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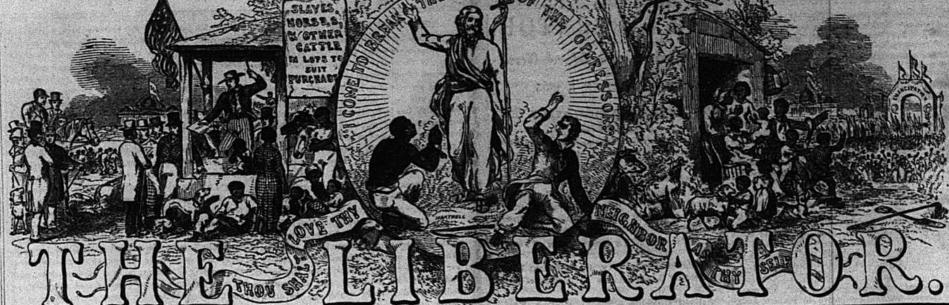
class, if payment be made in advance. Fall remittances are to be made, and all letters mains to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square in

red three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, trania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-Pensylvania to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial tites, but are not responsible for any of the debts

Committee, wil :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray of the Party Quincy, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WESDELL PHILLIPS. WESTER PRICES

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

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



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

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

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

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

of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES -- AD

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

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

the name of persons in fact, the oppressor repre-

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

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

majority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO HAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. '- John Quincy Adams.

YOL. XXV. NO. 22.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1855.

WHOLE NUMBER 1091.

OF POLITICAL PARTIES. The history of party is the history of opinions; and for the last twenty years in the United States, it has been scarcely more than the history of Abo-

ine. From the origin of the Government to the present time, the antagonism between the North d the South has been steadily developing itself in all the departments of feeling and of thought-is sundering religious associations, controlling litin sandering religious association, controlling in-erature, and embittering section against section. To counteract this antagonism, all sorts of expedi-rats have been tried. Party organizations, patched up truces, and shallow compromises, have all had their day and have all fallen beneath the violence of an inborn, incurable, hopeless malady. The North and the South were never one people, and nothag can ever make them so .

The earlier manifestations of this antagonism took somewhat different form from that which it now assumes. Bounties, tariffs and discriminations in fivor of the North, and against the South, were but the faults of the same germ—sectional lust— and their tendency was, by robbing the South of the just rewards of her labor, to impoverish and weaken her, and thus prepare the way for Aboli-tion itself. High tariffs and Abolition were but tion itself. High tarilis and Abolition were but parts of the same policy. Hence the Whig party, which began with the principle of protection, soon became at the North the organ of Anti-Slavery, and continued to sink deeper and deeper into it, until that wing abandoned its own national platform, and went over, 'horse, foot and dragoons,' to the Abolitionists. It is curious, too, to remark, that as the principles of protection grew weaker, until is 1852, the Whig Convention practically ignored is it is platform, that of Abolition was steadily in it is platform, that of Abolition was steadily in the ascendant. Henry Clay, its renowned leader, was then stretched upon his dying bed, and Web-ster's conservatism was fast tottering beneath the inhierant fanaticism of Seward. The Whig party sted so long as its Northern and Southern wings efrained from sectional tests. The tariff was not a sectional test. It had its friends in both sections the Union. But Abolition was a sectional test, of the Union. But Abolition was a section and hence the Northern Whig party, as it gradually became more and more abolitionized, grew stronger at the North and weaker at the South. As a national party it fell, after having exhausted every expedianty to preserve its existence. It fell because Anti-Savery at the North is stronger than Whiggery-be-

Sarry of the North is stronger than Whiggery because it can no longer control the latent antagonism between the North and South.

The Democratic party, too, at the North, has had in itself the same element of dissolution. It yields ed to the same sectional lust when it passed the Tariff of 1828, the Force bill, enacted the Tariff Compromise of '32, and violated it in '42. It had always a greater support in the South, because it arowed the immortal doctrine of State-Rights and the North, it threw open the doors of Congress, by the repeal of the twenty-first rule, to petitions ag-pressive and insulting to the South. The poison of Northern sectionalism was gradually working its way. In 1846 the Tariff was modified; the anagmism on this point had grown weaker, and the sarry issue loomed up more fiercely than ever. Starry was excluded from Oregon by a Democratic Administration, and Wilmot, a Pennsylvania Democrat, introduced his famous Proviso. It was the first attempt to exclude the South from the common territory. It laid bare the designs of the North, and the most Union-loving men in the South felt there was danger ahead from their Northern alliance. When the next Presidential canvass epened, both Whig and Democratic parties atcord, and restore their lost nationality. The slavery question was smoothed over in their platforms, and pledges of peace given in exchange for the support of the South. They were accepted, and Whiggery, everywhere strengthened by Southerners confidence in a Southern man, elected General Taylor to the Presidency. He proved false to his pledges, false to his constitutional oath, and false to the South, when he erected California, by mili-tary usurpation, into a free State. The disposal the territories acquired from Mexico next brought up the issue. The Compromise followed, in which the attempt was again made to stille the antagonism and save the Union. Pledged to its support, both parties went into the last election for President. The Democrats carried the day, and President Pierce was elected. With the hope of driving Abolition forever from the floors of Congress, the Nathern Democrats brought forward the Nebras-la bill. The Missouri Compromise Line, which the South had repeatedly tendered to the North as a stillement of the anastion, but which they steads settlement of the question, but which they steadily rejected, was repealed, and the lauded Union-saving principles of the Compromise of 1850 re-tacted in the Nebraska bill. But Anti-Slavery, the in 1820 eagerly acceded to the Missouri Line, and in 1850 robbed the South, by this same Compromise, of all her Territories, had grown too insolent and powerful now to listen to any further insolent and powerful now to listen to any further compromises. Squatter sovereignty was good doctine whereby to exclude the South, but a foul wing when by it she might colonize Kansas. And what has been the result! The Democratic party, which, like the Whig, had been struggling to preserve the national issue, and utterly broken up by Abolition.—There remains no common platform upon which either the Whig or the Democratic party can unite their Northern and Southern wings. All hope of national organizations, on the basis of either, is shown to be hopeless by the history of the North

thown to be hopeless by the history of the North during the past year. The antagonism has tri-Such was the state of the old parties, when about a year ago, the Know Nothing Order first made its mark in the politics of the country. It pronounced the old parties effete and rotten. It proposed to bury the old issues which had divided the North and the South, and to erect upon their trave a grand, comprehensive, national idea, which would override all sectional differences, and give peace and security to the Union. Sick as man were

Legislature, in which the Know Nothings were om-

mask which men for thirty years have been throw-ing over the hideous forms of Anti-Slavery has fallen off, and unappeased, and unappeasable it pre-sents itself for deadly combat with the South.-That the South can touch a national organization which strikes at slavery, is not to be thought of. The day of national parties is therefore at an end. Anti-Slavery and aggression upon the South con-trol the North. Must they not destroy the Union !

the late outrages in Kansas, and the return of Gov. Reeder to his official post in that Territory :--

not for a single moment has Gov. Reeder been

what is wrong, as seen and Gov. Reeder.

We desire to prevent civil war and fraternal bloodshed. Hence we say that since the Missourians have literally expelled a Governor who was not only involved in land and Indian speculions not only involved in land and Indian speculations (for which he deserves to be broke as the President knows, if one-half of the Indian Bureau Commissioner's report be true.) but who it is also alleged interfered with the political rights of the people of Kansas. Will the President send back such a Governor at the head of troops, and put him over and maintain him over a free and jealous people by force of arms. by force of arms ! '

From the N. Y. Journal of Commerce. MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATION.

Ever since the decease of Daniel Webster, the Ever since the decease of Daniel Weister, the State of Massachusetts has taken decisive steps backward, and now, as if to complete her degrada-tion, by a single bound, she has passed an Act, over the veto of Governor Gardner, to nullify the over the veto of Governor Gardner, to nullify the operation of a law of Congress, and so much of the Constitution as provides that fugitives from labor and service shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due. The fame of Daniel Webster reached its highest point from the delivery of his celebrated speech in reply to Hayne. That speech gave the death-blow to nullification in the South. It was circulated over Massachpatts, and received with just pride in pace and security to the Union. Sick as men were of the old parties, disgusted at their vain expedients, and lared by its peculiar principles, the new party gathered to its folds many adherents.

We do not care now to question the justice of the antagonism which this party assumes to exist between the native and foreign born, and which specifies the chief basis of its organization. We assert it excludes the foreign element, because it is supposed to be radical, disturbing and antagonism can be antagonism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism and the union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism, and the Union. We have the history or servatism and the union is the Scate. The speech raised the with just pride in discretion in direct conflict with the national government. The whole of that part of this infamous code that does the speech raised the every quarter of the State. The speech raised the every quarter of the State. The speech raised the every quarter of the State. The speech raised the every quarter of the State. The speech raised the every quarter of the State. The speech raised the every quarter of the State. The speech raised the every quarter of the State. The speech raised the e

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

the past six months before us to test these principles. The election at the North came on, and everywhere the 'Fusion' between Abolition and the New Order carrried the day. The faith of South-New order carried the day. The fa With Free Soliers: But still the cry was kept up. breadth of the whole land, who regarded the ex-We still heard of the great American, national or-ganization, in which the Slavery question was to be buried forever. This affiliation with Free Soil-But how stands the State in Abolition hands! It rs was only a local affair. The Massachusetts assaults the independence of the Judiciary; it lowers itself by an indecent investigation in the rowdyism and shame, which the most degenerate posterity will blush to peruse. In the frenzy of Abolition, they have attempted to make the Judiciary, that great stronghold of liberty, the vassal and tool of mob fanaticism; and they are about to ciary, that great stronghold of liberty, the vassal instead of standing upon the pinnacle of fame as and tool of mob fanaticism; and they are about to she did then when Webster had the lead, stands as issue in this organization. We might pile proof upon proof to the same effect. Anti-Stavery will hot go down' at the North. A party, organized to put down an influence, said to be hostile to the Union, has itself fallen prey to the same evil! A party which was to kill sectional differences and consolidate the Union, has in its first victories stricken down religious freedom, independence of the Judiciary, and raised a fiercer war against the South than ever before. There remains no hope of a National Know Nothing Organization. That party has gone the way of the Whig and Democratic parties.

What is the lesson taught! The North will not abandon the schemes of Abolition. Fanaticism is stronger than parties, and national organizations are impossible which refuse to bow before it. The mask which men for thirty years have been throwing organization and the scheme of an intention of stand as the whole we stand with Sumner and Wilson at the post which Webster falled. Her name is now on the lips of thousands, but with deep mortification and shame that a State in which the post which Webster falled. Her name is now on the lips of thousands, but with deep mortification and shame that a State in which the post which Webster falled. Her name is now on the lips of thousands, but with the post which Webster falled. Her name is now on the lips of thousands, but with deep mortification and shame that a State in which the post which Webster falled. Her name is now on the lips of thousands, but with the post which Webster falled. Her name is now on the lips of thousands, but with the post which Webster falled. Her name is now on the lips of thousands, but with the post which webster falled. Her name is now on the lips of thousands, but with the post which webster falled. Her name is now on the lips of thousands, but with the post which webster had the which webster had the bed wilson at the post which webster had the which webster had the will have name is now on the lips of thousands, but will be expected to standwill will be e

From the National Intelligencer. CIVIL COURAGE

The courage to do right, while all the influences and trammels of a powerful party organization are holding out inducements to a contrary course, may be regarded as a nobler example of true manhood trol the North. Must they not destroy the Union!

SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN ORGAN.

There is a journal published at Washington, called the American Organ, which is, as its name imports, the national organ of the Know Nothings. The following the Commissioner from his State office of Judge of national organ of the Know Nothings. The following the Commissioner from his State office of Judge of extracts show the way in which that journal speaks of Probate, we are at loss to decide which is most worthy of the meed of praise. The one, amid the threats and clamors of an inforiated populace. Governor Reeder is to be sent back among the "border ruffians" (as they are styled by himself.) which that populace formed the centre and motive and the "ruffians" are told by the President that or to for a single moment has Gov. Reeder been has boldly ventured to sustain the dignity and liverted from the straightforward path of duty!"- honor of his State by disregarding the behests of diverted from the straightforward path of duty! — honor of his State by disregarding the behests of that the "ruffians" (and not Gov. Reeder) are those who would put them in jeopardy, for the wrong—that they have been ruffianly enough to momentary gratification of an excited feeling. These two cases of moral courage are unequalled by any other which occurs to us in the history of our Government. They surpass that of Judge Pierce "expected" him "to maintain," and that the trial and sentence of Callender, at the regarding the behests of those who would put them in jeopardy, for the momentary gratification of an excited feeling. These two cases of moral courage are unequalled by any other which occurs to us in the history of our Government. They surpass that of Judge Pierce "expected" him "to maintain," and that Pierce "expected" him "to maintain," and that Pierce "expected" him the straightforward path of duty! — honor of his State by disregarding the behests of those who would put them in jeopardy, for the momentary gratification of an excited feeling.

These two cases of moral courage are unequalled by any other which occurs to us in the history of our Government. They surpass that of Judge Pierce "expected" him "to maintain," and that Pierce " Pierce "expected" him "to maintain," and that he goes hack to "discourage every movement" that will disturb the public mind.

Now the President and Col. Forney both know full well that Gov. Reeder's re-appearance in Kansas will be the signal for civil war. We do not believe that there will be one moment's peace in Kansas, if he returns. Right or wrong, (and we say not which,) a provisional government will's spring up as suddenly into existence in Kansas as it did in Paris: the people of Kansas will not allow General Pierce to force Anti-Slaveryism or an Anti-Slavernor Governor upon them, and he ought to know it and doubtless does know it.

The country will bear us witness that we have over and over again made this declaration, that the Forney and the Pierce men were not worthy of Southern confidence, but we did not expect so soon a formal acknowledgement of this truth. We supposed that it would be postponed till after the Virginia election. The result in Virginia, however, is now so sure to be adserse to the struct.

The government. They surpass that of Judge Chase in the trial and sentence of Callender, at Richmond; for, though alsentence of Callender, at Richmond; for, though somewhat similar in its circumstances to those which surrounded Judge Loring, and though the feeling was deep and apparently menacing, the danger to Judge Chase was not as great as his friends alleged, and the character of the excited crowd which filled the hall at Richmond forbade the idea of personal violence: at the scene was enough to try the Judge's nerves, but he executed his sacred office with a stern defiance of the popular feeling—which, young as we were, we fully partook of—in a manner which, we well remember, commanded the admiration of many who most condemned its exercise.

The only instance of moral courage that we know of, in the history of our country, which can justly be compared with the heroism of the two individuals in question is also a Boston case—that of John Adams, who, though a leading and most ardent member of th

postponed till after the Virginia election. The result in Virginia, however, is now so sure to be adverse to the views of the Administration, and they so clearly see it, that it is not deemed important to put off what they cannot evade, and they have now thrown off the mask, and declared for Gov. Reeder, and against the South.

* * It is our judgment that if he (the President) even attempts to force Gov. Reeder upon them contrary to their will, and after they have repudiated him, they will resist. They will not be forced. They may or they may not throw him into the Missouri River; but we do not believe they will allow this Administration to impose him upon them. All this may be wrong on the part of the Missourians. We are simply dealing with facts and probabilities, and not discussing what is right or what is wrong, as between the Missourians and Gov. Reeder. honest devotion to truth, justice, and duty.

THE NULLIFICATION BILL PASSED!! The extraordinary bill, intended to deny a plain onstitutional provision; intended to nullify a law

of Congress; intended to bring the authorities of the Commonwealth into a conflect with the author-ities of the United States; intended to involve the community in civil war, passed yesterday to be engrossed in our Know Nothing House of Representatives! is now, or soon will be, before the Gov-

ernor for his signature!
Such a bill as this has been again and again brought before the General Court since 1850; but there has been good sense epoult, in one branch or the other, to defeat this cherished purpose of abo-

the other, to defeat this cherished purpose of abolition fanatics. But no such good sense could be
looked for in the present abolition set of legislators.
Argument on such a body is lost. The infamous
bill passed with but three rotes against it in the
Senate; and only 43 votes out of about 375 members
could be rallied against it in the House!

So both branches have done all they can to put
Massachusetts out of the Union; to deliberately
defy the laws of Congress as sustained by the
judgments of the Supreme Court, and every State
Court in the Union—save only one, we believe, in
Wisconsin; to place the citizens of Massachusetts
in direct conflict with the national government. n direct conflict with the national government

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS FROM KANSAS.

The following Memorial to Congress from citizens and esidents of Kansas is written with great dignity and force, and gives, undoubtedly, a correct and faithful account of the unparalleled outrages at the late election in that Territory. It is a document of the utmost historical importance, and deserves to find a place, unabridged, in the columns of every journal in the free States. 'How any body can read it,' says the Sabbath Recorder, 'and not feel his blood boil, we cannot tell.' Yet how apathetic is the North on this subject !

To the Senate and House of Representatives, in Con-

The memorial of the subscribers, citizens and residents of the Territory of Kansas, respectfully

That a state of things exists in said Territory unparalleled, as we believe, in the history of our country, and which it becomes our solemn duty to lay before you, and through you before our fellow-citizens of the United States. Under the guarantees of the United States. ties of your law for the organization of this Territhat law held out to us, we left our former homes

right of suffrage and self-government-were set up as the beacon lights which beckoned us on. As eemen we were united, as freemen we came, and as freemen we expected to live. But we address you now as an outraged and subjugated people, dis-franchised and enslaved, stripped of our dearest rights, and governed by a set of masters foreign to our soil, and responsible only to their own lawless

One of the States of our Union, strong in wealth population and resources relying upon her ac-cumulated strength of almost half a century, and taking advantage of our feeble infancy as a people, has invaded our soil, seized upon our rights, sub-jugated our territory and selected for us our rulers, intending also to dictate our laws, and make us the slaves of their will. This may well seem an almost incredible thing, in the Nineteenth Century, and in this Republican Union—the peculiar and boasted land of liberty and self-government—but the evidence of it is as palpable and undeniable as the fact is bitter and mortifying to us, and disgraceful to the Republic.

