Goode's sentence, would you not be seeking all these ends together? And may we not learn from the example of Christ here? When called to the cross and surrounded by his murderers; when the sun was darkened, the veil of the temple rent in twain, the earth moved and the graves opened, Jesus prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Can you do less than to ask of the Executive the commutation of Washington Goode's sentence, of whom it can well be said, "Bred in vice, and debauched with liquor, as he was, he knew not what he did?"

J. A. Andrew was introduced as the next and last speaker, who urged the signing of the petitions. He said the last man but one who was hung in this State, about ten years since, was Benjamin Cummings of Taunton, who in all human probability was innocent. The sheriff has since publicly declared it as his firm belief, that Cummings was innocent. His clergyman also believed him innocent. Mr. A. thought it could be easily ascertained why Washington Goode was convicted upon such flimsy evidence. His was the last case on the docket. The jury were worn out with capital cases. They had convicted others, and must convict somebody. Had the talent, time, and thought been given to Washington Goode that was bestowed upon Tirrell's case, he would never have had the sentence of death passed upon him.

We have no comment to make upon these speeches other than to regret that we have not been able to do them greater justice, and report them more fully. To read a speech that we have previously listened to from the lips of an accomplished orator, though it be reported *verbatim*, is very like possessing the substance and fragrance of a valued rose, without its beautiful coloring.

About five hundred signed the petition for God's reprieve. A large number of petitions were called for and distributed. A committee was appointed to circulate them through the city, and obtain the names of all those cities who are desirous of saving the mark that will otherwise be recorded upon the escutcheon of Massachusetts, with human blood at the sacrifice of human life, on the 25th of May next. Meetings similar to the above will be held in all the principal towns throughout the State previous to the execution. If the people will only do their duty in this subject, the result will be speedy and triumphant for Humanity and Right.

S. P. HANSCOM, *Secretary.*

ANTI-SABBATH CONVENTION.

The Anti-Sabbath Convention met on Wednesday, P. M., April 4th, at 2 o'clock, at Tremont Temple, Hall No. 1, agreeable to a vote passed at the Anti-Sabbath Convention held in this city, March 23d and 24th, 1848, to adjourn to meet subject to call of a committee then appointed.

The President of the Convention, George W. Benson, being absent, the meeting was called to order by H. C. Wright.

On motion, Joshua T. Everett, of Princeton, was chosen President pro tem.

The President pro tem., upon taking the chair, made some remarks upon the object of the Convention, followed by H. C. Wright.

There being no fire in the Hall, and not many in attendance, adjourned to meet at 7 1-2 o'clock.

Evening Session.

Met pursuant to adjournment, J. T. Everett in the chair.

The following series of resolutions was presented in behalf of the committee calling the Convention:

1. Resolved, That the seventh day Sabbath is an institution of Jewish religion, peculiar to the Jewish people, and to them alone, commemorative to them, as the books of Moses show, of two special matters, namely: first the declaration in Jewish theology that God rested from his labor: and second, the fact in Jewish history of the bondage in Egypt.

2. Resolved, That the first day Sabbath is an institution of formal, ceremonial religion, interpolated into Christianity, against its spirit, upon Jewish analogies, by the church and the State.

3. Resolved, That neither the State, nor the Synagogue, nor the Pagoda, nor the Church, nor the Mosque, as organized institutions, ever had a sacred regard for the religion of the individual conscience, but have sought and demanded outward conformity to authority, having always been persecutors of individual spiritual religion, to the end of securing conformity.

4. Resolved, That neither Jewish worship, nor Church worship, nor State worship, nor any sect worship is true religion; but that, at the best and highest, each can only be only a partial manifestation of an universal principle, existing more purely in the individual soul, than ever yet in outward law, or written revelation.

5. Resolved, That this universal principle of religion accepts all days for holy days, and rejoices in sacred rest from labor, as the needful element of every child of God, while it repudiates the doctrine of the special holiness of seventh or first day Sabbaths, and refuses the pretended sanctification of those days, as conformity to falsehood in religion, and usurpation in government. Laid upon the table.

Resolved, That we believe the Being, from whom Christianity has taken its name, to be a prophet of the universal principle of religion, who set up no person, nor creed, nor institution, nor authority, to stand between God and the individual conscience, that he rejects the vain oblation of a day, ascribed to him, and enforced in his name, by the Church and the State.

7. Resolved, That States called Christian, in establishing the first day of the week for a legal Christian Sabbath, have affirmed for a truth, a gross fiction in theology; for Christianity, a plain interpolation, for religion, a hollow observance; and by the penalties of Sunday laws have passed outside of the true limits of the State, and invaded the sphere of the private conscience.

8. Resolved, That enactments in the matter of religion, in Church and State, have always sprung out of a spirit not religious nor humane; often out of a spirit worldly, selfish, violent and tyrannical. Laid on the table.

9. Resolved, That the Sunday laws, in the various States of this Union, are alien to the idea of civil and religious liberty originating our American Commonwealths, and ought to be abolished.

10. Resolved, That in pronouncing its verdict upon the enforcement of religious observances by the Church and the State, upon the private conscience, history has always convicted the Church and the State of having been in the wrong in fact and in spirit.

11. Resolved, That we need better *evidence* of the duty of Sabbatical observances than the assertion of a class of men, whose occupations are more closely dependent on the reception of that idea by the community; and that we do not consider the clergy so different in nature from other men as to render this precaution needless where they are concerned.

12. Resolved, That as the relative raising of one of a group of persons or things inevitably involves the relative lowering of the rest, to make one day of the week more holy than the six others, is necessarily to make the six others less holy than that; a process not calculated to increase the sum total of holiness.

13. Resolved, That Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday are *the Lord's days*, given by him to man, not less than Sunday, to be sanctified by well-doing; and that we hereby protest against the desecration of these days by the misrepresentations of the clergy.

Voted, That each resolution be considered separately, and in the order in which they have been read.

Oliver Johnson moved to amend the 1st resolution by striking out the words, "one of fiction and the other of fact;" also to strike out the word, "fiction," and substitute the word, "declaration," and to strike out the words, "Most Almighty," and substitute the word "God."

The resolution as amended was discussed by H. C. Wright, after which it was adopted.

On motion,

Voted, That Charles K. Whipple, James N. Buffum, and Henry P. Trask, be a committee on Finance.

The 2nd resolution was taken up and considered by H. C. Wright, Charles Wilbur, of R. I., C. Stearns and A. B. Alcott.

Adjourned to meet at 9 1-2 A. M.

Thursday Morning.

The Convention was called to order by the President, George W. Benson, of Northampton, agreeably to adjournment.

The 2nd resolution was further discussed by Wilbur and Wm. L. Bebee, of N. Y. Resolution adopted.

The 3rd resolution of the series was read and considered by A. B. Alcott, O. Johnson, H. C. Wright, J. T. Everett, I. S. Smith, of Dorchester, and P. Pillsbury.

Adjourned to meet at 2 1-2 o'clock.

Thursday Afternoon Session.

The Convention assembled according to adjournment, J. T. Everett in the chair.

The 3rd resolution was adopted.

Resolution No. 4 of the series was taken up and discussed by James N. Buffum, H. C. Wright, J. Russell, of Hingham, and ——Page, of Northampton.

On motion,

Voted, That the sessions of this Convention terminate with the evening session.

Discussion continued by J. M. Cluer, S. H. Lloyd, and Parker Pillsbury.

On motion,

Voted, That Parker Pillsbury be a committee to draft a petition to be presented to the directors of the different Railroad Corporations for Sunday trains.

Voted, That H. C. Wright be a committee to draft a resolution for the abolition of penal enactments with regard to the observance of the Sabbath.

Adjourned to meet at 7 1-2 o'clock.

Evening Session.

Met pursuant to adjournment, the President, George W. Benson, in the chair.

Resolution No. 4, together with the remainder of the series were discussed by S. S. Foster, H. C. Wright and Parker Pillsbury.

Resolutions Nos. 5 and 8 laid upon the table; the remainder of the resolutions were adopted.

