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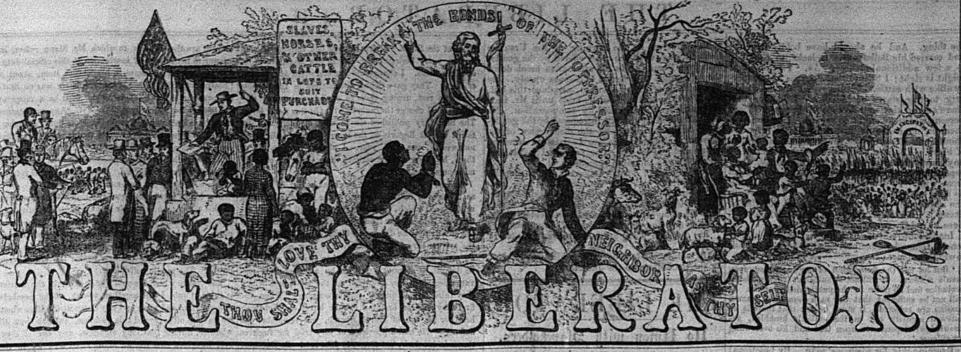
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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are auto receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial ne, but are not responsible for any of the debts DE PER, TIL -FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY and Enters Quiscr, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and

In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of question are importially allowed a hearing.

readers, rerise, terrise, terrise, the Enders, forest training tra

M LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. TOL. XXIII. NO. 15.



OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.' - John Quincy Adams.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 15, 1853.

## WHOLE NUMBER 1160.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholderel

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

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED-the slaveholding rds of the South prescribed, as a condition of their sent to the Constitution, three special provisions to

SCURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES—an

engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation 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 THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

tion of his 'Sermon of the Public Punction Eggs, preached at the Music Hall, in Boston, on hr, March 27, 1858, as phonographically reported W Yerrinton and Rufus Leighton. It has been d is a neat pamphlet-R. F. Wallcut, 21 Corn-Publisher-and may be obtained at Redding's, 8 street; at the Bookstore of Bela Marsh, 25 Cornsthe office of the Commonwealth; and at the Savery Office. A large edition has been printed val circulation, and therefore the price is but a beyond the cost-6 cents single, or 50 cents per In his Preface, Mr. PARKER says-

effloring Sermon is part of a long course of Ser-on the Spiritual Development of the Human Race. Capter in that series treated of Woman, and conthe historical Formation of the popular Idea of and of her consequent Position in the world

the peculiar Characteristics and the true Idea

the Ideal Domestic Function of Woman ;

the Ideal Public Function of Woman. gally print, had I not already other matters in such demand more immediate attention. But I bes repeatelly asked to print the fourth of the addinated amanner that I cannot reasonably the The two accomplished reporters, named on the apper, have furnished me with their manuscript; at with a few additions, of things omitted for want of at the delivery, I send it forth to the larger public.

soon of its author, as a scholar, a philanthropist, ata faries and untrammelled preacher. Our readestillagree with us in this opinion, after perusing a fillowing copious extracts :--

Last Sunday, I spoke of the Domestic Funcof Woman - what she may do for the high proposent of the human race at home. To-day, as your attention to a sermon of the Ideal Function of Woman, and the Economy of in the higher development of the Human

The demestic function of woman, as a houseer, wife and mother, does not exhaust her Woman's function, like charity, begins me; then, like charity, goes every where. ke one half of the human race cousume all sergies in the functions of housekeeper, and mother, is a monstrous waste of the recious material that God ever made.

s look and see what women may do here. Erst, there are Intellectual Pursuits - devotion denes, art, literature, and the like.

in the first place, that is not popular. and women are met with ridicule; they are to mend their husband's garments, or their they are treated with scorn. Foolish young max number one, in a liquor shop, of a morning, makes of the ashes from the end of his eigar, and ty to foolish young man number two, who is ach, or preparing for a similar necessity toerror morning -in the presence of foolish young - I do not like learned young women puzzle me.' So they do; puzzle him very I once heard a foolish young man, full of semest and his father's claret, say, — I had see hare a young woman ask me to waltz, than aplain an allusion in Dante. Very likely; et, full of conceit and her own hyson, safd-I perfectly agree with you. My father said that tears had nothing to do with learning.' Accorfogly, he gave her none, and that explained the

ON.

tion will person delight territory and the territory and t

UNTO

Then, too, foolish men, no longer young, say the me thing, and seek to bring down their wives and thers to their own poor mediocrity of wit

as a few it is not; but even if it were, it is not sery it is not; but even if it were, it is not a few. In the satisfactory-it suits but a few. In the at stage of human development, there are not aen who are satisfied with a merely intelcalling; they want something practical, as poculative. There are a thousand prac-makers to every speculative botanist. It 1 so for many years to come. There are ten cannot carpenters to a single poet or philoso-br, who dignifies his nature with song or with . See how dissatisfied our most eminent ctual men become with science and literae. A Professor of Greek is sorry he was not a cargar or Engineer; the President of a College at the a Member of Congress; the most accomplished to be a Member of Congress; espished scholars, historians, romancers,—they wel, and the like, - longing for some practical where they can make their thought a continuous of the intellectual men whom I know, I count on the fingers of a single hand all that missed with pure science; pure art, pure lite-

man, like man, wants to make her thought ing, at least, wants things to work her patand wiser, and better, more persons will find siding satisfaction in these lofty pursuits. Some women there are who find an abiding clien in literature; it fills up their leisure.

there are next, the various Philanthropies Seage. In these, the spare energies of woman salways found a congenial sphere. It is amazto see how woman's charity, which 'never failpalliates the injustice of man, which never falled yet. Men fight battles; women heal ounds of the sick :

Forgot are hatred, wrongs, and fears, the plaintive voice alone she hears, Sees but the dying man,

thes not ask if foe or friend. Messrs. Pinchen Peelem organize an establishment, wherein the Bast and tears and blood of the poor turn the visels, every pivot and every shaft rolls on quivents human flesh. The wealthy capitalists,

"Haif knorant, they turn an easy wheel, "
when hits sharp, racks at work, to pinch and peel."

The wires and daughters of the wealthy house go undo the heavy burdens, and let the based go free; to heal tife sick and teach, the int, whom their fathers, their husbands, their es have made sick, opprend and ignorant.

Look at any village in New England and in Old The Family, Community, Church and State, are England, at the Sacs and Foxes, at the Hottentots four modes of action which have grown out of hu-England, at the Sacs and Foxes, at the Hottentots and the Esquimaux—it is the same thing; it is so in all ages, in all climes, in all stages of civilization; in all ranks of society,—the highest and the lowest; in all forms of religion, all sects of Christianity. It has been so, from Dorcas, in the Acts of the Apostles, who made coats and garments for the poor, down to Miss Dix, in our day, who visits jails and houses of correction, and leads Mr. Fillmore to let Capt. Drayron out of jail, where he was placed for the noblest act of his life.

But these philanthropies are not enough for the employment of woman; and if all the spare energies of womankind were set to this work,—to palliate the consequences of man's injustice,—

palliate the consequences of man's injustice, — mathematics.

It would not be exactly the work which woman So, then, woman has the same natural rights a it would not be exactly the work which woman wants. There are some women who take no special interest in this. For woman is not all philanthropy, though very much; she has other faculties which want to be developed besides the heart to feel. Still more, that is not the only thing which mankind wants. We need the justice which removes causes, as well as the charity that paltings effects; and woman, standing continually callings of life will ever suit woman. It is not lit-

hand, or a hired head, to help the housekeeper. Then there is Mechanical Labor in a factory,

ployed at the counter.

As a fourth thing, there is the business of Public of the rich can possess such an education as

America. It imbrutes women in Ireland, in France, and in Spain. I am glad that the complicated machinery of life furnishes so much more work for the light and delicate hand of woman. But I confess I mourn that where her work is as profitable bodied. She has tried conciliation rather than as man's, her pay is not half so much. A woman violence, and appealed to something a little deeper who should teach a public school well, would be than aught which force could ever touch. The wo-

are not enough.

Nature of a human being; next, she has the Right of a human being; third, she has the Duty of a human being. The Nature is the capacity to possess, to use, to develop, and to enjoy every human faculty; the Right is the right to enjoy, develop, and use every human faculty; and the Duty is to and use every human faculty; and the Duty is to the Right and make her human participations.—

Then there are what are called the Professions,—

Medicine Law, and Theology. make use of the Right, and make her human nahuman history. She is here to develop her human nature, enjoy her human rights, perform her human duty. Womankind is to do this for her human duty. Womankind is to do this for herself, as much as mankind for himself. A woman has the same human nature that a man has, the same human rights, - to life, liberty, and the

man. Each man has the natural right to the normal development of his nature, so far as it is general-human, neither man nor woman, but human. Each woman has the natural right to the normal development of her nature, so far as it is generaldevelopment of her nature, so far as it is general-human, neither woman nor man. But each man chanics at law, than attorneys or scholars at law, than attorn

man, and not man. All that is undeniable.

Now see what follows. Woman has the same individual right to determine her aim in life, and to follow it; has the same individual rights of body and of spirit, — of mind and conscience, and heart and sout; the same physical rights, the same intellectual, moral, affectional and religious rights, that man has. That is true of womankind as a whole; it is true of Jane, Ellen and Sally, and each special woman that can be named.

work, they who have read the plea which Lady Alice Lille made in England, when she could not rather hard to resist. I think her presence would mend the manners of the court — of the bench, not less than of the bar.

In the business of Theology, I could never see why a woman, if she wished, should not preach, as well as men. It would be hard, in the present condition of the pulpit, to say she had not intelled.

removes causes, as well as the charity that palliates effects; and woman, standing continually between the victim and the sabre which would cleave him through, is not performing her only function, not her highest; high as that is, it is not her highest. If the feminine swallow drives away the flies from a poor fox struggling for life, another set of flies light upon him, and suck every remaining drop of blood out of his veins, as in the old fable. Besides, if the fox finds that a womanly swallow comes to drive off the flies, he are try that man has. I do not believe that the hard callings of life will ever suit woman. It is not little boys who go out as lumberers, but great men, with sinewy, brawny arms. I doubt that laborious callings, like navigation, engineering, lumbering and the like, will ever be agreeable to woman. Her feminine body and feminine spirit naturally turn away from such occupations. I have seen women gathering the filth of the streets in Liverpool, sawing stone in a mason's yard in Paris, carrying earth in baskets on their heads for a railway enmanly swallow comes to drive off the flies, he earth in baskets on their heads for a railway em depends on her wing and not on his own brosh, bankment at Naples; but they were obviously out and becomes less of a fox. If a miser, or any base of place, and only consented to this drudgery when man, sees that a woman constantly picks up the driven by Poverty's iron whip. But there are many man whom he knocks down with the left hand of employments in the departments of mechanical Usury, or the right hand of Rum, he will go on work, of trade, little and extended, where woman with his extortion or his grog, because, he says, could go, and properly go. Some women have a I should have done the man harm, but a woman good deal of talent for trade — this in a small way, picked him up, and money comes into my pocket, and no harm to the man! The evils of society would become worse and worse, just as they man! Is it right for woman to be a domestic are increased by indiscriminate alms-giving. That manufacturer in the family of Solomon or Print, is not enough. and of every thrifty husband, and wrong for her to Then there are various Practical Works left by be a public manufacturer on her own account! ommon consent to woman.

She might spin when the motive power was a wheel-pin of wood in her hand — may she not use ng as an appendage to some household; a hired the Merrimack and the Connecticut for her wheelpin; or must she be only the manufacturing servant of man, never her own master?

or a shop, - spinning, weaving, setting type, Much of the business of education already falls binding books, making shoes, coloring maps, and to the hands of woman. In the last twenty years, Next, there is Trade in a small way, from the basket-woman, with her apples at every street corner, up to the confectioner and haberdasher, with those for Girls and Boys, —have been of great their well-filled shops. In a few retail shops which service. Almost all the large towns of this Comrenture to brave popular opinion, woman is em-ployed at the counter. unonwealth bave honored themselves with these blessed institutions; in Boston, only the daughters and Private Teaching, in various departments. All dreds of noble girls long to acquire. With this these are well; they are unavoidable, they are absolutely necessary; they furnish employment to ually rising higher and higher as teachers. The many women, and are a blessed resource. State Normal Schools have helped in this movement.

I rejoice that the Field-work of the farmer is not It used to be thought that only an able-bodied man ne by woman's hand in the free portions of could manage the large boys of a country or hould teach no better, would be paid two, three, our or six times that sum. It is so in all deartments of woman's work that I work the clevation of their race and all human kind. partments of woman's work that I am acquainted gage in the higher departments thereof. I once with. These employments are very well, but still they who taught the severest disciplines of our highest re not enough.

Rich women do not engage in these callings. ed the cradle with her foot, and mended gar-For rich women, there is no profession left except ments with her hands, — one of the most accommarriage. After school time, woman has nothing plished scholars of New England. Not long ago, to do till she is-married; I mean, almost nothing; the daughter of a poor widowed scamstress was nothing that is adequate. Accordingly, she must choose betwixt a husband and nothing,—and sometimes, that is choosing between two nothings.

There are spare energies which seek employment before marriage, and after marriage.

These callings are not all that the race of woman needs; not all that her human nature requires. She has the same human nature which man has, and of course, the same natural human rights, it done so much for public education in Massachu. and of course, the same natural human rights. done so much for public education in Massachu-Woman's natural right for its rightfulness does setts, is presently to be the head of a college in not depend on the bodily or mental power to as-sert and to maintain it—on the great arm or on the and where a woman is to be professor of Latin

great head; it depends only on human nature itself, and Natural History. These are good signs.

The business of public lecturing, also, is quite important in New England, and I am glad to see in the biggest giant. important in New England, and I am glad to see If woman is a human being, first, she has the that woman presses into that,—not without suc-

men.
Then there are what are called the Professions,-

Medicine, Law, and Theology.

The profession of Medicine seems to belong peculiariy to woman by nature; part of it, exclusively. She is a nurse, and half a doctor, by nature. It is quite encouraging that medical schools are beginning to instruct women, and special schools get founded for the use of women; that sagacious pursuit of happiness,—the same human duties; men are beginning to employ women as their phy-and they are as unalienable in a woman as in a sicians. Great good is to be expected from that. sicians. Great good is to be expected from that As yet, I believe no woman acts as a Lawyer. But I see no reason why the profession of Iaw nright not be followed by women as well as by men. He must be rather an uncommon lawyer who thinks no feminine head could compete with him. Most lawyers that I have known are rather me-chanics at law, than attorneys or scholars at law;

special woman that can be named.

Every person, man or woman, is an integer, an lect enough for that? I am glad to find, now and individual, a whole person, and also a portion of then, women preachers, and rejoice at their success.

If woman and been consulted, it seems to me Theology would have been in a vastly better state than it is now. I do not think that any woman would ever have preached the damnation of babies new-born; and 'hell, paved with the skulls of infants not a span long,' would be a region yet to be discovered in Theology. A celibate monk—with God's carse writ on his face, which knew no child, no wife, no sister, and blushed that he had a mother—might well dream of such a thing; he had been 'through the preliminary studies. Consider the ghastly attributes which are commonly put upon God in the popular Theology, the idea of infants wrath, of infants damnation, and total depravity, and all that,—why, you could not get a woman that had intellect enough to open her mouth to preach these things any where. Women think they think that they believe them; but they do not. Celibate priests, who never knew mardo not. Celbate priests, who never knew marriage, or what paternity was, who thought woman was 'a pollution,' they invented those ghastly doctrines; and when I have heard the Athanasian Creed and the Dies Irae chanted by monks,
with the necks of bulls and the lips of donkeys,—why, I have understood where the doctrine

There any woman who treats one sixth part of her
household as if they were cattle and not creatures
of God, as if they were things and not persons! I
know of none such. In government as housekeeping, or government as morality, I think man makes
a very poor appearance, when he says woman could
not do as well as he has done and is doing.

I doubt that women will ever, as a general keys,—why, I have understood where the doctrine came from, and have felt the appropriateness of their braying out the damnation hymns: woman could not do it. We shut her out of the choir, But that is for women themselves to determine, not out of the priest's house, out of the pulpit, and then the priest, with unnatural vows, came in, and taught these doctrines of devils.' Could you find a woman who would read to a congregation, as words of truth, Jonathan Edwards's Sermon on a

day.

