and, if payment be made in advance. ittances are to be made, and all letters ing to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to

frected, (rost PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square in and three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00.
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, girania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are auried to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial aux, but are not responsible for any of the debts

the paper, vil :- FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY HIS. EDNUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and Teneral Paritairs.

Fin the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of auestion are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 28.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

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

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding

ords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their sasent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro

ECURE THE PERPETUITY OF TREES DOMINION OVER THEIR BLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,

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

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for staves—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons in fact, the oppressor repre enting the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con

stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

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

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'- John Quincy Adams.

of preserving the African slave trade; the sec

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 15, 1853.

WHOLE NUMBER 1171.

SELECTIONS.

From the Pawtucket Gazette and Chronicle. HORACE MANN ON THE CONSTITUTION.

I for in the Liberator of the 3d instant, an article directions, from the pen of Horace Mann, ad-using the moral and religious duty of voting ger the Constitution of the United States, while on voting is tantamount, to swearing to support, really supporting, said organic law.
It must be admitted that Mr. Mann is as compe-

in mass of sumitted that sir. Mann is as compe-nat as any person to argue this question; and I nink I have never seen his side presented in a samet more specious, or better calculated to pros-dus superficial reasoners.

But close and careful attention will show any add mind, I think, that the very gist of Mr. lan's argument is to be found nowhere else but a the destrine that ' the end sanctifies the means';

at god may come; or, to come down to modern for and phraseology, in the doctrine of com-Waserer reads Mr. Mann's article cannot but es, that the most of it is occupied in showing wat great good has been accomplished by men pur-sing the course which he advocates, and anticiating the terrible calamities to our race which noid ensue if they should cease thus to act. But manot but here remark, that, admitting, for arent's sake, that Mr. Mann's premises are aled in truth, viz: that a vast amount of good has been the result of men acting up to the rule that he lays down, it does not prove that they act-

incheously; that, in so doing, they obeyed the er of reasoning, it is proved that all the wickdaed tile conduct of free moral agents, which has w been righteous conduct. This is neither fartimate one. In accordance with it, we are and to justify the conduct of Judas, and who conspired and effected the death of Je-Those of us who believe that through his eath, and only through his death, salvation is and possible for a lost world—that millions, arough the shedding of his blood, will be eternal--cannot but see a good to the universe, nemerousnes of the crucifixion of Jesus, infinitesurpassing all the good that Mr. Mann has porsed as resulting from the approval and support espective good resulting from the 'cutting off argument for joining and helping the crucifiers Jesus, as Mr. Mann has offered, or can offer, for ag and supporting civil governments whose satistions, or organic laws, contravene the law fiel; and the whole talk which we constantly at of two (moral) evils, we are to choose (com-

mit) the least, is based on the same foundation.
The doctrine is simply, this: Murder one man; you do not, ten will be murdered by some one de; dr, in other words, murder one man a-day, and by so doing, you will help bring about a state things that will preserve inviolate every man't his; but if you do not consent to murder one man a-day, the time will ere long come when half the people in the world will be slaughtered.

This is the argument, as will be clearly seen

is its application to the argument under conside-

I would here remark, that I have nothing to do here with those who believe the Constitution of the United States a righteous organic law. Those who misse to rote under it, or, in other words, refuse actively to support it, believe it to be guilty in one point at least, of approving, upholding and legal-mag as abominable, infamous and God-provoking victedness as the sun ever shone upon, viz: America slavery. To illustrate their ideas, take the

One hundred men, more or less, are thrown into position which makes it necessary for them to establish a government; they come together to con-sider the matter; and the ultimatum proposition of a part of them is, that the Constitution-the oranic law of the government—shall contain a cause disfranchising, robbing, and indeed chatteling one sixth of the men, women and children lung under it. They maintain that if this proposition is not acceded to, they will not unite with its rest in organizing a civil women. But the ha rest in organizing a civil government. But the her see that it involves a direct and palpable cansgression of the law of God—clearly the commission of a most heinous sin. Now what is to be done! Here is this whole argument brought to be print; for there is no difference, in principle, beentering into this agreement, and sustaining

take it has been made by others.

I say, what is to be done! Why, the doctrine of the Mann, and those who agree with him, is, orand, though it be at this expense of committing sin against God and man; or, which the same thing, sustain such an organization, if already existing. The reasons for doing so he has tree in his five-column article—the synopsis of which is which is, we must have a government son world will be ruined without one, and great god will follow if there is one; and as this is the at that can be done in the circumstances, therecompromise, make the bargain, and agree, for prieral good, to disfranchise, rob, chattelize, of indirectly kill the bodies and souls of oneth part of the subjects of the government : for, Two Evils, WE ARE TO CHOOSE THE LEAST! Tus is a plain, unsophisticated statement of the

sement; and I wish to know what difference bers is in principle (I have nothing to do with name here) between this doctrine and the compunise doctrine so rife of late in this land, of thich the two Baltimore platforms were born? But difference in principle between this doctrine to that preached by the tempter to Eve in the set that preached by the tempter to Eve in the set that preached by the tempter to Eve in the set that preached by the tempter to Eve in the set that preached by the tempter to Eve in the set that preached by the tempter to Eve in the set of the set

and is made! Why, the morality of even the sathen gives an answer: Be just, though the

Gid has not given, and, with profound reverence ans not given, and, with protound reverence is spoken, canot give a free moral agent a moral tight to transgross his moral law, because he, the han, or angel, even, might suppose, that by doing a be night prevent a great evil, or bring to pass a part good. But this is what is contended for by our proposes. (ponents; ay, the very thing; and the argu-is, that this very transgression is changed nature, by the prospective good to be accom-

Now, I hesitate not in saving that such a doc-

ye every one of the waters of his own cistern;
17. Until I come to take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards.
18. Beware lest Hezekiah persuade you, saying, The Lord will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the na-tions delivered his land out of the hand of the king of

Assyria?

19. Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim? and have they delivered Samaria out of my hand?

20. Who are they among all the gods of these lands, that have delivered their land out of my hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand?—Isai-

To all human appearances, there was no way of escape for Hezokiah and his people; yet he refused to 'compromise,' and finally came off victorious; for 'the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred and four

score and five thousand '! See also a multitude of similar cases recorded in the scriptures.

The truth is, the non-compromising doctrine is practically the doctrine of safety, both to individuals and nations; though those who embrace it with right views and feelings are not primarily influ-enced by a regard to safety in their conduct. It is a plain dictate of reason, if there be a God-a ous moral Governor of the universe-he will

principle, and ridicules and condemns those put their trust in God. Mr. Mann says, (in answer to this objection, but I cannot join a band of criminals.') 'Was Howard a criminal because he went among criminals! Is the City Marshal a robber or a gambler because he goes into a den of robbers or gamblers to arrest them !' What does Mr. Mann mean by such comparisons as these! Does he mean to represent the views he is trying to confute! or does he not understand them ! Have the persons whose theory he is opposing ever intimated that it would be mingle with the vilest men, in order to reform them or do them good ! Certainly not. What hen! Why, they repudiate the doctrine of combining, confederating or associating with any man or men to transgress the law of God; let the prospective evil to be shunned, or good to be obtained, by so loing, be ever so much. Whatever they can do alo with a wicked government or individual, that does not involve them in, or make them a party to, such a compromise, they are willing to do. I cer-tainly ought and should labor with the vilest man on earth in saying ten fellow-men from drowning; but if said vile man will not help me rescue the drowning men, unless I agree to help him kill one other innocent man, I am forbidden by God to make he compromise. Here is the point; and all, herefore, that Mr. Mann says about mingling with others in voting, &c., under the Constitution, is irrelevant, unless the Constitution is founded in ruth and right. If the Constitution were right, nd there had only been wrong legislation-abuses of the Constitution-then there would be the utmost propriety in pursuing the course which he does. I believe this is the position of Gerrit Smith. But I understand Mr. Mann to admit that the Constitution does guarantee the holding of

But now for Mr. Mann's corollary. He says: 'As a corollary from all this, it will be readily seen that, as a voter under our government, I could vote for no one who would commit any violation of the higher law; and so, as one eligible to office, I could be a can-didate for no post necessarily involving a violation of

slaves, and yet he swears to support it, and

support it, in order to abolish slavery! This is moral and political homeocpathy, with a ven-

I consider this the most extraordinary corollary I have ever seen attributed to foregoing premises, by any sensible man. I am sure I can see no more connection between more connection between the premises and infer-ences, than there is between the 'tooth-ache and Long Island Sound,' nor half as much. The corol-

the wicked government, or wicked individuals, in doing right, but no further. Be willing to pay for value received from wicked individuals, and also from wicked governments; which, in the latter case, is called in Scripture the paying of tribute.

This is the genius of that gospel, the Author of which said, 'My kingdom is not of this world'; and if ten persons of this character had been found in ancient Sodom, they would have saved it from destruction.

destruction.

I would ask if persons of similar disposition, views and conduct, are of no worth to the community. nities in which they live now; and if, in the sight of God, they will not be deemed as worthy of any substantial good that may result from human governments, as any other persons, though they may be so obtuse as not to comprehend the consistency of swearing to support a great moral evil, in order to 'circumscribe, molest and abolish it.' R. POTTER.
Pawtucket, (R. I.) June 15, 1853.

[English Correspondence of the American Baptist.] SPEECH OF PROF. STOWE IN EXETER HALL.

Oxford, (England,) June 3, 1853. Much discussion has been awakened by the speech made by Professor Stowe in Exeter Hall, at the anti-slavery meeting. The Morning Advertiser and the Nonconformist denounce it as adapted to divert the British public from the true issue, and as inducing them to regard slavery as a question of pounds, shillings and pence, instead of one of morals and religion. The present is a crisis in the English anti-slavery movement. In spite of years of anti-slavery burking, the cause, chiefly by the hand of a woman, has suddenly risen to a degree righteous moral Governor of the universe—he will protect, defend and deliver those who love His law and keep it, though earth and hell combine to crush them for their integrity. And I must say, that the doctrine of compromise, in the sense exhibited above, is an atheistical doctrine, though unwittingly insisted upon by very many good men. It votes God out of the universe, so far as his interposition is concerned in delivering those who risk all upon an uncompromising adherence to principle and vidicules and engagement these who where to strike. No people were ever more willing to aid than the English, and certainly no reformers ever so greatly needed aid as do the American Abolitionists. The English have but a faint idea of the extent to which slavery has influenced their own religious institutions. Still less do they know of the anti-slavery activities which in America are working out the redemption of the slave. Now the position of Professor Stowe, in Exeter Hall, the most favorable imaginable to speak words of cheer to those anti-slavery laborers who are toiling that others might reap the fruits. It was a glorious opportunity of introducing their princi-ples and efforts to the notice of that portion of the English public who at present are ignorant of them. I stop not now to inquire whether he knew the responsibilities of the hour. He, certainly, could not have been ignorant of the servility of twenty millions of people in basely surrendering up three millions of their own citizens to any handful of miscreants that can pay the market-value for them. Nor could be have been ignorant of the power o the Free States over Congress, nor of the the church over public sentiment, nor of the power of the English public sentiment over the American What then, under circumstances so momentous, was the advice he gave! He said, 'There were three ways of abolishing slavery. First, by a bloody revolution, which none of them would hear of. (Hear, hear.) Secondly, by persuading slave-holders of the wrong they committed, but this holders of the wrong they committed, but this would have no effect so long as they bought cotton (Hear, hear.) And the third and only possible way was, by making slave labor unprofitable, com-

> In expressing its disappointment at this speech, the Morning Advertiser says, 'To utter sentiments like these, and to give advice like this on the platform of Exeter Hall, is something worse than trifling with the Christianity, the humanity, and the intelligence of the British public.' That power-ful journal then speaks of the remedy proposed by ful journal then speaks of the remedy proposed by Professor Stowe as calculated to subserve the purposes of slaveholders, as much as if he had acted under their inspiration; as diverting the public mind from the real merits of the question, and as deferring enancipation for an indefinite period; as relieving the Americans from the guilt of slavery, and transferring the responsibility to the English; and as ungenerous and in the very worst taste. It then proceeds thus: 'Of course, he has been, and is, most scrupulous that the material of no garment or part of a garment, worn by him, should

pared with free labor. (Hear.)'

ment, or part of a garment, worn by him, should be stained by the blood of the slave, &c.

I am unable to state how Professor Stowe felt in reading the editorial from which I have made the above extracts. He never, I believe, advocated Long Island Sound, nor half as much. The corollary, or inferences, of Mr. Mann, are at open war with his premises. Observe, he says in the commencement of his article—'Two questions are presented for consideration: 1. Whether our governments, State and National, are so wicked (on account of slavery, war, or any other cause.) that a moral or religious man cannot vote or hold office under them? and, 2. whether such a man can vote and hold office under them, even though he acknowledges them (on the subject of slavery, for instance,) to be wicked?' That is to say, the Constitution is admitted to be vilely wicked in this regard, that it upholds or supports slavery; but we are to support this very Constitution—the whole of it, in voting and holding office; but, after all, the corollary is, that in said voting and holding office, we do not uphold slavery at all, or, in other words, do not commit any 'violation of the higher law'? that mode of anti-slavery effort in America. His Mr. Editor, when a person of Horace Mann's logical powers comes out thus in defending a position in ethics, is it not time to suspect the soundness of that position?

The truth is, as before said, Mr. Mann's corollary 'knocks in the head' his whole theory, in spite of all he has said about the good which may be done

of this must be postpoued till my next.
Yours for the slave,
EDWARD MATHEWS.

From the Portland Inquirer.

PROFESSOR STOWE'S EXPOSITION The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter brings us another speech from Professor Stowe—the last he delivered in England. The speech was made in reply to a complimentary Address presented to Mrs. Stowe at the soirce at Willis's Rooms, London, by the Committee of the British and For-

eigu Anti-Slavery Society.

To the following extract from the Address, some lines of which we italicize, we ask the reader's

We rejoice to find that the great principles upon which our Society is based, are so fully and so
cordially recognised by yourself, and your beloved
husband and brother. First, that personal slavery, in
all its varied forms, is a direct violation of the blessed sense of its participation in the guilt of slavery, States of America.

Should share the pecuniary loss, if such there were, of its immediate abolition, yet we repudiate the right and cruelty, is the trade and practice of other naof its immediate abolition, yet we repudiate the right and creeity, is the trade and practice of other natio demand compensation for human flesh and blood, as (to employ the emphatic words of Lord Brougham) we repudiate and abhor 'the wild and guilty character so anomalous and wicked. Waiving all reference to the odious details of sickening scenes we do not hesitate to express our conviction, strengthened by the experience of emancipation in our own colonies, that on the mere ground of social convolution, the strength of the strength was a strength of the strength of the strength was a strength or political expediency. The immediate terminal and creeity, is the trade and practices of other nation is its observed by the inner place of the trade and practices of other nations is its observed by the inner place of the strength was a strength or political expediency. The strength was a strength was are approximated to other nation is its observed by the inner place of the strength of the strengt

Let it be borne in mind, however, and we rewas the pen of a female that first pub-

righteous lesson.

We desire to feel grateful for the measure of success that has crowned the advocacy of these sound anti-slavery principles in our own country; but we cannot but feel that, as regards the continbut we cannot but feel that, as regards the continbut we can a nation, which initiates its profruits of the bitter toil and suffering of the slaves of their reliow-men, whose for you as a great peoin the western world are used to minister to the By all the respect we have for your energy and the by all the esteem we have for your energy and When this anomaly of a country's putting down slavery by law on the one hand, and supporting it by its trade and commerce on the other, will be emoved, it is not for us to predict; but we are inscious that our position is least dissipate every sentiment of self-complacency, and make us feel both nationally and individually how deep a responsibility still rests upon us to wash our own hands of this iniquity, and to seek every legitimate means in our power to rid the world of this fearful institution.'