This investor of our soil and pour retion of our

This invasion of our soil and usurpation of our rights commenced at the first moment of calling hundred and sixty-five votes, although a larg those rights into action. The first ballot-box that was opened upon our virgin soil was closed to us by overpowering numbers and impending force.
It became, not what Americans have been proud to designate it, the exponent of the people's will, but was converted into the sword of the oppressor to wishout the forces threats against the lives

thousand votes.

Loving our country and its institutions, we were

mournful experience has taught us, however, that returned to Missouri—some of them being the interest of important public offices there. Inthis was no isolated act—no temporary could be cumbents of important public offices there. In the commencement of a well-matured and deed, so well was the character of this foreign could be commenced by the commencement of a well-matured and the commencement of a well-matured and deed, so well was the character of this foreign could be commenced by the commence of them being the interest that the commence of them being the commence of them being the commence of the

On the 30th day of March last, we were again invited to the ballot-box, under the law which we, in common with our fellow-citizens of the States, in common with our fellow-citizens of the States, with indignation, but it is useless. One more in-

selves to preserve peace and order in the conduct of the election, but at the same time did not hesitate to declare that if not allowed to vote, they would proceed to any extremity in the destruction of property and life. If control of the polls could not be had otherwise, the Judges were by intimidanot be had otherwise, the Judges were by intimida-tion, and if necessary by violence, prevented from performing their duty; or, if unyielding in this re-spect, were driven from their post and the vacancy filled, in form, by the persons on the ground; and whenever by any means they had obtained the con-trol of the Board, the foreign vote was promiseu-ously poured in without discrimination or reserve, or the slightest care to conceal its nefarious illegal-ity.

At one of these polls, two of the Judges having At one of these polls, two of the Judges having manfully stood up in the face of this armed mob, and declared they would do their duty, one portion of the mob commenced to tear down the house, another proceeded to break in the door of the Judges' room, while others, with drawn knives, posted themselves at the window, with the proclaimed purpose of killing any voter who would

oath as to their residence.

The room was finally forced, and the Judges surrounded by an armed and excited crowd were offered the alternatives of resignation or death, and five minutes were allowed for their decision. The bal-lot-box was seized, and amid shouts of 'Hurrah for Missouri, was carried into the mob. The two menaced Judges then left the ground, together with all the resident citizens except a few who acted in the outrage, because the result expected from it conformed to their views, and because it enabled the few to rule the many. When an excess of the foreign force was found to be had at one poll, detachments were sent to others where it was sup-posed they might be needed.

At the polls adjoining the one above alluded to, one of the Judges, a minister of the Gospel, who refused to accede to the demands of a similar mob of some four hundred armed and organized men, was driven by violence from his post, and the vacancy' filled by themselves. Threats and vio-'vacancy' filled by themselves. Threats and vio man, for the expression of his opinion, was assaulted and beaten. The inhabitants of the district, powerless to resist the abundant supply of arms met the privations of an uninhabited country, and am am ammunition. the organized preparation and prepared for adding another republic to our Union.

The right of civil and religious liberty—the right of suffrage and self-government—were set up

camp of these invaders, speeches were made to them, by leading residents of Missouri, in which it was said that they would carry their purposes, if need be, at the point of the bayonet and the bowie-knife, and one voter was fired at as he was driven from the election ground. Finding they had a greater force than was necessary for that poll, some wo hundred men were drafted from their number. two hundred men were draited from their humber, and sent off under their proper officers to another, district, after which they still polled from this camp over seven hundred votes.

In the Fourth and Seventh Districts, along the Santa Fe road, similar scenes were enacted. The investor come together in one armed and overse.

invaders came together, in one armed and organ-ized body, with trains of fifty wagons, besides horsemen, and the night before election pitched their camp in the vicinity of the polls, and having appointed their own Judges in place of those who, from intimidation or otherwise, failed to attend, they roted without any proof of residence. In these two election districts, where the census shows one hundred voters, there were polled three hundred and fourteen votes, and last fall, seven hundred and sixty-five votes, although a large por ther occasion. In the Sixteenth Election District strike at civil liberty. So bold and reckless were of the Judges, and during the night called several our invaders, that they cared not to conceal their times at the house of one of them for the purpose of attack. attack.

They came upon us, not in the guise of voters to steal away our franchise, but boldly and openly to snatch it with a strong hand. They came directly from their own homes, and in compact and organized bands, with arms in their hands and provisions for the expedition, marched to our polls, and when their work was done returned whence they came. It is unnecessary to enter into the details; it is enough to say that in three districts in which, by the most irrefragible evidence, there were not one hundred and fifty voters, most of whom refused to participate in this mockery of the elective franchise, these invaders polled over a thousand votes.

Loving our country and its institutions, we were hundred and its institutions, we were hundred and its institutions, we were hundred and eighty-five votes in the district a strain of the purpose of intimidating him, declaring, in the presence of his wife, that a rope had been prepared to hang him; and although we are not prepare Loving our country and its institutions, we were willing, if this was to be only a solitary instance, to suffer it in silence rather than to proclaim to the world that even in this remote spot of our great country, civil liberty was but a name. Bitter and mournful experience has taught us, however, that this was no isolated act—no temporary challition. settled plan by a large portion of the people of one of the States of our Union permanently to enslave us, and constitute themselves our masters.

deed, so well was the character of this foreign vote understood, that the Judges struck out of the prescribed form of return the words 'by lawful resident voters.'

On the 30th day of March last, we were again invited to the ballot-box, under the law which we in common with our fellow-citizens of the States, had through your body enacted. Our vigilant and faithful Chief Magistrate had surrounded it with all the guards and precautions with which his authority invested him, and we were prepared to exercise the dearest and most cherished privileges of American citizens with a full sense of the vital and interesting importance of this pseuliar occasion. The occasion came, and with it came our invading and self-constituted masters in thousands, and with all the paraphernalia of war. They came, organized in bands, with officers, and arms, and tents, and provisions, and munitions of war, as though they were marching upon a foreign for instead of their own unoffending fellow-citizens. Upon the principal road leading into our territory, and passing several important polls, they numbered not less than twelve hundred men, and one camp alone contained not less than six hundred.

They arrived at their several destinations the night before the election, and having pitched their camps and placed their sentries waited for the comaining day. Baggage-wagons were there with arms and ammunition enough for a protracted fight, and among them two brass field-pieces ready charged. They came with drums beating and flags flying, and their leaders were of the most prominent and conspicuous men of their respective States. In the morning they surrounded the polls armed with required the morning they surrounded the polls armed with required the polls armed with required the morning they surrounded the polls armed with required the morning they surrounded the polls armed with required the province, and their determination to vote at all hazards, and in spite of all consequences.

If the Judges could be made to subserve their purposes and receive their votes, and in no obstance of all consequences.

If the Judges could be made to subserve their purposes and receive their votes, and in the conduct of the

and are governed by the State of Missouri.

It would be mere affectation in us to attempt to disguise the fact, that the question of making Kansas a free or slave State is at the bottom of this movement, and that the men who thus invade our soil and rob us of our liberties are from the proslavery men of Missouri, who are unwilling to submit the question to the people of the Territory, and abide the compact between the North and South, which the Kansas Nebraska bill contains.

The compact we want carried out, and by that test we want the question settled if it can be; but there are few things that we would not prefer to the domination of irresponsible invaders from Missouri. That enactment is not only a law which States and individuals are bound to obey, but it is a compact between the North and the South—a solemn covenant between the sovereign States of our Union, which none can violate without becoming recreant to the principles of honor and justice—without the betrayal of confidence reposed—without such breaking of plighted faith as in an individual would load him to the earth with scorn and contempt, and drive himffrom the society of honest men. The bill which Northern statesmen backed with Northern votes had obtained for Southern rights, is made by men who invade our soil the very instrument for depriving us of our dearest privileges, and stabbing to the heart those who magnanimously gave it into their hands for other ends.

That bill is made to mean popular sovereignty em covenant between the North and the South—a solemn covenant between the sovereign States of our Union, which none can violate without becoming recreant to the principles of honor and justice—without the betrayal of confidence reposed—without such breaking of plighted faith as in an individual would load him to the earth with scorn and contempt, and drive him/from the society of honest men. The bill which Northern statesmen backed with Northern votes had obtained for Southern rights, is made by men who invade our soil the very instrument for depriving us of our dearest privileges, and stabbing to the heart those who many manimously gave it into their hands for other ends.

That bill is made to mean popular sovereignty our promote her interests.

I love the North, too. Never, while life lasts, shall I forget the green hills of Vermont, where rests the grave of my mother; nor the deeds of the men of '76; nor the virtues and energies of the men who have made those States a beacon-light—the wonder and admiration of the world; and I shall ever look upon their glory as the common inheritance of every American citizen!

With regard to leaving this community. I would do so cheerfully, as soon as I could dispose of my interests here, were I satisfied that a further readence was not agreeable; but to leave the grave of my wife, the home I have toiled years to embel-

SELECTIONS.

allow himself to be sworn. Voters were dragged from the window because they would not show their tickets or vote at the dictation of the mob, and the invaders declared openly at the polls that they would cut the throats of the Judges if they did not receive their votes without requiring an dents of Kansas is written with great dignity and contact the state of the sta ad sworn allegiance, and to which we had come had sworn allegiance, and to which we had come as pilgrim worshippers in the wilderness, are to be rathlessly demolished. The compact is to be basely broken, and the ballot of the freeman (in effect) torn from our hands almost before the ink of the covenant is dry. Not only, too, is the principle of popular sovereignty to be hlotted out, but, more than this, even the object of the contest is to disappear. The question of negro slavery is to sink into insignificance, and the great portentous issue is to loom up in its stead, whether or not we shall be the slaves, and fanatics who disgrace the honorable and chivalric men of the South shall be our masters, to rule us at their pleasure.

our masters, to rule us at their pleasure.

With a feeble and scattered community, just truggling into existence, without organization and ilmost without shelter, we are powerless to resist an old, strong, and populous State, full of men and arms and resources, and we therefore appeal to you, and through you to the people of the States. Remedy here we have none. Our Executive has, with manly determination

Our Executive has, with many determination and persistent fidelity, stood by his people, and endeavored to carry out the principles of popular sovereignty, and secure us the privilege of managing our own affairs and governing ourselves, until his reputation has been assailed and his life openly threatened with a bitterness almost unparalleled; and, although as chief magistrate he is all we ould desire, and has fearlessly pursued the path of duty amid a storm of menace and detraction un-der which many men would have quailed, yet he is powerless-like ourselves.

We make now this last appeal, not to the North, We make now this last appeal, not to the North, not to the South, not to any political party; but to the Representatives of the whole Union. We beg tilat no man will sport with our condition by endeavoring to make political capital, or build up party at the expense of our civil and political existence. We want the men of the North and the men of the South to protect us. Through yourselves, their Representatives, we appeal to their honor—to their justice—to their patriotism—to their sympathies, not for favors, but for rights not for trivial rights, but for the dearest rights guaranteed to us by the Declaration of Independence—by the Constitution of the Union—by the dence—by the Constitution of the Union—by the law of our organization—by the solemn compact of the States, and which you pledged to us as the condition of our coming here.

Communities are not to blame for the conduct of

their fanatics, unless they sanction them. cannot believe that the States of the South will sanction the outrages that have been perpetrated upon us, or will allow them to be continued. And although we might reason the matter as a question of policy, and show that it is contrary to the laws of nature and society, and opposed to all human experience that good can come from such evil: although we might prove that it is 'sowing the wind, and reaping the whirlwind,' and that the reaction will be fearful, yet we feel that this is unnecessary; that it is enough to appeal to their honor and their sense of justice, and to rely upon their plighted faith.

Inside our bounds, we shall have n troubles. Northern and Southern men mingle to-gether in harmony and good feeling, and in mutual dependence and assistance in the hardships and privations of a pioneer life. As we learn to un-derstand each other, friendships are engendered derstand each other, friendships are engendered and prejudices melt away, so that we shall be able to meet all questions that may arise in a spirit of justice and friendly feeling, which will secure the rights of all, and cheerful acquiescence in the decision of the majority. From foreign oppression, however, we ask for relief of that power which passed the Kansas bill, and pledged to us its benefits if we would come here. We have a right to ask and do ask its enforcement. It remains for your honorable bodies to decide whether you will your honorable bodies to decide whether you will keep the compact between you and us which exists by that bill and our emigration; whether you will windicate the sacred doctrines of the Government, or whether you will leave us in a state of vassalage and oppression. We cannot and do not doubt that you will in some way give us justice and protec-

LETTER FROM MR. PARK. PARKVILLE, Mo., April 23d, 1855.

TO THE PUBLIC:

When our printing-office was destroyed, I was absent in Kansas Territory, and returned forthwith on receiving information of it. I am filled with the deepest concern for the events that have transpired and the passions that bear sway—premeditated as they have been by a large and powerful secret association. I am happy to know that the citizens of Parkville and vicinity took no part in it; and why my life and property should be destroyed by any portion of this community, I cannot tell. The charge of abolitionism is false: I have never harbored a thought nor meditated an action detrimental to the honor, the interests, or institutions of Missouri; but have labored unceasingly to promote her prosperity. It is true, I have not believed the honor and interests of Missouri to be in that course of policy marked out by some politicians. Duty has compelled me to cross their path, which has brought on my devoted head the bitterest persecution.

path, which has brought on my devoted head the bitterest persecution.

Our paper can be read. It will speak for itself. It does not claim perfection. The leading objects have been to promote the principles of temperance, morality and virtue—to take a conservative political stand, and by moderating the extremes, and by softening sectional asperities, to promote the general good of the country, and the prosperity of the American Union.

I love the South, and have spent the best energies of my life to advance her interests and her glory. The battle-fields of Texas are eternal evidences of the fact, for it was there individual enterprise gathered round the gallant Houston, and by incredible hardships and almost superhuman exertion, the independence of that vast country was achieved—now one of the brightest stars in the constellation of States. And I refer to my fellow-citizens to attest the fact, that while I have resided in Missouri, I have labored unceasingly to promote her interests.

ERAL ASSEMBLY.

secrated by affection, and upon the soil of the country I have toiled to build up!

Our press has been thrown into the Missouri river. I may be buried there too. An bumble individual is in the power of hundreds of armed men; but his death will not destroy the freedom of the Averton Parss! Independence of thought of the AMERICAN PRESS! Independence of though and action is inherent in the bosom of every free-man, and it will gush up like a perpetual foun-tain for ever! God has impressed on his universe the principles of truth and justice, and they must

prevail.

If there is no security in the land of Washington; if an American home affords no protection; if the time has arrived when this Union must be dissolved, and all its kindred ties and mighty interests broken and destroyed, and our land dre ed with fraternal blood; then let me be buried beneath the turbid waters of the Missouri, rather than live to behold such a scene! God save our

MR. GEORGE S. PARK.—This gentleman, whose connection with the office of the Parkville Lumiconnection with the office of the Parkville Luminary has given him some notoriety, called to see us yesterday. The press upon which that paper was issued was destroyed by citizens of Platte county, and Mr. Park was notified to leave within a given time. Not wishing to incur the resentment of the people who had thus treated him, and who, he says. were not citizens of Parkville, be has left that sec tion of the country, and will probably take up his residence, for the time, on a farm he owns in II-

Mr. Park established the Luminary at Parkville without any very strong political affinities, but in a very little time he was pushed into the support of Benton and Bentonism, and this, we apprehend, may be regarded as the beginning of his troubles In supporting Benton in his paper, the people were led to suspect that he was not 'sound on the goose question,' but his antecedents are all against this supposition. He is the owner of slaves-has grown up in Missouri, and acquired wealth, and we should not suppose from his appearance and character that he would make himself obnoxious to any class of people .- St. Louis Intelligencer.

The Parkville Luminary newspaper office was mobbed and the press thrown into the Missouri river, because its editors had published the following moderate rebuke of the outrages committed in Kansas by citizens of Missouri. Read, and see Read, and see how much abolitionism there is in it :

· We have occupied conservative and nationa ground, promptly opposing the measures and men who have brought on this crisis. Will the President meet it! Surely he cannot longer follow counsels from Abolitionists and Nullifiers! The country demands that sound, firm, energetic mer direction of public affairs, who will im press and enforce justice and law. There is vir-tually no law in Kansas, and no security for law and property, save in the sense of honor and jus-tice cherished by every true pioneer. This may save the country from the bloodshed, but the Government is held up to ridicule and contempt, and its authority disregarded; judges of elections have been displaced and others appointed—the polls have in some instances been guarded with pistols and bowie knives-and some of those elected are going to the Governor swearing that if he does no give a certificate of election immediately, they will cut his throat from ear to ear. Is the flag of our country to be no longer a protection !- or are indi viduals or companies of men to declare we will and it must be so without regard to law ! Is this the authors of the Kansas-Nebraska bil meant by popular sovereignty?

THE LATE HOMICIDE IN KANSAS. A fetter from Kansas, which we find in the Mis

souri Democrat, gives the following account of the recent killing of Malcolm Clark. It will be seen that it differs essentially from the statements concerning the same affair hitherto furnished by the nigger-driving journals of that quarter : A squatter meeting was held at Leavenworth

City to take into consideration the propriety of giving further time to claimants to come and live upon their claims. Mr. McCrea, a lawyer of that place, opposed the extension of time. Mr. Malcolm Clark replied to Mr. McCrea, and said that McCrea was a d-d rascal, anyway. McCrea went off and got a pistol. When he returned, a few more words passed, and Clark struck him: McCrea drew his got a pistol. pistol; Clark picked up a board; McGrea ran, and Clark pursued him. In the chase, Clark dropped his board, when McCrea turned, and holding his pistol within a foot of Clark's breast, fired, and shot him through the heart. The crowd, greatly incensed, rushed upon McCrea with sticks and out his front teeth, &c. He ran to the river, and jumped in, but it happened to be a miry spot, and he stuck up to his arms in mud, He was dragged out, and a vote was taken whether he should hanged on the spot, or sent to Fort Leavenworth for trial. It was decided to send him to the Fort He was placed in a carriage for that purpose. The erowd by this time had greatly increased, and it was proposed to reconsider the vote, which was It was then, by a large majority, voted that he should hang. A rope was immediately sent for, but before it was brought, a gentleman jumped into the carriage beside McCrea, drew revolver upon the driver, and told him to drive t Fort Leavenworth as fast as possible, or he would blow his brains out; and said to the crowd, that if they hung McCrea, they would have to hang him

I have not yet been able to learn the name of this gentleman, but I hear he is from Virginia or Kentucky. No matter whence he came, he is a bold and generous fellow.

