SCHEET F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

Phone-Two dollars and fifty cents per annum n, if payment be made in advance. remittances are to be made, and all letters

on to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to facted, (FOST PAID,) to the General Agent. Attertisements making less than one square in-The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, nis and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are auweed to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial senite, but are not responsible for any of the debts

the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray feet, EDECK, VIL FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY 1925, EDECK, ADDRESS, EDITOR, SANUEL PHILBRICK, and feet Parties.

Fig the columns of The Lieunaton, both sides of er question are impartially allowed a hearing.

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WM LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholbers! HE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVERANT WITH DEATH

Yes! IT CARROT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to assent to the Perpetuity of Their Dominion over their BLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

rms STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FEGITIES SLAVES—are engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fata to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . in fact, the oppressor repre-

senting the oppressed!... To call government thus con-stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. 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 THEREIT

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'-John Quincy Adams.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 8, 1853.

### WHOLE NUMBER 1159.

### SELECTIONS.

WR. GIDDINGS'S ADDRESS.

Perious to the late election, the counties of Omboga, Iake, and Geauga, were stricken from a congressional district which Mr. Giddings has by congressional district which Mr. Giddings has lar represented in Congress. In parting with his continents in these counties, he has addressed has be following letter. It sounds like the joyis, hopful outpouring of a true-hearted and shrives reformer, and not like the demagogue of ricky politician. In bold fidelity to the slave, & Giddings has hever had an equal in Congress has son for himself imperishable honor, by at manly courage which has induced him to def it many courage which has induced him to defy its, the threats of braggart slaveholders at Wash-ness, and the fiendish slanders of partisan ser-ds is Ohio. There may be a radical difference be-seam Mr. Giddings and ourself in opinions and guars, but none the less clearly, therefore, do we see and honor his fidelity to freedom, in the penion be has chosen for himself.—A. S. Bugle.

THE PEOPLE OF CUYAHOGA, LAKE, AND GEAUGA

FRIOW CITIZENS :- The official relation which herso long held towards you is now dissolved. The occasion is one which demands of me an exresion of the gratitude which I feel towards those a whose service nearly one-half of the business price of my life has been spent. I leave you rin emitions stronger than those of ordinary bisedship. Long have I been sustained by your infesce, strengthened by the repeated proofs of yer confidence, and cheered on to effort by your spend of my labors. You have generously exceed my errors, and overlooked my imperfections. ession of the gratitude which I feel towards those se circumstances have created within me a feel or of affectionate attachment, of heartfelt grati-

sall perform its office.
In return for your kindness, and the confidence speed in me, I can only say that I have endeavered to discharge my public duties with fidelity. My positions in Congress have been somewhat iso-list. I have followed the dictates of my own best adment; yet my opinions have been formed with differation and careful preparation. In looking such the past, I experience the most unfeigned please in the consciousness that thus far no po-tical opponent, indeed, no slaveholder, has attempted to meet the views I have expressed, or to must be positions I have taken concerning our manifestimal relations to slavery. The declamatica, misrepresentation, and personal detraction, with which I have been assailed, furnish abundant mof that my opponents were unwilling to assaul

My views upon the great questions which now agitate the country are placed upon record: they are to be found in the official debates of Congress,

bet, progress is written in unmistakable characers upon the natural world around us; but this process is not more obvious than that which is n in the moral world, or which marks the polit-

as sentiment of our land.

Of all the political issues existing between the arties when I entered Congress, not one now remains. In reviewing the past, it appears appromise that the issue made upon the existence of a 8. Bank should be contemporaneous with mudgreads and semi-monthly or weekly mails. The porels of the public lands, and protective tariff, pears appropriate to the period when we trav-tied on horseback to New York and other Atlantic ches; and we should be no more astonished to meet a conservative, now advocating the ancient aok of carrying the mails on foot, than we should also a carrying the mails on foot, than we should be a carrying the mails of the carrying the baset one who attempts to revive the political

At that time few, very few, admitted Congress passes the constitutional power to abolish sla-

la 1840, our people generally regarded slaves as but slaveholden man will insult us by pretending that sineholders and doughfaces convened in Con-press, by importent words, arranged in the form of nal Law, can convert the image of God entilizing a living, immortal soul, into property, and degrading it to the level of a brute.

the degrading it to the level of a brute.

The popular sentiment among us now denies the pere of human Legislation to sanctify crimes that Goo has denounced. The man who, under the seposed protection of Congressional law, now keep men and women in the District of Columbia, and sells them to the far South, with the perfect has ledge that they will be hurried to premature gares under the scourge, is regarded no less a warder, than he under whose lash the victim expenses; has is the member of Congress who lends in magence to sustain the slave trade there, consisted less guilty before the Searcher of hearts, thered less guilty before the Searcher of hearts, than the man who buys and sells his fellow-mor-

At no period of the world has popular sentiment been undergoing such rapid improvement as at the present day. The literature of our nation, of England, and of Continental Europe, is putting forth a powerful influence in favor of liberty, of truth, justice, and humanity; teaching men to follow the precepts of that gospel which speaks peace and good-will to all men—which directs us to do unto others as we would have them do unto us.

Liberty, but I did not wish to disregard our relations and obligations to other countries. He was hailed, he was greeted, he was welcomed, on some occasions more triumphantly than ever Lafayette, the friend of Washington. Compare the men, compare their feelings, their impulses, and their actions, and—

that was, to this, Hyperion to a satyr.'

What claims had he upon us! He had claims of

us.

Nothing more distinctly marks the age in which we live, than the application of the doctrines of our holy religion to the political duties of governments and of people. No real distinction can be drawn between that fidelity which denies the remainfulling of human action, and that political sponsibility of human action, and that political conservatism which maintains a traffic in human flesh; indeed, I would far sooner share the responsibility of the just, humane infidel, in the day of final responsibility. final retribution, than of that slave-dealer who

final retribution, than of that slave-dealer who profanes all that is sacred, and pure, and holy, by professing to preach of Christ or to love the gospel. The brotherhood of man and nations is rapidly becoming the ruling sentiment of Christendom. The heart of the civilized world beats for truth, justice, and humanity; and almost every steamer from Europe brings us something cheering—some word of encouragement from the philanthropists of the old world. the old world

the old world.

The slave power stands appalled at these manifestations of popular sympathy for the rights of man and the laws of God. Already have we set bounds to oppression. I give it as the conviction

with these sentiments I entered Congress: in that body I have not failed to maintain them: you have generously sustained me in doing so: and now, in the fullness of this spirit, we separate; and in it I bid you an affectionate Gop speed in all your future labors for the benefit of mankind.

With feelings of gratitude, of respect, and affectionate attackment.

With feelings of gratitude, of respect, and affectionate attackment.

Sir, much as I admire the patriots who strike for liberty—much as I admire the noble people whom

I am Your Obedient Servant. J. R. GIDDINGS.

same less guilty before the Searcher of heartes, considered in the same with the searcher of heartes, as the man who buys and sells his fellow-moral and protection and protection of laws sustained by Congress.

I the city of Washington, we have recently an elithen torn from the embrace of their frantic parallel from the highest bidder. If you final on earth deserves death, I think those is committed by congress who put forth their influence which save proven up in this country, which have had an an exciting and important into the contemplation of th

have voted to continue the slave trude, or deal in human flesh myself, as I would vote for any man pledged to uphold it; nor can I think a God of justice would hold me less guilty for voting in favor of a man who I was conscious would sustain that infamous crime, than he would for dealing in the bodies of mankind.

I am happy in saying that the popular sentiment on this subject of moral responsibility connected with political action, has also greatly improved. We no longer hear men denounce others for connecting moral principle with their political action; indeed, the man who now votes without regard to moral duty, is considered either an infidel in principle, or wanting a proper appreciation of his obwilling to interfere across the Atlantic in foreign affairs, why might not the people of the United States interfere in their vicinity in taking Cuba, if

moral duty, is considered either an infidel in principle, or wanting a proper appreciation of his obligations to God and man.

The tone of our pulpit oratory has greatly changed. We no longer hear preachers of the gospel exhort us to reverence and obey the infamous fugitive law; nor do they now attempt to argue that slavery is a divine institution. No 'lower law' sermons are now printed and sent over the land to insult a Christian people.

I have not time to speak of the changes in Congress; of gag rules; of trampling upon the right of petition; of the insults, threats, and assaults upon members who, in former times, advocated the great truths which lie at the foundation of our government. These things have passed away; they exist now only in history.

At no period of the world has popular sentiment been undergoing such rapid improvement as at the town of the insults of the insults. I wished his country libery, as I wished the world liberty, but I did not wish to disregard our relations and obligations to other countries. He was a manufacted in the people of the United States interfere across the Atlantic in foreign affairs, why might not the people of the United States interfere is their vicinity in taking Cuba, if years their vicinity in taking Cuba, if I was not long after this, when another exciting circumstance took place.

We had not escaped from these difficulties when the advent of the illustrious stranger, Kossuth, was announced. I was not captivated by his advent, Mr. President. A portion of my life had been spent among the Indians. They are a cautious and considerate people, and I had learned to recommittee the insults of the illustrious stranger, Kossuth, was announced. I was not captivated by his advent of the illustrious stranger, Kossuth, was announced. I was not captivated by his advent of the illustrious stranger, Kossuth, was announced. I was not captivated by his advent of the illustrious stranger, Kossuth, was announced. I was not captivated by his advent of the illustrious stranger, Kossuth

What claims had he upon us? He had claims of sympathy. If he had ever fleshed his sword for liberty, he had a claim upon our admiration and our fraternal feelings. But he had not done it. He had left Hungary, he had denounced Gorgey, and had thrown upon him the responsibility of the government. He disregarded his colleagues in office when he was at the head of affairs in Hungary. He throwall the responsibility upon Gorgey.

office when he was at the head of affairs in Hungary. He threw all the responsibility upon Gorgey when Gorgey was helpless, and he himself had retreated with five thousand men. A beautiful army for liberty! Five thousand men alone, would strike for liberty against thousands on thousands. Yet he retreated with a body-guard of five thousand. And after he had negotiated for a succedaneum, for a resting-place, he went away, leaving poor Hungary down-trodden and bleeding. It is known, now, that somebody humbugged us, or we humbugged ourselves. Sir, it was Kossuth that humbugged the whole of us. [Laughter.]

Mr. Mason. Not all of us. Mr. Mason. Not all of us.

Mr. Houston. We have to take it collectively. Kossuth was received here not only as our own chieftains and warriors have been received, but he bounds to oppression. I give it as the conviction of my mind, that slavery will never pass its present limits, if we continue firm and unfaltering in the public, and of those who shall come after us. Whether they shall hereafter be approved or condemed, I can only say they were the solemn condemed, I can only say they were the solemn condemed, I can only say they were the solemn condemed in the limits, if we continue firm and unfaltering in the course which duty so clearly points out.

Fellow citizens, you have not been idle spectators of my own judgment, after mature and deliberate investigation.

Since you first honored me with a seat in Congress have come over the physical velid around us. Much of the dark forest of our caurty has given place to fruitful fields; beautiful deelings now stand where the gloomy wildering in the seat of participating, though in an humble degree, in this work of regenerating our government—of separating it from the support of slavery and the saw as then unbroken; our railroads have placed in the Senate chamber in a costume with any mind, that slavery will never pass its present limits, if we continue firm and unfaltering in the course which duty so clearly points out.

Fellow citizens, you have not been idle spectations of the separate different which which Washington would never have entered and departed. He appeared in the Senate chamber in a costume with which Washington would never have entered and departed. He appeared in the Senate chamber in a costume with which washington would never have been active agents in bringing about these encouraging circumstances. For myself, I desire no other or greater earthly honor than that of participating, though in an humble degree, in this work of regenerating our government—of separating it from the support of slavery and the slave trade—of purifying it from the crimes, the guilt, which now rest upon it,—and thus far continue firm and unfaltering in the departed. He appeared in the Senate chamber in a costume with which was its for the e tributing my humble labors for the elevation of our race.

It is the cause of God, of humanity; it cannot fail. Truth, present and enduring—eternal justice—constitute the basis on which it rests. The feeble attempts of man to separate Deity from the beings whom he has created; or to tear from a portion of our race the rights with which he has endowed them, must cease. As surely as God reigns, our cause will triumph. Nor do I think that triumph is far distant.

But, whether you or I shall remain to participate in that triumph, is of little importance. Let the progress of the past stimulate us to more ener-

But, whether you or I shall remain to participate in that triumph, is of little importance. Let the progress of the past stimulate us to more energetic efforts in future; let our influence, our moral and political energies, be exerted for the advancement of liberty and humanity, against opporession in all its forms; for the elevation and happiness of mankind; but most especially let us strive to purify ourselves, the people of the free States, and the federal government, from the blood of those victims now annually sacrificed under the sanction of Congressional law. Let us be careful that the guilt and the odium of those national murders, those savage cruelties, shall rest on those who commit, who encourage, and sanction them.

With these sentiments I entered Congress: in that body I have not failed to maintain them: you have renerously sustained me in doing so; and age of a man. He asks for no money; he wants

liberty—much as I admire the noble people whom Kossuth purported to represent—much as I admire all men who have struggled, even unfortunately or misguidedly for liberty, no matter where—much as I admire the promptings which actuated them, and love the cause in which they have been engaged; yet when a man proves recreant to a noble Gen. Housros expressed his opinion of Kossurm and his mission to this country in the following terms:

There is a remarkable coincidence in a train of circumstances which the circumstanc

view it; but I hesitate not to say that I would as soon tutional or treaty allegiance, and they thought it governments in name, exist only by a sufferance, have voted to continue the slave trade, or deal in was a time of general turmoil and uproar. That and are no longer the sanctuaries to which the doomed and hunted patriot may flee in safety from the wrath of his pursuers. The independence and the liberties of even Eugland are threatened. It is understood that the continental powers are concert-ing some scheme for the expulsion of their fugitive ing some scheme for the expulsion of their fugitive subjects from the British soil—a menace which the London Times meets with a vow of resistance to the last ounce of treasure and the last drop of blood. It may be, however, that necessity shall compel England to refuse an asylum to the proscribed victims of tyranny; in which event, America will be the only refuge of liberty for civilized

But it is from no such general survey as this that we get an adequate idea of the oppression and suffering of the people of Europe. When we come to their individual rights and their private relations, and see the one violated and the other outraged with every circumstance of feroci-ty—when we see their property confiscated, their persons insulted and beaten, their liberty destroypersons insulted and beaten, their liberty destroyed, and their lives taken in wanton cruelty—when we see their wives and daughters subjected to the lustful indignities of a brutal soldiery—when we see a land governed not by law and justice, but by the violent impulses of a suspicious and crushing despotism, with its desperate expedients of assassination, exile, and confiscation—we may form some just conception of the accumulated suffering and sorrows of a large portion of the people of and sorrows of a large portion of the people of Europe. We draw no exaggerated picture. If anybody doubts the truth of our representations, let him look at Lombardy, writhing under the heel of Austrian rule, and he will acquit us of extravagance. The excesses we describe are reduced to system by the monarchs, and practised with unrelenting rigor. They may be seen in France, in Italy, in Germany, in Hungary, and indeed wherever the spirit of the people is not utterly broken and prostrate. As an essential support to their iniquitous system, the monarchs are forced to gag the press and to exercise the most rigid censorship over books. No journal dares to utter the feelings of the people-no writer is allowed to express a discontent with the existing order of things. genius of the poet even soars in fetters, and the philosopher walks 'with gyves upon his hands.' A ubiquitous system of espionage infuses a deadly poison into the bosom of society, and spreads ever-ywhere distrust, suspiciou, and alarm.

It is not in the order of nature that such a sys-tem of iniquity shall endure. It is anomalous and tem of iniquity shall endure. It is anomalous and revolutionary, and will work out its own destruction. It cannot stand, if there be justice in Heaven. The bold criminal may flourish for a season, but the retribution will surely come. The despots of Europe may enjoy a brief period of absolute power, and may riot a little longer in blood and pillage; but revenge, that 'wild justice,' will plant the dagger home at last. If the tyrant sees nothing in the laws of humanity to restrain him from the oppression and murder of the people, he from the oppression and murder of the people, he cannot expect that any scruples of conscience should intervene between his bosom and the dagger of his victim. If he leaves open but one avshould not complain if her step be stealthy and her stroke unseen. The hour of retribution will come, and in proportion to the magnitude of his crimes will be the punishment of the tyrant. Eu-rope is held in subjection by military force, but military force cannot contend in the end with reason, justice, and humanity. And, as is the rigor of the existing pressure, will be the violence of the ultimate explosion.

From the Greylock Sentinel.

HORACE GREELEY'S LECTURE.

