THE LIBERATOR EVERY FRIDAY MORNING. STATUTE OFFICE, 21 CORNEILL EUBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT

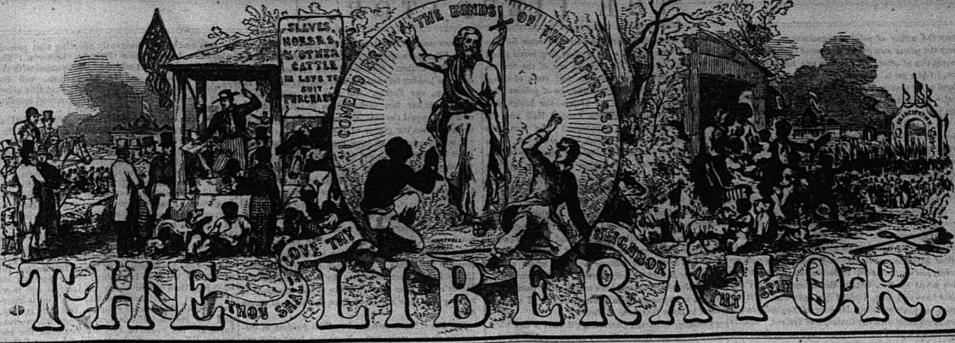
r Icent-Two dollars and fifty cents per annun Fire copies will be sent to one address for TER tances are to be made, and all letters

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the paper, viz :-- Francis Jackson, Ethis Gray PONEND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and form Punting of The Liberator, both sides of sion are impartially allowed a hearing.

EM LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

TOL. XXIII. NO. 25.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Anion with Slaveholders! THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding

lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR MAYES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for BLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons . . . . in fact, the oppressor repro-

senting the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREST

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'- John Quincy Adams.

of preserving the African slave trade; the sec

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 24, 1853.

WHOLE NUMBER 1168.

SPEECH

# WENDELL PHILLIPS

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION, Wednesday Evening, May 25th. PROTOGRAPHIC REPORT BY MR. YERRINTON.

intended to a lecture, a short time ago, from that The Began by saying, 'My friends, I have ge here out of curiosity to hear what I am going to erher out of currently to near what I am going to the same tone, what I fear will be some very desulmonths. And yet, it seems to me that I have aching to say; certainly, I have a strong wish to nie hose whom I see before me to-night understand agent on which much misapprehension prevails.

Te have been blamed very much, of late—we have

in abusel, to be sure, for a great many years, but or peculiarly within the last year or two-for what parel the bitter spirit with which we criticise the poyane he offer spirit with which we criticise the po-ical parties; and it seems to be thought, by many, as this is unnecessary criticism—that it is one he which we could refrain, if we would, without sacging, in any way, the interests of our cause. keems to me that our peculiar function and duty.

applitionists, is constantly to direct our attention to at his point-to the men who profess to embody, for size being, the anti-slavery sentiment of the counr; epecially those who represent political anti-sla-The whole history of the Slave Question, both is and in England, shows that rigid adherence to pisciple is the best policy and only strength of our ensport. Now, 'the essence of politics is compromise.' Sommet-place a truism needs no authority to back I; but I prefer to shield an unpalatable truth with the eer of a great name. The above are Macaulay's sels, in his able review of the condition of England in 189 Elsewhere he says-'A public man is often wer the necessity of consenting to measures which he takes, lest he should endanger the success of measpe shich he thinks of vital importance. But the hisrin les under no such necessity. On the contrary, is one of his most sacred duties to point out clearly serrors of those whose general conduct he admires. based of 'historian,' write Garrison abolitionist,rass whole reliance is on strict principle, urged home a individual censcience, and rigidly applied to our pais and politics, and the sentence fitly describes

h becomes, therefore, our duty to watch politics, besam it is politics (cheers); because its essential temptake is to file down its principles and compromise den. The principle of moral life and personal integtiy is-Pat your ideal as high as possible; the effort heh. The principle of party life is-Put your idea s lov as you can, without wholly sacrficing your objet Every degree that you relax gains a follower, set wiens the basis of your party.—The two must then asterally and essentially conflict, and the duty of those who see no prospect of success but in the most rigid adbrace to principle, must be, at all times and on all knaking, to watch with sleepless vigilance those, whose my position constantly tempts them to sacrifice printiple to the hope of immediate or party success. The pleasat of the gravest and most disinterested is not be trusted under such circumstances. Natural pride aputy triumph sometimes takes, for them, the angel fen of the success of their principle. In the confusion of the struggle, the best intentioned, having persuaded denuives that compromise is allowable, will carry i in far, and sacrifice to party safety all the efficiency of a principles. As the trembling sailor throws overbard his cargo to save the ship, his only hope of reachin harbor, so many a party man treats his principles to are the organization, which base men regard as the mly hope of reaching office; and which the best come then to consider the only means of reaching their prin-

prin-man-stale-com-reas-ing a n the leply,

SPIR-ivern-ipear, For ceton.

ALL-Frac-March f the raphi-Rufus sen.

N,

Let me illustrate what I mean. The anti-slavery mement commenced in England in 1783. Until 1787 "'80, when it got into Parliament, and from that time ill 1825, it lived the same sort of semi-vigorous or lethirgie life that our political anti-slavery does. Now it compromised to please Mr. Pitt; now it remained quist, in order not to frighten men who grew pale be for the French Revolution ; now it was cushioned by the Tories; and now buried in Blue Books by the Whigh First, the Abolitionists resolved to attack only the stare trade, for fear of alarming the slaveholders of lander and their friends in the House of Lords. Next, thy asked only gradual abolition, to propitiate Bristol. which feared a sudden loss of trade. Then they took on themselves the task of proving that such abolition weali not injure the English marine; for, strangely though, the African coast was claimed as the best nur my of seame 1. And thus the Abolitionists lost themwhen in a wilderness of Blue Books, designed to prove blie entire satisfaction of the white man, that he could his his fost off the neck of his black brother, with on risking the loss of a farthing. For forty years, the all white man stood considering whether he was con timed! All this while, Wilberforce, with all his sinterity, aided by the strong personal friendship of Pitt sel with all the assistance which Fox, the head of the This party, could give him, labored almost in vain. two great men sunk into their graves, and others fool in their places. A nominal abolition of the Trade, sich soly made it more cruel, was the abolitionists' only tel very questionable claim to success. Forty years of directed effort were behind them. Before them, the Then of West India slavery reared its unappalled at, with as proud defiance as ever. At length, a asa, outside of these political organizations, prosmed the simple, gospel principle, that slavery was ins-bade England look at it in the light, not of the this man's interests, but of the colored man's rightsed, by an appeal to the consciences of the middle as, took the subject out of that everlasting list of photoal questions, where nothing is ever settled except being forgotten. The moment ELIZABETH HEYRICK ed into the anti-slavery question the enthusian of this religious conviction, a new era dawned upon Her pamphlet was, in fact, a rebuke-a most

down, -scholars, statesmen, leaders, great men as they popularity, and deals only with ideas, con

London, and refused their countenance even to FOWELL I believe, are the respective functions of the reformer anti-slavery, battling almost alone, and appealing to into each other, like the colors on a dove's neck. But ard of absolute right and endangering the cause and practical the existing anti-slavery sentiment of throughout the world; and though Buxrox trembled, the country-or when they seek to aid in remodelling igher sense of duty.

or. LUSHINGTON, and the others, we do. We stand, essarily watch each other ;-one to reduce opinion ery excitement as others; to have an equal right, the mistake, selfishness, or peculiar temptation to com ight, as American citizens, to hold our public servants to serve. ght, as American citizens, to hold our public servants to serve.

a strict account in regard to it. We claim the right You must expect, therefore, that as long as the antis the servant that claims to be above his masters? for questions put, for the time, aside, to elect a man to ofhis matter; but I know this, that the good name of no put our hands on our lips, not daring to watch his uman being, however meritorious, is worthy to be con- course, or criticise it? We waited a whole year, to idered or put in the scale, for a moment, against the elect our esteemed friend, CHARLES SUNNER, to the Sen vidual course. It is the duty of all of us to welcome criticism. We are all fools in this matter; for who shall prophecy, in the midst of a Democracy like ours—to keep every thing quiet, and elect Mr. Sunner. Give shall bring forth! The best thing we can do is to did it. They took that whole year, and they achieved bring forward our opinion, put it into the common that triumph. It was the whole fruit of that remarksstock, and let it be tried.

aptain's ears. The English Constitution comes down o us, through the ages, not by the steps of logical de-Mythology, through martyrs and patriots. The warries have not been 'Toleration' and 'Equal Rights,' Extended Suffrage' and 'No. Taxation without conent,' but Mary and Latimer, Charles and Hampden, ames and the Seven Bishops; Wilkes and the House f Commons; O'Connell and the Penal Laws. Wiliam III. landed in Devonshire, not because James had nore widows and orphans, in those counties. True, the emption. age is gone when the masses, like a herd, blindly follow

ties. But their place is subordinate. When Cobden, ter one would endanger its growth and lessen its num the agitator, has created public sentiment, Peel, the bers. But the leaders are entirely willing others should politician, stereotypes it into statutes. This is the office of the politician. He transcends it when he represents off, patient scapegoats, all the odium, and leave them himself as qualified to originate radical reforms and nothing but the advantage. The cat loves fish, but change public opinion in its depths; and he does nothor forty years of wasted anti-slavery effort. The ing but harm when he undertakes to crowd the reformer take the city; Louis lounges at Versailles, and leaves from his right place, to cripple his force, to check his it only (at election time) to receive the surrender.

extension, and the mere incidents of the system.

instead of receiving the criticism in anger, or standing some less radical measure as a sufficient means of proaloof from the new movement, they sat themselves gress. The reformer is careless of numbers, disregards were,—at the feet of this Quaker prophetess, and con-sented to learn of her the idea of a practical anti-sla-for immediate success. He feels, with Copernicus, that as very agitation, which in nine years did more for the set-tlement of the question than all their lives had done wait for followers. The politician dwells in the everlasting Now, His motto is, 'Success!' His aim, num-Again: when, in 1833, the question of political comse, or of absolute fidelity to auti-slavery princi- laws, as much right as the people will bear. His office le, was to be settled, so far as the question of compenis not to instruct, or to change public opinion, but to sation went; when the three hundred delegates met in represent it by appropriate public institutions. These, Buxton, standing as he did the incarnation of political and politician. Of course, they often, in practical life, run their personal sympathies for support—though a large the essential character of each remains the same. Now, part of the anti-slavery body refused him their counte- we have no quarrel with anti-slavery parties while they nance, on the ground that he was lowering the stand- undertake simply to represent, and thus make effective that last night in the House of Commons, to make the public opinion. But when they hold themselves forth apromise in his own name, which the experience of as the highest type of anti-slavery effort, presume wenty years has shown to have been a most unright assign limits, beyond which they tell us we ruin our ous one for the English people—all that while, neither cause, meaning the party, if we go; when they cool the e, nor the few who acted with him, presumed to find zeal, confuse the conscience, weaken the testimony and fault with the moral anti-slavery men who were behind increase the temptations of abolitionists, as parties are hem, and who were endeavoring to keep them up to a ever tempted to do; then, self-defence and duty to the slave require that we examine the whole ground, and Just what Edizabeth Heyrick did to Wilberronce, teach them their place. When two bosts, such as I have ust what the anti-slavery host did to Fowell Buxton, described, are engaged in the same field, they must neclaiming to have done as much to produce this anti-sla- as fast as it is made, to statute; the other to see that therefore, both as its fathers and from experience, to promise, inherent in these mediators between them and tpress our opinion about it; to have our common their age, do not wreck the cause they mean honestly

criticise the Free Soil or any other party, to priticise slavery cause exists, it will be personal; it never will ree Soil or any other men, to any extent-(cheers) - be any thing else. Politics is necessarily made up of any extent, and to any degree of personality. Who personality. We spend our strength, we see important ach are the people in a republic. I know no person in fice. When he assumes it, shall we shut our eyes, and esibility of hazarding the welfare of the anti-slavery ate of the United States. The Free Soilers said to use (loud cheers); and that man over-estimates his us, when we asked them to pass a bill for the secuown importance, and brings into doubt his love for the rity of personal liberty in Massachusetts, 'Forgive us ause itself, who asks us to forbear criticism on his indi- this once. Let it have the go-by this year. We do not with its shifting politics, and its quicksands of consti-us but this winter; we will do an efficient work, and utional law and commercial interest-what the future place a man in the Senate of the United States.' They ble session, when the Free Soil party had a working ma-How absurd in an Anglo-Saxon statesman to com- jority at the State-House lain of personality! His whole past is the history of anti-slavery med have sat silent and forborne their faruggles in which, for the hour, a great principle was vorite topics of legislation, that we have no right to inid behind some loved or hated name. If I mistake not, quire what the Senator means to do, what his course of re owe Habeas Corpus to the Spaniards cutting off a sea | policy and what his public life will be? Do you 'give us a pig in a poke'? Do you expect us to give up the whole working year of a Massachusetts Anti-Slavery liction, but by a transmigration, like that of Eastern Legislature, and never look in the face the man whom you give us in exchange? Are we never to know his opinions? Do you ask that we shall never criticise him? Certainly not ! The man whom the anti-slavery cause puts into a place of office and trust must be transpa rent ; one whose principles are borne before the public. and known to be worthy the sacrifice that we make for him. I choose Mr. Sumner's name as an illustration, nade fewer Catholics, but because Jeffries had left well knowing that he would disdain to ask any such ex-

What do these politicians claim? They claim that leader. Education and instinctive sagacity make them their plan is as efficient to educate the people as our now desert a man the moment he deserts his principles. own; that political organizations can and will dis-Still, an ineradicable loyalty seems to demand names as cuss questions as thoroughly and meet all the necessities nantles for ideas. Our own united history begins with of the cause as boldly as any others. Let them be tried Washington, who was found wanting, weighed against by this test. They have succeeded so far as to put the idol of the masses, Thomas Jefferson ; and the third their favorite leaders into Congress and the State Leet is Jackson and the United States Bank. As these gislatures. They have been bold men, ready debaters, lend their names to an age, so each lesser man lends his accomplished jurists. Mr. Hale has been six years in to an hour. The acts of such men are so fruitful, in the Senate. No man can say that he has been silent good or evil, as to demand constant attention. Let no when he ought to have spoken, or that he has submitted man take part in such a drama, who does not, like Dru- to the insolence of an overbearing majority. But when sus, offer his architect double to have 'his house so has he, or any of his compeers, grappled with the whole built that not his neighbors only, but the whole city, subject? When has he proposed any plan for its setay see all he does.' Besides, men trusted with office tlement? What statesmanlike project has he tried to have great power to mould our welfare. As long as their make familiar to the people's ears? These men are sent tions affect us, we have a right to criticise; as long to Congress, we are told, not for the audience they find as their policy helps or hazards the slave's cause, we there, but to react on the people, to reclucate the shall watch them. (Cheers.) We meet everywhere masses. What new light have the masses got from with the evil results of too much reliance on political Free Soil Conventions of Congress speeches? What effort. One man forbears now to anger the Church by has Congress been but the echo of the anti-slavery distoo keen criticism, and abstains from attending old-fashioned anti-slavery meetings, for fear of injury to professedly anti-slavery party ever attempted to graphis party. Another more than pulls down with one ple with the whole Slave Question, proposed any pla hand what he builds with the other, by remaining quiet laid down any principle, submitted, even for argument in a pro-slavery church, and quieting his conscience by any radical measure? But we do not claim to be an nement of a Free Soil ballot. The real of anoth- anti-slavery party, say some, only a party to resist the er, which once laid all on the altar, now, more prudently extension of slavery. Let its friends, then, take their instructed, contents itself with one solitary exhibition proper place, as representing a temporary expedient of life in November. One man does this honestly, falowing new lights. Another, half-conscious of his trea- ments which undertake the whole question, and are not on, betrays the pangs of an accusing conscience by the afraid to look slavery itself in the face. This is not, abuse of these whose persistent fidelity rebukes him. however, the usual line of defence. Most Free Soilers Another seems to join the party only that he may bet-claim to cover the whole ground; indeed, busy themer defend some pet pro-slavery institution, and inveigh selves with urging us to give up our peculiarities, and against what he calls the 'radicalism and infidelity' of join them. They rather blame us for judging the party he anti-slavery movement from a better vantage by its formal resolutions, necessarily limited and n round. The labor of years had educated the anti-rate, and allege that the men are better than the parlavery mind to its full work, brought it face to face ty. I grant it. Strangely enough, you can learn with the Slave Power, and taught it to trace the roots their principles better any where than in their speeches of the system into the Counting-house, the Union, and and platforms. Platforms and party speeches depo the Pulpit. Party, in assuming to gather into its fold cate any resistance to law, and so avoid responsibility all that host, has carried it back to the beggarly ele- But I do not see that the party is slow to claim merit ments of right of petition and of discussion, slavery- when anti-slavery feeling tramples the Fugitive Slave Law, violently, under foot! This party discussion of Now, party is a good thing in its place. It seems imsilavery, so potent to reeducate the masses and cover the whole field, has no rebuke for the Church. To ut-

through the cloudy magnificence of the language, a bers, unconquerable zeal, will then give to this idea a thing so horrible, an evil of such magnitude, that, in startling terror. Isscribing it, the most vivid imagination pants and secriting it, the most vivid imagination pants and there are peculiar reasons just now why, on both the toils after it in vain'; before it, the utmost vigor of above named accounts, the proclamation of this theory our language folds its hands in mute despair; 'the wardenouncing trumpet' of the speaker assures you that vided into two parties. One seeks to strengthen slaveslavery will not survive this Union thirty years ! You turn over the leaf, and, to your surprise, the speaker, 'roaring gently as a sucking dove,' professes his allegiance to this Union—the Stamese twin brother of the grant to this Union—the Stamese twin brother of the grant to this uneasy bed. This party is crat that he joins them 'most cordially in avowing re-gard for it and resolution to stand by it'! clings to the best terms possible with the rising anti-slavery sentititle of 'Union loving' party; tells men they may ment. They know that the earlier they trade, the more type their breath in exhorting them to abide by it'; their wares are worth. The Sybil of Liberty rises eveand ends by letting the world know that he deems any ry day in her demands. Compensation, gladly accordappeal to the party to stand by the Union so unnecessa- ed to-day, may be indignantly refused ten years hence.