On the next day, viz., on the first day of this month—day before yesterday—the corpse of Clark was taken to Weston, Missouri, of which place he had been a citizen before his recent residence at Leavenworth City. The people there gathered over it and made violent speeches and passed strong resolutions, one of which was that they would proceed to Fort Leavenworth and take McCrea and hang him. Friday, the 4th inst., was fixed upon as the day of his execution. Of course, he will be protected by the officers of the Fort.

Clark was about thirty-eight or forty years of

age, very athletic, bold and self-confident, and was a strong pro-slavery man. McCrea is an Abolition-ist. He was saved by a pro-slavery man.

VIRGINIA CHIVALRY.

Mrs. Stone Burnt in Effigy and her Sister Insulted-A Specimen of the Mandness of Virginian Collegiums.—Within the past few days, the University legions.—Within the past few days, the University of Virginia has been the scene of incidents hardly creditable to the chivalry of the Old Dominion. Miss Beecher, an able and accomplished lady, the sister of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and of Mrs. Stowe, visited the vicinity of that institution. He presence was soon known, and she was treated to a ock serenade, and Mrs. Stowe was burnt in effigy How have the mighty fallen! George Washington I well remember to have read, addressed a negre poetess in terms of respect, as 'Miss Phillis,' and raised his hat to a negro man to whom he would not yield the palm of politeness. The present gen eration of young men are far wiser and more chivalric. The authoress of the most affecting and truthlike story of the time is burned in effigy in Virginia, and her sister insulted, because she i her sister. Sie transit gloria mundi.

This 'chivalrous' demonstration has elicited keenly satirical letter from Miss CATHERINE E. BERCH an, which appears in the N. Y. Tribune.

GOV. GARDNER-JUDGE LORING-THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

GOVERNOR GARDNER'S REFUSAL to remove Judge GOVERNOR GARDNER'S REFUSAL to remove Judge Loring astonished the majority of the Legislature, and disappointed a majority of the people of the State; but it rejoiced the 'Southern Know Nothings and National Whigs.' A letter from Washington says so. It says, also, that if Governor Gardner had removed Judge Loring, it would have greatly prejudiced the interests of the Know Nothing party in the Southern States—especially Virginia. The Governor's refusal, however, has put everything into right shape again. He bas, it is

said, convinced the people of Virginia, that Massa-chusetts Know Nothingism is not Anti-Slaveryism in disguise. The Virginians will, therefore, elect Mr. Flournoy to be the next Governor of that State.
This is a somewhat singular view of the influence
of Governor Gardner's veto. He has taken a position almost purely isolated and independent, in relation to the removal of Judge Loring. He ha refused to listen to the address of the Legislature supported by the almost universal sentiment of the people; and yet this action, which detaches him from the confidence and support of his own fellow-citizens of Massachusetts, attaches him to the pro-slavery citizens of Virginia! Did Governor Gardner refuse to accede to the desire of Massachusetts that he might obtain influence in the South!— There have been as unlikely things. He is a gen-tleman of great facility in turning, and, looking towards 1856 and the possibilities of the national election, may have shaped his veto accordingly One thing is undoubtedly certain, and that is, that he has given comfort and encouragement to those men who wish to spread slavery over Kansas and Nebraska, and he has insulted the freemen of the community in which he lives .- Worcester Spy.

We repeat, the strong vote of both Houses of the Massachusetts Legislature to remove Judge Loring for official incompetence, is a striking evidence of the strength of justice in the hearts of the people. In the name of the offended sovereignty of Massachusetts, let him be removed. In the name of the widow and the fatherless, who should find in a Judge of Probate a man having at least the common measure of intelligence, and the common instincts of humanity, let him be removed. In the name of Humanity, which he has trampled under foot, let him be removed. In the name of the Judiciary, which he has brought into contempt, let him be removed. In the name of the Eternal Justice, outraged by his mockery of its sacred dignity, let him be removed. In the name of Him who will judge the poor and the needy, and will make inquisition for their blood, LET HIM BE REMOVED. The reto of a vacillating Governor may defer awhile the stroke of justice, but it is sure to come. No man can live under the weight of odium that will hang upon the name of Edward G. Loring, wherever these facts shall be known.—N. Y. Independent.

has concurred with the action of the House, in its vote removing Mr. Loring from his office of Probate This is a most righteous act, and one in which all right-minded persons will rejoice. rises far above a mere question of personal hostility to Judge Loring. It is not the man, as an individual, that Massachusetts has branded, but the man us an official slave-catcher. The old Commonwealth has set her mark upon the brow of her unnatural son, who so far forgot the lessons of his Puritan to the oppression from which he had fled. This, act of Massachusetts is worthy the descendants of the Mayflower. It is some vindication from the disgrace inflicted upon the State by the authorities of Boston, and the minions of the Federal power. in the extradition of Bufns. The man wh aid in any way in such a transaction, is manifestly unfit to decide questions of right between man and man. His moral perceptions are too obtuse to enable him to discern the right, or his conscience is too seared to induce him to regulate his official conduct by the law of eternal rectitude.

Junge Louing. The Senate of Massachusetts

This act is ominous. The brand of Cain is be ing burned into the brows of the recreant Northmous fugitive act. They are marked men. The time is not remote when whosoever seeth them will shun them as they would a walking pestilence. Their touch will be esteemed more polluting than the touch of a leper. Let Marshal Robinson and Commissioner Pendery make a note of this.—
Columbus, (Ohio) Free Press.

GOV. GARDNER AND THE CONSERVATIVE PRESS. The National Intelligencer and the Southern Whig and Know Nothing Press seem to have penetrated the character of Governor Gardner. Their praise received more high-flown compliments. Nothing so manly, so loyal, so heroic, so grand, has been done since the time old John Adams defended, as counsel, the British soldiers. In fact, it is difficult to say who will hereafter be moreposterity, Governor Gardner or Judge Loring.
This is precisely the kind of incense offered t

Northern men, great enough to overcome their prejudices in favor of Liberty—inconse which has urned the heads of many better men than these the Slave Interest .- National Era.

pearance, like his celebrated letter, was only for setts of a humiliating disgrace, or to throw around the poor, colored citizen of this Commonwealth, the protection of habeas corpus and trial by jury. Gardner has been urged, by the hunker presses, to veto this bill, and he has done it. Southern Know Nothings have urged him to veto it, and thus influence the Virginia election, and he has done it. The Legislature and people of Massachusetts desired him to approve it, and he has not done it. Is Governor Gardner less a Governor of Massachusetts than a subject of Virginia ! The Senate, however, passed the bill over the veto by a vote of 32 to 3, and the House by a vote of 229 to 76, so that the bill is a law, Gov. Gardner to the contrary notwithstanding .- Worcester Spy.

Whatever may have been the short-comings of the Legislature, four great and important measures were consummated, either of which would go far to atone for a multitude of errors. The first was the election of Henry Wilson to the United States Senate, there to proclaim, in no uncertain or feeble manner, the sentiments of Massachusetts : the sec ond was the passage of the Liquor Law for the suppression of a traffic that has caused more human nisery than all other causes combined : the third. the large and decided majority by which, after a full, protracted and impartial hearing, the address for the removal of Judge Loring was carried through both branches; and the last and crowning act, the passage, in spite of the Executive veto, of the Personal Liberty Bill, by which Massachusetts asserts her rights, and claims for her citizens the same panoply of protection guaranteed to their property. thus putting an end at once and forever to the enactment of similar scenes to those of last June.

All honor to the Legislature of 1855, for its manly

. We are not what is kno recognition of the rights of Massachusetts freemen — Dedham Gazette.

The Hiss revelations were unfortunate for the credit of the Commonwealth, but the exposure of his acts indicated a right spirit in the minds of the members. Doubtless the House, as the New York Tribune remarks, ' so far as personal character is concerned, is as honest and respectable a body as ever sat in Massachusetts.' Upon questions in-volving moral elements, their action was uniformly high-toned and courageous. The anti-slavery ele-ment has been predominant in both branches, as indicated in the action upon Judge Loring and the Personal Liberty Bill. Even Boston sent fifteen or twenty anti-slavery men in her delegation of forty-

four representatives.

This legislature has represented the country in terests as distinguished from the metropolitan. The anti-Boston feeling, which has been growing up for some years past, seems to have been allpowerful in this body. The country members were superior to the Boston delegation in experience, ability, and character. Only one of the Bosto-nians had ever been in the House before, and instead of the men of great weight and influence usually sent from that city, there were such 'lewd fellows of the baser sort' as Hiss, and such nobodies as Pierce. The result has been, that country influence has presailed without let or hindrance. The system of district representation, so popular in the cities, and so odious in the rural neighborhoods, received no sort of favor .- Salem Observer.

THE LIBERATOR. No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JUNE 1, 1855. NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CON-

VENTION. This body convened on Tuesday morning last, at th Melodeon, and was organized by the choice of the fol-

lowing officers :-President-WENDELL PHILLIPS

Vice Presidents-CHARLES L. REMOND, of Salem FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston; EDMUND QUINCY, o Dedham ; STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester; BENJA MIN HUTCHINSON, of New Hampshire; SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, N. Y.; JOSEPH MOORE, of Pennsyl

Secretaries-Samuel May, Jr., of Boston; Wm. P. ATKINSON, of Boston; AARON M. POWELL, of Ghent,

Business Committee - Wm. L. Garrison, Wendel Phillips, Charles C. Burleigh, Anne Warren Weston, Abby Kelley Foster, Charles F. Hovey, Andrew T. Foss,

Thomas Whitson, Henry C. Wright, Oliver Johnson.

Finance Committee-Lewis Ford, of Abington; Jas N. Buffum, of Lynn ; Nathaniel B. Spooner, of Plymouth ; Sallie Holley, of Rochester, N. Y.; Elbridge Sprague, of Abington; Reuben C. Ober, of Reading,

The Business Committee introduced several resolu tions, and among them, the following :-

Whereas, whatever may be the principles or the me sures of this Convention, it has a right to be reported fairly by the press, without caricature or misrepresent ation, so that all may form a true and intelligent opinion of its proceedings; and

Whereas, at each anniversary of this Convention year after year, its speech and action have been basely and designedly falsified and misrepresented by the daily newspapers generally in this city, notwithstanding ev ery courtesy has been shown to their reporters on our

Whereas, this scandalous outrage upon all that is decent, honorable and just-this systematic and unvarying course of low blackguardism and unblushing falsehood-has been too long permitted to pass unrebuked : therefore.

Resolved, That while this Convention is ready to grant every facility to the reporters of the press, and desires to be as fully reported as its proceedings may mother, as to aid in the eturn of a human being be deemed worthy of consideration, and while it asks for no exemption from honest criticism and manly re buke, it will hold every press responsible for its account of its doings, to the extent of excluding from its platform every reporter who manifestly evinces a disposition to distort and burlesque what may transpire at its The Convention (up to the time of our going to press)

> has been fully attended, and the debates spirited and interesting. Among the speakers present, and participating in the discussions, are Wendell Phillips, W. L. Garrison, S. S. and A. K. Foster, Henry C. Wright, Charles L. Remond, Rev. S. J. May, C. C. Burleigh, J. C. Cluer, Theodore Parker, and A. T. Foss.

The official report of the proceedings will be publish ed next week.

WILL KANSAS BE A FREE STATE? We answer-No. Not while the existing Unio

stands. Its fate is settled. We shall briefly state some of the reasons which force us to this sad conclusion.

1. The South is united in the determination to make Kansas a slave State-ultimately, by division, half a of his marvellous independence and ability is most dozen slave States, if necessary. She has never yet extravagant. Daniel Webster himself hardly ever been foiled in her purpose thus concentrated and expressed; and she has too much at stake to allow free speech, a free press, and free labor, to hold the mastery in that vast Territory.

2. Eastern emigration will avail nothing to keep slavery out of Kansas. Though we have hitherto been careful to say nothing to discourage it, we have never had any faith in it as a breakwater against the inundation of the dark waters of oppression. Hardly a sintwo worthies, who were never deemed men of mark gle abolitionist can be found among all who have emi till they had done an act peculiarly acceptable to grated to that country. Undoubtedly, the mass of emigrants are in favor of making Kansas a free State as matter of sound policy, and would do so if they were ANOTHER VETO. On Monday forenoon, Governor not under the dominion of Missouri ruffianism, or if Gardner returned the Personal Liberty Bill to the they could rely upon the sympathy and aid of the Senate without his signature. We had no idea that Gardner would sign this bill. Such an act would have committed him to the anti-slavery party, and we do not believe that he ever had any idea of the enslaved negro, nor to sacrifice their chance for a of being so committed. It is true, he appeared at homestead on the altar of principle, but to find a com an anti-slavery meeting in Boston, with Senator fortable home for themselves and their children. Be Wilson and Hon. Anson Burlingame, but that ap- fore they emigrated, they gave little or no countenance to the anti-slavery cause at home; they partook of the Buncombe. When he was called upon to act, in the case of Loring and in the present case, he took shelter behind the subterfuge of patriotism, and abolitionism; at least, they could only dream of ma refused either to relieve the judiciary of Massachu- king 'freedom national, and slavery sectional,' after the manner of ' the fathers '; and they were poisoned more or less with the virus of colorphobia. If they had no pluck here, what could rationally be expected of them in the immediate presence of the demoniacal spiri of slavery? They represent the average sentiment of the North on this subject-nothing more; and that is still subservient to the will of the South. They dare not defend their own rights; how then can they de fend the rights of the enslaved? To place any reliance upon their anti-slavery zeal or courage is to lean upon a broken staff. We do not say this reproachfully, but because it is the truth; and to show why we have n hope, and see no ray of light, in that quarter.

3. The omnipotent power of the general governme will cooperate with the Vandals of Missouri to 'crush out' what little anti-slavery feeling may exist in Kan sas, and to sustain their lawless proceedings in that Territory. This will prove decisive in the struggle.

4. On the subject of slavery, there is no principle the Kansas papers estensibly desirous of making it free State. Here, for instance, is before us 'THE HER-ALD OF FREEDOM,' of May 12th, published at Lawrence which claims to be, and we believe is, the most out spoken journal in Kansas, in regard to the rights of the bona fide settlers. What does its editor say? Listen !- While publishing a paper in Kansas, we feel that it is not our province (!) to discuss the subject of freedom or slavery in the States'! Is not this the most heartless inhumanity, the most arrant moral cowardice, the clearest demonstration of unsoundness of

. We are not what is known in the South as an 'Al ditionist.' but are in favor of the emancipation of the slave through the apprenticeship system, as was don-in Pennsylvania and most of the Northern States. Immediate and unconditional emancipation, we believe would be destructive to the best interests of all concer ed. THE MASTER WOULD BE DESTROYED, (!!) and th slave turned loose upon the world, ignorant, and wholly unqualified for the responsible duties of life. When emancipation does take place, it should be gradual in the negro should be educated and fit. its operation, and the negro should be educated and fi ted to sustain his new relationship to society.

Now this is as rank pro-slavery reading as any thinto be found in the Richmond Examiner or the Charles ton Mercury. To show its folly, its wickedness, its in sanity, has been the one great effort of the abolitionist for the last quarter of a century. It surrenders the whole ground to the enemies of impartial liberty, and makes the present enslavement of those in bondage a meritorious act-for 'immediate and unconditiona mancipation would be destructive to the best interes of all concerned '!! And this is the paper which has nade, and is making, its appeals to the anti-slavery men and women of Massachusetts to swell its subscrip tion list, as true to the cause of freedom! And the have done so. When such is the compromising spirit of the organ of the Free State party, what rational hope is left to believe that the defiant and desperate spirit of slavery will be crushed in the struggle? These are some of the reasons why we believe Kansar

will inevitably be a slave State.