The popular Theology leaves us nothing feminine in the character of God. How could it be otherwise, when so much of the popular Theology is the work of men who thought woman was a 'pollution,' and barred her out of all the high places of the church! If women had had their place in ecclesiastical teaching, I doubt that the 'Athanasian Creed' would ever have been thought a 'Symbol' of Christianity. The pictures and hymns which describe the last Judgment are a protest which wishout a mother, wife, sister or friend.

You see what prevails in the Christian civilization of the Nineteenth Century: it is Force—force of body, force of brain. There is little justice, little philanthropy, little piety. Selfishness prepare a servery where in Christendom—individual, domestic, social, ecclesiastical, national selfishness. It is preached as gospel and enacted as law. It is thought good political economy for a strong people to devour the weak nations—for 'Christiani's England and America to plunder the 'Heathen' and annex their land; for a strong people to devour the weak nations—for 'Christiani's England and America to plunder the 'Heathen' and annex their land; for a strong people to devour the weak nations for the Nineteenth Century: it is Force—force of body, force of brain. There is little justice, little philanthropy, little piety. Selfishness prepared as severy where in Christendom—individual, domestic, social, ecc against the exclusion of woman from teaching in the church. 'I suffer not a woman to teach, but to be in silence,' said a writer in the New Testa-ment. The sentence has brought manifold eyil in

So much for the employments of women.

cannot be committee of a primary school, overseer of the poor, or guardian to a public lamp-post. at any man, with conscience enough to keep out fail, mind enough to escape the poor-house, and ody enough to drop his ballot into the box, he is to voter. He may have no character, even no money, day.

Circumstances help or hinder our development. that is no matter - he is male. The noblest woman has no voice in the State. Men make laws, and are one of the two forces which determine the

shrug.'
Looking at it as a matter of pure Right and into political privileges and shut woman out, and do both in the name of upalienable right. Certainly, every woman has a natural right to have her property represented in the general represen-tation of property, and her person represented in

the general representation of persons.

Looking at it as a matter of Expediency, see some facts. Suppose woman had a share in the municipal regulation of Boston, and there were

1851, would have spent three or four thousand dollars to kidnap a poor man, and have taken all the chains which belonged to the city and put them round the Court House, and have drilled three hundred men, armed with bindgeons and cutlasses, to steal a man and carry him back to slavery! I do not. Do you think, if women had had the control, 'fifteen hundred men of property and standing' would have volunteered to take a poor man, kidnapped in Boston, and conduct him out of the State, with fire and sword? I believe no such thing. Do you think the women of Boston would take the poorest and most unfortunate children in the town, put them all together into one school, making that the most miserable in the city, where they had not and could not have half the advantages of the other children in different schools, and all that because the unfortunates were dark colored! Do you think the women of Boston would shut a bright boy out of the High School or Latin School, because he was black in the face!

Women are said to be cowardly. When Thomas Sims, out of his dungeon, sent to the churches his petition for their prayers, had women been into the outery of humanity expiring in agonies. It is a large of the other prayers, had women been to the outery of humanity expiring in agonies. It is a large of the other prayers, had women been to the outery of humanity expiring in agonies. It is a long to the side of the other prayers, had women been to the outery of humanity expiring in agonies.

preacher of that denomination is a woman, who woman's joint control, I doubt that we should adorns her domestic calling as housekeeper, wife have butchered the Indians with such exterminadorns her domestic calling as housekeeper, whe have butchered the house such and mother, with the same womanly dignity and sweetness which mark her public deportment.

If woman had been consulted, it seems to me and now, in time of peace, send twenty annual to the consulted of the consulted of

Future State - Sinners in the hands of an An- being of the human race, we need the joint action gry God, 'the Justice of God in the damnation of man and woman, in the family, the community, of Sinners,' 'Wrath upon the Wicked to the uttermost,' 'the future punishment of the Wicked,' and other things of that sort! Nay, can you find a worthy woman, of any considerable culture, who will read the fourteenth chapter of Numbers, and declare that a true picture of the God she worships! Only a she-dragon could do it, in 'our day.

class to oppress and ruin the feeble class - for the capitalists of England to pauperise the poor white laborer, for the capitalists of America to enslave the poorer black laborer; for a strong man to op-press the weak men — for the sharper to buy labor By nature, woman has the same Political Rights grow rich by making many poor Hence, nation hat man has,—to vote, to hold office, to make and is arrayed against nation, class against class, man By nature, woman has the same rounced edges that man has,—to vote, to hold office, to make and administer laws. These she has as a matter of against man. Nay, it is commonly taught that mankind is arrayed against God, and God against mankind is arrayed against God, and God against mankind is a universal discord; that keep her down; nothing more. In America, in the world is a universal discord; that there is no solidarity of man with man, of man citizen in full; she has no voice in making or administering the laws, none in electing the rulers or administrators thereof. She can hold no office—natural rights as the equal of man, and takes her

natural place in regulating the affairs of the fam-ily, the community, the Church and the State. It seems to me God has treasured up a reserved power in the nature of woman to correct many of those evils which are Christendom's disgrace to-

disposing of her property, her person, her children; still she must bear it, with a patient shrug. cumstances have favored the development of only intellectual power, in all its forms—chiefly in its pure science, I know no reason why woman should lower forms. At present, mankind, as a whole, ister laws. I do not see how I can shut myself into political privileges and shut woman control in all that pertains to intellect the highest line. has the superiority over womankind, as a whole, in all that pertains to intellect, the higher and the lower. Man has knowledge, has ideas, has administrative skill, —enacts the rules of conduct for the individual, the family, the community, the church, the state, and the world. He applies these rules of conduct to life, and so controls the great affairs of the human race. You see what a world he has made of it. There is male vigor in this civiliza-tion, miscalled 'Christian'; and in its leading nations there are industry and enterprise, which municipal regulation of Boston, and there were as many Alderwomen as Aldermen, as many Common Council women as Common Council men,—do you believe that, in defiance of the law of Massachusetts, the City Government, last Spring, would have licensed every two hundred and forty-fourth person of the population of the city to sell intoxicating drink! would have made every thirty-fifth voter a runseller! I do not.

Do you believe the women of Boston would spend ten thousand dollars in one year in a city frolic, or spend two or three thousand every year, on the Fourth of July, for sky-rockets and fire-crackers; would spend four or five thousand dollars to get their Canadian guests drunk in Boston harbor, and then pretend that Boston had not money enough testablish a high school for girls, to teach the daughters of mechanics and grocers to read French and Latin, and to understand the higher things which rich men's sons are driven to at college! I do not.

Do you believe that the women of Boston, in 1851, would have spent three or four thousand dollars to kidnap a poor man, and have taken all the chains which belonged to the city and put them round the Court House, and have drilled three human and many and have taken all the chains which belonged to the city and put them round the Court House, and have drilled three human and woman too! Ay; but what ignorance what beauting as matter than and woman too! Ay; but what ignorance what beauting as what ignorance

Ask Manchester, in Old England and in New, if the race, and so a fraction of humankind. Well.

INDIANO OF THE PUBLIC PUNCTION
OF WOMAN.

IN TH

boundless, endless hell!

Hitherto, with woman, circumstances have hindered the development of intellectual power, in all its forms. She has not knowledge, has not ideas or practical skill to equal the force of man. But circumstances have favored the development of pure and lofty emotion in advance of man. She has moral feeling, affectional feeling, religious feeling, far in advance of man; her moral, affectional and religious intuitions are deeper and more trust-worthy than his. Here she is eminent, as he is in knowledge, in ideas, in administrative skill.

I think man will always lead in affairs of intellect—of reason, imagination, understanding—he

has the bigger brain; but that woman will always lead in affiirs of emotion — moral, affectional, religious — she has the better heart, the truer intuition of the right, the lovely, the holy. The literature of women in this century is juster, more philanthropic, more religious than that of men. Do you not hear the cry which, in New England, a woman is raising in the world's ears against the foul wrong which America is working in the world? Do you not hear the echo of that woman's voice come over the Atlantic - returned from European shores in many a tongue - French, German, Italian, Swedish, Danish, Russian, Dutch! How a woman touches the world's heart!—because she speaks justice, speaks picty, speaks love. What voice is strongest raised in continental Europe, pleading for the oppressed and down-trodden! That also is a woman's voice! Well, we want the excellence of man and wo-

man both united; intellectual power, knowledge, great ideas — in literature, philosophy, theology, ethics — and practical skill; but we want something better—the moral, affectional, religious intuition, to put justice into ethics, love into theology, piety into science and letters. Every where in the family, the community, the church and the state, we want the masculine and feminine element cooperating and conjoined. Woman is to correct man's taste, mend his morals, excite his affections, inspire his religious faculties. Man is to quicken her intellect, to help her will, translate her sentiments to ideas, and enact them nto righteous laws. Man's moral action, at best, is only a sort of general human providence, aiming at the welfare of a part, and satisfied with achieving the 'greatest good of the greatest number.' Woman's moral action is more like a spe-cial human providence, acting without general rules, but caring for each particular case. We need both of these, the general and the special, to make a total human providence.

If man and woman are counted equivalent, equal in rights, though with diverse powers. shall we not mend the literature of the world, its theology, its science, its laws, and its actions too? I cannot believe that wealth and want are to stand ever side by side as desperate foes; that culture must ride only on the back of ignorance; and feminine virtue be guarded by the degradation of whole classes of ill-starred men, as in the East, or the degradation of whole classes of ill-starred women, as in the West; but while we neglect the means of help God puts in our power, why, the present must be like the past—'property' must be theft, 'law' the strength of selfish will, and Christianity' - what we see it is, the apology for every powerful wrong.

To every woman let me say,—Respect your

nature as a human being, your nature as a wo-man; then respect your rights, then remember

your duty to possess, to use, to develop and to enjoy every ficulty which God has given you, each in its normal way.

And to men let me say, — Respect, with the profoundest reverence respect the mother that bore you, the sisters who bless you, the woman that you love, the woman that you marry. As you seek to possess your own manly rights, seek also, by that great arm, by that powerful brain, seek to vindicate her rights as woman, as your own as man. Then we may see better things in the church, better things in the state, in the community, in the home. Then the green shall show what buds it hid, the buds shall blossom, the flowers bear fruit, and the blessing of God be on

### From the Hartford Republican. THE 'LOWER LAW.'

THE 'LOWER LAW.

The new attitude which a great portion of the political and religious organizations of the North have taken within the past two or three years in reference to God and Humanity, is enough to shock the sensibilities of a Hindoo. The Higher Law, three years ago, was theoretically acknowledged as supreme all over the North. Practically it was trodden under foot by our pro-slavery politicians and clergymen, but no one dared to speak or write a word against it. The community would have stigmatized the wretch who had ventured to do so, as a blasphemer. Butsuddenly, Slavery demanded stigmatized the wretch who had ventured to do so, as a blasphemer. But suddenly, Slavery demanded that the North in the pulpit, and at the hustings, should dethrone the Almighty—and its mandate was but obeyed by thousands. Had any other power than that of the South made this horrible demand, an agitation would have swept over the country such as it has never seen. The Church would have roused itself like a lion, and thundered its anathemas against the atheists who had deed would have roused itself like a lion, and thundered its anathemas against the atheists who had dared to attempt to inoculate the people with such dangerous doctrines. But the South must be obeyed in everything. We are led to these remarks by reading a few new paragraphs which Theodore Parker has added to his sermon on Webster, and which with careful revision is just published. The following description of the manner in which the 'lower law' doctrines have insinuated themselves into Church and State, is in the new edition of Mr. Parker's Sermon, just published by B. B. Mussey & Co., of Boston:

Mussey & Co., of Boston:

'Slavery, the most hideous snake which Southern regions breed, with fifteen unequal feet, came crawling North; fold on fold, and ring on ring, and coil on coil, the venomed monster came; then Avarice, the foulest worm which Northern cities gender in their heart, went crawling South; with many a wriggling curl, it wound along its way. At length they met, and, twisting up in their obscene embrace, the twain became one mouster Hunkerism; theme unattempted yet in prose or song; there was no North, no South; they were one poison. The dragon wormed its way along—crawled into the church of Commerce, wherein the minister baptized the beast, 'Salvation.' From the ten commandments the dragon's breath effaced

which forbid to kill and covet, with the between ; then, with malignant tooth, gnawed out the chief commandments whereon the law and prophets hang. This amphishmen of the Western world then swallowed down the holiest words of Hebrew or of Christian speech, and in their place it left a hissing at the higher law of God,'

'Mr. Webster stamped his foot, and broke through into the great hollow of practical Atheism, which undergulfs the State and Church. Then what a caving in was there! The firm-set base of Northern cities quaked and yawned with gaping rents. Penn's sandy foundation' shook again, and black men fled from the city of brotherly love, as doves flee from a farmer's harn when summer lightnics. men fled from the city of brotherly love, as doves flee from a farmer's barn when summer lightning stabs the roof. There was a twist in Fanueli Hall, and the doors could not open wide enough for Liberty to regain her ancient Cradle; only soldiers, greedy to steal a man, themselves stole out and in Ecclesiastic quicksand ran down the hole amain. Metropolitan churches toppled, and pitched, and canted, and cracked, their bowing walls all out of plumb. Colleges, broken from the chain which hald them in the stream of time, rushed towards the plumb. Colleges, broken from the chain which held them in the stream of time, rushed towards the abysmal rent. Harvard led the way, Christo et Exclesse in its hand. Down plunged Andover, 'Conscience and the Constitution' clutched in its ancient, failing arm. New Haven began to cave in. Doctors of divinity, orthodox, heterodox with only a doxy of doubt, 'no settled opinion,' had great placety in sinking, and went down quick, as live as ever, into the pit of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, the bettomless pit of lower law—one with his mother, clouded by a surplice, hid 'neath his sinister arm, and an acknowledged brother grasped by his remaining limb. Fossils of theology, dead as Ezekiel's bones, took to their feet again, and as Ezekiel's bones, took to their feet again, and stood up for most arrant wrong. 'There is no higher law of Ged,' quoth they, as they went down; 'no golden rule, only the statutes of man.' A man with mythologic ear might fancy that he heard a snickering laugh run round the world below, snorting, whinnying, and neighing, as it echoed from the infernal spot pressed by the fallen snonsters of ill-fame, who, thousands of years ago, on the same errand plunged down the self-same on the same errand, plunged down the self-same way. What tidings the echo bore, Dante nor Milton could not tell. Let us leave that to darkmess, to silence, and to death.

But, spite of all this, in every city, in every

town, in every college, and in each capsizing church, there were found faithful men, who fear ed not the monster, heeded not the stamping—nay, Doctors of Divinity were found living—in all their houses there was light, and the destroying angel shook them not. The word of the Lord came open vision to their eye; they had their lamps trimmed and burning, their loins girt; they stood road-ready. Liberty and Religion turned in thither, and the slave found bread and wings. 'When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will hold me up.'

ANTI-COLONIZATION MEETING.

At a meeting of the colored citizens of Syra cuse, convened on Tuesday evening, March 18th 1853, for the purpose of expressing their views upon the subject of Colonization, the Rev. J. W. Loguen was called to the chair, and T. A. Keene ap-

The object of the meeting having been stated by the chairman, Messrs. G. B. Vashon, Wm. Jenkins, C. Highgate, Samuel Ray and H. J. Simmons were appointed a committee to draft resolu-tions for its action. They reported the following

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

At a crisis when danger threatens any class of the community, their duty, imposed upon them by reason, and by a consciousness of viclated manhood, compels them to enter their solemn protest against all aggressions made or attempted upon their liberties; in order that the world may know that, however insignificant may be their number and political influence, they are not tame, submis-sive and willing victims of tyranny and injustice. In view of these premises, and of the wrongs which colored Americans have been forced to endure in the land of their nativity, we have decided, after calm and serious deliberation, that

Resolved, That we, the colored citizens of Syracuse, view the entire action of the Federal, and of nearly all the State Governments, in relation to the class of which we are members, as the offspring of the most unballowed prejudice—as efforts to force into expatriation all those whom a dread of the in-dignation of the civilized world will not permit them to enslave.

Resolved, That we regard the various measures which have been employed to effect this purpose as unfounded in sound policy, utterly repugnant to the spirit of free institutions, and accursed in the sight of God.