Last Tuesday evening a large and intelligent udience assembled in the vestry of the Univeraudience assembled in the vestry of the Univer-salist Church, to hear Hon. Horaco Greeley lectursalist Church, to hear Hon. Horace Greeley lecture upon Henry Clay. No one who was present doubts that amajority highly approved of the views of the lecture, and no one who is candid, will deny, that the approval manifested sprung mostly from gratified party feelings, and a rekindled devotion to a splendid political idol, now sanctified by death, sorrow and defeat. Mr. Greeley professed to be impartial, and we have no doubt he tried and meant to be, but his performance was a fresh illustration of the truth, that the immediate, enthusiastic followers and devoters of greatness are not the followers and devotees of greatness are not the most faithful critics and judges. How unconsciously the character of the judge was merged and lost in the exquisite art of the advocate, was perhaps as palpably exhibited in that part of the lecture, where he condemned with unconstitution. where he condemned with unmitigated severity Mr. Clay's unpolitical and unquestioned sin of duelling and his excuse for it, only the more effectually to explain and reconcile with honesty and patriotism explain and reconcile with honesty and patriotism his course on the slavery question—the most profound and solemn question of his times and age. Mr. Clay's excuse for slavery was unsound, but honestly made; his excuse for duelling pernicious, and equally open to gamblers and libertines. We do not question Mr. Greeley's honesty, but we think the impression he attempted to make, that Mr. Clay was not on the side of slavery and against greedom, in the last Compromise struggle, was wholly unwarranted. But the most surprising part of the lecture, (and this seemed written for this audience, being on separate slips of paper.) was the attempt to extract the odium from the term Compromiser, as applied to Mr. Clay. He undertook to defend Compromise in in general, and here we think he was weak and sophistical. He suggested that life was full of Compromise, in which it has arrayed itself against the evangelical churches of our country has milled to its standard many of the opposers of an Orthodox faith; the doubt which it has helped to throw over the inspiration and convictions—to vote him into war, &c. Well, suppose this is true, what point is there in it! The question is as to the moral character of a Compromise, and the guilt or innocence of him who participates in it. Does Mr. Greeley consider himself responsible for the wickedness of the Mexican war, because the majority (which he consented should rule,) resolved, against his remonstrance, to wage it? The guilt or sin rests upon those who commit it. Because wicked Compromises will be made, Henfry Clay is not guiltless if he aid and abets. Not thus can his guilt be weaked out of the public mind, or the august tribunal of history be blinded. For it must needs be that offences come, but was wicked, then was he wicked who originated and championed it, and prostituted divine gifts of eloquence to reconcile his country to its adoption. Had Mr. Greeley known how many 'succrers' at 'abstractions' he supplied with a new dodge, and how many uneasy consciences he drugged to stop again, he would have 'skipped' that point. However, much of his lecture we thought just and true—all of it was written in a style of singular elearness and power;—parks of it, with great the first power is a success; the manner in which he had on the success is the manner in which he had on a success; the manner in which he had on a championed it, and prostituted divine gifts of eloquence to reconcile his country to its adoption. Had Mr. Greeley known how many 'succrers' at 'abstractions' he supplied with a new dodge, and how many uneasy consciences he drugged to stop again, he would have 'skipped' that point. However, much of his lecture we thought just and true—all of it was written in a style of singular

From the Pennsylvania Freeman

PETER STILL AND HIS FRIENDS. The following extract of a letter from N. R. Johnston, formerly of Ohio, but now of Topaham, Vt., to Mr. William Still, Clerk in the Anti-Slavery Office, at Philadelphia, will be read with in-

I read the statement that your brother is trying to raise \$5,000 to purchase his family; I impulsively said he was doing wrong. The mother and daughter are not worth, in any market, over about daughter are not worth, in any market, over about \$800 each—this would make the price of the sons about \$1,700 each. The price is enormous. Besides, the master knows they are not worth so much now as before they escaped. Moreover, I have always been of the, opinion that it is wrong to purchase slaves for their freedom. But when I come to apply the case to myself, or make it my own, I change my mind. What would I not do if my wife was in bondage, like that in which Peter Still's wife is pining away? Nevertheless, I believe great evil is growing out of this practice of purchasing slaves for freedom. What vast sums of money have been expended to emancipate a few among the millions, when the same money otherwise expended might do much towards hastening universal emancipation.

My heart bleeds when I think of those poor, hunted and heart-broken fugitives, though a most interesting family, taken back to bondage ten-fold worse than Egyptian. And then poor Conkliu! How my heart expanded in love to him as he told me his adventures, his trials, his toils, his fears and his hopes! After hearing all, and then seeing and communing with the family, now joyful in

me his adventures, his trials, his toils, his fears and his hopes! After hearing all, and then seeing and communing with the family, now joyful in hopes of soon seeing their husband and father in the land of freedom; now in terror lest the human bloodhounds should be at their heels; I felt as though I could lay down my life in the cause of the oppressed. In that hour or two of intercourse with Peter's family, my heart warmed with love to them. I never saw more interesting young men. them. I never saw more interesting young men. They would make Remonds or Douglasses, if they They would make Remonds or Douglasses, if they had the same opportunities. While I was with them, I was elated with joy at their escape, and yet, when I heard their tale of wo, especially that of the mother, I could not suppress tears of deepest emotion. My joy was short-lived. Soon I heard of their capture; the telegraph had been the means of their being claimed. I could have torn down all the telegraph wires in the land. It was a strange dispensation of Providence. On Satura strange dispensation of Providence. On Saturday, the sad news of their capture came to my ears. We had resolved to go to their aid on Monday, as the trial was set on Thursday. On Sabbath I spoke from Psalm 12:5—For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at-(from them that would en slave) him.' When on Monday morning I learned that the fugitives had passed through the place on that the fugitives had passed through the place of Sabbath, and Conklin in chains, probably at the very time I was speaking on the subject, my heart sunk within ine. And even yet, I cannot but exclaim when I think of it—O Father! how long ere thou wilt avenge the wrongs of the poor slave! In-deed, my dear brother, his ways are very mysterious. We have the consolation, however, to know that all is for the best. Our Redeemer does all things well. When he hung upon the cross, his poor, broken-hearted disciples could not under-

poor, broken-hearted disciples could not under-stand the Providence—it was a dark time to them; and yet that was an event that was fraught with more joy to the world than any that has occurred or could occur.

Let us stand at our post and wait God's time.

Let us have on the whole armor of God, and fight for the Right, knowing that though we may fall in battle, the victory shall be ours, sooner or later. Don't fail to send me a copy of the Narrative of Don't fail to send me a copy of the Narrative of Conklin as soon as it is out.

I have been reading Phillips's, address in The Freeman; it is a noble desence. I bless God that I have never been carried away by political antislavery. I believe I would as soon hold a slave as vote and hold office in the American government, and I would no sooner hold a slave than I would thrust my band or head into the fire.

May God lead you into all truth, sustain you in your labors, and fulfil your prayers and hopes!

Adieu, N. R. JOHNSTON.

From the Cincinnati Christian Press.

THE GARRISONIAN MOVEMENT

Those who have calmly studied the rise and progress of this movement will be little inclined to dismiss it with an idle sneer, or to suppose that it can be successfully opposed by mere denunciation. It has, thus far, resisted every weapon framed for its destruction. Argument has not silenced its term Compromiser, as applied to Mr. Clay. He contributed much to its success; the manner undertook to defend Compromising in general, and in which it has arrayed itself against the evangel-here we think he was weak and sophistical. ical churches of our country has rallied to its ical churches of our country has rallied to its

discovers the weakness and inefficiency of any effort whatever that proceeds upon any lower ground. Nothing short of the unequivocal declaration and proof that slaveholding is a sin, and the slaveholder is a sinner, will supply a weapon whose stroke will be effectual.

slaveholder is a sinner, will supply a weapon whose stroke will be effectual.

Herein consists the false position and the impotency of all the attempts against slavery of those ecclesiastical bodies, mission boards, and religious papers, ministers, and teachers, that claim that they are exerting an influence for its overthrow, while they refuse to call it a sin, or to lay down the broad rule that the slaveholder is a sinner in his slaveholding, and let the exceptions to this rule be considered in their place. The whole array of this description of anti-slavery war will prove itself futile in the end. Every shot from its butteries falls harmlessly short of the mark. In the false position of these bodies, presses, ministers and teachers, is the danger to which evangelical religion is now exposed.

They do not commend themselves unto, but stand opposed to the conscience of the masses of the people, and the danger is imminent that evangelical faith, the churches, and the Bible, will be rejected together, through this false exhibition of their teachings and spirit.

If the issue is to be alone between Garrisonianism, and creeds and a Bible that are believed to teach the righteousness of slavery, and churches and mission boards that stand connected with or in any manner patronize slavery, then the result is no longer doubtful; these last will be swept as with a whirlwind away. Let the field be occupied only by these contending forces, and, in our opinion, this would be the certain end. The people will accept a false theological system that proclaims and enforces a great practical falsehood.

Tried by any evangelical standard, Garrisonianism is, in our view, infidel in its character, and, like every other error, tending swiftly to worse conclusions than those which have been hitherto

ism is, in our view, infidel in its character, and, like every other error, tending swiftly to worse conclusions than those which have been hitherto reached, though for the present it draws its life from the mighty truth which we have mentioned, and to which it has linked itself. Of the motives of Mr. Garrison and his friends, we have nothing to say. Their heroism, which has borne steadily aloft that banner, which, though torn by many a shot, is uncaptured yet, we are not unwilling nor ashamed to admire; we admit their ability, which few can match, the eloquence of some that is not often surpassed, here or elsewhere; but the depth of our regret and sorrow is all the greater, when of our regret and sorrow is all the greater, when we behold such persons employed, not only in a rightful conflict with slavery, but with fatal skill to undermine the foundations of that faith to which we have anchored our hopes, and on which alone any permanent reformation can rest.

In the rapid progress of this movement, and considering the central truth which imparts to it a life, we may perceive the alternative which is being even now presented to the country.

There must be an evangelical church or churches and mission boards and other benevolent associations, which shall be separate from all connection with slavery, which shall distinctly recognize and

with slavery, which shall distinctly recognize and boldly proclaim and act upon the truth, that slave-holding is a crime against God, or the Garrisonian type of anti-slavery sentiment will sweep the

type of anti-slavery sentiment will sweep the masses of the people away.

To promote the establishment of such churches and such missionary and other organizations, to exhibit an Orthodox religion which proclaims slaveholding a sin to be separated from, and the slaveholder a sinner properly rejected from the church, or the proper subject of discipline, is a chief object of The Christian Press. Such Societies are already established here, which in principle and by their various publications will spread this truth abroad. Such churches are, moreover, already thickly scattered throughout the land, many of them foeble, and asking aid at the hands of our Missionary Society. Such churches and Mis-Missionary Society. Such churches and Mis-sionary and Tract Societies are the best of all arthly protections which can be thrown around the faith once delivered to the saints, by a practical contradiction of the sneer of infidelity, by xhibiting an Orthodoxy not connected with but

the active opposer of sin.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman. THE CHRISTIAN PRESS.

THE CHRISTIAN PRESS.

This paper, the efficient organ of the Free Presbyterian Church, has done good service to our cause, and has grappled manually with the powers of slayery in the Church, encountering calumny and persecution bravely for the truth. For this it merits much honor. In this herculean work, we suggest to our good brother, there is enough to occupy all his strength; that he need not pin with his own rancorous enemies—our modern Scribes and Pharisees—to raise the cry of 'Garrisonism,' Infidel,' &c., against the most devoted and consistent of his fellow-laborers. There is no danger that Mr. Garrison and his associates will lack odium and epithets of reproach, should the 'Press' apply itself solely to the extirpation of practical infidelity and atheism from the Church, the pulpit and the theologic chair. There is little liability that their humane and Christian labors will be any too speedily successful, or that their way will be too smooth and flowery, if no thorns are strown in it, and no odious imputations are heaped upon them, to aggravate sectarian bigotry and popular prejudice.

On what principles of justice or Christian courtesy does the 'Press' use the term 'Garrisonism' to designate a new and peculiarly dangerous form of 'infidelity!' To say nothing now of the taste of coninug or dealing in such terms, in the present case, it is an injustice or carelessness which does not comport with the general conduct of the Press. Does not its editor know that Mr. Garrison not only disavows all hostility to Christianity, or disbelief in its claims, but has proved his Christian fidelity by better evidence than high-sounding professions, or solemn observances, by the very proof which Jesus required of his followers! Against his life of love of man, irreproachable virtue, and childlike reverence towards God; his self-consecration to Truth, his inflaxible adherence to the Divine Law—eternal Right—his uniform reference of every question of morals or policy to that uncerring standard: against all this, what hav

by the fullest examination. Therefore, he has ld shame his revilers.

The head and front of his offending

'The head and front of his offending Hath this extent.'

But to those who wriths under his words of truth, or shrink from the light, this is enough to justify the outcry by which they would divert attention from their own guilt. Surely we need not say that no abolitionist should (even unwittingly) help their miscrable shift, by giving currency to their epithets and reproaches. They should have the entire monopoly of this business.

If Mr. Garrison, or any one else, embraces dangerous error, show it to him, counteract it by truth; but these mad-dog cries of 'infidel,' anarchy,' Garrisonism,' enlighten no one, convert no one, and only appeal to prejudice and bigotry. This the 'Press' would not consciously do, and yet this it is doing when it seeks to frighten slaveholding Reverends and D. D.'s from their perversions of the Bible, by the bugbear of 'Garrisonism.' But the attempt will not be successful, in preventing Biblical defences of Slavery, War, Polygamy or Intemperance. So long as any of these practices are legal and popular, will those appeals to the Bible for sanctions to them continue. No representations of the consequences to the Bible or to Christianity will deter men, whose chief aim is, not justice, mercy, or purity, but popularity, influence, and commanding position, from the course which will win the prize they seek. Self or Sect is, to such men, an idol before which all else must bow. Convert them from selfishness—and they will seek no more any justifications of popular crime. To this work we commend our brother of the 'Press' as one more congenial with his usual liberality, and more serviceable to his own aims, than minis-To this work we commend our brother of the 'Press' as one more congenial with his usual liberality, and more serviceable to his own aims, than ministering, even indirectly, to the bigoted prejudice against the men who are doing the work of Christianity, in binding up the broken-hearted, proclaiming deliverance to the captive, leading men into a true brotherhood, and promoting purity and love;—the 'Good Samaritans' of our day. Whoever is really casting out from our land the devils of Slaery, War, Avarice, Hate, forbid him not, hinder him not, because he does not follow you, wear your not, because he does not follow you, wear your garb, or speak your speech. He is working for the race, for God, for eternity.

### MR. MANN AND MR. PHILLIPS.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE ARGUMENT,—The Correspondent at a loss—But findeth himself—He compareth his satisfactions—Why he enjoyeth Mr. Phillips's drubbing—He invegheth against Dresden China—Hexalteth himself, and why—He praiseth Mr. Mann, the American and Commonwealth—And quoteth Justice Shallow—He discovered the Vindicateth the participation of the others. others-He Vindicateth the patriotism of the other.

And showeth their bravery-He laudeth the Free —And showeth their bravery—He laudeth the Free Soilers—But giveth them no monopoly of patriotism —The noble Army of Martyrs—The Correspondent displayeth his Learning—He webuketh a Neologism —And citeth Tom Thumb the Great—He propoundeth two Questions—He earnestly desireth to be Converted—He hopeth all tlangs from lawyers turned Abolitionists—He defendeth Mr. Mann from unfriends—And citeth Casar and General Heath—Mr. Mann's Commentaries and his own—He philosophizeth and moralizeth—He maketh distinctions—He speculateth concerning the Devil, the Legislator and the Abolitionist—He is candid, monitory and and the Abolitionist—He is candid, monitory and parental—He expoundeth the Philosophy of Punition —And concludeth hopefully, &c. &c. &c.

Boston, March 28th, 1853. Norming of any particular account has happened since I wrote to you last, and I hardly know how to fill up my appointed column. The thing that has given me the most contentment of late, (always excepting the ejection of District Attorney Lunt and Marshal Devens from office) has been the drubbing Mr. Wendell Phillips has been getting at the hands of the Hon. Horace Mann. I like to see him getting his gruel, at last. He has, all along, been treated as if he were of better temporal clay than we delice years, and handled pered clay than we delft vessels, and handled pered clay than we delft vessels, and handled, even by the adversary, as if he were a Dresden teacup. While I, for instance, (having Mr. Mann's example before my eyes, I feel emboldened to recount my own sufferings.) while I have been banged and buffeted and such, showers of thwacks and thumps have lighted on my unlucky head, that, as poor Sancho said: 'if it were to rain mitres, ne'er a one would fit it;' all this time, I say, this Mr. Phillips has been skulking,' among the this Mr. Phillips has been skulking among th wagons in the rear,' out of reach of the cudgels, and enjoying my calamities with a truly Lucretian pleasure! I thank Mr. Mann for that descriptive phrase. I entirely agree with the Lowell American (I think it is) and the Boston Commonwealth, that it is a good phrase, and as Justice Shallow saith,

But while I have nothing to say in behalf of Mr. Phillips, but leave him to defend himself as best he may against his antagonist, I must entreat Mr. Mann not to put all Abolitionists 'refusing office, or refusing to cote,' into the same category with that individual. He, I will admit, prefers ignominiously hiding himself among the refusing to hiding himself among the wagons in the rear, or at best, basely drudging with the pick-axe and spade at best, basely drudging with the pick-axe and spade in the trenches, from pure want of spirit; but I can assure Mr. Mann, there are men among us with souls above these things, if we can only see the way clear before us. Some of us would not have the least objection to wear epauletts and gold lace, and to ride a cock-horse,

. With our long sword, saddle, bridle, Vhack, row de row

on the muster-field at Washington, instead of delving obscurely with the entrenching tools among the pioneers—the sappers and miners—if he will only be good enough to show us that our scruples are slight and inconsiderable. Nay, there are those of us who would be willing to suffer under the Martyrdom of Mileage; to endure, even, the agony of Eight Dollars per diem, if our country called for it. Yea, and would if it was Ten! We would boldly encounter such a danger, saying, as the Lord Mayor of London did, when he went a hunting, and was told the hare was coming—' let it come, a God's name! I'm not afeard of it!'

