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ANTI-SLAVERY OPPICE, 21 CORNHILL. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT

Traxs-Two dollars and fifty cents per annum Fire copies will be sent to one address for TE attes, if payment be made in advance. Tall remittances are to be made, and all letters plains to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to

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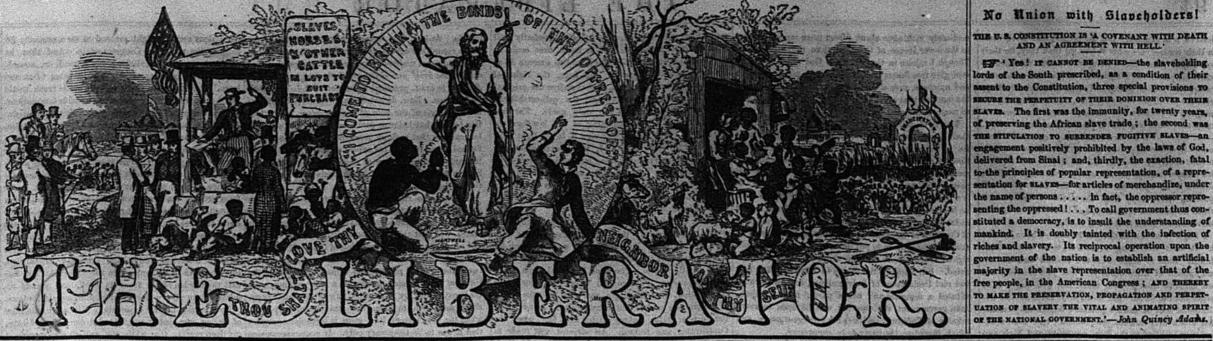
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, rania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are auperiod to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial tee, but are not responsible for any of the debts the paper, vil :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray EDRUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILDRICK, and FIGURE PRILLIPS.

The the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of

by in the country and biberator, both a perfection are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 24.



UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'-John Quincy Adams.

No Union with Slaveholders!

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

ds of the South prescribed, as a condition of their

THE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

tion, three special provisions to

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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 17, 1853.

WHOLE NUMBER 1167.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

NEW ENGLAND A. B. CONVENTION.

COMPARED BY J. M. W. YERRINTON. SPEECH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

The Resolutions which Thold in my hand follow, very

propriately, the speech we have just listened to from friend Mr. FOSTER, (DANIEL,) and will be found to correcte that generous and magnanimous spirit which has inculcated and exemplified :--1 Resolved, That inasmuch as the condition of mem-

esip in the American Anti-Slavery Society is, simply, as held property in man, that immediate emancipation the right of the slave and the duty of the master; as as seedy neither disciplines nor excommunicates any asserts any charge of acting inconsistently with his absert profession; as its platform is as open to its poems as to its friends, and free to all; and as the growns as to its friends, and free to all; and as the painstrumentality for the peaceful abolition of slaven's the atterance and application of the truth to the secences and hearts of the people; it follows, that, a log as the Society is true to its fundamental princin's it furnishes common ground for all those who claim are arrious for the overthrow of the slave system, and is anious for the overthrow of the slave system, and assess from it is an indication of a factious spirit, or densities of the cause and the duties of the hour.

2. Resolved, That no man, who consents to stand on the mistavery platform, or standing where he may,—
may who professes to be the friend and advection. se and who professes to be the friend and advocate of its slave, especially if he occupy a high, responsible miss,—has a right to claim exemption from anti-tary criticism, or to construe it into a personal affront, of to plead his unquestionable and unquestioned anti-sizery acts as entitling him to go unrebuked in cases

story acts as change in the grant of the story acts as a found wanting.

1 Residuel, That it is not only the right but the star of the professed friends of the slave to be watchful an janes, lest there be any compromise of his rights, as to admonish each other whenever or wherever there sate a summinus each other whenever the series to be a dereliction from the strict line of anti-avery principle; and whoever takes offence at this, or whire whimself from our platform in consequence theref, shows himself to be consciously in the wrong, all gnable to vindicate his position.

Sr, for what are we assembled at this Anniversary? his to bear anew our testimony against chattel slavery wer land. That sin is so-palpable, that crime is so memous, that no man can honestly doubt in regard to a real nature ; for God never yet made a human being who felt in his soul that he ought to be a slave; al therefore, the universal heart of our common humaity, in all ages, in all climes, has rejected the idea that man can be made the property of man.

Well, then, we are all opposed to slavery-so we say ; wall desire its abolition—such is our profession; but he shall we proceed to effect its overthrow? What shall be the mode by which we shall cooperate in order to accomplish this great and sublime object? Or is there sommon bond of union, by which we can rally together on the side of liberty? Why, Sir, slaveholders, diin these particulars, just as we are at the North, -are tot divided on the subject of slavery. They readily combine their means and influences for its preservation tal perpetuity, making every other consideration subwlinste. Now, is it not possible for the true friends of freelom to be as united in its defence and extension, though differing in their religious and political opinions? Infirm that we can unite; that we ought to unite; nay,

that the true in spirit are united, all over this country. Batit is desirable to organize. It is better to work to giber than to work singly; for by concentrating our frees, we can operate all the more powerfully upon public opinion. But how shall we organize? What field be the platform laid down, on which to invite erry body to stand?

la the first place, it ought not to be a religious orpaintion, technically speaking-Presbyterian, Bapist, Methodist, or any other; for that would be exclu the and acctarian. It would leave a wast multitude of the friends of freedom outside of it, for various reasons; and therefore you would have loss of strength, and an

In the second place, it must not be a political organmion; for as only a small portion of the people are penittel to vote in this government—as one half of the population, on account of their sex, are politically dafranchisel—as many persons are conscientiously oppasel to uphobling a government of violence and ind-as many others are precluded from the ballotbut by their views of the pro-slavery compromises in the Constitution-a mere political organization must becausily be exclusive, and therefore contracted in its place of activity and influences

Sr, we want something better than either the one or the other—something more catholic, more philosophed, more comprehensive. Can we get it? What ought ble its leading characteristic? What should be the milion and test of membership? I add-

la the third place, the organization must not exclude and either from membership or from active participain its affairs; because women abhor, and have reain to abbor, slavery as intensely as men; and because wasny women are clanking their chains, and crying fe relief, as men. Every member must be permitted h pleasi the cause of all such as are appointed to de-Encion, on his or her own responsibility, as a sense d duty may determine.

lastly, the object of the organization must be moral ation—the promulgation of the truth, and its applining to the consciences of a people who are 'lader to iniquity,' and 'whose hands are full of blood.' It a noral regeneration which is to be effected, as much as as in apostolic times, and by the same instrumenthe foolishness of preaching.

It is evident that such an organization must be based ten a self-evident truth, and animated by a vital prinis, appealing alike to the understanding and consome of every human being, without regard to relisee or political opinions. That truth is, that slaveding is, under all circumstances, a sin against God; therefore, that immediate emacipation is the right of the slare and the duty of the master. What is selffilmt is all-embracing, and may be held in common on and women ; by Christians and Infidels ; by those belong to religious bodies, and by those who do not; these who exercise the elective franchise, and by who are disfranchised for conscience sake. We an all give our hearty endorsement to the principle,iring nothing beyond this, but that each one shall and carry it out, with conscientious fidelity, at

Now, sir, this is the spirit, the freedom, the platform nothing less. It is willing to hear, at its own pecuniary expense, in its own meetings, whatever may be said against its principles or measures, in whatever temper time shall come when this lofty trait in its character ipon its walls, and proclaim its downfall.

Sir, we resort to no disciplinary measures. We put orth no bulls of excommunication. We neither exclude or suspend any member, on any ground whatever. Every one is as free to go as he is free to come, incurlegitimate application may be perceived, 'rememberng them that are in bonds as bound with them.' Whenever any thing is found hostile to its progress, then whoever makes the discovery is bound to cry out against the obstacle, and attempt its removal. If, in off, the eye must come out.

nembers who vote for such men as Franklin Pierce or my own opinion about it-what do you think? Winfield Scott? Do we say that they shall be excommunicated if they remain with the Whig, or Democrat-

very cause; we mean to criticise, reprove and warn, and are ready to be criticised, reproved and warned in Of course, the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be

effective, must cherish and promulgate definite opinions -the collective opinions of its members, as expressed by a majority on any given point, for the time being. It may sometimes err in judgment; it may not always come to a right decision; still, as it ever holds itself open to reproof and conviction, as it gives the minority ever desirable opportunity to expose its fallacies or errors, this affords no good reason for refusing to coop erate with it. All that can be done, among fallible human beings, under the circumstances, to arrive at a true result, is assuredly done; and where this spirit prevails, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, rely upon it, that result will be satisfactory. Welcomin the light from whatever quarter it may shine, how is it possible for the Society to evince a stronger conviction of the rectitude of its course, -or, if in error, a more manly desire to be set right, -or a more unselfish conecration to the cause of the enslaved in our land?

No step has the American Anti-Slavery Society eve taken backwards. Not that it is conceited, dogmatical nwilling to yield when in error : but because there has een no occasion for retracting or going back. We have abandoned many of our steps, but it is the abandon ment of an onward march to grapple all the more vigorously with the enemy. We do not stand precisely where we did twenty years ago, or even ten years ago; we are all the while making new issues and fresh advances

and all this is essential to the abolition of slavery. Now, then, if we do not dictate to any man to what party he shall belong, to what creed he shall subscribe, what church he shall give in his adhesion or from which he must withdraw, or what he shall think or say of the Constitution or government of the country-if we allow him free speech, and he professes to agree with us in principle, and in the duty of adhering to it-what excuse has he for absenting himself from this platform? How can he justify himself in lifting his heel against us? Why should he run away? Here is the place to deend himself. What if the Society deem him to be unand in some of his views, or pro-slavery in some of tion to be a tenable one. Then he will be serene and amoved, instead of getting angry and furious. Instead of impeaching the motives or spirit of the Society, he will say, 'You give me all I ask-all that any in, who has a soul, can desire—the opportunity to ate my convictions freely, and to defend my conduct, nd that is enough ! Believing that I am right, I have full faith that, ultimately, I shall have the satisfaction

of seeing the Society espouse my side of the question.'

And yet, Mr. President, what secessions have taken through, and following along the track of our march, gainst the Society, and sought to destroy it ; evidently far more anxious to cripple the efforts and blacken

What is it that we exact? Not conformity as to the application of the principle, in order to membership in our Society, but only as to the principle itself—an endorsement of its soundness. We make due allow- as an anti-Christian body. ance for the fact, that mankind make progress, if some- To such conclusions, after careful examination

Well, what next? The platform of the organization conclusion, logically or by intuition, at the same mo nust be free to all, and speech upon it left untrammel- ment. We know that, among those who are equally ed. There must be a willingness to hear not only those houest, there may be hesitancy on the part of some, and who are friendly to its object, but also those who are doubt on the part of others, as to where the principle hostile to it; for the truth has nothing to fear in an fairly applies. We admit that there will be cases where open encounter with error, and ever courts inquiry and men the most clear-sighted may, for a time, be somexamination-ever coming out the better and stronger what troubled to decide whether this or that step is really a compromise of principle. But then, sir, all these things must be tolerated, if we would work together of the American Anti-Slavery Society-nothing more, for the overthrow of slavery. Ultimately, we may all

Sir, if a member of our organization can belong to the Whig or Democratic party, and feel that he occupies or language. If it has any favors to grant, they are a true anti-slavery position in so doing, let him remain granted especially to those who are disposed to assail with the party. To his own conscience let him be true. t-giving them not only an equal chance, but more To his own master he must stand or fall. What we than justice requires on the score of time. If ever the shall do is, when he comes upon our platform, to endeavor to show that his position is inconsistent with shall be blotted out, then you may write 'ICHABOD' the principle he has accepted, and is practically pro-slavery. As Lot was commanded to fice out of Sodom, that he might not be destroyed with its inhabitants; as God says to his people in Babylon, 'Come out of her, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues; ' so anti-slavery demands ring no censure for his withdrawal. We are agreed sim- the abandonment of every pro-slavery sect and party. ply as to the abstract principle; we are agreed, also, Still, if any one does not feel called upon to leave his parthat it is the duty of each and all to adhere to it, as its ty, or church, or the government, he is at liberty to remain, and he will manifest his sincerity by exhibiting a manly and catholic spirit, and a readiness to be examined as to his conduct.

Now, Sir, can you conceive of any thing more charitable than this-more magnanimous than this-more the course of the conflict, he shall find himself called sublimely courageous than this -a higher evidence of a upon to cut off his right hand or pluck out his right desire to be in the right, and a wish never to be in the eye, there must be no hesitancy—the hand must come wrong? Where is there such liberty conceded on any other platform under the whole heavens? What other Sir, we are sometimes accused of being narrow and enterprise-except the little, despised Non-Resistance exclusive in our organization—of imposing tests and enterprise—has ever been so constituted, or as indul-requiring conditions, which interfere with individual gent on the score of freedom of speech to all? The Free onviction and personal freedom. No accusation can Soil platform is not free; the Free Soil meeting is not e more unjust, no opinion more erroneous. Do we say free-(I say it not invidiously, of course; I only deal that the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society with the fact.) It is exclusively for Free Soilers; it must all be agreed in proclaiming the Constitution of does not say, 'We welcome every man to this platform, the United States to be 'a covenant with death and an to show us wherein we are in the wrong.' No; what is agreement with hell'? Do we say that none shall be the reason? I ask again-What is the reason? I have

'Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just.' There are those in our ranks who deem the position of ie, or Free Soil party-or with a pro-slavery church or the Free Soil party not the highest and best for the lenomination, or support a pro-slavery clergy? We cause of the slave. They might come on to the platsay no such thing; we make no such requirement; we form—and if it were a free one, they certainly would let every man stand accountable to his God. t every man stand accountable to his God.

Come—and there would be a searching examination. Is but there is one thing we do, and mean to persist in it to prevent such examination that their meetings are loing : we keep our platform open to all, and free to not free? Why, sir, if at any of their gatherings they all, without respect of persons. We utter our convictions fearlessly and independently as to who and what the defence of his party, or to make an assault upon is pro-slavery, and allow nothing in Church or State to theirs, there is great rejoicing, and they are quite ready him-hear him!' Why is this? Because, as against the Hunker Whig or the Hunker Democrat, the Free Soilers know that they occupy the vantage ground, and can cover him with confusion of face. But with regard to the radical, uncompromising abolitionists, their presence is not welcomed, and the platform is not made

> WM. A. WHITE, of Watertown-Does Mr. GARRISON nean this Convention to understand that the meetings of the Free Soilers are not open to all who claim to be the friends of the slave, or whether they do or not?

Mr. Garrison-I will answer that question by asking another-which is the Yankee method, you know. Does our friend WHITE mean to say that the Free Soil ectings are thus free?

Mr. WHITE-I do ; and I hereby invite Mr. GARRISON to attend the next Free Soil Convention, and make a speech. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. GARRISON-Very good! But is our friend authorized, in behalf of the party, to make the invita-Mr. WHITE-No, sir ; I make it on my individual re-

Mr. Garrison-I doubt if such a proposition would eceive the sanction of the party, as such. At any rate, t has never yet been declared to the world. But I am not the man to quarrel with that spirit, but will ever

give it the right hand of fellowship. Mr. President, adopting the fundamental principle of the American Anti-Slavery Society, what have we done with it in our organization? In a faithful application of it to men and measures-to the religious and political institutions of the land-to constitutions and lawswe have made many discoveries discoveries that have filled us sometimes with amazement, sometimes with deep regret, sometimes with heartfelt anguish; because we started, at the outset, mixed up with the old parties and with the religious sects, ardent in our attachment and earnest in our support of them. We did not know where we were going ; we could not tell what was before us; for who foresaw, when he gave in his adhesion to the cause of the oppressed, that he would be called his relations to Church or State? He believes his posi- upon to give up his party, his church, his minister—to lose his reputation and jeopard his worldly interest-to the extent he has been required to do? But we took the pledge of fidelity to the slave. We declared his cause to be good and true-yes, divine ; and hence whatever obstructed its triumph, must be from the ad versary, and not from God. At what hazard and cost all this has been done, let posterity decide.

On many points, slowly but surely, we have arrived at great unanimity of sentiment. We are generally agreed in the opinion, that the Whig party of the coun place from our ranks, from time to time! All the way try is foully pro-slavery, and therefore ought to be through, and following along the track of our march, abandoned. We are equally convinced that the Demoare to be found the carcases of multitudes who have cratic party is utterly subserviefit to the Slave Power, erished by the way. They run well for a time, and and thoroughly polluted, from which it is the duty of hen they fell to the earth; or, growing hateful and every pure-minded man and every true Democrat to personal in their spirit, they have become embittered withdraw. We also affirm that a Church, claiming to be the Church of Christ, and yet having no bowels of mercy for the oppressed, nay, receiving slaveholders the character of the uncompromising abolitionists, than and slave-breeders to its communion table, is a Church to bring slavery into disrepute. nected; and that, if there be one thus associated with

THE LIBERATOR. | whatever cost, and wherever it may lead, according to | times rapidly, more commonly slowly. We know, in the | mature consideration, we have come, with but few distinction | times rapidly, more commonly slowly. We know, in the | mature consideration, we have come, with but few distinction | times rapidly, more commonly slowly. We know, in the | mature consideration, we have come, with but few distinction | senting voices in our ranks, but not without great hese ought to come out and separate themselves for ever | frowns'; but, 'What will people say?'—and tancy and reluctancy on the part of some, for a time. from it. (Loud applause, and a few hisses.) All did not see the duty at the same moment; at first, perhaps only a solitary member saw the guilt of the relation, raised the warning cry, and called for consistent what if a man does not admonish me in love—does that

> sembers of the American Anti-Slavery Society are generally agreed, the professed friends of the slave, acting who is going to run away from the anti-slavery plat- siderations.