H. C. Wright reported the subjoined resolutions. Adopted.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare a petition to Legislatures, suitable for circulation among the friends of religious liberty throughout the country, asking for a repeal of all Sabbatical laws.

The following named persons were appointed said committee:

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, John W. Brown, Charles K. Whipple, Francis Jackson, J. T. Everett.

Resolved, That the above named Committee be instructed to prepare and circulate an address to the inhabitants of the United States, on the proper use of the day of rest.

The following resolutions were offered and unanimously adopted:

1. Resolved, That neither our government corporations and monopolies have full license to employ the first day of the week, in any labor, the most unhallowed avarice shall suggest.

2. Resolved, That the government itself may employ the day in most disgusting, drunken brawls in Congress, or totally abolish Cabinet and Committee council, and conclaves, or for any other proceeding which unprincipled political partizanship shall dictate or direct.

3. Resolved, That it is deemed no violation of the day, to marshall and drill the government army and navy, to fight the bloodiest battles, to plunder plantations, to attack ships, or towns, or armies, and bombard and destroy them, to seek cities, with rape, rapine, and attending desolation; therefore,

4. Resolved, That when such a government punishes individuals for any labor or recreation which would be lawful and proper on any other day, it shows itself a tyrant and a hypocrite, without fear of God, or love of man.

5. Resolved, That the virtuous among the laboring classes, should hurl such tyranny and hypocrisy to the ground, and establish a government, that would make no difference between corporate and individual sins; nor punish in individuals what it boldly and constantly does itself, and for which it often rewards the wholesale transgressors, with the highest honors.

6. Resolved, That the doctrine of our schools of Theology on the question of *a Sabbath*, is a most unwarrantable assumption; condemned alike, by the Christian Scriptures, in the teaching and example of Jesus Christ, the practice of his apostles and successors, the voice of nature, the dictates of reason, and all the promptings of a free conscience.

7. Resolved, That we congratulate the friends of truth and free inquiry on the recent admissions of the Church, relative to the doctrine of inspiration; showing conclusively that the Bible is, after all, of human production, fallible, and filled like its authors, with imperfections; and would consequently, be of no binding force, even though it dead, (as the New Testament does not,) that man ought to observe distinctions of days, and special times and seasons for worship.

Parker Pillsbury reported the annexed resolution and petition, which were accepted and adopted.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the people of this Commonwealth, especially the laboring classes, to petition the different railroad companies whose roads lead from the city, that Sunday morning and evening trains of cars be run to such places as will enable those whose occupations confine them and their families to the sickly, and (to very many) fatal atmosphere, to inhale the invigorating breezes of the country, at least once a week during the most unhealthy months of the year.

To the President and Directors of the Boston and Worcester Railroad:

The undersigned, inhabitants of Boston and vicinity, desirous to promote the health and comfort of an immense portion of our population, whose occupations confine them during the week to the narrow streets and lanes, and to the close and unwholesome shops and offices of the city, from which the pure air of heaven, and the charms and manifestations of nature through her thousand voices, so friendly to health and so essential to moral and religious improvement, are forever shut out, respectfully request that you permit the running of such morning and evening trains of cars on Sundays, as will enable the people to escape on that day from the impure atmosphere of the city, to refresh and invigorate their physical and moral natures in the pure breezes of the neighboring country towns, trusting as we do, that the income arising therefrom, will, at least, fully defray the expense of such an arrangement.

On motion of Parker Pillsbury,

Voted, That the foregoing petition be referred to the committee already appointed to prepare a petition to the legislature, with power to add to their number.

On motion of H. C. Wright,

Voted, That the proceedings of this Convention be published in the 'Liberator' and such other papers as will give them an insertion.

Adjourned *sine die.*

GEORGE W. BENSON, *President.*

Elna J. Kenny, *Secretary.*

ANTI-SABBATH CONVENTION.

This body, the doings of which are reported in other columns closed its deliberations on Thursday evening of last week. Though all its sessions, as I witnessed them, there was no attempt to defend the ordinary view of the sanctity of the Sabbath, and none of the religious papers which I have seen have made mention of the meeting in any way. It must be inferred from this silence, that the friends of the clergy and the religious press have abated any of their hostility to the great work of reform. They have probably thought in prudent to abstain from notice of it, even by denunciation, lest their comments should make the movement more widely known, time will show whether this policy will avail them.

As in former meetings on the same subject, many valuable thoughts were presented, and important resolutions discussed and adopted. But the most important thing was a commencement of *action* upon this subject, of a kind suited at once to attack the Sabbatical institution from all its tenable points, to vindicate our own civil and religious rights, and to commence an important work for the moral and religious welfare of the poorer classes of society. I refer to the vote which was passed to petition the various railroad companies of Boston to run a train of cars at half-price every Sunday morning for the purpose of going and back in the evening, for the benefit of those whose occupation prevents them from taking this recreation on other days. Great numbers of poor people, whose work requires them actively employed from Monday morning to Saturday night, and who are thus almost wholly excluded from the blessings of pure air, the sights and sounds of nature, and intercourse with distant friends, might receive great benefit to their bodies and souls from these indulgences if the rail-roads were open on Sundays. The managers of these roads have shown themselves very accommodating on this point, first by furnishing these opportunities when their respective roads were opened, as a matter of course, then by closing them when a portion of the community, (the only portion which took any public action on the matter,) requested that they might be closed. These managers will doubtless willingly receive the original arrangement if numerously signed petitions assure them that the public desire it. Those who do desire it in Boston and the neighboring towns will soon have an opportunity of putting their names to such a paper.

—C. K. W.

THE SABBATH QUESTION.

Lowell, April 1, 1849.

Dear Sir,—Being a friend of religious liberty, I should be happy to see a discussion of the coming anti-Sabbath convention in your city; but, as I probably shall not, I take this method, agreeably to the suggestion in your paper, of identifying my name with a cause which I believe to be at one with truth and humanity. I understand that the object of this convention is, not so much the legal abolishment of the Sabbath, but a repeal of all compulsory laws for its observance. This position commends itself to every lover of truth, whether Christian or Infidel. At the present advanced stage of civilization, any attempt to coerce men into conformity to a purely religious custom, can have no other effect than to excite popular disgust, and ultimately to subvert the very end it was intended to establish. On the other hand, should reformers strike for anything more than natural liberty, and demand a law for the suppression of priestly imposition, they could not adopt a more effectual means for unhinging the votaries of superstition and retarding the progress of rational morality. We have nothing to fear, therefore, from the enemies of our cause, who, with a blind zeal for their favorite institution, resort to weapons of misrepresentation and abuse. Several religious papers have made positive lies in regarding the proceedings of last year's convention, and doubtless their calumniations will be repeated. In so doing, however, they unwillingly enlist themselves as our agents. By such conduct Christians betray a want of argument, and virtually out-do their antagonists in the work of misrepresenting their own system. Let us eschew their example, and employ only such rational means for the furtherance of our aims, as are worthy the holiness of our cause.

But while we avoid all violent and imprudent measures, let us not disuse the weapons of a wise policy. Let us for ever banish from our minds all the dogmas and the jen under the guidance of reason and candor. I am satisfied from conversation with many individuals, that there are lovers of mental liberty who conceal their sentiments through timidity. If such as have boldness would talk more, others would be drawn out by their example. Let us see to it also, that the force of our actions do not contravene that of our arguments. We should not content ourselves with *talking* about our natural rights; we should *exercise* them, not waiting for a human law to *permit* what is in no authority to *prohibit*. This I believe to be the proper way to rectify public opinion, which, when achieved, is the first step in the rectification of law.

Yours, for every good work,

GEORGE STEARNS.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

New Ipswich, N. H., March 28, 1849.

Friend Garrison:

Observing a call in the Liberator, upon all the fountains of free thought to overleap their professional and educational barriers, and flow mightily into the great receptacle of freedom, prepared for the holding of the Anti-Sabbath Convention; I therefore resolved, few and feeble as my talents might be, to respond to it.

