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Trans-Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN polities, if payment be made in advance. Of All remittances are to be made, and all letters

relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (FOST PAID,) to the General Agent. of Advertisements making less than one square inred three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, mia and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-

berief to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL PRILLIPS.

July columns of The Liberator, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH

"Yes! IT CARNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding rds of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

THE STIPULATION TO SURBENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—On

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

the name of persons . . . . in fact, the oppressor repre-

senting the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-

stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

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

majority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress ; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-WATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANDIATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. - John Quincy Adams.

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

VOL. XXVI. NO. 20.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1856.

WHOLE NUMBER 1141.

which contains an address from Mr. Buford ' to Kansas emigrants and to all friends of the South.'

Those gentlemen in Carolina and other States forming companies to join me, can very easily obproper applications to the directors of the railroads which they must pass. They give free pasage to cattle and agricultural productions to fairs, why not to volunteers perilling all in their de-Without Kansas and slavery, free negro dom will soon crush out cattle, cotton, colleespects and progress—drones will cat up the hive, ambles overran the land. It is a question not brambles overrun the land. It is a question not of property, but of the supremacy of the white race, in which rich and poor have equal interest. Kansus lost, and all west, may, all east, of the Mississippi must soon follow. Kansas is the great ost and stand-point in the contest; a people who will not defend their outposts have already succambed to the invader. Do we fear to send one man, lest the North may send two! Then we have already ingloriously surrendered without a

Is not Kansas now in our hands ! and if we only emourage the Missourians, will they not retain at! Did not the South send to Mexico double the volunters sent by the North ! and when was it diswered that they were more patriotic or more athresistic in defending their country and their astitutions than we! The way to quell the fury othe fanatic and wild beast is not to crouch and e, but to turn and look him in the eye, or else he will spring upon and rend you in pieces; and depend on it, when once the North catches the firm gaze of Southern reason, her commercal and conservative instinct will awaken and save us, our institutions and the Union, from her-

Thus much for the patriotism of this slavery

propagandist. Now hear his theology: -And who is perilling the Union, but the impious intermeddlers, who fain would make us accountable to them rather than God, for the trust which e has committed to our keeping! And is not slavery a trust given us of providence for the benof both races! Canarepublican equality, as be perpetuated without sugar, cotton and pelothing! can civilization maintain its progress! and these be supplied to the world without layery! Nay! slavery is the only school in which the debased son of Ham, by attrition with a supenorrace, can be elevated. Slavery is not of chance are of man, but of God, and has not yet worked out its mission; and will not have done so till the we races are fit for self-government. Dare we. elere God, cowardly snead off, and like unprofitable servants, basely surrender this guardianship, because vain, self-righteous intermeddlers have made it troublesome to maintain it? What good, what valuable thing, was ever brought forth with-out labor and travail! and what was ever preservel without toil and danger !

Mr. Buford's pious care of the emigrants comnitted to his charge, is manifested from the followdeclaration of his 'expectations' of them while on their way and after their arrival :-

I am asked, ' what military and other service do require?—none, except that when he gets to playment for a living—if it be working on his On his way there, he is expected to be orderly and temperate to attend the reading of the Scripture and prayer night and morning (!) learn to be charitable to our enemies-gentle with females and these in our power-merciful to slaves and beasts,

## DEMOCRACY THE HOPE OF THE SOUTH.

The Elgefield Advertiser is a zealous advocate of Democracy and the Constitution. In its commenation of certain thoroughly tried and most excellest means of supporting slavery, it quotes with high culogy a paragraph from a recent Congresal speech, detailing the trials and purifications of the Democratic party. Thus:

'I believe the Democratic party is, to-day, purer and truer to the Constitution, than it has been for years. It has passed through fire and water, and many of its impurities have been consumed or washed away. It has the smell of fire upon its garments, and while it moves on in the historic track of the founders of the Republic, I shall bid it God speed! Many of the halt, and lame, and blind all such, it would have been better.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Camp-

) says that the Democratic party came into this all two years ago upon the crested wave of popuasks, where is it now says it is a feeble and seanty band, elinging to its ken altars. Why feeble and scanty ! Because it has been much more friendly to the South, and truer to the Constitution, than either of the other arties. Clinging, says the gentleman to its broken tars! Why, sir, to what else should it cling! While Abolition fanaticism is sweeping over the re States, prostrating the guaranties of the Contitution, and tearing down the remaining pillars our republican edifice, where should the Demotraile party be, but within the sacred precincts, fighting down the foe! While the lust of Northaination and Free Soil propagandism is driying the chariot of sectional power over the re-Democratic party cling but to those ultars, reared by the founders of the Republic! If it be true to Constitution, and steadfast in the faith of the and as the angel desceptled to rescue the son of the Jatriarch even from the uplifted knife, so may the genius of the land stoop down to rescue it from the gleaming dagger of the fusion cohorts.'

### From the Methodist Christian Advocate & Journal. THE BIBLE AND SLAVERY.

The anti-slavery man of the North searches the Scriptures for anathemas against masters and in-turrectionary counsels for slaves. The total absence

unaffected by circumstances, unqualified by condi-tions. The "sum of all villanies" admits of no aggregation—permits no subtractions. To reform it, improve it, make any good out of it, are absur-dities in terms. To extirpate it at all costs and hazards to good men and bad, to religion and civil-tration, to master and large this is the great of the charter of the Gospel, and in brotherly kindness scoffs at it-charity curses itmeekness violently assails it-patience is in a rage | Epistle to Timothy :to destroy it ;-in view of 4t, Christianity reverses its whole nature, and violates its whole spiritprayer burdens the air with anathemas-the minstrife. The pulpit, no longer a "sacred desk," becomes an "ecclesiastical drum;"—the people have their "conversation" any where else but

as those within, remark, not without pain, " How these Christians hate one another!" In all this there is sincerity, but it is the sinhave preferred to abandon Jesus.'

### SELECTIONS.

From the New York Independent. THE CHARTER OF THE GOSPEL

BY REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER. Preaching Christ is something besides merely telling the fact of his dying for sinners. The story preach Christ, and let these particular reforms alone. Preach Christ, and model not with politics. Preach Christ, and ignore all moral questions. Preach Christ, and all moral questions will come right. Preach Christ, and let organic sins and the expectation of immediate translation after

preached Christ, and let Diana alone, the Ephesians would have let him alone. If he would have percent of the inevitable yoke.

A vessel laden with these wretched creatures they, and let circumcision and the law alone. from Amoy to Cuba, four months being the time Preach Christ, and don't preach any thing anti, It left the former port with a crowded freight, de and laws. We don't require you to preach cir- that part of the world repeat to us as the staple of

that Gospel, and therefore are barred from touching upon particular sins, such as the iniquities of slavery for example, they do in fact challenge us to subsequently the labor of throwing the dead bodies examine where that phrase was obtained, and what is overboard—a task of considerable magnitude.

And this barbarous commerce, begun in the

ization, to master and slave,—this is the great, if regard to the subjects affirmed to be restricted from not the sole duty of mankind. Love bates it— its application, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and

' For we know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully. Knowing this, that the law is not prayer burdens the air with anathemas—the min-sters of reconciliation become the trumpeters of disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for murderers of mothers, for manslayers, for whore mongers, for them that defile themselves with man-"in Heaven "-religion and piety cease to have kind, for MEN-STEALERS, for liars, for perjured perany necessary connexion—and the world without, perceiving itself to be at least as much like Christ trary to sound doctrine, according to the closest trary to sound doctrine, according to the closest GOSPEL OF THE BLESSED GOD, which was committed to my trust.

cerity of ignorance, and pride, and passion. There is nothing of the humble and docile about it. The fanatical abolitionist would give up the Cross of Apostle Paul, without farther comment, to be pon-Christ as soon as his anti-slavery dogmas; -in-deed, not a few, pressed by the necessity to choose, since issued by the Tract Society, basing their restrictive policy on the necessity of adhering to 'the glorious Gospel of the blessed God.'

### .COMMERCE IN COOLIES.

The startling magnitude to which this new slave trade has already grown, as well as its atrocious character, may be seen, to some extent, from the following remarks of the New York Times:

Visitors tor Cuba, during the past winter, have had enlarged opportunities of noting the condition of the cross is infinitely affecting and interesting; of the Cooly apprentices, of whom thousands and if that is all—if the relation of that sacred his-tory is all that is necessary for the faithful preach-plantation they have seen them drived to the field tory is all that is necessary for the fatthin preaching of Christ—then nobody has any objection to or to the mills like cattle, retained at work with that; then is the offence of the cross ceased, if we can the lash, and whipped cruelly for idleness or inpreach Christ as the friend of sinners, and let their sins escape unnoticed, and their cherished errors of epinion and of practice remain. But that of the African who toils at his side, for he is when we come to the application, if one died for all, spared, because owned by his master, while Cooly then were all dead; and when we come to show how servitude is restricted to a certain term of years; Christ's death reveals sin, and condemns every and every interest of the sugar and tobacco culti-Christ's death reveals sin, and condemns every and every interest of the sugar and tobacco cultiform of sin—our own besetting sins, our famous vator lies in extracting the largest amount of serorganic sins, that have got such a Protestant-Papal dispensation of being ignored and winked at, and our country's sins, of which we are all partakers if we are not Protestants against them—then comes the pinch, then comes the offence, then the outery.

Then the subjects of the pressure call upon us to more frequently whipped, more constantly every constant every constantly every constant eve Then the subjects of the pressure call upon us to more frequently whipped, more constantly overespecially alone, and all reforms will come in the death to the Celestial Empire, whence they came, especially alone, and all reforms will come in the train of such preaching.