Resolved, That our abhorrence of the scheme of African Colonization is not, in the slightest degree. abated; that we recognize in it the most intense hatred of the colored race, clad in the garb of pretended philanthropy; and that we regard the revival of Colonization Societies in various secrevival of Colonization Societies in various sections of the Union, and the expulsion of colore citizens from Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, and, more recently, from Illinois, as kindred manifestations

of a passion fit only for demons to indulge in.
Resolved, That we have heard, with the deepest
regret, of the formation of a Colonization Society in our own county of Onondaga : but, that ever in view of this sad event, we have reason to congratulate ourselves upon the fact that the great ma-jority of its members are of a character so gene-rally and definitively known, as to raise doubts with reference to the real benevolence of an asso

ciation thus constituted.

Resolved, That if there be a colored man among us, so completely degraded as to look upon this plan of Colonization with the slightest degree of approval, he shows himself thereby to be utterly lost to every sense of manhood, and deserves only to be regarded as a moral leper—as a fee to his own best interests and those of his race—as a traitor to humanity—the traitor most accursed!

Resolved, That we are opposed to emigration in large bodies to any country-whether it be to Li-beria, Canada, the West Indies, or elsewhere; that we believe our right to remain in this country to be as indisputable as that of our white fellow cit-zens; and that our own well-being, as well as that of our enslaved brethren at the South, requires us to look forward to this land as the place of our burial, as it has been that of our birth.

This report was received and unanimously adopt ed, after remarks by the Chairman, Messrs. Vashon, Jenkins, Keene, Highgate, Dickinson, and others. An admirable letter from Mr. H. K. Brown, protesting against the scheme of African Colonization, was then received and read.

After providing for the publication of its pro ceedings in various papers, the meeting, on m tion, adjourned.

J. W. LOGUEN, Chairman. T. A. KEENE, Sec.

From the London Punch.

## GENERAL PIERCE'S CREED.

At the end of a speech, replete with bombast, de-livered by General Pierce at Washington, on his in-auguration as President of the United States, and indicative of his intended policy in that capacity, the General made the following profession of his faith as touching slavery :-

faith as touching slavery:—

'To every theory of society or government, whether the offspring of feverish ambition or of morbid enthusiasm, calculated to dissolve the bonds of affection and law which unite us, I shall interpose a stern and ready resistance. I believe that involuntary servitude, as it exists in several States of the Confederacy, is recognised by the Constitution. I believe that it stands like any other admitted right, and that the States wherein it exists are entitled to efficient remedies to enforce the constitutional provisions. I hold that the laws of 1850, segmmonly called the compromise measures, are strictly constitutional, and to be unhesitatingly carried into effect. I believe that the constitutional authorities of this Republic are bound to regard the rights of the South in this respect, as they would view any other legal and constitutional right, and that the laws to enforce them should be respected and obeyed, not with a reluctance encouraged by abstract opinions as to their propriety in a different state of society, but cheerfully, and according to the decisions of the tribunal to which their exposition belongs.'

So far, however, General Pierce's Creed has at least the merit of consistency. In this 'connection,' as himself would say, it contains no objectionable phrase, except 'involuntary exvitude.' That is mealy-mouthed. Why not have said at once 'Negro Slavery'! Surely, General Pierce was not ashamed of the name—he is not ashamed of

and carried his Belief out. It lacks, to complete it, a few additional clauses. As, 'I believe that it, a few additional clauses. As, 'I believe that might is right; I believe that Negroes are property alike with cattle. I believe that we are at liberty to flog slaves at pleasure. I believe that there are no ties of relationship between colored persons which we ought to regard. I believe that there is no cause or just impediment why we should not, if we choose, traffic in human fleshif black. I believe that we are not forbidden by any law, either of justice or humanity, from separating black child from parent, black husband from wife, I believe that there is no such thing as duty towards a black neighbor. I believe in the supremacy of popular feeling in the United States. I believe in a duty to that. I don't believe in a duty to any other power.'

lieve in a duty to any other power.'

Instead of which fearless exposition of his tenets, General Pierce proceeded to preach the following sermonet:—

But let not the foundation of our hopes rest upon man's wisdom. It will not be sufficient that sectional prejudice find no place in the public deliberations. It will not be sufficient that sectional will not be sufficient that the rash counsels of human passion are rejected. It must be felt that there is no national security but in the nation's humbled, acknowledged dependence upon God and his overruling providence.

prejudice,' Pierce means Abolitionism—he uses the word in that 'connection.' Then, in brief, his precious exhortation amounts to this: 'It is not enough that we must not talk about abolishing

Did drunkenness—did madness—ever utter aught more awfully absurd than this impious snuffle! The sequel to the Creed of General Pierce should, consistently, have been, 'Hit the nigger hard; he has no friends on earth; and there is no

Friend to help him elsewhere!'
We read that '50,000 in the streets declared that "Pierce is the man for the times." That was the response to the General's Creed. Had it concluded with the appropriate and logical negation, no doubt they would have said 'AMEN!

From the Commonwealth.

### MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

House or Representatives, April 11. offset the bill for remunerating the Catholics for Mr. PRINCE, of Essex, asked leave to introduce

AN ACT RELATING TO SUFFERERS BY A MOB IN BOS

Be it enacted, &c. SECT. 1 .- His Excellency the Gov. ernor is hereby authorized and empowered to appoint a Board of three commissioners, who shall have power to hear and adjudicate on all claims by any individual or association for actual loss of property by the acts of a mob at Boston, in the day time of the twenty-first of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and

Sect. 3.—Said Commissioners shall award to each claimant a sum not exceeding the actual loss he may have sustained in consequence of the proceedings of said mob; which awards, as soon as may be, shall be returned to His Excellency the Governor, under the hands and seals of said Commissioners, setting forth specially the amounts awarded by them to each person or association, which amounts shall be paid out of the Treasury of the Commonwealth to the persons or associations named in said award, or their legal representatives. And His Excellency the Governor is hereby authorized to draw his warrant therefor accordingly.

Sect. 4.—There shall be actual loss he may promise to be very brief.

At last, Mr. Mann enters upon a frank and elaborate defence of his conduct in the matter of calored schools. I am glad of it. It is a duty which he has long owed to the anti-slavery public, and to his own good name. If any reader thinks his defence a saidsfactory one, Mr. Mann should thank me for this opportunity of making it; for I assure him, he has never land, among abolitionists, the slightest credit for any thing like what he now claims. In my online, the facts on which he has long owed to the anti-slavery public, and to his own good name. If any reader thinks his defence a saidsfactory one, Mr. Mann should thank me for this opportunity of the facts on which are the claimant and the said and the said

ingly.

SECT. 4.—There shall be allowed and paid to the Board of Commissioners such sums for their services in executing said commission, as the Governor and Counheard of the articles in the Common School Journal to

Upon the question of granting leave to introduce in his personal veracity, and if he wishes to be under-this bill, Mr. Prince said, that on the afternoon of October 21st, 1835, the Boston remain and the full responsibility of his name, I accept it as a fact. estimable character, belonging to some of the most In view of it, I should not again use the precise phrase ening to an address from Geo. Thompson, Esq., the cloquent British advocate of emancipation. At the time for the commencement of the meeting, an immense collection of people, estimated at the time in the newspapers as numbering from 6,000 to 10,000, blocked up portions of Court, Washington and State streets, and Wilson's lane, vociferously declaring that the meeting should not be held, and demanding that Thompson should be delivered. and demanding that Thompson should be delivered the public know, of the opinions expressed at thosinto their hands. The Mayor having reached the mactings, or recorded on those books? All that the abbuilding, announced to the crowd from a window, that Mr. Thompson was not within. Mr. Prince contended that the mayor ought to have told them, in answer to their inquiries concerning Thompson, that it was none of their husiness whether he was disperse, and then have done the utmost in his power to enforce that order. The city authorities which we could not know. were remiss in regard to their duty. The sign over the windows of the Anti-Slavery office was taken down, and by certain well known residents of Bosit was broken into fragments by the excited men beneath, no police or other officer offering the slightest resistance! The mob then shouted for the delivery of Garrison to their tender mercies-many of them rushed up the staircase, and pressed into not at all what he now represents them to have been the hall, where the President of the Society, Miss Mr. Mann does not suspect me of this 'base trick' at Mary Parker, who has ascended to a better world, tempted on him at Bridgewater, 'some eight or ter was engaged in commencing the exercises with a fervent prayer, which sensibly affected many of those who listened. The ladies were obliged to retreat precipitately from the hall, to ensure their ing that my attacks were made five years and thre personal safety; and as they passed down the stairs, they were grossly insulted by rude and even obscene salutations. The mob stove through a door, opening from the hall into the Liberator printing office adjoining, when, yielding to the advice of his friends, Mr. Garrison suffered himself to be lowered out of a back window, finally landing in Wilson's lane, where a delegation of the mob stood ready to greet him, rushing upon him like tigers, tearing his clothes from his body, and robbing him of his wallet and all the money he had in the world—not much, perhaps—but still, all he had. He was hurried into a coach, and finally lodged for safety in Leverett street jail. Mr. Prince flagrant outrages upon human rights ever perpe-trated since the settlement of this continent. The trated since the settlement of this continent. The amount of property actually destroyed was not he private desk, and thus avoiding all responsibility!

Does Mr. Mann remember Macaulay's searching that is in view in the proposed bill, but it was the principle of the thing which is contended for. If 'We charge him with having broken his coronation the proprietors of Mount Benedict are to be indem-oath-and we are told that he kept his marriage vow son and his associates, who were mobbed, not as advocates of the creed or policy of a sect, but as merciless inflictions of the most hot-headed and hardof our repudican government. Art of a many state of Massachusetts, who has always demean-Right—and we are informed that he was accustomed to

Mr. P. stated that the mob in question were summoned by an inflammatory handbill, printed by the order of two Boston merchants! The outrages which the mob committed took place, not under cover of the night time, as in the case of the destruction of the Convent, but in broad daylight—no one interposing any preventive force! The mob was not a gang of rowdies, like those who assailed the nunnery in Charlestown, but prominent men of Boston were the ring-leaders—men whom the Boston were the ring-leaders—men whom the Boston Commercial Gazette of the next day represented as 'well-dressed gentlemeu of property and standing.' If any body in this Commonwealth is to be remunerated for loss by riot, those contemplated in this bill have a peculiar claim, which should not be slighted or overlooked. He would submit the matter to the impartial judgment of the House.

Mr. Szver, of Boston, replied, saying he was one of the parties who rescued Mr. Garrison from the so-called mob; that his perceptible personal injury was not very great, and the amount of remuneration could not be higher than the price of a hat, or a suit of clothes.

Mr. Buyler, of Lowell, urged that this was an underhand attempt to injure the bill for the relief Mr. P. stated that the mob in question were

man from Dennis, was an attempt to break down the bill, which they feared to discuss openly. He was in favor of giving leave to introduce this bill, and would have it laid on the table until Mr. Garrison and his friends asked for remuneration. No one had asked for the bill introduced by the gentleman, while the losers by the destruction of the Convent had been before the Legislature nineteen years, and had at one time presented a petition signed by two thousand persons. igned by two thousand persons.

Mr. Wiggin, of Boston, followed, denouncing the

system which had been resorted to to kill mea sures by side issues. If gentlemen desired to de sures by side issues. If gentlemen desired to de feat the Convent bill, they ought to attack it directly. He thought the bill passed on Friday was as pure as any dew-drop that ever fell from heaven.

The question being taken, leave was granted by 112 to 21.

On motion of Mr. PRINCE, the bill was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# THE LIBERATOR

No Union with Slaveholders,

BOSTON, APRIL 15, 1853.

NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY. OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. THE ANNUAL MEETING of THE AMERICAN ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the city of NEW YORK, AT THE CHINESE ASSEMBLY ROOM, No. 539 BROADWAY, ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 11th, 1858.

commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. THE BUSINESS MEETINGS of the Society will be held in the large COMMITTEE ROOM of the same building, on the APTERNOON of WEDNESDAY, May 11th, and on THURSDAY. It is very desirable that large delegations from all parts of the country shall be in attendance, not only at the public Anniversary, but at these subsequent private meetings for the transaction of important busi-

for the ensuing year. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, PRESIDENT. WENDELL PHILLIPS, } SECRETARIES.

REPLY OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESO, TO HON. HORACE MANN.

ness in relation to proposed operations of the Society

Boston, April 7th, 1853.

W. L. GARRISON, Eso. : DEAR SIR,-Mr. Mann dislikes the length of my letthirty-five.

SECT. 2.—Notice shall be given of the time and place of such hearings, to all persons interested, by a publication therefor in the Boston Liberator and Daily Comthe therefor in the Boston Liberator and Daily Comthe saying of the old English divine, "Ignorance can ask monwealth, and such other newspapers as said Commissioners shall deem expedient, at least thirty days before the time appointed therefor.

Sect. 3.—Said Commissioners shall award to each question, however, is so comprehensive, that I cannot

now claims. In my opinion, the facts on which he rests his defence only deepen his guilt. I never saw or which he refers. But I have the most entire confidence October 21st, 1835, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery education of colored children, in articles published with respectable families in the city, assembled in a hall in Washington street, (which had been leased I did, that he never 'gave us one word of recognition as an Anti-Slavery office,) for the purpose of list- countenance or aid.' But I should still assert exactly

colored child, who, about that time, applied for admission to the Institution, was refused. As in other cases, we were obliged to judge the Trustees by their public He should have ordered them to actions, which we knew, not by their private opinions,

His second specification is a scene that took place in his parlor, or private rooms, at Bridgewater. I' could not know, and surely was not bound to know, all down, and by certain well anowal testactions of the conversations Mr. Mann was holding in private ton, (one of those, a leading politician, who figured the conversations Mr. Mann was holding in private conspicuously in the last Presidential campaign,) If, however, the private parlors of Normal School teachers are to be opened, I can refer him to a conference held in one, about that time, in which his views as t the admission of colored children to those schools were not at all what he now represents them to have been. spring,' said the wolf to the lamb. 'But I was no born then,' said the lamb. Does Mr. Mann remembe the fable?

Of his third specification, the Common School Journal, I have already spoken. For his fourth, he adduce a private document, privately communicated to his friend, the City Solicitor of Boston, and now first brought to light! At that very time, Mr. Mann left me to bear alone the jeers of the profession, the contemptuous criticism of the City Solicitor, and the critisaid that the occurrence was one of the most cism of the daily press, for maintaining that very opin-

then let us do justice likewise to Mr. Garri- We accuse him of having given up his people to the hearted of prelates-and the defence is, that he took the advocates of great principles of freedom, jus-tice, equity—principles which lie at the very basis of our republican government. Mr. G. is a native him for having violated the articles of the Petition of ed himself as a quiet, peaceable member of the hear prayers at six o'clock in the morning!' Mr. community. When assaulted by the mob, he was laboring for the maintenance of free discussion. The mob, therefore, assaulted not only him and the anti-slavery ladies, but they struck a blow at a fundamental principle of the American Republic—the sacred right of free speech.

Hear prayers at six o'clock in the morning!' Mr. Mann's case seems to me similar. The title page of his volume of speeches is, 'Slavery: Letters and Speeches, by Horace Mann, The First Secretary of the Massachuserts Board of Education.' It is a title of which he is justly proud. The practice of cheating the which he is justly proud. The practice of cheating the

obtain redress. I charge the Secretary that he was nerer there. They gave School Committees in the various towns no rest, urging them to abolish the unjust dismonwealth, one each year. I charge that, in all of them, he either wholly omitted the subject, or entirely

And, eighthly, he says, he always visited the co

the public that he did once whisper a legal opinion into made show that he did nothing, in public and in earthe private ear of a City Solicitor! How common it is nest, to remedy it. I do not think that this new state for men, especially Americans, when charged with public default, to attempt a defence by alleging some pripublic. The public will judge. vate misgiving they indulged at the time, and which they think should qualify public consure! When the to oppose James II., but the King would not let him heard of Mr. Mann as a party in the effort. stop butchering. And Haynau, sent to Coventry by Mr. Mann excuses himself for not having publicly

his hearty approval. As every one knew, its object same right in schools supported by those taxes that their was to make the Common Law certain by a statute white neighbors have-he only shows that he does not. law; and to ensure, beyond contingency, the equal even yet, comprehend the subject, or the anti-slavery rights of all the colored children in the State. We all thought it had done so.' He was surprised that the That law was passed in consequence of the appearance of a few abolitionists before the Legislative Committee. The draft which we asked them to adopt they threw and equivocal, and would not secure our object .-One of them admitted this, half in jest, adding, 'Mr. Phillips, we in Boston know that such schools are illegal, but we mean to have them, nevertheless.' Had Mr. Mann stood where I stood that day, and where he Mr. Mann regrets that my denunciatory, unsparin should have stood, by virtue of his office, and of the in- and undiscriminating course has made the performance terest he now claims to have always taken in this ques- of his duty towards the oppressed African far more diftion, he would neither have given that bill his hearty ficult, &c. approval, nor been afterwards surprised that the Supreme Court put it carelessly aside.