to amount to an affront and an insult! The Union ! No one outdoes these gentlemen in prais- and Democratic parties would grant almost any terms ing the Union. All the old stereotyped phrases drop to drive the question from the political arena, and de from their lips; and they eulogize it in language as ful- stroy the need for third parties. I am assured that and indiscriminate as any who sue to the people the Hon. S. P. Chase, of the United States Senate, has for their 'most sweet voices.' But hold them to their been stating, in Central New York, that he should not words, ask them how they can thus endorse, whole- be surprised to see Mr. Sewand put forward by a secsale, a Union, of which, Jons Quincy Adams be- tion of the South, for the Presidency, with the hope ing witness, the preservation, propagation and perpetu-that, under his lead, some plan, commensurate with ation of slavery is the vital and animating spirit; and the crisis, may be made for the final settlement of this straightway some tool starts up to demand, with Indi- whole question. If there indeed be any such slumbercrous indignation, whether you do not know that the ling element at the South, imagine what new life, what Union Free Soilers praise is not the present Union, but potent energy would be given it by the announcement one in posse, one that is to exist somewhere and somereal as Don Quixote's castles or Dulcinea's South would hasten the settlement of this question charms! It seems that, like certain old fees of ours 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' has made the iron hot: let us who 'hated slavery in the abstract,' these eulogists strike with our heaviest hammer while it is so. We refer to the Union 'in the abstract'! If this fact cannot hold an anti-slavery meeting, and describe the as the world took them, we apprehend the speak-ers will not thank their backwoods friend for letting the justice; they hold not only with us, that slavery ought cat out of the bag. Seriously, we find grave fault with not to exist, but they go further, and hold that there is which they speak of the Union. If they mean their I ask is, let not that ghost disturb only a patient antiords shall be taken as ninety-nine men in a hundred slavery meeting in the Melodeon, but rise up before the spoken by Democrat and Whig, they are strangely If Mr. SUMMER thinks, as some men hint, that the antiand refer to the Union not as it now is, but as it once him argue it in the face of the nation, putting all his rifle with truth in using the stereotype phrases of the will say, God speed the encounter! (Renewed cheers.) old parties, are winning good opinions ' by guile,' and But I want the lines drawn. I want the South starar and broken to the hope. And this leads me, Mr question, by the conviction that the ground is holloway. We have been seeking to discover what position stitution. What position the Party holds is clear. The which Mr. Sunnea and his friends possess, are willing Party considers it a pro-slavery Instrument, and offers to take the theory and endorse it as sound before all parthe oath in its support in the same sense and to the ties. But no, these gentlemen will not say that. At ident from the fact, that they make profession of no ing of three or four thousand at the North, when you other position. Each party defines its peculiar prin- put him on his roir dire (as lawyers say) to tell what ciples. If nothing is said on common topics, often discussed and considered settled, it is fairly to be prenothing to do with the Constitution—he never means to But it is here we are so often reminded that the men are want his opinion. What I wish is the assurance of his and accustomed to construe their oaths and the Constiing inconsistency of their apparent position. One thinks who believes it, to confess it in public, not hold it in he Constitution an anti-slavery instrument, and holds private alone. that every citizen has a right to interpret laws to suit mself. Another holds to the old view of these points, or slavery ; like a captain who assumes charge of the ship, but intends to lock himself into the cabin in case of a storm. Another is bolder than this, and goes to longress with the avowed intention of refusing to do all his constitutional duties; he will appoint no officers, nact no laws, vote for no appropriations; but spends his time, instead, in abusing his fellow-members who do ; and the climax of all is what may be called a patent member of the party, who keeps his principles un-

lecided, and leans to one set when invited to State office, and another when sent into the National arena. It is fair to say, that these last are only the masks or esting places of men who are verging to the radical and tent idea, that the Constitution is anti-slavery, but who have not the courage to avow their doubts or their new opinion. The Free-Soiler who thinks the Constiution an anti-slavery Instrument, and that each officeholder has a right to construe it to suit himself, is at east consistent. Under no other conditions do I see that an abolitionist can consistently take office or swear o support the Constitution. I say it is a theory conistent with itself. How sound it is, I will not say now, xcept that it seems to me, should we adopt the same ules in the construction and performance of our neighors' wills, that are held up for us in this Constitution matter, we should end, and justly too, in the Peniten-tiary. However, we will find no fault with any man who consistently with the opinions he has honestly formed on these matters. My only surprise and criticism is, that gentlemen who entertain these opinions refuse to row them. If I am correctly informed, some of the most nored men in the Free Soil ranks privately defend their oath to the Constitution on the ground that it is a horoughly anti-slavery instrument, and that each officeholder has a right to interpret it for himself. If the fact among many others.

First, what a weapon for agitation, what a stringent appeal to the conscience, if men of mark in the nation will justify them in taking office! What a rebuke to the old parties, if we can brand their very basis of political life as wicked, and quote a great party as our endorsers! How much deeper the conviction, among common men, of the sin of slavery, and how much plainer their course, if the stumbling-block of honored men supporting, as common folks think, a pro-slavery government, and compromising with slavery for the sake of office, can be taken from their path!

Secondly, what a thunderclap from a clear sky, for fight that battle, provided such nameless troops bear members as soon as possible, and laughs at decisions of men of the Free Soil party, bound to obey, while the laws and offices belonging to the same State with him he Supreme Court! Official position, professional majority is against them? ('Hear—hear.') If they self. How incongruous and absurd for a Representation

ry by extension, by large annexations of territory, and r he has been painting; tells Whig and Demo- looking for some grand settlement of the whole question ment. They know that the earlier they trade, the more Auxiliary to such views, we know well that the Whig of such a position assumed by the Free Soil party!

le! a cloud-castle! a Chateau en Espagne! about How, in view of the growth of such a foe, the wary so, and these fine words were not really meant the third party by its platform resolutions, but up starts leading men for the indiscriminate language in no legal or valid slavery any where in the land. What take them, and as they would be universally taken assembled Senate of the United States. (Loud cheers.) tent men. If they have a reserved meaning, slavery construction of the Constitution is tenable, let s, and as they would fain make it, let me say, they official and legal influence into the scale; and I for one eir allegiance, like the devil's promises, is kept to the tled, if possible, to an immediate settlement of this esident, to the subject we have been discussing to- ing under her feet; that the conviction of the anti-slavery character of the Constitution is rapidly gaining ading Free Soilers hold toward the United States Con- ground-so rapidly, that men with the legal reputation umed that the new party agrees with its predecessors. obey any of its so-called pro-slavery clauses. I do not nuch better than their party, much in advance of it, party, that it will construe slavery out of the Constitution the moment it gets the power; and I want every ution in some way that saves them from the damn- man, of prominent and weighty anti-slavery reputation,

I do not like the theory ; I do not think it is tenable but it is a very startling one. It is one, as we well but means to resign office when called on to do any thing know, capable of most ingenious defence; and who can say that the unlimited and unterrified Democracy will not one day take it up, and make it a stalking-horse for their purposes?

I ask that every man may bring forward his most efficient measure just now far another reason. The success of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' has made an era in our cause. We have a world-wide interest on the subject. Mrs. Srowe holds in her hands a million of hearts. It is fair to expect that, out of this grand excitement, something marked will grow. The world looks on Mrs. Srows, just now, as the incarnation of the anti-slavery enterprise. She stands on an eminence with the eyes of a world fixed upon ber. Men expect from her some advice, some example, some plan. Sh must do something, or she balks the hopes of Christendom. If she cannot show these fresh-pledged soldiers of the cross some plain road to the Holy Land, she will fall, like the rocket, as quickly as she ascended. I believe she will try. (Loud cheers.) The pulpit is to some extent with her. Various religious bodies will be obliged to obey her voice. Girt with so much power, she will assuredly vindicate her high place by efforts worthy of it. At such a moment, when so many eyes are fixed on the anti-slavery field, when so many are asking what they shall do, let us keep every banner flying that can help them forward or guide them right. Into what channel shall the religious interest be turned? How shall our civil influence be exerted? The last of these questions we have been trying to investigate to-day. The questions, What is the meaning of a vote? and What is the meaning of an oath, under our Constitution ?- have been somewhat thoroughly discuss-

ed. There is one theory put forward by our political friends here, on which I would like to say a word. Our holder has a right to interpret it for himself. If the fact be so, I wish them to avow it for two special reasons Law stands regularly on the statute book, they do not hold themselves bound, as office-holders or good citizens, to obey it; and that even if there be pro-slavery clauses in the Constitution, recognized by President, leem the government so rotten that no theory but this Congress, the Supreme Court and the nation, they shall not observe them. This is their theory of government their idea of constitutional obligation. At the same time, we are urged to join the Free Soil party, and told its plan is to get the majority on its side, and then repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, strike the pro-slavery clauses from the Constitution, and make it an antislavery instrument. Suppose all these good things done, will the minority of that day be brought to obey you? Do you say 'Yes'? Then why are not you, a present a minority, legally bound to obey the Fugitive the floor of Congress, of the advent of a great party which holds itself bound by no alleged compromises of the Constitution was a superstant of the Constituti the Constitution, means to unseat the three-fifths basis R. Giddings, and Genrit Smith, and the other gentle-

noble sincerity of those men is shown in the fact, that, plans, and cool the zeal of his followers by holding out Consult one set of speeches, and slavery looms up standing, eminent learning, mature age, growing num- are bound to obey to-day, do they mean to obey? The Soil-Senator, do you mean to obey it? 'No!' What is the object of the Free Soil party? 'To get a better law on the statute-book.' When you have got it, is Mr. Soulé bound to obey it? If he is not, then what is the use of all this trouble to get it there? (Applause.)

This whole party are now in the minority. They propose to obtain a majority, and put good laws on the statute-book. When they have done this, will the pro-slavery minority be bound to obey them? According to this Free Soil theory, they will not. Then what is he use of working the ends of one's fingers off to get

Our friends ask us-If you do not send any body to longress, how do you expect to emancipate the slaves? Yankee like, we answer by asking, When Congress has assed a law looking to the freedom of his slaves, will the slaveholder be bound to obey it? Certainly he will. Their argument is worth nothing, unless he is. But Congress has now passed the Fugitive Slave Lawwhy don't you obey that? Because it is not constituional? Who says so? We say so-we, individual citizens. But the slaveholder will have the same right to declare your laws unconstitutional, and refuse to obey hem. (Cheers.)

Let us go a step further. Congress is one of the aree great elements of the Government. We get Congress full of Free Soilers; we pass an act giving free-lom to every slave in the United States. Mr. Souls, when he sees this Liberty Law, may go home to Louisiana, and as Mr. SUMBER said in Fancuil Hall, 'I was a man before I was a Commissioner, he may say, in the Fancuil Hall of New Orleans, "I was a slaveholdbefore I was a Senator '; -and is not his position as egally tenable as yours?

But you are going to do more than that. Our friend aid they would get the Sapreme Court new-modelled, and have it construe the Constitution to be an anti-slavery instr ment. Will the slaveholders be bound to obey the Supreme Court when the change is made? because, if they will, then why are not our friends bound to obey it now? The fact is, we have heard of a man's biting his own

se off, to spite his face, and of the silly fellow who sawed off the branch on which he sat. But the most practical exemplification of it is the Free Soil party unlermining the very arguments on which their own ultimate success depends. There are, indeed, several classes of logicians busily engaged in cutting their own throats. Here stands a Democrat, anxious to convince you that a negro, being inferior in intellect, has no right to be free. The eager disputant forgets, that if his argument be sound, his own class have no right either to personal freedom or suffrage. Hard by, some holy man assures us that it is quite unnecessary to give negroes the Bible, or teach them to read it. You might imagine a shrewd Catholic smiling over his shoulder to see how earnestly the good man is knocking do not need to read the Bible, how could LUTHER prove that it was indispensable for whites? Similar is the position of the Free Soiler. This very

argument that proves his party innocent, proves it usess. He feels free to swear allegiance and take office under a slaveholding Government, because, as citizen and officer, he does not hold himself bound to obey the laws. And he wastes his life in getting laws made, which, on his own theory, he must grant every body else full right to disobey, if they please ! This matter is wholly independent of all forms of

overnment, and, so far as this question is concerned. matters not what special provisions the Constitution entains. The question relates to the very essence of ill government. Government is an arrangement or greement, by which certain classes or individuals are lected to make laws; some distinct body is set apart settle, definitively, what these laws mean. Such aws, thus construed, all members and subjects of the overnment are LEGALLY bound to obey. This is the ence of all government, no matter what its form. It may be kingly, or aristocratic, or republican. In this untry, the theory is that the majority govern, through ongress. They have set the Supreme Court apart to nstrue laws. Laws thus made and construed, all who nsider themselves citizens are legally bound to obey.

In view of this, let us look at the Fugitive Slave Law ongress has enacted it; the President has approved ; so far as it has ever come before the Suprem ourt, it has been declared constitutional. Now, while his statute stands, thus regularly and unquestioned, the statute book, do Free Soil members of Congress and Free Soil citizens mean to obey it, in good faith, by appointing officers to execute it, paying them, and susining them in their duty. If so, how do they reconcile all this with their anti-slavery professions that to o act in such good faith, is not government resolved into anarchy, where each man does what seems ' right in his own eyes '? What use will there be in securing the repeal of this law, and enacting their great panacen, JURY TRIAL, if citizens and subsequent Congresse are at liberty, on this Free Soil theory of government, to leave the new law disobeyed? If each Free Soiler is ntitled to settle the meaning of laws, and determine his legal obligations by his own opinion and conscience. f course, there are just twenty million of men who have the same right as he; and this seems a singular method f securing that uniformity of law, without which there s, properly speaking, no government. Let it be remembered, that I do not deny that our

ree Soil friend, if a legislator, may try to get the law epealed. I do not deny that, as a lawyer, he may get up a case, and try to make the Court reverse its decin. But I ask whether, while it remains on the statute book, and while the Supreme Court recognizes it as onstitutional, he, as an Officer of Government, means o aid in giving effect to its provisions, by providing rocess and appointing officers, &c. After which, he s not at liberty, as an honorable man and good citizen resist such process and such officers; but, contraririse, is bound to assist the one in executing the other, If lawfully called on to do so. From the nature of govrnment, and the harmonious cooperation necessary ts success, no honorable man holding office under it has a right to abuse, discountenance and resist other officers, when engaged in the discharge of their lawful luties. He is bound to give a whole-hearted support to aws and offices belonging to the same State with

tive to go about denouncing Marshals and Judges for obeying that Constitution which he also serves, and is voting them pay for serving! If the Free Soiler says Yes,' to my question above, and avows that he shall obey the regularly enacted laws of the country until they are repealed, then I ask, How does his relation to the catching of slaves, or any other subject on which Congress may legislate, differ from that of slaveholding Representatives themselves? If he says 'No,' and asserts that he has a right to interpret the Constitution for himself, and nullify an existing law, then, it seems to me, he turns the Government into an aparchy. Ev ery other man has the same right that he has. Hence, the Constitution will be one thing in Boston, and anoth er thing at Philadelphia; one thing one side of the street, and quite a different thing opposite. Shall such a man call himself a Union man—a supporter of the Constitution? Is he not the true no-Government man

of whom we hear so much i

Even if his theory were correct, the Free Soil votes has not wholly discharged himself from responsibility from this slaveholding government. We are frequently asked, can one be responsible for the election of man, or the passage of a law, against which he voted No, perhaps not, under a government like the English. But, yes, very often, under a written Constitution like ours. There are certain things which each office-holder may do, by virtue of that Constitution to which we, by mere voting, assent. Whether our candidate or his opponent be chosen, our taking part in the election authorises those acts. Every voter in the last election is morally responsible for the election of President Pierce, and for all the ordinary constitutional acts he may do. Every voter, under this Constitution, is understood to assent to this fundamental principle, that ' the majority shall govern,' When, under such a Constitution as ours, he enters a Presidential canvas, he, in effect, eays, 'My candidate shall be President, and execute the ordinary functions, if he gets the most votes ; and Lagree that your candidate shall be President, and exercise all the ordinary functions of the office, if he obtains more votes than my friend.' I will not stop now to unfold this idea, but every frank and honorable mind will readily see that this is an essential condition of constitutional government. But let it be remembered, that among the ordinary functions of our government are many which give direct support to slavery. Let it be remembered that our discussion relates to the Con-stitution as it is. True, as we are often reminded, it may be amended. When amended, it will be a different thing; and when it becomes a different thing, our duties toward it will be different. But the question is, What shall we do with it as it is? When it is changed, we will change. Like Miss Martineau's little orphan, when told not to cry, as his foot would not ache to-morrow, replied, 'Then I won't cry to-morrow.'