I told you that the American Anti-Slavery Society excommunicates nobody, disciplines nobody; but it ne machine, which separates the tares from the wheat with wonderful discrimination. It has an instrument by which it detects the false, unmasks the hypocritical, ENTRAMMELLED PLATFORM! Whoever cannot stand the

But the inquiry is raised, 'Why criticise and arraign uch men as Charles Sumner, Horace Mann and John P. Hale? Why not criticise and arraign them, if they are at any time found wanting? Who are they, to claim exemption from the strictest scrutiny? Are they If I were to obey my own feelings, this evening. I infallible? Are they demi-gods? If they stumble in surely should not speak a word. I would far rather the dark, shall we raise no warning voice, acting as when on this platform, listen than speak. But yet, if, they do the part of political leaders? Not criticise by any word I shall say, the day of deliverance for the anti-slavery speeches now and then-help the fugitive offer that word-glad to offer it, too. slave now and then-and manfully resist the usurpa- I listened to-day, as I always listen, with great inter tions of the Slave Power! Why, sir, do we not grate-fully acknowledge all that they do for the slave, and Constitution of the United States, and the support givgive them full credit for it? The anti-slavery speeches en to the system of slavery in that direction; I have of Mann, of Sumner, of Hale, of Giddings, I have always gladly printed in the columns of THE LIBERATOR Church—of her recreancy to truth and duty—I know -(loud applause) -and I think I have not been chary they are all true; but yet, whenever I listen to a dis in my tribute to those gentlemen for the anti-slavery cussion on these topics, there always comes to me the work that they have done. For one, I must be beside thought, that, if the government and the Constitution myself if I can quarrel with them for being faithful to remain just as they are,-if the Church remains with our cause. But, sir, when, in my judgment, they fail the same creed that it has to-day, slavery would be in to carry out the principle, or stand in a pro-slavery relation, what shall I do, as an honest man—as their riend, and as the advocate of the slave? Shall I be creeds,—but it would be in the country because we are hold the slaveholder to the strictest account; shall I enslaved, that, be the civil institutions of the country

lospel—the good young man—who had lived so exem-Honor thy father and mother. And he answered and self-bound, bruised and beaten-he yet cannot go to said unto him, Master, all these have I observed from help him, because he is not himself in freedom. Men my youth. Then Jesus beholding him loved him, and and women creep cowardly over God's footstool, and id unto him, One thing thou lackest : go thy way, by their very cowardice, they allow the system of slavesell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and holding to run riot over the land.

thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, take I mean what I say. The slave is held in his bo

action. Then another and another apprehended it justify me in getting angry? What if, on this platclearly, and the discussion went on, until nearly the form, I am unjustly censured? Shall I leave it in a whole body became satisfied as to its reality, and proposed sentence of condemnation accordingly.

| Construction of the discussion went on, until nearly the form, I am unjustly censured? Shall I leave it in a passion? No, sir. It is for me to bear with him; to bear with every body; to let patience have its perfect We come now to the question of withdrawal from the work ; and to be satisfied with the liberty granted to prorrnment, in consequence of the pro-slavery compro-mises of the Constitution. On this point, while the me to show that my accuser is in the wrong-if I am Such is the American Anti-Slavery Society. Honest Whirs, Democrats, Free Soilers, you can be members of

n other relations, are very much divided. They advo- it. Honest Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Episcate various and discordant notions about the Constitu-tion. Some say they hold it to be thoroughly and in-have equal rights here—free speech here—and the obteationally anti-slavery, and so they can vote and hold ject is worthy your united support-freedom for all, office under it without any compromise of principle; and chains for none! The ground occupied by the So-others acknowledge its pro-slavery features, but argue that as it provides for its own amendment, the ballot in that kind of criticism to which I have alluded, may be innocently thrown with that object in view; namely, free speech and free investigation. This is the while others think that, if nothing more can be accom- only vital organization to overturn slavery. The politplished by the elective franchise than the election of ical one is narrow, and its action is spasmodic and limmen to Congress who will exert themselves to abolish ited. A sectarian organization does not meet the wants playery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, of the great heart of our common humanity. I glory and to prevent, the further extension of slavery, it jus- in the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the spirit tifies political action. Here is a wide difference of opin- which animates it, in the noble and unsurpassed examion ; but what then? What if we differ ad infinitum ple it is giving to the world of faith in the truth, in its as to the application of the principle by which we pro-fess to be governed? I want to know who the man is the liberation of the slave paramount to all other con-

form on that account; and if he runs, I want to know One word further. We do not come together to en what is the matter with him. He says that his own po- dorse each other's views on politics or religion, or even sition is sound and practical; that his conscience is sat- the anti-slavery soundness of any member of the organisfied : that his judgment is confirmed, and he has not lization. We acknowledge simply an abstract principle, a doubt troubling his mind. What cause has such a adverse to the institution of slavery, and agree that we man to run from any body? Is not he who is in the will be true to it, as light is given us. That is all. As right the 'one man who shall chase a thousand,' and to the hue and cry on this side of the Atlantic, and in one of the 'two who shall put ten thousand to flight '? England, that the American Anti-Slavery Society is a But if he be not in the right, even then he will manifest no-Bible, no-Sabbath, no-Government Society, etc. etc., no disposition to floe, if he sincerely believes he is right, it has never some from a heart beating in deep sympaor desires to be so, if in error. The language of his thy for the perishing slave. It is both a sectarian and heart will be, 'Search me as with a candle, and see if a pro-slavery device. As a Society, we debate no other there be any thing wrong in me.' Being fallible, he question, decide no other question, than that pertaining may honestly mistake his way or misapprehend his to slavery. As for the holiness of the Sabbath, or the duty, but he is not the man to keep from a free arena inspiration of the Bible, or the rightfulness of governbecause somebody will impeach his judgment or censure ment, we never have assumed to settle any of these his conduct-far otherwise! Who that is satisfied that things. In discussing the subject of slavery, it is to he ought to remain connected with the Whig or Demo-cratic party, pro-slavery though it be,—with the Pres-lect, and after his own method of thinking; and illusbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, or any other Church, pro-slavery though it be, -who, I say, that believes it his this, and no one has a right to complain. The Calvinist duty to do this, as a friend of the slave, has any just who occupies this platform will talk of slaveholders sause to complain of the liberty exercised on this plat- going down to a never-ending hell, if they do not reform, or to stand aloof from our meeting? Hence, the pent; and no Universalist has a right to take offence, resolutions I have submitted, Mr. President, seem to me and say-'I do not believe that doctrine, and it shall to warrant the conclusion, that he who refuses to take not be uttered here—it is extraneous.' No, it is not. cite popular odium against us, gives conclusive evi- his moral training, with his conviction of the sin of dence that he knows there is something rotten in the slavery, it is the natural expression of his idea. So the state of Denmark,' and that that state is inside of him- Universalist, standing on this platform, may affirm that self. (Laughter and cheers.) He furnishes ample he believes in the final restoration of all to God-even proof of the fact, that he is not able to endure free dis- slaveholders not excepted—if he chooses to do so, in ussion, and consequently 'fices when no man pursu- illustration of an argument against slavery; and the Calvinist has no right to take offence, and say, 'I will not hear such a declaration, nor be connected in any association with such men.' So if a word is incident loes far better than that. It is not without a winnow ally uttered here in regard to the Bible, or the Sabbath, or any other subject, that is deemed heretical, remember, it is the speaker who is to be held responsible, not the organization ; nor is he to be blamed, if he eviexposes the compromising, almost as by an infallible dently means to give no offence. When the organizawer. It is free, untrammelled speech, on a free, tion shall endorse any heresy, shall bring in any extraneous question, and attempt to settle it, forgetting the trial is either a coward or a consciously corrupt man. slave, then denounce it as false to its professions,-and not till then. (Cheers.)

SPEECH OF LUCY STONE.

Me CHATEMAN

m !-let them go, forsocth, because they make good slave shall come by one moment sooner, I am willing to

listened to the charges that are made against the dumb? Shall I say, 'No matter—they mean well; not ourselves a free people. I mean, that we who are they have said and done many very good things; let here in Boston, here in New England, and everywhere them run'? Why, nobody should let them run. I North of Mason and Dixon's line, are ourselves so much not hold every other man? To such an account God what they may, the fault lies more in ourselves than in them. The slave may clank his chains all over the Do you recollect the case of the young man in the length and breadth of the land :-- be who can tell the slave's sad story best may stand to tell it in every plary a life, who came to Jesus, saying, 'Good Master, street, in every dwelling, and by every highway, and what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? And though it may go into the ear of the people, and per-Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? there haps reach its heart, yet, after all, he who tells the s none good, but one, that is God. Thou knowest the slave's story, tells it in the cars of those who are them ents, Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, selves in bonds; and though the eye of the listener may Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, look down below him to the slave still lower than him-

up the cross, and follow me. And he was sad at that because there is not, in the souls of men and women, saying, and went away grieved : for he had great pos- a great courage, which dares abide by the truth. When sessions.' So in regard to our Free Soil friends. Have they not made good anti-slavery speeches?—what lack they yet? Have they not contributed to the funds of Squire Smith agree with that?—or does Mrs. Jones the anti-slavery cause ?-what lack they yet? Have agree with that? '-and then, having ascertained the they not assisted fugitive slaves to escape?—what lack opinion of Squire Smith and Mrs. Jones, the question is they yet? One thing; and that is, they are in a politically settled. It is not,—'It is right; and because it is

frowns'; but, 'What will people say?'—and if the 'say' of the people is against the conviction of right, hen the mass of the people amother their convictions, and go with the multitude to do evil, no matter how far the multitude may go in the way of the wrong.

I say, there are few-O, very few !-- who dare do

what is unpopular, no matter how holy it is. To illus-trate what I mean : I went, a short time ago, to lecture n a town in this State, where the kind of anti-slavery represented on this platform is so odious, that, though here are meeting-houses, and halls, and school-houses in the place—all unoccupied on the week day, and some of them unoccupied on the Sabhath, too—no hall, our meeting. So exceedingly odious is this kind of antislavery there, that those who are its friends could all be counted on the fingers of a single hand. But we found a little hillock, beautifully overgrown with trees, whose thick covering gave us a shade from the sun bove, and there we went and held our meeting. In that town, we found there were many who would have been glad to attend our meeting, if they had dared to do so. One woman,-and 1 think she was a fair representative of her sex, -said, 'If I were only a mouse in the wall, I would go to their meeting.' She was not afraid of His eye who never slumbers, but she could not bear that her neighbors should know that she went to meeting that was held in so low esteem. She would have been glad to have heard us, but she was afraid of the laugh of those who did not think it proper to go there. I believe she represents a vast majority of the women of the land. We are not so mindful of the opinion of Him, whose eye, if waking or sleeping, is alare of that of our frail fellow-mortal, whose breath is n his postrils. We are always taking counsel of this man or woman ; always inquiring, as of the last importance, what will this one or that one say. And when we know that their opinion is against our sense of right. we bury the truth in our own souls, and cover it up and keep it there, never allowing it to get before the eyes of others; at least, not until it has been so far recognized by them that we can do it without loss of reputa

belief that men have any more bravery than women. I other sex. I went, not long ago, to speak in a place where there was a great deal of Orthodoxy, and where, too, there was a religion preached, which, as one of the parishioners told me, was only ' the dried husks of Orthodoxy.' 'We have dealt out to us, from Sunday to Sunday,' said he, 'only the dried husks of Orthodoxy.' Five hundred people gather there, from Sunday to Sunday, hungering and thirsting after the bread and water of life, and they have only these miserable husks. When we went there to hold an anti-slavery meeting, I applause,) because he was hoping for place and preferment, which he feared he should fail to obtain, were it known that he had the least shadow of a shade of inclination towards us. I believe he represents the ma-

Again : I went, a short time ago, to attend a meeting in a Massachusetts town, in behalf of a cause equally inpopular with this. A certain man there, on being inited to attend the meeting, replied- No! I will not go to hear a crazy woman; and she must be crazy, or she would not be alluding to such subjects.' Well, few days after, I went to a city in New York State, to speak on the same subject, and there, strange to say, was this very man before my face, he having paid a quarter of a dollar to hear the speaker at whom he had flung so unmanly a sneer when at home! After the lecture,-which seemed to have been acceptable to the audience,-while the friends were crowding around the lecturer to express their sympathy and pleasure, that same toady came up to the platform, also, to give me his hand. (Laughter and cheers.)

The cowardice that such little incidents shadow are to my mind indicative of what lies at the root. Tell such man that there are 'Uncle Toms' scattered all over the South-land, tell him of the weight of wee that sweeps in resistless tide over the souls of those three millions of slaves, and you might as well whisper the bound : he has no courage and no freedom, and before he can come and take hold of ' Uncle Tom's' hand, and raise him up, and give Cassy the word of cheer she eeds, he must make for himself a Declaration of Indeendence; and when he has achieved that, and become a man among men, -when he himself has no shackle on his spirit, and dares to love what is true, and can listen to the word of truth,-then, bending over from his place of power, he can take 'Uncle Tom' by the hand, and recognize him as only 'a little lower than the

After all, it seems to me that the first thing that is eeded for our cause is a great lesson of courage. We want such men and women as will not flatter Neptune for his trident, nor Jove for his power to thunder. We want such men and women, who, if your

'Tempt them with bribes, you tempt in vain ; Try them with fire, you find them true.'

When men and women of this character are more nuerous than now, then, and not till then, can the slave eap out of the charnel-house where he now is, and find he recognition of that manhood which God gave him s his birthright. (Cheers.)

It is my present conviction, that were I to go out and peak to the people on this great subject, wherever I went, from town to town, and from house to house, it should be my business to make the people understand that they were cowards; and I would prove it, to every man's face, and to every woman's, also, from the facts that I would learn them in twenty-four hours; and I rould entreat them to reverence themselves, and spurn the bonds that are on the spirit of man. It should b my business to search out a manhood that could wear itself like a glorious crown, enabling men and women to give their aid to every cause that needs their aid, not stopping to ask, 'Shall I get to office and power?' but nly, 'What is the right?'

We blame the clergy. I have heard, until my car was pained by listening, the story of their recreancy; and I have blamed them, and I do blame them, and they

nr readers, advertiseniese instrufidence that their great he Bolian ich a musiThe inless tuning remarkable years, great anufacture, int tone is sever tried sents madements—seft ice and for also, Mrints withind purity of liable to get a piano. As y in the ex-

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deserve to be blamed. But the people, who hold them in their control, are more to blamed than they, for their cowardice. But when a clergyman comes to learn to scorn his place, and his parish, and his salary, choosing rather the want of place, and of parish, and of salary, with the privileges that they give, and keeping only his integrity of purpose and action,—when he comes to know that there is a wealth that thieves cannot steal, -the approval of his own conscience, and that is more to him than the approval of all those whose breath is in their postrils,—then he will not stop to ask whether this man, who helps pay his salary, of the other, will be pleased if he opens his lips for the dumb; he will come up here, away from the circles of fashion with which he has been connected, and labor with us for the deliverance of them that are in bonds.

I know it costs something to be free-I have learne it. It costs something to be free, even in the leas things. Dare to differ from the fashion and custom and opinion of those about you, and just so surely are you made to smart-from those, too, who ought to be larger than to do it. The world may sneer at the nobleness of soul it cannot imitate; friends may rebuke that which they cannot comprehend; and even affect tion may be blind to the deep, mysteries and high and noble purposes of life; but the consciousness of rectitude is its own exceeding great reward. (Loud applause.) The soul, animated with a holy purpose, is able always to trample under its feet all of opprobrium or of ridicule that malice or meanness can throw in its way. The soul that has a holy purpose, strengthened by that purpose, is able to pass by these petty meannesses, only with a feeling of pity that circumstance have so belittled human beings every where, that they are not capable of receiving and using the reward which comes from freedom of mind and body.

I say again, it costs something to be free; but then in freedom itself there is that richness, that treasure of wealth, which will amply repay all that can be lost otherwise. Take a true position, and by your earnest and faithful life, be understood as having taken it for conscience and the truth's sake, and the grand of soul, the true and noble-hearted, will rally to your side, and round your brow,

'Through rifted clouds and parted, Stream down the smile of God :

and in that smile, and with it, it does not matter who of flesh may frown. (Loud cheers.)