Sixthly, Mr. Mann says, 'In my Reports, I uniform ly stated the law to be such as would confer upon colorchildren equal school privileges, in all respects, with white ones, which I believed 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 near-

This is evasion. I never criticised his Reports for nisstatements of law, but of fact. No intelligent lawver doubted what the law was; though we all knew it was hopeless to expect that a pro-slavery court would fairly rule it. The public looked to his Reports for a correct statements of facts, and he crippled the efforts and clogged the path of the abolitionists by crying and sectarian, Presidents of Senates and purse-proud ' peace,' when there was no peace; by total misrepre-

In his tenth Report, 1847, he said :-

When the equal, natural and constitutional rights of Africa were thought to be invaded, she armed her courts of judicature with power to punish the aggressors. The ic highway is not more open and free for every man in the community, than is the public school-house for every child; and each parent feels that a free education is as secure a part of the birthright of his offspring, as Heaven's bounties of light and air.' \* \* \* EVERY MAN WHO TERADS HER SACRED SOIL IS FREE; ALL ARE FREE ALIKE; AND WITHIN HER BORDENS, FOR ANY PURPOSE

year, 1848, repeated the misrepresentation in still

ducted on the cardinal principles of the New England friends.

system—is already satisfied. \* \* Our law requires State, even the smallest and poorest not being excepted; hild is met on the threshold of the school-house door, to be asked for money, or whether his purents are native or foreign, whether ar not they pay a tax, or what is pretation of it,") seem to me mere trifling, unworthy their faith. The school house is constant. their faith. The school-house is common property.

\* \* Public opinion, that sovereign in representative governments, is in harmony with the law. Not unfrequently there is some private opposition, and occasionally it avows itself and assumes an attitude of hostility; but the perseverance of the friends of progress always subdues it.' pp. 88-9.

I presume Mr. Mann himself would now erase the does not attempt to answer any one of my questions or lived to see Thomas Sims sit chained in a Boston Court with me our duties under the Constitution. I have not House, itself surrounded with chains. I had seen yet got from him a definite answer to my first inquiry George Latimer, and many a fugitive beside, before that, and pointed out this error to Mr. Mann at the States secures to the slaveholder the right of recapturtime. He has never forgiven me for it.

ven's bounties of light and air.' . . No child is ponent who refuses me any full knowledge of his present for money, or whether his parents are native or for- now on another, totally irreconcilable with the first. eign, whether or not they pay a tax, or what is their faith.' Mr. Mann knew, if he then took any interest in is to show, that if he is wrong, I am as great a sinner as this question, that from the very city where he then he. Suppose I grant all he claims; my being a sinner sat writing these sentences, colored families had been does not prove him a saint-my being wrong does not obliged to remove, in order to secure the birthright of begin to prove him right. That cause is weak, and their offspring '-an equal place in schools supported touches its downfall, when its champion has nothing to by their taxes. He knew that at every 'school-house say to his fees but 'You are as bad as I am.' door' stood men, who, though they did not ask whether the applicant ' was native or foreign, or of what faith,' ground that he had no chance of being elected. Would did uniformly ask whether he was black or white. I Mr. Mann have voted for any friend to become captain said at the time, that, in making this list of questions of a gang of horse-thieves, provided there was no chance not asked, it seemed 'impossible that it should not have of his being elected? Of course not. Yet he will not asked; and that even all the confidence which his long virtue when compared with the crime of returning runand arduous labors had won for him, could not do away away slaves. the suspicion that this question, which he knew was asked at the school-house door, was purposely omitted from his catalogue."

two hundred schools of Boston, the capital of the State, and whose schools are the special boast of the Commonwealth, he knew that every colored child was rigoroustuitously, to white boys, those eminent advantages. And yet, in a document meant for European as well as more. We were endeavoring, all the while, by directremedy. That was the only weapon we had. Does Mr. a quarter, did not tend to opiate the public conscience, and enable the City to hide her shame from the rest of that separate schools for colored children existed in some granting it in full, it does not touch the case at all. of the seaboard towns!

swer to my charge of inattention to this official duty. Mann means in his seventh item, about a

Statute of 1843," I do not know. There was no Statute made on this subject, in 1843. If it be a misprint tinction. I charge the Secretary that he was never there. for 1845, I have already spoken of it. Any codification The Secretary published eleven able, eloquent and demust have been made after the Supreme Court's Session, tailed official Reports on the school system of the Com- and so after my criticisms. Of course, therefore, that

misrepresented it.

And he replies by telling me what he did in private, of his office, and has no bearing either way. schools. Of course he did. It was the formal routine

as Trustee of the Institution for the Blind ! by lifting Mr. Mann's defence shows two things that he knew up the veil, which, very properly, covered his witty re-torts at Bridgewater! and by now, at last, informing cruelty coincided with ours. The remarks I have now cruelty coincided with ours. The remarks I have now

The test to which I would like to submit the matter is this: Could I call together, to-day, all the members first fury of New England rebuke burst on Webster's of legislative and town and city Committees before whom head for his 7th of March Speech, you remember his we have so often urged this question, and ask them all defence—' He had a provision of jury trial for fugitive whether, during that long struggle, any one of them slaves in his desk, but forgot to offer it '! So Beecher, ever imagined that Horace Mann stood with us in the arraigned for gagging discussion twenty years ago at contest, I am confident the idea would be news to Lane Seminary, confesses now, for the first time, that, almost every one, if not every one of them. If from in private, he opposed the Trustees! Long ago, them we made an appeal to the public, whose patience when Jeffries grew pale before the Revolution of 1689, we, instant in season and out of season, have so long he stammered out the excuse, that he tried, in private, wearied, not one in a thousand would say that he ever

the decency of the nineteenth century, shricks out be- helped us, by saying that, when he entered on his office, fore he dies, 'I, too, strove, in private, to hold the a religious sect importuned him to make the schools sub-Emperor back; but he would make me whip and servient to their religious views, and that he refused us both. If he thinks that the question of admitting the-Fifthly, Mr. Mann tells us that the School Law of ology into schools is anywise akin to the claim that col-1845 was passed after consultation with him, and with ored children, whose fathers pay taxes, shall have the enterprise itself.

And, after all, this excuse is not broad enough. Supreme Court afterwards disregarded it entirely .- Mr. Mann's convictions date back, as he claims. twenty years,' I beg him remember that, long sin that date, he had been a member of our State Legisla ture, been indeed President of our Senate; he, the friend aside, and submitted one of their own. I told that of education. Where is the record of any attempt on Committee, at the time, that their draft was ambiguous his part, while in the Legislature, to secure legislative prohibition of these schools? If his peculiar delicacy, as Secretary, forbale his taking a public part-such public part was his bounden duty while a leading member of the Legislature itself.

It seems to me, Mr. Garrison, that you and I have heard that remark before. R. R. Gurley made it in regard to Colonization. Henry Clay made it in defence of the slaveholders. Orville Dewey made it when offering to return his mother into slavery, if necessary. Moses Stuart made it, apropos to Paul sending back Onesimus. One of the miserable wretches who came here to identify Sims, objected to our denunciatory course. I claim all those epithets as our surest title-deeds to the gratitude of posterity. I was 'denunciatory' when the rich and educated combined to rob the poor of their best birthright, education. I was 'unsparing' when reformers, men who claimed to be the peculiar friends of liberty and justice, stood silent lookers on. I was ' undiscriminating ' when priest and politician, educationist millionaires, alike joined in wronging the weak be they had no friends, and because to ' pass by on the other side' would increase one's influence.

Mr. Mann thinks my recent speech claims too much, ludicrously too much for the abolitionists. It was made in the presence of those who have known us all for the last twenty years. They know the facts; and if my claim is ludicrously exaggerated, it will only make me a laughing-stock, and so no harm be done. I spoke and printed my remarks in Boston, which heard in this connection of Garrison and Chapman, Jackson and Quincy, Loring and Sewall, Foster and Pillsbury, Weld, Smith, Goodell and Jay, long before it heard of Sumner, Chase, After I had called his attention to the point, he next Palfrey and Hale. To the judgment of such a communication nity, I cheerfully submit my claims.

But let no word of mine do injustice to the well-The first condition-that the schools shall be con- carned fame and self-sacrifice of Mr. Palfrey and his

Mr. Mann's next five paragraphs, (relating 'to human law keeping my abhorrence of slavery in check, to the right to agitate the question of slavery in Con gress,' to his imperfect list of Anti-Slavery exertions and to his support of the Constitution, ' with his inter more strongly, if I spoke at all, of his attempt, fur-

remarks about the oath are dealt with. Mr. Mann ntence printed above in small capitals, since he has arguments. To be sure, in closing, he offers to discuss Whether he now thinks the Constitution of the United ing his slave, when he escapes into the free States. · Each parent feels that a free education is as se- Let him answer that frankly, and I shall gladly deba cure a part of the birthright of his offspring, as Hea- with him. But it seems to me idle te go on with an opmet on the threshold of the school-house door, to be asked views, and bases his defence now on one ground, and

Mr. Mann's whole attempt, in this part of his letter

Mr. Mann excuses his vote for John P. Hale on th curred to him, that there was a question sure to be presume to say that horse-stealing does not whiten into

But have Free Soilers organized a party, and do the spend all their labor, to elect a man to an office, which after all, he could not conscientiously accept? Hear Public opinion, that sovereign in representative this, ye Free Soilers, who are always taunting Garriso covernments, is in harmony with the law.' From the nians with throwing away their votes! What will the party do, when it becomes a majority? Cease to nominate Presidents, I suppose, for fear of being able to elect them ! Or, does Mr. Mann consider the danger of their excluded, in acknowledged defiance of what Mr. ever being a majority so distant, at so 'very vanishfann believed to be the law. He knew, or ought to ing a point,' as not to be worth considering? But Mr. have known, that young colored men, fitted for her two Sumner was elected Senator, and serves as such ; and famous High Schools, had been forced to go elsewhere, the Senate co-operates with the President in appointing and, at great expense, complete their studies, at the Judges, District Attorneys and Marshals, to execute the moment when their fathers' taxes were securing, gra- Fugitive Slave clause. If Hale could not be President,

how can Sumner be Senator?

His next defence is, that if Hale had been elected home circulation, and specially professing to give an there would have been no chance of his being required exact and detailed account of our school system and its to do any constitutional act for the return of fugitive practical condition, Mr. Mann ventured the above as- slaves; since no President has been called on, for the sertion, -- a gross misrepresentation, to call it nothing last sixty-four years, and there is a better chance still in time to come. This statement is incorrect. Has Mr. ing public attention to this great injustice, to secure a Mann forgotten President Fillmore's Proclamation on the occasion of Shadrach's rescue, no longer ago than Feb. Mann suppose that representations like these, from such 18th, 1851?—an act certainly within his constitutional duties. But, waiving this, and granting that the fact were as he states, it matters not to the argument. the Commonwealth and from the world, whose opinion she would dread? So utterly neglectful had the Sec-commit murder, merely because he thought there were commit murder, merely because he thought there wer retary been-this watchman on the tower-that I found ninety-nine chances out of a hundred that he would one Chairman of a 'Legislative School Committee,' never be actually called on to do the deed : which shows who came from the western counties, actually ignorant his argument to be unsound. But I assert further, that

The Lauk of England has not been, I believe, occu-

pied by troops for nearly fifty years. But what, is time of tumult, keeps the Bank untouched? Be the edge that the Horse Guards will at any modest no son the building. But does its not being or not been called on to put down an insurrec in Virginia since 1831. But what keeps the s quiet? The knowledge that the soldiers at X ing slavery since 1831? The Fugitive Slav been executed in many places unable to faller necessary, whole regiments would be brought at ha-Union. Very properly, therefore, they des on, because it was known that, if resisted, he wasked and was able to act efficiently. But does this President in the least?

A child was punished yesterday, and cheed a membering this, he obeys to-day, without water as punished. But, according to Mr. Man, the rell-has will of the parent had no hand or merit is sensing to second day's obedience. That is seconding to Mr. Man on the 4th April, 1853. He thought different man on the will not deny that the judicial power he recrui slaves within the last sixty-four years. In a lar 17, 1851, he could say-

"Judicial power" does not consist in a sherift pr. "Judicial power" does not consist a sheed an siding over a jury, nor in an audito' caring up counts, nor in a commissioner's cipherag out to the ded dends of an insolvent's create, her in county comes sioners' laying out roads; but consist in energy up a judgment which has the armore at pringfed and Harper's Perry, which has the standar any not militia of the United States, which has thy insolvent teleships, which has the treasury of the nature to have the ships, which has the treasury of the nature to have it, and to visit with death one man, a thousand an or a hundred thousand men, if need be, who shall me front it with resistance."

If this be a correct description of the 'jedical per er' which has been constantly returning sixts, that part in the work has the President, the commanded chief of the army and navy of the United States! M George T. Curtis send back Themas Sims! I be at It was the army and navy of the United State, with Millard Fillmore at their head, that really kept has street silent, while that infamous processin this

The President who appoints a deputy to do as net, and stands by while the act is done, is as men responsible for it as if he had done it with his req. hands. The fact, therefore, that the President he never been actually called on, except in Filmers proclamation against Shadrach, to execute the Feetive Slave Law, is of no force in this argument. It Mann stands, therefore, by his own confession, in his position : Acknowledging that the Constitution orien the return of fugitive slaves, he voted last fall in 1.2 Hale as President. To elect Hale, Mr. Manu did all h could. He gave his vote. He has but one vote he give God will not hold him responsible for ten thouse votes, but for one. No man who voted for President Pierce did more for him than Mr. Mann did for Bas He gave his vote, and all the influence which his emrisis occupations of the second of the second of the second of the second occupation of the second occupation occupation

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Now, what is the meaning of that vote? Interpre into words, it is this: I, Horace Mann, hereby reger and authorize you, John P. Hale, to assume the fa of President of the United States, and to take the un of that office, which is ' faithfully to execute the short President of the United States, and to the lest of yet ability preserve, protect and defend the Continue the U. S. I request and authorize you to opport judges, marshals, and other filling officers, to tree the various provisions of that Instrument, and anny others, that for the return of fugitire slaves: sel & case such return be resisted, to array the army and un of the Union for its enforcement. To place Mr. ba in that position, Mr. Mann did all he could. If by loss of Hale's election, some great national blesinglis been lost, and posterity had accused this generate for allowing it, Mr. Mann would have laid his besie his heart and said, 'I am not guilty; I did all I mit to elect him.' If, in such circumsta fully have made such a claim, he must not no when the tables are turned, avoid the full respective ty of his act.