One friend, who took part in the discussion this afternoon, acknowledged the evil in the Constitution, but thought himself justified in swearing to support it, wicked as it is, in order to gain power to change its wicked provisions. Take a parallel case. Here is a church. It believes in the five points of Calvinism. You live in the neighborhood, and would prefer it should be a Universalist church. You resolve to join it, in order to effect the change. You present yourself before the clergyman, and announce that you wish to join his church. He hands you the printed creed, and asks, Do you believe in the Trinity? in Natural Depravity? &c. &c. You answer, 'Yes; on my faith as a Christian man, I do.' You sign the creed, and, after further examination, are admitted to the church. Next morning, as you pass down the street, a friend accost you-'Well, so you have turned Orthodox!' 'O, no!' you cheerily reply. 'But you believe in Election, in Depravity; and all the rest? ' Not a bit of it.' 'But you signed the creed, and said you so be lieved?' 'Ah, that indeed. But I do not believe : word of it. My design, you see, is to change the church into a Universalist one; and I could not get power to do it in any way so readily as by professing to believe in its doctrines and joining the body." (Great laughter and applause.) On this theory, SHERIDAN would have made a capital Free Soiler. Hearing once that his son had visited the depths of a coal mine, he asked the reason. 'I wanted, father, to say I had been down in a mine,' was the answer. 'O!' said SHERI-DAN, 'I have no objection to your saying so; it was the going I thought unnecessary.'

Now, we confess such a course for getting amend ments does not strike us as strictly right ! A 'New England country minister,' in the National Era, has ty of the Garrisonians in obstinately remembering, at all times and in all connections, these wicked clauses in the National Constitution. He traces this fault of ours to our being 'intensely moral and unimaginative' (Laughter.) He thinks any constant protest against and separation from a bad government, must be a sham, and is insanity! Perhaps he would be pleased with the above same and imaginative method of reforming churches ! (Cheers.)

Really, I am afraid we never shall suit every body. RUFUS CHOATE said, a while ago, that our philanthropy was not practical enough, 'not judicious'! This clerical critic thinks we are too literal, not 'imaginative enough!

We are taunted with being old-fashioned Federalists because we hold that the Supreme Court is the authoritative and final interpreter of the Constitution and laws. Youthful statesmen quite scout the idea of being crippled in their legislative capacity by any decision of that Court. Let us, as the lawyers say, suppose case. Congress, full of these independent young Amerleans, enacts a law. The Court hold it unconstitutional, and set it aside. To-morrow, Congress assembles again, and says, 'We are not bound by any decisions of that Court. We will pass that law right over again. A:man is arrested for violating it. The Court order him to be discharged. The Marshal, by order of the President, undertakes to put the law in force. Citizens sue him as a trespasser. The Court directs the jury to give them damages. Of course, the Marshal will not attempt to execute the law again. Thus, Congress may enact a pile of laws as high as the Washington Monument, and they are waste paper, unless the Court will allow their validity. Let President Pierce attempt to execute a law which Chief Justice Tancy declares unconstitutional, and the Government goes to pieces, or the President stands balked. This is the practical reason why Congress can do nothing, except in accordance with the opinion of the Supreme Court.

One friend described, with great eloquence, this afternoon, the mighty power of a vote. It is a great power. He told us he could not, in the sight of God, give it up, though confessing there were some things unrighteous in the Constitution. Suppose I was rumseller, making twenty thousand dollars a year, and giving fifteen thousand to the anti-slavery cause ; and some one of you should find me at the Whole World's Temperance Convention-I shall not be at the other-(cheers)-and ask me how I could consistently engage n the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks. I reply- Think of the money I make by it, to pour into the coffers of the anti-slavery cause! God gave me this sagacity to make money; H gave me the chemical knowledge to make alcohol; I cannot consent to forego the exercise of such a mighty power, merely to satisfy these "unimaginative" scruples of yours.' 'But,' you answer, 'behind all this, lies the question whether you are doing right of not!' I shake my head with the air of a statesman, and mutter, "Great power -great power is rum!" Let me assure our friend, that we have no doubt of the great power of a vote, especiand that we are willing to do for the slave any thing we can get the power to do, without telling a lie. He may ask me to do any thing in his behalf, except to become a knave. That he cannot expect me to become and I could not help him if I should. (Loud applause.

After all, there is not so much difference between us

deny the power men get by the use of the ballot and the acquisition of office. If any one can honestly get of-fice, let him get it. Inside of Congress, he will be listened to by thousands, while nere he indicates between us and those who allow the Constitution to be pro-slavery, shall span the charm between Faneull Hall and the man, for any purpose, promise to do what he does not intend to do? I know it is rare, in our days, to see principles that he has made the roof echo with in Fa intend to do? I know it is rare, in our days, to see men refuse office and power from any such scruples. But history, from the earliest Christians downwards, is full of instances of men who refused all connection with government, and all the influence which office could begovernment, and all the influence which omce could be-stow, rather than deny their principles, or aid in doing wrong. Yet I never heard them called either idiots or over-scrupulous. Sir Thomas More need never have mounted the scalloid, had he only consented to take the eath of supremacy. He had only to tell a lie with so- street-of every day life-or a Union whose picture lemnity, as we are asked to do, and he might not only they have hidden in their hearts. Such doctrines as have saved his life, but, as the trimmers of his day would have told him, doubled his influence. Pitt resigned his place as Prime Minister of England, rather world to know that fact. (Cheers.) than break faith with the Catholics of Ireland. Should I not resign a petty ballot, rather than break faith with pered in the ear in anti-slavery meetings, shall be prothe slave? I find a distinct recognition of the principle claimed, at Washington, on the housetops. My corresupon which we have acted, applied to a different point, in the life of that patriarch of the anti-slavery enferpromise to reveal his real opinion of the slave clauses prise, Granville Sharpe. While an underclerk in the of the Constitution. Let us be encouraged. Pursuin War Office, he sympathized with our fathers in their the same course, we may, perhaps, bring others to construggle for independence. Orders reached his office fess their concealed opinions even before quitting published to ship munitions of war to the revolted colonies. If life. If politics can flash these startling torches full in his hand had entered the account of such a cargo, it the face of a proud and confident people, showing them would have contracted, in his eyes, the stain of inno- how the very bulwarks of our institutions are bowing cent blood. To avoid this pollution, he resigned his before the roused conscience of a determined party place and his means of subsistence, at a period of life if it can convince the nation that, as in England in tive employment.' As the thoughtful clerk of the War to press to their hearts a cause which is fated, through Office takes his hat down from the peg where it has the government, or over 17, to have its way—then i used to hang for twenty years, methinks I hear our politics of unspeakable value. One man, at least 'New England country minister' cry out, 'Friend stands in Congress who will strive to realize this power Sharpe, you are absurdly scrupulous, too "intensely of politics. In the hands of General Shirm, politics is nocently aid such an institution as Government in do- exchanged a principle for a voter. He never gave u ing what you think wrong, adds another. While Par- one of his ideas to gain a vote. Our friends neare ty yelps at his heels, 'My dear sir, you are quite losing home have that failing-they sometimes hide their ban your influence!' And, indeed, it is melancholy to re- ners in order to recruit their ranks. Mr. Gronnos ha fleet how, from that moment, the mighty underderk of once and again justified, in his place in Congress, th the War Office (!) dwindled into the mere Granville spirit that opened the doors of our Court House for Sha Sharpe of history! the man of whom Mansfield and drach, led Jerry by the hand through the streets of Sy Hargrave were content to learn law, and Wilberforce racuse, and checked Gorsuch in his hunting for men philanthropy.

Indeed, we are only doing what all honest men have

done, in all ages of the world. Look at the course of which Shadrach's rescue and the just punishment of the British Catholics, submitting to exclusion, for Gorsuch will be, to them, tame in the comparison. more than a century, from professions and offices, from the House of Commons and House of Lords, rather than qualify themselves by an oath abjuring the Pope. They scription of Law-not one thing at Christiana an night have purchased power and office at the price of another thing at Washington-not one thing at Syraone falsehood. One lie would have placed the Duke of cuse and another thing at Buffalo, not one thing at Norfolk, any time during the century, in the seat of his Fancuil Hall and another thing at Pittsburg—not one fathers! Do we honor him less that he refused power on thing in an anti-slavery meeting to gain confidence, and such conditions? Look at the course of O'Connell, another thing in November to gain votes-but every Remember his love of office, of power, of political influ- where, at all times, and in all capacities-radical, defi ence-with a nation in his right hand; shut out, as a ant, aggressive, trampling on all slave laws, and either Catholic, from the House of Commons. Did he take openly denying the legality of slavery itself, or repudithe oath of abjuration that he might gain his rightful ating the government as a covenant with death and as place? No; he stayed outside the door of that House agreement with hell. (Cheers.) till after two elections, in 1828, the oath being abolished, he pushed door and oath before him, and strode to of our cause. We cannot make crises, but we can prehis rightful place and influence like an honest man. pare for them. Perhaps slavery is finally to be starve

he was anxious for the countenance of FAYETTE, and may be the direct and immediate causes of its abolition urged him to accept a seat in the house of French Disunion-war, civil or foreign-may break the chair Peers, and take the oath of allegiance to the Empire. It should be our object to create such a public opinio It was Napoleon's hand that had opened FAYETTE's as will soonest set these agencies in motion, and mot prison door at Olmutz; and doubtloss gratitude would effectually use the opportunities that occur. An appea have led the unsullied hero of three Revolutions to do to conscience againt slavery, as a sin, is the only wen all an honest man could for the Emperor's support. pon that will serve us for this. We can honest But he refused office, and answered the Emperor, 'No; claim, that, taking this principle with us, we have I will live a private man at Lagrange. It seems he sternly tried the Institutions of the land. The Church was lacking in imagination! (Laughter and cheers.) fellowshipped slaveholders, and refused to rebuke He should have overlooked the despotism, and taken of them. She thus compromised with iniquity, and w fice with the hope of reforming Napoleon! But instead left her. The State tempts the slaveholder to con of that, an impracticable, 'unimaginative 'old fool, he tinue so, guarantees his slave property, and helps him went home to Lagrange, sacrificed office, and saved hunt his runaways. We abjure it, and will neither vote nothing but his integrity! France, too, shared the nor take office in support of such a covenant with death. same sad lack of imagination; for, in 1831, when anar- No man, looking at our course, can doubt that we realchy lowered over them, thirty million of Frenchmen ly think slavery to be a sin. knew no where else to turn than to that same private | But how shall we impress this conviction, deeply man of Lagrange for a father and leader ! (Loud and vividly, solemnly on the people, while hard by us stands

an incubus on France, called on Anago, the head of power for every man he can steal-it is no harm t European science, to give up the Observatory, unless guarantee him against their resistance—no harm to le he would take the oath of allegiance. Anaco-on him bunt runaways a little longer! The Constitution whose brow the winter of eighty years is hid by civic is wicked in supporting slavery, but let us cling to i laurels and the wreaths of every science, with young for the present, in hopes it will be changed ! We ma men dependent on his patronage, and jealous foes pay for returning runaways, because all human govern watching for his office. But the old man put aside every temptation, and alone, descrited by his scientific shals to help hunt them, because because because brethren, refused to sully his lips with such an oath. government is very necessary, and we could not ge 'New England country ministers' may jeer at his scru- along comfortably without it ! Slavery is a sin-no double ples. Louis Napoleon believed in virtue, and trembled. Anago, without swearing, retains his office. France, proud and grateful, loads him with blessings, amid the applause of Europe and of all honest men. (Enthusi- and, beside, what should we do with the children, astic applause.)

that same Lagrange, Oscar Faverre, grandson of our subject of Crashaw's epitaph-FAYETTE, who refuses to swear support to a government he abhors. And what does Victor Hugo tell us, standing among the exiles in Jersey, over the grave of JEAN touching elequence reaches its climax when he says, in more convenient season.' There is opium enough in reference to this same oath of allegiance .- 'A vearning recollection of all he had left behind him was slowly writing, shrinks to be the mere shuttlecock of politics. poisoning him; he might have seen again his absent friends, the beloved places his native city, his house : He had but to say a word. That execrable humiliation Mr. President, I do not believe they have any clea

fered to him ; he honestly rejected it-and he is dead." nearer I have got to any of the gentlemen, the clearer man is a slave-where the ermine of justice is defiled, and the national banner clings to the flag-staff heavy larly remembered to forget them. In my opinion, many with blood-where the Bible is to millions a forbidden of them refuse to take ground in regard to these mat book-where Religion panders to Power-where men are ters, simply because they have yet found no position in hunted with bloodhounds and women whipped to prosti- which they are willing to stand before the community tution-when, in such a land, where our difference with If asked to justify the oath, it is singular that each man government is not about forms of office, or the dogmas has a different method, of his own invention. Some of a creed, but of outrages which make the blood cold and times a man will give you half a dozen reasons, allowing strive to be worthy followers of these I have named, will accept half a dozen pretty good reasons as equiva-

away our influence '! If Free Soilers go to Congress, holding themselves free from every supposed compromise relating to slavery, I've sworn so often, I never think anything about it'! let them tell the nation so. (Cheers.) If they go holding themselves at liberty to disregard, in their official thoughts of the rank and file of the party to these capacity, the laws of the land, let them tell the nation questions; show them the rottenness of their presen so. (Cheers.) We have heard it long enough here at platform, and urge them to force their leaders to form home from those for whom nobody is responsible, but and express some opinions upon them. The party is in whose claims for the party are leading men to put con- danger of degenerating into a mere scramble for loaves fidence in it. If, as we are told, Free Soil Senators adopt and fishes. Some in it are glad to rise into notice of it, as a rule of their official conduct, to appoint no man the creating wave of a great public question, but anxto office who is willing to obey the laws of the land, we lous to avoid all the odium of discussing its delicate shall criticise, and criticise, and carricise, till they and unpopular points,—willing to use other men as arow the fact in the face of the Senate itself, instead of cats'paws, and to borrow of abolitionists every thing leaving their friends to claim it for them in our meet- but their principles and the odium which an honest ad ings. (Cheers.) A few such avowals would arouse vocacy of them has incurred. Let its members force much wholesome discussion—much radical discussion, and have a strong tendency to inform the South of the belong to the cause. The effort will give them strength, real state of Northern public opinion. The cause would while it keeps them pure, and we shall have a political leap forward fifty common years in one such day. party of real service to the cause. (Cheers.) I was assured lately by a slaveholder of Let us all gird ourselves for the work to which Provi-Alabama, who sought an interview with me, that the dence is calling us. Europe, even if buried beneath leading men of his State were by no means informed of Thrones and Money, yet heaves and struggles like the the real state of feeling here among those who call them-old giants beneath Ætna, and slowly the day dawns or

deny the utility of political organizations. We do not would be ready either for Dissolution or some fall set tlement of the question. He thought they would prefe Dissolution. I value Congress as one of the readies while I value it, it is as the bridge—the bridge shall span the chasm between Fancuil Hall and th Criticise, Crificise, Carrierse, till what is now while

when he could no longer hope to find any other lucra- 1829, 1831, 1834 and 1845, the people are beginning and quite "unimaginative" ! 'You may in- noble instrumentality, because Mr. Smith has neve (Cheers.) Let us hope Mr. SMITH will go yet further and show his hearers some principles compared with

Our quarrel with politicians and parties will nevcease till their anti-slavery be like Cicero's noble de

The conviction that SLAVERY IS A SIN is the Gibralta out, rather than reasoned down or prayed down. Sel fish and material interests, the laws of labor and trade

repeated cheers.)

A year ago, this burlesque Napoleon, who sits like it is no harm to give the slaveholder additioal political ments are imperfect !- yes, we may even appoint Mar of it-and the Church is verily guilty in longging it to he bosom; but do not talk about it, because-becaus GARRISON is an infidel-the Church is very powerfulwe could not send them to the Sunday School?' An The same scruple has, within a month, sent back to this is the 'Conscience' party !- like, probably, th

· One whose conscience was a thing That troubled neither Church nor King.'