If I were asked what should be the first help to eman cipate the slave, and the second, and the third, I should say to the first, Courage; and to the second, Courage; and Courage to the last! (Applause.) Courage Gather freedom, each man for himself, each woman for herself, and then use it for the good of all. Spurn the bond of servitude that keeps us now always asking what this great world, with its little fractions of men and women, is going to say, rather than trying to find answers to the great questions of truth and duty! I am ashamed of a people which stoops to curry fa

vor with a nation like this -- a nation which, as STEPHEN Fosten says, ' steals babies and whips women ' ;-ask ing privileges of baby-stealers, and of those who, it they do not themselves wield the cowskin over their fellows, stand by those who do! Why, if they be mean men who drive their fellow-beings like cattle, and sell them in the shambles, and steal from the mother her baby, how mean must those be who go and cringe to such men, and ask their favor! (Cheers.) I have n word that can speak the contempt I feel for it; and yet, that poor fawning is every where, and men ac upon their knowledge of it. That poor miserable man in the Assembly at Albany, who introduced a bill which aimed to make the great State of New York a hunting-ground for the slaveholder, he did that foul, mean deed, because he understood that he was surrounded by cravens and cowards. The deed never would have been done, only so there had been a noble manhood about him; but there was not, and so he was able to offer what he did. Dr. Fuller came to Mas sachusetts from Baltimore, and boasted that he held his fellow-beings in bondage; and Dr. Sharp invited him to his pulpit here in Boston, and stood there by the side of this man who stole babies and whipped wo men! He would never have done this shameful thing, had those whom he served, and the community about him, been manly and courageous men.

This cowardice is every where ; in Congress, in the pulpit, in the press, in the church, -every where. There is no one who does not feel the taint of it, more or less. It would seem that the tales which are told of the wrongs of the slave would startle to life the mannation : but they do not, and car until we are ourselves freer than we are. Men! abolitionists! who have gathered here from all

parts of New England, carry back to Maine, to the White Hills of New Hampshire, to the Green Mountains of Vermont, to Connecticut, to Rhode Island, -carry in your minds and hold fast in your hearts, and always give to the people, the idea, that among the first things that true love and sympathy for the slave requires, in order to make that sympathy effective, is to obtain for themselves that freedom which shall make them dare to do the deed they know needs to be done for the slave -to abandon, if need be, the church in which both their father and mother and themselves have grown up,-even though it makes their foes those of their own household, and the men they have been wont to call friends grow cold towards them. What we need is, heroic faith in justice, benevolence, truth and right, going up over our hills and vallies; and against this. sustained by earnest word and earnest deed, the Slave Power cannot stand. The base are always cowards and when they find the sturdy stand of an earnest man hood and womanhood arrayed against them, the slaveholders will feel that the day of their triumph is over But now, they make you hunt down their fugitive slaves, and taunt you with being meaner than those or the plantation. Throw off from your spirit the fette that makes you stop to ask, 'What will people say? Do not ask that question, friends. It does not make any difference. Do not ask whether any body is going to laugh at you for being true to yourself. Nobody was ed to be (laughter); but simply ask and strive faith fully to know the right, and then, if the heavens fall po it! (Loud cheers.) Then will the slave come ou of his prison-house—and not till then. (Applause.)

THE CONSTITUTION AND SLAVERY-ME MANN'S POSITION DEFINED.

WEST NEWTON, June 11, 1853.

WM. L. GARRISON, Esq. : DEAR SIR,- What obligations, if any, to uphole slavery, does a fair and statesmanlike construction our Constitutions, State and National, impose upon the office-holder under them?' I state the question, course, politically, and not morally; for, wherever we encounter any claim or implication requiring a viola tion of the law of God, all human laws, mandates treaties or constitutions, are as flax in the flame. My present stand-point is inside of the Constitutions, as their supporter; not outside, as their destroyer.

Late discussions, on many of the points involved in the above question, have been so demonstrative and exhaustive, that I shall study brevity by merely stating conclusions, rather than to repeat the arguments and reproduce the authorities by which they have been es-

The only objection I am aware of, which is mad against the Constitution of Massachusetts, is that office-holding under it involves an oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

The first provision in the Constitution of the United States, claimed to have a bearing upon the question of slavery, relates to the basis of representation,-th three-fifths rule, so called.

As this provision has been practically construed, eve since the adoption of the Constitution, it is, as to the slave States, a rule of disability. Were all their slaves to be taken and counted, as freemen, as we say they ought to be, the States now holding them would be im

mediately entitled to about fifteen more representatives in the lower House of Congress than they now claim. Though I rejoice in those laws of God which must for-Though I rejoice in those laws of too wealth are give free States an ascendancy, in point of wealth his co-contractor expected. But here, the rights of and numbers, over slave States, yet I should rejoice all their persons are concerned, and therefore the original the more at that extension of freedom which would add the more at that extension of freedom which would add the subjected to all the well-established rules of interpretation, is our only guide. The first so much to the relative power of the South.

The next provision is that which says, 'Congress shall have power—to provide for calling forth the militia to suppress insurrections.' It has been claimed that, in case of a servile insurrection, the cath of a member of Congress would oblige him to exercise this power. No proposition could be more untenable. It is a power given, not a duty enjoined. Suppose such an insurrection to have spread into a free State, and to endanger the lives of jts inhabitants, it may be the duty of Congress to suppress it, as it may be the duty of an executive magistrate to put down a mob, no matter how righteous the remote cause in which it may have originated. But suppose the slaves to have issued a new and real Declaration of Independence, and to have in-stituted a complete and not a partial form of repubwhich, therefore, the party to be suppressed.

the experimentum crusis,-the test.

Now, on the face of this provision, there is not the slightest hint or intimation that any legislation, either by Congress or by the States, was expected or required. In the words, 'law or regulation,' it refers to legislation; not, however, to enjoin, but to interdict. The idea of legislation, therefore, was present to the minds

the arguments and the illustrations by heart. What, then, was the redress of a party from who

festly, the courts, and the courts alone. The cardinal words in the clause are words belonging to the courts, to judicial proceedings. 'Held,' 'under the laws,' -these are not words that savor of law-making, but of law-expounding; not of concurrent acts of Senate and House, prescribing a general rule of conduct ; but of the judicial acts of a legal tribunal adjudicating on parties ' in reference to a specific ' claim.' In the case of a claim for an escaping servant, the courts must act and, from time immemorial, whenever the courts act in an ambiguous phraseology, and to run their chan thing in dispute to be 'delivered up' to the prevailing not of legislatures.

But, in the case of a 'claim' by a 'party' before a court, for a fugitive from service, what would be the British Press-gang or the French Lettres de Cactet, question? Clearly, under these words in the Consti- and which, whatever they meant, were understood, or ation, the main question would be, whether the per- all sides, to be applicable to an institution soon to son claimed was 'held' to service or labor, under any abandoned and cast out by all men. And it account State laws ; or, - which is the exact correlative of this, - as no other hypothesis ever did or can, for that extra whether such service or labor was ' due ' from the per- ordinary series of measures which signalized the actio

Constitution, so far from including slaves, by force of each perfectly compatible with the idea that its days its terms, expressly excludes them. I am endeavoring were numbered,—as contrasted with those repeated acts now to ascertain the meaning of the provision from its of sweeping, wholesale legislation, which aimed nortal language, and not from history or any contemporaneous blows at the very existence of the institution itself. events, and I should like to have a pro-slavery champion tell me why, if the framers of the Constitution meant with one of the first acts of the First Congress, reafslaves, they didn't say so? He may answer me which- firming the Ordinance of 1787, and the affirmation of ever way he will; before I get through, it will be seen that affirmance, when the States formed from that terthat I shall confute him on his own answer. Instead ritory were admitted into the Union ?-compared again of saying slaves, the Constitution uses words which, in with the repeated acts prohibiting the introduction of their natural signification, exclude the idea of a slave, slaves into the territories; with previsions for tranship-Listen: 'Person held to service,' 'shall be delivered ping captured slaves to Africa; with the abolition of the up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor slave trade at the earliest possible hour allowed by the may be due.' Now, the terms 'held' and 'due' are Constitution; with what, for the times, was one of the technical law terms, perhaps as old as the common law boldest of measures, the making of the slave trade a felitself. At any rate, for hundreds of years, they have ony, punishable with death? &c. &c. The anti-slavery been invested with a specific legal meaning, and for millions of times, they have been used for a specific le- and extinction of slavery; its pro-slavery legislation gal purpose. In law books and in judicial proceedings, they have been used in their special technical sense, and one might as well try to conjure up a doubt about the meaning of the word 'ten,' or the word 'radius,' or the word 'azote,' as about them. A debtor is held reconcile the temporary fact of slavery with the perto bail ; that is, he has come under a civil obligation manent and universal rights of freedom that is, he has covenanted, by an instrument under seal, to pay something or do something. The jury finds rancous events constrain us to admit, (though, in fact that such a sum is due from the defendant to the plaintiff. The court decides that the services of an indented apprentice are due to the master, &c. &c. But the very definition of a slave is, that he is incapable of contracting with any mortal whomsoever, not even with a woman to make her his wife, nor with a physician to save him from death. He can no more make a promise. than a stone or a log. He cannot once. Men bind themselves by consent, by an exercise of the will. But forbearance or acquiescence would be at an end, and a slave's will is in his master's bosom. Talk of his making a contract, by virtue of which his services are due to another ; he has not even the instrument to contract with. To say, then, that a slave is a chattel, and that service is due or owing from him to his owner, is to say that a chattel, which, civilly, is devoid of will, is omnipotent over its own nature, and can be a dead chattel and a live debter at the same time

But we have been looking, exclusively, at the language of the Constitution. Is there not some principle of interpretation, accompanied also by facts fulfilling the conditions of the principle, which can modify the words in question, and impose upon them a meaning different from their accustomed, plain, English, legal

All will understand that I here refer to the principle of contemporaneous interpretation, or construction by historical facts. Now, I acknowledge the validity of this principle. It seems to me sound, and, therefore, wherever it fairly carries me, I must go. I cannot deny a principle because of its supposed adverse bearing upon the point in issue. If I deny it now, by and by, when I have occasion to use it, my adversary will cite my denial against me. The rule to do as we would be done by belongs to logic as well as to every thing else.

But suppose it could be demonstrated from contemporaneous records, or historical evidence of any kind that the framers of the Constitution meant to allow the case of fugitive slaves to be included in the second section of the fourth article, the question will still remain, whether they have used language sufficiently plain and comprehensive to effectuate their purpose. If they have not, then their purpose, like that of ten thousand other contracting parties, becomes abortive. As the clause stands, it is unexceptionable. Neither humanity nor the higher law has aught to allege against it. But stands, it is unexceptionable. Neither humanity nor the higher law has aught to allege against it. But the higher law has aught to allege against it. But if an attempt is made to force the idea of slavery into it, by virtue of an outside rule of construction, then another rule of construction, as old, and far more sacred and binding, arises, which explains the explanation and construes the construer. This sacred and authoritative rule is, that, in whatever pertains to human life and liberty, every thing is to be construed most strictly in favor of these natural rights. The law books overflow with precedents on this subject, and they are all on one side. No matter how dire the intent of the legislator was; he may have been a very Herod; he may have intended to murder infants or to enslave a race; still, if words have not been used which command and coerce such a meaning, they are not to be so executed. Had the tyrant legislator meant to kill another by a blow, but had missed his aim, the object of his wrath would not be dead; so if he meant to enact a law which would enslave a race, but failed to meaning of which there are not constitution, and not according to the private interpretation, and not according to the private interpretation of any particular man." 1 Story's Comm., 388–392.

The causes above mentioned, and other causes, the clauses were always understood in the same sense, or had precisely the same extent of operation. . Nothing but the text itself was adopted by the people. . . . It is guaranteed by conjectures from scattered documents, from the text itself was adopted by the people. . . . It is guaranteed by conjectures from scattered by conjectures from the text itself was adopted by the people. . . . It is obvious that there can be not scattered by conjectures from the text itself was adopted by the peop enact a law which would enslave a race, but failed to . There are other parts of the Constitution, about th

scribe their names to it, each knowing perfectly well what the other understands it to mean, then each, by the clearest laws of morality, is bound to execute rule is, to ascertain the meaning of the law from the words used. The second is to view it in the light she upon it by history. The third, which overarches hese, is to construe every thing most strictly in favor life and liberty. I need not cite authorities to support these well-known principles. The books abound in them. In recent discussions, on this subject, they have been made accessible to all." But to all this it is replied, that the practice of th

government, for more than sixty years, conflicts wil

such an exposition. True ; but the special reason for

commencing this practice is as much a matter of history ry as any thing else. The same historical facts which give relevancy to the argument from conte construction, show the origin, and must limit the exter lican government, the question will be open to every of the practice under that construction. In twelve of me ther of Congress, which is the insurgent party, and the thirteen States, slavery existed as a fact, when the Constitution was framed. An attempt was made But the provision relating to fugitives from service give it an express constitutional guaranty. That ator labor is supposed to present what Lord Bacon called tempt was resisted and defeated. It was believed, on all hands, that slavery was an institution about to pass away. It was deemed impossible for slavery and repub licanism to coëxist. Universal freedom was every where seen to be a logical necessity from the country's antece dents, and a little time only was wanted to work out the problem. This, then, was the dilemma to be met. The fact of partial slavery was to be reconciled with the of the framers, and yet they made no injunction on universal right to freedom. To accomplish this, the State or nation to act upon it. All they demanded was expedient was hit upon of adopting a phraseology fo that, for a certain purpose, it should not be acted upon. the Constitution, under which the slaveholder migh All this has been so many times demonstrated, that claim to continue in the possession of his slaves, for every student of anti-slavery logic and literature has time, and until the period should arrive it which, as was then expected, slavery would cease on of the land. When that expected epoch should come, the Constitu person held to service or labor ' had escaped? Mani- tion would apply to free men alone, in fact as well as in terms, and it could not be known from perusing the instrument that any but freemen had ever existed under it. It was with this understanding that the 'discharged,' 'delivered up,' 'claim,' 'party,' 'due,' Constitution was framed. It was with this understanding that it was adopted. It could not have been framed or adopted on any other.

This view of the subject solves every difficulty, and

accounts for every fact belonging to the case. It shows why the two or three States which favored slavery the Convention, when baffled in their attempt to obin rem, that is, upon the subject-matter in litigation; tain express guarantees for it, were content to accept rem, as in the case of replevin, they order the under it. It shows why the States adverse to slavery assented to provisions whose immediate practical con party. This is the common function of courts; it is struction would recognize the fact of slavery, without acknowledging its right, but whose intrinsic meaning and force no more embraced slavery than they did the of the government on this subject, during the earlier Now, shall we look at the language of a law, in order periods of its history. I mean the two or three instanto ascertain its meaning? If so, then this clause in the ces in which slavery was recognized by legislation,-What was the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, compared legislation of Congress looked to the circumscription looked only to incidental matters, and, though immens ly important in its effects, yet, at that time, it seemed comparatively unimportant. This was precisely the way in which men would act, who were attempting to

will bear. Let us suppose that history and contempothe evidence is not overwhelmingly strong nor altogether consistent.) that the framers of the Constitution and its early administrators did acquiesce, and did mean to acquiesce .- I put it in its worst form ,-in the pro-slavery onstruction of the fourth article, it is still clear that such acquiescence was entirely consistent with the ex pectation and belief that slavery would soon die out, and when the expected time should arrive, the duty o the strict language of the Constitution, in its natural and legal sense, should then be the rule of action

Suppose A and B to propose a partnership for ter years. On all the main points of the relation, their interests and wishes coincide : but there is a collateral matter, not only unimportant in proportion to the grea motives which prompt the union, but understood to be of a temporary character, in which they clash. This matter both parties have reasons for not spreading upon the face of the contract. Terms are therefore adopted which do not, eo nomine, or, in specific phrase, eithe accept or reject what is desired by the one 'and denied by the other; and it is understood that a temporar forbearance, or recognition even, is to be allowed. O suppose two parties to have an amicable litigation in court, and the question between them is, in what terms the decree of the court shall be entered. On all points but one, they are agreed. On this point, a claim i made, by one of the parties, which the other will not admit, and the court itself refuses to enter it upon the record, as being contra bonos mores, or against sound

*As Judge Story's version of the Constitution, in the Prigg case, is so often cited, I will give the general principle of interpretation, as afterwards laid down by him, on the same subject, in his Commentaries:

'Opposite interpretations,' says he, 'and different explanations of different provisions, may well be pre-sumed to have been presented in different bodies, to re-move local objections, or to win local favor. And there

use the sufficient words, that race is not enslaved. This is not like the case of a common contract between A and B, (though it is often so argued,) in which, no matter if the parties only say Fee-faw-fum, and sub-

morals. At last, as a temporary expedient, the terms of the record are agreed upon, excluding the claim, but lodging the power in Congress again. And thus he with a personal understanding between the parties, that might charge me with shifting my ground, or, accordof the record are agreed upon, excluding the claim, but the brief period for which the exigency is unerstood to exist, practical resistance to the be forborne. Now, do not these suppositions fulfil all be, that he was shifting his unwarrantable imputation the conditions of the rule of contemporary interpreta-tion? and what judge or jurist, what court or chancel lor, can say that such an arrangement, which was only formed to get rid of a transitory difficulty, shall be afterwards, by any change of circumstances, made coex-tensive with the legal and binding relations into which

the parties have entered?

If, then, the rule of contemporaneous construction should be allowed to open the Constitution for the purpose of letting in the idea of slavery, all the limitations attached to that rule must necessarily come in with it; and among these is the limitation of time. It would be rights of third persons, to impose a new reading upon the Constitution, by force of the rule of historical exposition, and then to claim that reading as perpetual, when the very history that gave it birth de that it was to be temporary only. If contemporaneous my deep regret, that while the anti-slavery argum meaning of the instrument, we must have the whole of on this point, nothing can be clearer than the proof of- that would do credit to any cause, who coales forded by that history.

The fact that slavery has not passed away, as was territory which it covers, and six-fold more numerou other way. If a claim is set up to make that enduring trous position. which was understood to be transitory, and that national which was understood to be sectional, the reasons are. not so much the weaker, but so much the stronger, for discarding the transient gloss that has been put upon it, while they assent to the principles laid down, may no and for giving it a practical interpretation in accordance with the great principles of liberty it was design. yet expended its force, and therefore may hold that preed to secure and uphold.