I have no wish to introduce any new points into discussion. But I go further : I claim that ever in the last election is morally responsible for the chifof President Pierce, and for all the ordinary coasts tional acts he may do. Every voter, under this fa stitution, is understood to assent to this fundament principle, that 'the majority shall govern.' Vin under such a Constitution as ours, he enters a lim dential canvas, he, in effect, says, 'My carbitated be President, and execute the ordinary function, is gets the most votes; and I agree that your carbin shall be President, and exercise all the ordinary fur tions of the office, if he obtains, more votes that a friend.' I will not stop now to unfold this ide, id every frank and honorable mind will really # this is an essential condition of constitutional gour-

I have heard of a firm, made up of a Christians a Jew, that did business together five days in the mit Then the Christian kept shop Saturday, while the let worshipped, and the Jew kept shop Senday, vik is Christian partner attended church. This thy not more money than their neighbors. Mr. Mann's are ments are of this nature. He rides two beres size same time. Now he uses one theory, and now same When one thinks he has put his hand on him, he's all there. For instance: He is understood to hold, rid Mr. Sumner and the Free Soil party generally, thatist duty of surrendering fugitives belong to the Sam. and that the clause needs no addititional legislate He affirms, also, that he swears to support the Confe tution as he understands it. As Governor of Monchusetts, therefore, he would be bound to see that he tives were returned. Any slaveholder might, as fe Soilers think, use the old English writs, and if she's convince a Boston jury, (no hard task,) the former must sustain the decision of the court. The school Congress on this subject, Mr. Mann considers and stitutional; and he has a hundred times around the he would never obey it. Of course, then, he was not be deterred from doing, as Governor, in or stitutional duty, merely because somebody als, (as gress, for instance, had illegally interfered in the man ter. I asked him then how, with this theer, he call agree to take such an office. He replies- I think y Governor of this State will ever issue his warrant frie return of a fugitive slave, who has not had a trial jury; and probably slavery itself will be "blasse";
the Lord, before such jury trial will be granted by gress. The danger, therefore, is at the very unally

Before a jury trial be granted by Congress ! ] Congress has nothing, Mr. Mann thinks, to do at the business. Why does the Governor wast for Greens? Let him do his clear and acknowledged for But, no; to clear himself as Governor, he will take Constitution. Constitution as the nation interprets it, and said Congress uses, in a different way, its usurped past To clear himself, as Representative in Congre will take the Constitution as he underdands it, sale sure Congress has nothing to do with the matter, sale that the slave act is unconstitutional! Free Solet then, may be Presidents of the U. States, or armies? Congress, because, with their interpretation, the States tional Government has nothing to do with slave; is belongs to the States! And a Free Soiler may be for error of a State, because the Supreme Court sin surrender of alares belongs to the Nation! You venient morality this! Do the party keep mes sales there were the surrender of th theory to act in the States, and men with and ry to act in the Nation? Right enough, perias the individual is not implicated, as in Mr. Manni 'n both capacities. Connecticut families sana;

smar ray. They used, it is said, to let church ser make wooden nutmegs, which was held inno the hat kept one son unconcerted, to sell them, which but kept one sold section and the section and the conversion and church-membership would not geter, at present, with such business.

Outer Lamb paints, in Lucian's manner, there you, havering, with expectant nostrils, in pri for his incense, while two priests dispute which and for it, and at last the delty has to fly away and dis dinner. Imagine a slaveholder waitthat his amore. Amagine a staveholder waitour or the other, his acknowledged legal rights. near at the other, and acknowledged legal rights.
Ist Severnor Mann and Mr. Representative Mann both
legals excused, benignly assuring him all the while, that Free Soilers are most especially 'Unionhas end law-abiding men'! and that he 'acknowlign his obligations to the Constitution while it is suf-

and a Governor ever be brought to the necessity of Sould a Governor over the brought to the necessity of Benil bay the slare! What a grand moral picture and the slaves they have gred to restore! This is too ludicrously untenable to be silerel in serious argument. Suppose Bassanio cansegred in school and segred by segre se dis paster refuse to sell, as in several recent cases and others) he has done, where then is Gov. las. I hope every Governor who takes office on this pat, silvee that he has ' much goods laid up,' for there s housen's of fugitives in the State, and with such a promation I am afraid his 'much goods' will not be al up for many years.

his brothat Mr. Mann says, I once 'tore up my existion, and retired to dignified life.' Let me inform is that I never held any office, except a military one extense I was an abolitionist. My sense of duty sell not allow me to take an office, any possible duty which I considered sinful. If, after taking an office. hould discover that any of its possible duties were of a sature, I should not continue to hold it till such a es scarrel-giving, all the while, the influence of seesagle to lead other men into like positions, and to adithe Government, but I should resign at once. I get at this principle in quitting my profession.

Mr. Mann acknowledges that he voted the mone net paid Millard Fillmore, Levi Woodbury, Charles gens, Peleg Sprague and B. R. Curtis for their reerties shares in the Boston slave cases. I ask any alreads what is his first impression on reading such nafesion! Was that a vote for an anti-slavery man girl Mr. Mann thinks it was. The only way he not the rote innocent is this. He says I am equally felly, because I pay taxes. If the fact be so, I subsituat my guilt does not prove his innocence; and this be the only argument Free Soilers have to offer. ther cause seems to me very weak. And yet I have heafally examined the entire column devoted to this put, and assert that this is the only defence Mr. Mann dm, except the following :-

Nor de I consider myself any more accountable for her anomatitutional proceedings in the Sims case, than I should had they sentenced Mr. Phillips to be drawn is used an arrest of the second of the secon

his does not rise even to the dignity of a quibble. I the Marshal of Boston, instead of putting Hon. famuel E. Sewall into the lock up, had hung him at the my yard, and sent the bill to Congress, would Mr. Moss have voted to pay it? Surely not. He does then emine the way in which dependant officers exercise their duty, as his oath of office binds him to do; otherwe we might as well send, as Webster once said, But is the paying of taxes to the Government at all

he soting to pay Charles Devens his thirty pieces of slor? Voting is a voluntary act. Taking office is a voluntary act. Voting the supplies is a volmury act., Mr. Mann votes, takes office, and says 'jes' in Congress, of his own free will. Is my saying taxes a voluntary act? Suppose I refuse. Govmentiakes my house, sells it, and takes the money. Excellegly voluntary this! When did the woman, the pars her five hundred dollars to the city of Boston asent to the imposition? I might continue the list to Eyettent. Voting is the act of a sovereign moulding the Government. Taxes are a burden imposed on subin The Government wrung from me, without my

ment-robbed me, of some hundreds of dollars. But they could do nothing with it, till Mr. Horace Mann Derens as payment for doing worse than murdering his besther. The Nation met Mr. Mann and said, 'Will you beamember of Congress?' He replied, 'Yes,' knowisg the duties of the office. The Government then came takin, and presented their infamous bill in the Sims case and said, 'Will you authorize us to pay this?' He re pled, 'Yes,' To get the means to pay that bill, that one Government comes, and takes my money, without using my consent. And Mr. Mann thinks our rela tions to the Sims case are identical ! I will agree with his, when he shows me that the Chief Priests were just is innocent in paying Judas thirty pieces of silver, as to the traveller from Jerusalem, to Jericho, when he twe up his raiment to the thieves among whom he fell

h is in this part of his letter that Mr. Mann calls me swardly for refusing to go to Congress ! On this bery, what a nation of heroes we must be ! since of all be aillions there are only found a few Garrisonians thall to go to Congres! Let me congratulate Mr. Mann m is release from the post of danger. Next come sueing in the Courts, and using the Post

the la these cases, Government does me a service at a certain price, as a merchant sells me his goods, or hape his skill. Any body,—a foreigner who never set let en eur soil, -may have those services, if he wil lay for them. No one is asked to assent to the Government or indorse its good character, before he can sue e mil a letter. When Harriet Martineau mails a letby to a friend in Indiana, does she become morally rebasible for the arrest of Shadrach, as Charles Devens od shen he paid Deputy Marshal Riley for pretending but a breakfast, that he might seize the slave? And is part of the postage goes to England, does she indorse beauchy beside? If Mazzini sent Kossuth a letter, the Austrian mail, he incurred the same re pendality for Haynau's crimes, as the Emperor that poi for them! If I buy a book in John Murray's sue, l'inforse his Episcopalianism! I confess, I canat accept this as sound logic. Were I prisoner on a lone deck, where they had some one set a part to scale disputes, and one of the pirates stole my dinner, should ask his judge to make him restore it, and no be that, in so doing, I at all became partner in the beary. My position in this country is similar; while to nothing that a foreigner may not do, I act not as a partner in the Government, but as a subject. I do bit consent to Government ; I only submit to it, as to by inecitable evil. To such submission, no guilt

Let me explain. In man's present condition, Governbut is a necessary evil. But who is to choose what its hen and nature shall be? The only rule, at once pracinable and just, is to let the majority choose. Suppose the hinority think that the arrangements made are inthe arrangements better. But if any individual tinks the arrangements sinful and toicked, (as, for brance, if Government command its officers to lie, to Pretise idolatry, or to return slaves,) what shall he do? of course, he cannot assent, or become partner in them. that is self-evident, no matter what sacrifice it costs him. Pigan Pompey could teach us, that 'It is necessary to be honest; it is not necessary to live.' What then will he the relations of such individuals, (like the English Najurers,) to the Government? In settling these relatwo things are to be considered. 1st. In any specified ferritory, there can be, from the nature of the case, but one Government. 2nd. Every man has a nght to life, liberty and property, on the spot where he was been. This right God gave him : no majority can

take it away. It is a right antecedent and paramount But the evil is far greater than the mere destruction of despots, to the disfranchised classes.

English and of our Institutions, indeed of all modern ments, if it strikes off also the fetters of the slave. free governments. I repeat, that the majority have no Mr. Mann thinks me too mole-eyed, too much of right to infer that the minority, in using such rights, pettifogger, to understand great Constitutional ques-become implicated in Government sins; since that would tions. It may be so. I only claim to know right from be to suppose that a majority is authorized to set up a wrong. Moral principles are not change! by numbers. wicked Government, and then make honest men, to Evil is still evil, though you follow a multitude to do it. whom God gave a right to live on the soil, join in it or When God calls his short-sighted creatures to judgment, starve: which is absurd. It was on this principle that no grand array of state maxims, no curious net-work of our Savior paid taxes, and Paul appealed from the court polities, will hide me from his single and searching eye. of Festus to Casar : though neither of them would have served in the Pretorian guards to kill Nero's mother, (spite of Dr. Dewey,) or sat in the Senate to pay for it

But if Mr. Mann can prove me wrong in sueing, &c., to do what I think dishonest, in order to free slaves! that does not show him to be right in voting. It only My idea of the way to reform government is this. proves us both sinners; and I, for one, shall try to When God shows any man that a governmental arrangecease sinning, and mend my ways.

Mr. Mann sneers at my idea, that oaths to the Constitution are oaths to that instrument in the sense affixed to it by the Supreme Court. He used to think differently; very recently, too. Feb. 28, 1851, he said in the House of Representatives, speaking to Representa-

Even should the Supreme Court of the United States declare the law to be constitutional, then, though we must acknowledge their decision, as to the point decided, to be the law of the land, until it is set aside, yet, without any disrespect to that tribunal, we may still adhere to our former opinion.'

The same doctrine forms the basis of the greater part of his arguments against the Fugitive Slave Law. ions. Men will not heed a preacher who does not think This was the constitutional doctrine under which he took his ideas worth sacrificing anything for. All history his oath of office. He did not ask then, as in his second letter to you, what he should do when ' the nation was on one side and the Supreme Court on the other '-or of her well. Compromise is the American Devil. what he should do, if the nation changed its opinior.or hint at any understinding with Howell Cobb as to how far the law should be obeyed. No. When he took on this subject, which I must confess to have done. the oath which he is now trying to construe away, his doctrine was, that a DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT by my yard-stick. I do not expect that every man will IS TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED AS THE LAW OF THE LAND, UNTILIT IS SET ASIDE. Conversions are suspicious when

have great respect for General Jackson's opinion on a fortification of cotton bags; but no respect at all for his should therefore have the right. Important benefits opinion on a point of law. It happens, however, that, flow from the possession of it; I claim it, therefore, for on this occasion, I entirely agree with the Jackson doctrine, as quoted by Messrs. Mann and Sumner. Gene- that they ought not to exercise it, which will be another ral Jackson says that the President and Congress, in making laws, have a right to decide, for themselves, whether the proposed law is constitutional. Of course they have. † But Jackson does not say, -at least, in they be deprived of the right, because a few abolitionthis quotation, nor any where, that I know,-that if Congress pass a law which they think constitutional, is no sin. A wicked government can offer us any thing. and the Supreme Court sanction it, he, on his private understanding of the Constitution, shall, as President, refuse to execute the law : which is Mr. Mann's position. Suppose that Congress has passed a law, and that the Supreme Court have pronounced it constitu- or such a lecture as Orville Dewey's, for all California. tional. In this state of things, Mr. Mann enters Congress, I do not deny that, as a legislator, he may try to get the law repealed. I do not deny that, as a lawyer, he may get up a case, and try to make the Court reverse its decision. But I ask whether, while it remains on the under epaulets, and tied to a sword; but when the statute book, and while the Supreme Court recognise colored man claims the legal right to be enrolled in our it as constitutional, he, as an Officer of Government, means to aid in giving effect to its provisions, by providing process and appointing officers, &c. After which he is not at liberty, as an honorable man and rather cut off my right hand than join Rowe street good citizen, to resist such process and such officers; church, whose pews are held on the express conbut, contrariwise, is bound to assist the one in execut- dition that no colored man shall be allowed to purchase; ing the other, if lawfully called on to do so. From the but I contend stoutly that government shall allow eve nature of Government, and the harmonious cooperation necessary to its success, no honorable man holding office street church, if he please. Does not Mr. Mann agree under it has a right to abuse, discountenance and resist with me? other officers, when engaged in the discharge of their I hope I have not misrepresented Mr. Mann's Con lawful duties. He is bound to give a whole-hearted stitutional positions. I have tried not to do so; but support to laws and offices belonging to the same State what with his volume and his various letters, it is alwith himself. How incongruous and absurd for a Rep- most impossible to make out what he does really beresentative to go about denouncing Marshals and Judges lieve, at present, about the Constitution. If he confor obeying that Constitution which he also serves, and tinues this discussion, I hope he will not 'proceed is voting them pay for serving! If he says 'Yes,' to my on imputations of meaning,' but frankly tell us whether question above, then I ask, how does his relation to the he now considers the fugitive slave clause, correctly catching of slaves, or any other subject on which Con- construed, covers the case of fugitive slaves. He owe gress may legislate, differ from that of slaveholding serts that he has a right to interpret the Constitution for himself, and nullify an existing law, then I assert that he turns the Government into an anarchy. Every ty-five departures from truth, and that its atmosphere other man has the same right that he has. Hence, the was as offensive as that of a middle passage cabin, and Constitution will be one thing in Boston, and another then requests me not to be personal. I submit that exthing at Philadelphia; one thing one side of the street, ample in this matter would be better than precept. and quite a different thing opposite. Yet such a man calls himself a Union man—a supporter of the Consti-

In England, what Parliament decrees is law, no matter how unreasonable. (See Blackstone, 1, 91.) They WM. L. GARRISON, Esq. :have no written Constitution. Here we have a written Constitution. Laws inconsistent with it are void. Such is the theory. But if the law-making power may make any law which it professes to think consistent with the Constitution, how do we differ from England? Our Constitution is then a sham. Mr. Mann has clearly and fully explained all this, on the 488th page of his rolume, which I have not room to quote.

On this point,-the authority of the Supreme Court,have with me nine tenths of the legal profession, and three quarters of the statemanship of the nation, past and present. That consideration is of weight, when no party prejudice mingles in the question. Let Mr. Mann answer the second reply of Webster to Hayne, contained in three or four pages,-an argument which Marshall pronounced impregnable,-before he expects

me to spend time in carrying coals to Newcastle. I know this ' magnificent conspiracy against justice, which Mr. Mann calls a Government, is fast becoming one of mojorities, not of Constitutions. We are fas verging to unlimited democracy, the rock on which all former Republics have foundered. Few men are doing more to bring about this result than those who are trying to introduce the theory of private interpretations of the Constitution, and to loosen the obligations of oaths.

\* Mr. Mann speaks (p. 287) of Mr. Webster as \* bound "Mr. Mann speaks (p. 287) of Mr. Webster as 'bound, in fulfilment of his constitutional duty, to secure, jury trial to fugitive slaves. What right had Mr. Mann to talk in this strain to Mr. Webster? Had not Mr. Webster a right, as well as Mr. Mann, to construe the Constitution for himself? and had he not just declared that, in his opinion, no such constitutional duty existed? On Mr. Mann's present theory, that what a legislater thinks his constitutional duty is his constitutional duty is his constitutional. ed. On Mr. Monn's present theory, that what a regislator thinks his constitutional duty is his constitutional duty, such a remark to Mr. Webster was logically absurd, — indeed, savored of impertinence. Instead, however, of allowing Mr. Webster to explain the Constitution in his own way, Mr. Mann, then, felt at liberty ace Mann, the copious extracts we have given from the stitution in his own way, Mr. Mann, then, felt at liberty ace Mann, the copious extracts we have given from the to say, (continuing the argument, p. 299,) 'The Su-preme Court of the United States has furnished us with an AUTHORITATIVE INTERPRETATION of the Consti-

take it away. It is a right antecement and paramount to all Governments; and pronounced 'self-evident and inalienable' by our Declaration of Independence.—
From these two principles it results, that any individual, unable to become a partner in the State, has still a right, written Constitutions, interpreted by some power before while he keeps the peace, to follow his usual pursuits, and enjoy the ordinary protection of the State; to accordinary protect and enjoy the ordinary protection of the State; to ac-quire and hold property, and be protected in it; to use the highways, courts and mails of the State; in a word, generations, and the best blood of the race, shed on the to enjoy that class of rights generally granted, even by battle-field and the block. Even the freedom of three million of slaves would be purchased too dear, if pur-I know this principle has been sometimes invaded. chased at the cost of truth, or of the essential princip I know this principle has been sometimes invaded.