Most men listening to such casuistry and hair-split Bosquer, that 'noble soldier of Democracy'? His ting would conclude to put off their anti-slavery to ' to calm an earthquake. Our cause, instead of flashing for home was gnawing at his heart; he felt that the forth in blinding light, the MENE TEKEL of God's own

Sir, we are accustomed to say that we wish these Fre

Soil leaders would declare their views on these questions

which M. Bonaparte calls amnesty, or pardon, was of- views, any settled principles in regard to them. The Yet when, in a nation like ours, where every sixth has it always been to my mind, that they have never considered these points; indeed, have always particu wrongs that shame the age ;-when, in such a land, we that no one of them is perfectly sound, but hoping you men call us 'impracticable,' and 'morbidly scrupu- lent to one really valid. Visit him the next day, and lous, and priests taunt us with folly for throwing he has got still a different excuse. The frankest man of the party, one standing in the very front of the van when asked how he justified his oath, answered- Oh My object in making these remarks is to turn the

and our opponents as some imagine. We by no means selves abolitionists. Could they be so, he added, they her. Cease to watch her fate so carnestly as to firget

In such cases, we need not trouble ourselves to ask if In such cases, we need not trouble ourselves to ask if there was a voyage. No matter what Despotism says, if a Free Press says, 'No!' Indeed, we might find the best argument for the anti-slavery character of the Constitution in the clause securing freedom of speech tighter; or, as I have said, to look the subject of Constitution in the clause securing freedom of speech and of the press. It would hardly be exaggeration to say, that the forms of Government are of little imporsay, that the forms of Government are of little impor-this subject, in his late Message, gave pain to the tance while discussion is free. As the Sun seems to burn up the spots on his surface, so the Press purifies put down the conviction, that there are things yet the Government it rules. (Cheers.) When the Saxon race broke the fetters of human thought, they little knew how many of their favorite Ideas and Institutions would fall before it. The unexpected results of Free Speech to Governments that protect it always remind me of the nursery tale that taught us how the sea became salt. You remember the story, Mr. President.

The resolution was adopted unanimously, and with enthusiasm.

The Rev. H. Solly said that he had been asked A mother gave her boy, setting out to seek his fortune, a mill. One charm would make it grind out any thing you wished: another set it at rest. The boy, as the story goes, opened his shop and soon grew rich, bringing out every thing that was asked for. At last, a sea captain, who had long wondered at this marvellous shop, whence every thing came out, though nothing shop, whence every thing came out, though nothing was ever seen to enter it, watched the master in his private chamber, heard the charm spoken and the mill begin to work. Returning at night, he stole it, and put to sea. When in want of salt, he brought the little rather than the theoretical. While they ought not machine on deck, and spoke the charm-

mill at rest. So it ground on till the salt sunk his adopted; but his proposition did not in reality bind ship, and below the waves it has been grinding on ever the meeting to force a subject upon the American since, and made the whole ocean salt.

Ship of State; just ideas enough to each readily within the girdle of the Compronises. It worked well for a time. Luckily, they did not learn the reverse charm, and so it has gone on grinding. It has ground out an anti-slavery work. time. Luckily, they did not learn the reverse charm, and so it has gone on grinding. It has ground out an anti-elavery movement much too large for that girdle; (cheers)—and William Lloyd Garrison larger still— (chthusiastic cheers.) It has ground out a Jerry rescue—ground out the manhood of Christiana—and Uxcue Ton's Cabix. It has ground the Methodist Church was sent through the officers of the British and Executed Unitarian Association to the officers of the into pieces, and the Baptist likewise, and men say it is Foreign Unitarian Association to the officers of the terian. God grant it; and grant also that it may grind on, without fear of man, of parties, of Institu- He v tions, or even of the charge of personality. Then we may be sure that, in his good time, it will grind out uals in America as it appeared advisable to them EMANCIPATION FOR THE SLAVES. (Loud cheers.)

# From the London Inquirer.

After the Annual Report was read The Rev. S. A. STRINTHAL asked whether the res lution respecting slavery, to be brought forward at the evening meeting, would go forth as the resolution of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, or as the resolution of the members of the association then and there assembled? The CHAIRMAN said the resolution would be con-

sidered in the latter character.

Mr. Estlin, thereupon, wished to put such an amendment to the passage in the report treating of the question of slavery, as should identify the res-olution with the business meeting, but The CHAIRMAN would not allow of any amend-

ment but one rejecting the entire report.

The Rev. J. Gordon said, that at the meeting held two years ago, it had been declared competent for any member to move that the report be not re-ceived, but that he could not move that any portion

Mr. Esten reluctantly withdrew the resolution ; not being willing to oppose the reception of a re-port, with almost the whole of which he entirely At the Collation, in the evening, the Chair was

taken by H. Crans Robinson, Esq., of whom the because he was not willing to confound the exs the beloved friend of Charles Lamb and William Wordsworth.

After some other speaking,
The Charman called upon Mr. Estlin to speak
to the toast, 'Civil and Religious Liberty all the

Mr. Estlin availed bimself of the opportunity to introduce the resolution with respect to slavery in the United States, referred to in the Secretary's Report. It was as follows :-

That while this meeting would cherish the honored 'That while this meeting would cherish the honored names of their brethren in the United States, who have labored earnestly and successfully in illustration and defence of their common faith, and sincerely desire to draw closer the links of fraternal feeling which bind them together, it cannot but deeply deplore the fearful injury to the cause of pure Christianity from the continuance of slavery in America, and would affectionately entreat the Unitarian churches of that land, in some way corresponding with their social position and elevated religious principles, to bear their testimony against this great evil.

He (Mr. Estlin) thought it unnecessary, before such an audience, to enlarge upon the enormities of slavery. He presumed that every one there had read "Uncle Tom's Cabin;" and he trusted that the "Key' to that work would be no less widely perused. There would then be no more occasion for anti-slavery speeches. (Hear, hear.) If he had any desire to make an anti-slavery speech, he should make it a personal question, and ask every one hearing him to endeavor to realize, in his or her own case, the experience of the slave. If a wife or daughter of one of our ministers were shipwrecked upon the Southern coast of America, and sold ed upon the Southern coast of America, and sold into slavery, our pulpits would ring with denunciations of the deed. (Hear, hear.) Those who now objected to the resolution in his bands would not object to it then. He rejoiced that it was thought that the time bad come when the British and Foreign Unitarian Association was called upon to entertain the subject of American slavery. He never had been able to believe that Unitarianism, whether in America or England, could be benefitted by their pursuing the mission of silence upon this momentous evil. (Cheers.) He would not judge of their motives, but he did not for a moment doubt, that if the American Unitarians had led the van of the anti-slavery movement, they would have done more for Unitarianism than by all their sermons and writings. He was glad now, however, that the British and Foreign Association felt that, as Unitarians boasting of their love of freedom, they ought not,

our own task. Cease trusting too much to the reflection of European opinion. Some faces are turned too constantly thither. On our old coins the head of Liberty was looking forward, as if welcoming, in glad expectation, our Fature. On the new coinage, she has turned her face backward, as if all hope lay in swiring to equal the past, and in catching a fresh inspiration from the genius of the old world. Perhaps she is right—but let us hope not. The labors of past years have done much for the cause. Those to come will show the fruit. Long lived trees make roots first. We would not exaggerate our work, but it seems as if the ploughshare needed to go deeper now than in 1776; and this, perhaps, explains why the flying patriots and brave hearts of the old world melt like wax in the heat of our day. Hungary lends us one, now a mute, and how a parrot, learning his lesson only too faithfully. Ireland sends men, for whom the loudest hurrains resound in the streets of Charleston and New Orleans. England adds a new chapter to the book of Saons—the author's own tour through slave cities, cognizant of nething that has happened since the days of Queen Anne.

Our fate is in our own hands. With freedom of discussion we are comnipotent. No vicious Institution can stand against if. The only word a Free Frees cannot print is the word introssing. Freedom of thought against unrighteous laws is like one of the vital forces of Nature contending with dead matter. The old Scottish proverb runs.

'The King said, 'Sail!'
The Wind said, 'No!'

In such cases, we need not trouble ourselves to ask if there was a voyage. No matter what Despotism says, and shud was a voyage. No matter what Despotism says, and shud was a voyage. No matter what Despotism says, and shud was a voyage. No matter what Despotism says, and shud well as a few cannot and the principal shud was a voyage. No matter what Despotism says, and shud was a voyage. No matter what Despotism says, and shud was the first of the content of the content of the content of the content of t Tocqueville, whose observations are of great impor emancipation in the face—(hear.) Even the President of the United States, whose observations upon fights, and that those are, the inalienable rights o human nature, given to us by God, and which no (cheers.)
The resolution was adopted unanimously, and

treacherous to their mission as a Church, it was t to neglect the inculcation of truth, they ought not to neglect the fulfilment of duty. History proved 'Mill, Mill, grind away,
Let us have some salt to-day.'

Soon the salt rolled on to the deck. But the poor thief had not stopped to learn the other charm which set the but think that the American Unitarian Association nce, and made the whole ocean salt.

Association contrary to its rules, as Mr. Furnes so of the Press. Our fathers set it up here, expect-would previously satisfy himself upon that point

w engaged doing the same good office to the Presby- American Association, the subject would become a fixed part of the business of the Society-(hear.) would move therefore as an amendment, that i be left to the chairman, or to the mover and seconder, to forward the resolution to such individ-

> to select. The Rev. H. Solly explained that they did not desire the resolution to be transmitted through the officers of the British and Foreign Unitarian Asso-

BRITISH AND FOREIGN UNITARIAN

ASSOCIATION.

The twenty-eighth anniversary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association was celebrated on Wednesday, May 18th.

Agents the deal that the Anti-Slavery resolution itself should be considered as proceeding from the Association. Many who had suffered it to pass in silence, altogether dissented from the propriety of the terral Processing States of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, but through the Chairman.

Mr. Charles Green, of Hackney, protested against the idea that the Anti-Slavery resolution itself should be considered as proceeding from the Association. Many who had suffered it to pass in silence, altogether dissented from the propriety of The CHAIRMAN remarked that Mr. Green should

have said this before the resolution had been put. The Rev. J. Gordon said that he came to London to meet certain gentlemen who were to prepare the business for that day, and the result was, that the gentlemen gathered together agreed that it was bet-ter, considering the difference of opinion which existed as to the introduction of the question of slavery at the meeting of the Unitarian Association that the resolution relating thereto should be intro duced at the convivial meeting. To that the per sons assembled were consenting parties, and it was in consistency with the decision that the passage in the committee's report was drawn up. Now he did regard Mr. Solly's proposition as a departure from that arrangement, inasmuch as it attempted indirectly to connect the question of slavery with the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, whereas that question was professedly withdrawn from the Association. His (Mr. Gordon's) object tion to this proposition was,—not that he was un-willing to express his opinions on slavery, or that he could not agree with the resolutions proposed, or even to a much stronger resolution, but it was ecause he was not willing to confound the ex meeting. Were he to consent to the introduction of the question of slavery into the business of the Association, he should most undoubtedly claim the Association, he should most undoubtedly claim the right of introducing other social questions, questions standing in connection with Christianity as slavery did—(hear.) They would be entirely diverting the Association from the proper objects of its regard, and it might then be made an Anti-State Church Association, an Association to promote secular education, or teetotalism, or peace-(loud cries of 'hear, hear.') To that he most seriously objected. When he understood that the course adopted upon this subject was not to be considered as being formally connected with the Association, he understood that no resolution would be introduced there which should seem to institute that formal reportion.

that formal connection.

The Rev. H. Solly said it must be understood that in no way had he been a party to the arrange-ment of which Mr. Gordon spoke, and had not therefore been in any degree bound by it—(hear.) The Chairman in putting the respective proposi-tions to the meeting, spoke himself very decidedly against that made by Mr. Solly. A show of hands having been taken, he declared the amendmen moved by Mr. Tagart to be adopted.

[We may add that whatever might have been the ifference of opinion as to the disposal of the resolu-tion, there was—if we except the case of Mr. Green —only one opinion manifested as to the propriety of adopting it.]—Ed. Inquirer.

The Rev. T. Mange moved that the acknowledgments of the meeting be tendered to the chairman for his kindness in undertaking the duties of that

office. The CHAIRMAN, after a few humorous remarks in

many years enjoyed—I mean Mr. Thomas Claire—(hear, hear.) I well remember his taking it and saying, 'This is the most beautiful and Cartain address I have yet seen'—(cheer.) I at a phase no reluctance to the contract of th tian address I have yet seen — (cheers.) I said, I can have no reluctance to join a to whom such an appeal has proceeded time, it did not fall to my lot to hear that time, it did not fall to my lot to hear that there are nothing in slavery more to be considered that a teetotalism; that it did not command our abbains any more than questions of details on fance a party politics; that those matters pertained a party politics; that those matters pertained a telm which bids us to consider our fellow returns a brutes; which denies the right of man bias self; which says, that though he is in presented of all the faculties of man, he can be hought as sold as a chattel; and, as I have such of all the faculties of man, he can be bought as sold as a chattel; and, as I have read it a bri legal authority of America, which declares that a slave thus bought has no rights whatever, that the slave tower him no obligation. When I as all that this is a question which does not ease Unitarians, I reply that, whether it come list tarians or not, it does without a doubt overn Unitarian Christians—(cheering for some minute.)

Out of this, the question has often array whether a pologists for slavery as Dr. Deuss—base such a pologists for slavery as Dr. Deuss—base

Out of this, the question has often arisen whether such apologists for slavery as Dr. Dewey-Charles Mr. Bache: (Minister, of Birminghan 'No. The CHARMAN: I think that he is; but if you (turning to Mr. Bache) wish, I will withdraw in name. The question has been asked whether we admit any man who supports or defeate the name. The question has been asked whether we can admit any man who supports or defends size. ry;—who, for example, countenances ask a ky as the Fugitive Slave Law, into our palpits For myself, I can only compare the pulpit is which a man of that description has preached, to the spat of ground spoken of in medieval literature, upon the compared to the demon had trodden, and upon which the demon had trodden, and upon which therefore, no grass could grow—(cheen.) So, I think it impossible that the pulpit which has been stained by an apologist or defender of sizery, or of any laws which tend to prop it up, can prosper, of that any good influence can proceed from the of any mass which dend to prop it up, can prosper, or that any good influence can proceed from the preaching of that Gospel which the Surious of the world said came to set man free, by those lips which make him a slave '-(loud and repeated

## ADDRESS FROM THE DEMOCRATS OF ENGLAND TO THE DEMOCRATS OF THE UNITED STATES,

BRETHREN IN ORIGIN, IN FREEDOR, AND IN PAINCIPLE! Your liberties have grown up out of an old East lish root. On your side of the Atlantic, the interests of the multitude were not clipped by all terests of the multitude were not clipped by eld hereditary powers. Among you, all-ver principles have grown strong, which here are companiety feeble. We are proud of you, as fallilling many of our aspirations. We look up to you, as chief influences of a mighty administration, to price services for us and for Europe, which no other

power on earth can perform.

You already sympathize deeply with the prostate liberties of Europe. You are indignant that, in Hungary and in Italy, foreign despotes has inter-Hungary and in thaty, foreign despotien has inter-ferred to control the sacred right of those countries to enact their own independent form of government. In assisting, by whatever means of diplomary or of arms, the legitimate independence of injure nations, you will promote also our interests, rendering our aristocracy anxious to make the power less and less invidious, more and more co ciliating.
You are the first Democratic Republic which ha

ever spread over a vast continent, and has extended its liberty to the millions. You are not a single city, and that a dominant one, as Rome of old, as Venice; but your liberty penetrates your while mass—is understood, loved, and supported by the real working men. Among you the industries never needs to be poor nor to be ignorant. A selfmade man may rise to the highest offices of Sur nor is the wife or daughter of your Presiden ashamed to earn a livelihood by her own talents. Again, we say, we are proud of you, and lost a your moral influences to assist our children to be less unlike you than we ourselves are.

Desiring thus your greatness, your honer, in your effective diplomatic intervention in the cass of rightful liberties, we cannot without grief and vexation see any great forces operating which as

many of you sympathize with European trans, and spoil the great work which our inagnatist fondly hopes is gloriously reserved for you.