The *question*,—of the sanctity of every seventh day above all others,—must yield to the march of progress. The impression that the Creator concluded the creation of this terrestrial world in just six diurnal periods, must yield to the pressure of geological science.

The congratulations that Moses would have the Almighty make over the consummation of his labors, setting the starry hosts in melody, and the sons of God to chiming for joy, might be very flattering to the national pride, and religious fancy of the Jews, which was the substance of all that their philosophy ever dreamt of. But to the philosopher sitting in the light of the nineteenth century, they are but the shadows of a narrow creed, bearing in their hand a glass that shows many more.

As a basis of further reform, I will here copy a resolution, which I was so unfortunate as to submit to a little lyceum in our sabbatarian community, and will then proceed to give a brief history of its reception, that you may be cheered by the reflection, that the system is working out its destined ends. That the Christian Sabbath, observed and enforced by the religious sects of this country, is a contrivance of man and not of God, and, like most ancient fables, has been charmed into sanctity, and venerated as the economy of infinite wisdom, and the production of the best sanction in the gospel dispensation.' Claiming the right of private judgment in the interpretation of the holy scriptures, I commenced the consideration of the question; when lo! a Taylor Republican, Whinot previso, by rearing Church sentinel interrupted us, and informed the assembly, that such was his sympathy for the Church, he could not listen to the argument. I mildly replied to his importunity to desist, (in the language of Byron—

'Tweed ruffled half way from her wave to form a tear;
The other half pursued its calm career.'

The fastidious M. T. took his departure. The discussion resulted in stirring up the community, and rendering myself obnoxious to the sabbatarians. But I must pass on. The question is agitating the Sons of Temperance. Some of its members fished and gambled on the Sabbath day, and an attempt was accordingly made to impeach their moral character; but the Constitution barring the consideration of moral and political questions, the defendants made it a case of conscience, and so carried their point. By this you may see 'how great a fire a little matter kindleth.'

I can add nothing new on the argument of the question, but that I feel more fully confirmed at your meeting last March. The argument of Burleigh is a model of logical acumen and Biblical erudition. Seldom do we find philosophy and genius, oratory and philanthropy so happily blended.

With a grateful heart, I subscribe myself,

Yours, respectfully,

C. L. WESTON.

DIED—In this city, on Sunday evening last, April 8th, after a week's illness of brain fever, CHARLES FOLLEN, son of William Lloyd and Helen Eliza Garrison, aged six years and seven months—struck down in the beauty and freshness of boyhood, a rare specimen of physical and mental development and proportion, a most loving and large-hearted child, and the electric spirit of the household—giving promise of future usefulness and excellence in some degree commensurate with the worth and fame of the truly great and good sire, whose name he was named, admiringly, gratefully, reverently. His remains were committed to the tomb on Tuesday afternoon, at which time a choice collection of beloved friends and philanthropists assembled in testimony of their sympathy and regard: and most consolatory and edifying remarks were made by Rev. Messrs. Parker, Weiss, Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Henry C. Wright, Parker Pillsbury, A. Bronson Alcott, and John M. Spear, to all of whom the bereaved parents proffer their very grateful acknowledgments.

'Leaves have their time to fall
And flowers to wither at the North wind's breath,
And stars to set—but all,
Thou hast all seasons for thine own, oh Death!

Youth and the opening rose
May look like things too fair for decay,
And smile at thee—but thou art not of those
That wait the ripened bloom to seize their prey.'

MY CHILD.

I cannot make him dead!
His fair, sunshiny head
Is ever bounding round my study chair;
Yet when my eyes are open, now dim
With tears, I turn to him,
The vision vanishes—he is not there!

I walk my parlor floor,
And, through the open door,
I hear a footfall on the chamber stair;
I'm stepping toward the hall,
To give the boy a call;
And then bethink me that—he is not there!

I thread the crowded street:
A satchell'd lad I meet
With the same beaming eyes and colored hair;
And, as he's passing by,
Follow him with my eye,
Scarcely believing that—he is not there!

I know his face is hid
Under the cold, hard lid
Closed are his eyes—cold is his forehead fair;
My hand that marble felt;
O'er it has wept I knelt,
Yet my heart whispers that—he is not there!

I cannot *make* him dead!
When passing by his bed,
So long watched over with parental care,
My spirit and my eye
Seek it inquiringly,
Before the half expected comes that—he is not there!

When at the cool, grey break
Of day from sleep I wake,
With my first breathing of the morning air,
My soul goes up with joy
To Him who gave my boy;
Then comes the sad thought that—he is not there!

When at the day's close
Before we seek repose,
I'm with his mother offering up our prayer;
Whate'er I may be *saying*,
I am, in spirit, praying
For our boy's spirit, praying—he is not there!

Not there?—Where, then, is he?
The form I used to see
Was but the *raiment* that he used to wear;
The grave that now doth press
Upon that cast off dress
Is but his wardrobe locked—he is not there!

He lives!—in all the past
He lives!—and this sad day
Of seeing him again will I despair;
In dreams, I see him now;
And on the waking brow
I see it written, 'Thou shalt see me *there!*'

Yes, we all live to God!
Father, thy chastening rod
So help us, thine afflicted ones, to bear;
That in the day, at last,
Meeting at thy right hand,
'Twill be our heaven to find that—he is *there!*

[Pierpont.

FOREIGN NEWS, BY THE NIAGARA.

In England, the cholera is disappearing. Total of deaths, 3464. In Ireland it is still raging.

Mr. Disraeli announced in Parliament an inquiry into the burdens on land was lost, 280 to 189. The Army and Navy estimates have been carried by large majorities. The Jamaica news has created great feeling among the English people. The Navigation bill passed its second reading by a majority of 56. Mr. Gladstone explained that if the Americans would give us reciprocity, the British could by their bill retaliate.

The Acadia steamship, which had been sold to the German government, on her passage from Liverpool to Bremen got ashore near Terschelling, and the accounts say that some of her crew abandoned her. She was, however, got off with but slight damage, and taken into the harbor.

FRANCE.

The trials at Bourges are going on. Two of Gen. Drea's murderers have been guillotined; the others pardoned. The red republicans clamor loudly against the executions. M. Proudhon is confined in prison. Clubs have been abolished by the Assembly—378 to 359. The Socialists are unusually active in sowing disaffection among the troops. In consequence of the state of things in Italy, troops are embarked at Toulon, and the army of the Alps is recruited. French funds have fluctuated.

The King of Holland died March 17.

Official notice has been issued of the cessation of the Schleswig-Holstein hostilities. Efforts at making a prolong it, and it is said it has been done for three months.

ITALY.

Renewal of Hostilities. Charles Albert has resolved, it is stated, to renew hostilities. The 21st inst. was fixed upon for the termination of the armistice. Mediation between England and France was in vain. The Piedmontese have 60,000 men, Radetzky 100,000. If this be so, the war, if entered upon, will soon come to a conclusion.

The armistice between Sardinia and Austria terminated on Wednesday last, and hostilities were expected to recommence forthwith. Charles Albert having refused to attend to all remonstrances. The adverse parties have advanced their respective armies—Charles Albert with enthusiasm, Radetzky with caution, intimating that the war will terminate on their entrance into Turin. The King of Sardinia had from the seat of war, to act as an observer, not as a general.

RUSSIA.

All the regiments in Russia have been placed on a war footing since the 15th of March, and equipped for war. All persons on furlough capable of bearing arms, have been recalled. The principal part of the troops are concentrated on the south of the kingdom of Poland.

A letter from Bucharest of the 20th of February, says—"Ten thousand Russian troops have arrived, amounts to more than 100,000 men. The Turks also are sending numerous reinforcements. A body of 20,000 Russian troops, lately just passed the Danube, and 40,000 more are expected."

Cholera in Norway. That dreadful scourge, the cholera, has commenced at Bergen, making serious havoc among the poor fisherman on the coast and in the Fiords. On some of the days these fatalities have been swept off in the city 901 cases have already occurred, of which 303 have been fatal; and upwards of 10 are occurring daily. This is a large number out of a population not exceeding 24,000.—The papers state that *Bergen* the fishermen are dying so fast that they have been compelled to carry the bodies in an uninhabited isle, and merely cover them with a few planks, where they are now rotting and being devoured by birds of prey.