This argument, it seems to me, becomes irresistible. when we escape from our present environment of facts. and go back and take our stand among the facts of 1787 As members of Congress or of State Legislatures, I trust and '88. Who at that period, saw the immense expan- I have shown they can have no legitimate connection sion in the culture of cotton and the effect it would have with slavery in any way; because the Constitution re upon the interests of men, the diplomacy of courts, and the destiny of nations? Who foresaw the cupidity of Northern cities, which would make them abandon the great principles on which the war of the revolution itself any act for the return of a fugitive slave, or in behal proceeded, for the hope of a cent a yard on calico, and of slavery. Should such an exigency arise, they could a penny a pound on iron, in a prospective tariff, never to be obtained? Who foresaw that Northern apostates in the capacity of private citizens, they could do the would gamble for the Presidency, and use the bodies and souls, of men for their dice? Had a vision of these I should not have the slightest objection to take the now present facts been presented to the framers of the now present facts been presented to the framers of the Constitution, they would have viewed them as impossi- day. If called upon, under the law of 1793 or 1850, t ble as cannibalism.

For those who admit that slavery was tolerated and acquiesced in, by our government, from the constraints who would do so ungodly a deed. The frivolous and of a momentary necessity, but deny that it was adopted light-minded may here say, that, with such an intent as an enduring part of our system, only one further one of the qualifications of the incumbent should be question remains. What length of acquiescence or tole- long purse. But it would be immaterial for such a pur ration should be allowed, in fulfilment of the original pose, whether I were rich or poor. If rich, to what understanding? When did, or when will, the time ar- better use could I put my meney? If poor, who could rive, beyond which all implied or expected obligations doubt my indemnification by an eager public? At any in behalf of slavery must cease to exist, even on the rate, as a last resort, I could surrender my com principle that it was at first allowed in order to meet a Two officers in the British army did this, on the break temporary exigency? This question is analogous to ing out of the Revolutionary war, because they would that of 'adequate time,' or 'reasonable time,' which is not be guilty of assisting to subjugate the co passed upon every day by juries, and decided every day Granville Sharpe, who then held an office in one of the by the courts. Looking at this question from a point of home departments of government, did the same, and for view inside the Constitution, considering the number the same reasons. of slaves in what are now called the slave States, in 1787, their value, and the relation of social and economical dependence borne towards them by their masters, on plicit.' I trust you will find that I have been so. the one hand; and, on the other hand, considering the any rate, if any person, for any reason, shall feel an Declaration of Independence which the people had just proclaimed to the world as their rule of faith and pracice; corsidering the immortal principles of equity and ask, in any civil way, to be informed of them, he may justice which were embodied in the Constitution of the be assured of respectful attention. United States, and the sacrifices which had been made to secure their enjoyment for ages to come :-considering all these things, I say, who can suppose that any man believed, or, at most, that any considerable numwould suppose that it would last until after the epoch of 1808 ; because, up to that time, slaves, by the supposition, could be imported. But could any man have supposed that, in a country, at whose birth the song of the angel was, that ' all men were created free and equal ; ' whose infancy had borne the struggles of maturest manhood ; and whose great solemn compact entered into for the guide of its life, through all the coming generations, declares its object to be to 'establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity,'-can any sane man suppose that, in such a country, and by men achiev ing such deeds, and covenanting before the world for such principles, it was supposed that slavery could survive all justice, welfare, law and religion, for so much as a hundred years? It is impossible. Two generations would be the utmost limit that extravagance could

ask for it. When, then, this rule of contemporaneous construc tion, with the limitation as to time which its own history carries with it, has had its scope, there remains not a particle of even a political obligation on the government, or on any officer of the government, or on any officer of the government, or on any citizen whose action connects him with the government, to do one further act in behalf of slavery. All are reto do one further act in behalf of slavery. All are re-

subject. For thirty years after the adoption of the Constitution,—that is, up to about the time of the Missouri Compromise,—I recollect no instance in which the South ever made any demonstration of a purpose to regard slavery as a permanent institution of the country, and to shelter and extend it, under the Constitution itself. Then, a new policy was avowed. Slavery was to secure the equal rights of colored children in the be extended, not circumscribed. Instead of the supposed privilege of a temporary existence, a charter for new existence coeval with the Constitution itself was claimed for it. This important fact furnishes to my mind no reason for a more liberal or enlarged construction of the rule of contemporaneous exposition.

Mr. Editor, though my opinions are of no public importance, yet there are one or two reasons why I do not regret this opportunity to state them, somewhat at length. In the fierce contest in which, for some years past, we have been engaged, no occasion has demanded this detailed exposition. In the thick of the fight, we have been obliged to give blows and parry blows, and leave truces and treaties for the morrow. In discussing slavery before the pro-slavery men in Congress, and the so far as I recollect, though they may have often placed themselves upon the platform of their adversary, for the sake of meeting his arguments on his own hypothesis, yet I believe they have never yielded up any of the grounds here marked out and contended for.

Another is, that it gives me an opportunity to vindicate the consistency of my own views, and, as I believe, the consistency of the Free Soil party, generally. If I contended, as I often have done, that our pro-slavery legislation by Congress had no warrant in the Constitution of the United States, then any disingenuous person might charge me with transferring the obligation to the States. And if I maintained that the States, as such, had no duty to perform on this subject, the same un-

ing to the vulgar expression, with playing 'fast and loose,' while the plain truth and the whole truth would The view which I have now taken shows the anti-sh

very character of the Constitution. It explains, also, how, consistently with this anti-clavery character, a temporary purpose, given to some parts of its provi-sions. And, what is most important, it demonstrates that the original pro-slavery legislation under it, so far from proving its permanent and abiding pro-slavery character, was exhausting whatever of pro-slaver could be forced upon it, or incorporated into it, by the rule of contemporaneous exposition. When that rule has spent itself by lapse of time, and in accordance with the most unrighteous of interpretations, even as beits own historical limitations, then the Constitution
tween the original parties, and without reference to the like Christian in his journey to the Celestial City, ha east the burden of sin from its back, and stands re deemed from all pro-slavery attributes and attributions

Now pardon me for expressing, with no unkindness of feeling, nor hint at any intended dereliction of duty history is allowed to change the obvious prima facie is growing stronger and stronger, by the progress of events, and especially by the evolution of the moral the contemporaneous history, so as to know how much- sentiment of the world, a body of men should rise up that is, in this case, how long-it is to change it; and, among us, animated by an unflagging energy and real extremest champions of slavery, whether North or South, in contending for the most ultra pro-slavery con expected, but is to-day two-fold more extended in the structions of the Constitution; and who thus furnish 'aid and comfort'- 'material aid,' even, to the mo in the victims which it enchains, has not a feather's fanatical claims of every Southern slaveholder in his weight in invalidating this course of reasoning, and the crusades against the rights of mankind. As a class, I conclusions to which it leads. It is an argument the do not doubt their sincerity, but I lament their disas-One word more, and I will close : There may be true

anti-slavery men, who will not adopt my conclusions, as set forth in this letter; and there may be those, who think that the rule of contemporaneous construction vious interpretations ought still to be followed, for generation or more longer. Is there any reason why such men should not hold office, and, of course, vote? quires no legislation, by State or nation, on the subject And the chances are indefinitely small, that, in an other office or position, they will be called upon to d resist the demand, and take the consequences, just as same. So far as pro-slavery implications are concerned arrest an alleged fugitive, I should rejoice that the con mission was in my hands, and not in the hands of on long purse. But it would be immaterial for such a pur-

In a characteristic note, Mr. Editor, you requeste me, in stating my views of the Constitution, to be 'exinterest in my views on this subject; and, instead of arraigning and denouncing me before the public, if he shall

Yours, truly. HORACE MANN.

P. S. As to your correspondents and others, who have rushed in with such alacrity to cover the retreat of their friend,-my original assailant,-perhaps I ought her of men believed, that the dominion of slavery to regard the zeal which has so dimmed their vision, as in this country would not share the fate and follow the the mere expression of their good will towards him, rathfortunes of the dominion of the British Crown, and er than of ill-will towards me, or the truth; and so to Slavery Standard, intimated a less amiable excuse for himself, when lately, in a moment of self-conscious recognition, he suggested for himself the name of the laughing hyena.' And all the people shouted, Amen !

> [Correspondence of the National A. S. Standard.] THE MANN & PHILLIPS CONTROVERSY

Boston, May 20th, 1853. The New England Anti-Slavery Convention was begun, continued and ended, last week, with entire prosperity from first to last. It has contracted such a habit of being the best of all the Anniver-saries, that nobody thinks it necessary to reaffirm the fact. The only mistake in regard to it was that it was limited to two days, instead of spread-

ing itself over three.

The discussions of the first day were, perhaps, not so interesting to the old Anti-Slavery stagers, as they were, doubtless, edifying to recent converts. It was on the responsibilities of voters, and the obligations implied in the act of appointing men obligations implied in the act of appointing men to do one further act in behalf of slavery. All are remitted to the plain language of the Constitution, which, as before shown, does not mean slavery, any more than it means the Inquisition or Thuggery.

There is another consideration connected with this subject. For thirty years after the adoption of the (active as we now know him to have been, on his own authority) as an Abolitionist. He was so absorbed at that time, doubtless, in endeavoring to on the same testimony, however scrupulous he may have been not to let his left hand know what his right hand was about) that he had no time to notice right hand was about) that he had no time to notice what such insignificant person sas the Abolitionists were doing. There was no place so destitute but that some worthy, though generally very feeble, brother would arise with an air of triumph which we have not seen since, until Mr. Mann's ovation over us, and say, 'Don't you pay postage and buy dutiable goods!' 'Yes, verily,' was our reply. 'Then, what's the difference between you and John Tyler!' We really thought we had established that there is a distinction between submitting to a law, because you can't help yourself, and making it, by your own direct vote or your representatives. it, by your own direct vote or your representatives. But perhaps there is none, and Mr. Oscar Lafayette, who has just refused to take the eath of allegiance more impassive pro-slavery men at the North, we have been acting on the defensive, and against the most outrageous aggressions;—aggressions, even according to because he pays postage. But Mr. Mann must not their own constitutional theories. But the Free Soilers, so far as I recollect, though they may have often placed ie begun to perp.

I believe it is Dr. Johnson who said 'that no

man was ever written down, except by himself.' Mr. Mann seems to have set himself seriously to Mr. Mann seems to have set himself seriously to work to carry out that process. He has had the reputation of being a man of rather more than average ability. No one would, surely, ever arrive at such a conclusion, who should judge of him only from his controversy with Mr. Phillips. If this afford a fair specimen of his logic, his ethics, his law, his temper and his manners, it is no wonder that he left the bar to superintend schools, and then, attempting public life and failing in it, that he should retire to the Western country to try and find a career among strangers. Not that he does not display ingenuity, but it is the ingenuity of an

Old Bailey attorney; and quickness enough, but is the agility of a Clown in the Ring, who is between his antagonist's legs, and, hitting his between his antagonist's legs, and his open and triumph. His ingenuity has been shown in sing every issue presented to him by his oppositing every issue presented to him by his oppositing heaving his readers as ignorant when he left as when he begun as to his opinion on the material question in diverting attention from material questions in diverting attention from material questions in diverting attention from material questions in they arose, to absurdly inconsequential issess they arose, to absurdly inconsequential issessing the had the disadvantage, to be sure, of having to having to deal with an adversary who kept he entire control of his. As Mr. Phillips would ent over again, Air. Mann was placed in a prefer eminently uncomfortable to one of his temper. The calm contempt with which Mr. Philipa by all the abuse which Mr. Mann, doubtes garded as the strongest part of his are while he contented himself with expenwhile he contented himself with exposure anility of his positions and his logic, must been deeply mortifying to so yain a man fully account for the grotesque antics of simultanaph by which he made himself ridicals his concluding letter, when he for the grotesque and the same himself ridicals. triumph by which he made himself ridiceless in his concluding letter, when he found Mr. Phillips declined further controversy with him.

It is very well known that Mr. Mann is not with

out unfriends in Massachusetts. It is alleged of him that he is selfish, unscrupulous, slipper al tricky. To be sure, this reputation presails chieftricky. To be sure, this reputation prevails chief ly, among the Whig party, to which he clurg with such a desperate tenacity, and which found it so hard to get rid of him, but that party constitutes a large proportion of the inhabitants, I have alnard to get rid of him, but that party constitute a large proportion of the inhabitants, I have always supposed that these allegations were pursinventions of the enemy, or, at least, very strong exaggerations. If anything could induce me to believe that the majority was right for once, it would be his part in this discussion. What a case, for instance, does Mr. Mann give his mislikers to cite against him, where, in his absurd attempt to show that he did all that he ought in behalf of the colored children, when Superintendent of all. colored children, when Superintendent of schools, he says? 'Ninc years ago, I published articles and arguments in my Common School Journal, vindicating the right of colored children to attend our public schools with whites. Who would not suppose, from this way of stating his case, that he was the author of the 'articles and arguments'! And yet author of the 'articles and arguments'! And yet the only allusion to the subject is the insertion of Mr. Fletcher's legal opinion on the unconstitutionality of the Separate Schools, and the resolutions of the Salem City Government abolishing them, without note or comment by Mr. Mann! To be sure, what he says is literally true, for he did politish 'articles and arguments,' calling the Salem Resolutions 'articles,' and Mr. Fletcher's epinion 'arguments;' but the impression conveyed by the form of words was almost necessarily false. You remember what King Biddle said about truth heag so arranged as to have the effect of falsehood. Suppose Mr. Fletcher's opinion had been in favor of Separate Schools, and the Lity Government of Salem had set them up instead of abolishing them, and Mr. Mann had copied both into his Journal, as he might very properly have done, as a part of the he might very properly have done, as a part of the current history of Education, and Mr. Phillips had said, 'Nine years ago, Mr. Mann published articles and arguments in favor of Colored Schools, what an outcry would not Mr. Mann have sent up, against the injustice of attributing to him to doings and words of others! But the case would have been a precise counterpart to the one Mr. Mann sets up. I have no doubt that Mr. Man really thinks that the claims of truth are sufficiently satisfied by such a verbal fulfilment of his statement; but he must not be surprised if men of the world should say, as I heard one, in view of it.

'Why, this man seems to want to have the advatage of a lie, without having the courage to tell it!

But I had not the faintest intention of looking at any of the serious aspects of this controvers;

The Comical ones were too plenty to reduce me to that point. To think of Mr. Mann, a Free Soiler, and a member of Congress, teating Mr. Phillips with taking six months (or a year, I forget which to get up a speech! Really! How long does it take Mr. Maun, not to mention other eminent Free Soilers, to produce one! How many Anti-Slavery speeches has he made in the four years he has been in Congress! How many has any of them made, always excepting honest old Joshua Giddings, who has, been able ' to catch the Speaker's eye' teleably often ! And then we don't pay Mr. Phillips eight dollars a day and mileage, to do our workfet us. Sure, never was there a more unlucky fing than this! This is, indeed,

'The gun that, aimed at duck or plover, Recoils and kicks the owner over.'

And then Mr. Mann's diverting war-dance, in lis last letter, over the enemy who declined being the was any possibility of Mr. Mann becoming a fir man, Mr. Phillips was willing to wait for his ! recover his temper and collect his logic. But what it was plain that Mr. Mann's only strategy was be throw mud at his antagonist, and dust in the end of the bystanders, Mr. Phillips thought himself it. of the bystanders, Mr. Phillips thought himsen a liberty to withdraw from his neighborhood. As then Mr. Mann raises his song of triumph, all magnifies the glorious victory he has achieved his as if a Scavenger, having a dispute with a first tleman, desirous of doing him justice, if he has harmed him, and being shown to be in the wind. should carry on the discussion by the professionargument of handfuls of dirt, and his anagest having done all that fairness could demand, retire out of his reach, should wave his broom over his head, and shout Victory! See how he runs aray! Mr. Mann should consider that, there is a point a which a gentleman may withdraw from a cours with one who shows himself, certainly, and is equal in that particular. - D. v.

From the Syracuse Chronicle. DEATH OF ENOCH REED.

We announced yesterday the death of the first thus far the only, and we trust the last, vicins of this hypocritical Government, in connection via the righteous rescue of the man Jerry. This is the second of the indicted rebels who have been called away from the U. S. District Court of the State of New York to a higher and a pure tribund.

We never knew Reed, even by sight, but we have the heard that his was a checkered life. He has see a great deal of trouble. A year or two since, he was attacked by some Irishmen, in the spirit which usually animates chivalrous white men, when they want to 'lick a pigger.' In self-defence, he stabled want to 'lick a nigger.' In self-defence, he stable his assailant to the heart; was tried and acquired —justifiable homicide. The Rescue trials follows soon after, and Enoch's being the clearest case of the clearest cas participation in that affair, he was first tried. There could hardly be a doubt that the poor colored man had felt the bonds of his brother so kend as to have been wrought up to the most unparient and un-American extremity of knocking of his chains and bidding him go free. By the sape human exertions of a mighty intellect, and with human exertions. the assistance of eminent Counsel, and a Country whose overpowering concern for the Union exclused all exciting topics from the minds of the juri-Attorney Lawrence succeeded in covering himse with glory by getting the poor fellow convicted and the state of the state o something or other—enough, at least, to codes him to the State Prison. Pending a motion is arrest of judgment, Enoch was at large on hall and now he is at large without hall. His enormed crime of playing Good Samaritan to Jerry will stand some better chance, we apprehend, at the tribunal where he has gone, than before his Hoot.