Mr. Mann must not suppose that patriotism i entirely confined to his own party and the other two 'healthy political organizations.' We freely confess to the amount of that virtue which inconfess to the amount of that virtue which is spires the Free Soilers as well as the Whigs and Democrats. We have looked on with admiration, Democrats. We have looked on with admiration, I hope not with envy, and witnessed the swiftness of the self-devotion with which they were ready to sacrifice themselves on altars of any size, from the big one at Washington, on which Senators and Members of the House are offered up, to the little ones in the States, devoted to the incremation of Members of Assemblies and General Courts, Aldermen of cities and Selectmen of towns. But though we have stood aside from these *auto da fés*, while bolder Confessors was a second as the court of the cou Confessors were courting the Stake, it was not from want of patriotic zeal, but from a Scruple from want of patriotic zeal, but from a Scruple (foolish, perhaps) which we are quite ready to have explained away. Let Mr. Mann but convert us from the errors of our ways, and he will find that there are some Garrison Abolitionists of a different calibre from this Mr. Phillips—men who will be ready, at the call of their Country, to enlist in that Noble Army of Martyrs (two hundred and farty or thereabouts. I forget the exact number of the call for the exact number of the call for the exact number of and forty, or thereabouts. I forget the exact num-ber) in the House of Representatives at Washing-ton—every one of whom is there sorely against his will, to the great damage of his private business and inconvenience of his family affairs, every man of whom has taken his seat, as Beatrice took Bene-disk dick, upon great persunsion, and partly to save the lives of his constituents. Or, missing such conspicuous immolation, who would consent to suffer an obscurer doom in the provincial Capitols. Men who, if not permitted to die in the Coloseum, would consent to suffer in the Amphitheatre at Nismes, rather than miss of the Crown of Martyrdom al-

Now, though we do not complain of Mr. Mann's treatment of Mr. Phillips, we think he has not paid that attention to the rest of us which our entire willingness to be converted deserves. It seems to me that Mr. Mann has devoted too much of his Rejoinder to what Plato and other Ancient Philosophers (I like to show a little learning, occasionally, as well as Mr. Webster) used to denominate the Shiomachia, or Shadow-fighting. That he conjures up an adversary of his own devising—vis. that Mr. Phillips had charged him with moral indifferentism' (a vile neologism, by the way, and of evil ensample from a pedegogomastir,

But he is not as clear as he thinks he is on the two questions which we long to have cleared up.

First, 'Does the Constitution of the United States require the Rendition of Fugitive Slaves, on claim of the owner!' If not, then we have the which if not the only obtains a support of the control of the cont on claim of the owner! If not, then we have the chief, if not the only obstacle removed out of our way. But if yes, then, Scondly, Is not a man who swears to support the Constitution bound to take measures for the execution of this provision, by himself or his representative, in Congress or State Legislature, according as the duty of executing it may lie with the one or the other? If it be his duty to see that due provision is made for the execution of that clause—by providing of process, appointing officers, &c.—it follows, of course, that he is not to resist such process and such officers; but, contrariwise, to assist the one in executing the other, if lawfully called upon to do so. If he had nothing to do with providing the process and officers, by himself or his representative, but is at perfect liberty to proceed in the case of a fugitive a slave as if the Constitution had never existed; then the alternative difficulty is removed out of the way of the Disunion Abelitionists, and he may go to the polls, or to Congress, or the White House, with a perfectly clear conscience. to the polls, or to Congress, or the White House, with a perfectly clear conscience. We can assure Mr. Mann that we are quite ready to be convinced that we are in error on either of these two points, and shall hold ourselves greatly indebted to him or to anybody else who will put us on the road to the American paradise of office.

So, again, I cannot but think that there are Dis

nnion Abolitionists, who, in the time past of their lives, (Heaven forgive them!) have been lawyers, who would be willing to perform their professional duty to men accused, like Drayton and Sayres, of duty to men accused, like Drayton and Sayres, of assisting in the escape of Slaves, as in the case so picturesquely described by Mr. Mann, even if threatened by Mr. Mann, even if threatened by men with bowie knives and pistols in their pockets, especially, after Mr. Mann's providential escape. I do not mean that Mr. Phillips would, of course; but I hope there may be men is the Garrisonian ranks ready to do as faithfully (though not so ably) what was done by Messrs. Mann and Carlisle at that tumultions crisis, if they could be cured of the scruple which prevents their practising their profession. Some prevents their practising their profession. Some people have been disposed to gird at Mr. Mann for the justice which he does in his Rejoinder to his own merits in the aforesaid case. I like it. 'Is this a world to hide virtues in?' he has worshipful precedent for it. Cesar did the same thing, and so did Major General Heath. To be sure, they wrote in the third person. The first-named warrior would say, 'Cesar did this or that,'—the latter, 'this being the opinion of our General, he did so and so.' But if Mr. Mann prefers writing his Commentaries in the first person singular, I, for one, have no objection. On the contrary, I like it. I intend to write mine in the same way.

I do not at all wonder that our Free Soil friends

should be a little testy at the pertinacity of such fellows as this Phillips, in bringing them up to the ringbolt—whatever that may be; or they do not stand on equal ground. We can afford to keep our tempers in such a discussion, for we have everything to gain by it. We want them to convince us, and have a motive for keeping all our wits about us, that we may be convinced. I do not say that they are not in an equally candid of mind; but they are certainly free from disturbing influences as we are. If they come to us, they must give up all that seems to make plain to us the distinction he attempts to establish between the same man as Legislator and Abolitionist, so that we may feel sure that when the Devil comes to fetch the Legislator, the Abonot say that the Free Soilers are not as willing to be convinced by Mr. Phillips; but it does seem to us that they are not as favorably situated for conviction. We do not doubt that Mr. Mann, and the Free Soil party, honestly believe that their Method of Political Action, inside the Constitution, is better than ours of Political Action, outside of it. But we are sure that they are wrong, and we are right. And when we comment on their Speeches or their Short-comings, it is in no spirit of personal hostility, but of genuine friendship, that we do it. George Thompson once said that Garrison was the Grandfather of the Free Soilers. If so, the Abolitionists are their fathers. The discipline we administer is purely parental. If we chasten them, it is only because we love them. If we spare not the rod, it is only that the child may not be spoiled. If the child is froward, and will beat the nurse,' we are sorry; but cannot alter our course to oblige it. They will thank us for our correction, as the schoolmaster used to say, the longest day they have to live.—b. r.

the last Liberator, in reply to Mr. Mann, whom he basely attacked in a speech of his before the American Anti-Slavery Society. We think Mr. Phillips ought to know better than to spend his time in finding fault with the working reformers of Massachusetts. Sumner, Mann, Hale, and their fellow-laborers, are to him little better than knaves. His province, seems to be that of fault-finding. He ago, I published articles and arguments, in my Common never really accomplished anything yet, for the advancement of our cause—though he is a magnidren to attend our public schools with whites; and ficent orator .- Hartford Republican .

HORACE MANN AND WENDELL PHILLIPS. Weneed not commend the letters of these gentlemen to a thorough and candid perusal. The position to a thorough and candid perusal. The position and ability of the writers will secure this. We are content to leave our readers to form their own judgment of the merits of the discussion, only remarking that we have been as much pleased with the calm and dignified self-possession of Mr. Phillips's most effective Reply, as we were pained and surprised at the acrimony and injustice of Mr. Mann's Letter. Mr. Mann ought to know Wendell Phillips too well to believe him capable of a coninjustice toward any man. We believe,

JOHN SCOBLE. The Liberator contains a letter from our old friend Edward Mathews, of Bristol, England, finding fault with Mr. Scoble, and expressing his joy at his resignation of the Secretary-ship of the British and foreign Anti-Slavery Socie-ty. The Liberator dislikes Mr. Scoble, because he invariably defended the course pursued by the Free Sollers of America, and lacked sympathy for the Garrison party. He has worn out the best portion of his life in the cause of Anti-Slavery, and deserves praise, from the lips of all true chilanthrosits. praise from the lips of all true philanthropists.— Hartford Republican.

NOT DEAD YET. The New York Herald, in a new chapter of Lamentations over the obstinate Anti-Slavery Movement, that will not die, says:

Never was anything more true than what we have asserted again and again in this journal; that the abolition treason, though it may appear to subside after a defeat, is never dead—it merely sleeps, and that with its eyes open, it arouses from its slumbers, like a giant refreshed with new wine, and it goes to work again with greater energy than

The Black Swan. The concert of the 'Black Swan' came off last evening, at Motropolitan Hall, and attracted a very large audience, of the first respectability. There was no mistaking her claims to African descent, and her appearance, which was not graceful in all respects, created a deal of meriment. She has, however, a very fine voice, particularly on the high notes, and one that only requires cultivation to entitle its possessor to a high rank in her art. Her manners, too, if not unexceptionable, were unaffected.

The Chief of Police, anticipating a disturbance, was present with a large force, but no disorder occurred,—probably the result of these precautionary measures. The Swan is expected to soon sail for England, where she will doubtless receive largely of public honors.—N. Y. Journal of Com.

Wayland, of Brown University, a 'half Pagan,' and Judge MeLean, of the Supreme Court, a 'Western misoreant,' and so of the leading men of all the other demoninations,—perhaps I should have rallied Baptists and Methodists, and all the rest, to my support at ones!

7. The statute of 1843, though intended to guaranty the same school laws, at the request of the Legislature, I added a commentary, declaratory of the intention and true school laws, at the request of the Legislature, I added a commentary, declaratory of the intention and true school laws, at the request of the Legislature, I added a commentary, declaratory of the intention and true school laws, at the request of the Legislature, I added a commentary, declaratory of the intention and true school laws, at the request of the Legislature, I added a commentary, declaratory of the intention and true school laws, at the request of the Legislature, I added a commentary, declaratory of the intention and true school laws, at the request of the Legislature, I added a commentary, declaratory of the intention and true school laws, at the request of the Legislature, I added a commentary of the intention of the act. THE BLACK SWAN. The concert of the 'Black

What a commentary on the civilization of New York city, that the Chief of Police, with all his forces. should be required on such an occasion !

or Scourger of School-masters! \*) on the subject of Slavery. Like Tom Thumb the Great,
'He made the Giants first, and then he slew them!' No Union with Slaveholders,

BOSTON, APRIL 8, 1853.

REPLY OF HON. HORACE MANN TO WEN DELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

WEST NEWTON, April 4, 1853.

DEAR SIR,-In Mr. PHILLIPS's late speechtion and misquotation together—he began his attack his assault, I occupied less than a column in reply. He rejoined, with irrelevant matter, new misquotations and new attacks, in three columns. To my surrejoinder he has now replied in—only five columns !

Does not this, Mr. Editor, look rather formidable

a weekly? I observe, however, notwithstanding the manner in which your columns were crowded, you could spare a conspicuous corner, just to tell the public that Mr. PHILLIPS was right, and I wrong. I do not complain of this; for how, without somebody's telling them, could your readers ever find it out?

I now proceed to show, that Mr. PHILLIPS has ex-tended his columns, as Alexander, the son of another Philip, did his kingdom, until, at the slightest concussion, they must fall to pieces of themselves.

In one sense, indeed, I confess myself baffled by the

last five columns! I have looked them through to mark distinct misstatements of fact, substitutions of premi ses, and imputations of false inference, and have found physical atmosphere of the other.

Can I reply to all these individually? Certainly not One might as well attempt to crush all Pharach's locusts between his thumb and finger. But I can anato mize and exhibit some rare specimens.

In my last, I stated the terms on which or sion should proceed: 'Honest quotations,' Non-intro duction of extrameous matter,' . No imputation of bad motive.' Were not these fair terms? They were my flag of truce. Mr. PHILLIPS has grossly violated it. . For the half-dozenth time, at least, Mr. Pint-LIPS reproduces the irrelevant, personal and immoral charges of infidelity to the colored children of Massachusetts. Justice to my own character and consciness compel me to give these charges a prompt and peremptory denial. They are all untrue; flagrantly un

form. He accuses me of 'smothering my convictions'which, of course, no honest and Christian man can do He accuses me of 'systematic and designed silence and says I shall yet 'live to repent of the wrong I did the colored children of the State.' Of course, he says I still cherish my old sins, and hold them unrepented them 'to make ambition virtue;' if we go to them, we shall at least have our chance in the behalf of colored children, he says I 'never gave them one word of recognition, countenance or aid.'

I shall cite a few facts, among many others, and leave the public to decide whether Mr. PHILLIPS did not know his words to be untrue.

1. Nearly twenty years ago, and early in the historical of the Blind Institution, as one of its Trustees, I mad a report in favor of admitting all colored children, or the same terms as white children were admitted; and under all circumstances, I have always acted up to the principles of that report, without variableness or shadow of turning. Mr. PHILLIPS taunts me frequently with being young in the cause. Can he turn to any recor of positive acts on his own part of so early a date?

2. Some eight or ten years ago, on a day precedin the admission of pupils to the Bridgewater Norma School, an express came to me from an assistant teacher saying that the Principal was away, and that a gentle man had called to learn whether colored pupils could be admitted, as he wished to offer two on the morrow Instantaneously I replied that " my eyesight was tolerably good, but never would be sharp enough to discern any difference of color between applicants qualified for admission to the school.' The pretended applicants never applied. It was doubtless a base trick, played with the know it is of English mintage, but it bears no royal from the time of one of Mr. Phillips's attacks upon image and superscription to make it current. I will maintain with my sword that the phraseis vile. author; and yet I would a thousand times rather have been the object of that trick, than of his present con-

3. In regard to the rights of colored children, in our schools, and because I 'never gave one word of recognition, countenance or aid,'-mark, not so much a one word of aid,-to him and his friends, Mr. PHIL-Lirs says he rebuked me 'five years ago.' Nine years ago, I published articles and arguments, in my Common elsewhere, I followed up those arguments repeatedly with tongue and pen.

4. I wrote and sent to the City Solicitor of Boston as argument against the separate colored school in Boston, and in favor of the distribution of the colored chil-

dren among the other schools. 5. The statute of 1845, ch. 214-now eight years since-was passed after consultation with me, and with my hearty approval. As every one knew, its object was to make the Common Law certain by a statute law; and to ensure, beyond contingency, the equal rights of all the colored children in the State. We all thought it had done so. It was since I left the Secretaryship, that the upon reflection, he will regret the language into intent of that law has been frustrated by a decision of which excitement has betrayed him.—Pennsylvania the Supreme Court; but notwithstanding my general respect for the decisions of that tribunal, I have never failed to express my dissent from that particular decision, as conflicting both with the spirit of our Constifution and with the spirit of Humanity.

6. In my Reports, I uniformly stated the lasuch as would confer upon colored children equal school privileges, in all respects, with white ones, which I be lieved it did. Where the practice did not conform to the theory, I labored to make it do so, and when I left the Secretaryship, we had nearly succeeded. An omision to assault and belabor the three or four towns that sustained colored schools, no more proves indifference to the cause of colored children, than the omission to nam slaves and slavery in the Constitution of the United States proves that a majority of its framers were fond and proud of slavery. Hostility, not favor, caused the

But Mr. PRILLIPS thinks I ought to have said sor thing to help the abolitionists in 'the rural districts That there were no colored schools in 'the rural districts' is a sufficient answer to that. Perhaps, however er, if I had copied the language of Mr. PHILLIPS in his last letter, and filled 'a few pages' with calling Di Wayland, of Brown University, a 'half Pagan,' and

"I have been at home but a single day PHILLIPS'S letter appeared, or it would have swored earlier.

schools in any town or city, where a separation existed, without making it a point to visit the colored school, so that no ground should ever be afforded for a suspicion ern agitation has sought to compass, and twice assert

Now, with such documents, reports, cor Now, with such documents, reports, commentaries and and printed arguments before him, with such facts happening around him, for twelve years, I leave it for an impartial public to judge whether, when Mr. Phillips and I then add, 'It has been only on such declared I had never given them 'one wond' of ald subjects that the North has lifted up the voice,' &c.; in their efforts in behalf of the colored school children of and this generalizing clause is in the same ser in their efforts in behalf of the colored school children of the State—that I 'smothered my 'convictions'—practised' systematic and designed silence'—connived by 'silence, not to use a stronger term,' at public 'guilt'—was guilty of 'serious misconduct in public office,' &c. &c.—I submit, whether Mr. Phillips, with these proofs all around him, some of them existing in public documents, and to be found in every school district in the State, was himself guiltless of the offence so abhormal to extending and this generalizing clause is in the same sentence respecting which his misstatement is made. As to the other passage, if I understand the one which is referred to, I was speaking of what the Free Sollers,—a party organized in 1848,—had done, and my alleged error consists in not including, as theirs, a series of acts of agitation extending backward from 1844 to 1814.