Since the adoption of the Constitution of Massac setts, there has never been a Legislature so thoroughly democratic, in the matter of popular represen in the absence of professional and scholastic exclusiveness-in the presence of a fair proportion of mechanof cottonocracy was powerless in it; it was emphaticalhonesty of purpose, controlled by the progressive spirit lation, and therefore the peril of seizure is universal committed to its hands, with reference to foreign emi- gislature. grants to these shores. This is simple historical justice, aside from all con-

siderations of the 'Know Nothing' movement generally, against which we have earnestly protested from the of Boston a terrible outcry of 'Nullification !' 'Treabeginning, and which, organized into one great national party, we have no doubt will be as servile to the behests of the Slave Power as ever the Democratic party has been-and even more malignant, if possible. The manner in which the Legislature was assailed

from the first to the last day of its proceedings, without mitigation or cessation, by the Whig journals of Boston in particular, and of the Commonwealth in general has revealed a wide-spread Toryism, identical in spirit and purpose with that which sought to crush the Revolutionary struggle for American independence; which ridiculed and denounced such plain men as Sam Adams, John Adams and Paul Revere, and maintained that the people were too vulgar and too ignorant to take upon themselves the responsibilities of government ; which regarded a favored few as the Heavenappointed rulers of the many; which saw in John Han cock a vile traitor, and in Gov. Hutchinson a paragor of loyalty to duty; which perversely cried up 'law and order,' and cried down freedom of speech and the right to protest against parliamentary oppression which taught, with mock religious zeal and devotion that 'the powers that be are ordained of God,' even the powers of King George the Third, and his prime minister Lord North-to resist which was to incur th perils of damnation; which opposed every effort to remove old abuses, monstrous usurpations, insupportable burdens unjustly imposed upon the body politic; which branded reform as fanaticism, opposition to tyrannical laws as treason, free inquiry as infidelity, and nonconformity as wicked insubordination; which saw nothing stable except in depotism, nothing praiseworthy except in unquestioning obedience, nothing virtuous except in the past, nothing desirable except intellectual, moral and religious stagnation ;-a spirit akin to that which stoned the prophets, which crucified Jesus as one having a devil, which persecuted unto death the apostles as 'pestilent and seditious fellows, the filth of the earth, and the offscouring of all things'; and which in all ages has been at war with every new movement to put down established wrong, and to build up down-

The malignity of the Boston press, with scarcely ar xception, towards the Legislature, has been of the intensest kind ; not because of its 'Know Nothing' complexion, but on account of its overmastering love of edom-its determination to secure to every man in Massachusetts, claimed as a slave, all the protection which the State has a right to give-its regard for the public peace, prosperity, happiness and virtue, in the passage of the Maine Law-and especially, because it was so largely composed of men in the ordinary walks of life, unsophisticated farmers, industrious mechanics, hard-handed artizans, who are regarded by these mouthpieces of a soulless aristocracy as fit only to be ruled by 'gentlemen of eminent gravity' and men of property and standing,' but never to manage the affairs of the Commonwealth. It is the Toryism of 1775 in the guise of Conservatism—contempt for the masses, and a selfish regard for class legislation. Consult the files of the Advertiser, the Courier, the Post, the Journal and the Traveller, (to say nothing of the Herald, Mail, and Times, because too low to challenge critiin the guise of Conservatism-contempt for the masses, cism,)-for no city in the land is cursed with a more Kirkland, had a colored husband, by whom she had press than Boston,-and see how constantly the action of the Legislature has been jeered at, ridiculed, misrepresented, caricatured, anathematized, to the total disregard of all that belongs to fairness, decency, and honorable dealing, no matter what may have been the question under consideration, and wholly irrespective termined to free her, her mother, her six children, her of its merits. Such conduct is nothing better than unmitigated scoundrelism. The conductors of the papers alluded to habitually reveal themselves as without principle or self-respect, traitors to the cause of liber-, more dangerous to the Commonwealth than all the ckpockets and burglars therein. They systematicaland designedly poison the life-blood of the communi-. There is not a particle of manhood among them They are the sycophants of Mammon-the span-

iels of Cottonocracy-the servile tools of the Slave Power. In whatever else they may differ, they are always agreed in resisting human advancement, the overthrow of long-established wrong, unpopular truth, the claims of outraged humanity. They are morally inca-

Burns,—a Probate Judge eager to play the part of a two-legged bloodhound as Slave Commissioner under a Congressional enactment truly described as infernal,—the Legislature, by an overwhelming vote in both threatened with being kicked into the river. Some one the hands of the Executive. While his case was pending, every effort was made by the journals we have designated to intimidate and brow-beat the Senate and the House, and to shield that infamous Judge of Probate from all condemnation, by a pretended concern for called in, the will of Mr. Willis, found on him, was fresh howl from those journals, as from the regions of dollars. The body of Mr. Willis will be buried to-day, the lost! Still, there was the Executive to take final action upon the subject; and so they used every artifice to induce Gov. Gardner to keep the slave-entcher in his polluted office, and to override the unmistakable de- FRIENDS. We have cheerfully complied with the remand of the people. To his shame and lasting infamy, quest of our friend THOMAS McCLINTOCK, of Waterloo. he yielded to their mingled clamor and flattery; and (N. Y.,)-a highly-esteemed preacher among the Conthen, what shouts of exultation they raised, joined in gregational or Progressive Friends-in publishing, on by the harmonious yells of the whole body of Southern our last page, the discussion respecting the Principles men-stealers and cradle-plunderers!

By the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the Southrn man-hunter was allowed to enter our State, and to lay his piratical hands upon any man, woman or slave, and to carry his victim off without a jury trial, South, at the nod of a petty Commissioner, when a stray horse could not be recovered without 'due process of law,' and a verdict rendered by twelve men impannelled as a jury. To baffle this unconstitutional enactment, and to throw around the citizens of this Commonwealth all those safeguards against being kidnamed which they are entitled to, the Legislature passed a Personal Liberty Bill, in entire accordance with the principles of justice and humanity, as far as Wm. B. Huntington should have been Wm. B. Harit goes; not forbidding the slave-hunter to seize and rington, of Upton.

emove his prey, under any circumstances, as it should have done, but only forbidding cooperation and as-State government named thein, in the imprisonment or rendition of any person claimed as a fugitive slave. This Bill is entitled 'An Act to Protect the Rights ics, farmers, and the laboring population generally—as and Liberties of the People of the Commonwealth of the one which has just adjourned. The aristocratid Massachusetts.' Now, when it is remembered that element was completely exercised out of it; the spirit there are thousands of colored citizens in this State who are daily liable to have their homes invaded, and ly of THE PEOPLE, without pretence, unsophisticated, inexperienced in regard to the forms of legislation, but from the South—nay, more, that all complexional disembodying an unusual amount of moral worth and tinctions have long since ceased among the slave populations of the age, self-guided to the prostration of all ambi- no man in Massachusetts, worthy of the name, will say tious leadership, and indicating no lack of speaking or that the Bill is too stringent in its provisions, or to rorking talent. Though nominally a . Know Nothing exacting in its requirements, so far as penal legislation body, its regard for the cause of human freedom, as is concerned. Let him suppose the case his own, as h against the aggressions of the Slave Power, was clearly is morally bound to do -or that of his father, or moth paramount to all other considerations. It turned a er, or wife, or child, or brother, or sister-claimed a deaf ear to all the evil prognostications of Hunkerism, the property of another, to be a life-long slave, with trampled in the dust the temptations of pro-slavery no more freedom of mind or action than a dumb beast, malism, foiled alike the wealth and the craft of and then say whether the liberty of the citizen is to State street, and used with great moderation the power carefully guarded by the recent enactment of the Le-

The Personal Liberty Bill was passed by both branches of the Legislature with great unanimity. Immediately there arose from the pro-slavery journals son ! ' &c. &c .- in which all the Southern newspapers joined in full chorus, assisted by Bennett's Herald, the New York Journal of Commerce, the Albany Argus and other satanic presses. Again they invoked Gov. Gardner to veto the action of the Legislature; again he responded to their appeal; and again they made the welkin ring with their shouts of exultation.

But the cause of freedom is stronger than the pur chased presses of the city and country, and will go on conquering and to conquer.' Boston no longer rules the Commonwealth with a rod of iron. The people of Massachusetts have made up their minds to have n more slave hunts in their borders; and they will no only cordially endorse, but firmly sustain the action o the Legislature for the protection of 'their rights and

THE SLAVES OF MR. WILLIS. We copy from the Cincinnati Columbian the follow

ing account of the circumstances attendant upon the death of Mr. Elijah Willis, a wealthy citizen of South Carolina, who died suddenly in Cincinnati, a few days ince, after bequeathing by his will freedom to ten of his slaves, and leaving all his property, to the value of \$150,000, to be divided among seven of them : On the 28d of February, 1854, a fine-looking, co

pulent gentleman, apparently about sixty years of age, came to this city in search of Dr. Brisbane, from whom he wished advice as to the proper course to pursue to effectuate the manumission of a number of his slaves. Not readily finding Dr. Brisbane, he obtained the advice of John Joliffe, Esq., and had duplicate wills drawn up. One of these he took with him, and the other he deposited with Mr. Joliffe, to be used if he should die suddenly, and the will in his possession be accidentally or purposely destroyed. He stated that accidentally or purposely destroyed. He stated that one of his brothers had died very suddenly, and that he himself, being subject to palpitation of the heart, was liable to be also summoned to another world at a noment's notice.

Elijah Willis—that was his name—stayed only a few

days in Cincinnati, but his bright, benevolent counte-nance and manly frankness were not soon forgotten by those whom circumstances had thrown into contact with Returning home, he drew up a complete inventory of

all his property, and making two of his neighbors his confidants, he deposited this inventory with them, to be used in case of his sudden death, at the same time making them pledge themselves not to make it public reviously.

He was largely engaged in the lumber business, and

raised no crops except what were necessary for the sup-port of the twenty-nine full grown slaves and the nu-merous slave children that he owned. The lumber got ut by his slaves was rafted down the Edisto river. this business, Mr. Willis had amassed a large estate. He was noted for the kindness with which he treated is slaves, who were never driven with the whip, nor shut out by a lock from the stores of provisions. They are in the kitchen part of the same food that Mr. Willis ate in the parlor.

A number of the relatives of Mr. Willis, who are all

in comfortable circumstances, lived near him, but seldom visited his residence. His housekeeper was dark, but very shrewd mulatto woman, whom he purchased, with her mother, brother and sister, about

three children before he was sent South.

This woman, by her faithfulness and shrewdness, soon acquired great influence over Mr. Willis, by whom she had three children. She watchfully superintended his

lomestic affairs, attended to the wants of the slaves, and advised as to the business.

Mr. Willis, feeling concerned for the future welfare of his children, and urged thereto by Amy, at last de-

After his return home, he arranged all his business

as rapidly as possible, and taking notes for outstanding debts due him, made preparations for disposing of his entire estate, and moving to Ohio, where he proposed to entire estate, and moving to Ohio, where he proposed to locate on a farm, with Amy, her mother, and the children. Finding that the expense of bringing Amy's brother and sister and their families would be considerable, and that there might be some difficulty in at once securing a home, Mr. Willis concluded finally North with Amy, her mother and the children, and having secured for them a residence, return to close up

the business and bring the others.

On last Tuesday week, they left home as thus proposed. On reaching Louisville, they got on board the steamer Jacob Strader, and reached here at 6 o'clock pable of uttering an independent thought or a noble sentiment. In short—THEY ARE TORIES.

In consequence of the illegal, precipitate and merciless conduct of Judge Loring in the case of Anthony and the called a carriage, when, just as he went to reach one of the small children into it, he breathed heavily.

Amy asked him if he had another attack of papitation of the heart. He neighbor application of the heart.

houses, in accordance with the humane, moral and re-ligious feelings of the people of Massachusetts, withligious feelings of the people of Massachusetts, without distinction of party, too powerfully expressed to be safely disregarded, requested his removal from office at the hands of the Executive. While his case was pend-

the purity and independence of the Judiciary! But in vain did they rave and foam at the mouth :—the Legispointed John Joliffe, A. H. Ernst and Edward Harwood lature was composed of men who could neither be bribed nor overawed, and it proceeded to the performance
of its high duty without fear or favor. They came ed nor overawed, and it proceeded to the performance care of Mr. Joliffe, which has not yet oven operated the property is obtained, each of these colored children of its high duty without fear or favor. Then came a will have a fortune of twenty-five or thirty thousand will have a fortune of twenty-five or thirty thousand

THE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTS OF THE PROGRESSIVE and Objects of that Society between himself and the editor of the Peterboro' Christian and Citizen ; first. because he does not appear to have been allowed a fair hearing by the latter ; secondly, because the subject is child, no matter of what complexion, as his fugitive one of vital importance to the progress of reform; and thirdly, because the discussion, long as it is, cannot on interested and ex-parte evidence brought from the fail to interest, throughout, every candid mind and earnest seeker after truth who shall commence its pe rusal. The charges so superficially made and so flip pantly brought against the new movement, by the Christian and Citizen, are most critically examined and most ably refuted, in the best spirit, and on a solid

Connection. In the last report of the Treasurer the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, the name of

THE NEW SCHOOL PRESBYTERIAN GEN. The General Assembly of a Presbyterian Charat is now met in St. Louis. The principal interest represented is that of the Doctors who compose it. Der to ed is that of the very politic Doctors. They eschew all personalities Their grand theme is religion; yet, if any good though Their grand theme to the cause of truth, to humanit, a incidentally arise to would greatly rejoice. The Peris to good morais, they Railroad Company and to Washington, some thing are urday over their road to Washington, some things miles. This ride was 'free, -gratis, -in welcome, -in for nothing, -without costing a cent.' So they delered the business of the Lord, and went in for the finite. How they demeaned themselves at the depot, on the down they desired, in the not learned; nor whether they danced or said their prayers; and, so fat a la manity is concerned, it makes but precious littledis. ence; for the spiritual salt of all such bodies hat he ence; for the spiritual and is only fit to be cast out at since lost its rate, should the Assembly the any signs of life, or even kick, I will let you know it

> Sr. Louis, (Mo.) May 25, 1854 Give me a Doctor of Divinity for true courses! h will gladly risk going to hell in the next world, for the sake of his broad and butter in this. As proof, I sai you the proceedings of those Doctors of the about its sembly, now in session in St. Louis. If such sintents not damned, who is in danger? The following wen the proceedings on Tuesday, the 22d May, 1855

St. Louis, May 22, 1855.

A communication was read from Rev. R. L. Storn A communication was read from Rev. R. L. Sorn, Jr., D.D., delegate from the General Association of Ser York, bearing the salutations of that body, and mola-ing a resolution of the Association, respecting the silens of the Assembly on the subject of slavery, as follow: Whereas, The silence of the General Assembly of the Whereas, The silence of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, N. S., at its last session, on the subject of slavery, has seemed to this body to be a remgrade movement, calculated to excite alarm in the mind of the friends of humanity and religion; therefore, Resolved, That our delegate to that body be intrad-

ed to express our apprehension on this subject, and a assure them that we hold in abhorrence all such imp. assure them that we note in agnorrence at such inc-tion; and that in continuing our correspondence wit ecclesiastical bodies having churches in startheling states, we do it rather to bear our continued and ar-nest testimony against the sin of starthelding that is express the least acquiescence in so great a wickeing Rev. Mr. Sneed thought the Assembly would come its self-respect by passing over this resolution without

Dr. McLane stated that while a delegate to this im. ciation, some years ago, an attempt was made to pus such a resolution, but at his instance, it was continued. Now it has come. He thought it couched in very his corous language, and was so hostile to every practice of courtesy and correspondence, that we should be particularly the courtesy and correspondence. over in eilence.
Rev. Mr. Spencer moved its reference to a special

committee. This was withdrawn after brief con

Rev. C. C. Parker appeared in behalf of the General Convention of Vermont, very cordially expressing the fellowship and unity which subsist between the tra-bodies, in doctrinal opinions and long interchange fellowship and unity which subsist between the its bodies, in doctrinal opinions and long interchap of membership, and the earnest feeling and irrest the churches of Vermont on slavery and intemperasa. Rev. Z. M. Humphrey appeared in behalf of the Prebyterian and Congregational Convention of Wiscons. He entered into some details of the churches he represented; and expressed their sentiments on the saled of slavery and intemperance.

The correspondence being finished, Rev. Mr. Pidia offered the following resolution:

most discourteously taken upon itself to review the legi-lative action of the General Assembly of the Problerian Church over its own churches, and also, in most us gentlemanly and abusive language, has declared in intention, in future correspondence, to pursue the same unchristian course; therefore,
Resolved, That the stated Clerk be directed to rein

Inasmuch as the General Association of New York hay

the communication of the General Association of V York to that body, with the intimation that we denie no farther correspondence with them.

Rev. Dr. Campbell moved a substitute for the above

as follows:
Whereas, The General Association of New York, w their last meeting, held in Madrid, declared, by a relution sent to this General Assembly, and presented by delegate, that the only reason of their continuing tor-respondence with this body is that they may bear their testimony against slaveholding; therefore, Resolved, That our delegate to that body he instruct

ed to say to that Association that this General Association to not regard themselves as having neglected to expent their sentiments in reference to slaveholding; and that in our judgment, it better accords with the principle of correspondence that the respective bodies be left to par-sue their own course in reference to all matters of the clesiastical action in their own churches. After some discussion, these resolutions were con-

mitted to a special committee, consisting of Ret. It. Campbell, Rev. Henry Neill, and C. R. Robert, Esp. The Rev. Mr. Pitkin's resolutions smack of the last.

They bear the humble marks of a tyrant's meeting They show that he prefers the fellowship of Satan, if he favors slavery, to that of an honest man, who favors liberty. The Church is self-righteous, cruel, and endish. Had it any regard for justice, it would sever have sent its General Assembly to hold its session in a slatt State, where its members must, of necessity, be quartered on hypocritical slaveholders; and where, if they are not 'damb dogs,' they must be the ungrateful recipient of the slaveholder's bounty. But, like Dr. Cox, their basiness is to ' preach the Gospel.' They bare nothing b do with morality, justice, nor humanity. This Asserbly has been a week in session. It has had one free imp on a rail-road, has another proposed,-a ten miles excursion to eat strawberries, -eaten a public supper it Dr. Bullard's church,-had an offer of free drinks from a soda palace; and some other like propositions, to perform acts of great general public usefulness.

May 24. The Assembly has received invitated from the 'Young Men's Christian Association' visit their rooms'; from Professor Spencer to visit the eclectic college '; from the Faculty of the University ty of Missouri to ' visit the Museum and College'

The Assembly have actually introduced resolutions in favor of temperance and the Maine law; and the Ber-Dr. Wilson made the following report on slavery :-Rev. Dr. Wilson, from the Committee on Bills and

Overtures, reported the following minute on Sister:
The Committee had received memorials from the span of Jowa, of Western Reserve, the Presbyters of Elyria, St. Joseph, Cineinnati, Ithaca, Peeris and Knox, Wabash, Athens, Maumec, Hamilton, Indiangolis, Geneva, and the Congregational church of Coles —all couched in the most respectful language, all supplaining that the orders of the Assembly of 1858 had not been complied with, and all of them calling for section on the part of the Assembly.

tion on the part of the Assembly.

They have also received a memorial from the Third

Presbytery of Philadelphia, deprecating any action of
the part of this body, out of a simple regard for the peace, unity, and prosperity of the Church.

After protracted, deliberate and prayerful consideration of the whole subject, the Committee are unanimous in recommending to the General Assembly the following

1. That the General Assembly address a Pasteri

1. That the General Assembly address a rather to all the Churches under their care, realizable the action of past Assemblies in regard to the sinfances of the system of slavery, and expressing their depregret at the intemperateness of word and action shall be action of the system of the spirit of those who has conscientiously aimed at its overthrow.

2. That a Committee be appointed to report to the consciention of the system of the

next Assembly on the constitutional fower of the tosembly over the subject of slavery in our Churche,
and that we recommend this evil be removed from our
Church as soon as it can be done in a Christian and Even this is more than could have been especial

here. Where was that 'Jerry Speak,' the Rev. Mr. Sneed? Can there be no means devised, by with such secondrels can be made to feel the curse they are so willing to continue on others, in their own propries of the could hold the lash over Mr. Sorel's back; if his wife and daughter could be compelled i breed children from promiscuous fathers for marie, is be raised as brutes are raised and sold as cattle are; would be desire to see an effort made for their emands pation 'passed in silence'? And yet, what better i this 'eloquent and educated ' villain's wife and daugh ter than an honest black man's? If the religion of this country was not true, it could not exist a year under such concentrated inhumanity, injustice and rescality. But religion is true, and it is raddled for the time bent with this villany.