We cannot be ignorant of the grievous fat that in all parts of your Union there is a new asd as gerous dread of those broad principles of Freeza which your glorious grandfathers space out to fat world when they declared their independence England. Their words, we believe, were the men are created FREE and EQUAL.' Only by less truths of this nature sinking deep into men's me sciences and hearts can popular liberty ever be was It grieves us to hear the taunts of the enemies Freedom, who say that you do not love human life erty, but only your own selfish liberty; and the you broke loose from England under false pretents. which you do not yourselves believe. It mus still worse to be told that those among you no longer wish all men to be free, but only men pure white descent, dread to support our polines interests, which are identified with the libertes Hungary and of Italy, lest they should can't

We will not exhort you to philanthropy; fru are ashamed to seem to think that we have not kindness than you, or that we better untertan how to administer the internal affairs of your car try. But we implore you, as our more hund brethren, to whom a vast power is committed, as from whom every oppressed democracy learns to hope and aspire—we implore you not to sheats hope and aspire—we implore you not to shade the cause of Hunan Freedom, or allow any process to be dominant among yourselves which re-ma-slavery, oligarchy, and deepotism. True bear-slavery, oligarchy, and the Russian and its crats of America, let not the Russian and b Austrian paralyze your power to help Elery, arousing the fears of rich men lest liberty to chance go so far as to make black men also fr Despise as traitors all who would betray sared erty for selfish wealth. Remember your ora in principles, the corner-stone of your Union and la dependence; and to secure that that Union asy gloriously indissoluble, take care that your (a gress reverence its foundation, and that no institu tion be recognized by Congress which is adverse 1 UNIVERSAL human freedom. If the black man estant be made free to-day, (about which we offer a opinion,) yet let it be manifest to the world had you are taking measures or the freedom of he children, and that the pr strange legality selling your fellow-countrymen for silver is trattery and ready to vanish. Let no subtle influent of despotism steal in and corrupt your freedon, teaching you to act the despot yourselves. Belies in your high mission to promote the world's pe-gress, and purify yourselves for that glorious se-vice by despression. vice by determining to verify in every part of your Union the words of your own Manifesto. All and are created free and equal.

One duty will not supersede nor delay specific.

Brace up, your basely to extinguish sharest at some

Brace up your hearts to extinguish siavery at set as it can be done with safety, and you will at our have double resolution, double moral power, to manimate the swooning liberties of Europe. Fall of the control of th animate the swooning liberties of Europe. Fand not, we pray you! but urge your Government all active aid which can be prudently and wisding given, and that without defay. Strengthen you own liberties, fulfil your providential destiny, and carn the glory of rescuing fallen Europe—a glary which our Government does not know how has preciate or to achieve. preciate or to achieve.

[This Address is signed by George Jacon He TOAKE and 1857 others, prominent among the working-men of England, and representing a great subtitude.]

selves 'Democrats of England,' address the Descents of the United States, on the subject of segments and the United States, on the subject of segments and their hands full to mitigate their which have not their hands full to mitigate their which have not their hands full to mitigate their which have not their hands full to mitigate will listen yet. slavery at home, perhaps Americans will listen will respectfully to their unasked for instruction for advice, but not before. John Bull, from the call heavers to the dukes and duchesses, has an obliquity of vision, and a self-conceit, which are without parallel.—Providence Post.

By This is the first ' Democratic' response English Address we have seen on this side of the A lantic. And yet, what can be more kind or inofin in its language and spirit than the Address afres.

Our complaint would be, that it lacks point and per and deals too gingerly with a nation which is train to all the principles of justice and humanity. Beside It admits that it may not be safe to liberate the slare immediately. Folly !-- Ep. Lis.

no Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JUNE 24, 1853.

POURTH OF JULY!

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION. The MASSICHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY WIll hold Meeting, in honor and for the promotion of the star Meeting, in most and for the promotion of the principles of Liberty and Independence, at AB-1070X, in the well-known Grove near the Centre 10070N, in the well-known drawe near the

Bound Speaking, the Songs of Freedom, Social Inpower, with pic-nic entertainments, together with is saired attractions of the place and its scenery, all spine to invite a large gathering of the friends of wise on the approaching; as on former anniversa-

is expected that WILLIAM LLOYD GARBISON, WEN. REPRIMERS, EDRUND QUINCY, CHARLES L. REMOND, le Caus Sterson, Rev. Andrew T. Foss, and sev-

ei sher spakers will attend.

The Old Colony Railroad declining this year to slef the secustomed accommodation of reduced fare det he accustomed accommodation of reduced fare in meial trains, all who go by that road must take, dears, the regular trains. Those leave Boston, at 1 M.; and Plymouth, at 61 and 10, A. M. Reming, leave the Grove for Boston, at 51, P. M.; for handle, about 6, P. M. Fare, Boston to Abington, of lack, 81 16; Plymouth to Abington, and back, # 10; children under fifteen, half-price,

Cold water in abundance will be furnished in the Grove; and there will be an ample supply of pro-

Committee

Arrange'ts.

FRANCIS JACKSON. BOURNE SPOONER, SAMUEL MAY, JR., THOMAS J. HUNT, BEIGGS ARNOLD, SAMUEL BYER, ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE,

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

STILLMENTS WRITINGS ON SLAVERY. By WILLIAM Let. Boston: Published by John P. Jewett & Co. Creland, Ohio : Jewett, Proctor & Worthington. Lopios: Sampson Low, Son & Co. 1853. pp. 670. With a Portrait of the Author. 1

We have here embraced, in one large and har gody printed volume, the various works of Judge ar sa the subject of African Colonization and Ameriof Savery. The following are its contents :-

laury into the Character and Tendency of the terican Colonization, and American Anti-Slavery Soone ;-A View of the Action of the Federal Governantin behalf of Slavery ;—On the Condition of the lee People of Color in the United States ;—Address ple Friends of Constitutional Liberty, on the Violape, by the United States House of Representatives, of to Kirls of Petition ;-Introductory Remarks to the beef of the American Church contained in the remi History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in inerica,' by the Bishop of Oxford ;-A Letter to the Best Rev. L. Silliman Ives, Bishop of the Protestant Auch in the State of North Carolina ;-Address to telebelitants of New Mexico and California, on the mission by Congress to provide them with Territorial isternments, and on the Social and Political Evils of brery :- Letter to Hon. William Nelson, M. C. on Mr. On's Compromise ;-A Letter to the Hon. Samuel A But, Representative in Congress from the City of Bosis, is reply to his Apology for voting for the Fugitive See Bill :- An Address to the Anti-Slavery Christians I the United States, signed by a number of Clergyne and others ;- Letter to Rev. R. S. Cook, Correscaling Secretary of the American Tract Society ;-Letter to Lewis Tappan, Esq., Treasurer of the Ameri-

We hall the publication of this work, at the presen

na Missionary Association.

ine, with inexpressible pleasure. On both sides of the mante it will now find many purchasers and readers. thm, a few years since, its circulation would have been intel to comparatively few -such has been the change rought in popular feeling on this subject. No antifarry library will be complete without it, and every stoltionist should try to own a copy of it. Until the Obstration scheme is utterly paratyzed in its operafors, and Slavery ceases to curse and pollute the Amerwhich the most ample materials may be drawn wherewith to continue the war of extermination against both of those great abominations. To those who are yet in the dark concerning the true character and designs of the American Colonization Society, and who wish to beone better acquainted with the principles and purpass of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we comsed Judge Jay's ' Inquiry' respecting these rival as scations. WILLIAM JAY is not one of the 'fanatics 'aliraists,' who are so constantly made the marks of the ridicule; he is a stanch Episcopalian, and thereis not a 'Come-outer'; he has never questioned the acrelness of the first day of the week or the divine aufinalisity of the Bible, and therefore is not an 'infitel'; he has not committed himself , as the advocate of Venan's Rights, and therefore is not for taking woman 'est of her appropriate sphere '; he is under oath to report the Constitution of the United States, and ofire is not a 'no-government man.' Besides, he abigaly circumspect, and eminently judicious in the positation of his views, and makes no charge which le des not substantiate by irrefragible evidence .-Such, if any man can conciliate our opponents, he i

Of course, in saying what Judge Jay has not done via reference to certain other unpopular movements te are merely stating a fact, and not speaking invidienly. Profoundly and justly as is the memory of law Jay, the father, revered by the American people, this william Jay, the son, will deserve to be held by posterity in even more grateful appreciation. The hereism of the latter, in espousing the most hated tage of the age at a period and under circumstances vice made almost every other man in the nation, octaying a similar position and enjoying such a reputa tereast to all the principles of liberty, surpasse a that his noble sire performed in the revolutionary trace for American independence.

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la mying that Judge JAY is a stanch Episcopalian, with with great pleasure, that he has faithfully and preveringly exerted himself to make the Episcopal thesh an anti-slavery body, though in vain, for its bart is harder than adamant. His Letter to the Let Rev. L. Sullivan Ives, Bishop of the Protestant and in the State of North Carolina,' (who undertool talk of the imaginary sufferings of the slaves,' who and that 'no man nor set of men in our day, unless can produce a new revelation from Heaven, are add to prosounce slayery wrong, and that 'sla-7, to it exists at the present day, is agreeable to the de d'Divine Providence,') is a noble specimen of cal reproof, and a most triumphant rejoinder. saly thing that surprises us is, that Judge Jar still cling to a Church, as the true Church, or at age branch of it, which retains such a monster as his ires among its Bishops, and gives its sanction to stracism of the colored population, whether bond

be Propertitutionality of Slavery. By Lybander SEE. Seventh Thousand. Boston: Publisher ly Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill. 1858. pp. 294.

This Leay on the Unconstitutionality of Slavery Mr. Spooner, is too well known to need a special no at this time. It is the text-book of all those who roubled in their consciences in regard to voting the present Constitution, and who would fain towale themselves that they can innocently use the to be franchise. Its ingenuity and ability indicate

THE LIBERATOR. | great powers on the part of its author, and we doubt not be is satisfied as to its soundness. If others choose to occupy the same ground, and can do so conscientious. | Dear Garrison: | Dear Garrison: | Parker Pillsbury's Lecture on the part of its author, and we doubt not be is satisfied as to its soundness. If others choose to occupy the same ground, and can do so conscientious. | Dear Garrison: ly, let them define their position as unequivocally as he has done, and we shall be content. Between the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery interpretation of the Conto powder. As a specimen of the summary manner in cipation to the publicists of your country. which Mr. Spooner deals with the most formidable (and which Mr. Spooner deals with the most formidable (and what we deem wholly insurmountable) difficulties, take ed Address of the Ladies of Stafford House, on the the following paragraph:

'It is the constant effort of the advocates of slavery, to make the constitutionality of slavery a historical question, instead of a legal one. In pursuance of this design, they are continually citing the opinions, or intentions, of Mr. A., Mr. B., and Mr. C., as handed down to us by some history or other; as if the opinions and intentions of these men were to be taken as the opinions and intentions of the whole people of the United States; and as if the irresponsible statements of historians were to be substituted for the Constitution. If the people of this country have ever declared that these fugitive and irresponsible histories of the intentions and sayings of single individuals here and there, shall constitute the constitutional law of the country, be it so; but let us be consistent, burn the Constitution, and depend entirely upon history. It is nothing but folly, and fraud, and perjury, to pretend to maintain, and swear to support, the Constitution, and at the same time get our constitutional law from these irresponsible sources.

This is positive and defant, and yet inconclusive. 'It is the constant effort of the advocates of slavery,

This is positive and defiant, and yet inconclusive, The Constitution is a compact, and 'the constitutionality of slavery' is, therefore, 'a historical question, instead of a legal one.' It is not the opinions or intentions of Mr. A, Mr. B, and Mr. C, alone, that are cited or relied upon, but the 'opinions and intentions of the whole people of the United States,' expressed through all their authorized mediums, judicial and political, ever since the adoption of the instrument, and ratified times, without number; and, therefore, the question is authoritatively settled beyond a reasonable

Here, too, is another mode of disposing of a troublesome ' pretence,' which is equally curious and deci-

There is one short and decisive answer to all the pretence that the slaveholders cannot be presumed to have agreed to the Constitution, if it be inconsistent with slavery; and that is, that if the slaveholders cannot be presumed to have agreed to it, then they, and not the slaves, must be presumed to have been no parties to it, and must therefore be excluded from all rights in it. The slaves can certainly be presumed to have agreed to it, if it gives them liberty. And the instrument must be presumed to have been made by and for those who could reasonably agree to it. If, therefore, any body can be excluded from all rights in it, on the ground that they cannot be presumed to have agreed to such an instrument as it really is, it must be the slaveholders themselves. Independently of this presumption, there is just as much authority, in the Constitution itself, for excluding slaveholders, as for excluding the slaves, from all rights in it. And as the slaves are some ten or fifteen times more numerous than the slaveholders, it is ten or fifteen times more numerous than the slaveholders, it is ten or fifteen times more numerous than the slaveholders, it is ten or fifteen times more numerous than the slaveholders, it is ten or fifteen times more important, on legal principles, 'There is one short and decisive answer to all the ten or fifteen times more important, on legal principles, that they be included among the parties to the constitu-tion, than that the slaveholders should be."

On paper, nothing can be easier than to make such leclarations, and to talk of executing them ; but to attempt their enforcement is something altogether different! It is plain that Mr. Spooner's interpretation of the Constitution is either civil war on the one hand, or a dissolution of the Union on the other. What, therefore, is to be gained by it?

Nevertheless, his work is worth studying. It makes about 300 octavo pages, and is sold for 75 cents-very

An Appress delivered before the Suffolk District Medical Society, at its Fourth Anniversary Meeting, Boston, April 20, 1853. By HENRY W. WILLIAMS, M.

mark his development and progress, which have been sented resolutions, in substance, that no delegate highly gratifying and remarkably successful, especially should be sent to or received from slaveholding churchsince he turned his attention to the medical profession, but more particularly to the diseases of the eye. Though still a young man, he has evinced an energy in conquer- course, produced a flare up, and the Barrington mir ing difficulties, a perseverance in the accomplishment lister declared that he would rather have his right arm of his purpose, and an ability to grapple with the cut off, than that such a resolution should be enter phenomena of professional experience and observation, tained by that body. After a short discussion, they indicative of heroic qualities, scientific proficiency, and were laid on the table till after communion. noble enthusiasm. To all those who are in any degree afflicted with ophthalmia, we confidently recommend city, who was present, and was formerly an active Dr. WILLIAMS as worthy of consultation; and, in view of the progress he has already made, we are confident session, the resolutions were referred to a Committee, to he is destined to take a high rank among the oculists of report next year. Three of the Committee of five are

THE ANTI-SLAVERY ADVOCATE, for June, has come to hand. This excellent monthly has now reached its ninth number, and has well sustained the high position with which it commenced. We have never seen the anti-slavery periodical which contained so much important and indispensable information, and condensed in so small a space, as these numbers of the Advocate have presented. The series of articles, in the successive numbers, on the different American sects, is of much value, though room is wanting to present the half of the proofs of the pro-slavery spirit and doings of those treacherous bodies. The present number gives a sketch of the American Baptists, among whom it is stated that 226,000 slaves are owned. The real number is probably much larger. There is a notice of the Society of Friends in Indiana. A brief one on the annual meeting of the British Unitarian Association follows. There is also a very interesting extract from a work, by the historian James Grahame, on the Origin of Sfavery in America. A spirited notice of the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be called the leading article of the number. We have named but a portion of the contents. The whole number is a valuable one, and highly creditable to the good udgment, as well as the noble zeal, of our transatlan-

THE SHERINAH; Monthly. Devoted to the Emancipation of Mind; the Elucidation of Vital, Mental, and Spiritual Phenomena, and the Progress of Man. Conducted by Brittan and Partridge, New York, 300 Broadway. Vol. III. No. 1. May, 1858.

This is a handsomely printed and ably conducted peson Davis, and a graphic sketch of his life.

leserving a careful perusal.

A Dongs. In the Constitutional Convention of this

Mr. Oliver, of Lawrence, from the Committee on the Militia, to which was referred the petition of John P. Coburn and others, praying 'that the law may be so modified that no able-bodied male citizen may be forbidden or prevented from serving or holding office or commission in the Militia on account of color,' reported that 'this Convention cannot incorporate into the Constitution of Massachusetts any provision which shall conflict with the laws of the United States, and cannot therefore act in accordance with the request of the petitioners. But, inasmuch as the present organization of the militia of the Commonwealth is founded upon a system of voluntary and not of compulsory service,—a service not contemplated by the laws of the United States,—and as this system authorizes the commander-in-chief, or the mayor and aldermen of any city, or the selectmen of any town, to grant petitions for raising companies at large, provided the whole number of these companies shall not exceed twenty, and as no deference is in this provision of the law made to color, the Committee believe the whole subject to be within the control and authority of the officers just named. The Committee, therefore, conclude that it is inexpedient to act upon the petition. Mr. Oliver, of Lawrence, from the Committee on the

The petition was referred to the Committee of the Whole, and ordered to be printed.