To these sentiments, Professor Stowe respon in the strongest terms of approval, thus committing himself to the doctrine of the inherent sinfulness of slavery, and the duty of 'immediate and incondi-tional emancipation.' He stated that his wife and himself were 'perfectly agreed in every point with regard to the nature of slavery, and with regard to the best means of getting rid of slavery.' The Address, he declared, more than any one they had heard had, 'completely expressed the sympathics of their own hearts,' adding: 'It is precisely the expression of our own thoughts and feelings on the whole subject of slavery.' He thus continues in exposition of his views, to some passages of which

As this is probably the last time I shall have an opportunity of addressing an audience in Eng-land on this question, I wish briefly to give you an outline of our views as to the best means of dealoutline of our views as to the best means of deal-ing with that awful and terrible subject of slavery, for in our country it is really terrible in its power and influence. And were it not that Providence seems to be lifting a light in the distance, I should be almost in despair. I believe, however, that there is now a system of causes at work, which there is now a system of causes at work, which Providence designs should continue to work until that great curse is removed from the face of the carth. I believe that, in dealing with the subject of slavery, and the best means of removing it, the first thing is to show the utter wrongfulness of the whole system. The great moral ground is the chief and primary ground, and the one on which we thould cheave, and under all circumstances, insist.

We are thankful to hear that some sections of the Church in America will not touch the unclean thing; will not abet it either directly or indirectly, one hold fellowship with the Achans and Demases, who dare to prostitute sacred truth into a sanction of their sordid and selfish practices, and make of the house of prayer a den of thieves.

We congratulate you, dear brethren, on your honorable and faithful conduct in withdrawing from connexion with societies and individuals, making pious pretensions, but polluted with the blood of the slave. We would assure you of our Christian esteem, and bid you good speed, in the name are all kinds of moral developments, as among

there is no intrinsic difference between obeying and disobeying the commands of God-between between obeying and disobeying the commands of God-between the second of the s

of the whole nation will be aroused.

There remains a fourth method of dealing with the subject, which is alluded to in the address, and also in the resolution of the Society, at Exeter Hall.' Here follows a re-statement of his free-labor

views, nearly like that of his speech at Exeter Hall,

From the London Morning Advertiser of June 17. AMERICAN SLAVERY-THE KENT AND SUS-SEX BAPTISTS ASSOCIATION.

At the annual meeting of the above association held at Bexly Heath, on June 9th, the following able and eloquent address, written by the Rev. Thomas up- Jones, of Blackheath, was adopted unanimously:—

precepts of the Gospel, and therefore a sin in the sight of God; and, secondly, that every victim of this unjust and sinful system is entitled to immediate and unconditional freedom. For however we might acquiesce in the course of a nation, which, under a millions of our fellow-creatures in the United

r political expediency, the immediate termina- Britons though we are, approving generally of the on of slavery would be far less dangerous, and British Constitution, and the loyal and affectionate far less injurious, than any system of compromise, subjects of one of the best monarchs that ever adorned a throne, we fully justify the conduct of those brave men who refused to be ' hewers of wood cord it with peculiar interest on the present occa- and drawers of water,' for an insolent and oppress ive oligarchy, and declared themselves inde licly enunciated the imperative duty of immediate of a government which was scarcely less hated at emancipation. Amid vituperation and ridicule, home than abroad. And we admire many of the worse, the cold rebuke of Christian friends, institutions of America, as proofs of her profound Mrs. Elizabeth Heyrick boldly sent forth the thrill-ing tract which taught the abolitionists of Great tional greatness. Particularly do we commend Mrs. Elizabeth Heyrick boldly sent forth the thrilling tract which taught the abolitionists of Great
Britain this lesson of justice and of truth, and we
honor her memory for her deeds. Again, we are
indebted to the pen of woman for pleading yet
control of the pen of woman for pleading yet
more powerfully the cause of justice to the slave;
and again we have to admire and honor the Christian heroism which has enabled you, dear Madam,
to brave the storm of public opinion, and to bear
to brave the storm of public opinion, and to bear
the fewers of the Church in your own lead whilst
it and their without human laws to protect it erch in your own land, whilst ist, and thrive, without human laws to protect it you boldly sent forth your matchless volume to and state pay to animate it, we point to America teach more widely and more attractively the same We are sure we express the feeling of ninety-nine

nance of slavery in America, we have cause for humiliation and shame in the existence of the melancholy fact, that a large proportion of the melancholy fact, that a large proportion of the slaves of their fellow-men, whose birthright is liberty? comfort and the luxury of our own population. ple, by all the esteem we have for your energy and When this anomaly of a country's putting down enterprise, and glorious achievements in varislavery by law on the one hand, and supporting it ous departments of science and civilization, and by all the love we have for you as our 'near kind-red,' we are mortified and grieved that you should endure the national reproach of inconsistency so gross, and injustice so flagrant.

We are still more affected by the position of the church in America, in reference to this giant evil. Love of pelf will carry wordly minds into excesses of violence and cupidity. Judas sold the Saviour into the hands of his enemies for money, and it is not matter of deep surprise that men of his caste should traffic in the bodies and souls of their fellowcreatures, when they can thereby increase their worldly gains. But we have reason to believe that rchandise would have been given up in America long ago, if the Church there had been true to its Master, and His holy cause. Those who should have solemnly condemned a system so replete with evil, have too often volunteered their ologie for it, palliating its criminality, and enapologie for it, palliating its criminality, and encouraging its continuance. Nay, we learn that even deacons and pastors in the Church of the self-denying Jesus hold the purchase of his blood in cruel thraldom, and blasphemously pretend to have Scripture sanction for their diabolical injuity! May God lead them to repentance, and constrain them to make restitution to those they have 'robbed and spoiled.'

have 'robbed and spoiled.'

Never will the fair face of our common Christianity look forth in its native beauty and loveliness, till its professed disciples repudiate all connection and sympathy with slavery, nor will the world believe that the Gospel is worthy of all acceptation, securing the reign of love, and justice, and harmony, among them that obey it.

We are thankful to hear that some sections of the Church in America will not touch the unclean

for some of its prominent officials; and has 58 auxiliaries in the slave states. The sympathies of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society are equally with slavery,—slaveholders actually having received missionary appointments. But the battle between the pro-slavery and abolitionist parties in the Baptist body, has been fought in the Baptist Triennial Conventions, where (as has been forcibly described by the Rev. Edward Mathews) the slaveholding interests so largely predominated, that some members seceded. These ministers originated the Fras Baptist Missionary Society, and instead the Free Baptist Missionary Society, and took the ground of 'No communion with slaveholders, or their abetters.' The organ of this society is the American Baptist, an earnest and uncompromising

friend of the oppressed.

Your words of greeting will, I am sure, be gladly received, and will encourage the Anti-slavery Baptists of America to persevere in their arduous labors in the sacred cause of human freedom. Yours, very truly, Rev. Thomas Jones. F. W. CHESSON.

HOW SHALL WE ABOLISH SLAVERY! Extract from an impressive discourse delivered in Philadelphia, on Sunday, July 3d, the day preceding the anniversary of American Independence, by Rev. WILLIAM H. FURNESS :-

But how can slavery be abolished! This is the

uestion that is continually asked, and in that oppless tone that despairs of a satisfactory anwer. How can slavery be abolished! What a question is this for a people to ask, young and full of power as this is, overrunning the continent, sprinkling the western wilderness with cities and States, tunnelling the rock-ribbed mountains, question for such a people to ask, as if, were it only once determined that slavery should be abolished, it would not do it! How shall this object be accomplished! How else shall it or can it be effected but by simply resolving that it must be dono? This is all that is needed, the resolution, the will to do it. The will will find the way. Let the intelligence, the conscience, the religion of the be awakened to the duty that lies before us, and injustice and inhumanity will vanish away rom before them like the vapors of the night. Even if the government of the country had the power to do this work, which it has not, there is no need of appealing to that. There is no need of looking to political parties to do it. I, for one, desire no abolition but that which comes from the free, conscientious action of the slaveholders themselves, and slaveholders we all are, more or less directly. We are all either holding or helping to hold our brother in bondage. I would have this sense of justice, of humanity, of freedom, awakened in the minds of all men, or at least the majority of our countrymen, and that will do the work for us. In order to arouse the slumbering sense of right in the heart of this great nation, let every man use the influence that he may, let every one be true to what light he has. Think, speak, act as honest and brave men should, and as becomes the followers of Him who died for the friendless and the poor. Do all that you can to publish the ruth, to diffuse information, make no compromise with any, and you, at all events, will do your part.

Above all things, let the teachers of religion proclaim the undisputed commandments of Him they
profess to serve. Let them neither be intimidated
nor bribed to hold their peace, but let it be held to be their solemn duty to speak for justice and mercy; and I believe it is in their power to create that public sentiment which will mould the con-victions of individuals, and make short work of the igantic wrong. I know very well that, at the who are immediately interested in upholding slavery, and in keeping down the oppressed, are filled with indignation and wrath. It is natural that is doing wrong, especially if his own conscience tell, him so too, and if the wrong to which he is habit-uated has been of such a character as to render him domineering, imperious, and impatient of con-tradiction. Nevertheless, slaveholders are men, and very often, I have no hesitation in saying it, truly humane men. There are large numbers of them, and I have no wish to doubt it, who treat their slaves with a great deal of kindness; large numbers, who, if their slaves run away, would scorn to go after them; would scorn to do the dirty work of hunting the fugitive for freedom. All such, being men, susceptible of course of hu-man sympathies, having hearts and consciences, would soon be brought to fall in with an enlightened and humane public sentiment; such a pub-lic sentiment as the humblest of us may help to lic sentiment as the humblest of us may help to create; such a public sentiment as, I rejoice to believe, is now steadily and slowly forming throught out our country. Already one after another straggles away from the slaveholding ranks, gets rid of his slave property, setting it free, perhaps, without compensation, or at least emancipating it by will. I wonder how many wills there are already written, in the South, setting free one or more slaves. Rely upon it, let all who know in their hearts that slavery is wrong and a sin, and that to let the oppressed go free is right, and a duty, let them be very is wrong and a sin, and that to let the op-pressed go free is right, and a duty, let them be faithful to that knowledge, and the number of such wills will increase, and the cases of emanci-pation before death will grow more and more nu-merous, as the humane sentiment of the public grows. And by and by State Legislatures will take the matter up, timidly and partially at the first, but they will grow more and more bold. When once the tide fully sets towards Universal

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From the Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle. COLORED MILITIA.

The Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts has under consideration the question of abolishing all distinction of color in the enrolment of the militia of the State. Several propositions were in-effectually made, the last of which, presented by Mr. Wilson, was as follows:

Resolved, That no distinction shall ever be made in the organization of the volunteer militia of the Com-monwealth, on account of color or race. Mr. Choate went into an argument to prove

that the proposition was an unconstitutional one, it it was the design that the colored volunteers should it was the design that the colored volunteers should form any part of the national army. The argument, in substance, was this: Congress by the Constitu-tion has the power of organizing the militis. It has organized it, and distinctly defined that it should consist of 'whites.' Massachusetts could not legislate in conflict with this. Therefore, the proposition was an unconstitutional one. If a colored regiment were to win Bunker Hill—with this constitutional act of Congress in existence, they
could never be recognized as a part of the national
militia, and could be amenable to no military court.
The power of organizing and training the militia was not exclusively with Congress. The States might act in support of congressional action, and in points where Congress had failed to act, but not in conflict with that action. If such a company were organized, the President could not recognized it as part of the militia of the United States.

To dodge the difficulty, at the suggestion of Mr Sumner, Mr. Wilson substituted for the word 'militian's militian of the word 'militian's militian organization.

tia,' in his resolution, the words, 'military compa-nics.' At this proposition,—which really looks to us like a miserable subterfuge,—the hunkers held up their hands, and in genuine astonishment in-quired, 'If "military companies" did not mean "militia," pray what did it mean?' Finally, it was decided that Massachusetts did not need a colored military organization, either in compa-nies or militia; and by a large vote the whole subject was laid upon the table.

This is a fair specimen of the dilemma into

which the good intentions of men run them, when in a false position. General Wilson and Mr. Sumin a laise position. General Wilson and Mr. Sum-ner are going to support the Constitution, believing it to be pro-slavery, and yet are also going to abol-ish slavery under it, and secure equal rights to all. Their fatal concession brings them up all standing at every point, and the best that even Mr. Sumner and Wilson combined can do, is to resort to some quirk or dodge like the one above. We hope that they may some time learn that bolder ground must be taken, if by any means they intend to succeed. It will take a bolder policy than that marked by trickery or evasion to overwhelm the slave power with the government at its control.

With regard to the objection of these Constitu

With regard to the objection of these Constitu-tion makers, we suppose it is not to the help of the colored, in case there shall be any real fighting to be done—any Bunker Hill battles to win. They would doubtless be then willing enough to have them shot at or bayonetted. But the objection is to the training. The citizen soldiers don't like the idea of having negroes parading in epauletts, and sporting plumes and red-tailed coats. This their dignity could never endure, and so the Federal Constitution is to be secure benceforth, the Massachusetts Constitution unaltered, and if the colored people shall sport their military finery and mus-kets for exhibition, the Governor or Sheriff may

From the Syracuse Chronicle.

COLONIZATION MORALIZING. The last Colonization Journal, edited by Rev. Mr. Pinney, speaking of the celebration of our national independence, like many other good people, falls into a vein of 'profitable meditation.' -It says:

'Still, is there not something selfish in a great people, so eminently blessed by the toils and self-denials of others, to manifest their gratitude in such methods, to the neglect and manifest forgetfulness that a boon so priceless is scarcely heard of by '—

How our hearts leap at this exordium ! Now surely, we are going to have some genuine talk-and from a Colonizationist, too—on the great ques tion of the age! We can anticipate the conclusion of the Secretary's sentence. 'That a boon so price-less is scarcely heard of (certainly not enjoyed) by more than three millions of souls in our very midst. whose only freedom-anthem to-day, is the crack of the lash and clank of the chain—but, hold up, sauguine pen! Enough of your homilies we have had already. Suppose you let the editor tell his own story. To return, then—' scarcely heard of by other nations, and nowhere enjoyed? If a thank

offering to God is appropriate from us, in behalf of what people may it be better applied than the poor orprassed Barbarians and Pagans or Arrica; and for them, in what more useful method than through the Colonization

Oho! this is the appropriate improvement of very selfish for us to rejoice in the priceless boon of Freedom, while there are so many deprived of it in-Africa! And it is very mean, too, for a rich man to revel in wealth, which he has wrested from the defenceless widows who starve around his door, while there are so many dear little boys without

It has been the custom at St. Mary's. (Catholic) It has been the custom at St. Mary's. (Catholic) College in Maryland, to invite clergymen, without distinction of sect, to open the exercise of Commencement Day, with prayer. On one occasion, this courtesy was extended to an aged orthodox minister, who had prayed but one undeviating prayer for forty years, in which, after disposing of Paganism, Mahommedanism and the Jews, he regularly lit on his Holiness, by the not very complimentary title of 'Beast.' Through all the phases of his unwritten liturey, the old gentleman on this occaunwritten liturgy, the old gentleman on this occa-sion successfully proceeded, until with a natural un-consciousness he stumbled upon the very sentence, which he had never before found reason to eliminate or qualify; when to his confusion he remembered the unwouted company he was in, and the claims of common courtesy, and strove to make good his retreat. The style in which he accomplished this difficult manusure is only equalled by the instance of lively dodging, which has called up the story. of lively dodging, which has called up the story. It was as follows: 'And, O Lord, be pleased in infinite mercy to break the power of the B—um! ah! to break the power of the B-b—Horrsx-ror!' The petition was to the point and edifying, and so is the meditation of the Colonization organ, on Liberty Jubilees among a nation of slaveh

OUTRAGEOUS PERVERSION OF JUSTICE.