Mr. Phillips carps repeatelly, because, when spealing of our oath to support the Constitution, I said, with our interpretation of it? He new assumes that I

their van.' Did Mr. Purture ever ask himself how declares himself misled. Why all this? He cannot afmany 'vans,' on his principles, I must 'lead' at the fect to be so ignorant as not to know that there are vasame time? Immediately after my appointment, a rious and even hostile interpretations of the Constitupowerful body of sectarians demanded that I should their van, in turning our schools into procelytclead their van, in turning our schools into procelytall interests and all individuals, and every unjust or that it does not. I never said our interpretation was indiscreet man, who had any speciality from the bigot the common one, and had no occasion to say so. All to the pedant, wanted me to 'lead his van.' Under my that is evidently irrelevant. solemn responsibility to the country, to posterity, and to God, I did the best I knew how. So far as Mr. WESDELL PHILLIPS is concerned, this is my reward.

But this is endless. It is impossible to follow and expose Mr. Phillips is paralogisms and misstatements,
unless Mr. Garrison will publish a daily, and let me

On this subject, Mr. PHILLIPS seems to speak as though my official life had been a life of leisure; as though I could retire to my city or country residence. read the newspapers and the poets, allow six months for the gestation of single speeches, and then go to Fancuil Hall or the State House for their delivery. During the twelve years of my Secretaryship, I used sometim

Mr. PHILLIPS speaks graciously of a recent act of nine, but in the same breath arrogates the credit of it to himself,-that is, to 'the criticism of the anti-slavery press,' and I know of no criticisms, at that time, but Wasn't he the author of the north star, also? The latter assumption would be less ridiculous than the former; for I must say to him, frankly and positivey,-what thousands feel,-that his denunciatory, unsparing and undiscriminating course has made the performance of our duty towards the oppressed African race far more difficult and onerous than it would otherwise have been. To claim the paternity of that act of mine is quite as absurd as though he had claimed to be

But really in robbing me of the merit of spontaneity for that one deed,-almost the only act of my life that seems to have found favor in his eyes, -Mr. PHILLIPS has disappointed and grieved me. I thought him a more generous soul. With all his 'Gazas' of wealth, how could he grudge me this poor obolus? By his own acthan any other in any age. Their treasures are moral tive slaves. He has made the argument as personal as Californias; each item in their long inventories is a Zion of beauty and grace. In his late speech he declares that all the recent converts to anti-slavery, not only in this country but in England too, are our spirit- United States take a special, and not a general oathnal children.' From themselves, he says, 'has proceed- an oath to perform the duties of their particular offices, ed every important argument or idea that has been and not the duties of any other office. The oath lasts broached on the anti-slavery question, from 1830 to the present time.' This covers not only all the anti-slavery which it was administered. This is clear; for if the history, 'arguments and ideas' of John Quincy Adams, same person is chosen or appointed for a second Hale, Chase, Seward, and a host of others, but even the or third time, he must renew his oath, at each new West India Emancipation Act. The Lords and Commons who advocated and carried that glorious measure, are only 'our spiritual children.' Surely, according to ble, he can no longer be arraigned for a violation of that Mr. PHILLIPS, the Apostles had done far less, at the oath. same age, than he and his. It is true, they travelled The eath is limited in regard to the acts it comprerather more, going into the very South Carolinas and hends, as well as in regard to the time for which it pagan world; but it is only another proof of Mr. PHIL- enter upon the duties of another office to-morrow, I LIPS's superiority, if he can do a travelling apostle's work, and still remain at home. 'I claim for the move- for a new office, and every man for himself. In the nament, says he, that 'it has been marked by the soundest judgment, the most unerring foresight, the most sa- man swear to perform another man's duties? Even afgacious adaptation of means to ends, the strictest ter I have sworn to support the Constitution, it may be He goes to the post-office, bows politely, sadapt self-discipline, the most thorough research, and an overthrown in a thousand ways without my fault. The amount of patient and manly argument,' &c. &c. &c. people may successfully rebel, either by going beyond charity of the most timid of sects, the sagacity of our not voting at all; and then this government is at an [oun 1] wisest converts, nor the culture of the ripest end. Hence the oath only binds me to do according to ty years' experience, has yet struck out any new meth- quire more knowledge or more ability than I can comod of reaching the public mind, or originated any new mand, I must perforce break it. argument or train of thought, or discovered any new The Constitution may even require many things fact bearing on the question, &c. See the speech for be done, which a particular officer, a Congress, or a an almost interminable iteration in the same swelling President, is not guilty for omitting. They may have strains. Would the twelve Apostles themselves have more to do than they can complete; and, therefore, ventured to blow so loud a trumpet in their own praise? must leave some of it to their successors. Is it said, There is one more passage too characteristic to be omit- that, under such a construction, a man may evade his ted: 'It [wx?] gave them [the Free Soilers] a con-duty without guilt? Certainly not. The moment he stituency; it gave them an opportunity to speak; and it gave them a public to listen'—' gave them their votes, place what belongs to the first, guilt is incurred. gave them their offices, furnished them their facts, gave them their audience.' And, 'If the anti-slavery move- of them, that 'one can hardly take the humblest office ment did not give them their ideas, it surely gave them in it, [the government,] without becoming partaker the courage to utter them.' Hear this, Giddings, in the responsibility of every other,' are fanciful and Chase, Sumner, Allen, Palfrey, and all the rest, and baseless. Has the Judge in Massachusetts any 'responsibility of every other,' are fanciful and gratefully acknowledge the power that breathed the sibility for the acts of a brother judge in Arkansas; or, breath of life into your nostrils, the armorers who forged is a postmaster here a 'partaker' in the guilt or innoall your weapons, the teachers who taught you to wield cence of the twenty thousand postmasters elsewhere them, and especially who gave you that double portion How absurd, then, would it be to make the army re of 'courage' which sent you to do battle in the very sponsible for the navy, or the executive for the legislaenemy's country, five hundred miles away from their shield, and security, and repose.

Now, it was after all this exultation over a hundred Jerusalems of wealth, it was from this topmost pinnacle to support the Constitution should be blasted ' with the of pride and power, that Mr. PHILLIPS swoops down upon swiftest lightning, ' how swift ought the lightning to my poor ant-heap, and plucks away my one poor be for me, if I voted for Mr. John P. Hale for Presigrain, as Dr. Watts has it, which made so large a por-dent, last fall, or consented that any friend of mine tion of all my earthly goods ! O, King David and Uriah ! should vote for me for Governor !

Mr. PHILLIPS quotes a passage from page 218 of my First, do not men vote for others, or consent to b volume, and asks defiantly what I mean ' by human law voted for themselves, at every election, merely as a raikeeping my abhorrence of slavery in check.' What I lying point for the expression of principles, when they mean, is very plain, and entirely defensible. I mean would not do either, if there was any expectation of that, in the absence of a common government, and in a their being chosen? Is that a sufficient offence for that, in the avenue of a country of the state of war with the South, I would counsel interfer- which to call down lightnings? Is it any offence at ence aggressively, and by force, to redeem their slaves; all, and not a merit rather? which, now, I do not feel called upon to do. Would not Again, suppose one should be elected, either as Pres. Mr. Phillips do the same? Yet he does not do it now. ident of the United States, or as Governor of Massache What holds his abhorrence in check ?

mestion, is answerable on the same principles, and for slaves? For sixty-four years past, neither the Pres

LIFS, 'and both the pro-slavery parties, we have always duty; and there is a much better chance for the next claimed the right to "agitate the question of slavery in sixty-four years than for the last. I think no Governo the States, "even on the floor of Congress, in our political capacity, as well as in every other." Why have you not done it there, Mr. Phillips: You have 'alyou not done it there, Mr. Phillips: You have 'alyou get claimed the right, "even on the floor of Congress,"

Lord, before such jury trial will be granted by Conand in 'your political capacity' too; and yet, when has the longing, dying slave ever heard one audible sound point. from you within hundreds of miles of the floor of Congress? By what a different commandment are poor, impenitent Free Seilers to be judged? If any shadow of an idea can be thought of, which they have not express-ed, the rule for them is, that "they should have plainly arise, and even suppose a jury to find the dreadful ver-

that those I name are the only ones ever attempted. An entire misstatement, as reference to my language in

rent to gentlemen and Christians.

\* with our interpretation of it.' He now assumes that I

But he says they had a right to expect I 'would lead hold that 'our interpretation is the common one,' and ing institutions. Our school system was connected with States; one that it requires trial by jury, and another

pose Mr. Phillips's paralogisms and misstatements, unless Mr. Garrison will publish a daily, and let me fill it.

I proceed to the only passage in his last letter which has point or plausibility; and in answering it, I shall answer many other things. To give Mr. Putt-Lips the benefit of his strongest passage, I quote i

the twelve years of my Secretaryship, I used sometimes to say, aportively, though intensely feeling the bitterness of the sport, 'that I was a white slave without any abolitionist to pity me.' My abolition friend was of another type,—one who could pursue me relentlessly, not only while I was in office, but for six years after I was out.

On this point, this must suffice. Mr. Phillips has blurted out these charges many times, during many years. He has had opportunity to say all he has, and all he is. Until last month I never replied, and now but twice. Can he, with any pretence of justice or decency, ever open this subject to the public again,—unless it is to ask pardon of God and man for the injustice

'Last fall, Mr. Mann voted, I presume, for John P. Hall for President. It matters not to the responsibility of a voter, whetherhis candidate is elected or not. At the same time, Mr. Mann himself consented to receive the votes of his party for the office of Governor of Massachusetts. Now, if the Supreme Court is right, Mr. Hall, if elected President, would have been bound to appoint Marshals to execute the slave surrender clause, and to execute it himself, if it were resisted. If that Court is worng, and the Free Soilers are right, in holding that the clause refers to the States, and needs no auxiliary legislation, then Mr. Mann, if Governor, would have been bound to see it obeyed. You will please observe, that I am not supposing either of these men would actually do such an infamous deed. I only assert, in Mr. Mann's language, that their respective oaths would oblige them to do it. In voting, then, for less it is to ask pardon of God and man for the injustice oaths would oblige them to do it. In voting, then, for he has committed?

Mr. Hale, Mr. Mann asked his friend to take 'an oath which obliges him to return fugitive slaves.' On the other supposition, in consenting to stand as Governor, he offered himself to take such an oath, if his fellow-citizens should elect him. Now if a Free Soller, who takes such an oath, should be 'blasted with the swiftest takes such an oath, should be 'blasted with the swiftest lightning,' how swift ought the lightning to be for one, who, by his vote, asks his friend to take it, or for one who offers to take himself? My moral optics are not, I confess, sharp enough to see much difference. Mr. MANN will please observe, that I have not been speaking of the Fugitive Slave Act, whose constitutionality he and I should deny, but of the constitutional slave clause itself; and my whole argument refers to that.

It is evident that, allowing, as Mr. Maxs does, that there is a fugitive slave clause in the Constitution, it must be executed by somebody, in some form or other. If by the Union, then, in voting for Hale, Mr. Maxx asked his friend to be, in fact, Chief of 'United States Marshals and foul Fugitive Slave Law Commissioners.' But if that duty belongs to the States, then, in offering to become a State Governor, he offered himself to become, virtually, a Marshal or Commissioner for this purpose.

To meet Mr. PHILLIPS's argument fully, I shall proceed upon his imputation of meaning, viz., that the count, he belongs to a partnership richer in good works Constitution does require the delivery or return of fugipossible. I desired to make it impersonal. He insists upon being personal, and so he must try it once more. First, all officers under the Constitution of the all honest and earnest men, because they do not no only while he who takes it continues in the office for election or appointment. So if an officer resigns, or is removed, or is impeached, and declared incapa-

Savannahs and the Vicksburgs of the runs. After being sworn into one office to-day, yet if I must be sworn again, and so indefinitely, -a new oath And again, 'My claim, then, is this, that neither the voting to violence; or, what would be just as fatal, by holars, though all have been aided by our [oun !] twen- the best of my own knowledge and ability. Did it re-

Hence, all Mr. PHILLIPS's notions, and his repetition tive departments! I think such an idea was never broached before. But, inquires Mr. Phillips, if one who takes the oath

setts, what chance is there that he will be called upo His next quotation, accompanied by another defiant to do any constitutional act for the return of fugitive he same impregnable reasons.

'In defiance of Henry Clay in 1839,' says Mr. Philchusetts has ever been called upon to perform such

arise, and even suppose a jury to find the dreadful ver-dict of 'slave,' could not the Governor buy him and On the subject of agitation, Mr. PHILLIPS charges emancipate him, and thus escape any conflict with the

Higher Law ? Or, in the last resort, could as Mr. Phillips himself has done, tear as is mission, and retire to his offum cum dignited Has Mr. PHILLIPS any right to complain, if should be the s low him through his own hole? Let us see how much better he success with his Let us see not a hominen; and that he may prome

own case, I quote him again:

'If, for the last two years, Mr. Mars has the usual bills appropriating money for the engovernment, he has voted to pay Marshill government, he has voted to pay Marshill government, he has voted to pay marshill carrying Thomas Simsfrom Boston back in and to pay the salaries of Peleg Sprague and tis, who tried Elizur Wright and other allege of Shadrach. If he has ever voted as a service of the salary of one Judge McLean, a was creant, who is rarely heard of except as sed some hapless fugitive, or faining, into abasis some Christian who has helped the wander, it is more honorable to return slaves one; apay other men for doing it. some Christian who has helped the wanders had it is more honorable to return slaves one; ever pay other men for doing it, Mr. Maxs on said his leisure. The old saw, Qui facul per size of per se, I hold to be good logic and good lain he.

I will not deny that I have voted for an working bill within two years; but certainly I better one, believing that any Marshal or July one, bear and carry aray local more legal right to seize and carry aray local a nore legal right act under our Fughes Say has than they had to adopt, as good ha, the added than they determine to Mr. Webster, and to lar Mr. PHILLIPS for high treason. Nor do I coole self any more accountable for their unashing proceedings in the Sims case, that I should be for entenced Mr. PHILLIPS to be drawn and quarted. responsibility is to be extended and diffused in a way, no man can live in society for a day without in way, no man can guilt. I do my day, in my can, or my responsibility; others must do then, on their n sponsibility.

But, suppose the Appropriation Bit passe, and by my vote. That Bill would certainly not be worked parchment it was engrossed on, if there he ber he money in the treasury to draw for. With it capt treasury, its passage would have been but as or pay some of his money into that treasury? Dallers pay it voluntarily and without protest! Het at Judges Curtis and Sprague, and that Wester is creant, Judge McLean, get some of Mr. Pamp money in their pockets to-day? Ay, and Medic Devens, too! And did not Mr. Pantars eva pri part of that infamous debt of \$3500, incurred by city of Boston, for imprisoning Sims, and payage. diers to rob him of his liberty? The very chains in festioned the Court House—didn't his morey plant them there, and didn't they 'syllable' his more they clanked? On that accursed morning, vin a armed band drove down the innocent, heights vice to almost the very spot where our ancesters much and annulled the tea-duty, but where their deport descendants paid duty in bones and blood, the sight of Bunker Hill, by Fancoil Hall, as it were is very presence of noble revolutionary efficies, 'which the while ran blood, '-there, I say, was not Mr. ha LIPS present in more senses than one! His more, u untarily paid, was perpetrating the deel! No embarked with Sims on board the foul Acorn.

' Built i' th' eclipse, and rigged with curse day he spread its sails—he steered its course—he lasted Savannah -he saw his victim belted in the neisers is Mr. PHILLIPS's money did all this. 'Whether,' he, in the above quotation, 'it is more konsrallth turn slaves one's self, or to par other mes pa mes IT, Mr. MANN can decide at his leisure.' Well ! MANN has leisure now, and he decides that it was only dishonorable, but criminal, for any musis money went to pay for carrying Sims to Gerga, turn about and 'deal damnation round the last's ize with his conscience. But, still condemning roting the money which he paid, Mr. Panun The old saw, Qui facit per alium, facit per u.lb to be good logic and good Latin.' Very well. If a fe Mr. PHILLIPS stands condemned, not merely is Christian but in the pagan language. He p money to the high priests, which he knows is pr into Judas's bag, as the reward for betraying hi ter. . Therefore, thoy art inexcusable, O' M. 1 DELL PHILLIPS, for wherein thou judged audie, condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest, that same things.

stance)
the dutic continua meaning and from Supreme only evidence of its best of continuation; to der of its best of continuation in a construction.