Women at a Premium. A lady writes from Springfield, in Massachusetts, as follows:

The demand for marriageable women seems to be as great as for goods. This is the only country in the world where the sexes are properly proportioned. The proportion of males in the territory is five to one of females, and the labor of the females is as much needed out door as the labor of the gold seekers, made efforts to get white husbands, which they soon obtain in the present state of affairs. Father Mazuque, the Catholic priest, has performed me that he married, the last month, 110 white men to squaws. The consequence is that the priest in Jackson has left off, without any class of females from which they can choose, as certainly no white woman of whatever condition in society, will marry an Indian, when she can readily marry a white man of some wealth and prominence. Some of the most ugly and slovenly servants here, marry traders who have accumulated fortunes in a week.

Casualty at the American Theatre. On Saturday night, during the performance of a farce, a negro fell from the gallery into the parquette of the American Theatre. He struck between the rows of sofas upon the floor, and was picked up for dead and carried into Mr. Thomas's restaurant, where after a short time he revived. No bones were broken, and giving himself a good shake, with a grin, he left on his way home, to the surprise of every one, who supposed him killed, of course. When he had proceeded as far as the corner of Fifth and Vine streets, he staggered and fell, and was picked up dead. He died shortly afterwards, from the effects of internal injury. It is supposed that he was intoxicated at the time he fell.—*Cincinnati paper.*

ONE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS.

PLYMOUTH.

Saturday evening and Sunday, April 14 and 15.

☞ To be attended by Parker Pillsbury, Lucy Stone, and others, of which further notice next week.

ABINGTON.

Sunday, April 22.

This meeting will be held in the Town Hall. Parker Pillsbury and James N. Buffum are expected to attend.

LECTURES.

☞ Parker Pillsbury and Lucy Stone, Agents of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will lecture in Hanover, this (Friday) evening, April 12.

MEETING FOR WASHINGTON GOODE.

A meeting will be held in Worcester next Saturday and Sunday evening, for the benefit of Washington Goode, now under sentence of death in Boston jail.

Several distinguished speakers are expected to address the meeting.

☞ John Prince, of Essex, will preach in East Stoughton next Sunday, April 15. The meetings will be free for the discussion of Anti-Slavery, Peace, Temperance, Righteousness, Anti-Sectarianism, &c.

MAY-DAY FAIR,

A FAIR AND TEA-PARTY IN DORCHESTER.

The Ladies' Freedmen's Friend Society of Dorchester will hold a Fair in the vestry of the Third Unitarian Church, near Harrison square, on the 1st day of May. It will open at 9 o'clock in the morning. There will also be a Tea Party in the evening, when addresses may be expected.

Should any friends desire to aid this Society, they will please forward goods, refreshments and flowers, to either of the Committee.

Mrs. T. Tileston, Mrs. J. Blake,
" L. R. Rogers, " I. S. Keener,
Miss J. Foster, Miss E. Field,
" Maria Blake, " Lydia Ball,
" D. Nichols, " Caroline Pierce,
M. J. Leonora, *Committee.*

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

☞ Henry Watson, a fugitive slave from Mississippi and Charles Lenox Remond, intend holding anti-slavery meetings as follows:

Rail River, Thursday evening, April 12.
New Bedford, Sunday, " " 15.
Taunton, Tuesday, " " 17.
North Bridgwater, Wednesday, " " 18.
Lowell, Sunday, probably day and evening, 22d.

DR. HENRY W. WILLIAMS,

HAS removed to No. 16 Essex Street, Boston, where he will give particular attention to DISEASES OF THE EYE.

April 6

Autobiography of Henry C. Wright.

HUMAN LIFE: Illustrated in my individual Experience as a Child, a Youth, and a Man. By Henry Clarke Wright. "There is properly no history; only biography."—R. W. Emerson. Price $1 00. Just published, and for sale by

BELA MARSH.

March 30 25 Cornhill.

H. PORTER,

INVENTOR and Patentee of the celebrated Burning Fluid and Lamps. Also dealer in Hanging, Side, Camphene and Solar Lamps; Wicks, Glasses, Camphene, &c.

Mr. P. has made a large addition to his former stock of Lamps, consisting of a great variety of new and beautiful patterns, which he will sell at very low prices. Please call and examine.

No. 2 Court Square, Boston.

March 30,

The Massachusetts State Record.

VOLUMES I., II., AND III.

Published by JAS. FRENCH, 78 Washington street.

From the Boston Atlas.

"As a year book of general information, the State Record will be found to surpass by any publication of the same size. A column would hardly suffice us to give a list of all the important subjects on which information may be obtained from this work, and is given in this volume, nor shall we attempt it. Enough to say, that, as a work of statistical information, and a complete compendium of State, and a ready book of reference, it is almost invaluable, and no one who has occasion for such knowledge can well be without it."

From the Boston Post.

"This annual has become a work of actual necessity, as a reference book for all who are in a business way, and is completed with a care and completeness worthy of the purposes for which it is intended. Every man should own a copy."

BOOKS AND STATIONERY,

of every variety, for sale by

JAS. FRENCH,

March 16 78 Washington street.

FEMALE MEDICAL SCHOOL—BOSTON.

CONDUCTED by Ladies. Instructors—Medical Education Society. Enoch C. Wolfe, M. D., President and Lecturer. The Second Term in Midwifery will commence April 18, 1849, and continue three months. Tuition 25 dollars in advance. Board in the city, $2 to $3 per week. The Society already numbers several hundred, among them, some of the most eminent of different denominations. Fee of membership, $1.

SAMUEL GREGORY, *Sec'ry.*

March 23 23 Cornhill.

Copartnership Formed.

THE undersigned have formed a partnership in the business of Stain Workers and dealers in Glass, under the firm of SMITH, OBER & CO., their place of business being that of the late firm of SMITH & CO., Nos. 12 and 14 Cornhill street, where they will manufacture and keep constantly for sale, a general assortment of

BRITANNIA AND GLASSWARE,

at the lowest prices. Dealers are invited to call and examine.

THOMAS SMITH,
REUBEN H. OBER,
D. B. MOREY.

BARKER & CHASE,

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALERS IN

FLOUR, GRAIN AND PILOT

BREAD,

43 COMMERCIAL-STREET,

BOSTON.

HENRY A. BARKER, }
ALBERT M. CHASE. }

Oct. 13 1stA17

POETRY.

From Howitt's Journal.

A SPRING SONG.

BY EDWARD YOUL.

Lend the first spring daisies;
Chaunt aloud their praises;
Bend the children up
To the high hill's top:
Tax not the strength of their young hands
To increase your lands.
Gather the primroses;
Make handfuls into posies;
Take them to the little girls who are at work in mills:
Pluck the violets blue,
Ah, pluck not a few!
Knowest thou what good thoughts from Heaven the violet instils?

Give the children holidays,
(And let these be jolly days,)
Grant freedom to the children in this joyous spring:
Better men, hereafter,
Shall we have, for laughter
Freely shouted to the woods, till all the echoes ring.
Send the children up
To the high hill's top,
Or deep into the wood's recesses,
To woo Spring's caresses.

See the birds together,
In this splendid weather,
Worship God—(for he is God of birds as well as men);
And each feathered neighbor
Enters on his labor,—
Sparrow, robin, redpole, finch, the linnet and the wren.

As the year advances,
Trees their naked branches
Clothe, and seek your pleasure in their green apparel.
Insect and mild beast
Keep no Lent, but feast;
Spring brooks upon the earth, and their joy is increased.
And the rejoicing birds break forth in one loud carol.

Ah, come and woo the spring;
List to the birds that sing;
Pluck the primrose; pluck the violets;
Pluck the daisies,
Sing their praises;
Friendship with the flowers some noble thought begets.
Come forth and gather these sweet elves,
(More witching are they than the fays of old,)
Come forth and gather them yourselves,
Learn of these gentle flowers, whose worth is more than gold.