In view of an advertisement asking information in rigard to a colored man incarcerated in Arkan-sas, suspected of being a runaway slave, and in danger of being sold unless he can establish the fact that he is a free man, the Traveller very prop-erly asks — What law is that which compels a man to prove a negative!—which arrests and im-prisons a man as a criminal, and then sells him inprisons a man as a criminal, and then sells him in-to eternal slavery, if he cannot furnish evidence of falsity of the charges made against him? It is that kind of law, which is an outrageous perver-sion of justice, visited by the strong upon the

SLAVERY AND CHRISTIANITY. Another valuable work on the subject of alavery characterised by masterly force of reasoning, has just come from the press, entitled 'SLAVERY AND THE CHURCH, by WILLIAM HOSMER.' The Author is a Metho dist clergyman, and the editor of a religious journal in

Western New York. Read the following extracts:-A Christian cannot be a pirate, because piracy i A Christian cannot be a pirate, because piracy is of the devil; and yet piracy is no worse than slavery. The laws of our country have long regarded the foreign slave-trade as piracy; but the foreign slave-trade is no worse than the domestic, and the trade in slaves, whether foreign or domestic, is no worse than the simple ownership of slaves. Moral purity justly abhors the whole traffic, counting every part of it equally guilty—the seller, and the buyer, and the owner are all on the same ignominious level. Each and all consent to have and hold what honesty forbids—what is not their own, and cannot be, for the simple reason that eternal justice assigns it to the slave. The law of love will not allow the Christian to participate in this robbery; he may not even sanction it by conservative of the slave's rights, must declare his heart-felt abhorrence of the abuse practised upon his fellow man—though that man be a slave. In a word, the Christian is so constituted that he must, of necessity, regard the slave as a brother man, and treat him as such. He cannot take advantage of a wicked law to oppress him, any more than he of a wicked law to oppress him, any more than he can murder him—he cannot perform any one of all the several acts which are enjoined by the slave code. To carry out such laws, demands another kind of being—one who feels himself under no obligation to treat man as man—as a brother, for whose welfare even the sacrifice of life, if it were necessary, would be both a pleasure and a duty.

Christians cannot be slaveholders, because slavery depresses men. The Christian is bound to

Christians cannot be slaveholders, because slavery depresses men. The Christian is bound to clevate all around him, as fast as possible. No truth—no principle in religion, is plainer than this: that all men are to be cultivated and improved, as far as we have power to do it. It becomes impossi-ble, therefore, for a religious man to aid, either less or more, in the work of degradation—he views the African as his brother, and is compelled, by every consideration of duty, to educate and im-prove him to the utmost of his power. Hence he must accord to him all the rights which the God of nature gave, and all the tender regards which the gospel of Christ enjoins. It would be singular, ingospel of Christ enjoins. It would be singular, in-deed, if Christianity, after imposing the duty of culturing humanity—the humanity of all mem—to the highest extent, had, nevertheless, excepted large classes, towards whom nothing was due, but the most rigorous and systematic depression. Such an anomaly in religion there is not. No portion of the human family is given up to ruin—none are predestinated to the crushing influence of slavery. Laws against education and liberty, against marriage and the rights of property, against conscience and manhood, are laws against God; they are a direct attack upon Christianity, and must inevitably be spurned by every believer in divine revela-tion. Before a Christian can be a slaveholder, the tien. Before a Christian can be a slaveholder, the law of God must be repealed, in every particular affecting the relations of man to man. The fraternal spirit, now so conspicuous in all parts of the law, must be utterly obliterated. When this is done, the work of desolation can go on, but not because the state of the children of the consequence. Until then, the obligations of the Gospel fore. Until then, the obligations of the Gosper will make it impossible for any Christian to join in a conspiracy with civil government against the

rights of any man.
But may not the Christian become the depositary of the slave's rights, and thus guard for the slave's good, what the law had taken from him! Not at all. As to any guardianship of such rights, it is absurd—nay, more, impossible. No man can, innocently, be the despositary of what belongs to another's manhood. The slave must regain his rights before he can be a man. None can act for him in this matter. God has laid certain duties on the slave matter. God has laid certain duties on the slave matter. the slave, as a man, and will hold him-not his master cannot answer for any but himself, in the liquity of our vision and our want of taste. We look day of judgment. Aside from the impossibility of this transfer of obligations, is the intrinsic guilt of the original transaction. The Christian slaveowner, by consenting to hold the slave as a slave, endorses the conduct of the Legislature or lawmaking power, and thus becomes as guilty as those who perpetrated the enactment. Can an honest man consent to be the depositary of stolen goods!

He might, perhans, for the purpose of restoring He might, perhaps, for the purpose of restoring day? These, Mr. President, are in adulation and glothem to the owner, but not for a moment for any other purpose. The goods are not his, and never can be his; to retain them, therefore, an instant, except for the sole purpose of returning them to their owner, is to be partaker with the thief. We may render the case still plainer, by supposing the a victim of American patriotism—a patriotism that right in question to be, not that of personal fre dom, but the right to life. Had the law, without cause, doomed the slave to death, could a Christian participate in the infliction! Could he become the depositary and administrator of this cruel power! I stand before you to-day ostracised—the victim of a All will see at once, that to do so would be murder. spirit the most merciless and unrelenting—a spirit that The government should be left to execute, its own wicked laws, if they must be executed, for no honest man can lend himself to such a work.

The plea that Christians hold slaves to shield them from a worse fate, is altogether fallacious. No worse fate is possible. He that is a slave, has lost all he had to lose, except life, and that is his only in a very qualified sense. As an animal, he might suffer more in the hands of one master than in the hands of another. But his rights as a man are sacrificed to the same extent, whatever may be the character of his owner. The slave-owner who If the Christian respects his slave, and counts him brother-as we contend he must do-the slave law is no longer in force, and he cannot be said to hold a slave. But if he does apply the law, and dence is not in an arm of flesh. Still, we must reduce the man to a chattel, what better is he than another—than the common run of slaveholders! It is no matter what hand does the deed, if it must be done. Robbery, committed by a pious man, is just as much robbery as if committed by a pro-fessional highwayman. The assassin's knife, plunged to the heart by the hand of a friend, is not ess fatal than if driven there by the hand of an

We must go one step further, however bold it may appear, and affirm that slavery and slavehold-ing are not only incompatible with religion, but manhood itself. To be a slave, is to sink below the order of humanity into that of brutes. So that, religion aside, slavery is impossible to our nature—a man cannot be a man, 'in any proper

sense of the word,' and be a slave.

The same is true of the slaveholder. He descends not only below religion, but below all the more honorable principles of humanity. For instance, it is dishonorable, even among men who make no pretensions to religion, to injure the weak and the defenceless, or to take advantage of women and children, the sick and the lame. But here is a poor, weak, ignorant African race, whose misfortunes appeal for sympathy to every honorable feel-ing of nature, and for whose protection, common honor, to say nothing of piety, demands that we should peril our lives, if need be, and yet the slave--we mean the bona fide slaveholder, makes

So far, therefore, is it from being an act of to merity, or uncharitableness, to affirm that slave-holders cannot be Christians, that all consideration of their pretensions to religion is somewhat misof their pretensions to religion is somewhat mis-placed. It is a condescension even to bestow the slightest attention upon claims so evidently pre-posterous. The moral character of the slaveholder does not rise high enough to entitle it to such in-vestigation. A being so fallen and deprayed that all the nobler instincts of his nature have ceased to operate, cannot be ranked among Christians till he has been created anew, nor among civilized men till be is greatly reformed. Such brutality as makes women and children slaves for life, is repugnant not only to religion and the civil law, but was once a test of character. I am a Baptist. It was once a test of character to be baptised; but it is no longer so. The last baptism that I ever saw was

THE LIBERATOR. No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JULY 15, 1853.

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION CELEBRATION AT FRAMINGHAM.

The Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slaver Society have great pleasure in announcing that they have engaged the beautiful Grove in Framingham for a Mass Meeting, in celebration of the 19th Anniversary of the Abelition of Slavery in the British West Indie As the first of August will occur this year on Mon

day, an inconvenient day for a public meeting, the cel-ebration will take place on TUESDAY, AUGUST 2d. The Boston and Worcester Railroad Company of love will not allow the Christian to participate in this robbery; he may not even sanction it by his silence, much less by sharing, though it be ever so remotely, in the vile transaction. Rehuke, not participation, is demanded; but not rebuke alone. It is not enough that the Christian reproves such deeds of darkness by words; his acts, leave Boston and Worcester at 9 o'clock, A. M. Leave Milford at 104, A. M. Further particulars hereafter.

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION AT AB-INGTON, JULY POURTH.

In the last number of THE LIBERATOR, we state that the usual celebration of the FOURTH OF JULY, in the beautiful Grove at Abington, by the friends of impartial liberty, and of immediate and universal eman cipation, (under the direction of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,) was attended by a great and highly intelligent concourse, each person present feeling that it was A DAY WELL SPENT, and all experiencing the highest satisfaction; but we were not able to furnish any report of the speeches made on the occasion. For the following sketch, we are indebted to one of the Secretaries, A. J. GROven, of Abington, who wishes us to apologize to the various speakers for the imperfect manner in which he has executed his task, (as he is not a short-hand reporter,) but who really deserves much credit for what he has done. From his notes, we have been enabled to make a pretty full report of our own remarks, which otherwise would not have been recalled, as they were wholly unpremeditated. We regret that it is not in our power to do equal justice to the admirable speech of WENDELL PHILLIPS. All the other speeches were excellent, and received with much favor. It is not invidious to say, that the opening speech, by our young colored friend, WILLIAM J. WATKINS, of Boston, was listened to with special gratification, and both in manner and matter was highly creditable to him.

REMARKS OF WILLIAM J. WATKINS. [The introductory remarks of Mr. WATKINS were no

sketched, as the Secretary was not then on the stand.]

There is not one of us, sir, who would recognize thi land of whips and chains as the ark of safety to Liberty in the world. We never, left to ourselves, should dream that this was the asylum of the oppressed and downtrodden of the earth. You have heard the story of the artist who painted a horse, and, lest it should be mistaken for something else, wrote under the picture, in large letters-' A Horse.' Thus the Choates-the ord tors of the country-describe an ideal land of liberty and say that it is the American Union. They will pain blance, if we were not told of it. And you, Mr. President, and ladies and gentlemen, must pardon the ob stands by the Union-a patriotism that is truly American

Yes, Mr. Chairman, this is a 'glorious Union'! and spirit the most merciless and unrelenting-a spirit that would drive me from the land of my birth. Why is it that we colored people are thus treated? In the days of the Revolution, our fathers stood side by side with your fathers, and perilled alike their lives for a com mon liberty. Yet now, when we petition for the right to be enrolled in the military companies of the State of Massachusetts, we are told that our complexion is 'unconstitutional!

Sir, I do not believe that this state of things can al ways exist. I like to look upon the bright side of the recedes from the property principle, does not execute the law, and in so far, is not a slave-owner. a depressing influence. If my voice could be heard in picture. This always looking upon the dark side has the South. I would tell my countrymen to hope in the future. There is a better day coming. But our confi-

Our faith is in God. It is to me to-day a consoling r flection, that all the truth in the universe is on our side and 'Truth is mighty, and will prevail.' There were husband and wife in Ohio, and the wife was always looking on the dark side of the picture ;-she had no faith in God. The husband, wishing to teach her a lesson of faith and confidence in God, procured a dagger, and threatened her life. The wife looked into his face calmly, and said she had no fears, because it was her husband that held the hilt. So, I would say, that amid the dangers that threaten the colored man on every hand, we fear not, for our heavenly Father holds the hilt. The heavens may be clothed in blackness, the lightning may flash and the thunder roll; but amid the darkness and the storm, we will never fear, for God is behind the cloud, and will overrule all things for the ultimate good of the universal race of man.

REMARKS OF REV. A. T. FOSS.

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen,-I feel that it is a privilege to speak on this platform and to this audience. The occasion inspires me to say some thing. The prophet speaks of bottles filled with smoke,' and Jesus said that ye do not put new wine holder—we mean the bona fide slaveholder, makes these his prey! These he attacks with all the ferocity of a beast, and strips them of every right, merely because he can. Such a being outrages the feelings which are congenial to humanity, apart from the lofty maxims of Christianity.

The new and old bottles, but into new bottles. The new and old bottles represent just the difference between those who live in the sembly theology of the past, and have become dried and shrivelled, and those who live in the from the lofty maxims of Christianity. cause (the new wine) as a test of the bottles-a developer of character.

At the Christian era, those that, espoused Christia ity knew that they espoused persecution. But the Pharisee was saying his prayers, admired by the multitude ; and the great office of Christ was to distinguish between the two, to separate the wheat from the chaff, to draw a dividing line between the unprincipled and the righteous. Every true reform, in its early stages pugnant not only to religion and the civil law, but to every manly sentiment, and necessarily fixes an ineffaceable stain upon its foul perpetrator. When such an one—forgetful how much more polluted he is than the common run of men—seeks to be considered a Christian, then Satan himself may aspire to the honors of saintship. Slavery is, in fact, so gross an offence to humanity, that its removal is the province of civilization rather than of religion.

wear a Quaker hat ; but now, Edward P. Little can be lings was on trial, Sheridan said that all he had to say sworn into the United States Congress with his hat on.
(Laughter and applause.) Latterly, the temperance cause has been a test whether men loved God better

But I wish to make an allusion to another matter. cause has been a test whether men loved God better than rum. And we have other tests; but the antisiavery cause is the best of all. God comes to the people of this country, and asks whether they love him better than their lusts, their cotton mills, and their ships. He asks of all, from the President down to the humblest citizen, whether they love their colored brethren. I don't know why God made some of us with colored skins, and left some of us white, unless it be true that some of us are not worth coloring. (Great laughter.)

It is said by some that we have put the abolition of considerate, good-natured anti-slavery which we are

emancipation. This is not true. We only developed written with a pen of iron, with the stern impartiality showed them to themselves and to the world as of justice. they were and as they are. We all profess to hate slavery in the abstract, but we love cotton and commerce nore in the concrete. The President, and all political office-seekers, hate slavery in the abstract, but they that it was much easier to listen to such a speech than love the spoils of office in the concrete more. We complain of Austria, because she did not prevent Haynau from whipping a woman. He only whipped one wo man. But what is done in this land? The same sun that looks down upon this grove to-day, looks down upon the bleeding backs of thousands of defenceless women at the South ;-and yet we have the effrontery

I used to think that a man who wore a white neck. I come to you, to-day, for sympathy and inspiration

try has repudiated God, and must we be silent? When the great men of the nation said, 'There is no higher land. You all know this. And, being a friend to the other way of reforming the Church but by coming out from her. There never was a religious body reformed but by coming out of it. But 'you are a come-cuter!' Well, what are you? You are a come-outer, if you belong to any of the Protestant sects. Are you a Bap-Then you came out from the Presbyterians, or some body else. You are all come-outers, as well as

The anti-slavery cause has been the means of devel oping individuals as well as organizations. We did not know ourselves until we came out from the Church. Some of us may not now; for some in our ranks have shrunk away, and have withered up and are gone. The anti-slavery cause is a winnowing-mill. You know how they winnow wheat; and when it is winnowed, there wheat. But the size of the heap is no test of its value ; you weigh the two, and you will find the wheat much the heavier. But, although the pro-slavery side have no idea that Dr. Dewey can respect himself ;-- a man who could send his own mother into slavery! If he had said that he would go into slavery to sare his mother, then he could respect himself.

But I did not mean to detain the audience so long Be sure, friends, that our cause is onward, and is sure to triumph as there is a God. All around us are the signs of hope. We might very appropriately sing the old Methodist hymn-

'The morning light is breaking, The darkness disappears.'