Mr. Phillips applies for and accepts the airs belongs. His standing definition of the U. Suis le stitution is, that it is 'a covenant with Death, and agreement with Hell '; yet, most unconcernelly, et ment, whenever it will subserve his own common Covenantor with Death and Contractor with Hell, jos give me the letters in MY box.' He looks at the pe marks, and the more hands of covenantors with let and contractors with Hell the letters lave pur through, the more he voluntarily pays. Nay, he pe deliberately, and, of his own mere motion, tohis overtures and subornings to any or all the remy the and sworn covenantors with Death and contractes with Hell between here and California, asks then to takin letters, and pays down to them beforehand the part blood; and this he does, 'I presume,' ever to a the year. Were Mr. Phillips to lose a thousand blir check, through the neglect or emberslement of a permaster, clerk, or mail-carrier, I see nothing is him duct, however much there may be in his preferent, that leads me to doubt that he would proscent in delinquent; ay, and employ marshal Deuss to and him, and go before Judge Curtis or Judge Sprage try him, and thus get back his pennysorth of that se ary, which he originally helped pay. Mr. Palipus, one can hardly take the humblest office is it, its government,] without becoming partaker is the rope sibility of every other.' Does not Mr. Phillips par b ties on imported books? Does he abjure all parts rights or patented discoveries, or the products of the Does he buy no copyrighted books, speeches or stide And if he does all these things, tempting not by post-masters, &c., and paying them, not merely for mit ing but for executing 'covenants with Death and agree ments with Hell,' then, according to his own rate. not he a receiver of stolen goods hypocritically after homilies to the thief? Does he not use all the per words and counter-signs of Pandemenium, as familiar as I, who only vote money for appropriation shads pays? Nay, is not his little finger thicker that # loins? I am acting in this matter as well as I is how. I have come to the conclusion, that, if I set is a perfect government, in this imperfect world, I isk never have any; but anarchy and chaos and all less of violence instead; and therefore, while, or the hand, I will never knowingly give my hand or sad k the perpetration of wrong; yet, on the other, I sales abjure all opportunity and power of righting the small and fly cowardly from a hand-to-hand coatest with its great champions of oppression to enjoy, in my every benefit of government which I can use, this refuse to encounter one of its perils. But Mr. Bally espouses a different theory; he professes to him to government; he will not be a soldier in its arm; or sailor in its navy, nor a justice of the peace in its may istracy; and yet he will live under its protection, its post-offices, its patent laws, and its copyright he take the benefit of all its treaties of commerce and its gation ; sail by its light-houses, thread the crobbin channel by its buoys, and travel in foreign a under its passports. But, notwithstanding all this holds up a rule of duty for me, so strict that man never followed it. Hence, while my council is agreed with its above. agrees with its theory. Mr. Phillips is acting special light, knowledge, conviction, and declarations with has a thousand times thundered forth through an interpretation of the control o presses and from all the rostrums in the land when I could get a hearing. The Constitution itself's 'a se enant with Death, and an agreement with Bellia

maid to Rimero nini rules, was should go that breec period ne period ne Thoug Them multitude of them putant, as least least least thousands thousands thousands in the constant of the major of the majo

tible League with the Devil, signed, scaled, acwildred and recorded. Mr. Phillips is too wary to is starty to the original articles; but he has a way of party to the securing all advantages, by

seeding all periods with one of the principals.

Mr. Phillips's whole theory about the nature of the Mr. rainipa de purpose for which it is taken, and the see by which it is to be construed, seem to me untenathe and in some points, ridiculous. If I understand his bobbs that the decisions of the Supreme Court at the Constitution become a part of the Constitution a the Constitution, sport the latter also. If so, then that Court can and the free agency of Congress and President, just wieles Cartis, Sprague and Hall have abolished the mentires of jarors. If a judge can make a traverse sees to convict, under certain conditions which h prescribes, then it is very clear that he can make be grand jury swear to indict, under certain other con gent; and if this be so, then he can get any man infeed by the one, and convicted by the other, for any dos, while so many as twenty-four sooundrels can head in any county or district, base enough to do is falling; and no innocence has the possibility of is bidding, and he discounted has the possibility of pre for the Supreme Court over both coordinate d sents, legislative and executive. Gen. Jackson I It is as much the duty of the House of Represen ane, of the Senate, and of the President, to decide on the constitutionality of any bill or resolution the may be presented to them for passage or approvis it is of the Supreme Judges when it may be leacht before them for judicial decision. The authoris of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be perand to control the Congress or the Executive when sent in their legislative capacities,' &c. This lanpage, Mr. Charles Sumner says, 'I adopt with entire

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orld. I shall out all forms on the cost or voice for array, I will not get the wrong, with the my retrest, use, while I have a him its magnetonion, use right laws; e and navierosokelest in countries all this, he that noreal ourse of his ing against an which he ogh all the dwhere he fis a coval Hell.

it the very last Congress, the two Houses overruled steeren of the Supreme Court, and the President spel the bill. What sweeping and reckless assertions are sade by Mr. Phillips, to uphold his erroneous posi-

again, as to the notion, that the official oath is preise to support the Constitution as the 'nation adentands it ;-who is the nation? Mr. Phillips sight somen ought to vote. Are they a part of the most, and to be consulted, before we decide upon or daty! Are mere majorities to govern, so that we shill give no more heed to the wisest and best men than the resket and worst? Shall we adopt the pluralpresent Are we to be controlled by the living or the bad! Must we count by states or by individuals? Est we adopt the three-fifths rule, and allow masters natificulares, or not? It is utterly impossible to piler up the 'sense' of the nation ; and every same ma must see it. But, says Mr. Phillips, Go by the Sureme Court. There are a hundred vital questions s with the Supreme Court have as yet made no deon this great and overshadowing one, whether undered fugitive has a constitutional right to a jury tral that court has never yet decided. On his own shwing, then, I am not bound to deliver up an alleged fultire, nor to do any act looking towards his being delivered up, until he has had a jury trial, or the court his decided that he is not entitled to one. Mr. Philins is mistaken all round.

What, then, are the scope and purport of (for in-range) the Congressional oath? They are, to perform the duties of that office, not of any other ; during its satinuance, not any longer; to ascertain the true nessing of the Constitution, in all practicable ways, ad from all sources, -including the decisions of the Styreme Court, which, however, are not the law, but my evidence of the law, -and when that meaning is scerainel, to abide by it in all cases presented for actin ; to take up the business of the country in the orde of its importance; and to execute it according to the bet of one's knowledge and ability; and when the oath the his determined what should be done, and when it should be done, then to follow the conclusions of his esajudgment and conscience, whether a single other main the nation agrees with him or not. Any other enstruction makes an automaton or puppet of him. Mr. Phillips's snatching at a common-place rule for greening hucksters in the market, and using its narnw bars as coextensive with the great principles that theid givern a legislator's oath to God, and his duty to his own nation, to all the nations of the earth, and o posterity,-(a promise to posterity to do our duty to a, a paterity understands it !) - I say, Mr. Phillips's partowness on this subject reminds me of what Burke nere siri prins lawyer, with his technicalities and barrules, was no more fit to decide upon the principles that should govern great questions of State, than a rabbit that breeds nine times a year was to decide upon the priod necessary for the gestation of an elephant.

Though I have scarcely noticed one tenth par of the material,-illogical in argument, incorrect in statement, and calumnious in imputation, -which Mr. Phillips has furnished, yet I must desist. The very nahitude of his offences must earn impunity for som of them. I will classify a few of his vices as a dis punnt, as exhibited in this letter, and let the rest pass, -et least till another time.

1. He misstates matters of fact enormously. This

have shown in regard to my course towards the colored kind children of Massachusetts.

2 Bal motives being less capable of disproof than hets, he takes a broader license in imputing them. He stempts to fasten upon Mr. Hale and myself, and thousands of others, indeed, a guilt akin to that of

I He enlarges the premises of his adversary, so that be may sustain some false conclusion they would not thereise bear. Thus he reiterates the old charge that etlainers made in my legislative capacity, and under the Constitution, were general disclaimers; and he enages these to take in a wider scope of action than they

I. He leaves out premises, in order to escape the force of operasions, and to impute the folly of building to lege a superstructure upon a given foundation.

for instance, assuming, for argument's sake, the thely entenable ground, that my oath was a promise to follow the will of the nation, in regard to the Constitum, I said the nation, Supreme Court and all, un-termed in what sense I promised. To give personificeing to the idea, I introduced the two Speakers, Howa Cobb and Linn Boyd, who administered the oath. le Pantire introduces these two names, separates then from the rest of the sentence, and, for more than trible column, argues the question as though the scales of my position and argument rested upon the bend knowledge and understanding of Messrs. Cobb ad Royd. Taking a mere accident for the basis of the without, who could not fasten any degree of folly upon is attagonist? Once he craftily introduced the resiis or substantive part of the sentence, but immediate telpos it with irrelevant matter about ' poor Moser and Mr. Webster, and then occupies more than a column to disprove what no sane man ever understood

& He fabricates both premises and conclusions. Fo thaple: In my last letter, I made a remark, on which le l'antire, in his last, made a comment. I collate but for the reader's perusal :

Mr. Mann's Remark. Mr. Phillips's Comment. A. Mann's Remark.

That supposed that as an ast makes God a party to the transaction, it is inding in that sense in that case in that case in the knows the party tack it.

Mr. Phillips's Comment.

This is virtually the Jesuits' rule, that promises are binding, not as the parties understood them, but as the promiser secretly intended. That is, a man may swear one thing, and mean another, and God justifies him!

Now, in say remark, where is, there any vestion or

Now, in my remark, where is there any vestige or timer of an idea, about promises not being binding in the parties understood them '; or about 'secret ingoverning ; or about a man's 'swearing one thing and meaning another'; or about 'God's justifying men for lying or perjury? Where, I demand, is

ing mental and moral irresponsibility.

Speaking of the liability of 'Free Soil coters to be

called upon by the United States Marshal to help him,

capture fugitive slaves,' Mr. PHILLIPS says, (and the words are so important, I italieise them.) 'The voter being in some States under an express, and IN ALL, under on implied outh to the Constitution, is legally bound to obey.' That is, every voter is bound by an oath, or as by an oath, to help catch fugitive slaves, if called upon by a marshal. Yet, the same Liez-BATOR which contained Mr. PHILLIPS's first reply to me, and which sets forth all his obnoxious doc trines about the comprehensiveness and criminality of official oaths, contains a public Address to the People of Massachusetts, written, as ' I presume,' from its style, by Mr. PHILLIPS himself, (1) exhorting them. with all earnestness, to rally for such a change in our State Constitution as shall make all adult women voters ; calling it 'a measure of vital importance to the welfare and progress of the State,' one of 'the most important of all civil reforms, &c. &c., and accompanied by a petition which every body is requested to sign. Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS's signature is appended to this Address. In subsequent LIBERATORS, special notice is given that the 'Petitions should be returned to Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS. That is, with his views respecting the criminality of an official oath; with his imputations against Mr. Hate and me, for voting, or suffering ourselves to be voted for, he canvasses for petitions to bring every adult woman in Massachusetts under 'an express, or under an implied oath to the Constitution ' by which she will be 'legally bound to obey, if, at any time called upon by the United States Marshal, to help him capture fugitive slaves.' Suppose the Constitution altered in accordance with Mr. Phillips's petition ; how are all our women to escape perdition? If, like Mr. Phillips, having a right to vote, they wont vote, then they violate their 'express or implied oaths'; or, voting, or allowing themselves to be voted for, then they get blasted by his swiftest lightning ' for that !

Other points which I meant to discuss in this article, must omit,-particularly in regard to the fugitive slave clause, so called, in the Constitution.

I renew my proposals to Mr. Phillips to discuss stitutional questions about slavery, without any reference to our past personal histories or conduct, without any argumenta ad hominem : or any collateral matter whatever ; but with the sole and exclusive object of ascertaining our political relations under the Constitution, and of illuminating our path of duty.

P. S. Will Editors who have given currency to Mr. Phillips's last letter, please do me the justice to insert this ?

(1) Mr. Mann is mistaken. The Address he refers to was written by Miss Lucy Stone .- [ Ed. Lib.

From the Commonwealth of Monday.

DID THE 'LIBERATOR' DODGE!-The Liberator

'As for our having "dodged" any question ever propounded to us, from any quarter, the charge is simply untrue and ridiculous; though we knowed no obligation resting upon us to answer every question that may be asked, especially when the question carries upon its face an absurdity, and is urged with egotistical pertinactive. Let the Commonwealth quote what we have ever said, exultingly, about the election of Mr. Though son to the British Parliament, and let its readers judge whether we have ever printed a syllable inconsistent with the principles we profess. If the editors of that paper are so blind, that they cannot perceive that there is no parallel between the oath of a member of Parliament and that of one who swears to support the United States Constitution, we can only pity their condition. When Mr. Thompson shall be found swearing to uphold that which, as a private citizen, he regards as a henous sin, and we are found congratulating him upon such a sufficient point of the ingenious manufacturer! We position, it will be time enough to inquire after his and our own consistency.'

In a certain good old book, we read of a worthy In a certain good old book, we read of a worthy man, who said, 'All men are liars.' But he said just as we eulogized John Quincy Adams for his manly this in his 'haste.' The editor of the Liberator defence of the right of petition, and were gratified at was in 'haste,' in this case, else he certainly would not have said 'the charge is simply untrue and ridiculous.' His own memory might have checked the utterance of those words, had he been But the question is asked, 'why is it right to vote the original to petition, and were gratined at the triumph of Giddings, Hale, Mann, and Sumner, over their opponents, and for the same reason.

But the question is asked, 'why is it right to vote the checked the utterance of those words, had he been

tion; and in enlogizing Mr. Thompson's character, the editor cited his election to Parliament from the Tower Hamlets as one of his most magnificent triumphs, and as one of the greatest victories ever

achieved in behalf of the working classes.

The Hartford Republican of December 6, 1849.
endorsed the Liberator's rebuke of the Homestead Journal; but, relative to what it said of Mr. Thompson's election to Parliament, the Republican had the following :-

With a sincere desire to hear his answer, we ask th with a sincere desire to hear his answer, we ask the Editor of the Liberator how it is consistent with his non-voting principle to praise Mr. Thompson for accepting that election as a triumph of the right? Why is it right to vote and hold office under the English government, if, as the Liberator says, it is wrong to vote and hold office under the government of the United States? What is the jurisdiction of Parliament?

There was a regular exchange between the two papers, and in addition, two numbers of the Re-publican, with this article marked, were sent to the

'Three or four weeks since, we sent another copy of

In December, 1850, a correspondent of the Republican gave its readers some account of Mr. Thompson's speech which was to have been delivered in Faneuil Hall, and expressed the opinion that it must be acceptable to all reformers, save the Garrisonians, with whose views of government it could not be made to coincide. The Liberator was quick to notice this statement, and said that its friends would be compelled to 'impeach either the intelligence or the candor of the writer, in regard to their views of government.'

to the extent of our definition of it. We judge him as he stands, and where he stands; and we say again that 'when Mr. Thompson shall be found swearing to upbold that which, as a private citizen, he regards as a heinous sin, and we are found congratulating him upon such a position, it will be time enough for the Commonwealth to inquire after his and our own consistency.'

It is true that, if Mr. Thompson had adopted the non-voting principle that we have laid down for our own

ir views of government.' to their views of government.'
The Republican copied this, and again referred to its unanswered question. It said:—

But, Friend Liberator, do you not actually repudiate George Thompson's method of carrying reforms? He uses the ballot-box and the Parliament. You deem it wrong to act on the same principle. Sometime ago, we asked you s question candidly. You 'dodged' it. We repeated the question, but found it impossible to get an answer. Our only object was to become 'intelligent' with respect to our position. You would not enlighten us.

there any wink or odor of such base ideas? And yet, do not these ideas compose the whole substance of Mr. Puillings's comment? A Jesuit plainly enough, but which is he?

But again, this must suffice. As there were too many individual falsities to be enumerated, so there are too many classes to be classified. Indeed, I have looked with amarement through this whole letter of Mr. Puilling. There seems to be some fatality of aberration in his mind,—some refracting medium,—so that nothing ever comes out of it as it went in. When rays of truth fall upon his sensorium, they are deflected from a right fall upon his sensorium, they are deflected from a right in fall upon his sensorium, they are deflected from a right in fall upon his sensorium, they are deflected from a right in fall upon his personium, they are deflected from a right of its new recognition of the National Constitution. If Mr. Thompson had adopted this principle, we do not see how he could have become a member of Parliament. As the matter stands, we think the continued not not compy so much space with a point, which, in connection with his most suffice.