BPEECH In the On the Qu ment to th No person any office been born Mn. SPE tleman fro previously prepared to an acciden locality of bility to useful he he resides spirited; business wealth; may be in

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SPEECH OF JOHN PRINCE, OF ESSEX, Is the Massachusetts House of Representatives, On the Question of adopting the following as an Amend pest to the Constitution :-

*No person shall be entitled to vote, or be eligible to

*No person shall be entitled to vote, or be eligible to

*No person shall be entitled to vote, or be eligible to

*No person shall be a shall have

Sometime to the United States.

**Entitle Commonwealth*

**The Commonweal Mr. Sprakes; The proposition submitted by the genthe area lewich, (Mr. Carey,) and which we have toman from spewion, (sar, varey,) and which we have pretionally had before us in another form; I do not feel prepared to adopt. I dislike the idea of making such accidental circumstance as the mere geographical as acceptant directly of a man's birth, the turning point of his eligihilly to office for all his after life; so that, however built to come as a member of the community where residet; however upright, intelligent and public piritel; hoserer much he may have at stake in the inces and pecuniary transactions of the Commonwealth; however patriotic and deeplys republican he may be in his sympathics; he must be absolutely exmsy be in me ever holding any office whatever, merely becase he happened to open his eyes for the first time because he nappelled the boundary line of the United Sairs! And this, too, although he may have come to this country when he was only five, or three years, or one year, or even only six months old! Yes, even though he was born on board a vessel sailing under forign flag when within a single day's sail of the Amerforeign and which within a congre way a sail of the Amercollection of any other country than our own, though he night cherish a hearty love for our country and its institutions, and nurture in the minds of his children a stratement, and intrace in the initials of this chitdren a that he himself, by a mere chance, did not arrive here entil after be began to breathe, must determine the point whether he shall or shall not participate, in the smallest degree, in the government to which he, with all the property he may accumulate, is made subject. This stems to me to be too narrowly and childishly pro-

The precise locality of a man's birth is a circum face over which he has no control ; neither merit nor denerit accrises to him in consequence of it. We are post of as consulted as to where we shall first behold the light. It would puzzle many to ascertain where they were born. Indeed, none of us know anything in this respect, save what is told us. Many lose their parents in early childhood, in that period of life which in manhood is totally forgotten, or but faintly recalled in dim and misty recollection. Thousands of families kep no record of the birth-places of their children; and especially is this the case with the emigrant populatien everspreading many portions of our country. The children of such, in many cases, after arriving at manhood, would be unable to prove anything with certainty ea this point; they would even be unable to satisfy themselves as to whether they were by birth either 'American' or 'foreigu.' But they would know, and endld demonstrate to others, whether they were ' American' in feeling and sympathy, whether they were mentally qualified for public office, whether they were men of reliable character or not, and whether they had resided here the term of time we might properly deem reonisite-whether seven, ten, fourteen, or twenty-one ears :- and this, I think, would be sufficient. Our hands should not be tied by constitutional provision, so test we cannot, in any case whatsoever, legally vote for such person, even for the most subordinate office.

Birth, complexion, physical stature and conformation are arranged and determined without regard to our wish or preference. For instance, could I have been consided, I might have chosen for myself the tall form, breakth of shoulders and muscular strength of my friend, the member from Upton, instead of my present diminutive proportions. [Laughter.] But the fates eplered otherwise, and I have no complaint to make :on the whole, I am glad of it as a matter of convenience. The locality of a man's birth being equally accidental I hope we shall not attempt to carry the 'native American' idea to the extreme of absurdity, but act rationally and within bounds. The 'American party,' in this very 'American' city, elected, last November, a 'foraguer ' by birth to a seat on this floor !- thus showing that they did not intend to adhere rigidly to any such rule as is involved in the proposition now before us. Dr. Bigelow, at present a member of this House from Boston, was (as appears from Poole's Statistical Register) born in Canada ! Yet who of us thinks the less of him on that account? Who of us has felt, for a moment, that that highly respected gentleman is an interliper liere, because he happened to be born outside the line of the United States jurisdiction ?

None but Americans should rule America," is the notto of the party new in power in this State ; and this his been many times and emphatically reiterated here during this discussion. I accept it as expressive of sand dectrine. But what is it to be an 'American,' is the sense of a qualification or fitness to rule? Is it merely to be born on the soil designated by the geographical name of 'America,' and so narrowed down in interpretation as to signify just what is now includel neither more nor less, within the United States of America? I know some persons born in Massachusetts, who are far from being ' American' in feeling and character,-if by 'American' you mean anything akin to spapathy for freedom, justice, republicanism, or faith in human improvement. Some 'natives' of our own State are ingrained aristocrats, - downright monarchists, to all intents and purposes, -having little sympathy for mankind, and little trust in the capacity of the people for self-government. I would not vote for tack 'Americans' to legislate or administer, either in our Commonwealth or anywhere else. By an ' American,' I mean one who is such in character-one who is 'American' or republican in principle, feeling, sympathy, and impulse. A man's birth-place cannot determine anything in this respect. You have doubtless heard, Mr. Speaker, of the English gentleman who advertised for a coach-driver, and in a postscript added that no Irishman need apply. An applicant for the station soon presented himself, and was asked where he was born ; when he replied, 'In Ireland.' 'But,' said the gentleman, 'did you not see by the advertisement that I did not wish to employ an Irishman? ' To this, the other rejoined by saying that, though born in Ireland, he was no Irishman; and he added, with some indignation, Suppose, sir, a man was born in a stable, is that any reason that he is a horse?' [Laughter.] Though a man be born in America, it does not necessarily follow that he is characteristically an American. Neither is a man necessarily a monarchist or anti-republican in theory or in feeling, because he was born in Europe, or elsewhere outside the limits of a republic. Lough, Marrini, and hundreds of men the other side of the Atlantic, are every whit better republicans than some preminent leading men in our own country at this moment, who are loud-mouthed in their professions of democracy. What kind of 'Americanism' is it that infuences such men as Mason of Virginia, the author of the Fugitive Stave Bill, or Senator Butler, or Stephen A Douglas, or Franklin Pierce? Such 'Americans

have 'ruled America' too long! We might with as much propriety render ineligible all those born in Virginia, South Carolina, and some other portions of the United States, as hundreds who are born in England or Germany. Many who are natree of the last-named countries and who emigrate lither, are from their youth upward genuine, hearty republicans; while many who were born and reared in the Southern States, in the midst of the blighting social and political influences of chattel slavery, are in sympathy despotic, unfit to hold office in Massachusetts. What sort of republican training and education would be derived from the political and social atmosphere of Tirginia, where Mrs. Douglas was imprisoned for keeping a school to teach free colored children to read; and too when she was laboring 'all for love and nothing for reward '? One great complaint against Roman Catholics, (a complaint repeated on this floor several times this session, and which we have expressed through time has pa sed here,) is that they aim to keep the People in ignorance, and are for this reason hostile to few hundred votes, and it being evident that many States will be permitted to use these yokes gratis.

free common echools. Romanists are bad enough in hundreds of ballots were cast by foreigners then rethis respect, without doubt; but when and where have cently arrived. In Massachusetts, we have never sufthey ever attempted anything worse than has been realized in Virginia and other portions of the South?

So far as republican fitness for office may be concern ed, of what advantage would it be for a man to be born, educated and disciplined in Missouri? Events of re- If a man can now fraudulently procure naturalization hang Governor Reeder if he should interpose any bar- who could gainsay his word, especially if he be remove region of country to the dominion of chattel slavery !

The following I have clipped from a telegraphic report, in the newspapers, of the speech of Gov. Reeder, that, now and then, by hook or by crook, one suc Kansas, on his late visit to Pennsylvania. What a picture does it present us of the principles and practices of natives of one portion of our country! How we be much more disgraced or injured than we have much republicanism would a person be likely to breathe been by the election of some ' natives'? into his soul in consequence of being born in a community of such rowdies as are herein described ?

'He referred to the reports of frauds and outrages their soil from foreign control or interference

I think, Mr. Speaker, that there are some evils in this country besides those resulting from foreign emigration-some equally great, and as likely to sap the foundations of our republican institutions. When have the naturalized foreigners in any part

of our country been guilty of any thing equal in enormity to the recent conduct of the Missourians? In this case, it should be observed, the persons of whom I complain were in the strictest sense the aggressors. What sort of a republican education would one receive if brought up at the feet of the civil authorities and teachers of law and politics in Georgia-the State which offered, through its Legislature, \$1000 reward for the head of a 'Native American '-a son of Massachusetts by birth, (Wm. Lloyd Garrison,) -who all his life has been battling in behalf of universal freedom? What kind of 'republicanism' was inculcated by Gov. Hammond, George McDuffie, and Calhoun, when they declared that slavery existed by divine right, that it was of 'patriarchal' origin and authority, and that i was even the 'corner-stone' of the American government? How much better would any man be, for hav-

than if born in England or Germany, or even in Aus-

One of the members from Boston (Mr. Farwell) has during this discussion, quoted the saying attributed to Washington, 'Put none but Americans on guard !' His application of it is, that we should elect none but Americans to office, under any circumstances. Allow me, as I have said before, to define what makes an American, and I do not object to the doctrine. But I think there is not a little cant in this frequent reiteration of the alleged danger of having any other persons on guard' than those born on American soil. Who, let me ask, sought to betray the cause of freedom during the American Revolution? Was it Lafayette, the abiding security as a nation, and be a 'name and a land? or Baran de Kalb, the native German? or Richnative Frenchman? or Kosciuszco, the native of Po-'Native American'-Benedict Arnold-who was born in the wooden-nutmeg State of Connecticut! No truer patriot or more devoted soldier participated in the struggle of the colonies against Great Britain, than was Baron de Steuben, the hative Prussian, who cast in his lot with our Revolutionary sires, and, but for the timely aid of the State of New York in the grant of have died in poverty. He sought not to secure even posthumous distinction or homage, but made an earnest an obscure place, with no monument to mark the spot. Not one of his contemporaries was more shocked and grieved than he at the treachery and perfidious character of Arnold. Says a historian of the time, 'So great was his abhorrence of every thing mean and contemptible, that he could never endure the name of General Arnold, after that dishonorable officer proved a traitor to his country. While reviewing a regiment of light horse, the name of Arnold happened to strike his ear. The man who bore it was ordered to the front. He was a fine-looking fellow, with horse and equipments in excellent order,- Change your name, brother soldier,' said the Baron, 'you are too respectable to bear the name of a traitor ! ' Verily, there is considerable nonsense in the implied assumption of a necessity that one should prove himself native-born, before he can be

trusted out of sight! To be consistent, and legitimately extend the ultra native' idea, those gentlemen who pertinaciously urge the proposition now before us, should seek further to amend the Constitution by providing that no one should be eligible to office in our State unless born within the limits of Massschusetts; and still further, that no one should be a County Commissioner, Treasurer, Register of Deeds, or Register of Probate, unless born within the County ; and further yet, that no one should be a Representative in any town in the Legislature, unless a 'native' of that town. In case of the adoption of such amendments, our friend from Ipswich

qualification we are considering feel, perhaps, like Mr. represent the entire American party,-to say nothing of the rest of the people of this Commonwealth. However this may be, I do not sympathise with any 'raw head and bloody bones ' warfare upon foreigners, merely as such. I do not adopt as my political motto the rapacious song of the grim giant, in the nursery story

Fee, fi, fo, fum, I smell the blood of an Irishman— Dead or alive, I will have some.' [Laughter.]

I admit that there are evils arising from the multitudinous emigration of foreigners to our country. These, however, have been exaggerated, and they may be corrected without a resort to such policy as is involved in the proposed amendment to our fundamental easy, that any load of sin and guilt, no matter how law. To obviate the evils complained of, it would be large or heavy, can be lain under; or removed and carmore proper to begin at the fountain-head—the federal ried any distance, or any length of time, without gallgovernment. Let whatever legislation is demanded ing. The Doctor has worn one of these with great hucommence at Washington-let the naturalization laws mility and satisfaction over fifteen years; sustaining a be revised or reconstructed, if need be, so as effectually load, not only of sin and guilt, but also of shame, sufficient to preclude, if possible, the perpetration of fraud in the procural of naturalization papers. That gross inconvenience. The profits of this invention will enafrauds and impositions in regard to voting have been ble the Doctor to pass the evening of his life in ease and practised, especially in the great States of New plenty. Those persons who, for a few years past, have been york and Pennsylvania, and in some portions of the wearing 'Dr. Cox's patent Christian yoke,' are advised West, I do not doubt. It has been asserted, with that he has never surrendered its use to the public; but much plausibility, that one Presidential election was decided by the votes of men who had not resided in the thousands who are now using them will come forward country so long as the naturalization laws require— and compromise with him, and thus save unpleasan New York having turned the scale by a plurality of a and expensive litigation. Church members in the slave

fered from this species of political corruption, at least not upon a scale sufficiently extended to attract atten-tion. And if we had so suffered, how would the proposed amendment prevent the recurrence of the evil cent occurrence in the Territory of Kansas may serve to illustrate the sort of 'republicanism' which actuates some of the people of Missouri, who went over the Kansas boundary line, fraudulently assumed the right to vote in the organization of the Territory, threatened to rier to their villany, overawed the civil officers general-ly, and thus trampled upon decency, law, order and justice! And all for the purpose of subjugating that ers being occasionally chosen to office, under the sup position that they were native born? And support foreigner should slip into some office of no great conse quence, although we should deplore the fraud, should

As far as our own State is concerned, the stringent proposition we are discussing is entirely uncalled for Comparatively few foreigners have ever held State offices in Massachusetts. According to Poole's Statistica "He referred to the reports of frauds and outrages upon the part of slavery men in the Kansas election, and emphalically confirmed the very worst statements of them, which had preceded his arrival. He said his opinions on the subject of popular sovereignty had undergone no change, but that the conduct of the people of the border counties of the north of Missouri had asof the border counties of the north of Missouri had astonished and amazed him by their reckless disregard of all laws, compacts and constitutions; that the territory of Kansas in her late election had been insuded by a regular organized army, armed to the teeth, who took possession of the ballot-boxes, and made a Legislature to suit the purposes of the pro-slavery party. Kansas was subdued, subjugated and conquered by armed men from Missouri, but her citizens were resolved never to give up the fight for their freedom, and the independence of their soil from foreign control or interference.' constitutional change here proposed? Besides, if the majority of the people of the State really wish to elect men of foreign birth to office, would it be democratic to seek to prevent them from so doing by Constitutional enactment? Is it not a fundamental idea of a republican theory of government, that the majority shall rule? If the majority of the people do not wish to choose persons of foreign birth, then let them ballot for natives only, and the matter is settled without more

We ought to be discriminating and just in speaking of foreigners, and not launch forth wholesale, ranting denunciations of them. Many of them are in principle and character truly republican-fit to be citizens as soon as they arrive here, so far as regards their sympathies and intentions. All that is needed in their case is, the adoption of a uniform rule prescribing a reasonable term of residence here, so that they may become affiliated with us, before exercising the elective fran chise and sharing the responsibilities of legislation. Thousands of intelligent Protestants are continually emigrating to our shores; and from their influence, we can have nothing to fear, but much to hope for and rejoice in. . It is, doubtless, equally true, that many ing been born and reared in the midst of such teachers, are constantly coming hither, who (like some natives) are, when they arrive, unfit to be citizens any where. This class we may seek to 'Americanize,' in a decent sense of that term ; and if they themselves are not immediately improved, we have no occasion for being dismayed or hallucinated by morbid fears. Their children will be likely to prove intelligent, virtuous, and qualified for republican citizenship, unless spailed by the bad principles and evil influences of their ' native associates. Our foes are less from without than within. If our whole country were itself consistently re publican, from North to South and from East to West we should need to have no apprehensions of coming to nought, but could cherish a rational confidence in our

[Mr. Hinks, of Boston, editor of the Know Nothing and? or Baran de Renative Englishman? No! it was and American Crusader, followed in reply, and intimated that some members of the Legislature were not true Native Americans, when Mr. Paixce again rose

Mr. Speaker : Does the gentleman intend to intimat that I am not an original, genuine native American? land, and a generous pension from Congress, would spread-eagle, Bunker Hill, Fourth-of-July speech, full tyre! Why, sir, I was born on American soil, (at least, so they tell me,) and so was my father, grandfarequest that his body might not be buried with pomp and display, but wrapped in a cloak, and deposited in Revolutionary stock. I am the gran nothing shorter, of a man who served as a captain all through the eight years of the Revolutionary warwho was at Bunker Hill in the thickest of the fightwho ran across Charlestown Neck, following the lead of General Putnam, while a British frigate in the river was sweeping the Neck with cannon balls, and who, while running, accidentally dislocated his ancle, and, sitting down immediately, slipped the bone back into the socket, and then resumed his flight, hearing distinctly all the while the whizzing of the balls through the air ! He shared the deprivations and sufferings of the army during the hard winter of 1777. The muster roll of his company, the paper yellow with age, may be seen in this very building, in the Secretary' office. That muster roll, sir, was the offly evidence by which a pension was secured, a year ago last autumn, for a widow lady in the town of Hamilton. I not genuine, true-blue, original, thorough-going, out-andout natice American! The idea is preposterous, Mr Speaker. (Mr. Prince resumed his seat amid great merriment, and exclamations of ' Good ! good ! ')

[This speech is in the highest degree creditable to the head and heart of its author.]-ED. LIBERATOR.

JUSTICE POR KANSAS.

The people of Kansas, whose rights have been out raged by Missouri ruffians and outlaws, have petitioned Congress for redress. Congress must inquire into the would be disfranchised in this Commonwealth; for he matter. That inquiry will establish all that has been is a 'foreigner' to Massachusetts, being a native of charged, and must result in the dissolution of the territory Now Hampshire, which has usually been reckoned, in torial legislature, or at least in the rejection of their its political characteristics, one of the Southern States acts, which are but the doings of a horde of law -although she has recently given signs of regenera- less tyrants. A bill must be introduced to punish such villany bereafter. But will the slave tyrants allow it to Some of the most zealous advocates of the birthright pass? Is not the Kansas scoundrelism the true spirit of slavery, with its drapery a little rent? Does the slave Dombey's sister, Mrs. Chick, that they must 'make demon ever regard law, truth, justice or mercy? Does an effort '—an effort to show the intensity of their he beed any right, human or divine? Is he not ready to annihilate, on his infernal altar, the government, the church and judiciary? Are they not, in fact, already sacrificed? Finally, will not this most hideous of all devils be compelled to stand up in the next Congress so far exposed as to show his outward adornmentshorns, tail, and cloven foot? Will not those pious saints, Drs. Cox and Adams, when they shall thus be hold the God they worship, 'rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory'?