Just precisely thus did they pester Paul in his sented as frightful. This scheme of sucides is represented as frightful. This scheme of slavery, every day, when he preached Christ, and made the application. Paul was somewhat in the habit of making negro servitude, sickens the traveller in Cuba at the application. If he would have left that out, every turn. Every domestic duty, including those he never need have been stoned, he never need have ordinarily assigned to women, he finds executed in been mobbed, he never would have had to fight the house where he lodges by these oriental slaves. with beasts at Ephesus, he never would have got Slaves, nominally, for seven years; but, substaninto trouble in Jerusalem. If he would have tially, for life, since no provision is made for re-

the people pass without rebuke, they would have was cast away near Havana on the 28th ult. It set up him and Barnabas for Mercury and Jupiter. was, we regret to say, a vessel owned in New He might have preached Christ to his own coun- York, and well known in the mercantile marine for rymen undisturbed, if he would only not have dis- its speed, though certainly no evidence of thatturbed their prejudices. Preach Christ, cried quality was afforded by its last and fatal voyage and all will be delighted, for we are all conserva-coyed on board, doubtless, by those atrocious and tives, and only want to keep the ancient customs reckless representations which correspondents from eumcision, but only not to preach against it. imposition upon an ignorant and guileless people.

Preach Christ, and say nothing about it.

But in Paul's view, so to preach Christ was to preach circumcision. And true indeed, said he, if home-sickness, discomfort, privations and despair preached circumcision. I should no more suffer -what close crowding in pestiferous holds a persecution, for then would the offence of the cross cabins, while twice crossing the Equator—must have ceased. But this would be a perversion of the have fed this awful ratio of death to life, we can Gospel. And I, Paul, tell you distinctly that if ye readily imagine, with the aid of data furnish be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing, ed in other instances. Unlike the Guinea voy-Ye are removed from the grace of Christ unto age, the path is long, reaching more than half another Gospel, which is not another, but there be around the globe. The food is proportioned, not some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gos- to the wants of the captives, but to a nice estimate el of Christ.

They that do not apply the Gospel, pervert it. exist, slightly reduced in favor of the profit and There are many things that stand in the place of loss account of the owner. No occupant of a State circumcision, and for ever there will be Galatian prison subsists upon such lenten fare. Water is Jews in the world, and often in the churches. All doled out with equal parsimony. Discipline is of mankind have some dear thing which they would the sternest. Of course, discontent with such star-like to have spared. Excuse this in one place, and vation-diet, and with the first awakening to the that in another, from having the light of the Gospel fact that the journey is not of a day or two, but of that in another, from having the light of the doperation that in months, and that, instead of being free men and faithful preacher of Christ, and yet preserve your months, and that, instead of being free men and passengers, they are of less consideration than so many quadrupeds, is anticipated and provided if he did not preach against circumcision, he would if he did not preach against circumcisson, he would be preaching a circumcision Gospel, and not the Gospel of Christ, just so, whatever sin or error or wicked habit any man protects and shields from the light of the Gospel, he is a preacher of that habit. He sanctions it, and proclaims that men may be Christians in it, if he withholds the testimony of creatures, in order to frighten them into abject the truth against it. the truth against it.

And here is the great perversion of divine truth committed in the argument put forth by the Tract cal and heart-rending. Thus, beaten, knocked Society in behalf of the policy of concealment. down, kicked, cuffed, stabbed, thrown overboard They would have the glorious Gaspel of the blessed or shot, if more than usually troublesome; pent God proclaimed, say they, and that is their whole up in quarters filthy and thronged to that degree business. But in order successfully to perform that those who survive the fevers thus engender-that business, they must conceal the testimony of the Gospel in regard to some favorite forms of sin. Organic sins must not be meddled with, and some doubling the blesk Capes at the South than when say that the moral questions of the day must be passing under the burning line; is it any wonder that the loss of but 80 out of 580 should be named Now in using the phrase, the glorious Gospel of as creditable to the officers of the vessel! More the blessed God, in their argument to prove that frequently 20 per cent, are sacrificed on the voyage, they must restrict themselves to the preaching of Nay, in one instance, the captain found it due to his safety to smother the whole cargo, over 500, beneath the hatches, notwithstanding it involved

And this barbarous commerce, begun in the practice of deception and falsehood upon the ignothe divine interpretation of it, and to see whether they have not, in their interpretation and constitutional restrictions, gone contrary to God's CHARTER of they have not, in their interpretation and constitutional restrictions, gone contrary to God's CHARTER of THE Gospel, and perverted it.

We shall, for the present, just simply contrast which human nature recoils with horror, and ended in dooming its victims to irretrievable slave-would produce necessities which might be expressed in such formulas as "Slavery is the sum of all nullanies;" "Slavery is the sum of all thenceforward these formulas are Scripture to and thenceforward these formulas are Scripture to the sum of the street of the such formulas are Scripture to the sum of the street of the sum of the sum of the street of the sum of

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.

Some time since we noticed that J. Burford, an Al'amian, had proposed to send a large company of Southers emigrants to Kansas. We have beginned as eachy of the Edgefield, (S. C.) Adecriser, which contains an address from Mr. Buford its content as a copy of the Edgefield, contains an address from Mr. Buford its content as a copy of the Edgefield, contains an address from Mr. Buford its content as a copy of the Edgefield of Southers emigrants and to all friends of the South.

After he had concluded, Jesse Hoge addressed that city of churches whose hundred spires told of They swarm in California—there, happily, not in a condition of involuntary servitude. And the most whether all organic sins and vexed moral questions are necessarily to be avoided in preaching the condition of involuntary servitude. And the most whether all organic sins and vexed moral questions are necessarily to be avoided in preaching the Gospath of each population of the last spikers. He had concluded, Jesse Hoge addressed that city of churches whose hundred spires told of They swarm in California—there, happily, not in a condition of involuntary servitude. And the most whether all organic sins and vexed moral questions are necessarily to be avoided in preaching the Gospath of the trough this sile, but never in the meeting, bearing particularly upon the disuntion it or not Paul can tell us what the meeting bearing particularly upon the disuntion in the meeting bearing particularly upon the disuntion in the meeting bearing particularly upon the disuntion of the last specific and proposed to sent proposed to sent particularly upon the disuntion in the meeting bearing particularly upon the disuntion in the meeting bearing particularly upon the disuntion in the meeting the condition of involuntary servitude. And the meeting the condition of involuntary servitude. And the meeting heard of Nothern Edge and anti-freedom-of-speech sentiments of the last specific and anti-freedom-of-speech sentiments of the la fore the world. That such current publicity may be soon attained should be the desire of every phil
At this point, during the clamor and confusion anthropist. Once instructed as to the nature of the Cooly commerce, the common sense of mankind must be so loud in its reprobation that no law would be needed to deter a humane merchant from sharing in it; its attendant infamy would be proshibition enough. Until that condition of public Mirror of Leesburg appeared, with a two-column sentiment shall have been excited, the task that editorial upon this meeting; under the very attrac-Clarkson and Wilberforce believed themselves to tive caption of Black Republican meeting in have finished will be still incomplete.

### From the New York Evening Post. TO THE PUBLIC.

SCHOOL - TEACHER EXPELLED FROM VIRGINIA FOR DEFENDING THE PRINCIPLES OF WASHINGTON AND

respecting a recent gathering in Loudon county, Va., which, with characteristic magnanimity, they have been pleased to honor with the title of 'a Black Republican Meeting.' As one who partici-Black Republican Meeting. As one who parties pated in the proceedings of that meeting, and is on in our feeble efforts in defence of Southern rights, and through evil and good report bear testimony of meeting to lay before the public the fidelity to the institutions of our fatherland; and should following statement concerning it. And I would fanaticism prevail, and the North pour upon us her ex-here remark, that but for the prominence which cited hordes, may the "rocks and mountains fall on these journals have seen fit to give it, and the emphasis with which they have dwelt upon it, and he consequent excitement at the South, this meetng was no more deserving of public notice than ieties which exist in nearly every school district

broughout the free States. About forty-five miles porthwest of Washington, in the county of Loudon, Virginia, there has existed for five years a literary society (I am informed the only one in the county)—with the very laudable object—according to the preamble to its constitution, of a free exchange of sentiment, the spreading of truth and mutual improvement '-and the rather uninviting name of the Goose Creek

Literary Society.'

The 15th of March last was the day appointed for the discussion by this society of the question : Resolved. That we do endorse the nomination of

the rest, one James H. Trayhern, a lawyer from Berryville. Clarke county, and the editor of the Democratic Mirror, of Leesburg, Loudon county. When my time to speak arrived, I expressed sentiments strongly opposed to Millard Fillmore, upon the ground that he was an avowed supporter of Southern measures-the signer of the odious and opposed the further extension of slavery over terriory which, by the united voice of both North and South, had been consecrated forever to freedom, a measure to which it was admitted he was favorable by those upon the opposite side of the question. I said explicitly that I would not meddle with the institution of slavery where it already exists, but would leave it to die out upon the land that bred it. With Washington and Jefferson, and Franklin and Jay, I looked upon slavery as a sectional rather than a national institution, and considered its further extension imimical and dangerous to the freedom of the people of the United States and the progress of free institutions. J. H. Brown ex-

pressed similar sentiments, and concluded by expression of the hope that the fertile plains and een valleys of Kansas and Nebraska might not, n the language of the Senator from Alabama, (Mr. Clay.) exhibit the painful signs of sterility and decay apparent in Virginia and the Carolinas. After the four chosen polemics had spoken, and after several brief speeches from others, pro and con, J. F. Traybern was called upon for a speech in the affirmative of the above resolution. He commenced by regretting that the discussion had turn-

half in delineating what he termed the aggressions of the North and the sufferance of the South, from MINDS.'—Judges, 19: 20. the time of the formation of the federal Constitu- - A few weeks ago, just at dawn of day might be tion to the present, and in denunciation of Aboli-tionism and Black Republicanism as the most dan-bridge over the Ohio river, from the State of Kenrépublican government. He was strongly opposed to the repeal of the Missouri hundred church spires point to Heaven — telling Compromise, and yet, dearly as he loved the Union, the travellers that in this place the God of Abragerous enemies of a he would see it dissolved rather than see that Com-

the present hostility existing between the American and Democratic parties is intended for anything but political effect. At the side of this Southern advocate of the claims of Fillmore, (in addition to a half dozen pages of notes,) was to be seen the above mentioned editor prompting his seen the above mentioned editor prompting his American enemy (!) in every emergency throughout his protracted speech. [For a parallel and precedent, vide final vote for Speaker in the House of Representatives.]