Come, come into the wood;
Pierce into the bowers
Of these gentle flowers,
Which, not in solitude
Dwell, but with each other keep society;
And with a simple piety,
Are ready to be woven into garlands for the good.
Or, upon summer wave
To die, in virgin worth,
Or to be strewn before the bride,
And the bridegroom, by her side.

Come forth on Sundays;
Come forth on Mondays;
Come forth on any day;
Children, come forth, to play:—
Worship the God of Nature in your childhood;
Worship Him at your young hearts' best endeavor;
Worship Him in your sports; worship Him ever;
Worship Him in the wild wood;
Worship him amidst the flowers;—
In the green-wood bowers;
Pluck the buttercups, and raise
Your voices in His praise.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

Verses occasioned by the suicide of Stephen Redden, a free colored man, who was sentenced to a lengthened imprisonment by a Judge in Somerset county, State of Maryland, for having anti-slavery prints and publications in his possession:

Dig, tyrants, dig! your dungeons deep,
And arch the lonesome dwellings o'er;
Pile on the dens the buttress'd keep,
With massy walls, and iron door:
There in the murky depths confined,
Though your devoted victims be
Know, fools! ye have not pow'r to bind
A soul determined to be free.

The voice of Liberty can thrill
Along the dismal vaults beneath,
And teach the unconquerable will
To laugh at fetters, bonds, and death,
Spurn the dull clod that feels your pow'r,
And in afflicting durance lies,
And ante-date the fated hour
Which gives it entrance to the skies.

Not for self-murder would I plead,—
Life is the glorious gift of Heaven,
My soul abhors the Atheist creed
That o'er that life man pow'r hath given—
Yet pity claims my falling tear,
Where the poor captive or the slave,
Driven into madness by despair,
Seeks for deliverance in the grave.

If on the bloody battle-field,
Where Liberty erects its shrine,
The soil a laurel wreath can yield,
The patriot hero's brow to twine,
Surely the dungeon, red with gore,
For him a leaf or two may bear,
Who did on freedom's altar pour
His life a free-will-offering there.

Ah! on that blood-bedabbled floor,
Another grain of hope is sown,
One added to the millions more,
O'er the wide world so lavish strown,
And spirit watchers come and tend
With loving care the precious trust,
Unseen the spreading roots extend,
Though trodden yet beneath the dust.

Cell, gibbet, rack, or tented field,
The corpse cramm'd breach, or battle plain,
Where'er the patriot's blood is spill'd,
One drop is never spilt in vain;
Those sacred spots still hoverring near
Those scenes of suffering, or of fight,
There spirit-champions come to cheer,
Fresh strugglers for the truth and right.

Dig, tyrants, dig! more dungeons deep,
And build more gibbets, high and strong;
Yet vengence will not always sleep,
Nor justice ever suffer wrong.
Patience must surely fail at length,
Waiting for rights so long withstood,
And madden'd suffering taught its strength
Wipe out the fearful score in blood.

JAMES STILLMAN.

LITTLE CHILDREN.

Candid and curious, how they seek
All truth to know and scan;
And, ere the budding mind can speak,
Begin to study man!
Confiding sweetness colors all they say,
And angels listen when they try to pray.

Reformatory.

SABBATICAL RELIGION.

BOSTON, April 7, 1849.

DEAR GARRISON:—Zachary Taylor waged an aggressive war against the Mexicans, and chose the Sabbath as the most suitable day to fight his great battles—to extend and perpetuate slavery and the slave trade. For this, the Sabbatarians have rewarded him by elevating him to the highest office in their gift. At the same time, while he has been spent in marshalling and disciplining troops, in preparations for war, and in slaughtering human beings, without any regard to days. The 'Lord's day,' as Sabbatarians regard the first day of the week, seems to have been his favorite day to slaughter men, women, and children. Tens of thousands of human victims has he offered up to the war-god of Sabbatarians, on what they call the 'holy day.' They, with their great leader Zachary Taylor, regard war as God's work, and they seem to think no day so proper to do God's work as God's holy day! And these Sabbatarians think it proper to put upon record on their holy day, the work of God, as they call war, in slaughtering innocent human beings. So, on that day, these sabbatarians keep a record of what they call God's ordinance—Congress. It is but a few weeks since that Congress was engaged in its ordinance hold a regular fight on the 'holy day.' The sabbatarians in Congress had fought the Mexicans on Sunday, and hence they fight one another on that day; and not one word of remonstrance has yet been heard from sabbatarians against these holy-day battles and brawls. They presume little boys are felons, for selling newspapers about the streets on Sunday, to get bread, and justify these doings of Congress in Mexico and Washington. Rev. Dr. Blagden cries a sermon in manuscript, in the pulpit of the Old South, on the forenoon of his 'holy day,' for which the Sabbatarians honor him, and pay him about $2,000 for the job; but takes the same sermon in the form of a paper, and cries it about the streets *for one cent*, to get bread, and the same sabbatarians arraign him before a municipal court, with felons, and consign him to a prison! It is the duty of all who love God and man, openly to walk, ride, sing, play ball, bowl, row, sail, do anything that is right to do, on Sunday, to show their abhorrence of the injustice and wickedness of a sabbatarian religion.

Will you publish the following as a specimen of sabbatarian religion? God works on Sunday, through the elements; sabbatarians would call this a violation if we record God's works, as he performs them. The same sabbatarians that are too conscientious to record the changes of the weather on Sunday, sell, hold and work slaves, and slaughter human beings, all the rest of the week. The being whom such men call God, and whom sabbatarians decide, is to me the personification of evil, a bundle of contradictions, and their religion a pernicious delusion.

H. C. WRIGHT.

McCHEYNE ON THE SABBATH.

Since there is such a lamentable lack of Bible conscience with many professors of religion on the subject of Sabbath-keeping, will you insert the following admirable letter from the Memoirs of Robert M'Cheyne? As a practical comment on the extent of the fourth commandment, it is invaluable. The letter was written by him in reply to a gentleman who propounded to him the question—'Whether it was sinful to spend time in registering meteorological observations on the Sabbath.'

December 7, 1842.

DEAR FRIEND:—You ask me a hard question. Had you asked me what *I would do in such a case*, I could easily tell you. I let the Lord's day to work for the glory of God, and I find it a delightful day. But whether another Christian can spend the Sabbath in his service, and mark down meteorological facts, and atmospherical phenomena without letting down the warmth of his affections, or losing the atmosphere of heaven, I cannot tell. My conscience is not the rule of another man. One thing we may learn from these men of science, namely, to be as careful to mark the changes and the progress of every other work as they are to note the ripening the changes of the weather. An hour should never pass without our looking up to God for forgiveness and holiness. Let us, like scientific science, to know how to live in hourly communion with God in Christ. May you and I know more of this, and thank God that we are not among the wise and prudent from whom these things are hid! The grace of the Lord of the Sabbath be with you!

Politely and wisely answered. The test which he lays down will apply to all cases. Whatever tends in any way to darken the atmosphere of heaven' which every Christian should seek to keep about him on the Lord's day is manifestly sinful.—*Prest.*

From the Boston Investigator.

THE TRUE MISSION OF GREAT MEN.

There is no truth more apparent to the American mind than this;—that all true men are governed by principle,—and when a principle is once abandoned, ultimate ruin or disgrace is almost certain. Since the election term has passed, and the public mind has subsided into its customary placidity, we have surveyed the present condition and prospects of some our great men, with the result of that survey has been to make us more and more contented with a humble lot and an approving conscience.

There are men in this nation who have, during their political existence, abandoned some well-established political principle of leading importance; and since that abandonment, they have seemed to have abandoned them. We do not speak as a politician, but rather as a critic. It matters not whether a man be a man of the people, or a man of the people's money,—a democrat or an aristocrat. It is true a man may undergo a severe modification in his political creed,—sincerely change, and publicly avow it. In such cases, time allows him ample opportunities to demonstrate that neither ambition nor gold had aught to do with the change. Men often change their political creed on the eve of political contests, showing that self-interest alone is the argument of conviction. Such changes are generally unimportant. But when great men abandon a great principle, the influence is disastrous to morality for the time, and to the men for eternity. Such men are regarded as traitors. Their former friends despise them; their new allies cannot trust them. And in politics, such individuals generally live and die the sorest and petulant victims of hypocrisy and disappointed ambition.