REV. DR. SAMUEL H. COX.

We are advised by our St. Louis correspondent, that Dr. S. H. Cox will apply for a patent for an important improvement which he claims to have discovered, in making 'Christian yokes.' They are said to be so excellent and

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION FOR NEW

named. The objects of the Convention will be to consider the whole subject of Slavery, in its relations to the Politics and the Religion of the country, and to adopt the most efficient measures for the regeneration of public opinion, and the destruction thereby of the whole slave system, root and branch. The signs of the times indicate the approach of a grand Moral and Political Revolution, which shall array the whole power of the Free States in uncompromising hostility to the Slave Oligarchy. In this movement, the people of New Hampshire have important duties to perform, and it is meet that they should come together in Convention to examine the principles by which those duties must be determined.

Among those who may be expected to attend the Convention are WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, STEPHEN S. and A. T. Foes, For the Expective Committee of the American Anti-

For the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

SAMUEL MAY, JR. BOSTON, May 30th, 1855.

AN EXPLANATORY LETTER.

MOUNT ZION, May 19, 1855. FRIEND GARRISON :

The following paragraph is copied from THE LIBE RATOR of last week, under the head of 'Western Anti-Slavery Convention ':

'Col. Rees E. Price rose to speak. He boasted that Col. Rees E. Price rose to speak. He boasted that he had not a drop of democratic blood in his veins. He advocated first a constitutional republican government, and then a theorracy, but was called to order by the Chair, when he declared he was not an Abolitionist, and not a member of the Convention, and sat

I offer explanation. I was offended at the connection of words in one of the resolutions :- ' true democracy are the words. I believe the word 'true' improperly connected with democracy. Democracy, with the help of Constitutional Republicanism for the establishment of justice, has been tried by the nation, and proved false to justice and righteous liberty. The fault is in the element. The vile and the ignorant outnumber the virtuous and the wise. The dogma that all men are created (politically) equal is one of the last delusions of ' the man of sin.' Political rights are acquired 'by

the Higher Power (more than a quarter of a century since thy inspiration began the cry, 'undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free') to prove democracy where democracy is most intelligent and free—in the free States,—and where democracy in power is led by men sworn 'to establish justice.'

The democratic element, subjected to the good influence of the states, and the results of the place that could have been selected, but he needed a sompetent force. The Free Soilers or Free State men in Kansas are twenty-seven to one pro-slavery man, and if left to shape the political destinies of the new State would not make it a slave State.

Mr. Starr is a very intelligent and energetic young man, and has travelled a great deal in Kansas, and has travelled a great deal in Kansas, and The democratic element, subjected to the good influ-

ences of the Bible, Abolitionism, Liberty, and Free-Soil Republicanism, loveth not the truth, for it hath lesq. drawn up by a Committee consisting of himse leaves in unrighteenesses. Its hode politic is dead and Messrs, Lewis H. Morgan, Wm. H. Sage, Wm. pleasure in unrighteousness. Its body-politic is dead, and 'Know-Nothing' is the result. Its national head (Federal Government) is damned; and I have, in the gallery of the House of Representatives, May 27, 1852, and in the Supreme Court room, March 2, 1853, with a loud cry made proclamation thereof.

The principles of democracy are beastly. The body assumes the sovereign, and the wicked head assumes it
awful to yield obedience to its impulses; and thus the
speakers had visited or gave rooms unit a heart small lawful to yield obedience to its impulses; and thus the Federal head yielded or gave power unto a beast until the purposes of Gon are fulfilled in the experiment; for, be assured, the beastly principles of the democratic nge will pass away with the elements of the man of sin, and no place be found for them.

A Constitutional Republican Government, elected from above, and guided by Theocracy, is practicable, and will succeed and supplant the democratic federal government in two of the three pieces of the broken confederacy. The other fragment may continue democratic long enough for a contrast.

and made its heart quake with fear of a dissolution, (preceding the enactment of the peace measures of the damned,) and there is nothing more to do under the name of Abolitionist. I would enlist thee in the kingdom of Gop-a kingdom that shall break in pieces confederated oppressors, establish justice and judgment in the earth, and stand for ever.

I honor the name of Abolitionist. You are the Abo

litionist-I am the Theocrat.

In conclusion, let me say, the Convention alluded to in the foregoing acted by democratic rules; therefore I was ruled out. I intend no disrespect to the Conven

With high regard for thee, I have the honor to be, Thy fellow-servant, REES E. PRICE.

QUESTIONS FOR THE LAWYERS.

1st. Is there any constitutional objection to placing a slave on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United

States? 2d. Is there any legal objection?

8d. Is there any political, religious, moral or social

If there is any reason why a slave should not be Judge, I wish some one who is capable would state it. L

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPA-TION.

Any person who has a file of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, no matter whether perfect or not, and is willing to sell the same, will confer a favor by writing to R. F. WALLUUT, 21 Cornhill, stating price, &c.

LECTURES BY MRS. ERNESTINE L. Rose. On Sunday afternoon last, Mrs. E. L. Rose, of New York, gave a very lucid and able address on slavery, to a highly appreciative audience, in the Lecture Room of the Music Hall, in this city. She forcibly depicted the withering influencee of that terrible system upon the manners, morals, habits, industry and enterprise of the people of the South-speaking from personal observation-and administered a scathing rebuke to Northern servility to the Slave Power, by which alone that Power is enabled to maintain an existence on the American soil.

Mrs. Rose lectured again in the evening, at the sam place, on the subject of Woman's Rights. She spoke for nearly two hours, without notes or reference to any manuscript, with great vigor of appeal, power of reasoning, and masterly ability, keeping the unbroken attention of her audience to the end, and eliciting frequent expressions of approbation. Mrs. Rose is one of the most natural, dignified, intelligent and effective speakers, and, for one born and educated in Poland, speaks our language with astonishing precision and acspeaks our language with astonishing precision and accuracy. She ought to have had much fuller houses.

passed resolutions that the General Assembly of 1855 be requested, either by the clear, solemn and emphatic readoption of resolutions passed at previous Assemblies, or in some other way, to bear such decisive testimony against the holding of slaves as shall fully sustain the high position of the Presbyterian Church;—and that the General Assembly be also requested to call the special attention of the churches in which slaves are held, to the only exceptional cases in which, according to the decision of the General Assembly of 1850, the relation of level expression can ever be sustained, consistently of legal ownership can ever be sustained, consistently with the principles of the Gospel, or with the declared views of the Presbyterian Church.

HAMPSHIRE.

The Executive Committee of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY invites the friends of freedom in New Hampshire, without distinction of party, to meet in CONCORD, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, June 21st and 22d, 1855, at 2 o'clock, P. M., on the day first named. The objects of the Convention will be to consider the whole subject of Slavery, in its relations to the Another Shaneful Outrage in Missouri. It was

Leavenworth.

Leavenworth.

These are the facts, briefly related, as they come to us, and they can be most implicity relied upon. They unfold to the people of the Union, and especially to the North, a most alarming state of affairs.

The St. Louis Republican of May 25th adds the following:—
'The cause of this outrage is thus stated: Phillips

had incurred the prejudice and displeasure of the peo-ple of Leavenworth City, by the part which he took in the murder of Clark, by McCrea. He handed McCrea the pistol with which he shot Clark; and added to this, the pistol with which he shot Clark; and added to this, he is charged with being an active and enthasiastic agent of the Abolitionists, and swore to the protest against the validity of the election in the Leavenworth district. Some time previous, a public meeting requested Phillips to leave the Territory—but this he failed to do. Instead of leaving on the day appointed, he collected some forty Free Soilers and Abolitionists, and set them at defiance. Things continued thus until Thursday, when he was taken to Weston, and treated as already stated."

ROCHESTER, May 24.

Meeting in regard to Kansas Outrage in Rochester. Meeting in regard to Kansas Outrage in Rochester.

The meeting of inquiry into the recent outrages in Kansas and Parkville, was held at the City Hall this evening, but was not very largely attended, although the call was signed by some three thousand names of our citizens. Hon. W.S. Bishop, Senator from the district, presided, assisted by several Vice-Presidents.

Rev. F. Starr, Jr., late of Western Missouri, and who was obliged to leave that country by the pro-slavery men, was present, and addressed the meeting, describing the country, and correcting the false impressions given by interested persons to prevent settlers from go

patient continuance in well-doing, and no two men acquire precisely the same rights.

Governments derive their just powers from Gon. The Confederacy will be broken to pieces like a potter's vessel, because the Federal Government is unjust. The American institution of slavery has been tolerated by the Higher Power (more than a quarter of a century) that could have been selected, but he needed a some that could have been selected, but he needed a some that could have been selected.

A series of resolutions was read by Samuel D. Porter

Bloss, and Professor Raymend.

The resolutions declare the recent proceedings in Kansas an unprecedented outrage on civil rights, and Kansas an unprecedented outrage on evit rights, and strongly protest against them as such; call upon the General Government to interfere to sustain the rights of the settlers against the irruption of armed ruffians, and, in case volunteers are needed, pledge the citizens of Rochester to aid in restoring a republican form of gov-

timents above proposed.

Mr. Starr proposes to give public lecture on Kansas at some future day.

THE WAY IT WAS DONE. A Kansas corresp the Sandusky Register, among other things, says that though the outrage upon that Territory was planned and conducted by Missourians, it was not entirely and conducted by Missouriana, it was not entirel achieved by them, for the Missourians of the border ar achieved by them, for the Missourians of the border are not sufficiently numerous for that purpose. They therefore, raised a fund of \$20,000, with which they hired four hundred persons to go from Kentucky, and over four thousand from other States. Each man had You are the standard of Abolitionism, and as such, I am in duty bound to pay you high honor. You are a second John the Baptist. Your work is done, and well done. You have shaken the Confederacy to its centre.

> SLAVEHOLDERS' PLANS IN KANSAS. From rumors that have lately reached us, we are led to infer that the Atchison mobocrats never lose sight of the spoils. They have laid out the town of Calboun, K. T., to which place the legislature elected to do their bidding will adjourn and establish the seat of government, and expend the \$25-000 appropriated by government to erect public build-ings, when the nullifiers will sell out and make their fortunes, before the people of Kansas can right themselves in the premises.—Mobile Democrat.

SEVENTY PERSONS DECREED SLAYES BY A MARYLAND COURT. Nine years ago, John Townsend, a farmer of Maryland, died, leaving a will, by which he emanci pated his slaves, seventy in number. Fearing lest his heirs might break his will, and thus defeat his human supposes. heirs might break his will, and thus deteat his numane purposes, he also executed, shortly before his death, a deed of emancipation, in order, if possible, to make sure of their freedom. The case has been in litigation till recently. First, the will was set aside by the Superior Court of the State, on the alleged ground of Mr. Thompson's insanity, and the seventy persons declared slaves. The last suit, which has just been decided, was brought that the state of the slaves to test the value of the dead. The last suit, which has just been decided, was brought by the friends of the slaves to test the value of the deed of emancipation. That, too, has been decided against them, and they go to their chains without hope. Thus do slaveholders shut up every possible avenue to freedom, and defeat the efforts of all, even of their own number, in its behalf. Slavery they intend shall be as hopeless as the grave, and parallel in its continuance with human existence. The Northerner who advocates freedom is a 'mad fanatic.' The Southerner who emancipates his slaves affords by that act sufficient evidence for the courts to decide him a lunatic.—Ohio A. S. Bugle.

LIBERAL BEQUESTS. The late Abner M'Ghee, of Alabama, previous to his death, made the following liberal donations: American Bible Society, New York, \$50,000; McGhee College, Alabama, \$10,000; Samaritan College Fund, Alabama Conference Methodist Protestant Church, \$10,000; Alabama Bible Society, Montgomery, \$10,000.

How much of this large sum was whipped out of the slaves? It is not stated that he liberated any one of them-for we take it for granted he was a slavehol-

The Allas is informed that the 'Personal Liberty Bill' was not submitted to the Justices of the Supreme Court for their opinion, and they gave none concerning it. The clause cited by the Governor in his message was from an answer given by that Court to certain questions propounded to them some months ago.

The Tornado at the West .- On Monday af

A Sad Accident .- Five children were killed A Sad Accident.—Five children were killed near Empire city, in Oregon, March 26th, by the falling of a spruce tree 250 feet in height, which was standing at a distance of 200 feet from the house in which the children were sleeping. The heavy branches crushed through the roof and floor of the house, instantly killing five of the eight persons who were within at the time. The survivors, strange to say, received no injuries. injuries.

A fatal accident occurred last Saturday, on the Wilmington and Manchester railroad. Mr. Alfred Haney, a conductor on that road, while in the discharge of his duties, missed his footing as he was passed ing between two cars, and fell across the track. He was immediately run over by the train, which crushed both head and feet, killing him instantaneously.

The Virginia Election .- We will not con-The Virginia Election.—We will not confuse the reader by filling our columns this morning with the almost numberless despatches which reached this city from various points of Virginis, although the intelligence conveyed in those despatches was of the most cheering character. All our correspondents agree in stating, that the Know Nothings have thet with a Waterloo defeat; that they have lost their Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, the Congressional delegation, and both branches of the Legislature. The only doubt is as to the amount of Wise's aggregate majorities—some estimates touching as low a figure as five thousand, and others reaching as high as fifteen thousand.—Washington Union, May 27th.

Death of the Hon. Wm. S. Holabird .-Death of the Hon. Wm. S. Holabird.—
The Hon. Wm. B. Holabird, of Winsted, died at his residence in that village, on the svening of the 22d instant. He returned from New York on Saturday evening, was taken ill, an I died on Tuesday evening. He was a prominent lawyer of Litchfield county, was U. S. Attorney for the District of Connecticut, from 1833 to 1840, and Lieut. Governor of the State in 1842–3. In politics, he was a Democrat of considerable prominence.

conductor on the New London, Williamntic and Palmer railroad, was killed last night about a quarter of a mile south of Stafford Springs. He was walking on the top of the cars of his train, when his head came in contact with a bridge, and the blow proved fatal.—New Haven Palladium, 21th ult. Railroad Conductor Killed .- Mr. Smith,

The Constitutional Amendments .- Sufficient returns of the election on Wednesday are received to render it certain that all the six proposed articles of amendment to the Constitution of Massachusetta have been ratified by a majority of the votes cast.

The Messrs. Cunningham, of Boston, publish a card sent by telegraph to Liverpool, stating that there is no foundation for the report that the ship Samuel Appleton, sent out by them to Port Baltic, had a supply of arms on board for the Russians. She carcargo but her cotton.

The Legislature of Massachusetts was in session 130 days, having passed 488 bills and 89 resolves. The pay-roll of the House was \$161,503; and that of the Senate, \$17,553.

A telegraphic despatch from Wells River, Vt., dated Monday morning, May 21, says-

The cost of the Norwalk disaster to the New York and New Haven Railroad has been \$280,000, and there are still unsettled claims against the comand there are still unsettled claims against the com-pany, outstanding. It will not probably escape the lia-bilities and losses on account of that terrible affair short of \$300,000. Dr. Browne, of Ipswich, a sufferer by this tragedy, obtained a verdict in the Supreme Court of Fasex, on Saturday, for \$16,000 damages.

The Statue of Judge Story, executed by his son, William Story, was uncased on Saturday, at the Boston Athenseum. Critics pronounce it a fine work of art, and persons competent to judge say the likeness is true to life.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS. In regard to copies of THE LIBERATOR of May 18th, we

are in a very disagreeable 'fix.' By a blunder, nearly one hundred of our subscribers at a distance received duplicate copies of it !- leaving us deficient to that amount, so that we have none for our files, or to send to subscribers across the Atlantic. Those, therefore, who have received these duplicates, will greatly oblige us by returning them by mail immediately, directed on the wrapper, 'Liberator, Boston, Mass.' Others who do not keep a file of the paper, and can spare the last number, are requested to forward it in the same way.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in the Town Hall in Middleboro', next Sunday, June 3, at the usual hours of meeting in the forenoon and afternoon, and at 5 o'clock in the evening.

> BALL'S MAMMOTH PICTORIAL

TOUR OF THE UNITED STATES. This Anti-Slavery work, gotten up by colored men who have lived over twenty years in the South, will be exhibited in Amory Hall, commencing Monday evening,

April 30.

This magnificent Painting has been prepared at an immense expense, and in point of size, variety of scenery, and excellence of execution, surpasses any work of the kind ever presented to the American public.

It covers more than 23,000 feet of canvass, and continued of the public of t

tains views of Charleston, S. C., Balize, New Orleans, Natchez, St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Wheeling, Pittsburg, Wilkesbarre, Pa., Washington City, Boston, Niagara Falls; also, of

A VOYAGE FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA.

pressly for this work.

From its immense size, it is divided into Four Parts.

For particulars, see small bills.

Cards of admission, 25 cents.

This Panorama will be exhibited only a few days longer. Do not fail to improve the opportunity to see it, and encourage its meritorious projector.]-ED.

COLORED PATRIOTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

REVOLUTION.

A sa means of enlightening public sentiment on an inerican History, the subscriber has been induced to make a compilation of facts portraying the patriotism and bravery exhibited by Colored Americans, on land and sea, in 'times that tried men's souls,' embracing the old French War of '55, the Revolution of '75, the struggle of 1812, and subsequent periods. These facts have been gleaned from military records, State documents, private correspondence, and fireside conversations, confirmed by oral and written testimonies of John Hancock, Governor Eastis, the late Judge Story, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Hon. Tristam Burgess, Hon. Charles Pinckney, etc., etc., and by the tributes of Washington, Lafayette, Kosciusko, Thomas Jefferson and Gen. Jackson.