And yet, do not these ideas compose the whole substance of Mr. Rank, as equivalent to a lack of knowledge. We would not occupy so much as equivalent to a lack of knowledge. We would not occupy so much space with this matter, if it were not necessary to do so, in order to show that the Liberator that the Liberator are to show that the Liberator are too the Republican which admits of an ever-increasing slave representation on the floor of Congress, which makes the whole country that question of the Republican was pertinent, and deserved an answer. Mr. Garriago ground, and which pledges the entire that the his minute population are kept securely in their chains, which admits of an ever-increasing slave representation on the floor of Congress, which makes the whole country that the his minute are too and the secure of Mr. Puil always and which pledges the entire that the lace hand an agreement with hell,"—b man, is palpably meonsistent with its position with respect to the Free Soilers in this country.

REMARKS.—So! there are two Richmonds in the field instead of one! It is not the Commonwealth, after all, but the Hartford Republican, at whose tribudelinquent subscriber, was received through the Post REMARKS. - So! there are two Richmonds in the nal we are called to appear, and plead 'guilty or not office :—
guilty 'of having 'dodged' what the accuser considers such a poser, that, according to his own showing, he was unwilling to give us any rest until thrice his dart was sped, and thrice our peace was slain! The vanity and self-conceit displayed in all this strongly provoke

'Enclosed are \$7.00, belonging to whoever was entitled to receive the subscription money for The Linenarow in March, 1840. The individual so entitled is presumed to be Mr. Garrison.'

If all our old delinquent subscribers would imitate our mirthfulness, and we must give it indulgence.

our having dedged any question ever propounded to us, from any quarter, the charge is simply untrue and ridiculous?; for what does the charge imply? Either cowardice or a conscious inability to meet the issue—

B. ESTLIN, Esq., of Bristol, England, as a token of his nevertheless, we entertain no views which we do not ship, and trust ever to have a share in it. believe to harmonize with the truth, and which, there- The £10 forwarded by our valued friend and cor fore, we are not prepared to defend. So much for pre- respondent, William H. Ashunst, Esq. of London, (by

pertinacions Hartford interrogator? The fact is simply this—one of our 'easily besetting' infirmities is post-poning noticing, for the moment, (especially if it be of no pressing importance,) what we intend replying to, (by joint subscription) of a handsomely bound copy of until it passes from our mind. So it was in this case. HARPER's splendid edition of the FASILY BIBLE. We carefully extracted the Republican's first inquiry, shall endeayor to make it a precious heir-loom. with many other scraps, for an editorial notice in a fu- Some time in January, there came to our address ture number. It was mislaid and forgotten. The same mammoth cheese, weighing upwards of sixty pounds thing was done in each of the other instances, with no enclosed in a box; but not knowing by whom it was more intention of 'dodging' the question, (a very sent, or from what quarter, (excepting that the freight absurd one,) or of acting discourteously, than we had bill was dated as far off as Buffalo,) and expecting to b of giving up the anti-slavery cause, and making an apprised by mail as to the disposal of it, we let it re investment in human flesh as a slave-dealer; and so no answer came. We readily concede that our silence, un- us that, possibly, under the cheese we might find some der such circumstances, was calculated to inflate (as it thing to throw light upon the subject; and so we re appears to have done, enormously) the vanity of our moved the cheese from the box, and found a letter from Hartford querist; but we declare it to have been wholly a subscriber in Rockbreak, Ashtabula county, Ohio, unintentional, though, as we remarked last week, 'we James Brockway,-expressive of his personal esteem know of no obligation resting upon us to answer every and warm appreciation of THE LIBERATOR, and, in question that may be asked, especially when the question carries upon its face an absurdity, and is urged with egotistical pertinacity.' Does either the Common- at least, we never tasted of one that we liked better wealth or the Republican know of any?

the Republican? Why, 'the head and front of our The kind donor may be assured that we thankfully as offending had this extent, no more.' In noticing a vile cept this substantial proof of his regard. and most malignant article in an Ohio paper, against George Thompson, in which he was foully accused of being a time-server at home, and having no sympathy with the working-classes in England, we remarked-His election to Parliament from the Tower Hamlets by the largest majority ever given to any candidate, a replies to what we said of its having dodged a gainst titled and powerful antagonists, and in spite of courteous but embarrassing question, thus:—\_\_\_\_ the strongest governmental influences, was as great a 'As for our having "dodged" any question ever pro- victory in behalf of the working-classes as has ever beer

self-complacency of the ingenious manufacturer ! We merely chronicled a historical fact, indicative of the all of which were ably discussed by the mover and Geo progress of freedom, and cheering as a sign of the times; W. PUTNAM of Lynn:

more deliberate. Let us see.

Sometime in November, 1849, the Homestead Liberator says, it is wrong to vote and hold office under Sometime in November, 1849, the Homestead Liberator says, it is wrong to vote and hold office under the United States? So far as a sea and hold office under the English government, if, as the excusable faults. (Ohio) Journal had a most unworthy attack on George Thompson. The Liberator, of November in Parliament, and one in Congress, are concerned, the 30, 1849, replied to this attack with just indignacases are not analogous. And the same thing is true as to the English and the American Constitution-the latter being a Procrustean bedstead of iron, over which Congress has no power, which that body swears to maintain, and to which it is bound rigidly to conform, while the former has neither articles, sections nor specificain conscience, and free to act in accordance with his of Congress is impotency itself as against the Constitu-

> What is the jurisdiction of Parliament? 'It has uncontrollable authority in making, abrogat

principle, we do not see how he could have become a slaves of our own country. the Republican, in which the article containing our question, was marked. But we get no reply. We dare say our question is difficult to answer; and we presume the editor of the Liberator is studying how to answer it without convicting himself of downright inconsistency.'

To all this we reply—first, a false issue is here raised.

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To all this we reply—first, a false issue is here raised. member of Parliament.' Again- As the matter to that gentleman, is palpably inconsistent with its position with respect to the Free Soilers in this country.

To all this we reply—first, a false issue is here raised.

Daniel Webster, and the waig party, we see ground the shameless profligacy and minionism of the Demo-cracy are so barefaced, as to be actually shocking mulwithout convicting himself of downright inconsistency.

Still, there was no reply. The question was not noticed; and the very natural inference was, that Mr. Garrison had made up his mind to dodge this Free Soil friends for swearing to uphold what they adquery. It had been put with entire friendliness and sincerity, and such evasive silence had not been anticipated.

Free Soil friends for swearing to uphold what they adam oppose the Fugitive Slave Law, when to be a pro-slavery Constitution. George Thompson is not, and has never claimed to be, a non-resistant.

Adjourned to afternoon. In December, 1850, a correspondent of the Re- to the extent of our definition of it. We judge him as

ment ; yet it is equally true that, from any stand-point in the chair. that can be taken, whether that of non-resistance or otherwise, the election of George Thompson was a signal PILLSBURY, and D. FOSTER. triumph of right over wrong-of the cause of progress against conservative and tory influences. If the Commonicealth cannot understand how this can be, it has 25 and 26. lost all power of discrimination.

We deny the imputation, that we have been partial to thanks of this Society be presented to the people of Man-Mr. Thompson, and unjust to the Free Soilers, and a chester for their kindness and hospitality on this occa-Then the question was renewed. But the Liberator did not answer it. It did not even notice it. Yet, that paper says, this week,—'As for our haying dodged any question ever propounded to us, from any quarter, the charge is simply untrue and ridiculous.' The editor had forgotten, probably inconsistent with our position. We have not arraigned sion. the latter for not adopting the non-resistance principles. The Committee on Finance reported the net proceed but for violating their own as the professed friends and of the meeting to be twenty dollars. Adjourned.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Enclosed are \$7.00, belonging to whoever was en

we reiterate what we said, last week, that, 'as for Perhaps some of them may take the hint, and 'go and

and therefore silence. Now, having done two things—
established a free press, and a free platform, which we LIBERATOR. There is not, on the other side of the never yet abandoned, and on which we have ever court. Atlantic, a more active and faithful friend of the antied the closest scrutiny, personally or specifically—we think the question of courage is, up to this hour, a set-tled matter. Humble as we admit our ability to be,

the hands of EDWARD M. DAVIS of Philadelphia,) But what is our reply to the statement made by our payment for his subscription to The Liberator, should

token of which, begging us to accept the accompanying cheese. It proved to be as good a one as was ever made and we are somewhat fastidious in that direction, and Now, for what were we originally called to account by all who partook of it recognized its superior quality

> MEETING OF ESSEX CO. A. S. SOCIETY A quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Sla very Society was held in Haskell's Hall, Manchester Saturday and Sunday, March 26 and 27, agreeably to

In the absence of the President, the meeting was call ed to order by LARKIN WOODBURY, one of the Vice

Resolved, That while slaveholding is the greates

and most comprehensive sin which human beings can commit, it is generally treated in this country either as no sin at all, or only as one of the slightest and mos

Resolved, That radical, uncompromising Anti-Sis very, to the extent of immediate, unconditional and universal emancipation, is the least and lowest manifestation of humanity and justice, which the free car render the enslaved; and those who would withhold this, or who remain inactive in regard to it, are covering themselves with unutterable guilt and infamy.

Resolved, That the most insulting mockery which can be offered to God is, to be full of zeal and devotion tions, but leaves every member of Parliament unfettered in sending the Bible and marriage to the heather abroad, while by statute law, and religious sanctic convictions of duty. In other words, while the power and sanctification, we withhold them from millions her at home, in all the passing generations; degrading and debasing them, until, like the dog and the horse, they are only to come and go at the call of lordly and tyrang masters.

Resolved, That we, as the friends of the slaves of the country, are full of joy and hope at the strong testimo nies against the slave system, which are now coming ing, repealing and revising laws. It can regulate and new model the succession to the crown; alter or establish the religion of the land; and even change the Constitution of the kingdom, and of Parliaments thempublican, with this article marked, were sent to the Liberator office at different times. No notice was staken of it. The most careful silence was preserved. At length, February 7, 1850, the Republican had an article headed,—'Is it dodging!' in which the matter was referred to again, and the ballot-box,' &c. 'If Mr. Thompson had adopted this ballot-box,' &c. 'If Mr. Thompson had adopted this oppression and outrage which are heaped upon the slaves of our own country.

Adjourned to afternoon.

Two o'clock, P. M. Met agreeably to adjournmen On motion of G. W. PUTNAM, it was voted to choose a Finance Committee of three. Voted, that Mr. WOODBURY, Mr. HILDRETH and Mr.

ELWELL be said Committee.

The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Osgood Danvers, D. FOSTER, PUTNAM, HARRIMAN, BINGHAM OF

Manchester, REMOND, WOODBURY of Manchester, and non-voting principle that we have laid down for our own guidance, he could not have become a member of Parlia-Met according to adjournment, Miss ELEA J. KENNY Addresses were made by Messrs. REMOND, Osgoo

> On motion, it was voted, that when we adjourn, w adjourn to meet at Lynn, Saturday and Sunday, June

On motion of G. W. PUTNAM, it was voted, that th

C. L. REMOND, President. JOSEPH MERRILL, Rec. Sec.

MR. PILISBURY'S LECTURE ON THE FRENCH REVOLU rios or 1798. Monday evening proved to be about as unpropitious an evening for lectures and meetings of every kind, as any one that could have been selected during the whole year. It rained heavily, accompa-nied with much thunder and lightning. Of course, the audience gathered to hear Mr. Pillspuny's lecture wa small, though large enough to more than cover all the expenses, and larger even than could have been rea onably expected. The lecture itself was an able pro sentation of the cause and consequences of the Frence Revolution in 1798—demonstrating that, for whatever crimes or excesses that accompanied it, an atrociously despotic government and a frightfully corrupt churc were to be held accountable, and that it was the natu ral outbreak of goaded humanity, long trampled upon and outraged in every shape. He showed that a broad distinction was to be made between the French people and some of their leaders, at that period-between Revolution itself and its calamitous issue. The lecture abounded with passages of great strength, beauty and elequence; and, in common with all who heard it, we hope it will be repeated at as early a period as may suit the convenience of Mr. PILLSBURY.

Among the communications unavoidably defer red this week is one from Rev. A. T., Foss, in reply to the correspondence in our last number, between E. Harwood of Cincinnati, and William H. Wyckoff of New Yerk, relative to the American and Foreign Bible Society. Also, one from J. GIRDWOOD of New Bedford, in reply to an inquiry of an English friend, 'Who is Rev Edmund Kelley of New Bedford, Mass? '-authentica ing his mission to England, and vindicating his trustworthiness. Also, one from 'Saxon,' giving an account of the late anti-slavery meetings in Lowell. Also. the monthly report of the Treasurer of the Mass. A. S. Society. Also, a promised obituary notice of the late Mrs. ANNA PAUL

It will be seen that our friend, Rev. DANIE FOSTER, is to speak at Spencer on Sunday next. W. trust he will have a good audience and an attentive hearing, and we are sure our Spencer friends will have an interesting and profitable meeting.

It will also be seen that PARKER PILLSBURY speak at Plymouth, next Sunday. He is too well known there, to need more than this single notice to ensure large and good meeting.

Miss Holley is to lecture at Portsmouth, N. H (See Column of Notices.)

ACKNOWLEDGMENT. The Managers of the Anti-Sla very Bazaar acknowledge the receipt of the following sums, through Mr. R. D. Webb, of Dublin, viz : From Rev. EDMUND KELL, 5 shillings; from Mrs. MITCHELL £1; both of Newport, Isle of Wight.

We learn from a New Bedford gentleman, who authority is of the best, that the Rev. Edmund Kellye mentioned in our last as engaged in collecting money England, has resided in New Bedford, and was ther esteemed a trustworthy and respectable man. He had been a slave, and was anxious to obtain the sum nece sary to purchase his freedom .-- w.

### Butices of Meetings, &c.

ANTI-SLAVERY, CONVENTION IN CINCINNATI OHIO.

To be held on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, the 19th, 20th, and 21st of April, 1853.

To the friends of Universal Liberty, we again send forth our earnest call to come together in Conven-

Freedom is an inestimable blessing, Slavery an u Freedom is an inestimable blessing, Slavery an unspeakable evil. All history bears record to the struggles of the wise, the good and the great, in behalf of freedom. The noblest of men, and the greatest of the nations, have always valued it above all price. In our day, it certainly ought to be no less precious; and shavery, being the very opposite of freedom, is its deadliest foe.

That veteran champion of human rights, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, intends to take part in the Conven-tion, and many other distinguished speakers will be specially invited, and are expected to attend.

DANIEL FOSTER, an Agent of the Massachuse A. S. Society, will speak in Spencer, Sunday West Brookfield, Monday eve'g, April 10

and following evenings, when he will give his course of Anti-Slavery lectures. Ware, Friday evening, April 15. Brookfield. Warren, Monday, "

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. A. S. Portsmouth, (N. H.) Sunday eve'g, April 10-Dover, Thursday, " 14
Portsmouth, (2d lecture,) Sunday " 17
Portland, Me., Thurs. & Sun. eve'gs,21 & 24

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold a meeting in Abington Town Hall, on Sunday, April 17, through the S. Society, will small of the Mass. A

ociety, will speak at
Methuen, Sunday,
Chelmsford, Sunday, April 10. PARKER PILLSBURY, by request, will deliver

his lecture on The French Revolution, at STONE HAM, on Friday evening, April 15. PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Mass

chusetts A. S. Society, will speak in Plymouth ...... Sunday, Stoneham ..... Sunday, FF REV. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the

Worcester County (South Division) Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture in

Holliston.......Friday eve'g, April 8
Hopkinton.......Sunday " 10

Agent of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

East Bridgewater Town Hall, Tuesday eve'g, April 12
Bridgewater Town Hall. ... Wednes. ... 13
North Middleboro' ... Thurs ... 14
Middleboro' Four Corners, Friday ... 15
Plymouth Town Hall ... Sunday ... 17
Halifax ... ... Monday ... 18
West Duxbury ... Wednes. ... 20
Marsheald ... 20 Marshfield ..... Thursday 

HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS. Dr. HARRIO K. Huxr will speak at WILLIAMS HALL, corner of Dover street, on Monday evening, April 11, commencing at 7½ o'clock. Subject: The Woman's Movement, educationally considered. After which, she will read a petition to the Mayor and Aldermen for signatures, praying for a 'High School for Girls.'

Admittance 10 cents, to defray expenses. Tickets at the Hall, in the afternoon of Monday, at B. H. Greene's, and at the door, on the evening of the lecture.

In behalf of the Society, LEWIS FORD.

DIED—In this city, April 2, Mrs. Maria M., wife of Mr. Isaac Child, aged 87. In the decease of Mrs. C., an indefatigable and warm-hearted friend of the poor and needy, without regard to complexion or clime, has passed from earth to her reward in heaven. She was deeply interested in all the reforms of the age.

PEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE OF PENNSYLVANIA. Fourth Annual Session.

THE next session of this Institution will commence on September 1st, 1853, and continue five months, closing on the 31st of January, 1854.