The Anti-Slavery question affords many illustrations of this. Many of its leading minds have been seduced by the allurements of political promotion from their advocacy of high and unyielding principles, and a few short months of prosperity have proceeded a life-time of cold and silent contempt. We wish to allude to some of these; and we wish our readers to consider the names of these persons only as the names of terms which we use to work out our proposition. We have no political bias, doubtless; but we would have political issues secondary to the great question of the welfare of universal man.

Henry Clay was once termed a man of the people. Common people held him with a firm grasp, believing the principles of Humanity for those of a party. Clay was the idol of this abandonment he has never recovered although he shined same in the world.

Cassius M. Clay once occupied a lofty position before the American people, yet he abandoned it for the merest gilded toy that ever seduced a truant boy from school. Where is he now? There is not a politician in America who would trust him, if within sound of a 'fife and drum.'

Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, is another illustration. He is so fertile in invention, that he may temporarily recover; but the depth of disgrace and contempt into which he has fallen by his shuffling and time-serving course is sufficient to enable a mole to see stars at noon-day.

Daniel Webster is another champion who is supposed to have withdrawn himself from the people and attached himself to a party. A party have sustained him; the people never will, unless necessary for a temporary purpose.

Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, is also a case of principle abandoned to the shrine of ambition and selfishness. We speak not now as an Abolitionist. We speak as a fellow-citizen to Congress with matchless eloquence and daring. Yet he immediately crouched lower before that power than any servile tool. He took the pension, and bowed like a whirlwind once; now with all his popularity, Ohio voted for Cass in preference to a Southerner and a slaveholder.

History is full of such illustrations. We would close these remarks by some extracts from the Philadelphia Daily Republic on this very subject. Its close reads as a Scripture, alleging somebody of philosophy far deeper than people are accustomed to draw from its' motley stores of wisdom and shame, and one which is worthy of the most careful study and prayer.

'In 1840, Corwin was absolutely irresistible. Two years ago, he was ripening rapidly for the Presidency. Then he made his Mexican speech, and shot them out of the sphere of availability. Then he took stand before the Senate like Daniel's image, and the form thereof was terrible. The head was of fine gold, the breast of silver, the thighs of brass, but the *feet were part of iron and part of clay*. Under a temporary inspiration his inmost soul was opened, and he delivered a message above his own comprehension and purpose. Before that hour he had had known the truth, than thus to throw it out, and then run away in terror of its strength and beauty. *There is a crisis in every man's life, when he is ready for greatness, when the unutterable things are opened to him, and then he either bravely crosses his Jordan, or is doomed back to wander in the wilderness*, till his capacity is wasted by the weight of a disobedient prophet is sure to be thrown overboard by the sailors to appease the storm which he raised. Alas! how many are called, and how few are chosen! He may have performed, was the have judged themselves unworthy of immortality, and their light has gone out in contempt. Every man has his hour, and his work; and it seems to him up into a mountain to be tempted, and if he there forgets that man cannot live by *bread alone, his life loses its meaning, and the miracle subsides into a miserable mountebank.*'

There is a positive sublimity in the foregoing conclusion—a comprehension worthy of Shakspeare himself. To a deep and terrible scorn,—the scorn of a man—we would add, a pity for the soul-debasing infirmity, which should lash all recreants from the cause of Humanity back into the paths sanctioned by reason and conscience. There is a day of reckoning for political politicians and for all the Gold of California, we would not abide the issue before them.

HORSEWHIPPING THE FOUNDATION OF MORAL REFORM.—The Philadelphia Sun assumed that advery is the corner stone of our Republican edifice, and is the idea of horsewhips being the foundation of literary institutions. We have heard of such things. And beside, we have the authority of George McDuffee, ex-governor of South Carolina for the one, and that of Mrs. Swisshelm, editor of the Pittsburg Saturday Visiter for the other, which we publish:

'We would undertake, with one stout man and a good HORSEWHIP, to reform more drunkards than Dr. Gough did, or ever will do.

This does not, to be sure, accord with our ideas of the philosophy of moral reform, but shall we therefore deny the efficacy of horsewhips in the hand of women, aun pistols and bowie knives in the hands of men, are mighty through God for the overthrow of the strong holds of sin. We doubt whether reformers generally will be so ready to go for the horsewhip as Mrs. Swisshelm. Mercy on us! what a figure she would cut on her moral reform mission with a horsewhip and a stout man near to handle it! Imagine her in the streets of Pittsburg, the dogs barking and joining in the chase, and the delighted boys shouting '*Go it, Jane!*'

However much her subject might be disposed to submit to her flagellation with christian grace, they would hardly know how to do it, for although the scripture says, 'if any man smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also,' we believe the gospel makes no special provision for a case of this kind—a woman pitching into a man.

But to be serious. It is no wonder that with society as it is, *men*, to promote their own selfish purpose, should resort to horsewhips, bowie knives and pistols, and other elements of brute force, but it is a cause for astonishment that *woman* should advocate a system of redemption for her equal brother from sin and misery, which the saying needs of a *horsewhip!* Flog God's image to reform it! As well might the wheel and the rack be used for instruments of humanity, and the stake and faggot to promote eternal salvation.—*Ohio Bugle.*

THE GOLD SEEKER'S MANUAL.

A King's College Professor having come forward with a seasonable work under the above title, Punch begins to enter, against the learned Professor's volume, his own

DIRECTIONS FOR THE DIGGINGS.

What Class ought to start for the Diggings.

Persons who have nothing else to lose, except their lives; and it would be as well that they should start without them, as the chances are, as they are not unlikely to lose them in California.

Things you should not take with you to the Diggings.

A love of comforts, a taste for civilization, an appetite, a conscience, a respect for other people's thrones, and a value for your own.

Things you will find useful at the Diggings.

A revolving pistol, some knowledge of treating gun-shot wounds, a number of strong bed-fellows, a determination to hold your own, and grab at everybody else's, and the power of eating, drinking and wearing gold dust.

The sort of Society you will meet with at the Diggings.

Those for whom the United States are not big enough; those for whom England is too hot; those who come to clean out the gold, and those who come to clean out the gold finders.

What is the best thing to do when you arrive at the Diggings.

Go back again.

How Gold may be extracted.

By supplying, at exorbitant prices, the wants of those who gather it.

A DAY IN THE DEEP.

The following letter from Capt. Samuel N. Dixey, of the Black Ball line of packets, to Messrs. Wm. Haigh & Co., has been handed us for publication:

NEW YORK, March 23, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: I am indebted to one of your Life Preservers, of Ralston & Philips's invention, for the most pleasant and agreeable sensations I have had for months. Amply provided with this invaluable article, I left the Fulton ferry-way yesterday forenoon, and swimming directly into the stream, I made the best of my way to Governor's island. Passing through the centre of the rip of the Castle, I there satisfied myself that thus equipped, the human body is as efficient and as safe as a fish, in the water. I improved the occasion by a slight inspection of the military works thereon, and again put to sea, making, in pleasant weather, for the Staten Island. Having amused myself for an hour or more in my own way, with baiting and answering the bail of numerous small craft and steamers, I concluded to disembark, and, on my shore, I lay at length upon the soft expansive bed in blissful ease, ruminating upon the wonderful ingenuity of man, which thus enables us to overcome one of the most formidable foes of Heaven's wrath as a couch of luxury. Arousing from my delightful *siesta* with regret, I found I had drifted within a short distance of the Quarantine, and, as the tide was beginning to flow, I wore ship and stood for the Battery. When about half way between the two points, I again amused myself and my passengers occasioned by a reclining posture in rough water,—taking an occasional look around, that I might not come in contact with any of the many vessels plying down the bay. In this situation, the strong westerly wind (which had been blowing all day) carried me down to the island of Governor's Island, passing between which and Brooklyn, I took steam to tow me well over to windward. I intended to continue my trip to Williamsburg, but on leaving off pipe, I, recollecting the serious friends might be put to much trouble on account of my long absence, I reluctantly went on shore at 15 minutes to six, P. M. On throwing off my outer clothing, I slipped into a warm and dry, with not so much as the starch in my shirt bosom disturbed in the least. The article works admirably in a short sojourn over the water; would of course do much better in a long heavy swell. Indeed, sire, so far as the immediate action of the water is concerned, I have doubled Cape Horn in a much more dangerous and fearful plaything, than any of the gales would be in the life situation. Its immense value in the various and many dangers of the deep, must ultimately bring it into universal use with all whose pleasure or profession lead them to go upon the sea.