Christians have held, in Asia, their civil rights, only on the condition of sharing in idolatrous practices. Rome of the race. We were not sent into the world to free treated the early Christians in the same way, and England, in times past, was thus unjust to Catholics. Such duty. To do good is only a second consideration. Mind, subjects had no choice but to die martyrs. But man- I say, the essential principle of all Constitutional Gorkind have, long ago, decided that such a course, though erament is not to be sacrificed to free slaves. I do not within the pawer, is not within the rightful authority of mean this individual Constitution or Government. Welany State; and it is wholly alien to the theory of the come the blow that strikes this into a thousand frag-

Mr. Mann thinks we desert our duty to the slave, in refusing to vote and go to Congress. I will gladly do both, as soon as he will show me how I can do them as an honest man. He does not, surely, think I am bound

ment is wrong, (morally wrong, not merely inexpedi-ent,) that man should thenceforth refuse to join in it. Those who see him thus sacrifice to a conscientious conviction his political rights, dear to every man, will reconsider their ways; and thus light will spread. When public opinion has been thus changed, the mass of men will shape their institutions to suit it. This, surely, is a plain, honest and expedient course, fruitful of good results. The other course—continuing in the govern-ment—in the first place, soils a man's conscience, by making him do things he cannot wholly approve. Secondly, you are a bad advocate of your new ideas, if your actions are not wholly consistent with your opin-

ions. Men will not heed a preacher who does not think shows that the compromises of good men have made the race-halt in its advance, and kept truth at the bottom

Mr. Mann thinks me inconsistent in asking for w men the right to vote, and in writing a recent circular I have no wish to measure other people's conscien

come up to my idea; but I do demand that every man shall act consistently with his own ideas. Now, our men change their opinions in order to excuse their acts. government is based on the principle that every tax He quotes Gen. Andrew Jackson on this point. I payer, every person amenable to law, shall have a right to vote. Women come within this description, and women. When they get it, I shall immediately argue means of bringing the Anti-Slavery cause to their attention. But it is for them to decide that point, not for me or the government. Many will vote. Shall ists will not use it? The possession of the right to vote The exercise of that right is: for that shows that we accept the offer, and are willing to become partners in the government. There are many similar cases. I would not make such a speech as Daniel Webster's, But let any body deny their legal right to do it, and the world shall find me, at their side in a moment, to give them all the aid I can in vindicating that legal right. I hope I shall never be left again to walk the streets regiments, I hold up both hands in his favor.

I would not advise any man to be a Catholic or Presbyterian, an Infidel or a Mormon, and would

this to himself, to me, and to your readers. His doing depresentatives themselves? If he says 'No,' and as- so is a necessary preliminary to our discussing 'Con stitutional questions about slavery."

Mr. Mann informs me that my letter contains seven Yours truly, WENDELL PHILLIPS.

#### CORRECTION. WEST NEWTON, April 8th, 1853.

DEAR SIR :- In my letter, published in your Liberato this morning, I find one or two misprints, doubtless inadvertently made.

At the top of the fourth column, the sentence, as i went to you in the 'proof,' was as follows :

Or, in the last resort, could be not tear up his con mission, and do as Mr. Phillips himself has done, retire to his otium cum dignitate, at home? Has Mr. Phillips any right to complain, if others follow him through his

Near the bottom of the fifth column, in the last lin but one of the collated sentence, under 'Mr. Mann's Remark,' the word 'he' should be printed He,-with a capital,-both because it refers to the Supreme Being, and brings out more clearly the meaning of the sen

Will you please publish this note, and much oblige Yours very truly, HORACE MANN.

#### THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS CIRCULAR. Boston, April 12, 1853.

DEAR MR. GARRISON-You unintentionally rob WEN-DELL PHILLIPS of the honor of having written the Woman's Rights Circular and Petition. It belongs to him,

Yours, respectfully, LUCY STONE. Of course, we did not mean to make a misstate

ient; but somehow we got the impression that Miss STONE (who is so actively and efficiently engaged in the cause of her sex.) wrote the Circular aforesaid. The supposition of Mr. Mann, therefore, in regard to its paternity, was correct. It will be seen that Mr. PHILLIPS

recent discourse of Theodore Parker on the Public Function of Woman, and the various contributions on our last page, THE LIBERATOR, this week, will be found t Here Mr. Mann is riding two horses again. If it be his privilege as a legislator to examine the constitu-tionality of all acts submitted to him, has he not the highly interesting. But we are again obliged to defer fionality of all acts submitted to him, has he not the power, and, having the power, is he not bound to decide also whether he will pay Charles Devens for doing an unconstitutional act under an unconstitutional law?

His former theory and this one do not hang together.

OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A quarterly meeting of this Society was held in Cole's Hall, in Carver, on Fast Day, April 7th. The Secretary not being present, Samuel Dyer was appointed Secretary pro tem. N. B. Spooner was chosen a Finance Committee. The President, Mr. Spooner, on opening the meeting, made some very appropriate and well-timed remarks in regard to the keeping of fasts, and of our duties and research. and of our duties and responsibilities to the Anti-Slavery cause. Mr. Pillsbury offered a series of reso-lutions, and addressed the meeting at length, in the morning and afternoon sessions, in his usual able and discriminating manner. Remarks were also made by

Mr. Washburn, of Carver.

We should be glad to present the members and friends of the Society with a sketch of the many good things said on this occasion, if only to remind them of their loss in being absent,-an irreparable loss, which is getting quite too common, and which they will do well to heed in future. The crowded state of the Liberator will be a sufficient excuse for any thing of the kind. The Finance Committee reported \$4 42 collected to defray the expenses of the meeting, &c. The following resolutions, offered by Mr. Pillsbury,

were unanimously adopted : —

Resolved, That if the fast which God has ordained be to undo the heavy burdened, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke, then the Fast Day observances of this nation are an insulting mockery of God and his most holy and humane requirements; since nothing is more certain than that Fast Days would not be appointed, were the overthrow of slavery required as a condition of holding them, or the result as an im-

Resolved, That the demand of slavery and the whig and democratic parties, requiring a cessation of the anti-slavery agitation, and a silent acquiescence in their unparalleled atrocity and abominations, is an attack on the freedom of speech and the press, that should be resisted at all hazards, and trampled under foot by a justly incensed and outraged people.

Resolved, That the strange compliance of the Free Soil party with that monstrous edict, for at least ten months out of every twelve, reveals the entire healthiness of the leaders of that party, and their ambition as well as willingness to pervert the Anti-Slavery cause to the basest and most selfish and sordid purpose.

United States Senate was demanded by his friends entirely on Anti-Slavery grounds. Our support of him

Resolved, therefore, That the people had a right to expect and to demand that he should be true and faithful to the interacts of the should be true and to the interacts of the should be true and to the interacts of the should be true and the should be faithful to the interests of the cause he professes to represent; and since he has now sat in the Senate through two whole sessions, both of them together occupying a year of time, and only spoken of the quesn of Slavery once, and even then conceded to the slave-holder and slave-hunter the right to hold and hunt their victims, under certain Constitutional lim-day, May 1. Subject: Progress of individual and so itations, it is time that he be held to answer for unfaith-cial Man; and the obstacles in the way of true Progress fulness, or be desired to resign, if this be all that he he can perform in his high station for the cause of justice and liberty.

S. DYER, Secretary pro tem

### MISS HOLLEY AT HINGHAM.

Miss Holley addressed a meeting in Loring Hall, in Hingham, on Friday evening, the 8th inst. It was the first occasion upon which this new and beautiful building has been used by any of the lecturers of the American Anti-Slavery Society, since its dedication, last fall. The attendance was large; and the interest of the audience in the substance of the lecture, and the person of Miss Holley, and, it may be added, the satisfaction with her method of dealing with her subject were unusually great. The influence of the meeting in Hingham, it is believed, will be real and lasting. The soil in that neighborhood will bear and will repay much cultivation quite enough. What we want, now, is earnest, faiththe character of our friend Miss Holler's discourse in Loring Hall

May Heaven raise up many more of like zeal, fidelity

#### REPUGEES' HOME SOCIETY. SOUTH HINGHAM, March 20, 1853.

FRIEND GARRISON:

Mr. George Needham, an agent of the Refugees' Home Society in Canada, addressed the people of this truth. town twice last Sunday. The object was to obtain funds to aid the fugitives through the systematic operations of this Science II would be really a company to the one hand, and the demand for practical righteous It seemed to me at the time, from the communication of Mary A. Shadd, that Henry Bibb and wife opposed this Society, and thought that aid was not needed for the fugitives. But Mr. Needham informs us that Mr. Bibb is an active member and Corresponding Secretary of the Society, and that these sentiments of Mr. Bibb were expressed before the organization of the Society, and were only meant to apply to individuals society, and were only meant to apply to individuals society, and upon their own responsibility—much of the finished with the sentiments of the Society of Priends, but all those who feel the want of social and religious cooperation, and believe that a Society may funds raised in this manner having been, in different be formed, recognizing the Progressive Element which shapes, misapplied.

It is much to be recreated that a surious of with using General Convention at Friends' meeting.

It is much to be regretted that a system of operations so eminently beneficial to these fugitives should meet with opposition from any body. Here in the United States we expect it.

At the meeting here, the old fogies staid away, a usual; but we had a good meeting-one of the right sort. A collection of \$8.88 was taken, in aid of the Society's operations. Very truly,
Yours, &c., J. CUSHING.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT. TORONTO, (C. W.,) March 27, 1858.

WM. L. GARRISON, Esq.,

DEAR SIR-I desire to acknowledge, through your columns, the receipt of five dollars from the ladies of Framingham. No message has come to me, with this money, but I suppose it to be intended for the aid of fugitives, collected, possibly, on account of the interest excited by the story of Eliza Thomas. If so, I have the pleasure of telling those who-contributed it, that a large portion of it will probably be devoted to her benefit. I am at this moment endeavoring to secure a permanent home for this faithful old couple, and this five dollars came most opportunely to my aid. Very gratefully yours,

CAROLINE H. W. DALLA

NEW PAMPHLET ON THE BIBLE. Just published, pamphlet, entitled 'The Errors of the Bible demonstrated by the Truths of Nature; or, Man's only in fallible Rule of Faith and Practice. BY A STUDENT OF THE BIBLE AND OF NATURE. Prove all things hold fast that which is good.' Bela Marsh, Publisher 25 Cornhill, Boston, This pamphlet discusses a ques tion of vital moment to the progress of man in wisdom and goodness, and to the overthrow of war, slavery, and other popular, established evils in Church and State. In answering the question- Is the Bible, as a whole, the word of God? '-the author cites the book as the only witness. Whether his arguments can be answered remains to be seen. It can never be answered by the cry of 'Infidelity.' We would advise the friends of free thought and inquiry to read and judge for themselves.

The cause of temperance seems gaining new life The cause of temperance seems gaining new life JUST published, and for sale by ROBERT F. WALL among our colored fellow-citizens. Ground W. Bux- CUT, 21 Cornhill, A SERMON OF THE PUBLIC PUNC GAY and JOHN C. CLUER delivered jable and eloquent addresses, last Tuesday evening. Rev. Enwin Thomson will continue the good work next Tuesday evening, April 19th.

Tions of Wonan, preached at the Music Hall, March 27, 1858. By Theodorae Parker, Minister of the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society. Phonographically reported by J. M. W. Yerrington and Rufus Leighton. Price 6 cents single—50 cents per dozen. GAY and JOHN C. CLUER delivered lable and eloquent

### Dotices of Meetings, &c.

DANIEL FOSTER, an Agent of the Massachusetts S. Society, will speak in					
est Brookfield,	Saturday	even'g.	April	16.	
	Sunday	E STANKE	<b>的声光</b>		
arren	Monday			17. 18.	
lmer	Tuesday	图 46年)海	MENTAL PROPERTY.	19.	
illbury	Thursday	W. March 12		21.	
hitinsville	Friday	V 44		22	
pton	Sunday	- 11	44	24.	

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. A. S.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold a meeting in bington Town Hall, on Sunday, April 17, through the

PARKER PILLSBURY, by request, will delive his lecture on The French Revolution, at STONE HAM, on Friday evening, April 15.

PLYMOUTH COUNTY. ANDREW T. Poss, and Agent of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, will Middleboro' Four Corners, Friday even'g, April 15,
Plympton Town Hall, Sunday 11,
Hallfax Monday 11,
West Duxbury Wednes, 11,
Manhold West Duxbury Wednes, 11,
Manhold Manhold Manhold 11,
Manhold Manhold 11,
Manhold Manhold 11,
Manhold Marshfield ..... Thursday Duxbury Friday 2 2
Kingston Sunday 2 2
In behalf of the Society, LEWIS FORD.

Stoneham	Sunday,	April	17.
Sandwich	Tuesday,	LEL CON	19.
Hyannis	Wednesday,		20.
Harwich	Thursday,		21.
Dennis	Sunday,		24.
LORING MOO	DY will lecture on Sl	and the same	

The 'burden' of these lectures will be-the danger

and perils of being a Christian, in this country Friends are requested to make all needful arrange HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in Ab ington Town Hall, on Sunday, 17th instant; in Warr on Sunday, 24th instant; in Concord, Mass., on Sun

especially war and slavery. Depth of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, will be held in Kingston Town Hall, on Sunday, April 24th, 1853.

Andrew T. Foss and others will address the meeting. In behalf of the Society,

LEWIS FORD.

CALL

#### FOR A GENERAL RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE. WITH A VIEW TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A YEARLY MEETING IN PENNSYLVANIA

The various religious denominations of the land are The various religious denominations of the land are arrayed against the progressive spirit of the age, and by their very structure, assumptions and regulations, cannot occupy a cooperative position, because they impose fetters upon freedom of speech and of conscience, by requiring a slavish conformity in matters of abstract faith and sectarian discipline. This has led and is leadneighborhood will bear and will repay much cultivation in the same description. Of the controversial side of abolitionism, there has been, for the present, already quite enough. What we want, now, is carnest, faithful, heart-searching, revival preaching;—and that was the characters of our field preaching;—and that was the characters of our field preaching;—and that was the characters of our field preaching;—in the characters of our field preaching;—in the characters of our field preaching to the country. It is not sectarian discipline. This has led and is leading to extensive secessions from such organizations in all ing t

Brotherhood, and who are yearning for some form of association at once simple, free and attractive.

The abuse of a good thing is not a reason for its utter rejection; and organization, in itself considered, is
not only proper, but may be rendered powerfully efficacious as an instrument in the hand of Reform, without
impairing the liberty, detracting from the independence, or limiting the conscience of any individual;
though, from the nature of things, its perpetuation is
not to be expected or desired, but it is at all times to be
regarded as a means to an end, and to be discarded

tions of this Society. It would be needless to repeat the plan of operation of this Society, as a correspondent in your paper of March 4th has given, perhaps, a yery correct idea of it. There are but few persons, I would be the plan of operation of this Society, as a correspondent in your paper of March 4th has given, perhaps, a yery correct idea of it. There are but few persons, I would and deed is a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would not be a burning and shining light; and who would be needless to repeat the one hand, and the demand for practical right out a burning the present the plan of operation of this Society, as a correspondto the one hand, and the demand for practical right out a burning the present the plan of operation of this Society, as a correspondto the plan of operation of this Society, as a correspondto the one hand, and the demand for practical right out a burning the present the specific operation of the ope think, who examined the two communications of that date, but saw plainly to which side the truth belonged. It seemed to me at the time, from the communication of Many A. Shadd that Harry Bibb and wife concern.

with us in GENERAL CONFERENCE, at Friends' meetin house at Old Kennett, in Chester County, Pennsylv nouse at Old Kenner, in Chester County, Fennsylva-nia, on First day, the 22d of Fifth month, 1853, at half past 11 o'clock, A. M., to deliberate upon such plan of organization as may commend itself to the judgment of those assembled, and to take action upon such other sub-jects pertaining to Human Duty and Welfare, as may appear to demand the attention of the assembly.