It is Democratic now to defend the establishment of test outbe, requiring all settlers opposed to slavery to swear allegiance to a law they hold way back to the house of their bondage—a life more bitter than death! On their way through and enabling those not entitled to vote as settlers,

At this point, during the clamor and contesion consequent to his own speech, James F. Trayhern retired, followed by his enemy (!) the editor referred to, and a number of slaveholding sympathizers who had found their way to the meeting. Now for the sequel. In due time the Democratic Mirror of Leesburg appeared, with a two-column

Here was an interesting, if not lamentable, exhition of the far-famed Southern chivalry. At first the editor's cheek would seem to have blushed with very shame for the tarnished reputation of his country, but his heart was gradually warmed by the fires of patriotism, and his blush gave way to the heat and arder of battle. We quote his con-

CARD FROM FRANCIS H. RAY.

Much has been said of late in the columns of newspapers—particularly those whose advocacy of the 'peculiar institution' and devotion to its interests have secored for them prominent positions among the organs of the falsely-styled demograps.

"We are aware that we have performed no very enviable duty, and shall bring down upon our head the executions of no inconsiderable number of men in our county. But we care not for this. We will not skulk to avoid a principle, though its advocacy should bring upon us the vengeance of the whole Republican host.

The rights of the South for the county in the county of the south for the county of the county of the south for the county of the coun stitution, be acknowledged and enforced by federal leg-islation, this Union will be dissolved; its pieces baptized in blood, possibly to some other political faith, and lib-erty endangered if not totally destroyed. We shall go on in our feeble efforts in defence of Southern rights, us" if we do not clutch the staff of the Southern flag.

> But the matter did not stop here; the Virginia Sentinel, true to its name, was watching the enemy and in a lengthy article proved conclusively that treason stalks abroad.' The whole catalogue of Southern papers enlisted in the cause, and pledged themselves to exterminate this exotic Black Republicanism. They wished the names of 'Mr. Ray's confederates known, and hung up on every fingerboard and every tavern in the country.' posed that the school in which I was teaching be turned into a 'free soil hospital,' for the benefit of those who were affected with the 'malady of Re-publicanism.' We who participated in that de-bate, were denounced as 'violators of 'law,' and

disturbers of the public peace.'
Language the most abusive and vituperative clothed the sentiments of honorable editors; and they called upon the good people of the Old Domin-ion to remove this blot from their otherwise fair At a previous meeting, Jesse H. Brown and I were chosen to speak upon the negative of this resolution. The appointed day and hour arrived, and found a respectable number assembled. ob violence. Indignation meetings were called for the purpose of denouncing the acts of ' that man Ray,' who was evidently an agent of Seward the prime-mover of Republicanism, which, according to the brotherly editor, ' was the devil incarnate

Committees were appointed to wait upon me. and request me to leave the State, within a given time, upon pain of personal violence if I refused; and I yielded to the solicitations of friends. I am now in a free State-if not ' the land of the brave, at least 'the home of the free.' That Northern people may know the degree of freedom enjoyed by whites of the South, and the means resorted t to extinguish it, I submit the above, and conclude by asking them seriously the question-where freeom of speech and of the press is denied, where to talk upon the question of slavery extension, or the constitutionality of any law, is denounced as trea-son, is not a despotism already established! are not even the whites enslaved! Such is our own country-our own America.

Is ours a land of liberty!
FRANCIS H. RAY. Chatham, Col. Co., N. Y.

### THE CASE OF THE SLAVE MOTHER, MAR-GARET, AT CINCINNATL

Extract from a sermon recently delivered in Cleveland, (Ohio,) by Rev. H. BUSHNELL, from the following text :- 'And it was so, that all who saw it said there ed upon the question of slavery extension, and that was no such deed done nor seen from the day that the any Southern State should be the theatre of so dis- children of Israel came up out of the land of Egypt unto graceful a scene; and continued for an hour and a this day; consider it, TAKE ADVICE, AND SPEAK YOUR

tucky, into the great city of our own State, whose ham was worshipped, and that here Jesus the Mespromise restored. This sentiment gave rise to some hissing and much excitement. After this struly singular and contradictory statement, he declared—as the conclusion to a lengthy speech, devoted almost wholly to the question of slavery—that I, coming as I did from New York, should not be allowed freedom of speech upon that question upon Southern soil. At this point cries of 'He has the right'—'He shall have the freedom of speech "came from all parts of the room; and I here assured him, that if he would go to New York, I would warrant him entire freedom of speech upon ham was worshipped, and that here Jesus the Mes here assured him, that if he would go to New York, I would warrant him entire freedom of speech upon that or any subject. To this I received the response: 'You can have entire freedom of speech upon Virginia soil, if you will speak right — (i.e., as Virginians desire.) Then followed a pathetic appeal in behalf of (not free, but) slave Kansas: the hoped to God slavery would go into Kansas; freedom had stready found too much room in these United States; it was the duty, the solemn duty, of every Southern man to aid in establishing it have you all,' turning from the side of her hus-United States; it was the duty, the solemn duty, entered, hearing the cry of the master? Now we it of every Southern man to aid in establishing it there, the interests of Missouri and the whole South band and father, with whom she had stood to required it; the fidelity which we entertain for the institutions of our fatherland demand it of us.

Throughout this speech might have been witnessed a scene peculiarly pleasing to those who believe the present hostility existing between the Ameritant that! and with another blow inflicted a ghast-table for any or the head of her header? Now we it have used to remain a father, with whom she had stood to repel the foc, seized a knife, and with a single blow nearly severed the head from the body of her darling daughter, and throwing its bloody corpse at his feet, exclaimed— Yes, you shall have us all! ly wound upon the head of her beautiful son, repeating—'Yes, you shall have us al!—take that!'
meanwhile calling upon her old mother to help her
in the quick work of emancipation—for there were
two more. But the pious old grandmother could
not do it, and it was now too late—the rescuers

ion whose weary pilgrimage of unrequited toil and tears was near at its end. And there stood the young father and the her-sic wife 'Margaret.' Said. the preacher—'Margaret, why did you kill your child!' 'It was my own,' she said, 'given me of God to do the best a mother could in its behalf. I have done the best I could! I would have done more and better for the rest! I knew it was betmore and better for the rest! I knew it was better for them to go home to God than back to slavery.' But why did you not trust in God—why not wait and hope!' I did wait, and then we dated to do, and fled in fear, but in hope:—hope fled—God did not appear to save—I did the best I could!' And who was this woman! A noble, womanly,

amiable, affectionate mother. 'But was she not de-ranged!' Not at all—calm, intalligant has ranged!' Not at all-calm, intelligent, but resolute and determined. 'But was she not fiendish or beside herself with passion! No, she was most tender and affectionate, and all her passion was that of a mother's fondest love. I reasoned with her, said the preacher; tried to awaken a sense of guilt, and lead her to repentance and to Christ. But there was no remorse, no desire of pardon, no reception of Christ or his religion. To her it was a religion of slovery, more cruel than her it was a religion of slavery, more cruel than And where had she lived! where thus taught! Not down among the rice swamps of Georgia, or on the banks of Red river. No, but within sixteen miles of the Queen City of the West! In a nominally Christian family-whose master was most liberal in support of the Gospel, and whose mistress was a communicant at the Lord's table, and a professed follower of Christ! Here, in this family, where slavery is found in its mildest form, she had been kept in ignorance of iod's will and word, and learned to know that the mildest form of American slavery at this day of Christian civilization and Democratic liberty was orse than death itself! She had learned by an experience of thirty years, that it was so bad she had rather take the life of her own dearest child, without the hope of Heaven for herself, than that it should experience its unutterable agonies, which were to be found even in a Christian family! But here are her two little boys of eight and ten years of age. Taking the eldest by the hand, the preacher said to him kindly and gently, 'Come here, my boy; what is your name?' 'Tom, sir.' 'Yes, Thomas.' 'No, sir, Tom.' 'Well, Tom, how old are you?' Three months.' 'And how old is your little brother?' 'Six months, sir!' 'And have you no other name but Tom?' 'No.' 'What is your father's name!' 'Hav'nt got any!' 'Who made you, Tom!' 'Nobody.' 'Did you ever hear of God or Jesus Christ!' 'No, sir.' And this was slavery in its best estate. By and by the aged couple, and the young man and his wife, the re-maining children, with the master, and the dead body of the little one, were escorted through the streets of the Queen City of the West by a nationus State of old Kentucky, and away to the shambles of the South—back to a life-long servitude of hopeless despair. It was a long, sad, silent proession down to the banks of the Ohio; and as it bassed, the death-knell of freedom tolled heavily. The sovereignty of Ohio trailed in the dust beneath the oppressor's foot, and the great confederacy of he tribes of modern Israel attended the funeral obsequies, and made ample provision for the necessary expenses! 'And it was so, that all who saw it said, there was no such deed done, nor seen from the day that the children of Israel came up out of the land of Egypt unto this day; consider of it, take advice, and speak your minds!

## WHAT IS NOW DEMOCRATIC.

FRANCIS P. BLAIR wrote a long letter to the New ork Republican meeting, in which he gives a minute and interesting account of the process by which the old Jackson Democratic party was transferred over to the Slavery Propagandists, under the lead of Calhoun, and made to assume the po-Sition of Champion of Slavery, which it has ever since maintained. The roll-call of old conservative Whigs and nullifiers who now take the lead, must be a startling one to Jackson Democrats. For instance, there are Hunter, Mason and Wise of Virginia; Clingman of North Carolina; Steens, Toombs and Dawson of Georgia; Jones of l'ennessee, Butler of South Carolina; Atchison of Missouri; Soule of Louisiana; Cushing of Massa-chusetts; Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, and others. We copy the conclusion of Mr. Blair's etter:-

· What a revolution, in the course of the first half-century, has Slavery wrought in the principles that gave birth to our Republic! Freedom was the basis of that Republic. It is now insisted that the Constitution carries the principle of ondage wherever its flag makes an acquisition. The Democratic party made Jefferson the apostle of its faith. Compare the Kansas act with the Declaration of Independence and the ordinance of 1787. In his first paper, Mr. Jefferson asserts the rights of humanity—in the other, excludes slavery from all the territories of the Union. The Kansas act would spread it over the continent; and to effect it, establishes a new system of politics and morals for the Democratic party, for which it is prescribed as a test.