Yours, truly, SAML. N. DIXEY.

THE BLOOD-REEKING SOUTH.

Horrible Murder and attempted Suicide.—Baronne st. was yesterday afternoon the scene of one of the most horrible tragedies ever enacted in our city. The victim in this case was a beautiful girl about 17 years of age, who is supposed to have been murdered by a man named Joseph Bradley, Captain of the schooner Friendship, who had been cohabiting with her, after an unsuccessful attempt upon his own life. Mrs. King, the lady of the house in which the events occurred, states that Bradley and the girl had occupied apartments in her house about a month, passing as man and wife. She further states that they were living on the best most of the time during the four days of the day, (yesterday,) and were on the bed at about 12 o'clock, when she went out to do some shopping. She (Mrs. King) returned home about 2 o'clock, or a little after, and soon after entering the house, she heard a moan proceeding from Bradley's room. She went to the door, and opening it, she saw Bradley lying on the floor in a pool of blood, and saw that the woman was also lying on the floor dead.

Some persons were immediately called in, and the police were sent for. Bradley was found to be living, and Dr. Mears was called in, and dressed his wounds. He was at that time perfectly insensible, but became conscious before 4 1-2 o'clock, at which time the Coroner arrived. A large crowd of people had now gathered around the house, and the excitement was intense. The scene presented, in the room where the horrible deed had been performed, was the most horrible we ever looked upon. The girl, with outstretched hagds as if she had supplicated for mercy, lay on the floor near the center of the room in a pool of blood—her hands, face and throat mangled in the most shocking manner; and in another corner lay Bradley, presenting a spectacle equally horrible. A knife and razor, with which the terrible deed had been committed, lay upon the floor, as if to complete the picture. It appeared that he had received five wounds, all apparently inflicted with a knife, and two of them mortal. Her hands were cut in several places, as if she had attempted to ward off the blows of the knife. She also received a large gash across the chin.

Bradley was stabbed in the left side of the abdomen in different places, and his throat was pretty badly cut. The wounds in the abdomen are very serious and at the time we write, they say, the doctor thought there was little chance of recovery. The cause which led to these terrible results is supposed to be jealousy. Bradley, it appears, had taken a young girl in Fanny Daley, but she has been known as Fanny Young, and more recently as Mrs. Bradley. She is about 17, is a native of St. Louis, having been in New Orleans but about two years. We do not know how long she has been acquainted with Bradley, but we are informed she has lived with him as his wife only about a month. Bradley is the commander of the schooner Friendship, advertised for California, to leave last evening.

We learned that he put the girl on board a boat, a few days ago, to go to her friends in St. Louis, and that after going up as far as Donaldsonville, she returned, with a determination to go to California with Bradley. Whether this be true, or whether he was averse to her going or not, we cannot learn. A jealousy on the part of Bradley appears to have existed for several days, and we believe a difficulty, which resulted in blows, took place on Sunday last. We have heard a dozen other rumors regarding the affair, but forbear giving further into the history of either party, and for the sake of humanity would gladly draw a veil over the bloody transaction. Bradley is in charge of Dr. Bullard, No. 7 Mews, and if he recovers, will be dealt with according to law.—*N. O. Picayune, 6th.*

The Jealous Drivers Tragedy.—The N. O. Crescent of the 7th has the following:

It now appears, on the evidence of letters written by Bradley himself, and discovered in his vest pocket on examining the body, that he had been discharged from the hospital on Monday night, that he did murder the unfortunate girl, Fanny Young, *alias* Fanny Daley; that the deed was done, not under the influence of fit of passion, as was supposed by many persons, but that it was done in cold blood; and that the murder of the girl, and the self-destruction as the closing fatal finale, had been contemplated by Bradley for some days.

The causes which operated to produce this determination on the part of Bradley, are yet hidden in mystery, as far as we have learned. The letters of Bradley, in one of the letters, (which appear to have been written on the morning of the day on which the deed was perpetrated,) he says: 'I commit the deed on account of *trouble and deceit.*' In this expression we have a clue, faint one though it be, to the feeling which prompted the fatal act. Bradley killed the poor deed, and we think the supposition of an evening contemporary, that Bradley, who it appears was passionately fond of the deceased, intended her to go to California with him, or to return to her friends up the river, and that she refused to do either, is a very reasonable and, in all probability, correct one. We, in fact, have copies of the letters found on Bradley's person, as above stated:

'New Orleans, March 8, 1849.

Mr. Bidwell: Dear Sir—This is what I never expected to come to. But it is trouble, and no one need to help me out. I don't want you to have this young woman buried. But me, let me lay top of the ground for the turkey-buzzards to eat, for I have did wrong.

BRADLEY.

The above was addressed 'Mr. H. Bidwell, New Orleans.' The following had no address, but is supposed to have been intended for the same gentleman. It was endorsed with the words, full of meaning, 'This is a bad business in hand.'

'New Orleans, March 5, 1849.

Dear Sir—I commit this deed on account of trouble and deceit. May this a warning be all who it may concern. My hand has been wavering over it for some days.

My agent is Mr. Meeker. I wish he would dispatch the schooner as quick as possible, on account of the passengers. JOSEPH BRADLEY.

No doubt can be entertained of Bradley's guilt. It is a most horrible case altogether, and revolting in all its aspects. The deceased, we understand, was improving yesterday, and it is probable may recover.

Another Murder.—The record of 'deeds of dreadful note,' in our city and its vicinity, increases in volume with a rapidity which, a few short years past, would have been unaccustomed. Another murder, we learn, was committed on Sunday last—the scene, the woods near Mt. Auburn, Mississippi, and Capt. Mouton—the victim, Jean Leclair, an overseer on Mr. Michoud's plantation—the murderer, undiscovered—the cause, unknown. It appears that Leclair, after making his usual round, proceeded toward the woods, and was not afterward seen alive on the plantation.

On Monday morning, a search was made for the missing man, and his body was found in the rear of the plantation, with a large shot wound in the back of the neck. A gang of negroes were ordered to bury the unfortunate man. When he left the plantation, he had a valuable gold watch and chain, and a gold piece, all of which were missing when the body was found. Yesterday morning, a man named Hopkins was arrested on suspicion of having committed the murder, but we understand there was no evidence to warrant his detention. A slave belonging to Mr. Lilly is suspected, and a warrant has been issued for his apprehension. There is some mystery about this murder which we cannot fathom, but feel confident the truth will eventually be, and will reveal the facts in the case.—*N. O. Crescent, 7th.*

☞ It is difficult to chronicle all the New Orleans murders; the last was that of John Burns, killed by one Otto, in a bill room.

Shocking Murder.—On Friday afternoon last, the body of a young man, with his throat cut, was found in a little group of pines near the tow-path of the canal between Georgetown and Alexandria, and about a mile from the Georgetown Reservoir, very severe wound, apparently with a knife, had been inflicted across the back of the head, near the neck, and his throat cut, nearly severing his head from the body. A knife, about eight inches in length, was found just adjacent to the wounded man, and a blood stained razor stanger was, where he was from, or what the object of his visit, are yet wholly unknown. For some days past, reports have been circulated by other strangers, was noticed in Georgetown. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, black hair, light colored eyes, and a very fair complexion. He wore a fashionable drab coat, black pantaloons, striped vest, cravat tied loosely, and black fur hat of Massachusetts manufacture. The Pilot mentions that a young man answering his description, was shaved at the shop of Mr. Wilson, in Georgetown, which leads to the conclusion that he was murdered as that of night. As he was seen to wear a gold watch, may not some one have decoyed him to the lonely spot for the horrid purpose too successfully perpetrated? The remains were carried to Alexandria for interment.—*National Intelligencer.*

[The name of the above individual has been ascertained to be T. W. Hyde, of Nottingham, Md., where he left a wife and children.]