REMARKS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

sions, that I was not made capable of taking some fair share in such celebrations. The will is not wanting; something else is needed-a voice; and such as I have needs walls to fence it in. But it is not essential that we make speeches. We are Mordecal sitting at the King's gate. It is not recorded of him that he did any thing but sit. While he sat there, his silent rebuke was none the less effective. Now, as an anti-slavery celebration on the Fourth of July, it is not expected that there will be speeches; its banner is a speech-its existence is more eloquent than words. We make a party in this old county, by which men shall remember that anti-slavery is alive, that it is 'without concealment and without compromise.' There is a party, cousin-german to us, perhaps-at least, they claim the relationship-that make loud professions of their principles, after they get out of office. Like the Rev. The odore Clapp, of New Orleans, who wrote a book against slavery, to be published after his death. He intended it as a virtue laid up against the judgment, I suppose. Some of our Free Soil friends never give us an exposé of their ideas of the Constitution, until after retiring American freedom is in a state of eclipse, and 'cloude

We occupy, to-day, precisely the position of our fathers in 1776. They were a handful of men-poor men. Gov. Hutchinson could ask, 'Where did this brace of Adamses come from?" The revolution was inhabitants thereof, can we hold a national jubilee borne on the shoulders of the young men-the working While there are three millions and a half of slaves in men of the country. And when they put forth the chains on our soil, how can the true lover of liberty re Declaration of Independence, they meant all men. joice on a day like this? Nor are we met to pay They laid the basis broad enough to take in all men. blind homage to 'the revolutionary fathers'; yet And why was this? Because they were physically would detract nothing from their just deserts. weak. Louis Napoleon was generous, when he was shall aim to look at their conduct impartially, though chosen President of France ; but when he found he was liable to decide too favorably in their behalf, becau strong enough, he brought back the guillotine. So we are their descendants. Let them have all the credit every body can be generous when they are weak. which belongs to them. If you should listen to the Hannah Adams once said that she was always a Unita- popular orators, to-day, throughout the land, you rian when well, but Orthodox when sick. So, when we might conclude that our fathers were demi-gods. But have grown big enough, we take to ourselves the West it has been truly said of such declaimers, that they are and South, that we may extend human slavery.

on at their head, met in St. George's street, London, of '76 nobly struggled and suffered in the cause of liband the result of their deliberations has been; that erty-but it was liberty for themselves, and for nobody eight hundred thousand glaves have been set at liber- else. It did not require an astonishing amount of vir ty, and men to whom that movement gave life and in- tue to refuse, themselves, to wear the yoke of bondage spiration, have brought the British Government on to They fought, bled, sacrificed, not counting any thing its knees before the people. In Philadelphia, at the dear to them, that they might be free. What then same time, sat another Convention, with closed doors, Those who are oppressed, why should they not struggle from which issued the American Constitution. Our A worm will turn when trodden upon. But they pe Government sprang, like Minerva, into existence, full forth to the world the glorious Declaration of Independ grown and developed. We have since made no pro- ence, in which they affirmed it to be self-evident that gress: the Spirit of Liberty has gone backward. We ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, and endowed by their sand slaves. And where have been our great men, the but how much credit do they deserve for this? At that ust have been something essentially and organically held half a million chattel slaves in their possess wrong in a government that has produced nothing but dwarfs. Where are the successors of the Wythes, the Lees, the Rutledges, who, at least, knew enough to be duct only on universal principles; and to these they think that such remarks as these are unnecessarily personal; but when the dead will leave nothing but good in their example, we will speak nothing but good about equal government for all? No—they compromised cause that does not make war upon a government that of those then groaning in bondage, and their posterity! holds slaves, is good for nothing. When Warren Hast- They agreed to ravage the African coast, and carry on

It is said by some that we have put the abolition of considerate, good-natured anti-slavery which we are slavery back by maddening the slaveholders, so that they wont let their slaves have their liberty now, although, twenty years ago, they were on the eve of dead is the admonition to the living, and it should be

[This is only a very imperfect sketch of the first par of Mr. Phillips's eloquent speech. The reason why the remainder was not attempted to be sketched is, to write it. But, doubtless, Mr. P. will deem it a favor that the reporter stopped where he did.]-Rep.

REMARKS OF OLIVER JOHNSON. It is always inspiring to me to look a Massachuset

audience in the face. You have assigned me a post of labor, where there are few to sympathise with me to call Austria to account!

O! this Union is a blood-cemented Union, and noth[The Chairman explained that Mr. Johnson had recenting can be found in the world to match the outrages ly been called to the editorial chair of the Anti-Slavecommitted in this country. And the worst of all is, the ry Standard.] Mr. Johnson-I am afraid that you so-called Church of Christ endorses all these outrages. will be sorry for the explanation, before I get through. handkerchief and a long face must be a very good man. to Massachusetts, where there are those who have no I remember, when a child, and these men came to my fallen a prey to traitors within or foes without the father's, how I venerated them, and how I longed to camp. I am glad to be here, to catch the inspiration of be as worthy of respect as I supposed them to be. The an occasion like the present. An abolitionist in New ministry now is as good as it used to be, but our eyes York is, as it were, alone with himself and his God have been opened, and their true character has been yet I do not mean to say that the slave has no friends developed by the tests of the times.

In New York, for there are signs of progress. But I How unlike their master are the ministers of this have a word to say about the Church; and I always in New York, for there are signs of progress. But I country! They remember not their brother, the slave. dispose of this matter by a very short method. What Now, the anti-slavery cause has developed and laid bare it to be a Church of Christ in this age, but to try to es before all men the character of the Church. Yet let me tablish the principles of justice and liberty in the not be understood to be an enemy of the Church. I world? I do not say that the American Church is not wish to redeem it; and I expect to do this by telling busy in the work she has chosen to do. For certain the truth, and not by meanly hiding its rottenness, objects, she works most energetically. She has estab Were Jesus and the apostles enemies of the Church, be- lished, and is sustaining, at immense cost, the Bible So cause they told it the truth? No! but they were its ciety, the Truct Society, her Missionary Boards, &c. &c. and the world's best friends. The Church of this coun- If I ask the Church if she loves the Bible, she points triumphantly to the operations of her Bible Society; if I ask, does she love the heathen in foreign lands, she law !' it was echoed by the Church throughout the points to her missionaries in every land. She, there fore, does not lack zeal in these enterprises. But when Church, I take the position that I do. I know of no I ask her if she loves the slave, what is her answer When I point to men and women bought and sold at auction, like beasts, at her very doors, and ask her what the duty of the Christian is to them, what has she to reply? Has she ever even recognised the claims of the slave, through any of her principal bodies? [A voice- Never !] I was in the Methodist General Conference, a few years ago, in New York, when the Southern branch separated from the Northern branchfor it was the South, instead of the North, that withdrew. I went to this Conference as a reporter of a pub-

lic press, and I can assure you that the scenes there enacted were disgusting in the extreme. Northern men, who had professed to be somewhat anti-slavery, bowed the knee, like spaniels, to their Southern maters. Those Doctors of Divinity from the South were is always a much larger heap of chaff than there is of able men ; and I never knew how it was that the South exerted so much influence on the North, until I saw those ecclesiastical Doctors of Divinity cracking their ecclesiastical whips over the submissive backs of Norththe majority, they do not respect themselves. I have ern ministers, who were ready to make any and every apology for bringing the matter of slavery, in any shape, into the Conference. Lately, we have had another rich specimen of Southern bullying and blackguardism, and of Northern cowardice and servility, in the Church. I allude, of course, to the late General Assembly of the New School Presbyterian Church. A word in regard to the political aspects of this ques

tion. They tell us that it will never do to dissolve the Union; that all our social blessings depend upon the stability of the Union ; that slavery is a sectional and not a national institution. But all this is untrue Slavery is the only national institution that we have yet had. Let slavery be assailed, and the universal was a cutting sarcasm when Dickens said, that Amer icans dignified all their vices by calling them 'Institu tions.' Some people wonder why we assail the Union in our meetings, instead of slavery. The truth is, th Union and slavery are synonymous terms. We are al ways trying to cover up the hideous character of slaver under the respectable name of 'Institution.' I believ the cause of the slave has never made such rapid pro gress as since we took the Disunion position. I know not how long this battle is to continue, or whether w shall see our cause triumph before we leave the stage but, whatever we shall accomplish, we shall bequeat to our children an example of uncompromising hostility to slavery, and thus encourage them to take up the good work which we may leave unfinished.

REMARKS OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON. MR. CHAIRMAN:

While we have been here, to-day, the sun has veile

its face, and the sky exhibited a stormy aspect. This is symbolic of our national condition. The sun and darkness' are round about us, as a people. W are not assembled to celebrate the anniversary of Amer ican Independence, for it is yet to be won. Not until lib erty is proclaimed 'throughout all the land, unto all the Fourth of Juliars, and so their testimony is not to b In 1787, a party of Quakers, with THOMAS CLARK- received without large abatement. It is true, the mer have now three millions, instead of two hundred thou- Creator with an inalienable right to liberty.' Trueproduct of our government and institutions? There time, and throughout the revolutionary struggle, they ned of themselves? They who enact laws to catch solemnly subscribed. But they really meant by them fugitive slaves, have negroes to stand behind them at as was subsequently demonstrated by their conduct, Washington, and can go begging for money to redeem nothing beyond their own independence. Hence, they in estate at Boscawen. Doubtless, some of you may were not universal in their spirit; they were only not them. We are called aggressive. But an anti-slavery away, for an indefinite period, the rights and libertic

a piratical traffic, for twenty years, in concert, gine absolute impunity and protection during that prodabsolute impacts, they provided for a stave representation in Coages. and they stipulated that there should be no free sails any part of the country for a fugitive size. They yere deceitfal and wicked acts—acts of tyranny to inhumanity—and should be so confessed, with that and confusion of face.

But, it is pleaded, 'our fathers did the best ther could, under the circumstances.' That is, they are disposed to do as much for the Lord as the Adventy would let them! They made the best bargain position for the former without alienating the latter, where co operation was essential to the formation of 'our glaim.
Union '! What a defence! But ' the framers of the Constitution supposed sin

ry would ere long disappear from the country. The if they did? The sequel has proved that they sen grossly mistaken. Instead of slavery having apad we have now three millions and a half of sixe, as more than one half of our national territory count is the system. Horace Maxx contends that slivery has no longer a constitutional existence, having yield up the ghost under the limitation of this supposition! least, as it has survived twice as long as it was upper ed it would last, this fact is tantamount to an apple ment of the Constitution, and so no fugitive save onch hereafter to be given up to his pursuer! This is a petent method for changing that instrument-by a tree SITION! But I have yet to see the evidence that said an opinion, as to the duration of slavery, generally prevailed. It certainly was not expressed on the part of the Southern States. It is true, in the course of the debates on the Constitution, in the Massebusets Convention, Mr. Dawes expressed the opinion, for himself, that although slavery is not smitten by an apoplery, yet it has received a mortal wound, and will die of consumption '-referring to the abelition of the foreign slave trade in 1808; but it is also true that, in reply, Mr. Heath said, 'Whether those in the Southern States will be emancipated after the year 1808, I do not pretend to determine ; I rather doubt it.' All doubts on this subject are now removed. The Slave Power range the destiny of the nation. The Constitution is new what it was at the time of its adoption-its slaveholding guaranties remain unchanged in their nature, and unaffected by the lapse of years. This is a day of public rejoicing. Flags are fring.

bells ringing a joyous peal, cannon thundering, pocessions marching, and a thousand other demonstration making, in honor of liberty. Well, it is easy enough to love liberty for ourselves. Nicholas of Russia love it also-for himself! Rejoicing, are we! So Nero fildled while Rome was burning! This is the Fourth of July, 1853, is it? And what is our condition to-day? What is the spectacle we are presenting to the world? Who fills the Presidential Chair? In the march of inprovement, the last President ought to be the best. What is the fact? In 1798, George Washington-ia 1853, Franklin Pierce! Why Washington was elected to that station, the world knews. How did Frankin Pierce come to be chosen? He crawled on his belly. like a serpent, in homage to the Slave Power. He boasted that he had not a drop of blood in his veins that flowed responsively to the claims of suffering humanty in a sable form. He was 'a Northern man with Southern principles.' He was for enforcing eternal silence on the subject of slavery. He had resisted the anislavery movement at every point. Nothing was no mered or so obligatory, in his eyes, as 'the Compraise Measures, including the Fugitive Slave Law.' Heys not damaged by the support of men, suspected of being somewhat tinetured with abolitionism, as was his unfortunate antagonist, General Scott, whose claims were fatally advocated by such men as William II. Sesuel, Thaddens Stevens, Horace Greeley, and Thurles West. The party that supported him was moved by one pulstion, and in its devotion to slaveholding and slavecatching, was infinitely beyond suspicion. Therein it was that he was elected President of the United States, receiving the vote of twenty-seven out of thirtyone States! Now let me read to you what the orpu of his administration, the Washington Union, says to specting the distribution of offices at the hands of the President :-

'There was not an abolitionist in the land who of not droop his head when President Pierce was clearled to he had always been the enemy of the anti-slaver station. In his own State, he had more than one as fronted it, and trampled it under foot. His chear was felt to be its death-warrant during the whole print was felt to be its death-warrant during the whole print was felt to be its death-warrant during the whole print was felt to be its death-warrant during the whole print was the state of and to the whole extent that his policy should infer the politics of the country. Hence ALL the alchieses voted either for Scott or Hale. The lemorate via voted either for Scott or Hale. The beneers us placed President Pierce in the presidential chair ins well beforehand what they did. They knew he visitly a heavy hand on sectional agitation. In this see he rallied to his support all those Democrats whe, rise out regard to previous differences of opinion, dead that agitation to cease. In no point of this expetition have the supporters of the President ten dasp pointed. No man has been appointed by him, exceptively by him as a Democrat, who does not seep, is the present and for the future, the national platfers which he was placed in power. It is a remarkable fatth in all the Whig clemor which has been raid against the appointments, no single man, of all her appointments by him, is pointed out, or can be painted whether does not stand upon the Baltimore platform, or this seeks a renewal of the slavery agitation.

And again, in the Union of the fith, we find the And again, in the Union of the 9th, we fed the

following :-

'Acquiescence in this (the Compronise) fasl stiment was made the test of National Democracy by action of the Convention, and its nomine place in self cheerfully and firmly on this ground. He made ment was made the convention, and its nomine placed action of the Convention, and its nomine placed itself cheerfully and firmly on this ground. His necessary therefore, was tantamount to instructions thit, in the distribution of patronage, he should regard all a Notional Democrats who freely and faithfully adject to platform. The practice of the President has ben's proposed to office by hin, who does not stand up a strict conformity to this policy. No man has less up pledge of a faithful adherence to the compromise new ures as a final adjustment of the slavery issues. It my be that the distribution of the offices amongst the ferent divisions of the party has not been in exact proposition to their relative numbers. Such a result recognizing none as Democrats but they who stands the platform, has been adhered to, we confiduly seert. The President has had no hesitage; in additional this determination on all occasions, and in declarations of that the would unhesitate. this determination on all occasions, and in declars with emphatic distinctness, that he would unhesisting ly remove any man from office who should dony the first ty of the adjustment made by the compression are

The Union, defending the appointment of Barnhan ers by General Pierce, charges Senator Bell with fair hood in assuming that they are still Free-Silen, s.

'He assumes that Gen. Pierce has appointed for "He assumes that Gen. Pierce has appending Soilers to public trusts, and he would make the injuries, the assumption is untrue. The 'Free-Soilers' the assumption is untrue. The 'Free-Soilers' trenounced their Free-Soilism' in 1852, when adopted and came upon the Compromise platform Bell knew this fact, but yet had not the magnasing Bell knew this fact, but yet had not the magnasing that it. He chose to make a false impression lyst state it. He chose to make a false impression by the state it. He chose to make a false impression by the state it. He chose to make a false impression by the state it. He chose to make a false impression by the state it. He chose to make a false impression by the state it. He chose to make a false impression by the state it. He chose to make a false impression by the state it. He chose to make the state it is the state in the chose it is the state in the chose it is the state in the state it. He chose it is the state in the st

In another article, headed A Stander Bras

'It is unqualifiedly false that 'General Piero the Union saysto the sunqualifiedly false that 'General Pit's points men to office because they are known to Soilers;' and it is impossible that the Atlas coal been ignorant of the falsehood when it fabricated is, therefore, a deliberate and unmitigated sander repeat what we have said before—that General has appointed no man to office knowing or believing to be a Free Soiler; and he stands piedged to see any such appointment into which he may have advertently fallen, when the fact of present Free Soiler is fixed on any of his appointees.