It is Democratic now to break faith plighted

between the States, in compacts made to preserve the Union and its peace. It is Democratic now to break faith with constituents, and violate the rep-resentative principle on which our republics are all founded. It is Democratic now to disobey the instructions of constituent bodies, and exert the force of the Government to defeat the efforts of the people to redress the wrong committed by one set of representatives, by turning them out and choosing another. It is Democratic now, after nullifying the clause authorizing Congress to make rules and regulations for the Territories, and all the compromises regulating their mode of settlement, and interpolating the new principle of non-intervention as the substitute, to connive at the use of armed force to defeat the new law—to drive the settlers instructions of constituent bodies, and exert the orce to defeat the new law-to drive the settlers force to defeat the new law—to drive the settlers from the polls where they were invited to decide the question of Slavery—to introduce voters from a slave State to impose Slavery on the Territory against the will of the rightful voters, the actual settlers—and to elect a Legislature representing the slaveholders of the invading State—to usurp the Government of the Territory—repeal the organic act of Congress, and destroy the rights guaranteed under it.

It is Democratic now to defend the establish-

It is Democratic now to defend the establish

to avoid taking the oath of residence, on which the right of suffrage depends, by paying a dollar as a substitute for all other qualifications. It is Democratic now to expel, as aliens, citizens invited by the act of Congress to settle the Territory, and to intimidate emigrants opposed to slavery from entering, by examples of Lynch law which would diagrace barbarians. It is Democratic now would diagrace barbarians. It is Democratic now to pass sedition laws, prohibiting discussion and the denial of slave-ownership, where to pass extraction the definition of the denial of slave-ownership where slavery was not authorized, denouncing the penalty of death against that as a crime which the organic law required as a duty to be performed by the people. It is Democratic now in a President to see his reign of terror established by force of arms, and a usurpation made to triumph over the laws of the United States, by a series of invasions publicly prepared, announced in advance, and occupying re than a year in accomplishing their of and yet not to raise a finger to avert the whon; but after its consummation, to proclaim that he would use all the force of the Union, of the army

and the militia, if necessary, to maintain 'Against this spurious Democracy, which has thus perfected its system in the Kansas Act, and ferson, Jackson and Van Buren school, enter my

## THE LIBERATOR.

## No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, MAY 16, 1856.

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION. The New England Anti-Slavery Convention will hold its anniversary in the MELODEON, Boston, on Tues-

DAY, WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 27th, 28th and 29th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Cheering as has been the growth of the Anti-Slavery

movement, the time has not yet come for repose, or relaxation of effort : on the contrary, never has there been more need of tireless vigilance, zealous exertion, unyielding determination, and pecuniary liberality, than now. Is not the Slave Power still master of the whole country, with its grasp upon all the leading sects and religious institutions, having at its command all the revenues of the republic to carry forward its filibustering purposes, and to insure the success of 'border ruffianism, aided by an administration unparalleled for its perfidy and profligacy? Has not the South thrown away her old pretence, that negroes are to be held in slavery because they are an inferior race, and doomed to servitude as the descendants of Canaan; and does she not now daringly assert, that THE LABORING CLASSES ought to be made to wear the yoke of bondage, whatever may be the color of their skin ?-that free institutions are a failure, and must be superseded by the institution of chattel slavery universally?

Let there be an attendance of the friends of freedor at this Convention, proportionate to the solemnity and importance of the present crisis.

Among the veteran and eloquent advocates of the slave, who will participate in the discussions, may confidently be expected our long absent and highly esteemed coadjutor, PARKER PILLSBURY, In behalf of the Board of Managers of the Massachu-

setts Anti-Slavery Society. FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Secretary.

### THE TWENTY-THIRD National Anti-Slavery Bazaar

Will be held as usual in BOSTON, during Christmas and New Year's Week. (Time and place of opening to be decided hereafter.)

The Anti-Slavery cause has at length, after a quarter of a century of labors, taken possession, in one form or another, of almost every mind in our American community. To men of great sympathies, it has shown the sufferings of the slave ; to men of a profound sense of right, it has shown his wrongs; to men whose hope is in another life, it has shown him deprived of Bibles. and Sabbaths, and sanctuary privileges; to men whose hone is in this life, it has shown him deprived of education and the means of self-improvement and success. To patriots, it has shown their country's shame and danger. To politicians, it has shown one most selfish and accursed interest devouring every true one. To Christians, it has shown their Redeemer crucified afresh in the persons of these the least of his brethren. To phi- imposed upon our Revolutionary fathers by the mother lanthropists, it has shown human nature degraded and | country. outrages of the one against the liberty of the other.

The function of the undersigned, whose privilege during all these years it has been to give themselves to the work, has been to arouse their countrymen to the necessity of taking an onward and upward step with the advancing century. We print books, sustain newspapers, and send out agents, to disseminate truth, and to follow it up with argument, appeal, entreaty, with statements of facts on every department of the subject. -theological, financial, political, social, in order to bring about the abolition of slavery.

The coming occasion, of the TWENTY-THIRD BA-ZAAR, is for the purpose of raising funds to that effect; and we confidently call on every compassionate, just, patriotic, Christian and philanthropic heart in the land for aid. NAY, WE CALL ON EVERY HEART, WITHOUT exception; for the power and beauty of this Cause is shown in its faculty of changing the public heart into its own excellent likeness. But especially, let all who pity fugitives help us; for our funds go directly to awaken that public sympathy which gives the slave a refuge on every threshold. Especially, let all who wish to see Abolitionists in Congress, help us; for our funds go directly to arouse the sensibilities of every patriot, politician, statesman, legislator, elector. By our precept and example of No Usion with Slaveholders, we lead the van of a national movement towards the abolition of slavery, which every profound thinker clearly sees would stop without such leading ; and we especially beseech all to help us, as it is the only means whereby worthier and swifter than we can take the lead, which only the necessity of the case has bound upon us.

We solicit correspondence, counsel and assistant from all friends of the slave, whether at home or in Europe, and we pledge ourselves to employ most conscientiously whatever of influence or money may be committed to our hands, and to make faithful account of the same at the close of our undertaking.

Communications may be addressed to the Committee at 21 Cornhill, Boston, Mass., or to 138 Nassau street,

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN. MARY MAY. LOUISA LORING. ELIZA LEE FOLLEN ANNE WARREN WESTON. ANN GREENE PHILLIPS, SÄRAH SHAW RUSSELL. FRANCES MARY ROBBINS HELEN E. GARRISON, ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL, SARAH H. SOUTHWICK. MARY WILLEY. ABBY FRANCIS, ANNA SHAW GREENE. AMY M. REMOND, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN ELIZABETH GAY, HENRIETTA SARGENT SARAH R. MAY, CAROLINE WESTON. BUSAN C. CABOT, MARY H. JACKSON. SARAH BLAKE SHAW, LYLIA D. PARKER, ELIZA F. EDDY, EVELINA A. S. SMITH, ELIZABETH VON ARNIM. AUGUSTA KING.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

American Anti-Slavery Society

This Society held its twenty-third Anniversary at th City Assembly Rooms, No. 446 Broadway, New York, did that man (pointing to Mr. Garrison) dream, thirty on Wednesday morning, May 7. At the hour of commencement, the house was well filled, and hundreds who came afterwards were obliged to go away for want

The meeting was called to order by the President of the Society, Mr. Garnison, at 104 o'clock, who read a Well do I remember the counsels we held in the early few verses of the 6th and 7th chapters of Jeremiah ; after which, an opportunity being offered to any one offered by THEODORE PARKER.

The President then stated to the Society that their Treasurer, Francis Jackson, was detained at home by where a spirit which for a while we could not fully un illness, but his report will be presented at a subsequent meeting, likewise the report of the Secretary. It was worthy of remark, that this was the only time for to apprehend what it was that we were encountering the last twenty-one years that their beloved and respected friend, FRANCIS JACKSON, had not been present at the Anniversary ; but it was not deemed prudent, in this city, notwithstanding what he regarded as my fa the present precarious state of his health, for him to leave home.

The President then read the following resolutions. which were to be the subject of action at future meet-

cy-nothing of concession or compromise-nothing of perty of this city and of the Northern States are im all circumstances, we shall continue to call men and we will triumph over you yet.' (Loud applause.) things by their right names-to 'agitate, agitate, agi- The struggle may be long-much longer than w to be broken.

the rights of its victims, but impaired the reason and paralyzed the conscience of the slaveholder-turning upon its madness; fulfilling the ancient declaration, that 'whom the gods intend to destroy, they first render this week, for lack of room.]-Ed. Lib. 4. Resolved, That the anti-slavery sentiment which

bounded foolishness and measureless infatuation.

5. Resolved, That we are struggling, not for non-extension, but for the non-existence of slaverynot to make it sectional, but to drive it out of the land troducing to you a very excellent 'fanatic,' a very good -not to restore the Missouri Compromise, but to ter- 'infidel,' and a first-rate 'traitor,' in the person of minate all compromises-not to repel the aggressions Theodore Parker, of Boston. (Great applause.) of the Slave Power upon Northern rights, but to secure Freedom and Equality to all who dwell upon the American soil-making the imbruted slave the test of all statesmanship, all patriotism, all philanthropy, and all true religion.

6. Resolved, That the right to enslave a human be ing, on any pretence whatever, is not a debatable question, any more than is the right to commit adultery, burglary, highway robbery, or piracy; and to every defence or apology for its exercise, ours is the good old Revolutionary reply: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident-that all men are created equal; that they to Mrs. Blackwell,) whose very word has in it the wild are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the an African nor a woman. (Laughter.) I shall speak, pursuit of happiness."

7. Resolved, That all constitutional liberty has ceas ed to exist in this country; that none but 'the traffickers in slaves and the souls of men' are permitted to enjoy freedom of speech and of the press, wherever they plant their feet; that we are living under the sway of ' Border Ruffianism,' incarnated in the person of Franklin Pierce-no longer the legitimate President of the United States, but one deserving of immediate impeachment and removal for his perfidy and treasor as the unscrupulous tool of the Slave Power; and, therefore, that we are in the midst of a revolution, to throw off the chains of a slaveholding oligarchy a thou sand times more intolerable to be borne than any ever

any quarter; but our motto is, 'Victory or Death !' The President then introduced to the audience the first period.