WANTED-A WOMAN. The subscriber wish to employ a woman to procure subscribers for the Prisoners' Friend, for which the highest price will be given. One who could deliver lectures on the subject of Prison Reform would be preferred.
CHARLES SPEAR,

Editor and Proprietor of the Prisoners' Friend, 130 Vashington street. Boston, April 1, 1853.

Several new and valuable publications are reeived, but we cannot find room, this week, even to enumerate them by their titles.

The reply of Joseph Barker to Elizabeth Wilson on the Bible question, will appear in our next number. Also, Rev. Mr. Foss's letter.

MARRIED.-In New York City, March 30th, by Rev. Thomas Henson, Professor William G. Allen, of McGrawville, N. Y., to Miss Mary E. King, of Fulton, N. Y., daughter of Rev. Lyndon King, of F. The parties are now on their way to Europe.

#### PENNSYLVANIA Medical College of Philadelphia

THE Fall Session for females in this institution wil commence Sept. 1st, 1858, and continue near six-teen weeks. The faculty, consisting of eight profes-sional chairs, are liberal and progressive in their med-ical doctrines, universal in their remedial agents, accal doctrines, universal in their remedial agents, accepting and receiving good from any and every source and system, but holding allegiance to no distinct ism, pathy or dogma. The facilities for acquiring a therough practical medical education, in this institution, are unequalled in the Union. For announcement containing full particulars, as to fees (which are low) &c. &c., address, (post paid.)

ABRAHAM LIVEZEY, M. D., Dean, No. 829 North Twelfth street, Philadelphia.

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THE REY! THE KEY! UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

BY HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. THIS GREAT WORK IS NOW READY. PRICE-50 cts. paper; 75 cts. cloth. 80,000 PUBLISHED, PIRST EDITION.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY MES. 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 paster, 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. 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 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 cele-brated 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 elevate humanity from degradation and wrong. They will learn from it that in years past, White Men as well as Blacks have felt the galling yoke of slavery.

## Judge Jay's Writings on Slavery,

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Who has rendered more efficient services to the cause of humanity than the venerable Judge Jay? His collective writings will be among the very best contributions 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 sively, 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 SILENT LAND:

OR, LEAVES OF CONSOLATION FOR THE AFFLICTED, BY MRS. H. DWIGHT WILLIAMS. This volume is a compilation from the best prose writers and poets of America and England, of their most beautiful pieces, for the solace of those who mourn the loss of near and dear friends. Price \$1 00.

GERMAN UNCLE TOM.

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR HUTTEN. In one volume octavo. Price 50 cts. The English language has been exhausted in praise of this unrivalled tale; and this translation into the German language we believe will be as popular among the large German population in this country.

### BOOK OF 1000 ANECDOTES. HUMOROUS, GRAVE AND WITTY,

There are hours when men need relaxation from the sterner labors of life, both bodily and mental. In these seasons, such a volume as the above is a desirable com-panion, and affords that relief which the mind needs.

IN PRESS, TO BE ISSUED SPEEDILY,

GIDDINGS' SPEECEES The Congressional speeches of this distinguished and uncompromising anti-slavery veteran, who is still battling nobly with the powers of darkness, complete in one volume, 12 mo., with a portrait. Price, \$1.00.

Key to Uncle Tom, in German. This work is now being translated into German, by one of our best German scholars, and will be issued soon after the publication of the English edition.

WRITINGS OF

PROF. BELA B. EDWARDS, D. D., BY REV. PROF. PARK, D. D. WITH A MEMOIR, BY DR. PARK.

This work, which has been unavoidably delayed, will be issued in two volumes, 12 mo., about the 1st of with pleasure this announcement. The collected writings of such a man are an invaluable contribution to

Complete Encyclopædia of Music. BY JOHN W. MOORE,

Assisted by John S. Dwight, Esq., the learned and accomplished Editor of The Journal of Music.

This work will occupy an unoccupied field, no such work ever having been compiled before, either in this country or in England. It will be a complete Dictionary of all Musical Terms, a History of the Science of Music, from the faciliest times to the present; a Treatise on Harmony and Thorough Bass; a Description of all known Musical Instruments, and a complete Musical Biography, containing a succinct memor of more than 3000 of the most distinguished Musical celebrities and composers who have ever lived. To be comprised in one large royal 800. solume, of about 1000 pages, double columns. To be published during the summer.

The above valuable works are published by JOHN P. JEWETT & Co., BOSTON, JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON,

And for sale by Booksellers generally.

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For the Liberator. LITTLE MARY'S BEQUEST

'Little Mary' was a gentle child, possessing, in an eminent degree, the spirit of Christian love. She was much impressed with the accounts she heard of the sufferings of poor slaves in the Southern States of America, and wished to add her mite to the contributions of those kind friends in Edinburgh, who prepare annually a large collection of gifts for the Anti-Slavery Fair. Having received a wax doll for a Christmas present, ermined to dress it and send it to Boston as a token of her sympathy ; but ere her labor of love was completed, 'Little Mary' was summoned to the 'better land.' In compliance with the request of this beloved child, her mother undertook the hallowed task, and finished the work commenced in faith and hope, 'Little Mary's Doll' was forwarded to the Anti-Slavery Fair held in Boston, during Christmas week, 1852, nee panied by a beautiful and touching letter to the present owner of the angel child's simple offering of love.

Weep not for me, dear Mother, I know we soon must part; But God's kind angel bringeth Sweet hopes to glad the heart. She speaks in tones of music; Hush! list how soft they fall! Our Father calls your lov'd one, He watcheth over all.

When I am gone, sweet Mother, You will not be forgot, For in the land of angels It may be Mary's lot To shield and bless you, ever, As guardian spirits do. The friends whose hearts enshrine them When vanished from their view.

Before I leave you, Mother, Once more that story tell, How Jesus blessed the infants, And loves them now so well Oh! why will men yet spurn him, And mock his holy name, By making slaves of children? How sad that deed of shame!

I often wonder, Mother, How people do explain The Savior's gentle teachings, To give them such a claim; I'm sure the precious Bible Would tell them it was wrong; Perhaps they never read it, Those dreadful scenes among.

My strength is failing, Mother : One wish do you fulfil, When from my home of brightness I watch you, love you still ; That pretty waxen image, My heart in kindness gav To help the kind and faithful, Who labor for the slave-

Oh. Mother mine! 'tis waiting Some band like yours to grace Its form with robes of beauty, That it may find a place Where Freedom's labors gather, With offerings rich and fair; I know my simple token Will be accepted there.

VII. Dear Father! pray you bless me ;-Though fading fast from sight, Mourn not for your belov'd one, She soars to peace and light; And those poor suffering children, Who here in bondage pine, Will there be welcomed kindly, And share our joy divine.

Farewell! your Mary goeth Where levely flowrets spring; We all shall meet in heaven. To see their blossoming. Kind Father ! gentle Mother ! Oh ! call me still your own. For God will guard me for you, Within that blissful home.

TO LITTLE MARY IN HEAVEN.

Thou art cone to thy Father's home, fair child, Where the angel-children dwell ; But the low, soft tones of thy spirit-harp, Cast o'er us a ling'ring spell. Loving and hely

That minstrelsy, It cometh from heaven, So pure and free. 11.

Its melody floats on the air of morn. When the dew-drops kiss the flowers; And the flow'rets' prayer, with that music sweet, Is upborne to the angel-bowers. Lowly and trusting, His care we own, Who giveth the children

So bright a home. When the silent night bids its curtain fall, And the lonely spirit seeks, Amid fulthless fears, for one cheering hope, The harp of our lost one speaks,

Gently in murmurs, 'I love ye yet, Children in heaven No friend forget.

Yes! even now those deep spirit-tones bring Repose to the troubled breast; Voice of our household ! Child of our love ! Thy mission to earth is blest.

Parted we are not-Our hearts are one-The dear God keeps them, His will be done.

" M. A. W. Roxbury, Mass. MORNING, NOON, AND NIGHT.

The following beautiful song, typical of Youth, Manhood and Age, has recently been sung by Mr. Dempster, with great success. Morn calleth fondly to a fair boy straying

'Mid golden meadows rich with clover dew : She calls, but still he thinks of nought but playing, And so, she smiles, and waves him an adieu ; While he, still busy with the flowery store, Deems not that morn, sweet morn, returns no more

Neon cometh; but the boy, to manhood growing, Heeds not the time ; he sees but one sweet form One young, fair face, from bower to jess'mine glowing And all his loving heart with bliss is warm;

So noon, unnoticed, seeks the Western shore,

And man forgets that noon returns no more.

Night tappeth gently at a casement gleaming With the thin fire-light flickering faint and low, By which the gray-haired man is sadly dreaming O'er pleasures gone, as all life's pleasures go; Night calls him to her, and he leaves his door, Silent and dark, and man returns no more.

## THE LIBERATOR.

PUBLIC PRAYER (so CALLED).

nor of this State, with the Lieutenant-Governor and the Council, and grant them that wisdom and the minister, who can yet use the customary words, knows, too, how frequently ministers use the privilege of their position to incorporate into what is accurately called 'the long prayer,' not only their political and theological opinions, but the latest news of the parish and the town. And this practice exists not only among tom and prescription, in that sect.

But the jest above-mentioned, like the shield about which the two knights quarrelled, has another face to it, very different in appearance and character from the one first observed. However appropriate may be the petition for further supplies of wisdom to the Governor and Council, (and far be it from me to say that this is not always in season,) the intimation of their present great deficiency in that commodity is clearly designed. not for God, but for men; and so with the passages in our Sunday prayers commencing, 'Thou knowest, O Lord'—and 'Thou hast graciously given us'—and 'Thou hast taken from us one who '-and 'We know that thou art '-and 'We know that thou art not '-and 'We know that it is then who '-and the like, by which the exercise called prayer in the pulpit is spun out to so preposterous a length. At least half of these performances, on an average, is addressed so manifestly to the people, and is so destitute of pertinency on any other theory, that we need, properly to characterize it, a new epithet, which shall signify at once prayer-sermon-news. But to place this heterogeneous composition in the department labelled ' Prayer,' is to commit not only the impropriety of calling things by the wrong names, but an act of irreverence towards Him to whom the prayer purports to be offered.

But leaving these manifest improprieties, which most thinking people would admit to be an incongruous mixture with real prayer, let us look at what are common ly considered appropriate parts of it; and while looking, let us bear in mind these two things; first, what prayer really is, namely,

'the soul's sincere desire, Unuttered, or expressed,'

and next the fact, that our intercourse with God should be characterized by the most perfect and absolute sin-

The expression of gratitude to the infinite Father for the various manifestations of his goodness to us is certainly an appropriate part of prayer when this gratitude things which we know to be needful to us, and which we recognize to come from His hand, when the sense of need is really and actively felt. But can a real and active sense, either of gratitude or of need, be excited at pleasure, by making out a catalogue of our possession or our necessities? It seems to me that this is imposs ble. It seems to me that the recognition, by the understanding, of certain things which we have undoubtedly received from God, or of certain other things which would be serviceable, if God should give them to us, is a very different thing from the hearty feeling of gratitude; and I confess that the long lists of these acknowledgments and petitions which I hear enumerated by the clergyman on Sunday, and by the 'professor' at his morning and evening 'family altar,' do not im press me as springing from a 'realizing sense,' then and there actively felt, of the import of the things uttered. But if not so felt, do not these partake of the nature of 'vain repetitions' and 'idle words'? Were they not better left unspoken, until the sense of gratitude or of need does arise?

Your little girl asks for a pencil or a doll. She asks for it because it is the one chief thing she really desires at that time. There is obvious sincerity and heartiness in the request, and when it is granted, her real thankfulness is unmistakeable. But would you think her any more grateful, if she imposed it upon herself as a duty to come to you, and repeat the same thanks every morning while the gift lasted? Or would it be wise in you to require, or request of her, such an observance? Would it not be still more unwise in her to offer, or in in them denied the necessity of mental culture, and reyou to require, daily or weekly, formal thanks for all built one of the worst errors of the Church, viz: authe things she receives from your care and kindness? thority. I will now add, that this 'spiritual' believed Would the frequent periodical rehearsal of the food. clothing, shelter, instruction and amusement for which I am aware, that in speaking as plainly on this subject she is indebted to your kindness, prove her any more as truth demands, I shall wound the sensibilities of many sensible of it than the hearty, spontaneous 'Oh, thank of my dearest friends, who I regret to know are strong

point once more. To recount, mentally or in words, the my friends in consequence. I regard a belief in the things for which we ought to be grateful, is not being rappings' as the boldest attack upon God that this grateful. To recount, mentally or in words, the age has witnessed. Call you this opinion of mine ultradeficiencies we know to exist in ourselves, does not at all imply that we really desire the corresponding ex- stated that this belief attacks the mental nature of cellencies of character. But where the real gratitude, the real desire, are wanting, the expression of them in the form of prayer is not merely useless, but demoralizing and pernicious. It cannot cheat God, but it does Is not God reason, directed by an all-powerful will? cheat, and thus seriously injure, the soul that regards If I know any thing of God, it is through my reason. and offers it as real prayer.

in action at any moment, by the turning of a crank. all men. 'This is the true light that lighteth every Even the electrical machine will not always give forth man that cometh into the world.' In the Scriptures, it its spark at your solicitation ; how much less can the is often called 'His Spirit.' Without this infallible human soul, with its individual will, choice, passion, on one hand, and its indifference, quietude, abstraction, on honesty of heart would afford no protection against the other, be screwed periodically up to a previously error. With it, perfect honesty will surely give its poespecified pitch. The thing cannot be done. The voluntary direction of the mind to a particular point may body shall be full of light.' Hence, a soul not dead to modify, may accelerate or retard the action of the every thing, except to knew and to do the will of God, emotions, but it cannot control them. The proper time for the expression of gratitude or

desire is the natural time, namely, when existing circumstances arouse the feeling to conscious operation. Of course, these feelings need not be expressed every time and all the time they exist, but never when they do not consciously and actively exist,

manently remains, perhaps gradually dies out. In principles of natural philosophy, and write yourself either case, you do not consider it necessary or desirable down a fool. What I mean by this is, that it require to keep on thanking him. Perhaps you feel his kind- you to swallow the absurdity of believing that an effect ness so strongly as constantly to seek opportunities to can be produced without an adequate cause. benefit him in return. But even then, you do not thank him every time you chance to meet him, still less do you to move, or to cease motion, without a momentum sufappoint certain days and hours for the purpose of ficient to overcome this inertia. Two things are requiperiodically returning thanks to him. The feeling of site to the production of this momentum, viz., weight gratitude in the heart seizes the natural occasions of and velocity. A child can move a book, but not a manifestation as they arise, but does not make a busi- heavy table, because its momentum is sufficient in the ness of manifestation, in season and out of season.

hang out signals to apprise the All-seeing that there is something to be seen? to deliberately inform the to overcome the inertia of the table. It is in vain to Searcher of hearts that our hearts contain such and such talk of the laws of natural philosophy being suspended things? Yet many well-meaning people regularly do in these cases, for that only increases the difficulties in this, without considering that it is at once an absurdity the case, and drives us into the belief of all kinds of and an impertinence.

Two theories prevail respecting the duty of periodical public prayer. One of these affirms it to be commanded by God, and the other assumes that it is a practice well-adapted to keep alive in our hearts the sense of our obligations and necessities, and therefore that it ought to be observed. The first of these assumptions I deny, and demand the proof that God commands or desires it, has been moved by these ethereal creatures. It is any such observance from us. The second appears to true that electricity possesses the power of tearing me to reverse the truth, instead of accurately stating it. The habit of expressing emotions that we do not feel, as those objects, and permeating the whole material. In if they were the present sincere desire of the soul, must the cases of the 'spirits,' no shattering of the table do harm instead of good, and a very great harm, since is apparent. It is generally moved as slowly as if a

be admitted that whoever occupies a pulpit, where the prayer is expected with as great regularity as the sermon, is constantly exposed to the chance, at least, of having his thoughts so engrossed by other matters as t Every one has heard and enjoyed the story of the be unfitted, for the time, for any hearty and real per political minister who prayed, the Sunday after the opposite party had come into power— O Lord, bless the many times in the course of each year, when this disabling preoccupation of mind actually does exist in and the Council, and grant them that wisdom and discretion which they so greatly need. Every one the customary tone, for the customary time, without knows too, how frequently ministers use the privilege of allowing any absence of heart and soul to be perceive

But if this mental unfitness for the act of prayer thus liable to be felt by the minister, how much me by the people! and how small the probability that the the Orthodox sects, but the Unitarians; even among the most ultra ministers, and the least shackled by cussouls with him through the extended series of hi petitions, Sunday after Sunday ! It would be unreason able to expect of them more than a decorous quietu while the service lasts, and the admission, as they walk home, that the minister made a very good prayer.