So much for President Pierce and his administra So much for President Pierce and his administration of the Cause of freedom in the United State.

Before any man can hope for office, or expect to real his situation under the government, he must forward his manhood. his manhood, recognize slavery as a sacred institu glory in slave-hunting, and stifle every feeling of his manity in his breast! Is not this a free country we not something to be proud of to-day?

rell, can nothing be said in favor of the President? fell can pourses which the public journals are is a paragraph of throughout the country, and it is a ample of American piety :-

The White House, A correspondent of the Chris-Mirror, 'A Pastor,' makes the follow, and which will grain) every pour near :
I am sure that many parents will rejoice to know,
I am sure that many parents will rejoice to know,
a mustionable authority, that the presidential manmust be been of prayer. Daily social devotions, atmust be such a social morning by all the inmates of the
must be the with the constant recognition of God at
must be must be be been been belowed of our land
and while they make diction, propagates. and from the malediction pronounced against and from the malediction pronounced against amilies that call not upon the name of Jehovah, re to encourage Christians to set a good exam

for let that be matched for effrontery, cant and morray, if it can be done! Hunting innocent men or and children for their lives—prescribing every sa vio in the Southern prison-house—and sanctify-rating in the Southern prison-house—and sanctify-ig it all by 'daily social devotions,' and a 'constant equition of God at table '! Why, such praying as as not be incomparably more abhorrent to God than at most be meaning which is daily exploded on board dut rade proteins a state is dury exploded on boars to Charch to cover more than 'a multitude of sins. Let us see if we cannot find something analogous to is from a Catholic source. Here is Louis Napoleon (France is he not 'a beauty '? You know that this gjurd miscreant and vulgar usurper has subjugated a frace to his despotic will, and has put the press in sains and a padlock upon the lips of the people, so and a free thought can find no utterance. Now hear ist's Catholic journal, ' The Shepherd of the Valley,'

The fot of Napoleon is upon the necks of the ene-nes of God, and his throne crushes them. May his he remain firm there, and his throne be steady, we besch heaven on our knees.'

is siddien to this, let me add, the Pope has officially expired Louis Napoleon as a chosen follower and faatolic piety and love of liberty. Louis Napoleon and naklin Pierce-Catholic and Protestant-the Presiest of France and the President of the United States the one with his ' foot upon the necks of the enemid God,' the other at his 'social devotions,' after a someful slave hunt! 'Look on this picture-then

Now let us inquire, how does the ruling power of the Tailed States stand in relation to the despotism of Eu-'Instinct is a great matter.' Affinities will ever et to blend together-the near with the remote. Betil the agreement between Russian Autocracy and iserican Democracy ! In the course of a highly laudper article on Nicholas and the government of Rusthe Washington Union says :-

is, the Washington Union says:—

"When we consider the pecular condition and wants of the Russian people, and their aggregate of individual and national happiness, we will conclude that they are set to much the victims of oppression as such writers as the suther of 'Ormizal and Ahriman' would represent. It government of Russia may be a despotism; and for that resson abhorrent to the notions of republicans; the its effect upon the subject people establishes its mass for them. In every element of national strength in appresses. Russia is great and prosperous beyond and attribute. Its government is more gate country in Europe. Its government is more gate and efficient, and its people more contented than my other, while in respect to political supremacy, its universally recognized as the prepondering power of the Old World. In the character of its RULERS, Russian and the proposed statement of the proposed statement o is his been singularly FORTUNATE. Whatever opinion has be entertained of the Russian government, in an obstruct view, it is idle to deny the energy of its ad-

Again, in a subsequent number of the Union :-

'The good will of Russia towards the United States mifested in other respects, (besides volum tering its mediation to restore peace between England as the United States during the last war.) The Inmnox or SLAVERY has been no enormity in her. She has never made of the abolition crusade an ogne of warfare against republican institutions. In aber despotic countries of Europe, the mania of aboli-ies he run its career; but in Russia, the maudlin, see philanthrapy of Uncle Tom's Cabin is an un-

'In proposing to conciliate the power and to secure the proposing to conclude the power and to secure be goal will of the Russian government, we had still mather object in view. Suppose circumstances should make it the policy of the United States to secure the meruion of Cuba, the Sandwich Islands, and all deseedes portions of the earth's, surface; from whom are we to apprehend opposition to our interests? It is hardy necessary that we should answer—from Engsley and true diplomacy to detach Russia from an alwith those Powers, and thus to crush their transaffairs? Russia was not a party to the treaty for guarantee of the Spanish dominion in Cuba. It is interest at least to secure the neutrality of Rusa. . . It was the friendly mediation of the ar that initiated the negotiation which resulted in the Insty of Gheat, and it was by His Arbitrarios that he cilizens of the South got indemnity for the slaves which were kideapped by the British in the last war.'

And this is what we are doing for the freedom of the weld! Nicholas of Russia is our chosen ally, our speoil friend, in whose eyes our 'institution of slavery m enernity,'-whom, therefore, we are bound to contiliste, and to whom we must look to enable us to extenl and perpetuate slavery, against the combined phihathropy of the world! How entirely is the mask thrown off, and how hideous are the features of our American Democracy thus openly revealed! The senfinents I have read to you have not been taken from some obscure country journal, but from the recognized egan of the Democratic party, and the official mouthpless of the present national administration. What farther proof do we need, that the existence of slavery on our soil is a mighty obstacle in the way of the cause of freedom universally?

A word in regard to Cuba. At the present time there is a movement going on abroad, having for it object the emancipation of the slaves in that Island Span is said to be contemplating an event of this kind usier the auspices of Great Britain. Of course, it is for the Spanish government to decide whether freedom er slavery shall be the characteristic of her cherished colny. Governmentally, we have no right to meddle via her affairs; and, as a people, professing to adere thert, we ought to rejoice at the announcement of the probable overthrow of slavery in Cuba, at no distant tar, even if we are unable to set such an example ourves. Now listen to the extraordinary declarations of the Washington Union, in regard to this subject :-

ce op it it we have it it is stion attor retained it it is stion of he it is still attor it is still a

'If the public rumors which attribute to Great Brit an a lesign, in connection with Spain, to convert Cubash a government of free blacks, shall prove to be well-leaded, the high position taken by the Executive will be put to a severe trial. The proximity of this island boar Southern coast—the facility of the intercourse—the character of the the character of the population—the position of the saas with regard to the mouth of the Mississippi; hee and other considerations of no less moment at once the state of the considerations of no less moment at once in the constant of the cons take the mitiative in regard to Cuba, although the esierations looking to its acquisition involve almost researily the question of our self-preservation; but a unquestionably our duty, and we certainly hope our by, to be prepared with one voice and all our strength povent any interference in that quarter which testens the happiness and permanence of our own

Delectable reading this, for the Fourth of July ! Le Spain dare to set free the slaves in her colony, and she 'sill proteke an issue which may be fraught with the disastrous consequences'! This is a threat of For our accommodation and safety, slavery must be eternised on the soil of Cuba! We will never transmit to its abolition ! So, let Spain be warned.

What are we doing for the cause of the oppress allions of Europe? What did Kossuth gain by com ing to this country, to plead the cause of 'down-trod-

den Hungary'? He abased himself to the earth in the nor remote. Within a few days, a conspiracy has been presence of the Slave Power, played the part of parasite and flatterer, and turned his back upon the abolitiondiscovered in New Orleans, which was nearly commated. The city, it is said, was to have been sin ists-to what purpose? He wanted to secure our national sympathy and cooperation, but succeeded in get-ting nothing but the contempt of those whom he thus sought to propitiate—losing, at the same time, the con-their madness, the slaveholders are 'heaping up wr their madness, the slaveholders are "heaping up wrath fidence and respect of the genuine friends of freedom throughout the world.

of freedom on this side of the Atlantic.

liberties of Europe.']

IMr. Garrison here read the address, which was list-

against Hungary; in Italy, they would anathematize

wide in their sympathies and affinities. They alone

struggle for man as man, independent of all other con-

siderations. Hear the confession of the Editor of the

New York Herald, as to the revolutionary tendencies

of the blacks, but in the bold, earnest tone in which is

ural democracy. The color of the heroes of the tale is soon lost sight of by the European reader. His passions are stirred by the wrongs of injured individuals—men like himself. He asks not, he cares not whence they

hail, nor what destiny fate seemed to allot them. Al

hall, nor what destiny fate seemed to allot them. All he notes is the oppression they are painted as suffering. Without any extraordinary effort of imagination, he draws a plausible analogy between the condition of his own fellow-countrymen and that of Uncle Tom of romance. He can find a Haley in the feudal landlords of his native soil, and many a Legree in the agents of their

estates, or still more frequently, in the military tyrants whom these latter days have produced in such numbers.

He can readily apply to his own case the piteous prayer for justice, which Mrs. Stowe utters on behalf of her

claims in such powerful language for the negroes, he ha

entitled to be free.

Uncle Tom has his mission in Europe, and most con-

equal rights are conquered by the one hundred and fifty millions of white slaves who inhabit the continent of

Europe. But come it must, ' The battle must be fought,

notions of freedom which impelled the champions of the popular cause to the conflict, had been in a great meas-ure imbibed from the perusal of a romance by an Amer-

tan said to me the other day, it is dangerous any longe to think, or at least to let the countenance betray th

A letter to the London Daily News, from Naples, April 20, says, "A few days since, the U.S. ship Cumberland sailed into the Bay of Naples. The police were excited beyond measure. Mazzini, said they, was on

excited beyond measure. Mazzini, said they, was on board. Marine and land spies were placed in every direction—the telegraph set to work—the officers from the Cumberland narrowly watched, and persons sent on

cumberland narrowly watched, and persons sent on coard to identify the agitator. After all, nobody could

stained Union, 'such a system of infernal tyranny

could not be maintained an hour.' In Europe, the op-

Its prestige rests not in the plea it urges on behal

of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin ' on the soil of Europe :-

You will recollect that, some time ago, a very friendly Here is an illustration of the slave system that should and deeply religious address was made by a great mulbe read this day wherever the Declaration of Independtitude of the women of England to the Christian people nce is rehearsed in the ears of the people, and as an of America, on the subject of slavery. How was it gen-American commentary upon it :-of America, on the subject of slavery. How was it generally received by the leading religious and political journals? With scorn and contempt ! The insult was deemed the more unpardonable, because the Duchess of Sutherland, and other distinguished ladies; of high A correspondent of the New York Times, in an interesting article upon the Dismal Swamp and the slave-catching secreted in it, writes as follows about slave-catching:

ake warning !

Sutherland, and other distinguished ladies; of high rank, put their signatures to it. They were tauntingly told to 'look at home,' and to give their sympathies to the working classes of England. Recently, another address on the same subject has come across the water,—from the Democrats of England to the Democrats of America, signed by nearly two thousand representative way, in behalf of the entire laboring class of that country,—and that address our Democratic journals do not deign to notice. I deem it due to ourselves, and to not deign to notice. I deem it due to ourselves, and to the signers of the address, that it should be read on this Now, are we not the people to sing, ' Hail, Columbia asion, that those who have sent it over here may see

against the day of wrath ' by their cruelties. Let them

happy land !" Friends and fellow-citizens, that it is gratefully appreciated by the sincere friends what is the duty we owe to our e v, and the sacre cause of liberty every where? promise, enter înto no alliance the dark spirit of med to with deep interest, and in the course of which slavery.' We must be 'come-o in the most radit is declared that the abolition of our slave system will ical sense of that term. The An. an Church is withgive us 'double moral power to reanimate the swooning out God: it believes in the majority, in what is established, in the army and navy, in slaveholding and The anti-slavery movement is the only hope of our slave-hunting, but not in confronting popular iniquity. country, and is intimately connected with the destiny of The American Constitution is 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell,' and this allegation cannot all nations. Those who are hostile to its success reveal their true character as radically defective in principle, be too often reiterated, nor expressed in language miserably subservient to what is strong and popular. more descriptive. We must divorce ourselves from this If they were located in Russia, they would pay servile iniquitous government, and stand in our lot. Ours in homage to the Czar ; in Austria, they would take sides A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT; but we are revolutionists in a far higher and better sense than that o Mazzini and his brave compatriots; in France, they '76,—' for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal would pay court to Louis Napoleon, and exult in the but mighty, through God,' to the accomplishment o nishment of the leading 'agitators.' It is only, the the glorious object we have in view. faithful, uncompromising abolitionists who are world-

We want no flag, no flaunting rag,
For Liberty to fight;
We want no blaze of murderous guns, Our spears and swords are printed words, The mind our battle plain; We've won such victories before, And so we shall again.

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

HENRY C. WRIGHT, being loudly called for, came for ward, and made a brief but energetic speech. A good deal was said about conservatism; but he avowed him self to be a destructive, and had no apology to make for it. He went for the destruction of every thing in Church and State, in the various religious sects and for justice, which Mrs. Slowe utters on behalf of her-black proteges. Hence the thrilling interest he discov-ers in the narrative. It is to him a burning appeal on behalf of the oppressed throughout the globe. His own case—that of his friends and fellow-countrymen—are plainly depicted. The negro disguise does not delude him for an instant. Those rights which Mrs. Stowe political parties, in books and creeds, that could be destroyed; for Truth and Right were immortal, and only Falsehood and Error could be overthrown. By the destruction of what is bad, we establish what is good. 'The waster is the builder too.' He spoke of the declaims in such powerful language for the negroes, he has been vainly struggling for a century or more to conquer for himself. Every noble impulse which she implants in the hearts of her impossible model black men, has long since taken firm root in his own. Each stiffed threat which escapes from the lips of a George, has been audi-bly muttered time after time by himself. Englishmen's hearts burn with fury when the sufferings of their own seamstresses are vividly delineated in the characters of Cassy and Eliza. Many a Frenchman has felt with George, that he was born for better things than serfiom. Germans, Hungarians, Italians, know that, whatever-be the condition of the American negroes, they are but cease of Rev. Dr. Sharp, of Boston, as no loss to the cause of bleeding humanity, and as calling for no lamentation. He thanked God that the anti-slavery platform was free, and urged the duty of adhering to the cause of the slave with entire fidelity.

The President (C. L. REMOND) made some concluding remarks in a very effective manner, showing how unquenchable is the love of liberty in the breast of the black man, and how freely he had shed his blood in debe the condition of the American negroes, they are but themselves slaves, and that on God's earth they are ATTUCKS, the first who fell in the massacre in Boston in 1770, to the present time; and yet he was not permit-ted to enjoy the natural rights of a man. Whatever uncle from has his mission in Europe, and most con-scientiously is he fulfilling it. Figure, efficient as he was, could not compare with him for an instant. For one who imbibed notions of freedom from Beaumar-chai's stirring vindication of popular rights, twenty will feel their nerves strung and their hearts braced for the might be the infirmities or faults of its advocates, our cause was a glorious one, and must ultimately triumph. The whole company then joined in singing a stirring song of freedom, and the meeting adjourned. coming encounter by the perusal of Uncle Tom. A whole generation may pass away before freedom and

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURE BY DANIEL FOSTER. This Europe. But come it must. The battle must be lought that fear and the field impression on his audience. We attended his lecture must meet face to face, and one only leave the field. When that fearful struggle does take place, philosophers and historians will note, with fearful accuracy, that the discussion will note, with fearful accuracy, that the discussion will note with fearful accuracy that the discussion, breathing quite a different spirit from that and historians will note, with fearful accuracy, that the notions of freedom which impelled the champions of the popular cause to the conflict, had been in a great measure imbibed from the perusal of a romance by an American woman.'