, An Address has been signed, on behalf of the Dem crats of England, to the Democrats of the United States, which has been, or will be, by the same mai states, which has been, or whi oe, by the same assistation, there is no middle ground. One is the upper and the other is the nether millstone to grind the Union It is an address from friends of American Negro Emar

> subject of American slavery, it has been thought by many here that an appeal by aristocratic Duc not likely to be received without prejudice by the De nocratic men and women of the United States. This Address, therefore, has been signed only by those who

> After the Stafford House Address was made public diversity of opinion arose, (not of disagreement with the tenor of that document, but of the policy of the act itself,) and probably this Address would not have been proceeded with, had not Mrs. Srown (who, by the way knows nothing whatever of this communication) inci-dentally observed that these expressions of opinion were useful. A far greater number of signatures might have been obtained, had more time been taken to collect them. The brief mode of collecting the name has been this. A copy of the Address has been sent to one person in each of the principal towns, and made returnable within one week, with a request to the person receiving it to obtain 'about a dozen' signatures of the most known persons accessible to him. These signatures, thus collected, are, in a certain sense, repre sentative names. 'Instructions were given carefully to restrict the names to those who deliberately thought this form of address might be useful. Many well known and influential publicists here, indeed, refused to sign it, because its tone of reprobation of slavery was no unmitigated. The Address expresses less indignation than a Democrat must feel at Negro Slavery, but it aims to express that measure and circumstance of dis like which may be of real use against the evil sought to be abolished.

They say, in their letter to Greeley, ' We are aware

ersons who volunteered to circulate it, which they have done among such British Democrats as were ac cessible to them. I enclose you a copy of the Address. Mr. Greeley has been requested to forward the original to you. · Fraternally yours,

Wm. Lloyd Garrison

The Address referred to, in the letter of ou London correspondent, may be found in a preceding column. We shall soon see what its treatment will be at the hands of American democrats. 1-ED. LIB.

### RHODE ISLAND CONSOCIATION.

PROVIDENCE, June 20, 1853. PRIEND GARRISON

Last week, there was an annual meeting of the Rhod D., M. M. S. S. Printed by request of the Society. Island Consociation of Congregational clergymen, holden in Barrington, R. I. On the first day of its session A personal acquaintance of long standing with the Samuel Wolcott, of this city, (who delivered the Annu thor of this well-written Address, has enabled us to al Sermon before your Legislature last January,) pre-

> These facts I had from a gentleman, now of New Yor member of the above Consociation. At a subsequen said to be decidedly opposed to such action. The other two (Wolcott and Conklin, of this city) are in favor.

Last evening, (Sunday,) J. Leavitt, of the Richmon street church of this city, in making a statement of the doings of the Consociation, expressly said (I have it from one of the Deacons) that he was opposed to cutting off those churches and ministers to whom the resolution referred. This is the same church that CHARLES T Tonkey preached to one year, and who was murdered under the laws of Maryland, in a Baltimore prison, a few years subsequent thereto; and whose Committee refused the use of their vestry to hold a sympathy meeting, mainly for the purpose of obtaining some assistance (pecaniarily) for Torrey's wife and family. Their church was burned about a year and a half since. A splendid church has been built on the same site, with two towers, an organ-cost \$2300-and other splendid fixtures, at a cost of \$40,000. Are they not follower of Jesus, the despised Nazarene, who had not where to lay his head? Are they not meek and lowly of heart? Are they not those of whom the world is not worthy S. W. W.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY CAMPAIGN AT THE WEST Extract from a Letter to the General Agent.

MARSHFIELD, June 17, 1853. FRIEND MAY :

I hope you will be able to send out a large corps of lecturers into the field, when the proper time comes Especially should the ground be occupied as much as possible at the West. "Westward the star of empire takes its way," with increasing rapidity. A few years will see the power of the country west of the Alleghanies. There is, comparatively, a virgin soil there. Seed is more easily planted there than here, where riodical, full of curious and entertaining matter. The every thing is crusted over with a premature conservapresent number has a life-like portrait of Andrew Jack- tism. There the truth will not be so likely to be choked by the poisonous weeds of a spurious religion, nor LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND DIVORCE, AND THE SOVEREIGNTY withered up by the simeon breath of old Mammor OF THE INDIVIDUAL. A Discussion by Henry James, Now is the time to work. Society is fluid there Horace Greeley, and Stephen Pearl Andrews: In- It is dry, hard, almost impervious here. The only cluding the Final Replies of Mr. Andrews, rejected prayer which seems to be made with any sincerity, in by the Tribune. Edited by Stephen Pearl Andrews. New England, is, 'O, God, give me money!' While New York: Stringer & Townshend, Publishers. 1853. that is the absorbing idea, there will be little room in A pamphlet on a grave and world-wide question, and the heart for sentiments of humanity, or in the conscience for the demands of justice. In such a state, we need not be surprised that Thomas Sims is kidnapped in Boston, or that Dr. Dewey is willing to send his mothe into slavery to save the Union. But let us hope that the morning of a better day is dawning, and that the night of slavery will ere long fade away before the sunlight of freedom. Yours truly,

N. H. WHITING.

A QUESTION POR PROP. STOWE. In THE LIBERATOR of June 10th appears an extract

from a speech delivered at Exeter Hall by Professor Srows, in the course of which he says, 'American consume very little cotton themselves, and rice and su gar in the United States are of very little importance. I would ask. Where are the statistics to substantial such a statement? Where is the American family that does not use cotton? Do not the experience and observation of every man, woman and domestic circle in the United States, possessing funds enough to buy a cotton hat,' give a direct contradiction to such a statement? I am willing to 'stand corrected' by any one who shall think it worth their while to convince me

GEORGE W. SIMONDS.

VALLEY FALLS, 5th mo., 18th, 1858.

I wish to say a few words, through THE LIBERATOR to the friends of reform, the supporters of truth and right, in those towns and villages where they have an

influence in making arrangements for Lyceum lectures, as the season for such arrangements will soon come

RER 'PILISBURY'S lecture on the French Revolution, and were deeply impressed with its interesting character, and its importance as an instrumentality for the advancement of truth and progress. The new and better and evidently truer views of the causes and character of that renowned crisis in the affairs of France, especially when presented in the strongly convincing style of the author, and substantiated by historical evidence, are calculated to impress all hearers as sound and rational, at the same time that they show conclusively the inevitable results of corrupt and oppressive government. It is a production which cost much labor and research, and to those who know Parrer Pillaury. I need not not it to those who know Parrer Pillaury. I need not not it to the control of the co vidence, are calculated to impress all hearers as sound ar, I need not say its style is one of great power and

I also feel impelled, in this connection, to add, that, two years ago, we were favored with a lecture, on Education, by Charles C. Burleign, which, in eloquence, comprehensiveness and sound philosophy, far surpassed any spoken or written discourse, on this subject,

ed any spoken or written discourse, on this subject, with which I have ever been acquainted.

When the people learn their true interests, and seek only the advancement of right and truth, for the real good of mankind, such men as the writers of these lectures will be sought, as teachers, in the popular institutions, though now they are 'despised and rejected.'

E. B. C.

FIRE AT CAMBRIDGEFORT—GREAT LOSS OF PROFERTY.

On Sunday afternson last, a fire broke out in Cambridgeport, near the bridge, which destroyed the Cambridgeport Hotel, kept by Thomas Pike, the Bridge Hotel, kept by Solomon Pratt, with the extensive stables attached, the lumber yards of Messrs. Cutter & Crosstantic Company of the conflagration, and tentions, though now they are 'despised and rejected.'

E. B. C.

True AT CAMBRIDGEFORT—GREAT LOSS OF PROFERTY.

On Sunday afternson last, a fire broke out in Cambridgeport, near the bridge, which destroyed the Cambridgeport Hotel, kept by Solomon Pratt, with the extensive stables attached, the lumber yards of Messrs. Cutter & Crosstantic Company of the company

# LETTER FROM DAVID BROWN, IN CAN-

We have received the following letter, and publish that the several donors, for the writer's relief, may know that their gift has safely reached him. We have also to acknowledge the further receipt of One Dollar for D. Brown, from A. M. T., Portland, Me. :-

FOUR MILE CREEK, Canada, June 3, 1853. My RESPECTED FRIEND-To-day I received your kind etter, dated May 21st, containing the sum of ten dollars. [Seven dollars had been previously sent and acknowledged.] I am truly glad that it has come safely It is a very great favor in time of trouble. My heart swells with gratitude towards my heavenly Father, and have afforded us in the days of deep distress. My health of the slave will not be heard in the land-the time when all men shall be free. I do believe the faithful prayers of the oppressed will be heard in heaven, and God will avenge his own.

Remember me with sincere thankfulness to the friend

Yours, most respectfully, DAVID BROWN.

VICTIMIZED. The editor of the Nashua Telegrapi

'A fellow, calling himself Charles Bryant, called or 'A fellow, calling himself Charles Bryant, called on us on Monday last,—said he was a member of the Mercantile Library Association in Boston,—had been off with Pratt's Panorama to California—was 'dead broke,' and wanted money enough to get home. We were just fool enough to buy him a ticket—(not quite enough to give him the money)—and send him along, with a promise to remit the next day. It is needless to say, perhaps, that we have not received it yet. He made very free use of the names of the editors of the Transcript, Post, Mail, Times, &c. Can any one of them enlighten us in regard to their friend?' us in regard to their friend?

We have no 'friend' answering to the above name We have no 'friend' answering to the above name and description. We incline to the opinion, however, that the same Diddler recently swindled parties in New York by the same story he told in Nashua, although the victimized party in that city decline to furnish the particulars of the transaction; but he evidently made a richer haul than he did in Nashua.

No person by the name above given is connected with the Mercantile Library Association of this city.—Boston

Happening to be in New York last fall, we were costed by this same swindler, who told us the same pitiful story—said his father was an old subscriber to the Liberator—and represented that he was anxious to leave for Boston that afternoon, but lacked \$1.50 to en-(not without strong suspicions that he was an impostor, yet thinking it possible his story might be strictly true.) which he promised to return as soon as he could get to 

## RUMORED SLAVE INSURRECTION.

NEW ORLEANS, June 14. Considerable excitement was caused here to-day, by umors of an intended rising of the slaves in this rumors of an intended rising of the slaves in this city. Information was given to the police at a late hour last night by a free negro, who pointed out the ringleader. The latter, when arrested, was found heavily armed. He confessed that a band of 2500 well-organized negroe had matured a plan to attack the city next day in seven a confessed that a band of 2500 well-organized negroes had matured a plan to attack the city next day in seven confessed. eral points at once, including the powder magazine, the mint, and the principal banks. The city was then to be

New ORLEANS, 15th June. THE THREATENED RISING OF NEGROES IN NEW OR-EANS.—The story about the intended rising of the

and the excitement has subsided.

Several affidavits were made last night against an Englishman named Dyson, in regard to the recent insurrectionary attempt. Dyson for a year past has been teaching a school of negro children. He was accused about two years ago of harboring a negro criminal, and was imprisoned for several months. He then displayed great acuteness and legal knowledge in defending himself. The present affidavits are strong against him as the sole planner and instigator of the recent attempt. great acuteness and legal knowledge in defending him-self. The present affidavits are strong against him as the sole planner and instigator of the recent attempt. The examination has been fixed for Wednesday next, the 22d inst.—meantime Dyson remains in prison. If the offence is proved against him, the penalty will be very severe,—probably death.

Imprisonment of Colored Seamen .- We learn that the case of Reuben Roberts against Sheriff Yates, or rather, of Great Britain against South Carolina, which started off so grandiosely, has come to a very 'lame and impotent conclusion.' Orders have been received through the British Minister, that further proceived through the British Minister, that further proceedings in the case be discontinued, and that their counsel be paid off and discharged. It is presumed that the British Government became convinced that, whatever might be the decision of the case before the Supreme Court, they could be ever might be the decision of the case before the Supreme Court, they could only gain a loss by it; and the greater loss in the event of their winning the suit,—inasmuch as it would most certainly have been followed, not by the abrogation of the law of South Carolina, but by that of the reciprocity treaty, on which their complaint was founded.—Charleston Courier.

This announcement of the Courier may be true but we presume it does not cover the whole truth. Indeed, since putting it in type, the Humboldt has arrived at New York, bringing the following among its items of

The habitual imprisonment of British subjects, (colored,) by the authorities of South Carolina, was to be brought before the House on an early occasion.

Backed up by the powerful anti-slavery sentimen at home, it is absurd to suppose that the British Government will allow this subject quietly to drop.

Stare Trade in Cuba.—Notwithstanding all the precautionary measures of the English and American governments to suppress the slave trade, about three thousand slaves from the coast of Africa were landed near Havana, between the 27th of May and the 7th of June. The Lady Suffolk sailed from Africa with a cargo of 1300, and lost 300 on the voyage! She went ashore on a Key, near Sagua la Grande, landed her slaves, and sold them for about seven doubloons each. Three other vessels have landed cargoes, respectively of 900, 600 and 500. One landed at Sierra Morens, another at Pinal del Rio, and one at or near Mariel.

TERRIFIC EXPLOSION.

SUSQUEHANNA, June 17, 74 A. M.

Susquemanna, June 17, 7½ A. M.

The boiler of engine No. 68, which was pushing a freight train up a grade, when about half a mile east of Susquehannah, on the 16th instant, at 4 o'clock, P. M., exploded, instantly killing, burning and scalding a large number of persons.

Five are known to have been instantly killed; among whom was the engineer, Mr. Arnold.

Two others were so much injured that it is doubtful whether they will survive till morning.

The son of the engineer was very much bruised and scalded, and, it is thought, received some internal injuries. Three others are known to have been blown into the river, and as others are missing, it is thought they shared the same fate.

Catholic Mobs .- Father Gavazzi, the Anti Catholic Moss.—Father Grivazzi, the Anti-Catholic lecturer, was assaulted by a mob, while speak-ing in Quebec, on the 6th inst. He defended himself in the pulpit with great vigor, and finally escaped without serious injury, but he had a very narrow chance for his life. Several persons were, however, killed and wound-ed in the affray. On the 9th he spoke again in Montreal, on the same subject. The mob here also made an

New York.

The number of persons killed or mortally wounded, in the riot in Montreal, was ten or twelve, and about fifty others were wounded. It was also reported that seven or eight of the rioters were killed, whose names had not been obtained.

The tent in the Public Garden, near Boston Common, occupied by the Choctaw Indians, who arrived here a few days since, from Mobile, was fired from the Cambridgeport conflagration, and the greater part of it consumed.

THE ILLUSTRATED AMERICAN PREPRODUCED TOPS NAL. Devoted to Phrenology, Physiology, Mechanism Education, Agriculture, the Natural Sciences, and Gen eral Intelligence, profusely illustrated with Engravings Every family, and especially all young men and women, should have a copy. Published monthly, at One Dol lar a year. All letters should be post-paid, and direct-

Clinton Hall, No. 131 Nassau street, New York. the savery great layer in time of frouble. My heart young men about launching forth upon the activities swells with gratitude towards my heavenly Father, and of life, and anxious to start right and understand their towards my kind Boston friends, for the timely aid they course, will find this JOURNAL & friend and monitor, to encourage them to virtue, shield them from vice, and to continues to improve, and my wife is much better. I prepare them for usefulness and success in life. The various occupations will be discussed in the light of Phrenology and Physiology, so that every one may know in what pursuit he would be most likely to suc-

> THE LIBERATOR, this week, will richly repay careful perusal. In addition to the masterly speech of Mr. PHILLIPS, (to which we ask special attention,) some valuable communications may be found on our last page. Also, a beautiful poetic tribute to ELIZABETH B. BROWNING, from the pen of SARAH H. WHITMAN, of Pro-

> EF ESSEX COUNTY-ATTENTION! The annual meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society wil be held in Lynn, on Saturday and Sunday, June 25tl and 25th, agreeably to adjournment, commencing Saturday evening, 7½ 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.
>
> JOSEPH MERRILL, Sec'ry.

THE GIANT CRIME. Elder ANDREW T. Foss a clergyman of the Baptist denomination, will speak or the subject of AMERICAN SLAVERY, in Providence, R. L. in AMITY HALL, entrance No. 12 Eldy street, on Sunday next, June 26, at 10 o'clock, A. M., 24, P. M. and at precisely 74 o'clock in the evening. A collection will be taken up for expenses. The public are invited to attend.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture on the Re forms of the Age, at Plympton, on Sunday next, June 26, at the usual hours of public service; and at East Abington, on Sunday, July 3d. Text—' What shall we do to be saved?'

PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Mass

be held at NORTH DENNIS, at which PARKER PILLS BURY will deliver an address.

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. Anti " ...... Friday, July 1

NOTICE. The Worcester County (North Divi sion) Anti-Slavery Society will hold a meeting at EAST PRINCETON, on Sunday, June 26, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., and GILES B. STERRINS, are ex pected to attend. SUMNER LINCOLN, President. A. A. BENT, Sec'ry.

MRS. ABBY H. PRICE, an Agent of the Wor mint, and the principal banks. The city was then to be set on fire as a signal to the surrounding country to join the insurrection. Twenty other arrests have been made.

SOUTH MILFORD, in the Baptist house.

COLORED NATIONAL CONVENTION.

LEANS.—The story about the intended rising of the negroes is understood to have been greatly exaggerated, and the excitement has subsided.

A Call for a National Convention of the People of negroes is understood to have been greatly exaggerated, and the excitement has subsided.

Letters and papers for LUCY STONE must be addressed to her at West Brookfield, Mass., until fur ther notice.