Persons wishing copies of the Announcement, or desirous of further information, will please apply, personally or by letter, to the Dean of the Faculty,

DAVID J. JOHNSON, M. D.,

229 Arch street Philadelphia.

te adea, to see the The state of the constitution and the same subject to the state of the same of

NEW BOOKS. OP BARE INTEREST AND VALUE.

JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY.

BOSTON

O WING to the unparalleled draft upon our resources, during the past year, on account of the unexampled sale of Uncle Tom's Cabin, a large number of most valuable manuscripts were obliged to its untouched in our safe, waiting a favorable moment to appear in print. We have availed ourselves of the earliest moment, and now offer them to the readers of good backs. Most of them are issued. Those still in press will be published specifily. published speedily.

OR, LITE IN A COUNTRY PARSONAGE, BY A PASTOR'S WIFE

This volume is designed, in a measure, as a contrast to that charming little book, Sunny Side, and we doubt not that it will meet with quite as favorable a reception as that work. It is written in an admirable style, and he who commences its perusal will hardly be able to stop until be has gone through. Price 75 cts.

Count Struenzee the Skeptic, and THE CHRISTIAN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY MRS. WILSON.

This most interesting work contains the history of the last days of this distinguished man, and the account of his numerous interviews and conversations with his pastor, Muntor, through whose instrumentality he was led to abandon his skepticism, and embrace the religion of Jesus. Price 62 1-2 cts.

THE LAST HOURS OF CHRIST, BY W. G. SCHAUFFLER,

Missionary at Constantinople. A portion of this most admirably written volume of Meditations on the last hours of our Savior upon earth, was published some years since, and met with great favor from the religious public. The work has been rewritten, and very much enlarged, and is again offered to the community. We would not say a word in its commendation to those who have read the volume as originally published. To those who love to go with the Redeemer of men, to meditate in the garden of Gethsemane, or upon the mount of Olives, or by the sea of Galilee, this volume will afford a vein of sacred thought. Price \$1 00.

Dr. Beecher's Third Volume.

We have just issued the third volume in the series of the writings of this venerable and eloquent man, as has been lately said of him by some one, 'the father of more brains than any other man in the country.' This volume contains his Views of Theology, and his celevolume contains his views of THEOLOGY, and his celebrated Trial for Heresy before the Presbytery and Synod of Cincinnati, with a superb steel Portrait by Andrews. Price \$1. No clergyman's library is complete without Dr. Beecher's writings.

White Slavery in the Barbary States BY HON. CHARLES SUMNER, U. S. S. Illustrated with 50 superb designs by Billings, engraved by Baker, Smith & Andrews, Price, 50 cts.

This superb volume in its typography and illustra-tions, and elegant in its composition, being one of the finest productions of its accomplished author, is offered to the public in this most attractive form, with the hope that thousands may peruse its glowing pages, and from them receive fresh stimulus in their efforts to ele-vate humanity from degradation and wrong. They will learn from it that in years past, While Men as well as Blacks have felt the galling yoke of slavery.

Judge Jay's Writings on Slavery. In one volume, 12 mo., with a portrait.

PRICE, \$1.00. Who has rendered more efficient services to the cause of humanity than the venerable Judge Jay? His col-lective writings will be among the very best contribu-tions to the anti-slavery literature of the country.

Philosophy of Mysterious Rappings. OR, THE DYNAMIC LAWS AND RELATIONS OF MAN,

BY DR. E. C. ROGERS. A learned and philosophical exposure of the modern belief in spiritual manifestations, showing, most conclusively, that we need not go to the spirit world to account for those things, but that they can all be explained by human agency, and upon philosophical principles. Let the believers in spiritual, rappings read this able and conclusive work. Price \$1 00.

THE TRIAL BY JURY.

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Association, or Presbytery, as to his literary qualifier

tions? And before a parish will settle a minister, d

sphere? No one, of course. Then, as soon as a chat-tering South Sea Islander enters the other world, he

is allowed to become our teacher, because he lives in

remarkable fact, as you say, that Swedenborg, Wash

ington, &c., fail to sustain their high reputation for abil-

ity; but yet, because they live 'on high,' we mus

Now, if this is not paying deference to station,

know not what is. I do not accuse our friends of receiving everything that proceeds from 'spirits' as authority

but I do charge them with denying the fundamenta doctrines of 'radicalism,' in paying attention to these

messages, because of their supposed origin. All au-thority, save that of God, is to be hurled from the

throne of our mental natures; and if we reject priests

because of their moral unfitness, let us also reject priestly spirits, who lack both mental and moral qual-ifications. At least, let us not fancy that because these

persons inhabit the celestial regions, therefore they are

earth. This, the 'spiritual' theory requires me to do, and therefore I reject it, as savoring of slavery.

Excuse me for disturbing the placidity of your res

for some more capable person to attack this new delu

should be happy to state a number of my other object

AGAINST THE MAINE LIQUOR LAW.

ment since the year 1825, and have heard a large num-

ber of the principal speakers in behalf of the cause; among them have been men of superior talents, and

highly gifted with the powers of description; but I never

et heard one who could paint the evils of intemperano

n their true colors. The strongest language, used by

the misery caused by the use of strong drink. It may

safely be said, that the morals of the temperate man

can soar aloft, and see the gates of heaven open wide,

that he may enter; while the morals of the intemperate

nan will necessarily be urged down, down, down, until

he beholds the wawning mouth of hell, anxious to re-

ceive him, while he exerts every nerve to hold on to the

slippery path that surrounds the crater. It is a source

the efforts now making to soil her shining garments by

dip in the turbid stream of politics. Were it a caus

of less importance, it might pass unnoticed; but as it

is, to be silent would manifest a dereliction of duty, to

The law under consideration is absolutely wicke

and can be excused only on the plea that the zeal of its

advocates has supplied the place of reason and con-

cience. On the score of expediency, the law in ques-

tion would clog the wheels of the temperance car more

The advocates of the law seem to forget that a large

portion of the people do not want to be deprived of the

ase of liquor. If nobody wanted to use it, the law

would be unnecessary. Then the object is to force peo-

ple to relinquish the use of an article that they are at-

tached to. There certainly are no men in Ohio slavish

enough to pay any attention to such a law, even should

it be passed. It might be safely asserted, that the ad-

vocates of the law would despise any man that would

cease the use of liquor, simply on account of the at-

tempts to force him into abstinence. An appetite for

liquor would be kindled in thousands who had never

the power, they passed laws attempting to make every

which no man should ever subject himself.

than the combined efforts of every foe.

much pain to the real friends of Temperance to se

he most skilful speakers, conveys but a faint idea

Yours, for true spirituality, C. STEARNS.

any more worthy of our attention than if they lived

hearken to them, no matter if they teach the comme

each other.

tions to this doctrine.

FRIEND GARRISON:

### POETRY

In the volume from which is extracted the following poem, there are many others which equal it in worth compositions of exceeding vigor, and of gentle and touching beauty. The writer, Daniel Florance Mc-CARTHY, is one of those young Irishmen, who, to the proverbially rich fancy inherited in his countrymen, adds the scholastic learning which circumstances have placed so abundantly within their reach. He may be ranked foremost among the great poets, of which his country has been so productive.

ADVANCE! God bade the Sun, with golden steps sublime, Advance ! He whispered in the listening ear of Time, He bade the guiding Spirit of the Stars, With lightning speed, in silver shining cars, Along the bright floor of his azure hall

Sun, Stars, and Time obey the voice, and all

Advance !

The river, at its bubbling fountain, cries, Advance! The clouds proclaim, like heralds through the skies, Advance ! Throughout the world, the mighty Master's laws Allow not one brief moment's idle pause.

And summer hours, like flowery harnessed steeds,

The earth is full of life; the swelling seeds

To man's most wondrous hand the same voice cried, Advance ! Go, clear the woods, and o'er the bounding tide Advance ! Go, draw the marble from its secret bed,

And make the cedar bend its giant head; Let domes and columns through the wandering air Advance! The world, O man ! is thine ; but wouldst thou share, Advance !

Unto the soul of man the same voice spoke, Advance ! From out the chaos, thunder-like, it broke, Advance ! Go, track the comet in its wheeling race,

And drag the lightning from its hiding-place From out the night of ignorance and fears Advance! For love and hope, borne by the coming years,

All heard, and some obeyed the great command, Advance! It passed along from listening land to land, Advance ! The strong grew stronger, and the weak grew strong,

As passed the war-cry of the world along— Awake, ye nations! know your powers and rights! Advance ! Through Hope and Work, to Freedom's new delights, Advance

Knowledge came down, and waved her steady torch. Advance ! Siges proclaimed 'neath many a marble porch,

As rapid lightning leaps from peak to peak, The Gaul, the Goth, the Roman and the Greek, The painted Briton, caught the winged word, Advance ! And earth grew young, and carolled as a bird,

Advance! O Ireland ! O my country ! wilt thou not Advance Wilt thou not share the world's progressive lot?

Advance ! Must seasons change, and countless years roll on, And thou remain a darksome Ajalon, And never see the crescent moon of Hope Advance?

'Tis time thine heart and eye had wider scope-TESTITE YES IN Advance! IN AU Dear brothers, wake ! look up ! be firm ! be strong !

From out the starless night of fraud and wrong Advance ! The chains have fallen from off thy wasted hands,

And every man a se But, ah ! 'tis in the soul that freedom dwells-Advance ! Proclaim that there thou wear'st no manacles ;

Advance! thou must advance or perish now Advance!

Advance! Why live with wasted heart and brow Advance ! or sink at once into the grave ; Be bravely free, or artfully a slave !

Why fret thy master, if thou must have one? Advance ! Advance three steps, the glorious work is done;

The first is Courage-'tis a giant stride! With bounding steps, up Freedom's rugged side

KNOWLEDGE will lead ye to the dazzling heights; .Tolerance will teach and guard your brother's rights. Faint not! for thee a pitying future waits-Advance !

Be wise, be just ; with will as fixed as Fate's, Advance!

What if the stateliest buildings were thine own? What if the choicest fruits thy table crown? If thou hast heaps on heaps of gold in store, And each succeeding year still adding more What if thou hast the fairest, kindest wife, To be the sweet companion of thy life?

If thou art blest with sons, a large estate, And all around magnificent and great? What if thou'rt comely, valiant, rich and strong, And teachest others in each art, each tongue? If thou hast numerous servants at command, All things in store, and ready to thy hand? If thou art king, commander of a nation, Full thousand happy years, without vexation? If fortune raised thee to the highest strain Of grandeur, wealth and dignity-what then Soon, very soon, all ends and comes to nought; Virtue alone's the greatest glory sought. Obey th' Almighty's will ; from hence arise All happiness within : in this all glory lies.

From a Welsh Circular. PAREWELL TO DRUNKENNESS. Farewell, landlords, farewell Jerries, Farewell, brandy, wine and sherry; Farewell, horrors and blue devils ; Farewell, dens of midnight revels; Farewell, shoes that have no soles on ; Farewell, fires that have no coals on; Farewell, sots and all sot-feeders; Farewell, rogues, and all thief-bre Farewell, cupboards that's no meat in; Farewell, chairs that have no seats in; Farewell, children with wry faces; Farewell, to these pop-shop races; Farewell, landlords and your spouses; Farewell, spiders and your houses; Parewell to your noise and rabble, Farewell to such foolish gabble; Farewell, swash, and all swash venders Farewell, bums, and all bum senders; Farewell, pockets that are empty; Farewell, landlords, you've had PLENT

## THE LIBERATOR.

SPIRITUAL MANIPESTATIONS.

Number I. Mr. Garnison: Dear Stre—I do not wish to add to the number of communications on 'extraneous' topics that appear in The Liberraron; but as so much has been said in your columns, in favor of the so-called other world is allowed to impose his childish effusions upon the 'elect,' because, forsooth, he is a 'spirit,' and the first mundants of the so-called other world is allowed to impose his childish effusions upon the 'elect,' because, forsooth, he is a 'spirit,' and this mundants of the so-called other world is allowed to impose his childish effusions upon the 'elect,' because, forsooth, he is a 'spirit,' and this mundants of the so-called other world is allowed to impose his childish effusions upon the 'elect,' because, forsooth, he is a 'spirit,' and the so-called other world is allowed to impose his childish effusions upon the 'elect,' because, forsooth, he is a 'spirit,' and the so-called other world is allowed to impose his childish effusions. Boston, Feb. 23, 1853. remarks on the 'other side' of this highly important only qualification for teachers on this mundan question. If, however, you should judge that my articles will only awaken needless controversy upon the sub-ject, I assure you that I shall not complain of their resection, because you do not profess to publish a paper a stylish place, and the medium is bonest! It is a very open to the discussion of all subjects. When I complain of an editor for rejecting an article, it is only because he rejects it from interested motives, which of course could not operate in this case.

Let me remark in the outset, that I doubt the spiritual origin of these manifestations; but still, I do not consider them as 'humbug,' but, on the contrary, as vastly important phenomena, requiring the utmost skill for the solution of the mystery connected with them In my opinion, no friend of his race can long ignore the existence of these phenomena, or conceitedly style them the 'tricks of jugglers'; for every lover of man will prove all things, and after he has thus proved these manifestations, he will find it no child's play to account for them. But it by no means follows, because we cannot determine their cause, that they are spiritual in their origin. On the contrary, it is plain that we cannot readily attribute them to spiritual causes, for this would be assuming several important particulars that are not easily proved. First, it must be shown that spirits exist; secondly

that God has no control over them; thirdly, that they are able, physically, to move tables and chairs ; fourthly, that they can communicate ideas to persons in the flesh. Now, so far as my observation extends, none of these things have yet been proved by the believers in these manifestations. On the contrary, all these points, except the second, are taken for granted by the advocates of this new theory. I am perfectly amazed at the stupidity of the logic used by our 'spiritual' friends It reminds me of the noble argument of Attorney Lunt, in Morris's case : 'McCrea,' he said, 'was intimate with Hayden, and Morris was intimate with Hayden therefore, McCrea was intimate with Morris, as "things equal to the same were equal to each other." Our spiritual friends argue as follows : We cannot possibly understand the cause of these phenomena, therefore their chuse must be spiritual; thus assuming the very point in debate. Before it can be proved that odyle is the cause of these manifestations, it must be proved, first, that such an agent as odyle exists, and, secondly, that it is able to produce these effects, both of which points have been triumphantly proved by the highly talented Dr. Rogers, in his admirable philosophical treatises upon the 'Philosophy of Mysterious Agents.' It seems as if our friends were bereft of all reason, on this subject, in thus making such a 'Sam Patch' leap from premise to conclusion. It no more follows that these phenomena are caused by 'spirits,' because they cannot otherwise be accounted for, than it follows that a cross on the summit of a Catholic steeple was supported in the air by the power of God, because the cause of its retention of place could not at first be perceived. Innumerable examples are on record, of astonishing effects, defying the most rigid scrutiny to account for at the time, which at a later day have been fully explained. I will only cite the exploits of Columbus with his fire-arms, which so astonished the ignorant savages as to lead them to believe that Columbus was a God, and to induce them to yield to him, as a being possessed of divine power. Who can believe that witchcraft was supernatural in its origin? And yet the wisest of men once regarded it as proceeding from the devil.