The subscriber is indebted for further interesting facts and testimonies to John G. Whittier, (the Bard of Freedom); Wendell Phillips, Esq.; J. W. C. Pennington, D.D.; William Howard Day, Esq.; Rev. Theodore Parker, Charles Lenox Remend, Hon. Charles Sumner, Prof. Wm. G. Allen, Lydia Maria Child, James McCune Smith, M.D.; Hon. Henry Wilson, J. Mercer Langston, Esq.; David Lee Child, Esq.; Rev. Daniel A. Payne, Hon. Anson Burlingame, James M. Whitfield, (the Poet.) Robert Purvis, Esq.; Hon. J. R. Giddings, Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, Prof. Geo. B. Vashon, Edmund Jackson, Esq.; Robert Morris, Esq.; Rev. Amos G. Beman, Dr. M. R. Delany, William Wells Brown, Lewis and Milton Clark, Rev. Henry F. Harrington, the late Henry Bibb, Angelina J. Knox, Rev. John W. Lewis, Hon. Gerrit Smith, Wm. Yates, Esq.; Wm. J. Watkins, Esq.; and several others.

The work will contain an extract from the Address of

Hon. Gerrit Smith, Wm. Yates, Esq.; Wm. J. Watkins, Esq.; and several others.

The work will contain an extract from the Address of the National Convention of July, 1853, and will be interspersed with interesting sketches (public and personal) of the Battle of New Orleans, the Insurrection of Nat. Turner in Virginia, and Denmark Veazie in South Carolina, and the New York Plot of 1741, as in part detailed by Peleg W. Chandler, Esq., in his 'Criminal Trials.' Also, an account of the strikes for liberty by Joseph Cinquez, on board the Armistad; by Madison Washington, on board the Creole, and by the heroes of Christiana.

Christiana.

Among other contents of the work will be found proofs of the acknowledged Citizenship of Colored Americans, with a Letter of Hon. Wm. H. Seward; an account of the proscription of colored citizens by the Federal government; New England Colonial action on the treatment of colored persons, bond and free; sentiments of the colored people on Colonization, the Fugitive Slave Law, and Self-Elevation; together with reminiscences of Phillis Wheatley, Paul Cuffee, (Navigator) David Walker, Richard Bangekar (Astronomer.) James Forten, J.

Phillis Wheatley, Paul Cuffee, (Navigator) David Walker, Richard Bannekar, (Astronomer,) James Porten, J. B. Vashon, Richard Potter, (Ventriloquist.) Hosea Easton, David Ruggles, (Hydropathist.) Rev. Lemuel Haynes, and other celebrities.

The book will be graced with an introduction by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, and illustrated by engravings of prominent historical events; among them, Crispus Attucks at the Boston Massacre, 5th March, 1770, and the Colored American's valor on Bunker Hill. Also, a factimilé autographic certificate of General Washington.

Colored American's valor on Bunker Hill. Also, a fac simile autographic certificate of General Washington, conveying an honorable discharge to a colored soldier. In the effort to publish this edition, a heavy responsibility (pecuniary and otherwise) has been assumed by the subscriber, which he believes will be appreciated by the friends of humanity and progress, who are invited by this circular to forward their names and subscriptions for copies.

Should sufficient encouragement be extended, the work will be issued in May, at the price of \$1 per copy. On receipt of price, the book will be mailed (postage paid) to subscribers.

WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

POETRY.

THE CROWNING CRIME OF CHRISTEN-DOM.

I saw in the visions of night An African village on fire ! The flames rolled along in their might, And the shricks of the victims rose higher and higher, As of infant, and parent, and grey-headed sire.

The man-stealers sprang on their prey And hundreds were slain or subdued ; Some perished in utter dismay, And others were slain while for mercy they sued ; Apd the soil they had tilled with their blood was im brued.

One sight I shall never forget, Till the sunbeam of life is denied, And the star of my memory shall set : A bridegroom, self-slaughtered, enclasping his bride, Who lay murdered, and mangled, and scorched by his

The captives in fetters were bound, Fear ran through their tremulous frames,
And they sobbed as they gazed round and round, For where children that day had been playing their

There were carcasses, captives, and smouldering flames

The vision fled slowly away, And another appeared in its place : I looked on a beautiful bay, And ships in tranquillity slept on its face: They were slavers !—the pest of the African race.

On the shore was a horrible mart, Where man was the merchandize sold, Where the best blood that boils through the heart Was bartered as though it were stolid and cold As the storm-beaten rock, or the slave-dealer's gold !

Sweet babes from their mothers were torn-Wives were rent from their husbands away-Fond brothers asunder were borne-And lovers were parted and sold far astray, To clasp hands never more till the great Judgment-day. I heard them in anguish complain,

For life without love is but dross ; But they pleaded for mercy in vain, For the demons who swore by the creed of the Cross, Turned their faces away with an insolent toss. I gazed on the hot iron brand,

As it bissed on each ebony skin; I saw the slaves borne from the land To a slave-ship, and packed in a large loathsome bin, Where the stench seemed to quench the dull light tha The vision fled slowly away,

And another appeared in its place : Far around flashed the bright ocean spray, And a ship sped along in her beauty and grace, Bounding o'er the wild waves with the swift swallow But pestilence, madness an I death

Raged and raved in her dark crowded hold, And the slaves, as they drew their last breath, Uncoffined, unwept, ere their limbs were yet cold, O'er the tall vessel's side were remorselessly rolled ! Swift, swift o'er the billowy main,

Flew onward that death-stricken bark. And following as swift in her train Swam many a monstrous and ravenous shark; Gorging freely their fill of the carcasses dark. As I gazed, the great deep was unsealed;

I looked down on the broad ocean's bed, And a valley of bones was revealed, Which shall yet be an army with banners outspread, When the last trumpet sounds which shall waken th

The vision fled slowly away, And another appeared in its place : Before me a fair vision lay, Where mountains rose high, like a huge giant race, With sweet flowery fields lying calm at their base.

That land was the land of the slave ! The scene of his closing career ! Where the generous, the fond, and the brave, Toiled on in their manacles, year after year, Paid with stripes for their labor—their solace, a jeer.

I saw them worn out with their toil. Urged on by the slave-driver's whip; I saw the lash cruelly coil Round their scar-covered backs, till the warm bloo would drip.

While a groan faintly fell from the eloquent lip ! Enslaved both in body and mind, The victims of grief and despair, They seemed to their fortune resigned, With no will of their own, for the future no care,

Like the dumb beasts of burden, whose lot is-to bear I beheld a poor African chief, Whose name was once honored afar, Yet meekly he bore with his grief, And sang to himself, 'Calabar ! Calabar ! Me could die in sweet peace could me see Calabar !

The vision fled slowly away, And another appeared in its place : I witnessed the great Judgment-day! And the branded, down-trodden, enlayed negro race, With their tyrants and task-masters stood face to face Then spake One from the cloud which he trod-

* IF MAN HAS NO MERCY ON MAN, How can man hope for mercy from Gop? And a cry of despair through the multitude ran, 'There is no hope for men who have trafficked in man

TRY AGAIN.

How oft has disappointment marred Some cherished plan of mine. And bidden winter clouds appear Where summer's sun should shine ! Yet often as they darker grew, I've seen some wondrous pen Upon the very blackest write The sentence- 'Try again.'

How often in the stilly hour Of night, the heavy sigh In sympathy has strove to meet The tear-drop in my eye; And then like angels whispering Their messages to men, I've heard a quiet breathing of

The sentence- Try again. How often, as I've walked amidst Life's ever busy tide, And jostled with its favor'd ones On each and every side;

When my misfortunes seemed to be O'erwhelming, even then Has some good spirit breathed to me The sentence-'Try again ! ' My guardian angel it must be, Or else the weight of care

Had sunk me in the very depths Of sorrow and despair : But, oh! my heart much lighter seems, And hope shines brighter, when I hear that spirit softly breathe The sentence-' Try again.'

PREEDOM AND RIGHT.

Bound to no party, to no sect confined : The world our home, our brethren all mankind Love truth-do good-be just and fair with all : Exalt the Right, though every Ism fall.

THE LIBERATOR.

THE PROGRESSIVE PRIENDS.

DEAR FRIEND, W. L. GARRISON :

I send thee for insertion in THE LIBERATOR, if thou place between myself and Abram Pryne, then editor of the Christian and Cilizen, published at Peterboro', cations or special agencies, that we know of, through N. Y., now, I think, of a paper called The Reformer, which it acts. Its basis is a statement of abstract prinpublished at Syracuse. A principal reason for asking ciples, but presents no associated plan for carrying an insertion of the correspondence in THE LIBERATOR them out. It denounces slavery, but refuses to vote is the circumstance, that the last article in the series, is the circumstance, that the last article in the series, against it. It rebukes governmental crimes, but refuses in rejoinder to his Reply—which was promptly fortoelect just men as rulers, or vote at all. 'Vices and either published or noticed by him; although I have either published or noticed by him; although I have written him several times asking what had become of tion is 'merely negative.'

it, and, in the last instance, requesting the favor that, 2d. 'It denies the past.' Our friend M'Clintock if he declined publishing it, he would return me the he can reconcile it with his professed character, as both on the part of friend Pryne, I am uninformed, or how editor and preacher, of 'reformer,' and the advocate of truth and anti-sectarian principles. I omit, for brevity, the insertion at length of our friend Pryne's notice of the Yearly Meeting, which led to the correspondence, as all that is material in that notice to the matters in discussion is embraced in my first article. Lovingly thine for the promotion of truth and good-

THOMAS M'CLINTOCK. WATERLOO, 7th month 10th, 1855.

ESTREMED FRIEND A. PRYNE:

I have just read, in the Christian and Citizen of the 15th ult., which thou wast so kind as to send me, thy brief notice of the 'Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends,' held here a few days previous. I want to say a word to thyeelf and readers, regarding some remarks instead of development, you will fail to 'adapt you in that notice.

tive. It denies the past, talks hopefully of the future a new interior life before he can manifest a new out in religion, but, I fear, hardly comprehends and adapts itself to the present.' Now, here are several allegations to which I am impelled to demur, as calculated to give an erroneous impression of the Society.

1st. 'The movement is as yet merely negative.' am at a loss to imagine on what thou couldst have pre- tive in guiding and enlightening that love, is not to be dicated this assertion. If thou hast read the publications of the Society, and the Basis of Association on which it was organized, and which has been printed annually as an appendix to its proceedings, thou canst fime, and had its birth before material things took form not, I think, have failed to perceive, that in both doc- But Jesus came in a dark age to reveal and restore i trine and practice it has been everything the reverse of and that revelation and restoration is authoritative negative, except in the sense in which every individual both in generals and in particulars. He who denies and association ought to be negative, to wit, by not that authority wanders guideless through the fields o following a multitude to do evil, in embarrassing the religious speculation. His system is not arbitrary, bu free exercise of conscience, by unessential creeds and is imperative, because founded upon infinite reason, an tests. But in its principles and objects-in the great where human reason is too weak to see the truth, faith fundamentals of religion and morals-it surely is pos links it to the divine reason, and it follows Christ as ifire enough; at least I am certain it has been, from guide. the first, the desire and intention of those engaged in 6th. The proper 'use of our faculties' will lead us the movement, to make it so. And hence we have in- perfection. But Christ reveals to us the only way I vited reformers and conservatives, of all names and cultivate and properly use these faculties, and whe classes, (my friend Pryne with the rest,) to meet with we reject him, there is no hope that we will properly us on a free platform, and give us the truth they deem cultivate or use these faculties. Christianity is mor important to mankind, however it may conflict with our than the 'development' of man's powers. It regeneown views. If, therefore, either in our theology, or in rates and directs these powers in the road of develop the practices advocated or opposed, we are not suffi- ment; and he who seeks this end by any other than ciently positive, a good opportunity presents for the lov- its divinely appointed means, will fail. ers of truth and man to make us so; and, I think, I 7th. There is no salvation except in ceasing to do evil, may safely warrant them a kind and friendly hearing and learning to do well. But man, with his already in their efforts. But it cannot be that my friend Pryne perverted faculties, is not to be trusted to learn what is will now say that our ' movement is as yet merely nega- evil, and how to do well ; and hence God sent his Son tive, whatever, at the moment of penning the paragraph. into the world to show us the way of goodness, and by may have led to the assertion. He saw, during his at- his Spirit move us to walk in that way. If we reject tendance at that meeting, too many vices and evils him, we are sure to remain still. He is the 'Way' arraigned, and portrayed in their true character, to from error to goodness, the 'Truth,' which makes us

Again, thou sayest- A reform that is not based

upon Christianity is to me without a soul. Christ, merely as a moral head, is far above all others, and as a world Savior, is the star of our hope. Whatever good men can do on humanitarian ground merely, one can welcome and aid, but, at the same time, say to the world's reformers, come up higher into the gospel light.' The natural inference from what is here said, I think is, that in thy estimation our reformatory acty is, and in what respect, if any, it differs from hu- as will consist with perspicuity. manity; by which I mean the perfect development of 1. We think the movement negative, because truth on these points of great practical moment, the in- to combine its efforts to redeem the world.' Incorrect terest I feel in thee, and also our reformatory and anti- Our Basis of Association constitutes all our meetings sectarian movement, leads me to desire that on all sides free platform, on which every individual may exercise propose for thy consideration the following questions: 1st. What is Christianity?

2d. When, and with whom did it originate?

rals, the result of the action of perfect and universal for the consideration and promotion of the great inter-Divine laws, and therefore as old as the period when ests of humanity, every thing that concerns man a conscious moral agents existed to be the subjects of those large, including, of consequence, the removal of the laws, and at all times open to the cognizance and ap- existing evils of the day, War, Slavery, Intemperance preciation of man, by the principles of his nature; or Licentiousness; or in whatever form cruelty, injustice is it an arbitrary code of religion and morals, which, and other perverted principles, may operate.' Is this having its origin at a particular period of the world, a negative movement? Is there here no definite line with a particular person or persons, rests on an histori- of conduct by which to combine effort? If there is not cal basis, and is therefore an incidental and contingent I know not where to find it. Was there any thing truth, to be received on the authority of the declara- more definite in the action of what is called the primi tion of a historical record?

substance of Christianity?

ture, the work of Infinite Wisdom, Goodness, Power; he says, 'it pleased God to save them that believed. and can that Wisdom and Goodness have conferred It is by the preaching of righteousness, and a practic on him any one faculty, which, in its proper use, will corresponding with it, that we hope to do somethin not contribute to his perfection and happiness; and if toward the redemption of the world. The one princiso, will not all his faculties, properly used, secure his pal of association, practically securing perfect liberty highest welfare, temporal and eternal? Can, therefore, of conscience to all, irrespective of age, sex, condition Christianity, or true religion, be less or more than the or opinion, is itself a mighty element of a positive harmonious and perfect development of man's divinely character, destined, I trust, most beneficently to mould endowed powers? And are not the religious and moral other associations; and of which I have yet to find a among the constituent elements of his being?

6th. Is there any other salvation for the world than this: 'to cease to do evil, and learn to do good' !-in ren and co-workers in human redemption. other words, that mankind, by the power dispensed to them from the Fountain of Infinite Perfection, Infinite Wisdom and Goodness, overcome the perverted action acts.' Strangely incorrect. We have 'preachers,' of their God-like faculties, and attain to their normal goodly number; and had my friend Pryne attended the and harmonious exercise? Would not this save all meeting on First-day morning and afternoon, he could from vice and its attendant miseries, and fit them for not have made the assertion. Preaching, as I have the enjoyment of God and religion, and all that is love- said, is with us, as in the apostolic church, the distin ly and beautiful on earth?

REPLY TO THOMAS M'CLINTOCK.

We gave, at the time we wrote on that subject, our impressions concerning the 'Progressive Friends.' These impressions remain the same as when first expressed and we proceed to justify them. We think the move ment negative, because it does not propose any definite deem the world. It has no preachers, lecturers, publiwarded to him, with a request that he would give it a evils were arraigned,' but no practical plan, other than place in his paper—has not, that I am aware, been that of bearing 'testimeny' on general principles, was

if he declined publishing it, he would return me the manuscript. But not a syllable have I received from him. What can have induced this singular conduct, world as standards of truth.' Of course, this is dethis Bible has given character to the past, to deny it is to deny the past. This declaration is even more definite and sweeping in its denials than was our charge. We need say nothing more on that point.

3d. That the movement is ill-adapted to the present s proved by its negative character. It presents no plan of associated and combined action for the overthrow of popular sins, or the systematic cultivation, as social beings, of the graces and virtues of Christianity. It repudiates Christ as its head or leader, and his church as a model of religious society. Instead of regeneration, it talks of development. All society is a development of what is now in the human heart, and before de velopment can help us, the soul, to be developed, must first be regenerated. Until you preach regeneration, movements to the present.' - All the crimes of to-day Thou savest- The movement is as yet merely nega- are but developments of what is in man. He must have

4th. Love to God and love to man are the essence Christianity. But Jesus Christ is an authoritative ex ponent of the tests and applications of love to God and man; and that movement that rejects him as authoritatrusted as an exponent or examplar of that love.

5th. Christianity originated in the bosom of God, and in its essential principles is older than all the records o

free, and the model of the ' Life' of the true man. The 2d. 'It denies the past.' Is this true, as an unqual- simple fact that these Friends profess to love truth and ified proposition, or in any reprehensible sense? We follow goodness is no evidence of the value of their believe truth is eternal, the same yesterday, to-day, movement. All sects in Christian and heathen lands and forever, and gladly recognize it, where we can, in make the same high professions. Hume, Bolingbroke the records of the past. But, believing in the law of and Voltaire were professed worshippers at the shrine progressive development, in both physical and mental of virtue and truth. But they rejected the Bible and being, we cannot admit any collection of writings in the the Savior as authority, and, of course, failed to find world as standards of truth, either in physics, religion, truth or virtue. Every modern phase of Infidelity has or morals; and to expect to find truth unmixed with come up as a reform, and professed a better and broaderror in the records of remote ages, seems to us much er plan of redeeming the race than the plan of Christ. more unreasonable than to look for it in those of the Taking as a basis love to God and man, and truth as a guide, is indeed to adopt some beautiful and taking 2d As regards our hopefulness of the future in phrascology; but when we reject the great model and religion.' I hope this is true. And I can also readily exemplar of both as our guide, our profession is liable entertain the 'fear,' that our movement 'hardly com- to be only a new and specious form of selfishness. To prehends and adapts itself to the present.' For a re- affirm that reason and the human soul are absolute, and formatory society perfectly to comprehend and adapt its that our own minds are to be our only guide, is, in our action to the present exigency, is an attainment as rare, estimation, blank infidelity, and whatever may be the probably, as it is desirable. I can only say, it is our good we seek, on such a basis, we shall only fall into darkness.