# 'PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.'

THE Proceedings, in pamphlet form, of the Pennsyl Its Proceedings, in pamphiet form, of the Pennsyl-vania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, re-cently held at Old Kennett, embracing the Minutes, the Exposition of Sentiments, the Testimonies on Intempe-rance, Slavery, War, Tobacco, &c., and the Letters ad-dressed to the body by William Lloyd Garrison, Theo-dore Parker, T. W. Higginson, Cassius M. Clay, and others, are for sale at the Auti-Slavery Office, 21 Corn-hill. Price, 10 cents single: Sl ner dozen

hill. Price, 10 cents single; \$1 per dozen.

The avails will be expended in the gratuitous circulation of the 'Exposition of Sentiments,' which has been siercotyped for that purpose. Send in your orders before the edition is exhausted.

#### THE JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR. A semi-monthly Paper, expressly for Children.

It aims to attract the attention of children by simplicity and beauty of style, with engravings illustrative of its contents. Its object has been, for eight years past, to infuse into the young mind appropriate sentiments of respect for parents, sympathy for human suffering, and an abiding hatred of oppression in all its forms.

forms.

The want of a Juvenile paper that shall give a proper direction to the youthful mind in these times of strife for the supremacy of slavery, is felt by thousands who know not of the existence of this periodical. And yet, within the last eight years, it has moulded the minds of thousands of children who have grown up to manhood and womanhood, thoroughly imbued with the love of freedom for all men. Slare Trade in Cuba .- Notwithstanding all

and womanhood, thoroughly imbued with the love of freedom for all men.

Price, 25 cts. per year, single copies; five copies to one address for \$1 00; or \$12 00 by the hundred, por year. Postage in New York State, six cents per year—elsewhere, 12 cents. But in packages of 24 or more, the postage, prepaid at the office of publication, is only four cents each per year. per year. In number, free of charge, sent on application

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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 ets.

Count Struenzee the Skeptic, and THE CHRISTIAN. TRANSLATED FROM THE CERNAN BY MRS. WILSON.

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

### THE LAST HOURS OF CHRIST

BY W. G. SCHAUPFLER. Missionary at Constantinople.

A portion of this most admirably written volume of Meditations on the last hours of our Savior upon earth, was published some years since, and met with great favor from the religious public. The work has been rewritten, and very much enlarged, and is again offered to the community. We would not say a word in its commendation to those who have read the volume as originally published. To those who love to go with the Redesire of wear to meditate in the warders of Getshesen. 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.

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 encreached 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.

Mustrated 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 o the public in this most attractive form, with the hope that thousands may peruse its glowing pages, and from them receive fresh stimulus in their efforts to elevate humanity from degradation and wrong. They will learn from it that in years past, White Men as well as Blacks have felt the galling yoke of slavery.

# Judge Jay's Writings on Slavery,

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### POETRY.

TO ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING. Dell 'elerna letizia!' IL PARADISO.

Fair Sybil, sitting in thy 'House of Clouds,' Shrined like some solitary star above The dull, cold shadow that our earth enshrouds, How oft my spirit looks to thee in love ! To thy 'Lost Bower' how oft, in dreams returning, I see thee standing in the sylvan room-See the red sun-light in the rose-cups burning, And the sweet blue-bells nodding through the gloom Again I hear thy grand and solemn dirges To the dim ' Gods of Hellas,' like the breeze O'er low savannahs sighing, or the surges That wash the sands of solitary seas ; Then, in calm waves of glory, swells the strain, Christ from the dead hath risen, and shall reign !

D'un gran palazzo Michol ammirava Si come donna dispettosa e frista."

IL PURGATOSEO.

Sometimes I see thee pale with scorn and sorrow, At the great palace window, looking forth, To-day on plumed Florentines-to-morrow Upon the stern battalions of the North : Sometimes o'er little children bending lowly, To hear their cry, in the dark factories drowned ; Ah, then, thy pitying brow grows sweet and holy With a saint's aureole of anguish crowned ! But most I love thee when that mystic glory-Kindling at horrors that abhor the day-Sheds a wild, stormy splendor o'er the story Of the dark fugitive who turned away To Beath's cold threshold, calm in Death's disdain, From the "White Pilgrim's Rock' beside the wester

Or discendiamo omai a maggior pieta.'

Ay, most I love thee when thy starry song Stoops to the plague-spot that we dare not name, And bares with burning breath th' envenomed wrong Our country's dark inheritance of shame. When our blaspheming synods look thereon, (Stifling God's law and Nature's noble ires With the cold ashes of dead council-fires,) That Gorgan Terror chills them into stone; Yet, while they dream, another noble heart, Serene in Love's great light and woman's ruth-A woman loyal to God's living truth-Hath uttered calm, clear words, whose rays shall dart

Like sunbeams through our realm's tartarean gloom Till love's own holy light its stygian depths illume. SARAH HELEN WHITMAN. PROVIDENCE, R. I., 1853.

From the New York Weekly Tribune

EXCELSIOR. Still higher-higher evermore Let us ascend-

The path of Truth, like God's own years. Shall know no end,

And ever rise new wonders in The light of Truth, Her true disciples evermore

Of Error lies.

Renew their youth. Still onward, upward toward the light True heroes rise; While 'neath their feet the dark domain

Still upward-let no fetters bind Thy soul to earth; In Truth's pursuit thy soul shall find True joys have birth.

Still upward, as the eagle flies To meet the sun. Let us advance to meet the great

Eternal One. In Truth's pursuit, O man, be strong,

Though fools deride : Within thy heart forever more Shall Peace abide. Let Custom's willing slaves bow down

To bies the sod : Be thou a man, and scorn to kneel Beneath her rod.

Heed not Tradition's fables, brought From ancient days. Though 'neath Religion's guise, and crowned-

With sacred rays. Shun Prejudice: no light or good Her presence brings;

Ill-omened forms and shadows brood Beneath her wings. Tradition, Custom, Prejudice, These three abid

Oppression, Wrong, and Fear, beneath Rise thou above them ; bid thy soul

Spring forth to light. As springs the tender plant from earth To cheer the sight. As sunlight calls the living shoot

From out the earth, E'en so beneath the light of Truth The soul has birth.

And as the forests deep and wide Spring from a seed,

So shall thy soul advance, O man, From Error freed!

Then higher, higher, evermore, Let us ascend : The path of Truth, like God's own years, Shall know no end ! EAST WEARE, N. H., April, 1853. H. C. D.

#### A MAN OF HIS WORD. You may sing of the heroes of yore,

You may speak of the deeds they have done Of the fees they have slain by the score, Of the glorious battles they've won : You may seek to eternize their fame, And it may be with goodly success But it is not the warrior's name That this heart and this spirit would bless; Though oft at their mention my soul hath been stirred Yet dearer to me is the man of his word.

You may speak of the great ones of earth. Of prelates, of princes, and kings; I doubt not there's something of worth In the bosom of all human things: But dearer to me than the whole Of pageantry, splender and pride, Is the man with a frank, honest soul, Who never his word hath belied; Yes, prized above all that this earth can afford. Though lowly and poor, is the man of his word.

## THE TELEGRAPH.

Rev. JOHN PIERFONT, writing upon the Telegrap

A hero chieftain laying down his pen, Closes his eyes in Washington at ten: The lightning courier leaps along the line, And at St. Louis tells the tale at nine. Halting a thousand miles whence he departed And getting there an hour before he started !

# THE LIBERATOR.

JUSTICE AND LOVE VERSE'S MERCY.

It is of the very highest consequence to us to recognize and reverence infinite perfection in the Deity, which of course implies unlimited excellence in each of his characteristics and attributes.

One of these unlimited and unvarying perfec-

tions must be justice, to which also many passage of scripture agree, saying, in various forms of expression, that God is just, and that he will render to every man according to his works. In the imperfection of human speech and action

it is deemed praiseworthy for a magistrate some times to substitute mercy for justice. But in every such case, careful scrutiny will show that the word justice is loosely and improperly used, and that the treatment called mercy really comes nearest to any other, must and will injure the sinner, whose true justice.

But under the divine government, justice, being perfect, is not less excellent than truth or love, and never needs to give way to any other infinite perfection.

No one part of infinite perfection can possibly ever interfere or conflict with another.

Our idea of God ceases to be perfect when any thing is diminished from his ideal justice.

The government of God would cease to be per feet, if it failed of being perfectly just to each individual, in practice. Mercy is favor to one who deserves punishment

or not rendering to a man according to his works. Being thus a deviation from strict justice, of course the infinite perfection of God, that he must have it cannot belong to a perfect God.

What then happens? That the perfect God is unkind, cold, selfish, hard-hearted! By no means! should be certainly and fully accomplished, with-But perfect love includes nothing, either in idea or within.

or in fact, inconsistent with perfect justice. Each pursues its entire course, and has its full opera- the world, of many and aggravated sins in the tions in the divine mind and government, without hearts and lives of men, does not authorize us to the slightest conflict. God is, and must necessari- despair of the ultimate and universal triumph of ly be, always loving and always just to every crea-But here the selfish thought creeps in-What

will be the consequence to me, a sinner, if God strictly renders to every man according to his works! Preoccupied by the hereditary idea, that the

ly, that, by inflicting on an innocent person, with fare of every creature he has made; and every in every man according to his works.

urged, the clergy prudently remove it from the has led it, by a wise and beneficent discipline, province and the scrutiny of reason, by saying-It through holiness to happiness. is a mystery! We must expect that the plans of God will transcend the comprehension of men. Here they confound together two very different

That which transcends reason, by being above its scope and grasp, is a mystery; and there are many such in the religious department of life, as well a in every other.

That which is plainly distinguished to be opposite to reason is not a mystery, but a falsehood. The assertions that two and two make five.

that two equally infallible popes can make contradictory decrees, are not beyond the province of reason, but are clearly distinguished by it to be

Is it any less manifestly false to say, first, that justice is the rendering to every man according to his works, and next, that God can be just, without rendering to every man according to his works!

Whatever becomes of you and of me, poor sinners that we are, God is, must be, and ever will be, which is the man, remains the same. The soul ly, that justice in him involves utter and everlast- arm; no more does it lose by the amputation of ing ruin to us. Let us examine the matter by the the whole body. It is, doubtless, a very bad thing aid of that much maligned reason which He has

as well as in all other perfections, (I take these things for granted, as the most natural and probable of all suppositions,)-must have made man exactly as he wished to make him, and in such way that the purpose of his creation should be certainly and fully accomplished, without the possibility of defeat, either by the perversity of man himself, or the interference of any third power. This necessarily results from the perfection of God.

On the other hand, man possesses a certain amount of freedom, and chooses to use it, more or less, for vicious purposes.

Now our question is, How is the sin which we find existing in ourselves and others to be disposed of, without infringement on the justice of God. on one hand, or his love, on the other!

God has, by various modes and channels, an nounced to us, as the moral law of his intelligent universe, that the practice of right is not only commendable but beneficial, and the practice of wrong not only vicious but injurious to the doer thereof, and to those around him.

The administration of justice is the fulfilment of this law, or, in other words, 'the practice of rendering to every man his due.

Justice is, then, a practical demonstration, in the extended experience of each person, that wherein he has done wrong, he has acted unwisely for himself, as well as unjustly towards others.

Let us assist ourselves in this examination, b looking at the analogy afforded by the material Heat and cold, beyond certain limits, are destruc

tive to the human frame. Since man is occasionally exposed to the destructive extremes of both these agents, the beneficence of the Creator has provided various warnings by which he is admonished to use increased means of protection. First, the sensations of the parts exposed announce them to be in danger. Then, if this be disregarded, disorganization of the extreme or superficial parts follows, with protracted suffering in the cure and loss of the subsequent use of the disorganized parts. Nothing can be plainer than that the pain and privation thus produced are designed, and adapted, to promote the welfare of man. They are carried just far enough to answer the purpose of efficient warning, remain in ignorance all our lives, (which is certain and are limited to the natural consequences of in-

administration of justice to the body. Is it not highly reasonable, and altogether probe ble, that God's administration of justice to the soul is conducted on the same principles, and that human history is so ordered that, in the extended warning and stimulus to break off from vice! The and taking that which is already known to be evi natural ill-consequences of vice, and thus have a supposition has certainly this advantage, that it Whoever does this, takes the responsibility of sin shows the divine justice in constant and harmonious cooperation with the divine love, both always But it is found that men very frequently tak

piritual worlds are governed by laws as exact and constant as those which control material nature. This, also, is a necessary inference from the perfection of God. We may, therefore, state both in one formula, thus :- No violation of the natural, moral or spiritual laws ever did or ever will fail of its appropriate retribution.

But if this be true, what place is left for mercy

There is actually no place for it, under a just and righteous government. But perhaps we shall see that it is not needed, and that something better occupies its place.

The 'appropriate retribution' for an offence is the suffering or privation which naturally follows it, and thus deters from the repetition of it. This retribution we suppose the Deity invariably to exact, through his whole empire of space, and through time and eternity. Sin, in this world or enlarged experience more and more emphatically teaches him that his real welfare is to be found only in righteousness.

What is called retribution among men has usually another feature, namely, the infliction of some factitious suffering upon the wrong-door, to gratify the spite of the injured party. This can, of course, have no counterpart in the divine government While men are yet sinners, God loves them. This is a necessary result of his infinite excellence.

We may now profitably inquire what is the re sult, on the large scale, of this exact, unvarying system of retribution.

It has been stated above, as a necessary result of made man exactly as he wished to make him, and in such a way that the purpose of his creation out the possibility of defeat, either from without

The existence of numerous and dreadful evils in good. It is an unjustifiable weakness to yield to such a feeling. Every believer in GOD, every person capable of reflecting what infinite perfection im plies, every heart which recognizes, influencing and inspiring its own inner life, and whispering, in still, small voice, continued aspiration toward church and the clergy are true representatives of Right and Truth, the same stupendous power which Christianity, and thus also by a passive assent to sits on the circle of the universe, must feel the their constantly reiterated assumption, that 'an calm assurance of the beleaguered prophet-'They offence against an infinite being deserves an infinite that be with us are more than they that be with punishment,' the inquirer shrinks from the sup- them.' The purpose of God, inspired by love, will posed results of aneapplication of strict justice to not, cannot fail; the glory of God, fruit of the himself, and is now easily induced to believe this harmonious cooperation of love and justice, will b econd false assumption of the popular faith, name- wrought out and manifested in the ultimate welhis own consent, a certain amount of undeserved mortal among those countless souls (no Cain, no suffering. God can remain just, without rendering to Judas, nor Nero, nor Curtis left out) will assured ly, at some period of its existence, join the univer-When the unreasonableness of this dogma is sal chorus of thanksgiving and praise to Him who

But, meantime, man abuses his freedom by petition of error and indulgence in sin.

So much the worse for him. Every step of the error must be retraced, every sinful thought and desire must be intelligently distinguished as evil, and deliberately renounced. Man is free, and can sin, as long through the ages of eternity as he chooses to endure the continuous and cumulative suffering which necessarily attends sin; but, extending equally into eternity, with good superior to his evil, with patience outlasting his perversity, with tenderness unconquered by his provocations, the resources of infinite power, wisdom and love surround him every moment, act upon him through every channel, persevere through every obstruction and delay, and must, as surely as infinite exceeds finite, sooner or later gain the victory.

But, it will be said-Men die impenitent

This is a mistake. We have already assumed that man is immortal. The body dies, but the soul. for a soul to choose evil instead of good, whether in or out of the body; but the loss of the body God-being infinite in power, wisdom and love, takes away none of the powers of the soul, and the latter is, of course, as free to renounce evil and choose good after the death of the body as before it. God has lost nothing, either of his power, visdom or love, by the death of man's body. The soul is, must be, just as much an object of his tenderness, just as much within the scope of his power and wisdom, after as before the death of the body, This death then, instead of being the chief crisis and catastrophe of the soul's life, is merely an accident or circumstance in its history; or, more properly speaking, a friendly usher to conduct the soul to some higher discipline, and greater facilities for improvement in the next stage of existence But if the soul has chosen evil instead of good on this side the grave, why not beyond it, and eternally !

To answer this objection, we must recur to som of the ground already passed over.

God made man just as he pleased, and he pleased o make him, to a certain extent, free. He did not wish for machines, which should always go right by necessity or compulsion, but for intelligent be ings, who, after having had the chance to try, and after having actually tried, both good and evil should ultimately choose and prefer the good. W are in the midst, or rather near the beginning, o this experiment. Will any one dare to say that the experiment has failed, or will fail, because he to whom a thousand years are as one day, ha spent six thousand years out of his eternity upon this work, without bringing it to a conclusion !