Judge Hall, and as for Silver Gray Government

Prosecutors,—they don't practice at that har.

This magnanimous Government, however, is estainly to be commiserated. So many thousand dollars to convict one poor colored follow, and so sooner is he fairly fixed, than he must up and distance is the Union Safety Committee.

DEATH OF MISS EDMONDSON. Miss Mary Edmond son died at Oberlin, Ohio, a few days since. So was one of the company which attempted the or cape upon the Pearl, from Washington. She wish finally redeemed, and both sent to Oberlin, by Minington, or an education. The evening before its death, a letter was received, bringing the sed into the ligence that a brother had just been sold into the hopeless bondage of the far South. It was real in the presence of the dying girl immediately on its being opened, and before its sad message was being opened, and before its sad message who was the presence of the dying girl immediately on the dying girl immediately on the decidence of the dying girl immediatel BOSTON, JUNE 17, 1853.

POSITION DEPINED.

her present number, Hon. Honace Mann has give lesired reply to the inquiry, Does the Conand of the United States contain any comprom any compromises an framers, an anti-slavery instrument? We are of a recirc it, even at this late hour, and commend is secretal and candid perusal of every one of our In this grave question, fortunately, nothing presently is involved. Overleaping all personal considerations, it relates to the very coter of the government and the permanence of the and is as momentous as any that can challenge section of the people. If Mr. Mann is satisfied ribe manner of dealing with the Gordian knot, he and ourse, be troubled with any conscientious color; but how far his reasoning may be accepted is day, as conclusive, is a very different matter. a sens attenuated and weak as the spider's web. senet now examine Mr. Mann's Letter minute | laked, so keenly sensitive is he to criticism, (be al up other dialoctician with whom we are acquaintand any sound are we to inflict any wound upon whelen, that we hesitate to make even a passing must apon it. Much is to be pardoned to a highly partoned highly partoned to a highly partoned highly partoned highly par for the arena of free discussion, and especially to fill in political station, must be as willing to take as as give blows—thinking little of himself, but every for does Mr. Mann dispose of the pro-slavery clauses

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The three-fifths basis of representation in Congres see slave population of the South, (which Joux accessedy of the wolf, Mr. Mann terms 'n rule Ambility as to the slave States,'-because, if the ges were all counted as freemen, the South would be edel to fifteen additional representatives. Yes, if sizes were all freemen, such a consequence would gler, and the universal distribution of the power sail be the safety of all ; but, as they are all slaves. east three-fifths of them as freemen, expressly to propert the power of their masters in that relation. thousent to this atrocious arrangement, is an act and simits of no explanation or defence. It is to is st oligarchy of the most detestable character. The clause relating to the suppression of domestitions. Mr. Mann thinks does not apply to slaves a state of rebeilion, except when the safety of a free Sa b' is menaced—and, in case the slaves of the ben institute on its soil 'a complete and not a parfalten of republican government, the question will k open to every member of Congress, which is the inserest party, and which, therefore, the party to be saresol.' The whole country happens to differ from Mr. Man in this opinion, and the country cannot be in genras to its intentions and obligations, constitu fault, on this point. With what alacrity the United San Government employed its military forces to quell 'is Not Turner insurrection' in Virginia, in 1831 That that time thought of calling the Government, to seemt for so doing? What is Mr. Mann's construcas of this clause but a virtual dissolution of the Union? leithe South answer that question !

I We now come to the provision of the Constitution is the realition of fugitives from service or labor, and pull Mr. Mann expends, we think, a good deal of send pleading. He quibbles about the words of that ists that a slave is not therein described. ers if the contracting parties failed to express their swing in language sufficiently plain, their purpose is metive, &c. But he admit that 'the practice of the perment, for more than sixty years, conflicts with sch an exposition.' We say, IT UTTERLY REFUTES IT. Is further admits that the framers of the Constitution slottel a phraseology, under which the slaveholde night claim to continue in the possession of his slaves, is a time, and until the period should arrive at which, was then expected, slavery would cease out of th When that expected epoch should come, the enstitution would apply to free men alone.' But this sinision is fatal to his previous criticism. It concedes be whole ground of controversy. Slavery still existsthe language of the Constitution remains unalteredterefore, the obligation to restore the fugitive slave still sts upon all the States. No, says Mr. Mann-no such eligation is now binding, because, at the time of the deption of the Constitution, it was supposed that slavery would not survive long after the abolition of the briga slave trade ; but, as more than sixty years have easied since that time, and that supposition has provel to be grossly erroneous, it follows that the fugitive lane has expired by the law of limitation, and is no age to be executed !!! This is a novel mode of anating an objectionable feature of the Constitution emply by an unfulfilled 'supposition,' made by or on what evidence, we are left to guess ! And to a the result of Mr. Mann's constitutional effort by, the fabled mountain in labor brought forth some hing more in keeping with its bulk than this !

THE BIBLE CONVENTION AT HARTFORD.

We have devoted more than four columns on our las her to the comments of the 'Satanic press,' both resas and political, on the late Bible Convention a letterd. This is merely the first instalment. Such an spearing of Billingsgate filth, personal blackguardfoul misrepresentation, and serpent malignity, i slificalt to parallel in the annals of human depravity. al all this in defence of the Bible as the inspired ferl of God-the only rule of faith and practice!! berre how consonant are the language, spirit and ob at of Bennett's Herald and the New York Observer. Boston Bee and Zion's Advocate, the Hartford Coursest and the Boston Traveller-all deadly hostile the anti-slavery cause, the advocates of the Fugitive fare law, the venomous assailants of every struggling firm, the stirrers up of mobocratic outbreaks, and the conary caterers to a feculent public sentiment !at the wolves howl and the serpents hiss !

The following are the Resolutions that were subthe Convention, on the individual responsibility of movers, either as embodying their own views or for s purpose of eliciting discussion—but no action was aim on them, as none was contemplated or desired. Ofered by HENRY C. WRIGHT :-

Resolved. That the Bible, in some parts of the Old nd New Testaments, sanctions polygamy, concubininjustice, cruelty, oppression, war, and wholesale ther and murder; therefore, the doctrine, that the like, as a whole, emanated from a God of love and pace, is false, and most injurious to the true develop-

and happiness of man. Officed by SELDEN J. FINNEY, of Ohio :-

lesolved, That the spirit and genius of Bible religion a great system, both as found in itself and as gene ally understood by all popular orthodox sects in Chrismion, is not a system of salvation from sin or its efhat a system of damnation into sin and its effects that a system of human redemption from the bondage religious error and moral corruption, but a system enslaving into the bondage of religious error and bral excuption. That it is a system of theological pous, and spiritual piracy, carried on by a bigoted athood, against the truths and laws of man's moral and spiritual nature.

Therefore, Resolved, That, as a system, it is the friend boral and spiritual slavery, and that it is therefore the fe of human, mental and-spiritual liberty, and,

a separatly, the foe of human progress.

Resolved, That all the Orthodox clergymen of the or seen a copy of the Call for this Convention, ad have not and will not come forward on this free

authority and influence, by free and unprejudiced minds, have openly declared their own infidelity to Dran Garnison: minds, have openly declared their own infidelity to their professions of theological faith; that they love religious tyranny better than religious freedom; that they have, by refusing to discuss with us the great questions before this Convention, declared publicly the weakness and folly of their arrogant assumption to be called competent teachers of the people upon all mat-of the same day (Monday) towards sundown, notic ters pertaining to theological, religious and moral sub-was issued for an Indignation Meeting in the Melode jects; that they love popular favor more than common on—the place where the Bible Convention was held. I good; that they are therefore moral cowards, and de-did not know of it, A. J. Davis did not, and, of course,

Resolved, That inasmuch as the essential principles of life, and sense, and thought, and the ultimate causes of all things in being, whether visible or invisible, are for ever imperceptible by the physical senses, we may resolutions, but am informed therefore, without violating the highest prerogatives of ent that such is their import. reason, believe in the actual occurrence of such occult and spiritual phenomena as are alleged to have occurred in different ages of the world, provided always that fallibility of the book, took a leading part in the indigsuch accounts are supported by the concurrent testimony of several disinterested witnesses of known integrity allow the advocates of the Bible fair play; that they

of His universe—that the life of God flows out through be advocates of the Bible but himself and George Storrs all His creatures-and hence that the life spiritual, or and he would not admit that any in the Convention the divine spirit, pervades and actuates all his creativere advocates of the Bible, except themselves! He tures, in the precise degree which may best secure the saw, as all did, that those who professed to be advocate

all things, as they approximate in the standard of di-vine perfection; that we behold His likeness in the truly so. He seemed, throughout the Convention, and human intelligence more distinctly than we trace it in the meeting last evening, to regard none as the adelsewhere in the inferior objects of creation; that the vocates of the Bible but those who denied the natural nature of this being, man, according to the Scriptures, was fashioned in the divine image, and that His spirit tion of the wicked; doctrines which he seemed mos

Resolved, Consistently with the views expressed in the plenary inspiration who came forward as such foregoing resolutions, we must conclude that the relations subsisting between the human and divine are immutable and eternal; that inspiration is a perpetual charge of exciting and participating in the mob. He fact, and that no written or oral communication, purporting to be the records of ancient revelations, howev- the persons concerned in exciting the disturbance, that er true those records may be, can supply to the individ- Episcopalians, Baptists and Congregationalists were ual soul and the world the place of living and present

Resolved, That, in our humble opinion, the ancient prophets, and Jesus Christ, and some of his apostles and others, in different ages of the world, were, through their susceptibility to spiritual influence, inspired ; but the officer took a dirk cane. I was among them all the that the records of what they expressed should be tried by the highest ordeal which the enlightened reason is ompetent to institute.

Resolved. That we have confidence in the innate intelligence of human nature, much as it is perverted. and that we believe that most men, of all classes, not excepting the clergy, are disposed-as far as the original constitution, the force of our imperfect or false education, and the imperfection of existing institution will allow-to honor the truth and to respect the right, and hence that dogmatism and denunciation are unbecoming the reformer, whose true mission is to inquire

Offered by WM. LLOYD GARRISON, of Massachusetts :-Resolved. That the doctrine of the American Church and Priesthood, that the Bible is the Word of God : that whatever it contains was given by Divine inspira tion : and that it is the only rule of faith and practice is self-evidently absurd, exceedingly injurious both to the intellect and soul, highly pernicious in its application, and a stumbling-block in the way of human re

Resolved. That this doctrine has too long been held as a potent weapon in the hands of time-serving com mentators and designing priests, to beat down the ris ing spirit of religious liberty, and discourage scientific development; to subserve the interests of blind guides and false teachers : and to fill all Christendom with contention and strife ; and, therefore the time has come to declare its untruthfulness, and to unmask those who are guilty of this imposture.

Resolved, That 'the Word of God is not bound

either within the lids of any book or by ecclesiastical edict, but, like its Divine Author, was before all books, nd is every where present, and from everlasting to ing the same obedience, being quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword,'-the Bible itself being witness.

Resolved, That it is a secondary question as to when, where or by whom the books of the Old and New Testament were written; but the primary and all-important question is what do they teach and command?-and in order to ascertain this, they are to be freely examined, and as readily accepted or rejected as any other books, according as they are found worthless or valuable.

Resolved, That it is the climax of audacity and im piety for this nation to profess to receive the Bible as the inspired Word of God, and then to make it a penal offence to give it to any of the millions who are held as chattel slaves on this soil; thus conspiring to make them miserable here and hereafter.

Resolved, That, judging them by their course of ac tion towards all the reforms of the age, and their position in society, the clergy of this country, as a body, would as readily burn the Bible to-morrow, if public sentiment demanded it, and persecution and loss of character should be the result of disobedience, as today they are found earnest in their endorsement of the plenary inspiration of that book, in accordance with

Resolved, That it would be as absurd as untrue to deny, that the Bible embodies a large amount of truth -vital, precious, eternal; that many of its require ments are just and obligatory-many of its warnings salutary and instructive-many of its promises soulsustaining and glorious-many of its commands and precepts rational and righteous-many of its views of God and nature elevating and inspiring; but it is not less absurd and untrue to deny, that it also contains many fallacies, contradictions, misconceptions, misrey resentations, fabulous stories, incredible assertions, and hurtful errors. Therefore, it cannot be, as a book, the Word of God, (which is pure and unchangeable,) nor the only rule of faith and practice; but, as a mixture of good and evil, light and darkness, truth and error, is to be read with discrimination, and neither accepte nor rejected in the gross, but only as the individual understanding and conscience shall determine the character of its multifarious and conflicting contents.

Resolved, That the history of the Bible, from cen tury to century, abundantly proves not only that the interpretations of its letter and spirit, by its recognized expounders, have been fiercely conflictive and number less; but that they have been such only as the age would tolerate, and always in accordance with the de-spotic spirit of the times, whether religious or political; that any other interpretations thereof, by the individual soul, have been denounced as heretical or punished as blasphemous or revolutionary; that all forms of government—autocratic, monarchical, military and republican-have alike found their sanction and support in its pages, as at this day; hence, that to be a believer in its authority has been, and still is, simply to be with the majority, and to take the side of the strongest.

a holy book, is no better evidence of moral worth or true piety in Christendom, than is a profession of faith in the sacredness of the Koran in Asia; because, in both cases, it is to conform to public opinion, or to bow to the sceptre of ecclesiastical domination; and not to ey of Hartford, and of all other places, who have rereputation, safety and interest of the dissenter into imminent peril.

Resolved, That a profession of faith in the Bible, as

platform to defend or attempt to defend the Bible from INDIGNATION MEETING TO SUSTAIN the charges brought against their views of its origin, HARTFORD, June 7, 1853

good; that they are therefore moral cowards, and deserve to be abandoned by public patronage, and pointed out by every true reformer as the pharisees of this nine-teenth century, seeking to enslave more and more the mind of man to the dark dogmas and absurd superstitions of ancient mythology.

Offered by Prof. Brittan, of New York:—

did not know of it, A. J. Davis did not, and, of course, we were not present. The house was crowded. A Chairman was appointed, and a Committee to report resolutions. Resolutions were reported and spoken to, condemning the Convention for meeting to discuss the divine authority of the Bible; also, condemning the Convention for not allowing fair play to the advocates of its divine origin and authority; and also justifying or apologizing for, the conduct of the students in their efforts to mob the Convention. I have not seen the resolutions, but am informed by those who were pres-

Rev. Mr. Turner, who took so prominent a part in the Convention, in defence of the divine authority and inhad not one third of the time, when they should have Resolved. That we believe Deity exists in and outside had half. He was asked if he considered any others to mblime objects and issues of His government.

Resolved, That, in our judgment, God is visible in half of the time; but he would not allow that those of the divine authority and infallibility of the Bible had immortality of the soul, and who held to the annihilais, when its attributes are harmonized, the temple of anxious to lay before the Convention; whereas, the Convention was bound to consider all as supporters of

> Mr. Turner and the indignation meeting were me anxious to exenerate all believers in the Bible from the and the meeting were told, by those who saw and knew concerned in it. One said-'I recognized many students of Trinity College, whom I was sorry to see er gaged in such a riot. I was near them when our offi eers arrested one of them. The Trinity student drew his cane to strike the officer. From one of the students, while, trying to dissuade them from mixing in the mob, wishing to maintain the right to speak and to hear. I did not see one who was opposed to the divine authority of the Bible taking part in the mob. They were all, so far as I could see, defenders of the Bible. I don't reject the Bible myself ; I believe it contains great truths which do not need rioting and violence for their support. One Calvinist man near me said, "I like the fun. It's dog eat dog; and I don't care which whips." One Episcopalian claimed that he was a leader in the mob, and his cane was going incessantly. Bibleists blamed the officers for arresting the students. They insisted that the students and other Bibleists had been greatly outraged by the Convention. Mr. Turner insisted that it was not Bibleists, who mobbed the Con-

Many who saw and knew the men, declare that Bileists were the mobocrats, and that Naturalists, or those who take natural law and religion as the only true law and religion, were peaceful, and took no part in creating the riot. The Hartford Courant is out today in a malignant article, sustaining the mob, and condemning the advocates of Nature and of Nature's God as instigators of the riot. One fact is conspicuous to all—the advocates of plenary inspiration were never disturbed at all; only the opponents of the divine ori-gin and authority of the Bible were hissed and mobbed lown. This was the fact during the Convention, and

also in the indignation meeting.

Why should not Bibleists mob and put down by vio ence all who seek to introduce new and higher ideas of God and our relations to him? The Bible authorises putting to death all who seek to change the popular views of God. This nation believes God to be a man of war ; they are authorised by the Bible to stone to death all who would change this view of God, and show that he is a God of love and peace. This nation believes God is an almighty slave-trader and slave-driver and slave-hunter; all who would overthrow this idea o God, the Bible would term atheists and blasphemers and have them put to death as such. See-the laws o the Bible touching those who would entice people and induce them to embrace other views of God than those taught by Moses. Doubtless, those Trinity mobocrats thought they were doing their God service in mobbing the Convention. They certainly were acting under th guidance of a public sentiment created by Dr. Joe Hawes and other professed ministers of the Bible.