WATERLOO, 8th month, 7th, 1854. ESTERMED FRIEND, A PRYNE:

I write not for controversy, but truth; truth for thee, truth for myself, and for all who may happen to read or give attention to what may pass between us. I am a good deal disappointed in thy answer. I expected a ready admission, that, in asserting that the movement of the 'Congregational or Progressive tion is not based upon Christianity-in other words, Friends' is 'merely negative,' 'denies the past,' &c. that the principles on which we operate are exclusive of thou hadst spoken precipitately. I expected this, be-Christianity, a carrying out, simply, of the benevo- cause the case appeared to me too plain to admit of diflent principles of our nature. Now, our judgment of ference of opinion. And allow me to say, the grounds the correctness or incorrectness of the allegation will of thy justification seem to me not less inconclusive than depend on our views respectively as to what Christiani- the primary positions. Let us look at them as briefly

man's nature. As I regard the correct perception of does not propose any definite line of conduct by which we may be right, and, if possible, 'see eye to eye.' To his conscience, without impediment, in promulgating aid us in the investigation of the subject, permit me to truth, according to his convictions, in all its attraction and power, and in detecting and portraying error in all its injurious properties and hideous forms. And our 'larger meetings-Quarterly or Yearly'-it is 3d. Is Christianity absolute religion-absolute mo- expressly stated, are to be ' for counsel and advice, and tive church—the assemblies which witnessed the labor 4th. Are love to God and love to man the essence and of Jesus and his apostles? Was their movement, too ' merely negative'? I am sure ours embraces wha 5th. Is not man, in the inherent principles of his na- Paul calls 'the foolishness of preaching,' by which parallel in any other professedly religious bodies Show me such, and I will gladly hail them as breth 2. 'It has no preachers, lecturers, publications,

special agencies, that we know of, through which guishing instrumentality. We have our publications Thine for truth and humanity, too, which we have issued from time to time, and which have been productive of decided effects in at-

tracting the attention of many to the important prin- following- he who denies that authority wanders indispensable to give the positive element to society? If so, the society of truth-loving reformers in the apos-

but presents no associated plan of carrying them out." Entirely incorrect, as already shown.

it. It rebukes governmental crimes, but refuses to in man's nature, no declaration of Jesus, nor any one elect just men as rulers, or vote at all.' Incorrect else, could convey to a single human being an under again, as regards both principle and fact. As a body, standing of either, nor of their tests and applicawe have no law against voting or participating in the cations.' Canst thou refer me to any tests or applicagovernment of the country in which we live. Many tions of this principle, which had not been previously decline, of which class I am one. I never voted for a inquired of Jesus, which was the greatest command government officer but once, and that very many years ment, he referred him to two injunctions of the Penta since, and then did not cast a full vote. But in this teuch, embracing this very principle of love to Goo we leave each to be fully persuaded in his own mind, and man, without the slightest intimation that there and accord the right freely to express our convictions on the subject, in meetings or out, on the one side or cognised their importance, saying they were 'mor the other. To give my own views specifically now, would occupy too much space for this article; I will simply say, they admit of cooperation with human governments in all things in which they are not in con- Jesus, as exhibited in the record, can show us the way flict with the Divine government, or in which cooperation, no partnership exists in works of unrighteousness. But here again I may refer thee, as argumentum ad hominem, to thy 'model' and 'world-savior.' Did only teaching applicable to the point, that I remember, he vote, or participate in the governments that then were, or recommend others to do so? 'My kingdom,' servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews. is only by reference to the teaching and life of Jesus And did not his immediate disciples, and their converts that we can know what is evil, and how to do well have thought, with their Teacher, that there was a ed with the decision. The doctrines of Jesus compris greater instrumentality for doing good than voting. a system or plan for redeeming the race, the reception and participating in despotic, persecuting, war-making blind and unreasoning faith.' and slavery-sustaining governments.

5. And now as to the charge that 'it denies the past.' 'Our friend M'Clintock,' thou says, ' proves our statement at this point to be correct, by saying, "We cannot admit any collection of writings in the world as standards of truth." Of course, this is denying the they do so. To the extent that any one is in the pracauthority of the Bible as a standard ; and as this Bible has given character to the past, to deny it is to deny the penalty. And dost thou mean to say, that none bethe past.' This to me is a marvellous justification. Let us look at it. Not to admit any collection of writings in the world as perfect standards of truth, (for of none now can have this knowledge, without recurrence such standards the context shows I was speaking,) is to to his life and teaching? Then indeed has the condideny the authority of the Bible as a standard ; and as tion of the countless myriads of mankind, before and this Bible has given character to the past, to deny it as since, been inexpressibly deplorable! Yet this is the such standard is to deny the past !! Have no other legitimate deduction from thy position, that 'Christ writings than those in the Bible given character to the only reveals to us the way to use our faculties," and nast? Have not the sacred books of the Hindoos, the that these faculties are 'not to be trusted to learn what words of the philosophers and civilians of Greece and the proposition I have deduced from the positions taken Rome-not to speak of the thousands of more modern date-have not these all 'given character to the past '? I think the deduction fair and inevitable from the preand to deny them as standards of truth, is that to de- mises. If thou thinks otherwise, please make it apsaid, We gladly recognize truth, where we can, in the evitably to give up our minds to the conduct of error. fallible. By the statement of the record itself, he 'in its perception, that, in respect to the great essential them. very point of duty where we need it. Though strict- of infidelity. And in order to a cle ernal objects are revealed by the light of the sun.

The 'authority of the Bible,' then, that which gives absolute, and that our own minds are to be our only ralidity to any moral or religious truths it contains, is guide, is blank infidelity. the Light of God in the mind. The authority of the Bible, therefore, and the Bible itself, are two very different things. The first is our highest and most perfect standard; the last, a repository of important truths and hurtful errors, between which it is our indispensable duty to discriminate by the light God gives us. truth of God, and thy standard of faith and practice-Old Testament and New? If not, which part dost thou accept, and how far? And what determines thee in thy choice? These are momentous practical questions. Be so good as to give me a clear and full an-

I am disappointed in thy reply, in another respect : t fails to answer the important question I first proposed, and on which must turn most of the real or appa-I find assertions as to what Christianity does, but no statement of what Christianity is. I would accept thy admission, that ' love to God and love to man are its essence,' but that thou hast thrown around this admisit, to a great extent, of its value as a definition. Let bearing on the subject. These may be comprised in some half dozen propositions, which, for perspiculty, I will state and examine.

1. 'The essence of Christianity is love to God and sential principles are anterior to all the records of

except it be the incongruity of the existence of a reliolder than all the records of time. It did not, therefore, originate with him, but stands independent of any necessary connection, either with Jesus or the Bible. And it must needs be so, if it be absolute or true religion-the tie which binds the finite to the Infinite-(and if not that, we want something better.) For, to ment, that 'Jesus came in a dark age to reveal and ternal things, and learn their character and uses. And restore it. 'Had it not previously existed, not only in our faculties, in both cases, must be trustucorthy, or

2. 'Jesus of Nazareth-called "the Christ," and about it, either in morals, mathematics, or any de-"Son of God"—is the only authoritative exponent of what constitutes love to God and man, having been judge of things, properties, relations, principles, resent of God to that end. He came in a dark age, to sults, morals, religion; in short, of revelation itself, reveal and restore Christianity,- (that is, to show men and all that is revealed. We have nothing else by what love to God is, and what love to man is, and to which to do it. God has given them to us to that end oring them to the experience of both,)—and that reve- and holds us responsible for their use. This responsi lation, which is contained in the record of the doctrine bility is individual and personal; and hence, thoug and practice of Jesus is authoritative in all cases of faith | we are intended in all things to be ministers of recipro and practice; he who deviates from it "wanders cal benefits to each other, in judging of the great man guideless through the fields of religious speculation." ters of truth and error, right and wrong, we are to I have substituted 'only authoritative exponent' for trust our own minds in preference to the mind of any 'an authoritative exponent,' used by thee, the sentence other. For the revelation to our own minds must be

guideless,' &c .- seeming clearly to demand it. Beers, are the 'special agencies' through which we act.

True, we have no periodical newspaper organ, nor hired lecturers, though there is nothing to prevent our having both, if deemed wise and right. But are these ltative exponent of love to God and man.' He gives demonstrable evidence of both in his daily life, his piety and benevolence. But how can it be true that Jesus tolic day were destitute of that element. But the af- is the only exponent of love to God and man, or 'of the firmative seems to me too absurd to be entertained for tests and applications ' of love to God and man '? Die not thousands, of all nations, before his advent, feel 8. 'Its Basis is a statement of abstract principles, that love, and give evidence that they understood its tests and applications too?—and thousands since that time, who never had access to the record of his doc-4. 'It denounces slavery, but refuses to vote against trines? Had not God implanted the principles of both vote, and do participate. Others conscientiously recognised by enlightened minds? When the scribe was any thing new in it, and the scribe as readily re than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices.'

8. 'The proper use of all our faculties will lead u to perfection, but only the doctrine and practice to cultivate and properly use our faculties."

If Jesus has given any dissertation on the cultur and use of our faculties, I should like to see it. His

was to refer all to the law written in the mind. 4. 'It is true, there is no salvation but in ceasing he said. 'is not of this world ; if it were, then would my do evil, and learning to do well. But here, again, it generally, decline such participation? They seem to Man's faculties, already perverted, are not to be trust-'To this end,' said he, ' was I born, and for this cause of which is imperative on all, because founded on inficame I into the world, that I should BEAR WITNESS TO nite reason ; and though our reason fail to see its THE TRUTH '-which, from the declaration preceding, truth, we must adopt it, and follow Christ as a guide. just cited, meant other witness to the truth than voting | Yet is this system not arbitrary, though it require a Here, again, I am glad to find the admission of a fun-

damental truth, that there is no salvation but in ceasing to do evil, and learning to do good. No man, nor race of men, can be saved or redeemed, but by ceasing from the practice of evil, and in the proportion that tice of it, he is its slave and victim, and must suffer fore Jesus came knew evil and good, and were saved from the former, and blessed by the latter ?-or that writings of Confucius, the Koran of Mahomet, the is evil, and how to do well.' Thou wilt perceive that in thy remarks, lands in the doctrine of implicit faith ! ny the past? Plainly not. To deny any fact or truth pear. And here let me remark, that thy assertion that history is so far to deny the past. But have I not the system of Jesus (if any thing properly to be denominated a system can be deduced from the existing records of the past '? All of the past is before us for record of his life and doctrines) is founded on infinite examination, and none of its archives are to be ac- reason, is but an assumption, and needs proof. Beaucepted, without competent evidence, as 'standards,' tiful as was his life, and generally excellent his doceither in physics, morals, or religion. To do so is in-And let me ask, What dost thou mean by 'the author- creased in wisdom,' and therefore had not all of it. ity of the Bible'? Has it any authority other than Like other prophets and divine messengers, he 'saw in the evidence and force of the truth it contains? And part, and prophesied in part. And let me ask thee, art how are we to get evidence of truth, but by the ac- thou ready to take his doctrine and practice, in all things, tion of perfect laws, provided of God for its revelation as thy pattern? If so, I think thou wilt find thyself to us? And as God is at every point of every law very much of a Jew. For, although he made war on that operates, it is correctly said that he reveals it to the defective moral code of Moses, there is no evidence us by his spirit, 'even the deep things of God.' In in the history, that I am aware of, that he declined the regard to moral and religious truth, so beautifully has practice of the rituals of the law, or commanded others he adjusted the human mind, in its normal action, to to do so, but various examples of his observance of

principles, it seems to shine by its own light; it is self-evident; it comes by intuition; it presents itself at the trustworthiness of the human faculties, and the matter ly, no doubt, it is revealed to us by Divine Light, as ex- between us, I will introduce another of thy positions. 5. 'To affirm that reason and the human soul are

Now, reason is absolutely reason, and the human soul is absolutely a soul, a spiritual, immortal principle in man; and reason is one of its attributes, the highest gift of God to man, the combined action of its various faculties, that by which it perceives, compares, deduces, decides, and judges of all things, and withou Let me ask thee, dost thou accept the whole Bible as the which it could neither know nor judge. But if thou means by 'absolute,' that reason and the human sou stand independent of any other cause, and that, in this sense, our own minds are our only guide-to affirm that is not only 'infidelity,' but atheism. The human soul stands in connection with physical and spiritual being. With the first, through the bodily senses; with the last, by its own properties. Man is dependent, for existence and all his powers, on the Infinite God. In this absolute sense, he creates nothing, reveals nothrent difference between us, viz., what if Christianity? ing ; he is simply the recipient and steward of the manifold bounty of God. Through his bodily senses, he may know the things of physical nature; and through his spiritual faculties, he may know the things of spiritual being, so far as God intended him to know sion so much of an extraneous character as to deprive Through these powers, which God has conferred on him as elements of his being, they are revealed to him as us endeavor to understand each other in this matter. facts of consciousness. They are revealed by their own In order to do this, we will look at thy main positions presence, through the appropriate media; if external objects of vision, through the medium of physical light; if spiritual things, through the medium of spiritual light. In regard to physical nature, others' vi sion is not sight to him ; and when he sees an object love to man. It originated in the bosom of God. It he does not need the word of another to make him know had its birth before material things took form. Its es- that he sees it. The testimony of another may be a confirmation of the truth of his own senses. And the testimony of others, in regard to objects which To this proposition, of course, I have no objection, have not come within the action of his senses, may be sufficient to put him in undoubting possession of the gion before human beings existed to be the subjects of facts reported. But if he doubt the testimonyit. The statement contains two important concessions: if it is discrepant—if it conflict with any great nat-1. That love to God and man is the essence or sub- ural law, the existence of which he knows by his stance of Christianity. 2. That it had its birth before own experience, and he think it of sufficient mo Jesus had his birth, being 'in its essential principles ment to be certain regarding its truth—he must place himself in the required condition, by proxim ity to it, or the use of such instruments as will bring it within the purview of his senses. And so of spiritual things. They are revealed to our minds by spiritual light, the light of God, with as much certainty as external things to our bodies by the light of the suppose that so important and sublime a provision sun. And as we faithfully use our spiritual faculties ras omitted until many thousand years after the crea- we shall as certainly see all the truth it imports us to tion of mankind, would be sadly to reflect on the Divine goodness. But this point also is conceded in thy state-

there is an end to all knowledge; it is folly to talk

more certain to us than any revelation, or history of a revelation, made, or said to be made, to another, the decision of our own minds, however perverted their the decision of our was imperative in regard to duy. So taught Jesus: 'Why judge ye not of yourselve what is right?' He did not tell them their faculties what is right? De und the tree there is a rill and shat is eril and shat is good, but everywhere in his appeals took by granted their reliability; recognizing the self-rides grantet their remarks well expresses it, our Roses must be our last judge and guide in everything. Asl so far is this from infidelity, it is fidelity to Gol as truth, in the use of those faculties he has given as to judge with. But let me refer thee to a type of infidelity that is

abroad in the land, and which, clothed in secrica vestments, from the more than imperial role of the successor of St. Peter,' to the simple black coat of the last sub-division of protestant sects, and with its piplactery inscribed with the name of the lovely your Nazarene, mounts the pulpit and occupies the professor chair. Its teaching is, that formerly God inspired me, breathed into them truth, wisdom, goodness, so that the had them at first hand. The word of God came to then they heard for themselves and understood. Revenue was then a living, internal, personal experience, as the perception of objects by the sun's light is a personler, perience. To find it, men had not to look out of then. selves; it was an unfolding of God and his will, no and his relation and duties, by the light of God's pirk, the present operation of his perfect laws. But now he spiration and revelation are in a Book; it is not to be had direct as formerly. God spoke his last direct vert more than eighteen hundred years ago, when the lay tract in the Bible was penned. The Bible is Goly Book, God's word, emphatically inspiration and resis tion, the highest we can get ; God's supreme hy, and the rule of practice to all men. Thus it denies the im and greatest of all Divine truths, that on which at others depend, God's present and continuous active a the world of mind, as in the world of matter. It design God's omnipresence and unchangeableness; for, this he has changed, and is remote from us, he become sustains the same relation to the human mind be ere did, and inspiration is the same it ever was. It design his impartial goodness, his parental character, is mit. ing him better to his children of past ages than to the of the present; for who would not infinitely prefer to hear a parent's word, receive from himself his vill testament, than have it repeated by another? especially one in the same flesh and blood sphere with ourselve where there would be liability of innocent error, a fraudulent design ? Instead of calling men to the less sanctuary of the soul, where only God's present on be known, and where only he can be worshipped in sein and in truth, it calls them to an outward record, the imperfect work of men of less or more attainment is truth, and asks them to fall down and worship that and let reason, conscience, and the religious sentime keep silence before it. It calls them to 'the letter,' as to . the spirit,' but denies that.

This, my friend, is the INFIDELITY, which, as a deal ly leprosy, has infected whole Christendom-head, ad heart, and hand. It reels, and staggers, and squirts and mumbles Greek and Hebrew words, but cannot led truth straight in the face. It fears the intelligence of the nineteenth century, and dreads the discoveries science. lest THE STANDARD be proved defective. As cret misgiving, that in many things it will not bear rigid examination, disturbs its rest. Yet, not with stand ing one part is confessedly Jewish, another Christian and a third mixed, and notwithstanding the coeffic be tween Old Testament and New, and the defects in morals and religion, (to say nothing of philosophy,) which meet us throughout the volume, it stoutly affirms that the whole is harmonious and consistent !- No wooder; it takes authority for truth, not truth for authority. It rests upon the sand, and when truth is raised down, and the floods of light come, and the winds of bern blow, the structure is swept away-as ever must be the refuge of lies.' I had intended to say something on 'development,'

and to demonstrate that 'to be a Christian is to be Man'-a perfect, true, developed man, in the rightful exercise of all his faculties; and that in proportion is his perfect and harmonious development is his Caratianity. And this true man, and true Christian, Isp prehend, is yet to be. But the length of this srick admonishes me to bring it to a close. THOMAS M'CLINTOCK

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