It is the tendency of unphilosophical minds to attribnte wonderful effects to still more wonderful causes, as we see in the case of religious revivals, where the same phenomena as the 'spiritual manifestations' are often witnessed, and attributed to the agency of God. But men of philosophical minds will never attribute an effect to a cause not shown to be adequate to

I am very far from denying the existence of spirits. for I have not the least doubt of such existence; but if used it before; because all must see its tyrannical fea-I were an infidel, I could never be convinced of my error tures, except those blinded by real, v these 'rappings and tippings'-for, as in the case of the 'odyle,' it must first be shown that spirits exist, at its own expense. Sectarians of old took up a nobefore a philosophical man can believe they are the tion, that their worship was Simon pure; and, having

body conform to their whims. But how futile their efprincipal objections to the doctrine of the spiritual oriforts, and how contemptible they appear now ! gin of these manifestations, without, at this time, entering into any lengthened argument in defence of my

science, reason is the highest faculty of the human soul,

and whoever tramples that under foot is, however un-

consciously a criminal of no ordinary guilt. But I

will not trust myself to write upon that point, lest my

feelings should cause me to wander from the golden path

of reason. Secondly, I object to this doctrine, because

it rebuilds the worst errors of the Church. It reminds

me of the man from whom was cast an unclean

spirit,' who at length re-admitted six additional ones

to the temple of his mind, and ' his last state was worse

than his first.' Paul says, 'Do we build again the

things we have once destroyed?' I answer, yes, if the

spiritual' doctrine is true. THE LIBERATOR, especial-

ly, has fought the noblest battle ever fought by man or

this point, and has placed on the highest pinnacle of

its new spiritual temple, the flag-staff from which floats

the banner of ' No Union with Slaveholders' of the

mind, as well as of the body; and yet, the editor can

not see any better solution of these mysteries than the

one which attributes them to spirits; while, at the same

time, he acknowledges that these spirits are no more

like the writings of the same individuals in the body

than is Hyperion to the satyr.' Why, then, does be

suppose they can be attributable to the persons from

rated since they left this world? The Church has never

taught a worse error than that of human authority. On

this false dogma 'hang all' its lower 'laws' and false 'prophets.' But to believe in the identity of the

persons who profess to rap out truth from the other

m they profess so come? Have these men deterio

There are many followers of Graham in the country, spreading their doctrines with rapidity; and should majority become converted to the faith, no doubt they I object to this doctrine; first, because, if true, it will undertake to regulate appetite and diet for the balsupersedes the necessity of all intellectual cultivation. ance of the people, by law. Our tea, coffee, pork, beef, It says, 'Give yourself up to extraneous influences, and fish, pepper, salt and vinegar, must all go by the board. you shall be taught wonderful things.' Now, if this is Every person has some favorite dish that must be not 'a crime against the soul of man,' similar to that laid aside, if he allows others to dictate to him ; because committed on Casper Hauser, I should like to know of the great variety of tastes and temperaments absowhat would be a repetition of that horrible act. For my lutely requiring different nourishment to sustain human part, much as I abhor slavery, I should infinitely life. The people of Maine only partially submit to the prefer being a slave, to becoming a 'spiritual medium; requirements of the Maine Liquor Law; and the reason for in the former case, I could devise plans for escaping, they don't openly trample it under foot is, the searchwhich mental labor would exercise my higher faculties; ing frosts of Maine have chilled their democratic bloodbut in the latter, I am 'bound hand and foot, and dethe heavy snows of the North have quenched the fires livered' over to my 'tormentors,' the spirits from of freedom, and they are nearly ready to wear the ty-Bedlam, as well as those from Paradise. I do not rant's chains. choose to surrender my soul to 'Tom, Dick and Harry,' It is true, there may be some honest, weak-minded (to use a vulgarism,) for them to act upon me, as the wills of the pew-holders act upon the automaton priest, who is their 'spiritual medium.' If others thus choose, God will judge them, and I will not anticipate that judgment. It appears to me, that, next to con-

men, who find it difficult to govern their appetites, and would like to put the tempter out of their reach. Such men are to be pitied, and should be allowed to keep no But when their anxiety to destroy the foe sets aside

common sense, lays waste all sense of shame, and turns men into robbers, it is time to pause, no matter if all this is done under the sanction of law. Many me would as soon be caught stealing a sheep as find the selves ransacking the premises of a neighbor in search of liquor, in order to put the temptation out of their own reach Some men, otherwise good, will pursue a favorite

object so intensely, that they become wrapped up completely, and will finally conclude that the end justifie the means, and are not really sensible of the tyranny that dwells in ther bosoms. In promoting any moral reform, we should often look

back and see if the flag of freedom is loosely floating in the breeze; fit emblem of the mind of man, which should be free as the breath of heaven; cleaving only to one thing, and God the staff. Before I could uphold or sustain the Maine Lique

law, I would say,

Lop off the branches of Liberty's tree, Dig up its roots and send it affort,
For it is nothing but humbug to me,
Of no more use than the beard of a goat. MICAJAH T. JOHNSON. Short Creek, Harrison Co., Ohio, } 1st day of 1853.

#### A PIOUS DISCONTINUANCE. HOPKINTON, (R. I.) 2d mo. 12th, 1853.

RESPECTED FRIEND, WM. L. GARRISON! world, it is necessary to open the door of our hearts to at least six additional devils, in lieu of the single one of It seems right for me to inform thee, that I do think it best for me to longer continue taking THE LIBauthority, which Christ's spirit has exorcised from us. ERATOR. It appears to me that thou hast dwelt so much upon the wrongs inflicted upon our poor colored breth-But, lest I should be misunderstood, allow me to exren-that thou hast meditated so much upon the dreadplain my meaning more fully. You ask John M. Spear, ren—that thou hast meditated so much upon the dread-for instance, if his wonderful lectures upon the 'Heal- ful consequences of slavery, sanctioned by the laws of ing Art' are dictated by Dr. Rush. He replies, 'Yes.' our land, by which are perpetrated the vilest deeds, You sean them closely, and perceive that a child six and the most heart-rending scenes that can be pres years old could excel them in original matter; but beed to the mind of man—yea, that thou hast thought
cause you suppose that he is an honest man, you receive
all the insane common-places, therein contained, as the
slaveholder, professing to be a member of the Church all the insane common-places, therein confained, as the slaveholder, professing to be a member of the Church real productions of the learned Dr. Rush's mind, or, at of Christ, the equally hardened apologist of the North,

spectfully ask all the 'radical' believers in the 'rap-pings,' if the Church ever required such a low obel-sance to its mandates as this? Is not every minister catechised closely, on the eve of his admission to the been ready to say in thy heart, 'Deliver me from Christianity,' But, friend, the truths declared by our Lord and Savior remain to be seen to received the common to receive the common to re truth, according to the promise of God through his Son, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, I can conceive of no idea more absurd-no spirit more at varion, who died on mount Calvary, and arose again est of all 'common-places,' and even flatly contradict break the shackles of the bondmen, and say to the op-pressed, go free. If this is our aim, we shall, like the Babel-builders, become confounded, and brought to have as good a right as we have, to utter or write what

All other considerations become of trilling importance, when I contemplate the short duration of this life, and voluminous research; and have we (their frail fellow its unsatisfying enjoyments; and the necessity of be-mortals) a right to assert that they have not, with holy ing prepared at its close, to enter the mansions of reverence, sought the illumination of the Spirit Though it may fall more particularly to thy Truth? lot to engage in liberating the slave, yet thou must be lot to engage in liberating the slave, yet thou must be Let me again use the powerful language of THE LIB-aware that there is a far greater work, viz., the salvacause. It must be the duty of some to watch over Whoever remembers them that are in bonds as bour

ers' minds by my remarks. I have waited a long time sion, as I sincerely regard it. If you do not object, I not be in bondage to any man; still, should he be laboring under the bondage of sin and iniquity, it would be infinitely more deplorable than that of servitude to man, and peace with God.

In obtaining our earthly subsistence, we are engaged in various callings; one engages in agriculture, another is a mechanic, a third in making the clothing so necessary for us by a complicated machinery, and a fourth in constructing a bark to glide safely over the boister ocean, &c. &c. And it seems equally necessary, in a recalled to the same service, or one man to have his attention and energy divided to all the wrongs of mankind. · But, to come directly to my reason for discontinuing

THE LIBERATOR—thou art certainly an apolegist for, if not an advocate of, infidelity. Respectfully, thy friend,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

THE BIBLE the publication, in THE LIBERATOR, of some of the arti- kerism and slaveholders, as boldly protected. eles of H. C. WRIGHT and JOSEPH BARKER on the Bible. But I cannot consent to stop the paper, as some of the occupy such a position ; for although the progress of good and true have felt it their duty to do, to save truth must always be really accelerated by free discustheir friends and children from the hurtful influences of sion, yet the partial suppression, or political manage-infidelity. No; let me rather administer the antidote ment of a truth, might give greater present power, and with the poison, and teach them the folly and certain redound more to the selfish interests of a party. final defeat and overthrow of all who abandon the book thank God, then, that He has endowed the radical ab of God. Why, some one who can meet and refute the litionists of America with the broad, unflinching spirit vine, though I half conjecture. It is not because the course, and ultimate success will crown your efforts. arguments of Infidelity are unanswerable. I wish I had ime and ability to do, what I feel perfectly sure your- full consummation of your hopes; but it is not for man self or some of the able correspondents of THE LIBS- to dictate his working time; he must be up and doing naton might do, to expose the error and defend the waiting patiently for the result. May the Almighty truth; but I have not time or ability to do so. Still, I give you health, strength, faith and courage to assist the same columns where others express their hate; and ty! And, believe me, dear Sir, I cannot better do so, than to give you the lines of a certain poet, who flourished one time, I think, in the last half century, (if my memory serves me.) By those who lived in his time, and knew him best, he was regarded (and I think correctly, too, so far as I know his history,) as possessing noble traits of manhood, and

But to his sonnet on the Bible :-THE BIBLE. O Book of books! though skepticism flout Thy sacred origin, thy worth decry; Though Atheistic folly give the lie To what thou teachest; though the critic doubt This fact, that miracle, and raise a shout Of triumph o'er each incongruity He in thy pages may perchance espy:
As in his strength th' effulgent sun shines out,
Hiding innumerous stars, so dost thou shine
With heavenly light, all human works excelling. Thy oracles are holy and divine, Of free salvation through a Savior telling; All Truth, all Excellence dost thou enshrine,

all the essentials of a pure and enlightened Christianity.

The mists of Sin and Ignorance dispelling. This sonnet on the Bible is a rich gem, partly fro the fact that it posesses much of the grace and per genius of poetry, but more from its manly and bold expression of the feelings of the author toward the revelations of the Bible. It was written at the time, probably, to express the feelings of the author upon the writings of such men as Hume and Voltaire-a different class of infidels, but none the less dangerous, than those of our own time. J. T. EVERETT.

### TO THE PRIENDS OF PREE DISCUSSION. the day!

The touching 'Tribute of a Wife and Mother,' which appeared in THE LIBERATOR of January 21st, you may place to my credit; the other to LIBERTY JEF-1853, has, I doubt not, arrested the attention and aroused the sympathy of many of the readers of that inestimable paper. I am neither a 'wife' nor a 'mother,' nor am I in any other way connected with the outcast and down-trodden portion of our species, than as being member of the same wide-spreading family, of whose blood all nations of the earth are formed; who claim the same Almighty Parent, whose tender mercies are over all his works; whose sun shines on all alike, and whose showers refresh the weary, fainting negro slave, the Rev. Dr. Potts undertook to defend the following as well as the luxurious master, 'lolling at his social board.' So truly do I sympathize with the language of that ' tribute,' that I beg to contribute my ' widow's mite' to the support of a publication, ' whose bitter enand of which the Editor himself is willing to admit the propriety of the designation. 'It is,' says he, 'unnably kindling a great fire; but it is the fire of sympathy and holy indignation against the most oppressive system on earth, and will burn up nothing but the chaff. The East is glowing as if a new sun had risen in splendid radiance, and the West has caught its beams, and is kindling with a new intensity. Even the dark Atlantic, as far as the shores of Old England, shows a luminous path of light, and the philanthropists of that country are rejoicing as they gaze upon it. Like a vestal fire may this ever burn. Let those throw water upon it who will; love to God and man shall feed it, and prevent its extinguishment.'

We thank our Editor for his soul-kindling and ele trifying eloquence. We have read of strains so melodious as to 'create a soul under the ribs of death.' His tones are mighty, to the breaking up of the strong on holds of injustice, perfidy, crueity, blood-thirstiness, and every other abomination, and to the enkindling of a

pleading for making chattels of men created in the im- the spirit of love, joy, peace and purity. I have heard age of God; and even many who profess to be ministers of the gospel doing all in their power to strengthen the bonds of the slave—that looking upon such fruits of rethousands, yea millions of the oppressed, have reason

and Savior remain to be yea and amen forever. True, third volume of THE LIBERATOR. Since its first num enuine religion is as necessary now as in any age of he world; nothing but the want of it could have He (the Leader) 'is still in the field of conflict, worn rought mankind to engage in such dreadful wickedness and battle-scarred, it may be, but not solitary as of old, and battle-scarred, it may be, but not solitary as of old, as that of enslaving a fellow-being. It is a very but cheered and sustained by a host of combatants, and lamentable thing, and especially unfortunate for the slave, that some of those engaged in the anti-slavery belp of the Lord, he has done valiantly, let him still cause are at the same time doing all in their power to uphold the banner, on whose front is emblazoned the ay waste the precious hope afforded in the Scriptures of watchword—

. 'On, on to victory!'

'If THE LIBERATOR had nothing else to commend i the manly example it has set and sustained, beyond nee with, or opposed to, the intent and purpose of His any other journal in the world, of free and impartial mission, who died on mount Calvary, and arose again discussion, does commend it to general respect and appropriate the dead, than pleading the necessity of over-proval.' We are in no wise called upon to respond to throwing the holy Scriptures, and true Church built and the sentiments of H. C. Wright or Joseph Backer, or ablished on the eternal Rock of Ages, in order to the Bible, or any other subject of debate. But we are they believe to be truth. It is the conviction brought home to their minds, the result of deep thought and

tion of our immortal souls; and therefore it does not from the advocate of error. Whoever delights in probecome thee to publish so much in denunciation of those gress, believes in probing and testing all things. Whowhose time is not wholly spent in the anti-slavery ever admires freedom, likes equally well free discussion. the flock, and see that the wolves do not devour the with them, will never sacrifice their cause to gratify sectarian spirit." 'May the day soon dawn, when we shall break away

from our erroneous, pernicious opinions, and, like the air of heaven, be free in granting to all others the rights which we claim for ourselves, and which are bestowed by the hand of an impartial and beneficent Creator.' PACIFICA.

IRELAND, February, 1853.

. The naked negro, panting at the line.

A CHEERING WORD PROM SCOTT, AND EDINBURGE (Scotland.) 14th March 1853. MR. GARRISON :

DEAR SIR-I address you thus familiarly, because although I only saw you once, and that, too, but for a noment, I feel that your nature is such as to render mere ceremony unnecessary.

My principal object in writing you at this time is to express my hearty sympathy with you, and the other

steadfast friends of the slave around you, in the arduous task you have so long and ably labored at, and to I believe it is conceded on all hands, that THE LIBE- join my hope with that of thousands on both sides of naron is the only paper in this country that practically the Atlantic, that the same straight-forward, honest holds the doctrine of free discussion, though many oth- impartial course which has characterized your public ers make loud and long professions of attachment to career hitherto, may, under the blessing of God, conthat tyrant-hating doctrine. But in this world of commingled good and evil, no great good is entirely discon- the manner in which you conduct THE LIBERATOR nected with evil. I think it is so with the free columns It appears to me the freest newspaper in the world of THE LIBERATOR. Still, the smallest evil will always notwithstanding many things appear in it with which e on the side of freedom. Let truth meet error ; let cannot agree ; but for these the writers (not the editor) Christianity meet Infidelity, and no one need fear that are responsible. I rejoice that, although thousands o the former will be worsted in the conflict. I feel a miles part us, I can yet know there is at least one cor trong sympathy with the good friends in England, who ner, one green spot, in the great world, where free leeply regret (for the good of the anti-slavery cause) thoughts are boldly uttered, and, in defiance of Hun

It requires great moral courage and self-denial to eror and show the truth does not do so, I cannot di- of free inquiry. -Continue to pursue your present manly Years may, and, I suspect, will clapse, before the

A SCOTCHMAN.

## KEEP THE LIST PHILL.

WILLIAMSTOWN, Feb. 1, 1853. FRIEND GARRISON,-I see THE LIBERATOR SUffers

cessionally, in consequence of its freedom. It certainly becomes those who patronise it mainly because it is free, to make some little effort to keep its number of subscribers good; and as fast as those poo frightened creatures back out, to supply their places with others more liberal. So I have obtained one fill the place of that brother, who went off recently in such a fright. Poor man! he needs improving, both

It is hard getting subscribers for THE LIBERATOR. on account of its price. Nonsense can be had cheap, and it is hard convincing people that sense is worth

It is really amusing, to those who have progress far enough to dare to investigate all subjects, to se how dreadfully frightened some of your patrons (?) are ! How long will it take them to learn, that what ever cannot bear investigation must come down?

THE LIBERATOR is truly a welcome visitor in my fan ily; we could not consent to do without it for any cor ideration. Its liberality, its warm philanthropy, and above all, its firm, unflinching attachment to principle should commend it to every reformer. What a contrast between its course, and that of mos

of the miserable wishy-washy, time-serving journals o Enclosed, I send you five dollars, one-half of which

FORDS, for which send him THE LIBERATOR, directed to Williamstown, Vt. Yours for humanity.

S. W. SEAVER.

#### THE SARBATH Sundry Orthodox ministers of New York city are

reaching a series of evening sermons on 'The Sabbath, as a Divine Institution.' In the second of these

'The Christian Sabbath inherits all the rights and imposes all the obligations of the Sabbath of Paradise, the Sabbath of the Patriarchs, and the Sabbath of the

Since the Old Testament (our only source of information upon these points) gives not the slightest intimation of a precept, either to Adam or Eve, or to the Patriarchs, to keep a Sabbath, or any assertion that they did keep one, the proposition seems needlessly long and complicated. But the portions of it that have a meaning lead us inevitably to the two following con-clusions, which we commend to the attention of Sabbatarians in general :-

On Saturday, the seventh day, they are not to do any

they are commanded to labor, and do all their work.

Singular Discovery .- It is stated that Dr. Tinsly, an English practitioner of long experience in Cuba, has discovered in the course of his practice in cases of small-pox, that eaceine virus, after once having passed through a negro's system, becomes useless as a preventive to the white race.

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Econgelist:—

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HANDS OPF, AND A FAIR CHANCE

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Nov. 12.

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