What will come of this Convention? It has alread rocked old Connecticut as it never was shaken before on this subject. The papers call loudly for the interfer ence of government to prevent the holding of any fu ture Conventions in the State to discuss the Bible. Le the papers, the government, the Church and State of necticut rest assured that other Conventions of the people, to discuss the origin, authority and influence the Bible, will be held in Hartford, New Haven, i Springfield, Worcester, Boston, and all over the cour try, till the claims of the book are fairly tested, and till the people have 'proved all things' respecting it, and east away the false and received the true. Provision has been made for calling other Conventions. The discussion of this question has been confined to the priesthood. The people are beginning to take the work of their own enlightenment into their own hands. Let the people 'prove all things, and hold fast only that which is good.' The issue is between Nature and the Biblebetween the religion of Nature and the religion of the Bible-between natural, fixed law, and the arbitrary law of the Bible-between the God or NATURE AND THE God or THE BIBLE. Is there a contradiction between them? In what does it consist? Which must yield-Nature or the Bible ?- the God of Nature or the God o the Bible ? The simple difference between Bibleists and Naturalists is this: the former test Nature, or facts by the Bible ; the latter test the Bible by the facts and laws of Nature. The Bible is certainly opposed, in some of its teachings, to the facts of our physical, so cial and spiritual nature; and in all such cases, it i false and most pernicious in its tendency, when it is all set forth as the Word of God.

It has been a great pleasure to A. J. Davis and hi wife to have you, Joseph Barker, Parker Pillsbury and myself as guests the past few days. I speak for one, and I think for all, when I say it has been a ne less gratification to us to have enjoyed their affectionate and loving kindness. It is impossible to know them, and not love and respect them. The extraordinary power possessed by A. J. Davis, and the perfect, childike simplicity, unselfishness and dignity with which he bears himself, under the wide-spread reputation he enjoys and justly merits, must command the loving regard of all who know him, and have power to apprece ate goodness and talent. May he ever be a pillar light amid the darkness that covers the people !

HENRY C WRIGHT.

LETTERS and communications for the subscribe whether on business of the Massachusetts A. S. Society or otherwise, should be sent to him at LEICESTER Mass., until further notice.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.

A score of communications on file, waiting for insertion. 'There's a good time coming!'

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

SACRIFICIAL RELIGION AND SPIRITUAL RELIGION. Installation Sermon, preached before the Groveland Independent Church, Sunday, May 1, 1853. By DAVID A. Wassox. Published by Request. Boston

Mr. Wasson is a young man, whose experience the ministry has necessarily been limited, and yet suffi-ciently extended to satisfy him that a sectarian pulpit is not a place for manly freedom of thought and expres sion; so that he who consents to occupy it must repudinte all ideas of progress, and bring his mental an spiritual nature into slavish conformity to the past. Orthodox in his profession, he has subordinated his the-ology to his humanity; and, for having done this, and shown a disposition to 'prove all things,' as well as to 'hold fast that which is good,' he has been compelled to dissolve his connection with the church of which he was formerly pastor. But he has drawn around him a company of truth-seekers, to whom he is now minister ing, with entire freedom of utterance. His present position is interesting and unique. 'We have founded here,' he says, 'as well as we could, a church for the new time ; a church looking forward, not backward ; a church of hope for our earth, and not of despair; a church of freedom, into which we can put something of individual will, and do not merely submit ourselves to it, as dough to be shapen and baked. We have set up here a free pulpit, demanding of its occupant this only, that, drawing, to the utmost possible, an inspira-tion fresh from God, he speak the best word that is in

Of the old New England Church he says- 'Its thunders are all boltless now; its arm, like aged Priam's, falls ineffectual, with weak and hurtless stroke; its athema, issuing from decrepit lips, but clothes a shrick as hollow and despairing as that which cleft the Rev. CALER STETSON, Rev. ANDREW T. Foss, and sev steep of Delphos, when the smitten deity felt his dynas-ty over, and fied his fane forever; and its blessing is well-nigh as bootless as its curse.' . . . 'We go not to afford the accustomed accommodation of reduced fare and tottering though now it be. Into sad dilapidation of course, the regular trains. Those leave Boston, at it has indeed fallen in these days. The rains inundate 8, A. M.; and Plymouth, at 64 and 10, A. M. Reit : the winds whistle through its crannies, and search turning, leave the Grove for Boston, at 54, P. M. ; for it with a keen and curious quest ; the owl and bat of Plymouth, about 6, P. M. Fare, Boston to Abington superstition fly there; there the rat of worldliness and back, \$1 16; Plymouth to Abington, and back hides, and thieves, and thrives ; and we could find there no shelter for our souls, no divine habitation. We go thence; but go only in order to build better, for ourselves, and for those that come after.'

This Sermon is throughout fresh, vigorous, animating. We have other passages marked for publication, if hereafter we can find room for them. Its motto is well chosen from John Milton :- Truth is compared in Scripture to a streaming fountain : if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition.' We advise the purchase and perusal of it by all who can procure a

BOOK OF HUMAN NATURE: Illustrated by the Philoso phy (New Theory) of Instinct, Nutrition, Life with their correlative and abnormal Phenomena, Psychological, Mental, Physical. By LaRoy Sux-DERLAND. Boston:

Book or Psychology-Historical, Philosophical, Prac tical. By LABOY SUNDERLAND.

BOOK OF HEALTH: with Practical Remarks on Paren tage, Infancy, Food, Diet, Labor, Recreation, Sleep. Bathing, Clothing, Air, Causes of Ill Health, etc. By LAROY SUNDERLAND. Second Edition.

These Books have recently been published in this city, by Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill. The first is a closely printed volume of 432 pages, and contains a great mount of curious, entertaining, practical, and highly valuable information, on a great variety of subjects,evincing, on the part of the author, unusual powers of observation and reflection. That portion of it which relates to Pneumatology- Spirits, Possession, Inspiration'-will be read with deep interest. Probably no man, in this country has given more attention to the subject of 'Spiritual Manifestations,' or witnessed them nore frequently, or in greater variety, than Mr. Sunderland. His investigations have not been casual nor incidental merely; nor have they been confined to times or places. They were undertaken in order to find the truth, and have been continued, in different parts of the country, for years, without any interruption. 'During this time,' he says, 'I have devoted my whole attention to this work, so that I have been, not daily but hourly, as it were, in converse with the spirits by the ands. Sittings have been held in my own family till they approached a thousand, which have been attended by large numbers of people, and all the phenomena have taken place which have been described by various writers on the subject. . . . I have witnessed these manifestations in all their various forms, in different places throughout the country. Indeed, I have wit nessed more of them than any other one person, of whom I have any knowledge.'

With such facilities, therefore, for investigating the subject, all who are interested in it (and the number is great and steadily increasing) will be curious to learn to what conclusion Mr. Sunderland has come respecting the 'manifestations.' In the first place, he is satisfied that they are not dependent on human volition, not produced by electricity, nor are they electricity itself or pathetism, nor the work of necromancy or the devil In the second place, he thinks it not unreasonable to suppose that they are neither ephemeral nor accidental any more than the development of the human race for they correspond with all of nature's other develop ments, especially in their beginning and progressionthe first communications having been imperfect and fragmentary when compared with those which followed Thirdly, he believes that they are of spiritual origin but that they come only from a class of spirits who are the least spiritual, or the nearest to the external world ; hence, that they are never absolutely reliable, and is very many instances are wholly deceptive and untruthful, being the work of lying spirits. Of the literatur of the spirit-world, as exhibited in numerous publica tions, he justly forms a low estimate, and makes a very amusing review of the same, exploding the whole by touch of his analytical wand. The communication purporting to have emanated from such men as Wash ington, Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, Calhoun, O'Connell, Clarkson, George Fox, William Penn, &c. &c. he deems puerile and common-place, and indicative o great mental deterioration since they 'shuffled off this mortal coil.' Still, of the mediums he says, 'They are all, as far as I am prepared to testify, honest and truthful. Some of them have suffered severe trials and undeserved obloquy enough to entitle them to the lasting gratitude of men and angels.'

We have marked numerous passages for insertion our paper at the earliest opportunity. In the mean time, we refer all who are interested in this subject to the book itself as well worthy of a careful perusal.

Once a narrow but sincere sectarist, Mr. Sunderland is now delivered from the bondage of a false theology and uses the language of a manly and independent thinker, who is in search of truth and goodness. 'The spirit of sectarianism,' he says, 'is the same, whether in Protestant or Papist. Persecution or denunciation for opinion's sake, has generally been done by religiou bigots, who have relied most on the priesthood or the Bible for their authority. Hence we find, that as men depend upon one man, or one book, for matters of Faith, instead of receiving it from the Universal Heavens, they then become sectarians, and act accordingly.' And he ingenuously says-' Formerly, I gratified my comba tiveness by holding up those who differed from me as "infidels," who would be doomed by the Infinite Father of all to a never-ending hell. Now, my means are con nded in the universal diffusion of goodness, justice

The other two books by Mr. Sunderland-on HEALTH and Psychology—are of a popular character, and filled with interesting and instructive matter.

RHYMES WITH REASON AND WITHOUT. By B. P. SHILL LABER. Boston : Abel Tompkins and B. B. Mussey & Co. 1858.

lenom or Mas. Julia H. Scorr; with her Pot and Selections from her Prose. By Mrs. C. M. Saw-ven. Boston: Published by Abel Tompkins. 1853

SCOURSES ON THE BEATITUDES. By E. H. CHAPIN ton: Published by Abel Tompkins. 1853.

Each of these three works possesses intrinsic merits, nd they all appear in a style of neatness and beauty corresponding to their worth. Mr. Shillaber has obtained great celebrity through his imaginary but inimitable 'Mrs. Partington's 'conversations, as well as by his poems, which are full of humor and sentiment. A good likeness of the author accompanies the work. The Memoir of Mrs. Scott shows her to have been a wonan of superior worth and talent. The Discourse Mr. Chapin are worthy of one of the most fervidly eloquent and able pulpit occupants in the land, and embody their own panegyric.

POURTH OF JULY! ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION.

The MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will held Mass Meeting, in honor and for the promotion of the true principles of Liberty and Independence, at AB-INGTON, in the well-known Grove near the Centre of the town, on MONDAY, JULY 4th.

Eloquent Speaking, the Songs of Freedom, Social In tercourse, with pic-nic entertainments, together with the natural attractions of the place and its scenery, all combine to invite a large gathering of the friends of freedom on the approaching, as on former anniversa-

It is expected that WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WEN DELL PRILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, CHARLES L. REMOND

S1 10 ; children under fifteen, half-price.

Cold water in abundance will be furnished in the Grove ; and there will be an ample supply of provisions for sale.

FRANCIS JACKSON,
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,

Of

Arrange'ts.

Apology.-We are requested to inform the friend embled at Bridgewater on Sunday, June 12th, to hear CHARLES LENOX REMOND, that he was prevented by indisposition from being present, and his efforts to obtain a substitute were unsuccessful.

IT HORACE MANN occupies nearly a page of the last LIBERATOR in a defence of the grounds on which, as a moral and Christian man, he votes and holds office under our Governments, State and National. In another communication, he proposes to give his views of the United States Constitution itself. Thus does THE LIB-United States Constitution itself. Thus does like Lin-Ematon exemplify the Anti-Slavery doctrine of free dis-cussion. How many Free Soil journals would allow an advocate of Disunion such an opportunity to defend his views in its columns?—Anti-Slavery Standard.

BF Rev. EDWARD N. KIRK, of Boston, who figured in 1834-5-6 as an Abolitionist, and even appeared on the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society with the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society with George Thompson, but who afterwards apostatized from the cause, and more recently preached, from a Boston pulpit, the duty of obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law, has gone to Europe, where we hope a knowledge of his pro-slavery acts and relations may follow him. English Abolitionists especially should be furnished with the evidences of his pro-slavery character.—*Ibid*,

TREASURER'S REPORT

Of Receipts, from May 2d to June 1st, 1853. om Geo. W. Simonds, East Lexington, \$6 00

" S. S. Foster, for his collections :-From Charlotte Roberts, Danvers Port, 10 00
Essex Co. A. S. Society, 5, Benj. Chase,
Auburn, N. H., 2, collection at do. 6,
Amos Chase, do., 1, Collection at Canterbury, N. H., 4 50, at South Weare, N. H.,
2 25, Haverhill 15 48, Geo. W. Lee, do,
1, D. P. Harmon, do, 5, at Parker's Falls,
N. H., 1 38, at Milton, N. H., 3 09, J.
C. White, Farminston, do. 1, at Great C. White, Farmington, do, 1, at Great

Falls, do, 2 77, Margaret Ham, do, 1, Dan-iel Emerson, Lee, do, 1, Jonathan Cortland, do, 1, A. M. Tolman, Portland, 50c, N. A. Foster, do, 3, Dr. R. Shackford, do, 3, Ruth H. Morrill, do, 5,...... om J. J. Locke, for his collections :-

From Sallie Holley, for her collections:—

At Fall River, over expenses, 8, Harriet E. Stoddard 1, Michael Barrett 1, collection at Leominster, over expenses, 5, at Joppa village, do, 3 43, Paper Mill village, do, 3, Sally Knapp 25c, collection at Abington, over expenses, 7 03, at N. Bridgewater, do, 2, Hingham, do, 5 11, Portsmouth, N. H., do., \$40 07, Mrs. 8. D. Parsons 2, Mrs. Washington 25c, Daniel Osborne, Dover, N. H., 2, Abra'm Folsom, do, 2, R. C. Miller, do. 1 72, a friend, do, 50c, collection in Portland, over expenses, 28 75, Neal Dow, do, 5, Harriet Dow, do, 50c, a friend 1, Elizabeth W. Thomas 3, Abigail Tolman 1 50, Mrs. Elizabeth Varnum 2, a friend-1, collection at Manches Abigail Tolinan 1 50, Mrs. Elizabeth Var-num 2, a friend 1, collection at Manches-ter, N. H., over expenses, 31 81, Millord 15 61, L. Chase 1, Alvan B. Chase 1, Eu-gene Hutchinson Jr., 50c, collection at Nashua, over expenses, 4, Lowell, do, 8 22, Henry Abbott 1... rom S. May, Jr., for collections and donations at Convention.

at Convention...... 473 48 SAMUEL PHILBRICK,

Brookline, June 1, 1853. MARRIED-In this city, by Rev. John T. Raymond, PATRICK HENRY RAYMOND, of Cambridgeport, to Miss

ABINGTON MEETING. WM. L. GARRISON WILL attend an Anti-Slavery Convention at the Town Hall, on Sunday, June 19. H. C. Whighr will also be present on the occasion. It is hoped that as many of the friends and others as can, will attend the meeting, as

EF ESSEX COUNTY-ATTENTION! The annual meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Lynn, on Saturday and Sunday, June 25th and 26th, agreeably to adjournment, commencing Sat-urday evening, 74 o'clock. A full attendance of the friends of the slave is carnestly solicited. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON and other speakers will be present. CHARLES LENOX REMOND, President.

PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Mass. inti-Slavery Society, will speak as follows : New Ipswich, N. H......Sunday....June 19. Harwich Sunday 26.
Hyannis Sunday July 3. A public meeting, on the Fourth or July, is to be held at NORTH DENNIS, at which PARKER PILIS-

BURY will deliver an address.

A. A. BENT, Sec'ry.

Rev. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Mass Anti-Slavery Society, will speak as follows:—

EF SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:— Canterbury, "Sunday, June 19. Littleton, "Sunday, "26. Dover, "Friday, July 1.

NOTICE. The Worcester County (North Division) Anti-Slavery Society will hold a meeting at EAS' PRINCETON, on Sunday, June 26, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. [Speakers to be named next week.] SUMNER LINCOLN, President.

NEW BOOKS.

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JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY.

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

THE SHADY SIDE: OR, LIFE IN A COUNTRY PARSONAGE, BY A PASTOR'S WIFE.

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

Count Struenzee the Skeptic, and THE CHRISTIAN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY MRS. WILSON.

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

THE LAST HOURS OF CHRIST.

Missionary at Constantinople.

A portion of this most admirably written volume of leditations on the last hours of our Savior upon earth, 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.

THE TRIAL BY JURY,

BY LYSANDER SPOONER.

We need not inform the public that any work from Mr. Spooner's pen would be one of great research and learning—his logical acuteness as a writer is too well known. This, his last, and perhaps his greatest effort, on the Trial by Jury, is destined to create a commotion in the world. Jurymen will learn their rights and duties from it, and also learn to what an alarming extent their rights have been encroached upon. We bespeak for this able treatise a candid perusal. Price—\$1.25 in cloth; \$1.50 in law sheep.

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 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 In one volume, 12 mo., with a portrait. PRICE, \$1.00.

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

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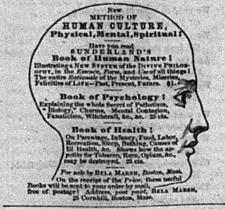
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JARVIS D. BRAMAN.

Boston, June 17, 1853.

POETRY:

MUSINGS.

BY MES. FRANCES D. GAGE. I am lenely, I am weary-Would you know the reason why? 'Tis not that the day is dreary-Not that clouds o'erhang the sky No; the April sun is beaming
Warm and genial as 'twere May,
Earth and air, in beauty teeming, Woo my spirit to be gay.

> Merrily the birds are singing, Circling round the city eaves; Merrily the bells are ringing, But my spirit only grieves ;-Grieves for old familiar places, Far away I've left them all; Grieves for dear, familiar faces, Distance hides them as a pall.