### EL J. MAY, of Syracuse. (Applause.) SPEECH OF SAMUEL J. MAY.

have come again to this great centre of pecuniary, po- tion. litical and moral influence to plead with all who have The third work and act is a period of action, where If there be an inconsistency on the face of the earth tion, else man begins to build, and is not able to finish ; the detestation of all true lovers of humanity, tell me where he is going, or the way there. where that inconsistency is to be seen. We have come Now, these three special works go on in the anti-sla here to protest against it ; to expose it more and more ; very movement ; there are these three periods observa to ask and demand of all who have hearts to feel and ble; and three classes of persons engaged in these vari minds to appreciate the claims of humanity, that they ous works. The first is to excite the anti-slavery feel will no longer leave a stone unturned, an effort unmade, ling; the next to furnish the anti-slavery idea; and the to effect the entire liberation of every enslaved human third is to make that thought the thing-to organize being on this soil. (Applause.) I trust, fellow-citi- the idea into institutions which shall be as wide as the zens, that we are perfectly understood. I trust it is not | idea, and fully adequate to express the feeling itself. expected of us that we have aught to conceal of our principles or our intentions. They have been declared in the whites, which should lead us to abolish this wick as distinctly as words could declare them from the be- edness. Another way would be to arouse a rense of in ginning of our career, in the very first article written dignation in the person who suffered the wrong-in the by him whom we rejoice still to regard as our lead- slave-and to urge him himself to put a stop to bearing er in this great enterprise, (applause ;) and year after the wickedness. year we have been seeking for something plainer than words to show how intense is our hatred of slavery, how uncompromising our determination in opposition to it, and how untiring shall be our efforts to effect its to break the arm of the oppressor, and we will pray overthrow. The cause we plead is based upon the sim- God to break it ; the slaves must go free, without break plest principles of truth, justice, and common humanity- so simple that he who runneth may read; and the justice of our demand is so plain that the wayfaring sistants; some of them covered with a Quaker hat, man, though a fool, need not err in respect to it.

And yet the progress of our cause has been, we confess, slow-certainly in comparison with its justice-slow certainly in comparison with our hopes and our earness that there were houest men in the counsels of the nabelieved that there were enough of them to answer our was needed was, that we should only make known to land who were denied all the rights of humanity, whose tenderest feelings were trampled in the dust, and to in their bosoms, do you suppose the affair at Cincinnat whom this boastful land of liberty was far worse would have turned out after that sort? Do you believ Israel in the days of their bondage. We believed that place States, but inside of the slave States just as muci all that was necessary was to make known to the peo- enslavement of Anglo-Saxon men as you please '? Why ple of our land the terrible facts of which we ourselves had become informed, principally, we gratefully ac- four hours after he had said it. In the State of Ohio knowledge, through the exposures made by William Lloyd Garrison, who saw, first of all of us, through 400,000 able-bodied men between the ages of 18 an the mist that was cast before our eyes by those who 45; there were half a million of fire-locks in that State were assuming to be the friends of the enslaved in our country-I mean the leaders of the Colonization enterprise. We believed that all that was necessary was to make known to the true-hearted and humane in our land the terrible facts of which we ourselves had be-

But by degrees, and by no very slow degrees either, withal the power of the appressors have been made know to us, until now we feel that it is just to make the state ments and the declarations that have been made in the resolutions to which you have just now listened. Little years ago, that he would be called, in obedience to th truth, to utter such sentiments that he has now put i language that we hope will burn into the min hearts of every one that has heard or shall hear him Little did he expect to meet with such opposition movements of this enterprise-how comparatively soon we expected to accomplish our undertaking. But no who felt disposed to offer vocal prayer, a prayer was only did we find ourselves misunderstood, misrepresent ed, and after a while subjected to personal abuse and even to imminent peril of our lives, but we found every derstand.

It was not till 1835 that I myself was made fully It was in this city, at the second annual meeting of this Society, when a merchant, a prominent merchant of naticism, took me, as he thought, kindly by the arm and in walking through the streets of this city sought to make me understand what it was, in his opinion, we were endeavoring to do, and what we could not do 'I grant,' said he, 'that your purposes are human 1. Resolved, That, organized as it was to effect the and kind; I grant, too, that your principles abstractly entire abolition of slavery in our country, the American are right; no man in his senses can deny it; but w Anti-Slavery Society will not have fulfilled its mission can't afford to let you succeed.' What was my reply until the last slave shall have been set free, and 'lib- 'Not afford to do that which is just and right and mer erty proclaimed throughout all the land, to all the in- ciful?' said L. 'No, my friend,' said he-for he then called me his friend-' you will not succeed ; you shall 2. Resolved, That in a cause so humane and right- not succeed'-these were his emphatic words- we can cous, we can know nothing of weariness or desponden- not afford to let you succeed; millions, millions of proeffecting a truce or beating a retreat; but, recognising plicated in the institution of slavery, and you shall in every slave 'a man and a brother,' asserting his not succeed.' My answer I trust he will remember right to immediate and unconditional emancipation, Perish your money with you, (applause,) and unless and proclaiming the sinfulness of slaveholding under the spirit of avarice be stronger than the spirit of truth,

tate,' giving the oppressor no repose in his iniquity, have been wont to apprehend; but struggle on and and the land no rest, so long as a single fetter remains struggle ever; we will tell you, and the merchants of this great city and of our country, here to day, that 3. Resolved, That slavery has not only cloven down truth is mightier even than money. (Applause.)

The next speaker introduced was CHARLES LENO the South into one vast Bedlam, without any restraint REMOND, who was followed by LUCY STONE, whose elequent and impressive speeches we are obliged to defer

The PRESIDENT-Ladies and Gentlemen : The fanatiis 'bounded by 36 deg. 30 min, north latitude,' is un- cism, and infidelity, and treason, which are hateful to the traffickers in slaves and souls of men,' must be well pleasing to God, and are indicative of true loyalty to the cause of liberty. I have now the pleasure of in-

### SPEECH OF THEODORE PARKER.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : After that trinitarian introduction, in which I am presented before you as an anti-slavery nature in three persons—a fanatic, an infidel and a traitor-I am sure I shall bring my welcome along with me. (Laughter.) And yet I come under great disadvantages, for I follow one whose color is more than the logic which his cause did n't need (alluding to Mr. Remond,) and another whose sex is more eloquent than the philosophy of noblest men (referring witchery which takes captive your heart. I am neither therefore, somewhat in the way of logic-something also, perhaps, of philosophy.

Allow me to say, however, still further, by way of introduction, that I would not weary your ears at all this morning, were it not that another man, your friend and mine, Wendell Phillips, lies sick at home. I come after an African, and after a woman, and in the place of Wendell Phillips.

I shall ask your attention to some thoughts on the resent aspects of the anti-slavery enterprise, and the forces which work therefor.

In all great movements of mankind, there are thre special works to be done, so many periods of work, and the same number of classes of persons therein engaged. First is the work of sentiment. The business is to produce the right feeling, a sense of lack and a feeling a sense of need, and also a feeling of want. That is the

well-tried and much-beloved friend of the cause, Samucise, adequate idea. The sentiment must precede the thought, for the primitive thing in all human conduct Mr. President-Friends and Fellow-Citizens: We is a feeling; everything begins in a spontaneous eme

ears to hear the cause of millions that are in bondage the business is to make the thought the thing, to organin this 'land of the free and asylum of the oppressed.' ize it into institutions. The idea must precede the accomparable to that which our nation now presents to he runs before he is sent; he is sent, and does not know

The primitive thing is to arouse a sense of humanity

Two things there were which hindered this thing be ing attempted. First, the anti-slavery leaders were non-resistants; they said it is wrong for the black man ing it themselves. That was the reason why the appea was not made to the slave. The leaders were non-re some of them (pointing to Mr. Garrison) not covered by any covering at all. (Laughter.)

The other reason was, the slaves themselves were Africans-men not very good at the sword. If the case expectations. Little did we know of the length, and had been other-if it had been three and a half millions the breadth, and the height, and the depth of the op- of Anglo-Saxons-the appeal would not have been to position we should have to encounter in this enterprise. the oppressor to leave off oppressing, but to the victim We believed that there was truth, that there was jus- to leave off bearing the oppression. For, while the Aftice, that there was mercy in our land. We believed rican is not very good with the sword, the Anglo-Saxon is something of a master with that ugly weapon; at tion, and plous men and women in our churches. We any rate, he knows how to use it. If the Anglo-Saxon had not been a better fighter than the African, slave demands when they understood them, and that all that ships would fill this side of Sandy Hook and Boston bay; they would not take pains to go to the Gulf of them the monstrons fact that there were millions in our Guinea. If the three and a half millions of slaves had been white men, with this dreadful Anglo-Saxon blood than the dark region of Egypt was to the children of Gov. Chase would have said, 'No slavery outside of the his head would not have been on his shoulders twenty when Margaret Garner was surrendered up, there wer and if that woman had been the representative of three and a half millions of white persons held as slaves. every one of those muskets would have started into life. and 400,000 men would have come forth, each man with a fire-lock on his shoulder, and then 100,000 women come cognizant, and they would unite heart and hand would have followed, bringing the rest of the muskets.

for the redemption of the englaved.

That is what the state of things would have been if the That is what the state of things would have been, if she

had been a white woman, and not a black one. We go beyond it. So the judiciary and the executive are should not then have asked Quakers to lead in the greatest exterprise in the world; the leaders would have been soldiers-I mean such men as your fathers and my fathers, who did n't content themselves with asking Great Britain to leave off oppressing them. They asked that first; and when Great Britain said, 'Please God, we never will,' what did Jonathan say? 'Please God, we will make you,' and Jonathan did it. (Langh.) God, we will make you,' and Jonathan did it. (Laugh- they don't want, then they don't want him. If Henry ter.) We would have said-

Gods! can a Saxon people long debate,
Which of the two to choose, slavery or death?
No! let us rise at once—gird on our swords,
And, at the head of our remaining hosts, Attack the foe !