So closely blended with the liberation of Europe is the struggle for the abolition of slavery in America!

But this is 'Independence day,' and ours is 'a great country.' What has been the liberty of speech and of the press among us, even at the North, for the last twenty years? This has found no governmental protection, but has had to be maintained at great personal hazard, against mobocratic violence, and at immense odds. It has been sealed with the blood of martyrs. Had the abolitionists quailed—had they allowed themselves to be driven back a single inch—all would have been lost. The ground never could have been recovered, and the last ray of hope for our country would have expired. But they were not to be intimidated or crushed, and have come off victoriously in every encounter.

At the South, no freedom whatever exists. There the Slave Power is exterminating in spirit and absolute in rule. Every man is watched, and almost every man suspected. The 'reign of terror' is complete. Compare this state of things with the condition of the kinglom of Naples, as described by a recept tourist:—

'No person, except the citizens or subjects of strong foreign powers, and the Embassies and their households, 'No person, except the citizens or subjects of strong foreign powers, and the Embassics and their households, is safe from the arbitrary malice of the most infamous police in Europe. No book of the slightest tendency to liberal sentiments is permitted to enter the kingdom; no discussion of the acts of the government is tolerated; no beards or felt hats are tolerated; and as a Neapoliphone of the most of the government is tolerated; and as a Neapoliphone of the state of the government is tolerated; and as a Neapoliphone of the state of the government is tolerated; and as a Neapoliphone of the state of the government is tolerated; no beards or felt hats are tolerated; and as a Neapoliphone of the state of the government is tolerated; and as a Neapoliphone of the state of the government is tolerated; and as a Neapoliphone of the state of the government is tolerated; and as a Neapoliphone of the state of the government is tolerated; and as a Neapoliphone of the state of the government is tolerated; and as a Neapoliphone of the state of the government is tolerated.

By We learn from the Lowell American, that Rev. Daniel Foster, who was formerly connected with the Garrisonian Anti-Slavery organization, has left it, in consequence of their refusal to allow him to circulate Goodell's history of the American Anti-Slavery Strugthoughts. The community is struck with terror, and all eyes are turned to the breaking up of the prevailing gles, which happens to contain some rather severe strictures upon the language and doctrines of the Garrisnians themselves. Thus it is, that these immaculate ac all eyes are turned to the breaking up of the prevailing page in Europe, as the only hope of shaking off the Tiberian despotism that now covers the country as with a pall of death. But for the hireling fifteen thousand Swiss soldiers who guard the throne of Ferdinand II., most justly entitled the 'modern Nero,' I doubt if such a system of infernal tyranny could be maintained an 'Worcester Spy.'

STATEMENT.

The above paragraphs have now been long enough before the public to receive correction and denial from Mr. Foster himself, if he designed to make them. As he keeps silent, I am bound to speak. The spirit of these paragraphs, and many of the statements therein contained, are sheer misrepresentations of fact,-suc board to identify the agitator. After all, nobody could contained, are snear misrepresentations of fact,—such find him. Much discussion ensued, and at length some person asked the Captain of the Cumberland, 'Is Mazzini sailing under the stripes and stars?' 'Certainly not,' was the reply, and tranquillity was again restored. Nevertheless, orders have been sent to the coast-guard to watch narrowly, night and day. So Mazzini is still good cause for alarm.''

Such also is the vigilance and such the insecurity of Slavery Society are briefly as follows :-When Mr. Foster, in April, 1852, himself proposed the South, in regard to slavery. But for our bloodbecome a lecturing agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, it was for the purpose of delivering a pressed are looking to some violent outbreak as their series of written lectures, collecting funds for the Socie-only hope of deliverance. To what are we looking for ty, and getting subscribers to The Liberator. His offer the overthrow of slavery? To a general insurrection was gladly received by the Society; nor did they ever of the slaves? No. Yet, for aught we know, there wish or undertake to hold him strictly to the above may be one going on to-day-and what day, or what terms of his own proposition. For an entire year he occasion, could be more appropriate? Surely, if any lectured for the Society, to very general acceptance, people were ever justified in taking up arms against their not confining himself to his written lectures. In the oppressors, they are our slave population; and if any month of April, 1853, the Managers of the Society tyrants ever deserved to fill a bloody grave, we are learned that Mr. Foster was offering for sale, in the doubly worthy. And the danger is neither imaginary different towns where he lectured as their agent, Wm.

Goodell's book entitled 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery. As this professed history of the anti-slavery cause exceedingly unfair in regard to the action of the Amer can A. S. Society during the memorable years of 1839-40, and following, -as it attributes to that Society and its officers a course of conduct which, if true, would justly deprive them of the confidence of every true ab ist and honorable man,—and as it suppresses facts material to a just history and correct knowledge of the Society's doings, it was at once said by every member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, whom time would allow me to consult, that it would be most unjust, and utterly wanting in self-respect, for the Society to be instrumental in circulating, through its agents, these misrepresentations and calumnies. Accor General Agent of the Society, I addressed a letter Mr. Foster, requesting him to cease from the sale of the book, for the general reason that, as a history of the American A. S. Society, it was untrue and untrustworthy. In his reply, (April 18,) after stating his own impressions of the book, he says, 'If the Board of Managers forbid my selling this book, I shall act no longer as an Agent of the Society. Till I hear from you, I Liquor Law. Boston: Published by T. O. Walker, 59 shall not offer the book.' In reply to this letter, (April Cornhill. 1858. 22d,) I endeavored to show more fully the reasons which forbade the Massachusetts A. S. Society to give any countenance or currency to the book in question,earnestly protested against Mr. Foster's giving up his agency for such a cause, and suggested to him an interview with certain members of the American and Massachusetts A. S. Societies, who, being personally and intimately acquainted with the action of the former Society at the time specified, could place the whole matter before him in a very different light from that in which Mr. Goodell has chosen to present it. This letter was written in the most entire confidence that Mr. Foster was, as he had always professed to be, entirely friendly and cordial to the Massachusetts A. S. Society, and that he would be eager to take all proper steps to remove causes of misunderstanding between himself and them. Mr. Foster, however, in his answer, (April 25.) took no notice of the proposal for an interview; but said he inferred that he was required, as an Agent of the Society, to refrain from selling Goodell's 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery; that he could not consent to this, and therefore must give up his agency.

On the 27th of April, the Board of Managers of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society unanimously passed the fol-

Resolved, That Mr. Daniel Foster be directed to cease from the sale of Goodell's 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery,'
while acting as an Agent of this Society, in view of the
falsifications of Anti-Slavery history, and the misstatements as to the action of the American Anti-Slavery
Society and its members, contained in that work.'

I communicated the above vote to Mr. Foster, April 29th,-suggested that he should consider his resigns tion as not having been offered, and should confer again with the Society; and referred to his having taken no notice of my previous suggestion of an interview with

To which letter Mr. Foster has never replied. But soon after, being at the Society's office in Boston, Mr. Foster was again urged by me to have a conversation with one of the individuals previously named, or with other persons, who were then named, who could give him some light on the subject, which, it was confidently believed, he did not then possess. Mr. Foster's only reply to this renewed request, that he would consent to such interview, was, 'It is not likely that I shall change my opinion about the book.' Neither at this time, no at any other, did Mr. Foster express to me the faintes desire to meet the Board of Managers on this subject although he has complained to others that he was no allowed such a meeting. Such a request on his part would have been most cheerfully acceded to. But his whole course indicated an entirely opposite feeling; he seemed to be refuctant to meet those members of the Society, whose long connection with the American Society made them especially competent to converse with him fully and satisfactorily.

It conclusion, it may be affirmed, that never was agen treated more respectfully, courteously and generously than Mr. Foster has ever been treated by the Managers of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society. The low fling of the Spy, as to their 'playing the Pope,' is utterly without sense; and I am confident it would never have seen the light in that paper, had it come under the eye of the Senior Editor. The entire correspondences between Mr. Foster and myself, as above, with the exception of the first letter, (of which no copy was kept,) may be seen at the Anti-Slavery office by any one interested

Lowell American, that Mr. Goodell's book was objected to because containing ' severe strictures on the language and doctrines of the Garrisonians,' is untrue The statement that Mr. Foster offered to cease from cirauthority as Agent, are also untrue. Whether the Louell American has been deceived in this matter, or is
actuated by a grudge of its own, I shall not undertake

actuated by a grudge of its own, I shall not undertake

CAMIFE MAY In SAMUEL MAY, JR.,

General Agent Mass. A. S. Society:

Boston, July 11, 1853. The Statement of Mr. May should, as the simplest act of justice, be promptly copied by the Lowell American and the Worcester Spy. It is a complete refutation of the charges made by those papers against the Massa chusetts Anti-Slavery Board. Mr. Foster was not dismissed from his agency, nor requested to leave, but he impulsively threw up his commission, rather than cease selling a book which the Board, by their fidelity to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and their regard for the truth of history, could not sanction. The outery raised in this case is simply ridiculous-reminding us of the in this case is simply ridiculous—reminding us of the Frenchman who took it in high dudgeon that another person obstinately refused to allow a red hot poker to be thrust down his back, and therefore insisted that his intended victim should pay him for heating the poker! For an association to employ a man to peddle a work which is calculated, if not expressly designed, to strike at its very existence, would be an act of sheer father than the property of the association to invite the resemble to the property of the association to invite the present. tuity; and for any agent of the association to insist that he ought to be allowed to sell as many copies as possible of such a work, while officially occupying such a field and that it is a tyrannous act to request him not to do so, is an idea of liberty and toleration which is utterly prepostgrous. We regret to lose the services of Mr. Foster, and must express our unfeigned surprise that he does not see that his requirement is unreasonable and that to grant it would be consummate folly .- Ed.

CORRECTIONS.

WORCESTER, July 9, 1853. DEAR SIR-I have just seen your paper of July which contains a letter from me to the Progressiv Friends. That letter, as printed in the pamphlet re port, contains some inexplicable misprints. I meant to name the Unitarians of New England, and the Society of Friends, as the two bodies from whom 'should proceed the natural succession of religious freedom'out I am made to say the Christians of New England which destroys the meaning.

At the beginning of the same paragraph, for such various forces,' read, 'under various forms'-and, in general, if any thing looks unintelligible in the letter, have the charity to think it meant something a originally written. It was, however, prepared very hastily, at the eleventh hour ; so, perhaps, I ought to take some of the blame on myself, and spare the printer But I confess I prefer to write my own nonsense, rather than have it made for me.

Respectfully yours, T. W. HIGGINSON.

To Correspondents. An account of the celebrati of July 4th at Milford, N. H., and also at Cummington Mass., with several other communications, is on file for insertion next week.

NEW PUBLICATIONS. Among the books and pamphlets, on our table, recent ly from the press, (the receipt of which we can merely acknowledge, at present, without a critical notice,) are-

I. Father Gavazzi's Lectures in New York, reports in full by T. C. Leland, Phonographer; also, the Life of Father Gavazzi, corrected and authorized by himself. Together with Reports of his Address in Italian, to his Countrymen in New York. Translated and revised by Madame Julie de Marguerites. New York: De Witt & Davenport, Publishers, 160 and 162 Nassau Street.

II. Henri; or, the Web and Woof of Life. B William G. Cambridge. Boston: Abel Tompkins and B. B. Mussey & Co. 1853.

III. Mapleton; or, more Work for the Maine Law loston : Jenks, Hickling & Swan, 1853.

IV. Letters to Country Girls. By Jane G. Swiss helm. New York: J. C. Riker, 129 Fulton Street.

V. The Selby Family, or the Effects of the Maine

VI. The Life of Thomas Paine, Author of * Comm Sense,' 'Rights of Man,' 'Age of Reason,' &c. &c. With Critical and Explanatory Observations on his Writings. By G. Vale, Editor of 'The Citizen of the World. New York : Published by the Author, No. 1 Bowery. 1853.

VII. The Diegesis ; being a Discovery of the Origin Evidences, and early History of Christianity, never be-fore or elsewhere so fully and faithfully set forth. By the Rev. Robert Taylor, A. B. and M. R. C. S. Bosto Published by J. P. Mendum. 1853.

VIII. Rappo-Mania Overthrown: in Two Parts, Par First-The Christian Peligion Triumphant, or, the Scriptures, Reason, Philosophy, Common Sense and Religion vindicated against the Claims of the 'Spiritual Rappers.' By Henry Wickliffe, Author of various Reformatory Works. Boston: Fowlers & Wells & Co.

IX. The United States Illustrated, in Views of City and Country. With Descriptive and Historical Articles edited by Charles A. Dana. Part I .- The West. New York . Herrmann J. Meyer. 1353.

X. Twenty-First Annual Report of the Trustees the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, to the Corporation.

XI. The Illustrated Phrenological Almanac, 1854. By L. N. Fowler. New York : Fowlers & Wells, Pub-

XII. The Illustrated Water Cure Almanac, for 1854 New York : Fowlers & Wells.

Boston Directory for 1853. This exceedingly useful volume makes its appearance this year with its usual promptitude, and gives evidence of untiring industry and patience, as well as great carefulness, on the part of its energetic publisher. The number of alterations, including names added, expunged and changed, is 36,256. The value of this work is too well under stood to need any recommendation. Its place is on the desk of every business man. George Adams, Publisher, 91 Washington street. For sale by the booksellers

POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN. In the Constitutional onvention of Massachusetts, on Saturday last, the report of a committee was approved of, that it is inexpedient to legislate on the petition of Harriot K. Hunt, to be excused from taxation or else be allowed to vote; of W. Phillips, that women may speak before the Convention. In the Convention, July 1, the Committee on Qual-

ifications of Voters, to whom was referred the petition of Francis Jackson and others, that the word 'male' may be stricken from the Constitution, and also of Ab by B. Alcott and other women of Massachusetts, that they may be allowed to vote on the amendments that may be made to the Constitution, reported that the etitioners have leave to withdraw.

On Wednesday, after some debate on the subject, (of which we shall give a sketch next week,) the Convention accepted the report of the Committee, by a large majority, that the various petitioners have leave to with draw, and that it is inexpedient to grant their petition Shabby business this for a REFORM Convention !

A letter from Prof. W. G. ALLEN, now in Eng-

The National Convention of colored men assembled in Rochester, July 6. More than one hundred delegates culating the book, if convinced that such 'strictures were untrue,' is also wholly without foundation. The several States. Among them are many of the most foundation are takenents of the same paper, that we did not farther statements of the same paper, that we did not attempt to convince Mr. Foster, and that we revoked his the question as to those who are entitled to seats. De

President; with several vice Presidents.

A Business Committee of nine, of which Dr. J. McCune Smith was Chairman, was appointed, and reported

the Declaration of Sentiments, read a long and well written address to the people of the United States.

The Convention attracted considerable attention. It eliberations were earnest, and occasionally tumultuous IFF A letter from our esteemed friend, WM. C. NELL giving some further particulars of this important Con vention, was received too late for our present number.

Watices of Meetings, &c.

ers, will be present.

BOURNE SPOONER, President.

H. H. BRIGHAM, Sec'ry.

PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Masse

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings PLYMOUTH, on Sunday, the 17th. Subject-The Progress of Individuals, of Nations, and of the Race.

GILES B. STEBBINS will lecture on the sub ject of Slavery, in Rev. Mr. Slade's Church, Foxboro on Sunday next, July 17.

TSTEPHEN S. FOSTER, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in HAVERHILL, at the Town Hall, on Sunday next, 17th inst., at the usual

DIED—In Newport, R. L., June 28, Nathan Mun-roc, aged 99 years, 11 mos., 21 days—a member of the Society of Friends. He had 7 children, 77 grand-children, 110 great-grand children, and 45 great-great-

grand-children.