This new home is very cheerful, Husband, children, all are here; Yet my eyes are sometimes tearful, Tearful for old memories dear. By my window I am sitting, Gazing out upon the street; Thousands to and fro are flitting, No familiar glance I meet.

No kind voice of friendly greeting Falls upon the listening ear, All seems new and cold and fleeting All is strange I see and hear. Where my violets lay unbosomed, 'Mong the grass so fresh and green, Where my sweetest roses blosso Pavements cold and hard are seen. Peering through these dusty shutters,

'Stead of woodbines, wet with dew, See I only loathsome gutters, Where my sweetest spring flowers grew. There the sunbeams lay unbroken, Where once lay the cool, green shade Of the cedar and the locust, Under which the children played. Ah! I miss the birds and flowers

Of the home I've left behind-Miss the hill-tops and the bowers, Miss the odor-wafting wind. This is not the same old carpet Upon which we danced at night, These are not the time-worn curtains Which shut out the summer light. All is changed, e'en to the table,

Where I scribbled rhymes of old, That was cherry, this is marble,-Ah! 'tis marble, hard and cold! This soft seat of yielding cushion, This is not my worn old chair, Where I rocked my babes to slumber. With a mother's patient care.

This is new-'tis richer, better; Somehow it don't suit so well ; That was worn and old and worthles Why I loved it, who can tell? Chair and curtain, table, carpet, To a stranger's eve may be Better, fairer than the old ones, But they're not so good to me. Memories of joys departed

Cluster not around the new. Shadows of the loved true-hearted Spring not with them into view. They have not been consecrated Yet, by warm and loving hands, Friends and kindred have not wreathed them, O'er and o'er, with myrtle bands. But I will not sigh in sadness,

Will not let my heart grow cold, Soon 'twill throb again with gladness, Soon these new things will be old. Kind and genial hearts are hov'ring O'er life's pathway everywhere; They will come and render sacred Carpet, curtain, table, chair, Flowers of love will spring in beauty To my fancy on the street, If the dusty paths are trodden Daily by familiar feet. If I scatter seeds of kindness Here and there, as best I may, Roses fragrant as the old ones.

Soon will cheer the lonely way. Home so loved-old friends so treasured, Half my heart I'll give to you; Half I keep in good condition, Warm and lighted for the new. I may drop a tear of sorrow For the past-the far away, While I'm pilfering from to-morrow, Smiles and sunshines for to-day.

TRUE PREEDOM, AND HOW TO GAIN IT BY CHARLES MACKAY.

Sr. Louis, April 28, 1853.

And so we shall again.

We want no flag, no flaunting rag, For Liberty to fight ; We want no blaze of murderous guns, To struggle for the right. Our spears and swords are printed words, The mind our battle-plain ; We've won such victories before,

We love no triumphs sprung of force-They stain her brightest cause ; 'Tis not in blood that Liberty Inscribes her civil laws. She writes them on the people's heart, In language clear and plain; True thoughts have moved the world before, And so they shall again.

We yield to none in earnest love Of Freedom's cause sublime; We join the cry, 'FRATERNITY!'-We keep the march of Time. And yet we grasp not pike nor spear, Our victories to obtain ; We've won without their aid before.

And so we shall again. We want no aid of barricade To show a front to wrong ; We have a citadel in truth, More durable and strong. Calm words, great thoughts, unflinching faith. Have never striv'n in vain ; They've won our battles many a time.

Peace, progress, knowledge, brotherhood, The ignorant may sneer, The bad deny, but we rely To see their triumph near. No widow's groans shall load our cause. No blood of brethren slain; We've won without such aid before.

And so they shall again.

And so we shall again.

EPITAPH. Beneath these stones

Repose the bones Of Lord John Jones Friends, make your moans. But vain are means, For Lord John Jones Is naught but bones,

Beneath these stones.'

SELECTIONS.

From the New York Herald. THE HARTPORD ISMITE CONVENTION. Meeting of Philosophers, Theologian's, Thinkers Strong-minded Women, Spiritual Rappers, Athe

Among the male portion of the audience, many were remarkable for the length of their beards, and their general appearance indicated that their washerwomen were deceased. The ladies bore upon their countenances that rigid, inflexible and storn gravity, which has characterized strong-minded lady philosophers of every age. The sable portion of our population was but feebly represented by two ladies of color, who, if we may judge from the frequent exhibition of their 'ivories,' thought the whole matter the best joke in the world.

The Chair having read the call of the meeting, presented Mr. Andrew Jackson Davis to the meeting, who said— Mr. Chairman and Friends—I have come this morning prepared to speak upon the following res-

Resolved, That each mind, by virtue of its endowments, should 'prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.'

The course of nature is marked by vast and mighty changes, as all well know. In the lower departments of the physical world, one set of circumstances continue till their motion is completed, when gradually they expire, and from their ashes a new order of things is born into existence. Every great and general improvement in the physical aspect of the globe, every majestic alteration in the nature of things, is preceded, is accompanied and succeeded, by some great announcement and start-ling demonstration. This is the way of the world outside of man. The formation of mountains was accompanied, by the most terrible convulsions. accompanied, by the most terrible convulsions. From centre to circumference the terrestrial ball is shaken—portions fall while others rise—the earth trembles and quakes, and so are made the lofty mountains, the beautiful valleys, the undulating landscape, and the ocean bed. But terrible changes are never terrible in fact. Every alteration in nature's domain is invariably succeeded by better circumstances, and it is only man's short-sightedness which hinders his perceptions of the future good from such alterations. So in the religious world, as in the physical, there are conditions of mind and organization, political, ecclesiastical and otherwise, which demand a change, and he who interogates rightly the page of progress, receives back the answer that, in the religious world, great and startling alterations have, from time to time, occurred, disturbing, for the time being, the whole body of mankind with paroxysms of apprehensions. But these changes are inevitable. The object of this Convention is to explain and investigate the origin, the authority, and the influence of the Old and New Testaments. What a question for the nineteenth century! In the opinion of numerous well-meaning persons, I am aware a Convention with such are quiest before it express the anything well-meaning persons, I am aware a Convention with such an object before it, cannot be anything but a work of supercrogation. They suppose the origin, authority and influence of the Testament to be as well established as the sun in the heavens. This is the question of this age, and for the age, because this age, more than any other, posage, because this age, more man any outer, pos-sesses the requisite information to answer the question. The miracle of Joshun could not be an-swered until the immutable laws of planetary harswered until the immutable laws of planetary har-mony were discovered, and cosmological theory could not be answered until the science of geology was developed; and as these sciences have now gained a footing among the people, even so, for the first time, are the people prepared for the examina-tion of the questions before this Convention. In certain prudential minds there exist divers doubts respecting the utility of conventions at these respecting the utility of conventions, either as in-struments of good or exponents of truth, more especially when called to the consideration of sacred things. Most people are educated to regard religion

things. Most people are educated to regard religion as too holy for matter of debate.

The speaker went on to deny the authenticity of the Bible and the Christian religion. We pray and work for liberty, continued he, for human love, and the kingdom of Heaven upon earth, which must necessarily come after all sectarism is forgotten. In conclusion, I would say, we should free ourselves from the sectarism of the church, free ourselves from the mythology of the Bible, and free ourselves from the mythology of the Bible, and free ourselves from the chains of superstition and bigotry. Reason, reason is the sovereign of the soul, and truth is the sovereign of reason. Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.

A GENTLEMAN from the other end of the hall, greatly excited.—I denounce that tirade as a treasonable attack uses the generalize of this source.

sonable attack upon the government of this country, as a blasphemous attack upon the Bible of God, and an attack upon all the institutions of our country. (Cries of 'Give your name.') I will give my name. I call upon the citizens to appoint a committee to have that treasonable point a committee to have that treasonable and blaphemous tirade published. (Sensation and cries of 'Order!') I denounce this junta, for it is an attack against the Bible, a conspiracy against our government, and an attack upon all Christian churches (Sensation.) Give us an opportunity to get hold of this blasphemous document. (Great confusion, and cries of 'Your name! your name!') Let the Committee have the document, for if Mr. Davis is allowed to retain it, he will make it a lit-

THE CHAIRMAN. Let us have no personalities. GENTLEMAN. It is a blasphemous document, it is an——('Order!' and great excitement, the two negro ladies grinning from ear to ear.)
The Chairman thought it would be better to avoid

personal attacks. You have called us a junta—
(to the gentleman.)

Gentleman (much excited.) Yes, Sir, it is a junta—a treasonable conspiracy. I repeat my words, Sir. If you come here to introduce blasphemy, which that tirade of stuff does, I call upon you to print it. It is treason against our country, and a villanous attack on the Bible.* '(Order!

Mr. MARTIN, a long-haired individual, here stepone of these Bibles, said he, belonged to a Mrs. Carpenter, but the rats gnawed the cover off, and they gnawed the passage out, that 'God is love.' Here are two stones, (producing two, flourishing them above his head, gesticulating violently, and

walking rapidly from one part of the platform to the other.) Here is the past history of the world. If you had been sneered at for bringing two books here, and these rocks, as I have, you would call loudly for liberty. (Great gesticulation and heaps nonsense.)
GENTLEMAN—I demand a committee; then, you bedlamites shall be answered. (Excitement, and

cries of 'Order, order,' 'Be quiet.')
The Chairman hoped that the last speaker would learn from his own religion how to love his neighbor, and not give way to passion and excitement. He trusted that order would prevail and full freedom of speech be allowed, but he hoped that personalities would be discontinued. His object was to seek for truth, and that could only be elicited by freedom of speech. Truth is indestructible; error alone can be destroyed. (Loud applanse.) If rumalone can be destroyed. (Loud applaase.) If rumselling is wrong, if slavery is wrong, if war is
wrong, and if you believe in a God that sanctions
such things, I do not. He is not my God. (Applause.) If the government can be overturned by
reason and argument, let it be overturned. If the
gentleman wishes to prove I am a monkey, of a
tiger, let him do so. (Laughter.) I am content.
If he will prove me a devil, very well. I am content to go to hell; for I want to go where I belong.
(Laughter.)

Mrs. Rose. I thank my sister for saying this to me, and I have a heart to speak and will speak on. (Cries of 'go ahead,' 'go ahead,' and hisses.)

Mrs. Rose. You can have no conception how I rejoice in this meeting, even hissing and all, as long as there is a meeting of this description and this company which I see before me. This time, twenty-five years ago, when I stood upon a platform to bear my testimony that the Bible was the greatest enemy that has ever been given to man, I experienced worse treatment than I do now.

SMALL BOY, from the gallery. Where was that, old gal! (Loud laughter.)

The CHAIRMAN. Order, order. (Ironical cheers.)
Rey. Mr. Tunner trusted that the audience would listen with patience to the remarks of Mrs. Rose. (Cries of 'go on, go on.')

A Voice from the gallery. May I make an inquiry!

quiry !
The Chairman. Not now, for a collection is about

The CHARMAN. Not now, for a collection is about being made. [A collection was then taken up amid great uproar.]

The same Voice. We can't go on without order. (Cries of 'good boy,' yells, and great hissing.)

The CHARMAN. Mrs. Rose, is at present speaking, and no other person is entitled to the floor.

A strong minded woman deprecatingly to the boys in the gallery: 'George Washington had more respect for a woman.' (Applause and hisses)

boys in the gallery: 'George Washington had more respect for a woman.' (Applause and hisses.)

The Charman. I wish to ask the friends of the Bible, if this is the kind of argument and the specimen of advocacy by which they expect to sustain the Bible! (Hisses.)

At this juncture some enterprising citizen turned the gas off in the gallery, and for several minutes the hall was left in utter darkness; the audience whooping, stamping, hissing, and shricking to the utmost extent of their langs.

On lighting up, the Chair called for music, and Miss Murdoch, made an attempt but the name of the boys we could not catch in consequence of the boys.

Miss Murdoch, made an attempt but the name of the song we could not catch in consequence of the boys in the gallery each singing on his own hook, 'Yankee Doodle,' 'The Rogue's March,' 'Katie Darlint,' 'I Once Knew a Nigger,' and other popu-Mrs. Rose. Nicholas of Russia holds the iron

Mrs. Rose. Nicholas of Russia holds the iron rod that is called a sceptre, by which he has prostrated my own native land and poor dejected Hungary, for he says that he has received that power from God. (Hisses.)

Mrs. Rose. Do you hiss me, or the Bible, or the Emperor of Russia! (Confusion and groaning.)

The Charran. 'Order, order.'

A Voice. Don't you wish you may get it!
(Laupher.)

(Laughter.) Mrs. Rosz. My friends keep about as good

order as they are capable of. (Ferocious groans.)
But I have charity—but I have charity.
INDEPENDENT CITIZEN, in the gallery, with his legs hanging over the railings. Don't, now,

Mrs. Ross. I thought that, in this free country, freedom of speech and action were allowed. If that be so, can I not discuss the Bible? (Hisses

INDEPENDENT CITIZEN. I guess, mother, that I have as good a right to show my boots, as you have to discuss the Bible. (Laughter, and cries of good, Mrs. Rose. Luther first struck the blow for

liberty, and do you hiss him! He pronounced the Bible of Rome a barlot which stifled the human mind. Hiss him to your hearts' content. (Hisses.)
A Voice. Good night. Time's up—forty minutes. Sit down, old lady. (Laughter and applause.)
Mrs. Ross. We should have charity and forbearance, yet as a whole the Bible has kept man ignorant and vicious. (Hisses and applause, and cries of 'Time's up,' 'Go on,' 'No, no,' 'Yes.') If you wish me to leave off sooner, you will have to keep quiet. (Hisses.) The Bible has created ignorance and intemperance. (Renewed hisses and great confusion, and cries of 'Time's up, Mother,' and laughter.) I am rather surprised to see in Yankeedom, who boast of their knowledge, that a woman cannot utter the sentiments of her heart

without interruption.

A Voice. You ain't a woman. (Loud laughter, and cries of 'get down,' and whistling and barking.)
Mrs. Rose. I have stood more than that, but it

loes not ruffle my temper.
Cries of 'louder,' and hisses. Mrs. Rose. Do you believe that the whale swal-owed Jonah! (Hisses and confusion.) There is no need for me to prolong an argument as to the pernicious effect of the Bible. (Hisses.) My sisters, (pointing to the ladies with much excitement,) this is an evidence of the rights you have. The this is an evidence of the rights you have. The Church is upon your neck. Do you want to be free! (Cries of 'yes.') Then trample the church, the priest, and the Bible under your feet. (Hisses and shouts for at least five minutes.)

A motion to adjourn was seconded, and carried unanimously, and the unfortunate infidels left the hall amid the denusciations and curses of the excited multitude; and as the last of the philosophers descended the steps, a voice in parting benediction sclaimed, ' Ereunt omnes, God damp 'em

Mrs. Rose now presented herself, and the storm which had been brewing burst like an avalanche upon her head. Groaning, hissing, stamping, barking, crowing, and every token of disapprobation were most liberally lavisited upon her, but she bore it bravely. I do not intend, said she, to take up to the said she, to take upon a stamping of them. any argument. (Hisses, and cries of 'down, down.')
Who makes disturbances! Those upon our side! (Renewed uproar.)
The CHAIRMAN (to the audience.) An opportu-

nity is now afforded you to redeem your characters. This is the most infamous proceeding I ever wit-

This is the most infamous proceeding I ever witnessed. (Ferocious yells.)

Mrs. Rose. I merely want to justify myself. (Hisses, and cries of 'Go home.') I am not here to apologize for anything that I have said, for I believe sincerely and truly that I have spoken the honest truth and the honest conviction of my own heart, (hisses,) and I could not perform my duty to truth, and could not be just to myself, in doing less than this. (Yells.) My friends, in wishing you farewell, I shall not carry with me any unpleasant remembrances—not in the least, for my creed tells me to have perfect charity for the opinions and feelings of others. (Hisses.)

ons and feelings of others. (Hisses.)
Mr. Barker, of Ohio, then attempted to address the meeting, but was compelled to give way from the bursts of indignation that were poured upon him from the gallery.

The attention of the spectators was here diverted

for a moment by a fight in the gallery, which, so far as we can learn, originated from some young gentleman drawing and threatening to use a dirk. After a considerable amount of scuffling, he was

Loud cries of 'Adjourn, adjourn.' Mr. W. L. GARRISON. I move that this conven tion adjourn sine die.

The motion was seconded and carried; and thus ended the Atheist Convention of 1853.

A large number of persons were congregated on the steps and around the building, and many were the affectionate inquiries for Mr. Garrison, but that worthy individual was fortunately for himself not

ecognized.

The Convention, we understand, will meet ome town in New England, on Jan. 1, 1854.

From the Hartford Courant. ANTI-BIBLE CONVENTION.

This Infidel assemblage broke up on Sunday eve This infidel assemolage broke up on sunday evening in a general row, without passing any of the resolutions which had been presented. Its object has been manifest from the beginning. It was concocted by Infidelity as an attack upon the Bible, with no intention of allowing fair and free distance intention. It was an assembly the second of the second o tent to go to hell; for I want to go where I belong. (Laughter.)

Mrs. E. L. Rose then came forward, and was greeted with applause and hisses. Such were the confusion and uproar that it was impossible for our reporter to hear or understand many of the arguments of Mrs. Rose; but we give the following:—

Mrs. Rose. My friends, I am not well, but there was a time when I had a voice strong enough to speak against all opposition and be heard, but that time is past.'