That would have been the talk. Meetings would have been opened with prayers of men who trusted in God, and kept their powder dev likewise.

But in this case it was otherwise. The work has no been to arouse the indignation of the enslaved, but to stir the humanity of the oppressor, to touch his conscience, his affection, his religious sentiments.

And it has been very fortunate for us that this grea enterprise fell into the hands of just such men as these -that it was not soldiers who engaged in it, but Quakers. By and by, if my thoughts don't wander too much

The attempt was made at first, and by that gentle man, too, (pointing to Mr. Garrison,) with others, to arouse the anti-slavery feeling in the actual slaveholders at the South. You know what followed. He and every one who attempted it there were driven over the border. Then the attempt was carried on at the North. and there the attempt has been continued : for it is exceedingly important to get a right anti-slavery feeling at the North. And why? Two-thirds of the population is at the North ; three-fourths of the property is a the North ; four-fifths of the education is at the North and I suppose sixth-sevenths of the Christianity (applause ;) and one of these days it may be found out tha seven-eights of the courage is at the North. (Applause.) I do not say it is, but it may so turn out. So much for the matter of the sentiment. Now look at the next point. If the sentiment

right, then the mind is to furnish the idea. But a statement of the idea before the sentiment is fixed helps excite the feeling, and so a great deal has been done to spread abroad the anti-slavery idea, even amongst persons who had n't the anti-slavery feeling; for though the heart helps the head, the head likewise pays back the debt by helping the heart ; and if Mr. Garrison has a clear idea of freedom, he will go to men who have no very strong sentiment of freedom, and will awake the soul of liberty underneath those ribs of death. He will do it; the womanhood of Mrs. Stone Blackwell will do it ; the complexion of my friend Remond will do it.

This work has been done chiefly at the North, but some part of it has been done also at the South. Attempts have been made to get an anti-slavery idea in this way : Men go before merchants, and say, 'Slavery is bad economy; it don't pay; the slave can't raise so much tobacco and cotton as the freeeman.' That is an argument which Mr. May's mercantile friend could have understood, and a political economist might have shown him, that, although there were millions of dollars interested on behalf of slavery, there were tens of millions interested on behalf of freedom; and that latter investment would pay much larger dividends when it got fairly to its work.

Then, too, the attempt has been made to show that it was bad in that it would not breed a stalwart, noble set of men ; for the slave contaminated the master, and the master's neighbor not the less.

It has been shown, likewise, that slavery injured education; and while in Massachusetts, out of four bundred native white men, there is not quite one who cannot read the Bible, in Virginia, out of nine children of the first families, (they have none others, except black people) there is always one who cannot read his own

All kinds of schemes, too, have been proposed to end this wickedness of slavery. There has been a most multifarious discussion about the idea; for after we have got the sentiment right, it is difficult to get the intellectual work accomplished. It takes a large-minded man, with great experience, to cipher out all this intellectual work, and show how we can get rid of slavery, and what is to take its place, and how the thing is to be done. Accordingly, very various schemes are proposed. Mr. Hale, in his place in the Senate, says he would not disturb slavery over the slave borders. That is not one thing at a time. I do not find fault with their wishfour men, namely : that they say they do not intend to just as bad ; they mean to pull them up; but I am sorglad to hear any amount of severe censure passed upon one step at a time.

Now, the idea which has been attained to-the antislavery idea, reached by the ablest men, is this -- it is in his end, if he has convinced one man out of a million two forces: First, no slavery anywhere in America: second, no slavery anywhere on earth. That is the topmost idea. There has been an opposite work going on. First, an attempt to crush the sentiment of humanity former has done something, if he has got the very out of mankind. That was the idea of Caleb Cushing, a rery distinguished son of Massachusetts. He said it politician needs bread; he goes, therefore, to the bamust be 'crushed out.' Second, to put down the idea ker, and it must be bread that is made to-day. He of freedom. That has been attempted, not only by po. says, 'I am starving ; I can't wait.' The baker says, litical men, but by a great many other classes of men.

States, in respect to awakening the sentiment and com- in that particular which I have just mentioned. They pleting the idea; but there has been nothing done as will do better as soon as we tell them they must, yet in the Federal Congress towards accomplishing the has not taken one single step towards abolishing slave- general; a word now in special. ry, or making the anti-slavery idea an American fact. But all these three works must needs go on. Much elementary work still requires to be done, producing the sentiment and the idea before the nation is ready for the

Now look at the special forces which have engaged in this enterprise. I divide them into two great classes. The first class consists of the political reformers-men who wish to act by political machinery, and are in government offices, legislative, judicial and executive. Look a moment at the general functions of each of these classes of persons, and then at the particular

The business of the political man, legislative, judianti-slavery work, namely, the organization of the idea, and making the anti-slavery thought the thing. The

limited by the laws and institutions. The legislatur is chosen by the people to represent the people; that is it is chosen to represent and to organize the ideas an to express the sentiments of the people, not to organiz Wilson had got a million of men and women in Massa chusetts who entertained the sentiments and ideas Garrison, why, he would express the sentiments and ideas of Garrison, and would express them in Congres also, and would go to work to organize those ideas.

In hoisting the anchor of a ship, two sets of men are at work-two apparatuses. One apparatus, I think, is called the windlass. A great many powerful men pu their levers to that, and hoist the anchor up out of the deep. Behind them is the capstan, whose business it is to haul in the slack. Now, the function of the nonpolitical reformer is to hoist the anchor up from the ottom. He is the windlass. But the business of Chase, Hale, Sumner, and Wilson, and other political reformers, is to haul in the slack, and see that what the windlass has raised up is held on to, and that the anchor does not drop back again into the bottom Now, the men at the windlass need not call out to the men at the capstan, 'Haul in more slack,' when there is no more slack to haul in. That is the misfortune of the position of the men at the capstan ; they cannot turn any faster than the windlass gives them slack rope to wind up. That ought to be remembered. Every political man, before he takes his post, ought to understand that ; and the non-political men, when they criticise him never so sharply, (and I shall be taken to task for this presently without doubt, and shall be very thankful to the person who does it.) ought to remember that the men at the capstan cannot turn any faster than the men at the windlass. If the politician is to keep in office, he must secon

modate himself to the idea of the people, for the people are sovereign, and reign. The politicians only govern, don't reign, and are responsible to the people. The politician must be a majority, invorder to carry his point. He cannot wait for a majority to grow up : he must have it, else he loses his post. He has got the wolf by the ears ; and if he lets go, the wolf eats him up. He must, therefore, keep hold where he can, clinch fast, and hang tight. If Mr. Sumner, in his place in the Senate, says what Massachusetts does not endorse. out goes Mr. Sumner. It is the same with the rest, and they are well aware of that fact. I have sometimes thought they forget a great many other things : they very seldom forget that. [Laughter.]

See the proof of what I say. If you will go any political meeting of Whigs or Democrats, you shall find the ablest men of the party on the platform-the great Whigs, the great Democrats ; the rest of mankind will be on the floor. Now, watch the speeches. You never get a single idea that is in advance of the people : they never appeal to a sentiment that is in advance of the people. But when you go into an anti-slavery meeting, you find that the platform is a great way higher than the pews-commonly so. Accordingly, when an African speaks, (who is commonly supposed t be a great deal lower than the rest of mankind,) and says a very generous thing, there is a crowd of hisses all round the hall. What does it show? That the anti-slavery platform which the African stands on is a great deal higher than the general level of the floor, in the city even of New York. (Applause.) The politician on his platform aims to represent the bottom of the floor, and not the top of the ceiling. So much for the political reformers-I am not speak-

it into web, to prescribe the pattern after which the

cloth and the pattern to the political reformer, and say, Now, sir, take your shears and cut it out.' You see how very inferior the business of the political reformer is, after all.' But the non-political reformer is not restricted by any law, any constitution, any man, nor by the people, because he is not to deal with institutions; he is to make the institutions better. If he don't like the Union, he is to say so; and just as soon as he has got an audience inside of the Union that is a little too Mr. Hale's private opinion. His sentiment is as strong. large for the limits of it, the Union will be taken down ly anti-slavery as our friend Garrison's, only he is just without much noise, and piled up, just as this partithing at a time. The same is true of Henry Wilson, of been taken down this morning, and there will be a Charles Sumner, and of Mr. Chase; they want to do larger place. The non-political reformer can say, 'Down with the Union '; but the political reformer has ing to do that. This I do find fault with, in all these sworn to keep the Union, or something like it. He is foreclosed from saying that to-day; by and by, he do anything to-morrow. They say, 'Please God, we can recant his oath, and say it when he gets ready. will pull up these weeds to-day.' The South says, 'You shan't!'—and these men say, 'Let us pull up these; of losing office. Wendell Phillips can say just what he we will never pull up the weeds which grow just the pleases, any where ; if they will not hear him in Faother side of the park.' They hate these other weed, neuil Hall, they will, perhaps, in the Old South meeting-house. (Laughter and applause.) If they will not ry to hear them say they don't intend to; and I am hear him there, they will on the Common; at any rate. in some little school-house. The political reformer must them for doing that particular thing-not for taking carry a majority with him, else he cannot do any thing; he has not carried his point or accomplished his end But the non-political reformer has accomplished part of for that one man will go to work to convince another, and by and by the whole will be convinced. A political reformer must get a majority; a non-political resmallest minority, even if it is a minority of one. The "Go and raise the corn.' "Why, bless you," he re-The third thing is to do the deed, after the sentiment plies, 'it will take a year to do that, and I can't wait. s right, and the idea right. Organization must be at. The non-political reformer does not go to the baker. tended to, but the greatest and most difficult work is to The baker says, 'I haven't got much bread.' ' Very get the heart right and the head right; for when these well, he says, 'I am going to procure it for you'; so two are in a proper condition, the hand obeys the two, he goes and puts in the seed, and raises the harvest. and accomplishes its work. Still, it is a difficult mat- Sometimes he has got to take land very wild, and some ter to organize freedom. It will require great talent and times he has got to cut down the forests and scare off experience; for as it takes a master mind to organize the wild beasts. After he has done that preliminary thought into matter, and to make a Sharp's rifle or a work, he has to put in the anti-slavery seed, raise the sewing-machine, so it requires a great deal more mind anti-slavery corn, and then get the buker to make to organize an idea into institutions, and establish a bread with which to feed the Sumners, the Wilsons, State where the anti-slavery sentiment shall blossom to and the Chases. (Applause.) These men are my per an idea, and the idea fruiten into an anti-slavery fact. sonal friends. They have very excellent things in Now, a great deal has been done in the Northern them. I am not speaking to censure them, excepting