In Brooklyn, N. Y., 4th inst., Arthur Howard and Alfred Bowen, twin infants of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

In Concord, Mass., on Tuesday last, Hon. Francis R. Gourgas, a member of the Constitutional Convention.

In this city, on Tuesday last, Hon. SAMUEL APPLETON, and 87.

RAPPO-MANIA OVERTHROWN. THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION TRIUMPHANT : Or,

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ost of them are issued. Those still in press will be

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'The above is the title of a work founded upon that

'The above is the title of a work founded upon that infamous statute of South Carolina, by which her citizens claim a right to imprison colored scamen, of allmations, and even those cast upon her shores in distress. We have perused the book, and find that it gives a life-like picture of Periera, the vessel in which he sailed, the storms she encountered, and her wrecked condition when brought into the port of Charleston, S. C.; together with the imprisonment of Periera, several seamen belonging to the New England States, and two French scamen; the prison regimen, the character of the Charleston police, and the mendacity of certain officials, who make the law a medium of peculation. The work is replete with incidents of Southern life and character, pointing Southerners to the things that call for correction at their own hands with a force that cannot be mistaken. The work is written by one who has tacorrection at their own hands with a force that cannot be mistaken. The work is written by one who has taken a prominent part in the affairs of the South, and cannot fail to interest alike the general reader, commercial man, and philanthropist. — National Era.

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POETRY.

For the Liberator. AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

Hark ! the merry bells are ringing-hear their swee tones in the dell. Listen to the booming cannon-what's the tale their

echoes tell? This is our proud nation's birth-day, when young Free dom's rising star

O'er the dreary wide Atlantic in the West was seen afar. Beaming on the lowly cabin, lighting up the forest dim Blending its pure rays so gently with the martyred patriot's hymn,

Soothing every groan of anguish, nerving wo fainting heart. Shedding round a holy halo when from loved ones

doomed to part. On the sunny plains of Concord first was seen its hallowed light.

And New England's rocky hill-sides in its glory first beamed bright; On the fair green heights of Bunker long it rested in

Bathing in its radiant beauty the sweet Charles and its pride, Mystic's tide.

Then far South, beyond the Santee, where the tall magnolia waves. And brave Marion's dauntless heroes rest within their forest graves ;

Northward, where the blue Ontario in its summe beauty smiles, And the wild romantic Huron sparkles 'mid its eme

And the eyes that watched its rising deemed its bright rays were divine, And that o'er Columbia's children evermore its ligh would shine ; With what rapturous joy they hailed it, as it rose to

zenith power! Bought with many a precious life-blood was our fai and priceless dower. Have we guarded well our treasure ?- have we kept it

free to all? O'er its bright and beaming glory does no darkening shadow fall? And to-day, when pealing anthems float on the soft

summer air. And from church and fire-side altar rise the hallowed tones of prayer-

In the heart's lone chambers whispering comes ther not a 'still, small voice'-Where is now thy dark-browed brother ?- does he i

thy light rejoice? When his fettered hands uprearing, he implored of the

Christian brother, didst thou aid him? didst tho shield the helpless slave? Proudly waves thy starry banner, but a cloud it

brightness dims; When it floated o'er the ' Acorn,' did it save and shelte SIMS?

Vainly to the shrine of Heaven ye rich gifts and offer ings bring, While sweet Mercy's gentle angel wounded droops with

trembling wing. Love and pity knelt beside ye ;-did ye heed their ear

nest ples ? Did ye break the yoke of bendage, did ye set the cap tive free? Oh ! darkly from the past it rises, the history of that day,

When by the shore where sleeps our Warren, a slave ship anchored in the bay. When Power usurped the sword of Justice, and hushe

the earnest voice of Right, And Law, to do the tyrant's bidding, quenched or

Truth's altar-fires the light ; When in the mart a MAN was sold, that wealth and trade might prosper still,

God's image in the market-place, lest cotton fail within the mill-:-Wake ! heroes of the olden time-to Plymouth's rock

come back once more : Oh! come again, and teach thy sons the lessons learned in days of yore ;

ch them that still Jehovah reigns, that he will still avenge all wrong,

And for the oppressed and sorrowing ones a brighter better day shall dawn. CARRIE.

TRADE AND SPADE. BY CHARLES MACKAY.

Between two friends, in days of old, A bitter strife began, And Father Spade with Brother Trade Disputed, man to man. 'You're vain, undutiful and proud,' Said Spade, with flashing eyes,

. You earn your thousands while I starve You mock my children's cries. You ride in state with lordly looks;

You dwell in bower and hall; You speak of me repreachfully, And prosper on my fall.

So from this hour, in shine or shower, We'll learn to live apart; I ruled the earth ere you were born-I cast you from my heart.'

And Trade lost temper in his pride; He attered words of scorn ; 'You do not know the ways of men,

Amid your sheep and corn. You doze away the busy day, Nor think how minutes run Go, put your shoulder to your work,

And do as I have done. You've all the earth to yield your wealth-Both corn and pasture land; I only ask a counting-house,

And room whereon to stand; And from this hour, in shine or shower, I'll learn to live alone ; I'll do without you well enough-

The world shall be my own !' And thus they wrangled night and day. Unfair like any men,

Till things went wrong between them both, And would not right again. But growing wiser in distress, Each grasp'd the other's hand;

'Twas wrong,' said Spade, 'to rail at Trade; He-loves me in the land. And Trade as freely owned his fault :

'I've been unjust,' he said. . To quarrel with the good old man, Who grows my daily bread. Long may we flourish, Trade and Spade.

In city and in plain! The people starve while we dispute-We must not part again.

And all the people sang for joy,

To see their good accord, While Spade assembled all his sons, And piled his plenteous board. He fed them on the best of fare. Untax'd the forming ale

And prayed on England's happy shore That Trade might never f And busy trade sent fleets of ships

To every sea and strand, And built his mills and factories O'er all the prosperous land.

And so we'll sing God save the Queen !

And long may Brother Spade, For sake of both the rich and poor, Unite with Brother Trade.

THE LIBERATOR

JUSTICE AND LOVE VERSUS MERCY.

In THE LIBERATOR of June 24th, an article appear Love rersus Mercy,' upon which, by your permission, I wish to offer a few thoughts.

I agree with the writer, that ' no one part of infinite perfection can possibly ever interfere or conflict with another'; and also, that 'mercy is favor to one who eserves punishment'; and yet, is it not possible for justice and mercy to harmonize? May not a criminal deserve punishment while impenitent, and mercy when penitent? If justice demands rendering to a man according to his works, then, surely, justice must demand, not only the penalty upon the impenitent, but forgive-ness or remission of said penalty of the penitent. Paul represents the justifying of the sinner who exercises faith in Christ as an act demanded by justice. See Romans 3:26; also 2:6-11. If such be the fact, then mercy is but a form of expression, in those cases where penalty is remitted, as demanded by justice.

At the top of column second, the writer says- It is quite safe to assume that the moral and spiritual worlds are governed by laws as exact and constant as those which control material nature.' 'No violation of the natural, moral and spiritual laws ever did or ever will fail of its appropriate retribution.' Admitting this to be true, must it not follow, that if mercy obtains at all, it obtains as an act which justice in the case demanded? And yet, C. K. W. says, 'There is actually no place for it under a just and righteous govern-

The writer says, 'The appropriate retribution for an ffence is the suffering or privation which naturally follows it, and thus deters from the repetition of it.' From this and other portions of his article, C. K. W. concludes that the final salvation of all men from sin will certainly follow; and yet he says, '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 in finite exceeds the finite, sooner or later gain the victo ry.' God grant that C. K. W's conclusion may be true so one would rejoice more than myself; and yet, both To THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: a priori and a posteriori arguments have as yet failed to convince me that such would be the fact. Six thousand years' experience of the race seems not to warrant such a conclusion. Delirium tremens have scathed men as with the lightning of heaven, and yet they repent not of their evil deeds. And I have yet to learn that even appropriate retribution will in all cases insure repentance, reformation or salvation. Let the experience o the past guide us. (1)

C. K. W. will excuse this very brief notice of his ar-

ticle. I did not aim at a general review of it. S. S. GRISWOLD

(1) Having chanced to see the above friendly critieism before it was printed, I take this opportunity to say to its author, with my thanks, that at this sentence is the very point of our division of sentiment. I do not find 'experience of the past,' by itself, a sufficient guide. The history of the world so far-with devastating wars, bloody persecutions, public and domestic calamities of every sort, disappointed hopes, bitter separations, disease in a thousand forms, and unspeakable cruelties inflicted by man upon the innocent animal creation-alternating and mingled with the numerous pleasures and blessings of life-does not, of itself, suffice to prove the superintendence of an infinitely benevolent power. We need, in addition to experience and history, the exercise of Faith, first in the existence of perfect God, and next in the idea that his plan of government, necessarily perfect in character, infinite in resources and eternal in duration, will surely set right all that seems wrong to our limited comprehension, in this early and incomplete stage of his magnificent work. We need to believe in the future as well as speculate on the past.

The sum of the matter is this. If God can save all mankind, consistently with his justice and their freedom, it will be a great deal better than to damn them. argument in the whole of the first column of his combis infinite perfection, I believe that he can and will save them.

TRANSGRESSION AND ITS PENALTY. The readers of THE LIBERATOR can scarcely fail to

be edified and improved by the occasional contributions of C. K. W., and especially will his essay on 'Justice and Love persus Mercy,' in the number of June 24th, requite an attentive perusal. It distinctly recognises the truth, that retribution sooner or later follows every infraction of the laws of God, in contradistinction to that fallacy of a speculative and manufactured theology, which teaches of a future and everlasting punishment, which may only be escaped from by the vicarious assumption of it by another.

No intelligent mind, in this age of the world, with its attention directed to the subject, can avoid perceiving that, in his physical nature, man has been subjected to the operation of certain laws, obedience to which ensures him the enjoyment appropriate to the function exercised, and a violation of which necessarily involves suffering. It matters little what we call this suffering -whether a penalty for violated law, or a benefaction to guide us back into obedience and enjoyment. The effect itself is what now claims our attention. It is probable, too, that no such mind doubts the existence of mental and spiritual laws, demanding as exact obedience from their subject, man, operating as invariably in controlling his destiny, and occasioning diverse consequences as immediately and inevitably, when they have been obeyed or violated; although these may have been less carefully observed and accurately described in human teachings. The sin and its consequence, punishment, bear the invariable relation of cause and

The attempt to paint the attributes of God, and to deduce from them certain consequences to man, is interesting as exhibiting the mental characteristics of the limner himself, who universally derives a portion of the colors in which he essays to delineate Deity from the hues which tinge his own soul. It is valuable when as in the sketch before us, it is calculated to undermine the errors of a false theology. But the most truly profitable exercise is that investigation which discovers, or that argument which demonstrates, WHAT IS, among the various facts and phenomena crowding the existence and shaping the destiny of man. His experience being an invariable sequence of effect to cause, the now through necessity, being the parent of the future, his only need in rendering that future permanently secure is to understand and fulfil the relations to other exist ences by which he is surrounded at the present. We ermitted a glance at those relations, by the write alluded to, in his unequivocal recognition of those natural laws, physical and moral, which yield present enjoyment or retribution to man as they are obeyed o ted. But in his desire to overthrow the errors a false theology,-which, nevertheless, like most popu lar and wide-spread delusions, contains, probably, germ of truth,—he appears to take but a limited view of consequences. He asks, 'Finally, what will become of the past sin you and I committed?' And answers 'It is past and gone.' The Orthodox theologian teach that sin, when not shifted from the actor by an inge nious process, and afterwards borne and atoned for by ent, though willing mediator, must be endured, in its consequences, in an eternal state of tor-

May not the truth be found between these two extremes? In appropriating a few moments to the exam tion, let us go with C. K. W. to th physical system for analogies.

To present the sudden and unavoidable destruction of the human body, a certain degree of recuperative energy has been imparted to it, by which, if the injury received by violation of physical laws be not excessive, restorative process is act up, which in many cases ap In The Liberator of June 24th, an article appearad, over the initials, 'C. K. W.,' headed 'Justice and parently obliterates the injury. I say apparently, for the initials, 'C. K. W.,' headed 'Justice and so imperfect are our powers of observation, that we may not say positively that it is real. In all cases, for any thing we can determine, there may be a scar, a cica trix, an imperfection, too minute to be cognizable by ou senses, and yet eternal in its consequences. In ver many cases, this scar is visible and highly apprecia ble, in extent less or more, in proportion to the prin amount of injury, and weakening the function of the affected member. No man can demonstrate that, in a single case, the restoration is complete, whilst any man can prove that, in a very large number of cases, it i not. The inference is a fair one, that no link is ever dropped out of the chain of causation, and that ever violation of natural laws, physically, leaves an indelible impression, however minute.

Let us apply this illustration now, in our con ion of the violations of moral law. Here we find precisely parallel condition of things. In venial trans sions, so far as we can perceive, the recuperative energies of the soul overcome the injury, and rise above it. But this, too, may only be because of the imper-fection of our power of observing. In repeated and atrocious violations, we witness the mental scars as visbly imprinted upon the human spirit as ever knife or sabre made its mark upon the body. And the dedu tion is natural and inevitable, that every soul exists throughout eternity less bright, and glorious, and hap py, in consequence of each violation of its natural relans. Whatever the progress it may make, however high its ulterior destiny, this progress is less rapid, and this destiny less exalted, in consequence of its forme

rational? To the gross, and seasual, and unjust, how paralyzing to the little of conscience they may possess the thought that their sin, like their hunger, shall pass away without leaving a soil behind! And what more effectual in nerving the tempted to resist, than the knowledge that the consequences of their sin must inevitably be eternal? Is it not reconcileable, too, equally with love, justice and mercy in God, and free will in A. BROOKE.

OAKLAND, O., June 30th, 1853.

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

I have never desired to participate in the controvers between the Disunion Abelitionists and the Free De nocracy on the nature of the United States Constitution, as an original writer; but when important questions are urged upon the public, in apparent sincerity and are not at all or not properly answered, and I fancy that I have the light which enables me to give a satisfactory reply, I have deemed it incumbent on me to do so, in honor and courtesy, and to show that those to whom they are addressed do not shrink from them as unanswerable. In this spirit, I sent you a reply to two uestions in an article from the A. S. Standard, in the Liberator of April 22d, which appeared in the umber for May 20th ; and I now find in that of July 1st another communication, over the signature of W S. F., commenting on that reply. I should not have felt the necessity or the disposition to make any further reply to that communication, had it been in the form of arguments only; but as several questions are asked in it, and especially as they are addressed particularly to me, I feel it again a duty to encroach on your usual liberality, and as W. S. F. wishes me to give my 'an swers to the public at large,' by which I presume he means publication in THE LIBERATOR, I trust you will give them insertion in your paper. It will be inferred from the above, that I do not pur

ose to answer the supposed arguments, but only the uestions of W. S. F.; and I am happily exempted rom the first course, as he discusses an entirely different question from that of D. Y., to which I replied, and one with which, at present, I have nothing to do. My answer to D. Y. was merely to show that any anti-slavery person, chosen member of Congress, could conscientiously take the oath to support the Constitution, as this oath imposes on him no duty to sustain slavery, respecting which that Constitution allows him no agen-

ey. W. S. F. does not answer this, but employs all the calls 'admissions'-that the Constitution is a 'pro-sla very instrument'; about which unmeaning proposi tion I expressed no opinion. Whenever, by any ques tion, the duty is imposed on me to discuss the pro-sla very tendency of the Coustitution, I can easily show that the whole of the inferences of W. S. F. are nor sequilers, and that the whole question is founded or

The first question W. S. F. asks is in the body his argument. Speaking of the right of the States ' to make laws for the enslaving of man,' he asks, ' Fron whence did the States obtain this right? Will J. P. B. please inform us?' I do not assert that the State have any such 'right,' in the sense which W. S. I now assumes for this word. Every candid man, or reading the paragraph, will see that it was not real moral right that I was speaking of, but only legal au thority, which in law and common parlance is often called 'right.' Let me be understood in this sense, a I expected to be, and I can easily answer the question The political right of the States is derived from their sovereignty, which is considered as authorising them to pass all laws they may deem for the public good, no at variance with the Constitution and laws of the United States. I deny the moral right, as well as W. S. F. but with this I had no concern in my argument.