A Voice. Good. 'Go it, mother.'

A Voice. Good. 'Go it, mother.'

A Strong Mindel Lady, very must excited.—If you have the heart to speak, then speak on (Laughter, applause, hisses, and cries of 'Bravo, old 'un.')

*This disorderly and shameless disturber was said to be one Dr. West, a notorious theological pugilist and a strolling adventurer from the old world.—Eo. Lis.

morality have erected in New England—they would abolish the hopes of an hereafter, blot out the light which Christ has shed over the world, and extinguish the joys and comforts which piety creates. The advocates of Woman's Rights would drive the Bible from its place in civilized society, because it does not allow women's equality with man in all things, but marks out for her a different sphere of setion.

action.

Throughout the discussion, the opponents of the Bible filled the ears of the audience with the most revolting blasphemies, and made the Convention a miniature Hell, with Demons spitting out the concentrated malice of their hearts, in terms of 'conwhen a specimen of the 'fair sex' pronounced her tirades against the Deity and the Scriptures—said tirades against the Deity and the Scriptures—said to be the most blasphenous stuff uttered in the Convention. Nothing but Christianity has rescued woman from the degradation to which the tyranny of brute force had subjected her, in all savage nations—nothing but Christianity has bestowed upon her all that ennobles and purifies her character, and softens and dignifies her condition. Shame then to the woman, who will so far unsex herself as to be engaged, amid an assembly of male Infidels and scoffers, in attacking that institution which has rescued her from bondage. This woman, forsooth, rescued her from bondage. This woman, forsooth, spurns the Bible, because it declares at its commencement that God created woman as the compan-ion of man! She refuses the Christianity of the on of man! She refuses the Christianity of the New Testament, because women were not allowed to speak in the churches! She boldly impugns the Almighty for the station in which he has placed her, and beliches out her blasphemies against Him for her physical inferiority, and for His declaration in His holy Word that He had given woman to man as his 'help-meet'—to support his infancy—to educate his young and tender mind—to build up the rising generations in the softening influences of early niety—to wean man, as a sister from vice early piety—to wean man, as a sister, from vice,—to soothe him in that dearest of all relations as a wife, amid the toils and cares and labors of the rough life through which he travels. Yes: from the cradle to the grave, woman is the 'companion' of man, the solace of his life hours, the supporter of his dying moments. God so ordered—the Bible so proclaims—nature so ordains—and shame to that woman who loudly asserts in a public assem-bly that such a God is unfit for her worship and is not hers. Shame to the piebald assemblage of Atheists and Abolitionists and misguided fanatics that would encourage the declaration.

Though we disliked the idea of any interference

with the progress of their blasphemy, yet we must do justice to the two Second Advent preachers, Messrs. Storrs of New York and Turner of this place, who manfully battled for the truth and authority of the Bible. Their arguments were un-

answered and unanswerable.

Honest, well-meaning men—men, who have hitherto been deluded by this spirit-rapping mania, with all its absurdity and folly,—can now see whither it tends. It leads to the destruction of Christianity, to the rejection of the Bible, to the blotting out of God from the Soul. Are they ready to go to these lengths! Just assuredly as they embrane the Gospal according to Andrew Jackson to go to these lengths? Just assuredly as they embrace 'the Gospel according to Andrew Jackson Davis,' will they be led to the rejection of Jesus Christ and him crucified, and to the abolition of God from their creeds. Are they prepared for it!

As long as this Spiritual Rapping was the mere child of their and improvements.

child of fatuity and imposture, we chose to let it alone. But it has now assumed a position in which the lover of all that is holy and upright and just in the Universe must meet it with tones of indignation and notes of warning. We have no hesitation in saying, as viewed in the light of this Convention, that a belief in Spiritual visitations, as at present exhibited, will lead directly and fatally to the grossest Infidelity and Atheism.

The Chairman announced, at the adjournment of

the meeting, that it would be called together again at some other city of New England. We trust that the soil of Connecticut will never be desecrated again, and her laws set at defiance, by such an as-semblage, or the air of Connecticut polluted again by such blasphemy.

From the Boston Bee.

THE LATE INFIDEL CONVENTION. The recent Infidel Convention, at Hartford, Ot., was 4 rare gathering—alike for the lunatics of which it was composed, and the lunatic proceedings which made up its records. A crazier set of men, or a wilder bevy of women, probably never set beneath one roof, outside a madhouse. The gather-ing was modestly disguised as 'The Anti-Bible Convention,' but its real design and character was to make infidel speeches, condemn all that same and good men and women regard as sacred, to unloose, if possible, that affection for the good book which has been the strength, the consolation and the hope of all Christians, and a greater part of the world, for eighteen centuries. These men and women, with black blasphemy on their polluted lips, and red venom at their rankling hearts, from day to day lesson for the reflection of others. launched out their terrible attacks on the Bible, the Christian, the Church. The scene was melan-choly indeed, and fully convinces the thinking por-tion of the community that the madhouse will soon tion of the community that the madhouse will soon have many new victims to delusions, the incurability of which is only equalled by the accursed abomination which has caused them.

There was Garrison, the bold leader of infidels,

his fearful impiousness, from a brain and heart that is, and was long ago, steeped in the pestilent and black waters of infidelity. There, also, was Henry C. Wright, from whose lips falls nothing which is not a speer at God, a scoff at heaven. He wiled liber as a speer at God, a scoff at heaven. He railed like a maniae, and stormed like a fiend. The Bible was denounced; heaven was scouted; the church beslimed; all that is good and great was church beslimed; all that is good and great was ignominiously villified. There, too, in high estate, was Andrew Jackson Davis, the audacious and scoffing blasphemer of the Supreme Being. There, too, and worse and more melancholy than all, was Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, of New York, her heart saturated with the fiery liquid of infidelity, and her tongue uttering sentiments too shockingly wicked to repeat. If ever there was a scene more calculated than another to make sad the heart, to sicken and depress the mind, it was that woman; then and there, surrounded by moral fiends utter, then and there, surrounded by moral fiends, utter-ing strain after strain of blasphemy, the parallel of which would have turned a Paine or Kneeland as pale and fixed as marble.

We have no desire to enumerate all the speakers in this diabolical Convention. The above are samples of some dozen men and women, who did little but insult God, abuse the Bible, and scandalize but insult God, abuse the Bible, and scandalize Christians. The Convention, as might have been expected, broke up in confusion bordering on a row. Nothing was done, not even a poor, paltry infidel resolution was passed. The blaspheming infidels, lost to reason, lost to sense, lost to judgment, lost to everything sane, actually crambled into pieces, as though the breath of God passed over and distracted thems. They left that hall benighted and dark, as well in head as soul. So passed out Garrison, black in heart; and so Pillsbury, blacker in soul; and so Wright, foul and infamous; and so Mrs. Rose, gleaming with the hot and consuming

From the Hartford Daily Times. THE BIBLE CONVENTION.

The New York Times connects this city in rather The New York Times connects this city in rather a sneering and disparaging manner with the (so-called) Bible Convention. It alludes to it as 'the second Hartford Convention,' holding it to be a disreputable body, and insinuating that because this city was selected as the place of meeting for the first Hartford Convention, there was a peculiar fitness in making it the head-quarters of the second. This is a very unfair and erroneous view of the matter. We presume that Hartford was selected in preference to other localities, as the place for holding this extraordinary conclave, for reasons which would generally be regarded as complimentary, rather than disgraceful. This city was chosen for that purpose, in all probability, because the originators of the Convention looked upon it as the central point of the best educated and most intel-

ed away without much notice, but without even those equivocal honors of opposition and hisses which appear to have been not only openly court which appear to have been not only openly court which appear to have been not only openly courted, but generously accorded, here. Next to profound silence and hearty applause, a vigorous hissing and a well-sustained series of rows are considered by many speakers as the highest mark of appreciation which it is in the power of an audience to bestow. Garnison is one of this kind. He is one of those men who love opposition and minorities for their own sake. Agreement with any large for their own sake. Agreement with any large fragment of mankind is utterly uncongenial to him and he looks upon intellectual concord of all kinds as a forbidden and enervating luxury. Without his habitual aliment of hisses, diversified with an occasional mobbing and kicking, his faculties would speedily languish for want of the customary stimulus. If he had a motto, it would be, 'kick me, but notice me,' or 'true courage without opposition dies'—the converse of the poet's. It was this lux-ury of hissing and tumult which Garrison and his colleagues found here, in full measure, but which they could not so easily find in New York or Bos-ton. Moreover, whether the Bible Convention was

RADICAL REFORMERS. Of so frightful mien, As to be hated, need but to be seen.

Among the most dangerous reformers we must class those who are endeavoring to put the Bible into disrepute, and place doubt upon that revela-tion which opens to man his hopes in a future

A Convention of infidels and fanatics, under th A Convention of infidels and fanatics, under the guidance of such persons as Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, Stephen S. Foster, Abby Kelly Foster, and the like, is now or has the past week been in session in Hartford, Conn. They deny the authenticity of the Bible and the Christian religious their translatings as furthelpring.

ion, condemning their teachings as 'mythological,' and the 'offspring of superstition.'

We copy the following from a report of the proceedings in Connecticut. If the principles of such persons should be generally adopted—if the visionary schemes they offer should be carried out—better would it be for our country never to have enjoy-ed anything but the heathenism of India, rather than now to retire from the light which has been the glory of Christendom.

That our readers may not think we are exagger

ating the horrid impiety of some of the miserable and misguided men who spoke and acted on the occasion, we must beg leave to quote verbatim from a report in a city paper.—Portsmouth Journal,

THE LATE ANTI-BIBLE CONVENTION .- A Hartford correspondent of the Springfield Republican says of this Convention :-

As an effort against the Bible, it was contempti ble. As far as we heard, there was not an argument of any force adduced that was not stale with age and that has not been answered again and again. There was a fishing up from the stagnation and putrefaction of Paine's old arguments, and they were brought out all seething with his foam. As a matter of honesty; however, it would have been more creditable to have recognized the paternity of the ideas. Hours were spent on assertions that a tyro in Theology and Theologic History could have answered, and the speakers must have calculated on a secretary statement of additional contents. on a pretty wide margin of auditorial ignorance. Judging from appearances, as far as their own followers were concerned, they did not reckon without their host.

On the whole, we do not feel disposed to regre this Convention. The Bible will survive it. It has survived shocks compared with which this is a mosquito bite. More than fifty years ago, Paine closed his examination of the Bible, thus: 'I have gone through the Bible as a man would go through a wood with an axe on his shoulder and fell trees. Here they lie, and the priests, if they can, may re plant them. They may, perhaps, stick them in the ground, but they will never make them grove.'

Paine has gone—but the Bible stands. And Paine saw the hour, when he would have given his soul for a stand upon that Bible. We commend the

The abolitionists, free soilers, spiritualists, and strong minded women, of this region, have at length got into a very fair way of exhibiting themselves in their true light, as the enemies o Christianity, morality, and of every thing holiest and best in our institutions. They have met in Convention, to the number of a few hundred, in the city of Hartford, for the purpose, as set forth in the call, of freely and fully discussing the There was Garrison, the bold leader of infidels, the prince of blasphemers, the defier of God, sitting at the head of the Convention, like Satan in the regions of iniquity. Heaven, in its mercy, permitted the breath of life to inflate his lungs, to the good end, we doubt not, that the world might see a moral monster whose fiendishness is more than fiends. There, too, was Parker Pillsbury, whose name is a tower of infamy that should reach to the very floor of heaven itself. He belched out to the very floor of heaven itself. He belched out reporter from our office to attend it, and we this his fearful impiousness, from a brain and heart morning give our readers the details of the first

> INFIDEL CONVENTION.—A Convention has been held at Hartford, Conn., during the last week, called professedly for the discussion of the claims of the Bible to belief, but in reality to give a few infidels an opportunity to deliver themselves publicly of a surplus amount of their hatred to the word o God. The leading spirits of the Convention seen to have been Andrew Jackson Davis, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and Mrs. Rose, all sufficiently notoriou for their infidelity as well as their other vagarie for their infidelity as well as their other vagaries. From the proceedings we should judge that, notwithstanding the number of patients which the Spirit-rappers have furnished for the lunatic asylums, there are still many lunatics at large. The Convention is reported as breaking up in a row, without adopting the resolutions, introduced by Garrison, denunciatory of the Bible, and leaving it still in doubt whether that book may still be received as of divine authority. What a pity! But they are to have another Convention in 1854, and perhaps it may be settled then.—N. Y. Observer.

ANTI-BIBLE CONVENTION .- A Convention con posed of the leading spirits of abolitionism, with an infusion of crazy philanthropists generally, was in session in Hartford, Ct., last week, for the purpose of exposing the fallacy of the Bible as a work of Divine inspiration. William Iloyd Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, Henry C. Wright and other piebald visionaries were the leading spirits of the

Airs. Rose, gleaming with the hot and consuming fires of the infidel; and so all others, knowing not where their feet led.

We venture the prophecy that, in less than one year, fifty per cent. of the men and women who composed that Convention, will be confirmed maniacs, in some of our insane asylums.

demonstration.

The whole proceedings of the Convention, as we can judge of them by the brief reports published, might not astonish the experienced superintendent of a mad-house, and to such superintendency we respectfully commend the principal orators on the occasion.—Boston Daily Mail.

ANTI-BIBLE CONVENTION.—We have not noticed the ambitious little gathering of infidels which took place last week at Hartford, on the call of Andrew Jackson Davis and others, to adjudicate and decide upon the authenticity and inspiration of the Scriptures. We trust our silence will not be taken to indicate any want of interest in these solemn and follows:

enemies. It will sufficiently indicate the type these proceedings to copy a few of the realist propounded by Mr. Garrison, and discussional length by the Convention—whether adopted as have not been able to ascertain. N

ANTI-BIBLE CONVENTION. - An, Anti-Bible Co. ANTI-BIBLE CONVENTION.—An, Anti-Bible Convention, says the Traceller, has been in some factors three days, at Hartford, Ct. Andrew sets som Davis, (the Great Harmonian.) Win Head Garrison, and Mr. Theodore Parker, are the alternational by the Hartford representations. Garrison, and Mr. Theodore Parker, are its will names mentioned by the Hartford papers in each tion with this Convention. The bible, it is not has been attacked by the Convention, chiefly as ground that it is not harmonious in itself—that ground the convention of the convention of

ground that it is not harmonious in itself—bat a supports slavery, polygamy and other size.

These reformers have got rid of the Casal and the State, the Subbath and the peakers of religion, and there is nothing see has for them to fight and throw away but the king.

Their efforts, however, will prove like these of a for them to ngat and tarow away but he like Their efforts, however, will prove like these of her predecessors—Voltaire and the Encyclopelata Paine and his followers. That Worl' which he Paine and his joinwers. That word which as survived the perils of thousands of year, as its repeated, able and artful attacks of leared like repeated, all area of the world will are mies in all ages of the world, will not be fine enemies in all ages of the world, will not be held to fall now before such arms as modern labeled and Pantheism can muster!—Zion's Adocsic.

ANTI-BIBLE CONVENTION. - This gathering ANTI-DIBLE brain-cracked odds and ends of both sales, brain-cracked boos and ends or out sees, fina one portion of the country and another, connected its session in Hartford, Ct., on Thursday list. The high priest of this movement is that sublimated essence of humbug, Andrew Jackson Davis, saist ed by Henry C. Wright, William Lloyd Garners, and the day of the day o ed by Henry C. Wilgit, william Lloyd Garnes and other professional agitators of the day. T Convention was to continue four days, at the of which a vote will be taken, and all doubts a of which a vote will be solved, and all doubts abet the Scriptures will be solved, and every body will know just, what to believe. We copy a portion of the N. Y. Tribune's account of the first day's

The Convention was beld in an old Church with the pulpit knocked away, intended to be symbolical we presume, of the fate that awaits the Bible An old, huge-paw of a fellow, in one of the back pews, at the opening of the Convention, suggested doubts, however, about this result, as he said he doubts, nowever, about this result, as he said he thought the Spiritualists would now find the thought the Spiritualists would now find ther match, as they had got into a tussle with the Almighty. The Assembly was not numerous. There were not so many present as would ordinarily be found at a morning Mothodist Class-meeting a country village. The concourse was, however, motley,—there being a sprinkling of blacks, persons with unshorn beards, women of a very quarts of-a-dollarish air; and men of longing and exthusiastic aspects. — Gospel Universativ Bases. thusiastic aspects.' - Gospel (University

THE ANTI-BIBLE CONVENTION.—The New York Times says of the Hartford Bible Convention which exploded on Sunday night:— · As if by Providential arrangements, its he

bers were drafted from a class of persons who have long since lost all standing in the community for soundness of wit; and exposed themselves to shrev suspicions of pursuing dishonest aims from his motives. It is a mere sink of skepticism fed fine the impurest sources. Abolitionism has poured in its little tide; a streamlet of magnetism was duly contributed; clairvoyance trickled in unobtrusi ly; and the rapperces turned thither the Stream waters, agreeably to an alphabetical agreement with Charon and the ghosts of Hades. Diabetic of the Bible leaves a vast vacuum in the home mind, which all manner of demons and chinen troop in to occupy. So these people meet upon a common platform of delusion, after meritainsa struggles in the cause of general religious and social disorganization.

The Anti-Bible Convention in Hartford to l out a miserable failure. Andrew Jackson Davis. W. L. Garrison, and many other spiritual rapen and come-outers, were there, but they talked a empty benches, almost,-Worcester Spi

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