Look, now, at the political anti-slavery forces, and work. I mean to say, for the last sixty years, Congress see what they are. What I have said has been in First, there is the Republican party. That is a di-

rect force for anti-slavery; but, as the anti-slavery idea and sentiment are very wide-spread, the ablest members of the Republican party are forced to leave their special business as politicians, and go into the elementary work of the non-political reformers. Accordingly, Henry Wilson stumped all Massachusetts, last year, yes-all the North-not going for a purpose purely political, but for a purpose purely anti-slavery -to excite the anti-slavery sentiment, to produce an anti-slavery idea. And Mr. Sumner has had to do a great deal of that work, even in our city of Boston New England is further advanced in anti-slavery than any other part of America. The superiority of the cial and executive, is confined to the third part of the Puritan stock shows itself every where-I mean its moral superiority. Look at this platform ; how many persons here are of New England origin ! If the anti political reformer, as such, is not expected to kindle the slavery meeting was held at San Francisco, it would sentiment or create the idea—only to take what he finds be the same; the platform would be Yankee. (Apready, and put it into form. The political legislator is plause.) If it was held in New Orleans, it would be to make laws and institutions which organize the idea. still the same. It is the foot of Jonathan that stands The political judiciary is to expound the laws, and is on that platform which is to tread slavery down. limited thereby. The political executive is to adminis- (Applause.) But, notwithstanding New England is ter the institution, and is limited to that. He cannot the most anti-slavery portion of the whole land, these

men, whose business ought to be only to organize the men, whose sideas, and give expression to anti-slavery sentiments in the Senate or House of Represent entiments in the country work, from time to time, b are forced to anangon that work, from time to time, a ago bout amongst the people, and produce the analysis slavery sentiment and idea itself. Let us not be usy harsh in criticising these men, remembering that the are not so well supported behind as we could all

This Republican party has some exceedingly at men. As a Massachusetts man, I am not expense as any any thing in praise of Mr. Summer, or Mr. When or Mr. Banks. It would be hardly decorous for all sachusetts man, out of his own State, to speak a proof those men. And they do not need any prose h my lips. And, as a Massachusetts man, I think is not necessary for me to praise Mr. Hale or Mr. In and several other political men of New England h and several other position and a Massachusetts man, page as a New Linguist. a drop of Puritan blood in his veins, who was been New England but twice—the first time to attend any tle-show, and the last time to stand on Plymout her on Forefathers' Day, and in the bosom of the sea a daughters of the Puritans, to awaken the anti-date sentiment and kindle the anti-slavery idea. It speaking of your own Senator Seward [Lord to long applause.) As I cannot be accused of State pris or of sectional vanity in praising him, let me say the in all the United States, there is not at this day a pai itician so able, so far-sighted, so cautions, so ris, a discriminating, and apparently so gifted with page organize ideas into men, and to administer that organize ization, as William Henry Seward. (Great applied I know the other men ; I detract nothing from the It is a great thing for them to be second where Serue is first.

I say this party has great names and powerful an It will gather from the Democrats and from the Tip alike. See what it has gathered from the Dengen Look at that notile newspaper, the Erening Pat, in plause,) and its editor, not only gifted with the prin of poetry, which is a great thing, but with the prin of humanity, which is ten-fold greater, (Applied See, likewise, such a man as Francis P. Bar mai into the movement. (Applause.) Gov. Chase is that whom it has gathered from that party. There is rious other men whom I might mention from bet to old political parties. Then see what service has been rendered to the cause of humanity by a propaga which a few years ago seemed sworn forever to Ber Clay. I speak of the only paper in the wird wind counts its readers by millions-the New York Tribes (Applause,) The Republican party gathers the bet hearts and the noblest heads out of the Whig mids Democratic parties. Now look at the next party-the America, well.

ed. I say so called ; it is very anti-America happet many particulars. This, likewise, is an indirect and slavery force, as the Republican party is a direct misslavery force. Its principle—I suppose you having it is- ' No foreign influence in our politics.' Nor the principle partly comes from a national instinct, saltie function of that instinct is this : First, to present the excess of foreign blood in our veins; and, secolit, de excess of foreign ideas in the American consciouses Well, it was necessary there should be that ference It is a very important function, because it is poslis for a nation to take so much foreign blood into in tens. and so many foreign ideas to its consciousness, that a is swamped, and perishes. So I say, part of this gisciple comes from the national instinct, and that is is always stronger in the great mass of the people that it is in any class of men that has the superior ein ing of political hunkers-and now a word of the partion ; for the superior education consists almost while ty non-political. Their business is to produce first the in the understanding-the thinking part-set is the sentiment, next the idea, and thirdly to suggest the culture of the conscience, the affection, and the relicion mode of action. The anti-slavery non-political reformer element ; therefore, for the national instinct I now is to raise the cotton, to spin it into threads, to weave look to lawyers, ministers, doctors scientife men, eltors or in short to the class of men who have what it dress is to be made, and then he is to pass over the called the best education : I look to the great mass of the people; and I do think there is senething of to tional instinct in this principle of the American party.

However, I do not think the chief part of the princinle comes from that source. It comes from a very made corrupter source than that-a source a rest deliver than the uneducated mass of the Nerthern reply h comes from political partisans-men who want infoence. There are two ways of getting into bigh office. One is to fly there. That is a very good my first animal that is gifted with wings. The other is to mail there. That is the only way left for such as laste N wings, and no legs, and no arms. (Laughter.) Well, there was a party of men at the North who could not fly into office ; and when the way which led up to the office was perpendicular, and went up straight they could not climb-they were so slimy that they sippel off. (Laughter.) There was n't strength enough is their gluten to hold up their own weight. That beird men could n't fly there, and they couldn't crast then so long as the road went straight up. So they took the Know-Nothing plank. It sloped up pretty grainly, and on it Mr. Gardner crawled into the government of Massachusetts. [Laughter and applause.] Agus many men, in various other States, craslel sp ta that gently sloping inclined p'ane, who else never sould have been within sight of any considerable office. Now, it is that class of men who caught sight of the saforal instinct, fearing an excess of foreign blood hour rent, and of foreign ideas in our consciousness, and they aid, Let us make use of that as a wedge upon which et can climb up into office.' They have got in there, and before long they will fall out of their lefty hole, er, ? they stay in, they will be shrivelled up, dried cent through, and by and by blow off so far that so parties of them will ever be found (laughter and applace) That party, just now, throughout all the United States, I think has fallen into the hands of this class of set. It does not any longer, I think, represent the instinct the people, nor the consciousness of the people, but the designs of artful, crafty, and rather low-mindel per-

This party, notwithstanding its origin and characte. has done two good works. The first is negative, next positive. First, it helped destroy the Whig sal Democratic parties. That was very essential fig. anti-slavery man, the non-political reformer, water to sow his seed in the American soil. It was dreadilely cumbered with weeds of two kinds-Whiz weeksed Democratic weeds. The Know-Nothings lent their hands to pull up these weeds, and they have pulled as the Whig weed pretty thoroughly; they have pulled it sy by the roots, shaken the soil off its roots, and it is there partly dying and partly rotten, but at any rate pretty thoroughly dead. They laid hold of the lesscratic weed. That was a little too rank and too sings ly rooted in the ground for them to pall up. Neutron theless, they loosened its roots; they gate it said twist in the trunk; they broke some of its traces and stripped off some of its leaves, and it doesn't be quite so flourishing as it did several years spo. See. this negative work is very important; for, if second get both these kinds of weeds out of the soil, it wouldn't be a very difficult matter to sow the seed, and rist harvest of anti-slavery.

Now for the positive work. It calls out mes sid hitherto have never taken the initiative in police, be have voted just as they were bid. I will speak of Nor sachusetts-of Boston. We had in Boston a large can of excellent men, who always went a day or two below the election to the Whigs and Democrats, and mid-'Who are we to vote for ?' The great Whigs said, "! have not yet taken counsel of the Lord; we shall de so to-morrow, and then we will tell you. So then people went home, and bowed their knees, and said silent submission, and the next day their master said, "You are to vote for Jack Smith, or John Been, or whoever it chanced to be. And the people mit.

\*Hurrah for the great Jack Smith! Harrah for the great John Brown! ' Did you ever hear of ha he fore?' 'No, but he is the greatest man alice. told you so? Oh, our masters told us so. 365.

the Know-Nothings went to that class of men, and they nid. 'You have been fooled long enough,' . So said the people; 'we will not be fooled any here, they wouldn't be fooled any longer by the whice, and some of them no longer by the Democrats They were fooled by the Know-Nothings, it is true theless, it was an important thing for this class of peretunies, it was an important uning for this class of people to take the policy matters. State only policy on the Whig weed, and left it to they not only possessed the soil : they ploughed it deen pit a sub-sail plough, turning up a whole stratum people which had never been brought into the political perior before. That was another very important mat r; and yet allow me to say, with all this subsoiling ter; and turned up one single man who turns ou they have not turns out they have not turns out the same time to powerful man in politics, and at the same time Mr. Wilson owes his place in the Senate to the Mr. Wilson owes and proven to the control of the Know. Nothings. He was known to be a powerful man here. Mr. Banks owes his place to this party. He The powerful man before. I don't find anywhere in the United States that they have brought one single serful man before the people, who was not known to the people just as well before. You shall determine shat that fact means. I shall not say just now.