Truth is strange, &c. Extraordinary Circumstances.—The Hannibal Journal, (Mo.) has a fearful story, to the effect that Mr. Weatherford, Sheriff of Schuyler county this State, had, on the collector of the county revenue, conceived the design to cheat the Commonwealth out of $2200, which he had collected—moreover with out power of his wife, part in silver, and part in paper, with the declaration that he would be gone several days, and requested her that she should permit no one to stay all night at the house during his absence.

'At night, a traveller, rather an aged man, sought for entertainment. The woman, at first refusing under instructions of her husband, was finally persuaded to let him remain.

About eleven or twelve o'clock the same night, some persons demanded entrance into the house, and being permitted to enter, the men were found to be disguised as negroes, and immediately demanded of the woman money, which they said they knew was in the house. The woman handed them the paper money. They told her there was also silver money, which she must surrender. She replied that she would go up stairs (where the traveller was lodging) and get it. She informed the old gentleman of the state of things below. He told her to take one of two pistols which he had with him, and to hand them, unseen, with the pistol concealed behind it, and when either of the robbers came forward to take it, to fire. She went up stairs and opening the door, had a leveling pistol. She did as instructed, and one of the men fell dead at her feet. The old man fired and killed another, and the third made his escape. Upon examination, it was found that *the guilty husband, had fallen by the hand of his own wife.*

The late Atrocious Murder.—James H. Cassidy, who is charged with the wilful and deliberate killing of Samuel Heffernan, on the evening of crime furnish, was in substance as follows:—On Saturday afternoon, between three and four o'clock, Heffernan was seen walking down Second street, very much intoxicated. Near the corner of Almond, he claimed the protection of a citizen, stating that he was being robbed. No attempt being paid to him, on account of his evidently drunken condition, he ran up Almond street, between Second and Third, and fell down in about a little private alley. Soon after, Cassidy came up, and as he went along, threatened in the hearing of passers-by, that he would rob the drunken man. He met with Heffernan at the alley. Heffernan, as several witnesses testified, begged of him to 'let him alone'; but Cassidy rushed upon him with a knife, and inflicted so severe a wound upon him, that all the entrails gushed out. He then started up Third street, and disappeared. Heffernan was taken by some humane citizens to the Sister's Hospital, where he linger ed until Sunday afternoon, and then expired. All this, which has been given in the present tense, took place in the course of a very few minutes. There were women living in the immediate neighborhood, who witnessed the affair, and went into a little yard, the times, who furnished the amplest testimony on examination. Heffernan, in full view of his impending death, stated he had never had any difficulty or provocation whatever, that he was not acquainted with him, and that he could not imagine what possessed him to commit the assault upon him. The description given of him by persons in the neighborhood, that Messrs. Jennings and Wegman, who used commendable diligence, were enabled to track Cassidy to the boarding-house at the corner of Green and Second streets. They found him there in bed, where he had lain from early in the morning till night.

We have never seen an individual whose countenance betrayed, in stronger lights, the innate villain and murderer. After conversing with him, he was asked if he had any statement to make, to which he gave the dogged answer, that 'he knew more well his case would go up to the Criminal Court, and that there would be plenty of time for him to set up a defence.' —*St. Louis Reveille, 6th ult.*

Awful Murder.—We learn that the wife of Mr. Marcus Posey, of this Parish, was murdered on the 16th ult. by a negro man, the property of Mr. Posey. We are informed that she had gone to the spring, which was some distance from the house, to draw water, when she remained at the time, and after accomplishing his hellish designs, beat her to death with a stick. He then dragged her a short distance in the woods, and there buried it. She was missing for several days, and after a fruitless search, one of the negroes confessed, and told where the body could be found. The negro escaped, and is still at large. *Hamburg, S. C. Journal.*

Murder.—A fatal rencounter occurred at St. Genevieve on Wednesday last, which resulted in the death of Mr. Joseph Bell. We have received, from our informant, an old fend existed between the deceased gentleman and another named Scott; and on the evening murder was shot, Scott was conversing with Mr. McM. in a bar-room, drew a revolver and fired at him. Four balls passed through his head, and the unfortunate man dropped dead without a word. The homicide made his escape instantly, and all attempts to apprehend him have proved futile. The excitement at St. Genevieve was very great, and the citizens there have declared their intention to lynch young Scott, should he be captured.—*Louisville Dem.*

Affray in Court.—The Sheriff of Rockbridge county, Virginia, in attempting to quell a disturbance which happened at the Lexington Court, received a pistol, if not fatal, shot from a pistol, the ball entering the jaw. The man who committed the crime is now in jail.

☞ Martin K. Snell, postmaster at Houston, Texas, was shot a few days since, by his step-son, aged 16 years. The cause is reported to be difficulty with his wife, the mother of the lad.

☞ At the South, they kill each other with curious *sang frioid*. A late arrival from Albany, (Ga.) paper, where it is stated that while two men were talking together in a common one of voice, without any apparent provocation, one drew a knife and stabbed the other to the heart.

☞ The Hopkinsville, Ky., paper records the murder of Ira Clemmons, a citizen of that county, by a man in his employ named Underwood, who escaped.

A female slave of Dr. J. James, of Wentworth, N. C., having lately committed some trifling mischievous, her master determined to sell her. Prompted by revenge, she took her master's only daughter and a little slave boy into the woods, and murdered them. She escaped, but was taken and imprisoned.

☞ Levi a negro man belonging to Mr. Sims, near Pees Gibson, Mississippi, recently, driven by remorse to confess that, about Christmas, he murdered a pedlar and concealed his body in a ravine, where it was found. The object was to obtain the pedlar's pony, but his conscience worried him so that he burnt it.

Murder.—Two young men, named J. E. Johnson and Thomas Harper, becoming involved in a dispute, the latter was challenged by Johnson, and declined to fight. On the night of the 2d inst. they met in a bar-room, and words passed between them, when Johnson struck Harper with his cane, and Harper drew a pistol, and fired the ball through the heart of his antagonist, killing him instantly, and then made his escape.

BALTIMORE, Feb. 5.

Execution of the President.—Thomas Henderson, convicted at the last Court of Sessions for Pickens district of the murder of Robert Wilson, were executed on the 2d inst. at Pickens C. H. We understand that Thomas Henderson, under the gallows, declared having had any thing to do with the transaction, and was sustained in his statement by his brother Carroll.

BALTIMORE, Feb. 5.

Fire and Fight—Murderous Affair.—Four small houses were destroyed by fire this morning, near the Mount Clare depot.

After the fire, an affray occurred at a tavern in the vicinity among the firemen, when Michael, a man named John Smith had his throat cut, it is said, by a member of the Watchman Fire Company. The injuries caused his death shortly after. The alleged murderers were arrested.

A Man Shot.—On the 17th ultimo, at Frog Bayou, Ark., Moses Anderson was shot through the body while at work in an open field, by some person unknown.

☞ William Easton was killed at Big Spring, Md., by his brother-in-law, Charles Byrum. They quarrelled about fixing at a mark. Easton assailed Byrum's wife, and Byrum struck him with a gun.

☞ In an affray at Mobile, police officer Phillaber shot Mr. Cottrell through the breast, who afterwards knocked the officer down. Mr. C. was not mortally wounded.

☞ Mr. L. Pickering, editor of the St. Louis, Mo., Union, has been held to bail in $8000, to answer the charge of an assault, with intent to kill F. P. Blair, Jr.

☞ A young man of 19 years was found murdered near Goose Creek, Charleston, S. C., supposed to have been a dry goods pedler.

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