I now proceed to notice the questions at the close the communication of W. S. F., in their order.

1. 'When a man has shown plainly that the Const tution does actually provide for the return of fugitives, and that he does so understand it—that it therefore must and does necessarily tolerate and support slavery—what does he do with his conscience, when he swears to support that instrument, if he be not in favor of slavery?

Answer. On this question, with all the conditions as sumed in it. I should think that no conscientious anti-slavery man could swear to support the instrument, although I should not undertake to judge of his conscience, and condemn him accordingly. But if any person did not believe that the provision ' for the return of fugitives was a necessary toleration and support of slavery, h might then, I think, swear to support the Constitution and have nothing to 'do with his conscience' which would trouble it.

2 . When a man takes an oath under the Constitu tion of the United States, according to the prescribe form, does he swear to support the whole of that instru-ment or only a part of it?

Answer. When a man takes the oath to support th Constitution, he is only understood to swear to suppor that part of it which belongs to his office to support or which he may ever be called upon or allowed to support. This is the settled understanding of the swear ers, the Government, and the people, (excepting only Disunion Abolitionists,) as is evinced by the declarsentiments of his constituents at public meetings, and the platform on which he is chosen.

a. 'If he swears to support the whole of it, how do

Answer. An answer to this question is re unnecessary by the answer to the second question; but if a man does swear to support the whole of it, he may do so conscientiously, if he does not think that, on th whole, it support slavery. 4. 'If he swears to support but a part of it,

Answer. There is no such thing as a 'nation compact, and no man in America ever agreed that when elected to office, he would swear to support th Constitution. The imposition of the oath, as a condi-

tion of office, is an anti-Curistian and consequently criminal usurpation of power, and is submitted to, only because a citizen is not otherwise allowed to take the place assigned to him by the suffrage of an authority superior to the Constitution, which he is more bound to respect. The cath is totally involuntary on his part, and hence, according to the best casuists, invalid. I cannot concur in that notion of conscience which induces a man to disregard supreme authority, decline self-expressed it, of 'The days when we went syncyting.' ces a man to disregard supreme authority, decline duty, and permit injustice, in reverence to a vicious

distinctly the respective duties of each, in our respective situations, and closed with a pledge that we would do all in our power to sustain our firm and promote its interests, I think no sane man would imagine that I Harrford, June 6, 1853. and pledged myself, while in London, to do his busine n Boston, or that he had agreed, while in Boston, to do my business in London. Still more, if, under cover o some ill-considered phrase in our agreement, I should proceed to unjust and fraudulent modes of transacting to sustain the doings of another department, over which

6. 'If, by becoming a member of Congress, a man arms himself, in the only way he can do, with the power of urging the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, on the ground of its unconstitutionality, does it follow, as a matter of course, that by swearing to support the Constitution, which provides for slavery, he places himself in the best possible position to attack and overthrow the system of slavery? Answer. There is an erroneous assumption in the

conditions of this question, which renders it doubtful in my mind whether to answer yes or no-as it stands. very,'-which I consider the erron,-I should then say, that whether the member of Congress is placed in the best possible position to attack and overthrow the system of slavery ' or not,-which requires further consideravery effective one, for that purpose; and the 'best

I have now answered the questions of W. S. F., I think, fully and directly, certainly sincerely, though I do not expect satisfactorily to him. I am well aware that Disunion Abolitionists, with all their acuteness of argumentative power, the high tone of their philanthropic principles, and their incomparable zeal and selfdevotion in one of the noblest of causes, have yet suffer-ed their minds to be drawn into a hard knot on the subject of political obligation, which an angel's reasoning could not untie. I regret, on your account, that I have been obliged to take so large a space in this reply; but I did not see how I could fully quote and fairly answer W. S. F. in smaller compass, and I trust the importance of the question, to yourself, as well as to me, will excuse the amplification. Allow me to take this opportunity to correct an error

in a brief 'Reply' to my communication on the 'Character of the U. S. Constitution,' in the same paper In this reply it is stated, as my opinion, that that instrument 'is, and was designed to be, exclusively an anti-slavery instrument.' I expressed no such opinion, and do not believe that it is so. My position was, that it neither, ' in design or effect, tends to promote or peretuate slavery.' That an instrument does not support an institution, and that it acts anti, or against it, are two propositions, in my mind.

From the New York Tribune of June 14. THE BIBLE DISCUSSION. HOW IT WAS BROKEN UP.

by yourself and all friends of Free Discussion con-cerning the opinions and objects of those who were the participators in the Bible Convention which has just closed its session in Hartford, the fact that their discussions were interrupted, their persons threatened and their meetings broken up by a mob, will awaken your indignation, and call forth un-qualified and general condemnation of those who perpetrated this gross outrage upon the Freedom of Speech.

The Convention had been in peaceful session with only an occasional exhibition of disapprobawith only an occasional exhibition of disapprou-tion, by the audience, until the afternoon of Saturday, the third day. The exercises of Trinity College being suspended on this day, the gallery was occupied by many of the students, who, with a few other persons, persisted, from the time the meeting was called to order to its close, in hissing every anti-Bible speaker, and applauding every pro-Bible speaker at every pause, much to the annovance of both parties. But little notice, how oyance of both parties. ever, was taken of this, and the meeting adjourned

without interruption.

In the evening, the same demonstrations were renewed. The house was densely crowded, as had been the previous evening meetings. The noise in the galleries gradually increased until Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose was announced. She was almost immediately hailed with hisses. The Chairman and mediately hailed with hisses. The Chairman and one of the clergymen present remonstrated and appealed to their gallantry. The lady pleaded her ill health and weak voice. She then tried pleasantry and sarcasm, but the noise and hisses increased until the mob broke open the enclosure containing the meter and stopped the flow of gas, leaving the audience in almost total darkness. Those in the body of the house kept their seats, and were mostly calm, until the relighting of the gas; but dur ing the fifteen minutes of darkness, the galleries

kept up a continued outery.

Order, however, being partially restored, Mrs.
Rose attempted to continue her speech. The galleries, however, seemed determined not to hear, and at last, her voice becoming weaker and the noise increasing so that no one in the house could hear her, she ceased. The meeting carried a motion for adjournment, but the noise of the crowd about the doors and in the galleries only grew about the doors and in the galleries only grew louder. A young lady seated herself at the melo deon to try the power of music, singing 'God Speed the Right,' but was unsuccessful in obtaining attenthe mob crowded around her and in the gal tion; the mob crowded around her and in the galleries above her, throwing down pennies and paper, drowning her voice with laughter and ribald wit. When the audience had partly withdrawn, the flow of gas was again stopped, and the lady's friends surrounding her, pressed through the crowd.

On Sunday, at the solicitation of some of the citizens, the Mayor provided a small police force, and the day passed without disturbance. In the evening the galleries again became noisy, and were addressed by the Mayor, and quiet for a time restored. Wm. Lloyd Garrison delivered an address, in which he commented severely on the disturbances.

stored. Wm. Lloyd Garrison delivered an address, in which he commented severely on the disturbances of the previous evening, and was listened to with attention and comparative quiet. Rev. Mr. Turner succeeded him, and was nearly as successfully heard. Mrs. Rose then took the floor, and was hailed with hisses, the audience becoming more noisy till she sat down. Joseph Barker, the President of the Convention, then attempted to be heard, but was obliged to deliver the most of the speech to the reporter, no one in the audience being able to hear him.

The Mayor and Sheriff were both present. The Mayor and Sheriff were both present, and

The Mayor and Sheriff were both present, and, after many ineffectual attempts to quell the disorder, one of the students was arrested. Other students interfered, one of whom used a sword-cane. In a few moments the officers brought those arrested down from the gallery into the body of the church, and the 'sword' was taken from the student but the Mayor. The Mayor then want for

student by the Mayor. The Mayor then went for ward, and amid the utmost confusion demanded as

tion of office, is an anti-Caristian and consequently adjournment. The motion was put, and the audi-

Last evening, a meeting of the friends of the Bible was held, to express their views of the late Convention, in which resolutions were passed deny-6. How is it obvious, that, in swearing to support ing that the disturbances were occasioned by the friends of the Bible 'as such.' What this qualify. the Constitution, a man will be under no obligation to provide for the carrying out of the different clauses of the Constitution, on the ground that they are subjects with which that instrument gives him no concern?"

Answer. I thought my proposition on this point was so 'obvious' that it did not require or admit any proof. It now seems W. S. F. does not so see it. If he and I were to enter into a commercial copartnership, and I was to reside in England while he remained in Boston, and the articles of copartnership pointed out distinctly the respective duties of each, in our respectional column of this disgraceful what tedious, that the disturbances were occasioned by the first the cannot tell; but it can be proved by eye-witnesses that members of the Epistopal, Catholic, Congregational and other denominations, were among the abettors of and active participators in the mob. It was also denied that the disturbance. There is evidence enough on this point, besides the facts of the arrests themselves, and the flourishing of arms by a student.

I have given this detail of facts, though some-distinctly the respective duties of each, in our respec-

From the Anti-Slavery Bugle.

*THE MOST DANGEROUS MOVEMENT. The whole country, at least if the press be it proceed to unjust and fraudulent modes of transacting our business, abhorcent to him, would any person urge upon him that he had pledged himself to concur with and sustain me in those practices? Now, the Constitution of the United States separates the departments of government as much as if they were divided by an and impotent only to exhibit the 'malignity' of its nuthers and conductors. Others see in its the government as much as if they were divided by an authors and conductors. Others see in it 'the ocean, and I cannot understand the character of that most dangerous movement against the Bible which man's mind who conceives that an oath to support that has been made since the reformation.' Some think instrument, on entering one department, is a pledge it best once more to discuss the question—others to contain the deines of another department, over which prefer to wrap themselves in the mantle of holy dignity, and treat it with silent scorn. The fears of all alarmed. The honest anti-slavery Bible be-liever trembles lest the foundations of freedom, as well as religion, are being removed. While Southern piety sees in it only an effort to scatter in frag-ments the blessed patriarchal institution, just as his pious brother in the North, sees in the antislavery movement an effort to destroy the Bible— to crush the ministry—to abolish the Sabbath—to re-enact the scenes of French anarchy and Jaco-binism.

Who are right—whose fears are to be realized.

in my mind whether to answer yes or no—as it stands,
If we cast out the expression, 'which provides for slavery,'—which I consider the erron,—I should then say,
indeed, think they will all fail, and that freedom of investigation will triumph even in its most search-ing scrutiny of Bible, church, and ministry. The advocates of the Bible are placed in a novel

of slavery' or not,—which requires further considera-tion,—he certainly places himself in a position, and a ing to be the most perfect incarnation of righteous ness and truth-that from them and their Bibl possible one' for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave must originate every movement which shall be effectual for human amelioration and the establish ment of justice—and yet it is notorious that now, as in the past, the great preponderating weight of their influence is in favor of slavery and other forms of wickedness—and that they have themselves thrown the Bible and the church, and all their reputed sanctity, in the way of every earnest On the other hand, many of the men who are found favoring the claims of investigation into the authority of the Book, as of every thing else, are

most active in advancing the humanitary move-ments of the age. They are workers in the cause of temperance, peace, purity and freedom—the friends of universal education and enlightenment. Admit that it is true, that the relative position of the parties to the discussion should have little influence in deciding the question of Bible authority and origin; still, it will have its influence. And he Bible and its advocates can retain possession of the world, only as they appear as the friends of progressive humanity. Men will distrust the claim of the Bible as well as the church to a divine infallibility, when they see it supporting the grossest forms of popular wickedness. The Diety who speaks through the humane impulses of the heart He has fashioned, will be heard, whether the Deity

which the church has enthroned in the Bible be

heard or no. 'We can well understand that the changed rela

tion between the ministry and the infidel reformers must be particularly mortifying to priestly dignity and self-superiority. Heretofore the minister and the church member have been the 'holy ones, and the just,' and by virtue of their reputedly superior righteousness and position, have rebuked the sin-ner, and doomed him with the nonconformist and unbeliever to an endless perdition. They may still rebuke and anathematize, but the infidel reformer, conscious of the righteousness of his principles and the benevolence of his purpose, and abundantly able to make both manifest (by reference to his life) to candor and honesty everywhere, receives these anathemas with indiff and in his turn overwhelmingly exhibits the injustice and false position of his censor. He has him therefore entirely at advantage. And the divin-ity of his calling, or the book which he claims as authority, is therefore questionable by the world from the equivocal character of the believer's posi-tion. Such being the relative character and position of large classes of the advocates and opposes of Bible authority, it may be true, that the present anti-Bible movement is 'more dangerous' than its

But so far as this is the case, it is a disadvan tage which Bible advocates may remedy. Let them abandon the advocacy of wickedness in all its forms. Let them with earnestness and zeal, join in every righteous effort to suppress injustice and slavery to sustain truth, and to spread practical good will.

Let them bring themselves, and the Bible if they can, to sustain the right, and at once they wrest from their opponents all extraneous advantage. We have been classed with the friends of this 'most dangerous movement.' But we assure the world that we so prefer the triumph of freedom and justice to the success of any opinions or the overthrow of any book or any measure, that we shall most heartily rejoice at all new advantages that Bible advocates may gain by a new position in favor of freedom, justice and righteousness.

From the Investigator. SPIRIT OF CATHOLICISM.

The ravings of Catholics at the liberal preaching The ravings of Catholics at the liberal preaching of the day are quite amusing, and at the same time instructive, as showing that Liberalism would soon have its quietus if the 'Holy Mother Church' was as potent here as at Rome. One of the satellites of the Pope (a Mr. McGee who edits a paper in New York, called the American Celt) thus raves at a well-known Liberal preacher in this city:—

'In Boston, Theodore Parker, as open an anti-Christian as Voltaire himself, fills 'every Sabbath' (as they call it,) the largest Hall in the city. In the same city there is an ordinance against blaspheming in the streets,—that is, against common vulgar cursing and swearing.

But in the Music Hall, amid the applause of 4,000 'progressive Protestants,' Mr. Parker blasphemes on 'progressive Protestants,' Mr. Parker blasphemes on the Lord's Day, against the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and no magistrate dares cite him to the Police Court. In Glasgow, last year, certain bookpedlars were imprisoned for selling 'blasphemous sermons,' by the Rev. Theodore Parker, of Massachusetts. In Boston the sermons are made, spoken, applauded, printed, wholesaled, retailed, and the law dare not lift its arm against the talented and audacious blasphemer. Dreadful state of things! But if no Boston

magistrate dare cite the 'audacious blasphemer' to appear before the Police Court, why don't Mc Gee come on from New York and 'cite' him himself! Perhaps his master, Archbishop Hughes, would let him come on such business. Mr. Parker, however, in case of a citation, might not be broken on a wheel, or have hot lead poured down his throat, or be burnt a la Inquisition, or sentenced to a dangeron some five rease. dungeon some five years, as was the case with the Madiai family; these things are reserved to the time when the Catholics have full power; but then it would be a little consolation now to the outraged feelings of Mr. McGee of New York, if he could do belongs of Mr. McGee of New York, if he count on more than 'cite' the 'audacious blasphemer' before the Police Court! But the New York disciple of St. Dominic (of gridiron memory!) is more devout than valiant; and so, as there will be no 'citing' as far as he is concerned, the preacher of the Music Hall is in no danger from that quarter. It is a lucky thing for liberal men, and saves the from much annoyance, when their bigoted persectors lack the courage to carry out their wishes.

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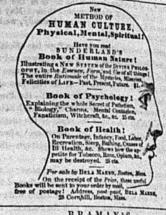
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