As every young child falls a great many times before it learns to walk, as God has so constituted him that he can learn this necessary art only after repeated trials, most of which are temporary failures; so in the moral world we must learn, and God has evidently designed us to learn, by numer ous and oft-repeated experiments; many of the experiments seem to be failures, because they show that we have taken the wrong track, and yet, being assured by the very failure that this is the wron track, we are brought nearer the knowledge of the right. The fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, that is, experience of things hitherto unly not the purpose of the Creator,) we must inquire fringement of the natural laws. This is God's examine, pluck and taste of the yet untried fruit around us. Some one originally learned that corr and apples were good for food by making two ex periments, either of which might have poisoned him. He did well to try, taking the risk of injury and we all do well to enlarge our knowledge experience of the soul, it shall inevitably suffer the things unknown, taking the same risk. This, be i observed, is a very different thing from choosing

as well as the risk of error. acting, and both alike acting, for the welfare, not this responsibility, doing that which they already only of man, the race, but of every individual man. know to be wrong. And here the question recurs,

It is quite safe to assume, that the moral and what security have we that this shall not always piritual worlds are governed by laws as exact and exist, and the sinners of past ages and the present go on sinning, and consequently suffering, to all

> of sin and suffering, -one drawn from the nature the room was, for six successive nights, for six of God, the other from that of man.

> part, for their welfare as well as for his own glory ; that he must have foreseen, before the creation, that the amount of freedom allowed to man would not gaged in lecturing upon the discussion. That disultimately interfere with this result; and, finally, cussion has since been printed verbatim, and many that his infinite powers and resources must ac- thousands of it sold, though at the price of two complish, sooner or later in the ages of eternity, shillings, which is largely beyond the means, gen the very best possible result for man, without be- erally speaking, of the operatives here in England.

> pain, and from the reason with which God has en-dowed him to distinguish the causes of these op-published here, between Robert Dale Owen and posite feelings, that—in the light of an experience Origen Batchelor. I do not enter into the discuscommencing in this world, and extending indefinitesion; it will speak for itself to those who feel ly into eternity, that sin necessarily produces suf- sufficient interest to read it; but I name it as evfering, and that virtue necessarily tends to happi- idence of the progress of free discussion in this ness, -he nust, somer or later, give up the contest country, and of the advantage of it, too; for Mr. as hopeless, shun suffering by reformation, and Holyoake, since he has been at liberty to prop seek virtue as the only means of happiness. The agate his opinions, has so far departed man who voluntarily sins expects advantage from them as to adopt the new name of Secularist so doing. This shows him ignorant. However and to seek to sustain his advocacy of the duties vicious he may be, that expectation shows him ignorant also. An enlarged experience, indefinitely prolonged into the ages of eternity, and always of the existence of God. Having taken this one with the same result, must ultimately induce any step forward from his dread negation, I do not reasonable being to turn away from misery, and doubt that he will be made to go onwards into towards the only source of happiness.

It results from his infinite perfection that he must do so, and that he will rejoice to do so. It must always remain, no less than at present, more honorable and more pleasing to the Universal Father to reclaim a sinner than to damn him. Finally, what is to become of the past sins,

which this man, and you and I, committed before would die out; considered it a curse upon the regeneration? How are they to be atoned for, or States; thought the abolitionists were fanatical.

vesterday, how is it to be satisfied, or what is to that I thought the plan might be termed a scher It is past and gone; nothing is to be done about it, slave-breeding in the United States. In reviewing and you have nothing more to do with it. If the our conversation, I remembered his evident indisold things have passed away, and you have posses- position to follow up the argument; his remarks sion of the new, why should you be spending your upon the state of society in other countries, Rustime and straining your eyes to see where the old sia, for instance; and that those remarks were things are !

A year ago, your little girl told you a deliberate

lie. Finding that she had grieved you and all her The Liberian scheme cases the conscience of many friends, and feeling reproach from her own con- who are slightly uneasy, and who, by joining it science, after suffering in silence for three days, think they are doing something in aid of the she came to you and humbly acknowledged her right. fault, promising to try to do better. A week after, under circumstances of great temptation, she repeated the offence, and, shortly after, the repen- on the greater number of men and women who extance and acknowledgment. But she then per- ist, how various their faculties, powers and feelceived that on doubtful occasions her word was no ings, and the influence of circumstances, also, ever longer confidently taken, as before. She felt her- varying upon each—from the clod-hopper to the self suspected, and felt that she deserved suspi- poet or the metaphysician-from the idiot to the cion. She saw the folly of lying, and that she was astronomer-and see how infinite are the shades a loser instead of a gainer by it. She felt also its of thought, feeling and impulse, we have cause to wickedness, and that it took away her own peace wonder, when we look back for half a century, at of mind, and the comfort of her friends. She the steady progress which society has made. Evthenceforth strictly adhered to the truth. Still, ery step in science is a further revelation from for a time, the object of suspicion and reproach, God to his creatures. To reveal is to make known she bore both patiently, proved, as new trials arose, The word is generic, though it is usually applied that she was able to withstand temptation, regain- to a specific mode of communicating knowledge b ed, more firmly than ever, the confidence of her God to his creatures. No man, we are taught, has friends, and for the last nine months has been a seen God at any time. No man, it is said, shal pattern of perfect truthfulness. Now, I ask, What see his face and live. But, through science, the is to become of those two lies! How are they to finite may infer, within the compass of his powers be atoned for, and what is to be done about them! but cannot comprehend, the infinite.

I reply, It would be a violation equally of justice and of love for you to address to your honest, ces under which you were made, on the subject of truthful little girl a word of reproach for those slavery, to cast your bread on the waters, and to of again by anybody.

cousness has replaced it in the living, present chathey prepared society to receive and feel HARRIET racter, it may pass into oblivion. No being in the universe needs ever to think of it again. Our great concern, then, is to practice truth and

righteousness in the present, and for the future. With the past we have nothing to do, except to let its experience guide us.

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT. London, Old England, May 20th, 1853. DEAR GARRISON :

You will see by our papers how HARRIET BEECH ER STOWE and PROFESSOR STOWE have been received and welcomed here, and that on several occasions, the Professor has addressed our assemblies on the means which exist for putting down slavery. For all she has done and he has done, of course I feel, as the abolition world in general feel, grateful to them, as instruments, and important instruments, in carrying forward that great and good cause. But with my views of religion, and especially of the Christian religion, it grieves me to see, as you will see, by the Nonconformist which I post to you this day, that, standing for the moment, as he did stand, in a position of pe culiar prominence and influence, at an important meeting of the Peace Society, in supporting a resolution, he said that we lived in a world which WAS UNDER THE CURSE OF THE ALMIGHTY for their apostacy. It is to me very grievous to see men of mark give forth such dreadful theology as being the teaching of the meek and merciful Jesus. And it is to the teaching of such theology that we owe the general complaint which our Orthodox dissenting teachers make, and truly make, that our operatives are falling away from them, and will not go to their chapels. It is true that they are o, and because the people cannot, as they used to do, receive such doctrines merely on authority. Men are beginning to reason, and ministers do not as yet perceive that mere dicta are not sufficient to induce even a moderately-educated people to surrender their reason any longer to the guidance long to them; and do not perceive that the people are beginning to look upon them as adopting that find no better example to follow? cry merely to divert attention from themselves and from their own crudities. They do not perceive that the great change of which they complain is applicable to their own practice, although they have been unconsciously moved from their former course; so far, that they have been obliged to meet a Mr. Holyoake in debate on the question of Athe ism-a man who, ten years ago, the priests at Cheltenham caused to be indicted and imprisoned for six months in one of the severest jails in England and subjected to much personal degradation and pri vation, for denying the existence of God. He came out of prison confirmed by persecution in the negathem, and obtained so large a following that wher-

ever he went, he filled very large rooms. An amaxingly large room was engaged in London by a large section of the dissenting ministers, and the Rev. Brewin Grant was appointed to debate the question We have two securities for the limited duration with him, and so large was the gathering, that different weeks, filled to overflowing an hour before It results from the infinite perfection of God that the commencement of the debate, and hundreds he must have made mankind, the whole and each went away who could not gain admittance. So extensive was the feeling, that, on a given Sunday, evening, the ministers of twenty-six chapels ening baffled by either his depravity or his obstinacy. The discussion was between two able men, and is It results from man's preference of pleasure to very instructive, nearly as much so, I think, as the pain, and from the reason with which God has enwhat I think to be a higher and better knowl-But, will God receive him after such protracted edge; but, whether higher and better or not, things and principles do not change with mere opinions. I met an American gentleman the other day,

and our conversation turned on slavery. He is merchant now resident here, who has travelled much, and has evidently seen much and thought much. He lamented its existence, and hoped it &c.; and then started Colonization and Liberia It might just as rationally be asked-What is and lent me two numbers of their journal. I read become of the hunger you felt before dinner, and returned them. I wrote him a note, saying done about it! The answer in both cases is, for raising the price of slaves and encouraging all palliative of things as they are in the slave Take an illustration in answer to the above ques- States of America—they bore an excusatory tone. and amounted to this :- If we are black in America, society is dark brown in many other countries.

How many are the combinations we can form out of the twenty-four letters ! And when we reflect Look back now at the time and the circumstan

you then had, and see what you and your friends have done. You and they have made the extinc So it is of all past, forsaken sin. When right- tion of slavery a world-wide question. You and BEECHER STOWE'S 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' The cause must precede the effect; love must precede its manifestation. If the train had not been laid, it could not have been fired; and to you and to them, and especially to those of the martyr age it is owing that the world was prepared to receive her great and noble contribution to man's welfare. I trust the manner in which the world has received her and her work will encourage the great and good among women to advance the knowledge of truth and human duties, and especially of woman's rights; that they will fix in their minds and seek to open out the conviction, that wherever right is discovered, a duty is revealed; and that those duties which involve humanity and love are especially committed unto them; that if men are, y our present arrangements, made the bread winners for the family, they are to that extent more especially bound to exert themselves in works of cace, love and charity, and that women are especially called upon to seek the repeal of all laws which exclude them from equal rights, and which shut them out from helping to carry out those purposes which God opens to the mental eye, and hus calls upon them to aid in doing. Yours faithfully,

EDWARD SEARCH.

#### THE MAINE-LAW MANIA DERBY, (Eng.) May 9, 1853.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR : 'DEAR FRIEND-I was glad to see in a late LIBERATOR one protest against the Maine Law, the only one I renember to have seen in its columns. If you have a lit-

tle space, please permit me to add mine, The alleged necessity for government interferen the promotion of temperance rests on the assuption that there is a class of people so depraved that they can not be reached by moral influences,—whose selfishness is so inveterate, that they will persist in assailing the eak with temptation, regardless of all considerations nce, we are bound to interpose the au-

of humanity-people not fit to be left at liberty; and of priests. Many of these Orthodox teachers turn thority of law. This is the ready excuse of despots and round upon the Catholics, and are shouting Priestpopes, the world over—the justification they offer for
craft! Priestcraft! as though the craft did not become beneath their power. Can temperance reformers

When we abandon moral sussion for the coercion government in accomplishing our ends, we present to hose on whom we wish to operate, the alternative of asion to our will, or death. Every act of the legis lature, for whatever innocent-looking and fine-sounding understanding, that the police and the soldiery, is needs be, are in reserve for the purpose of compelling ompliance with its requirements, and that they are prepared to take life rather than that the law shall not acomplish that whereunto it is sent. Are temperance repers themselves so immaculate, that it bec to thus treat even the most depraved and mean-spirited of the makers and sellers of strong drink? Because hu man presumption is found willing to arm them with his death-dealing power, does it follow that their commis-

to avail themselves of it? 'Ye know not what of spirit ye are of; the Son of man came not to dutty men's lives, but to save them, was the reproof which Christ administered to some impatient reales, the would have called fire down from heaven in furtherns

If it even were made plain that these penal conherits could be well assured that the resources of gentleses her be well assured in vain, before resorting to see treme a measure as that of sacrificing a portion of the people for the good of the rest; for it amounts to the opie for the good of the force for brute force in daller with the venders of intoxicating drinks. Are thy as with the venders of intercenting criman. Are the ac also our brethren, and as much entitled to our basens consideration as other transgressors of the moral as The temperance reformation itself is only ralable at The temperature subserving the great work of human education, the posubserving the great who bear the organ stamp of the divine image, however defaced. Is prethe humanity of the above class, and to tree then with violence, is to sacrifice the end to the mean instead of assuming their incurable depravity, as jutification of our subjecting them to the discipling brutes, we were to confess our own lack of moral power in treating their case, it would be more to the creds of our candor and justice. When our own reformation in been sufficiently attended to, we may possibly fed our. solves possessed of an influence over the nest depand that shall altogether supersede any necessity for one cing them into our measures. It was by the foolishness of preaching that the bea-

perance cause gained its first footing, and in spite of the most formidable obstacles. What but moral-form agency has brought strong drink into such disrepute as to make a Maine Law possible! If so much has been done under the most disadvantageous circumstances by moral sussion, why should not the reformation be conducted to its final issue by the same means? Does its no sition grow weaker in the ratio of its success, that vic lence must consummate its work? A handful of my recruits originally assailed the phalanx of iniquity and folly, without carnal weapons, and made it yield. Is a to be credited that, when their numbers are increased a thousand-fold, and the enemy's position weakened a every point, that the glory of triumph must be reserved for brute force? 'I say unto you that ye resist not evil! was Christ's injunction, illustrated by His life and death. He preached none of this necessity for self-defence. Those who have such a penchant for dominion over a few distillers, brewers and publicans, will bet in vain for Christ's sanction. The wisdom of his teachings and practice is, of course, an open question Temperance reformers, like the common run of nomine Christians, have a right to set both aside, if they see good cause. But I appeal to that sense of right inplanted in every breast, Can we, in place of brotherly persuasion and enlightenment, assume that of mater-ship, and still do as we would be done by? Which of the two influences is it, to which we are ourselves indebted for whatever of good we have attained to? Has it ben that which denies our capacity for appreciating moral appeals, and treated us accordingly, or that other h. nence which gave us credit for having at least tie germs of good in us, and sought their development? 0 foolish Tectotallers! who hath bewitched you that row can so easily turn aside to those beggarly elements? These Maine-Law advocates constantly assume that

rovernments are in the habit of enacting and executing laws for the punishment and suppression of crise and that such laws are indispensable for the wilbeing of society; and on this baseless assumption they argue the fitness of a law to put down the sale of strate drink, the prolific parent of the crime now dealt with by aw :- this baseless assumption, for I fearlessly thatlenge them to point to any government under have that makes and executes laws for the suppression crime. The English and the United States are perhaps the best specimens, yet the darkest crimes of which he man depravity is capable, are either deliberately asthorized, and systematically committed, or indirect supported by these governments. They make lays it monopoly of crime, not for its suppression. Se reformer or a reformation whose work has not hall struggle to its triumph in spite of government and he.

As to this plausible ever-recurring plea of protecting the young, the weak and the inexperienced from the fern dable temptations of public houses, by their corrives pression, it may be answered, that where there is the m of this sort of protection, the people are the most helps. Where they are in the habit of relying on functionary ism, legal or ecclesiastical, for the promotion and gurlianship of their morality, there we have the least nonty. The motives to self-helpfulness are weakened and serseded by government management, and the most of this management, the more it is needed, if incapacities coping with temptation is a proof of such zeel. Unit retence of taking care of the people, their substant s devoured by swarms of vampyre officials, and alting get in return is helplessness, decrepitude of boty as mind, till outraged nature is compelled to svege le self by the reaction of revolution where vitality comremains, and where not, there she rids hereif of the nuisance by death. Let the selfish ply their cruitral Here, as elsewhere, let the trade be free, without fit restriction of tax, or license, even. Let then do ther worst to entrap their victims. As truth never shrain from a fair encounter, so neither does virtue. This of is virtue which can withstand temptation. Army will your 'spurious protection' and 'nexious chart Where's the value of the temperance movement, if it's to culminate in making slaves instead of mea! To Maine Law is the befitting enactment of a State, in the paternal Union that chattelizes more than three milions of human beings. Let the number ten represent that class to which moral considerations are not in sufficient for the well-ordering of all their conduct, & nine indicate the class next below in moral susceptible ty, and so back to one, which shall stand for the me ised. What but moral influence has raised to for the condition of nine, and elevated nine from the less of eight, and so down to the lowest? The time as once when the most clevated were not higher than Time are now our lowest class; and other still lever female debasement have become extinct; known only to the science of moral geology. What has fastered, sarah ed, propelled this continual growth? cultivation of the ercion? moral force or brute force? What has been h one grand obstruction? The spirit of Mastership of ing under the names of government and law. Can was crucified according to law, and the glorious and of martys' have been, and to this hour are, bed a America and England, crucified by government, using the name of law. In the fact that, from raw natrilike our present lowest class, have been manufacts by moral machinery alone, our divinest specimes humanity, we have the assurance of its perfect she tion to the condition of all, and of its glorious them While reformers are hankering after and higgs carnal weapons, invoking this club and tomahasking they shall reap as they sow, misery and disappear from injustice and folly. Were the time, m energy, now spent on the infamous quackery of good

ment meddlement, husbanded and concentrate heaven-authorized treatment of gentleness and less how soon might the desert bloom, and the earth bend

Yours, very truly, GEORGE SUNTER, Ja

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