The true view of prayer is, not that it is a duty which God requires, or a service which he needs from ns, still less, that it is a means of changing his purpos in our favor, but that it is a privilege, always acc when the proper conditions for it exist, and sometim very precious. If the full heart, overburdened with joy or grief, often finds unspeakable comfort in the utterance of itself to merely human (and thus imperfect) sympathy, how great must be the comfort, w this resource is not at hand, or is inadequate, to know that the truest friend, the most tender sympathizer, an the ablest helper, is at that moment present with us, and to relieve ourselves by the expression to him of what

God certainly knows our hearts, with or without onsent. But, as it is possible for us to regret this supervision and fret under it, so it is possible to welme it, to rejoice in it, to delight in voluntarily prese ing ourselves unveiled to his eye, and to find pleasur in expressing to this Omniscient Friend just what w would wish to communicate to our best friend, if he were

Intimate friends often say to each other that which each is aware that the other knows as well as he. The act of expression is a pleasure, and the act of respons equally so, though no particle of new information imunicated. Every one knows this, and practises it. How is this joy of expression less real, exercised towards the invisible than the visible friend?

God plainly says to men, in their experience, ome one has written in the New Testament :- Behold I stand at the door and knock. If any man will hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in.' Prayer the opening of the door. Not that he cannot already see all that is in the house, but he wishes the soul is really and actively felt; so is the request for those soul delights, for its own sake, in giving the demonstravoluntarily to make him welcome, and the right-feeling tion of welcome.

Jesus says, 'When thou prayest, enter into loset, and when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy Father in secret.' Does this mean that the literal closet is necessary, or the wooden door, turning on hinges; or that knees and lips, and length of time, and bodily privacy, are necessary? Not at all. The real closet is where you and the Father are alone together; and you may be alone together in the midst of a crowd, or surrounded with, and aiding in, the most active business. In any half-minute through the ourse of your day's labor, you may open the door, unseen of other men, and the Father will come in, allaying your weariness, reviving your strength, cheering your despondency, and reassuring you of his continued presence and love.

This is true prayer, The formal, protracted, and repetitious utterances of 'Lord, Lord,' in the meetinghouse do not seem to me to be the present 'sincere desire,' either of the preacher or the people, and therefore not prayer, in the proper sense of that word, Hence I should be well-content to dispense with them.

### SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS. NUMBER II.

- Boston, March 23, 1853. MR. GARRISON: In my last article on the subject of spiritual rappings,' I undertook to show that a belief equivalent to blasphemy against the goddess of reason. you, father,' with which each new favor is greeted at believers in the rappings; but although adhesiveness is At the risk of needless repetition, I will state this larger, and therefore I must speak, even if I lose all ism or not, I am decided in entertaining it. I have man. Let me now enlarge upon this point. First, what is God, but Reason ruling in the soul? If God reveals himself to men, is it not only through reason God often reveals truth to me, but never except through Gratitude and desire are not voluntary things. They the exercise of that portion of himself, which, in his cannot be aroused from a state of quiescence, and put goodness and impartial love, he has communicated to teacher, man would never know when he was right, and sessor perfect light. 'If thine-eye be single, thy whole can never be certain of being free from error; while one

thus lost in God will never err, in important particulars. 'The meek will he guide in the way of truth.' If I give up my reason, I am no longer a human being, but an automaton : I have denied God, and am worse than an infidel.' No man can embrace the 'spiritual rapping' theory, and not disown reason, partially Your friend does you a very important service, and at least, for it begins by requiring him to believe a plain you thank him. Perhaps the feeling of gratitude per- and palpable absurdity. It says, deny the plainest

Matter possesses the property of inertia, or inability one care, and is not in the other, to overcome the iner-Why is it any more appropriate, or desirable, to make tia of the article. In the case of 'spirits,' both weight of our feelings to God? to and velocity are wholly lacking, and, of course, the spirits being able to work miracles, which is still nore a denial of reason.

It is acknowledged by the believers in the pings,' that the 'spirits' possess bodies of so light a naterial that they can float at random through the atmosphere, and yet, in the next breath, they ask us to believe that a 'heavy chest with three stor it gives an alloy of insincerity to the most sacred of all gentle child was touching it, which also proves that the relations, our intercourse with our Maker. But it must lack of weight, on the part of the 'spirit,' is not

atoned for by a velocity sufficient to form the requisite attribute effects to causes utterly and wholly ina to the production of them; and yet this absurdity i

ing the world with a greater variety of the most foolish and contradictory ideas, than the rhapsodies of half-witted men have ever before inflicted upon the race. We are told that this is the ushering in of the 'new dispensation'—that 'heaven is now opened unto earth' vince men of the reality of a future life. Without stopping to show the folly of expecting to convince material men of spiritual truths by appealing to their senses, I will offer a remark or two upon the short-sightedness of the Deity, manifested in this singular procedure of his. First, if the moving of a table by a spirit convinces a man of the existence of spirits, then the moving of a man of the existence of spirits, then the moving of a provided in the same mouth. During the evening of the 18th, Dr. Reuben Barron, of Palmer Devot came into my office, and in the course of

in this respect, is the language of Mr. Parker, uttered years ago, in reference to miracles; that the confusion caused by outward miracles would blind the eyes of the person, and prevent him from exercising his reason, and thus believing. It is simpler that Christobert. and thus believing. It is singular that Christ should have failed to work miracles of this nature, when the Sadducees were questioning him respecting a future state of existence. Was it not his great object to ' bring Is not that remark as true to-day as it was then?

the spirits of animals communicate with mortals, as well lieve, were of opinion that the tumor originated as the spirits of men; and if the communications of on the right ovaries, and, of course, that its atthe latter prove their existence, of course those of the former prove their existence also. Indeed, some of the spiritual' believers now admit the future existence of nimals, for this reason.

But of what earthly use is it for a man to believe theoretically in a future existence? Does not the Church fight for that faith? It is far better for a man not to believe in a future life, until his reason is convinced, than for him to be overwhelmed by materialism, and forced to adopt a theory without intellect and other medical gentlemen present, proceeded with the operation. On laying open the parietes of the abdomen, and exposing the tumor to view, it was found that the attachments were on the left, instead of the right to adopt a theory without intellect. to adopt a theory without intellectual conviction. Is it right for a man to embrace even anti-slavery, except through his reason?

Then, such a future state as these revelations teach !

Why! Mohammed, in his most voluptuous moments, hardly taught a theory more revolting to every lover of true spirituality than the new theory of heavem Give me non-existence beyond the grave, in preference to such a place as these so-called spirits reveal heaven to be. Look at Thomas Paine's travels in the other world! Thomas and his friend William Penn stood beworld! Thomas and his friend William Penn stood before a literal castle, built of stone. William said,
'Minds are now serving many masters in this castle,
the house or office; that there was no allusion in the
letter of Dr. Archer in regard to the enormous size through fear of their displeasure.' In other places he and drinking. In some places, spirits were deceiving removed by Prof. Burnham, and requesting my at their fellow-spirits with false doctrines. In one vast tendance. temple was a 'long line of warriors, with broken spears and rusty guns, without locks.' In short, the materiality of the other world is the basis of all these revelations. Even the fashions of this world exist there, and 'fashionable circles' are spoken of as having deather the community, upon other principles than those cons. Here we have Slavery, Error, Carnality, Aristocracy, and Warriors, besides all sorts of material demonstrations, calculated to charm the outward senses. onstrations, calculated to charm the outward senses. Hardly any allusion is made to the presence of God, or Christ, and nothing is taught respecting that sublime Barron of this case, I am permitted to refer to S. Barron of true religion, the perfect union of the soul L. Griggs, Esq., the former High Sheriff of Tolland doctrine of true religion, the perfect union of the soul with God. According to these theories, heaven is no better than this earth; we do not cast aside this mortal body, or at least exchange it for another, and we

are still to find pleasure in material good. Now, of what earthly use is it to convince men of the existence of such a carnal abode? Will it deliver them from the power of the senses to be told that those senses are to be gratified forever? For one, I think infidelity is less calculated to do harm than such burlesque representations of the glorious spiritual life, to which we are all destined.

Then, again, read Dr. Rush's reputed lectures on the Healing Art, and witness his mental deterioration, since he left this world. Who can wish to exist hereafter, if he is destined thus to decline in intellectual life? No one, surely.

I shall, in my third and last number, deduce still

stronger objections to this 'spiritual' theory. Yours, for true spirituality, C. STEARNS.

APPEAL TO PRANKLIN PIERCE

sold into perpetual slavery, to have his tender limbs galled with chains, and his flesh torn with the lash, as the colored children of slaves are; and when their mothers become frantic with grief, their consolation is a whip, or some cruel torture to silence their repinings.

the best attested facts.

3. In like manner, the idea that these pheno No, brother ! You can have the satisfaction of placing the remains of your child under the clods of the valley, to repose quietly in their low bed ; while parents, How could you feel for others' woes, if you never experienced any? Now, you can never forget the worm-wood and the gall mingled in this cup of affliction, when you look at the system of slavery, and see the holiest ties and the most endearing relations sundered by it.

A. The assumption, that disembodied spirits cannot communicate with persons still in the flesh, is
opposed to the whole tenor, not merely of Hebrew
and Christian, but also of Pagan History. The
possibility of such intercourse—nay, the fact that ties and the most endearing relations sundered by it. If this event does not awaken your heartfelt sympathies, and stimulate you to active exertion for the immediate abelition of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the horrid

From the Salem Observer.

We find the following account of a very marvelto the production of them; and yet this absurdity is required by every believer in the 'rapping' theory. It appears to me, that believers in the spiritual origin of these manifestations would do well to recall to memory the principles of natural philosophy which they doubtless learned in their school-boy days, and thus be saved from this great delusion.

But this is not the only absurdity this theory requires a man to believe. You must also disown all faith in the wisdom of God, and believe he has no better way of convincing men of the reality of a future state of existence, than by material demonstrations, and by flooding the world with a greater variety of the most foolish.

We find the following account of a very marvellous of dispersion, in the Boston Courier, credited to the Springfield Republican, in which last paper it originally appeared. We have been strongly inclined to distrust many of the alloged marvels and wonders which the new science has brought to light, and have no disposition to aggravate the panic which they seem calculated to excite in some minds; but this letter has such reputable "antecedents," that its publication seems to be warranted. With Dr. Gardner, the author, we are personally acquainted, and know him to be a man of standing and veracity, and the editor of the Republican.

Superior or Spiritual Sight-A Case. ted in the public mind in regard to the truthfulness of the theory of spiritual manifestations in the various modes in which these phenomena are pre--that 'this is the day prophets and apostles long desired to see, but died without the sight.' In short, that this is the grand acme of God's everlasting efforts to convince men of the reality of a future life. Without stopping to show the folly of expecting to convince material.

a man of the existence of spirits, then the moving of a dozen tables would be likely to convince many men of the same doctrine, and the overturning of a house would convince many more. Now, if human spirits can move tables, God's spirit can move houses and the 'everlasting rocks,' which movements would settle forever the question of spiritual existence, if such a question of the truthfulness of these impressions; yet he was not satisfied. I, at once, for the purpose of this supporting sight, handever the question of spiritual existence, if such a ques-tion can be settled by material demonstrations. But of testing the power of this superior sight, hand-God moves no houses or rocks, and therefore is either ed him the letter I had received from Dr. Archer, guilty of short-sightedness, or is aware that men cannot be really converted in this manner. Our friends may take the former horn of the dilemma. I prefer to take the latter. But this is not all. Imagine a man take the latter. But this is not all. Imagine a man take the latter. But this is not all. Imagine a man take the latter. But this is not all. Imagine a man take the latter. But this is not all. Imagine a man take the latter is not all. Imagine a man take the latter is not all. Imagine a man take the latter is not all converted to spiritualism. He was once an infidel. fatigued and somewhat excited, very soon passec Why was he so? Because he was not under the influinto the superior condition. After an interval of ence of reason. He dwelt in the outward world, and a few minutes, Dr. B. said,—'This is a request ence of reason. He dwelt in the outward world, and was material in his nature. He now is made spiritual, not by the arousing of his neglected spiritual faculties, but by material manifestations around him. In other words, the effect of the disease is destroyed, but the cause still remains, which is an absurdity. How true, in this respect, is the language of Mr. Parker, uttered

young lady who was to undergo the operation and also of her sister, who was with her; the tumor, both in regard to its enormous size, and its attachment to the left broad ligaments and Fallostate of existence. Was it not his great object to bring immortality and life to light? and yet when did he ever resort to such means to convince unbelievers? Did On the morning of the 19th, I repaired to Merihe not quote Lazarus' remark to the rich man, 'They will not believe, though one should rise from the dead'?!

Is not that remark as true to-day as it was then?

Is not that remark as true to-day as it was then? But, what certainty can a man have, even externally, that spirits exist, by believing these manifestations? It is a well-known fact in the spiritualists' theory, that tachments were on that side. It bered that Dr. B. wished me to be particular in regard to the location being on the left ovaries.

About two o'clock, P. M., Prof. W. Burnham, o the Worcester Medical College, assisted by P. W Ellsworth, M. D., of Hartford, and other medica

them, while in the superior condition. After removing a portion of the contents of the tumor, and securing the arteries, the attachments were divided, and the enormous mass removed, weighing, with its contents, fifty-two and a half pounds. I will only add, in conclusion, that Dr. Barron was never in the town of Meriden, and was an entire stranger to all the parties—that neither myself nor any other person present had ever seen the patient or heard of the case, previous to the reception of the line from Dr. Archer by myself, on the 17th two days before the operation that on the 17th, two days before the operation; that I mentioned, except that an ovarian tumor was to b

Now, if any of the learned and scientific Rev or other Professors, who have been and still are investigating the subject, can give a rational explanation of or account for this one case, among the many that are of almost daily occurrence in harmonial philosophy. For the truth of my state ments, in regard to the description given by Dr on that occasion.

H. F. GARDNER, M. D. Springfield, Feb 28, 1853.

time since designated by the Brooklyn Association of Congregational Ministers to investigate and report upon the phenomena of our day, currently characterized as 'Spiritualism,' and sometimes a "Spirit Rappings." Mr. B. accordingly devoted many weeks to the requisite investigation, and has summed up his observations and reasonings thereon in a Report, which (by reason of the au thor's recent departure for Europe) was read in his behalf by his brother, Rev. Thomas K. Beecher of Williamsburgh, at a meeting of the Association yesterday, in Rev. J. B. Grinnell's Church, Fourthstreet. The report is too long even for column so ample as ours; but its reasoning is compact and forcible, and its conclusions so striking that we are glad to hear the Report will be very soon is The following is an extract from a letter which was sent to Mr. Pierce, (by a lady in New Hampshire,) in reference to the melancholy death of his son:

'This cherub boy, on whom you doted with so much fondness and hope, met an accidental and sudden death.

The idea that these 'Rappings,' or whatever they may be called, are the product of mere juggle, or intentional imposture, is not to be entertained by any one even imporfactly familiar with facts.

fordness and hope, met an accidental and sudden death.

He was not torn from you under cover of law, and abundantly verified.

2. The hypothesis, that these phenomena have their origin in some hitherto latent action of Electricity, Magnetism, or any other natural and physical force, creates many more difficulties than t overcomes, and is also inconsistent with some of

mena are caused by some unconscious, involuntary mental action of some person or persons still in ley, to repose quietly in their low bed; while parents, for no crime but having a colored skin, must be subjected to tenfold more anguish and torture by the cruel slave system, than to be slain outright themselves, or professes to explain. To say that a table which child did. Really, there is something wonderful and full of meaning in this sudden stroke, in view of the high position you are about to occupy, and the responsibilities attending the station! I seem to see in the high position you are about to occupy, and the respon-sibilities attending the station! I seem to see in the overture the wise designs of Heaven, in suffering it to secur at this time, and in the awful manner it did. world's uniform experience, and to all the known laws of causation

abolition of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the horrid system of slavery itself, I think your reign may be cut short, as that of some of your predecessors has been, or else be marked with more fatal consequences to yourself and the nation at large. 

great mass of mankind. The assumption of the moral impossibility of communication between those we call the dead and individuals still in the body, or else be marked with more fatal consequences to yourself and the nation at large.

SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS.

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