At the South, this party has done very much greate grice than At the North; for, among the non-slavebeliefs at the South, there is a class of men with very lithe money, less education, and no social standing shatsever. That class have been deprived of their polaisal power by the rich, the educated, and the respectable slaveholders; for the slaveholders make the laws, 50 the offices, and monopolize all the government of the South. That class of poor whites are nothing but the dop of the slaveholder. Whenever he says, 'st'hoy! 1889 goes this whole pack of pro-slavery dogs, catching hold of whomsoever their masters set them upon. This class of men, having no money, and no education, and no means of getting any, felt that they were crushed does; but they were too ignorant to know what hurt them. They had n't any newspapers. Northern men have undertaken to reach this class of men. Mr. Tagha established his newspaper at Cleveland, chiefby far the purpose of reaching them. Cassius M. Clay, is Kentucky, said, 'Let us reach that class of men. Once in a while, you hear of their holding an anti-slaegy neeting somewhere in Virginia, and uttering some had of anti-slavery sentiment or idea. Very soon they are pat down. Now the Know Nothings went among that class of men in the South, and they organized Know Nothing lodges. The whole thing was done in seret, so that the organization was effected, and got on is legs, before the slaveholders knew anything about it. It was strong, and had grown up to be a great boy befor the slaveholders knew the child was born. O murse, that party at first does n't know exactly what it is to do; and so it takes its old ideas, or the opinions of persons that are about it, and it becomes intensely prosavery. That is not quite all. The Whigs at the South have always been feeble. They saw that their party was going to pieces, and; with the instinct of that other mind which fires out of the house which is likely to fall, they sought shelter under some other roof; they fel to the Know Nothing organization. The Whigs got entrol of the organization at the South, and made that sell more pro-slavery at the end, which was already sufficiently pro-slavery at the South. Nevertheless, there has been starting at the South a body of men, she, when they come to complete consciousness of themsives, will see that they are in the same boat with the blick man, and that that which curses the slave, curses also the poor white. At present, they are too ignorant to understand that, for the bulk of the American party t the South consists of Know Nothings, who were such before they ever went into a lodge. They are natural Know Nothings, who need no initiation. (Laughter.) Severtheless, the idea will force itself through even their thick skull.

That party is not hopeless. One day we shall see a rest deal of good come from them. At present, they re in the same condition that the Irish are in Boston for ignorant, and next controlled by their priests ; for is the Irish Catholic in Boston and New York is rough-Nothings at the South are still more roughly ridden by this desperate rider who is mounted upon their backs. Our day, both the Irish and the Know-Nothing master all be unborsed, and there will be no such riding. So much for these two anti-slavery forces, -one

ret, and the other indirect. This, let me say in general, is the sin of the politician. He seeks office for his our personal gain, and, when he is in, refuses to orguing the anti-slavery ideas which he was put in office detelor and represent After the windlass has lifted the anchor, he refuses to haul in the slack cable. That was the case with Webster ; it cost him his death. It was the case with Everett; it brought him to privacy and political ruin. But let me say, it is a great misferture that the North has not sent more able men into this political work. In time of war, you take the ablest men you can find, and put them to do the military work of the people. And in such a crisis as this, rest a-surel that you need the very ablest men which the North tan have, not merely in productive industry, but men of great head, able to see far and wide, with great experience to organize and administer. The North commonly sends her ablest men to trade and manufactures; the South her ablest men to politics; and so the South outwits us and heats us from one fifty years to another.

The remainder of this speech we are reluctantly of Migei to defer, on account of its length. ] - Ed. Lib.

Mr. PARKER was followed by Mr. GARRISON and LU-CERTIA MOTT, respecting the relation of the American A. S. Society to the peace question, when the meeting aljourned to 3 o'clock, P. M.

## WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The Society again assembled at the City Assembly looms, and was called to order by the President. SARREL MAY, Jr., from the Committee of Arrange nests, reported the following nominations for Comnities, &c., for the more perfect organization of the

Business Committee-Samuel J. May, Lucretia Mott, Oliver Johnson, Jas. Miller McKim, Abby Kelley Foster, Charles L. Remond, Marius R. Robinson, William Wells Brown, Charles C. Burleigh.

Committee to Nominate Officers for ensuing Year-Edward Quincy, of Massachusetts; Robert Purvis, of Penasylvania; Marius R. Robinson, of Ohio; Pliny Sexton, of Palmyra, N. Y.; Amy Post, of Rochester, N.Y.; Elmund Jackson, of Boston, Mass.; Lauren Veimore, of New York City.

Pinance Committee-Joseph A. Howland, Susan Anthony, Lydia Mott, Rowland Johnson, Phebe H.

Secretaries of Meeting-Samuel May, Jr., Massa thusetts; Aaron M. Powell, Ghent, N. Y.

The Society, by unanimous vote, adopted the organ-

The President read the eight Resolutions which had presented in the morning.

ARNOLD BUFFUM addressed the meeting. He spoke a recent severe illness, and his inability to make a sh. He detailed a conversation he had recently hel with a slaveholder from a Southern State. This han, he said, took the ground that the Northern States tere as directly involved, and as guilty, in regard to the slavery of the millions of Southern slaves, as the thern slaveholders themselves; and in this, Mr. B. thought, the Southerner was clearly right. He went on estrate this point, very effectively. He remarked that he did not like to hear the slaves or others spoker Mar Africans, or as negroes, or as colored persons They were not Africans; neither were they, as begroes, nor were they colored persons exclusively-no more so, indeed, than everybody is, for all are talored in one way and degree or another. He had ten, in the District of Columbia, a coffic of forty slaves, of shom sizteen were pointed out as the children of the ship owners, some of whom were as white as his eva children. The father of the slaveholder, said Mr.

extinct. He said that it was even so. Mr. B. also all-luded to the fact, that of the seven distinguished Southern men who had been Presidents of the United complexional hatred, political and religious affiliation, States—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Polk and Taylor—not one of them had left a son, Polk and Taylor—not one of them had left a son, certainly not a legitimate son. Mr. Buffum saw some- our own doors. thing more than an accident in this. It was, to his 10. Resolved, That so long as slaveholding is regard iquity of slavery.

his dying testimony to the value of the principles of the Inspired word of God; so long as church fellowship and American Anti-Slavery Society. An early co-worker denominational unity exist between the Episcopalians, in the cause, he feelingly referred to the period when Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and Metho mobocratic violence assailed his person and jeoparded dists of the North and South; just so long will the the safety of his family for his faithful testimonies a. Slave Power succeed in lengthening its cords and

now they demanded not only Kansas and Nebraska, and exceptional cases) the American Church continues to be the mastery of the whole territory of the Union, but 'the bulwark of American slavery,' and, therefore, imalso the right to go into every Northern State with their pure in heart, hypocritical in profession, dishonest in slaves, for transit or for temporary solourn—an enter-ing wedge for the full establishment of slavery there, of unclean birds, and the synagogue of Satan. Mr. Burleigh showed how wholly inadequate, how use- 12. Resolved, That the 'American Board of Comless, and how absurd it is to attempt to resist the sin- missioners for Foreign Missions,' in giving its sanction with the South. There is no safety, and can be no suc- lish a single tract against slavery, and carefully expurcess, in anything short of striking at the monster's very gating its publications of every word that might give existence. SLAVERY MUST DIE THE DEATH. No other principle, or policy, or measure is adequate to save us. Bible Society,' in making no protest against a system Kansas is no better to me than Virginia; I have no more interest to keep it out of the former than I have Bible to four millions of our perishing countrymen. to root it out of the latter. Do you say it should be while it honors and clothes with official power the very shut out of Kansas because it is a gross immorality, and an unqualified infraction of every law of God? I say it the free circulation of the Scriptures; that the 'Ameriis equally so everywhere, all over the vast region which can Home Missionary Society,' in being at peace with it now occupies. Whoever commanded at Sebastopol would have been considered as wholly unintelligent, and unequal to his position, who should confine himself to darkness; that the 'American Sunday School Union,' preventing the Russians from erecting new works, in studiously refraining from exhibiting the horrors leaving their main fortress wholly untouched.

Mr. Burleigh proceeded to show what a tremend power was brought to bear in favor of slavery by that convicted of the vilest hypocrisy and the most astoundlarge class of men who claim that American slavery is justified by God, and by the patriarchal institutions of the Bible, as do the leading religious teachers and churches of the land, either directly or by their religious union and fellowship with slaveholders.

form that every man's idea, opinion and course were freely criticised here. We are charged by our opponents and serpents, wolves in sheep's clothing '- Pharisees with being do-nothing abolitionists. What is work? and hypocrites, who compass sea and land to make one Is not that the best work which consists in the promul- proselyte, and when he is made, he is two fold more the gation of the great truths which arouse the conscience, warm the heart, and quicken every man to action? But there is a sense in which we are Do-nothings. We Nehemiah Adams, of Boston, the author of that atrodo nothing to help hold the slave in his chains, as clous work, 'A South-Side View of Slavery,' as one of even our Republican friends are doing by their position its Publishing Committee, at its annual meeting yesterin this slaveholding Union. They are working, it is day, in this city, and in its refusal to bestow a word of true, but much they do tends to strengthen the chains consure upon that committee for mutilating its publiof the slave. We are certainly using the whole force cations, so as to give no offence to the South, the Amerof our moral indignation against slavery in Kansas, as ican Tract Society shows itself to be incorrigibly base well as they. But they are seeking to elevate William in heart and inhuman in spirit, and leaves every man H. Seward, or some other man, to the Presidential chair, where his first act must be to take an oath to carry the ship, without excuse. obligations of the Constitution into effect. By that oath, William H. Seward must become Kidnapper-General of the fallowing abstract of the Treasurer's Report for the the Nation-the Head of a nation of twenty million of people, who have entered into solemn covenant to give protection and privileges to the slaveholder, and to withhold both from the slave. I am not denying that a sincere and strong anti-slavery feeling prevail among the Republican party; but such feeling is also found in the Democratic party, and in the Whig party, if that can be spoken of as an existing party. It is the position of all these parties, as the supporters of a Government and Union which is the deadly foe of the May, 1855, By Balance from old Account, \$4,953 83 slave, that I protest against and condemn. And we must continue to rebuke the Free Soil Republican party, or we must give up rebuking anybody. We must be impartial; we must not consent to wrong or injustice in any one ; we must not seek to cover it up, especially when those who are, in many respects, our friends, are in a guilty position.

S. J. May (being in the chair) said he thought the position of the Republican party essentially different from that of the other parties.

Mr. Foster invited Mr. May to take the platform, and

show what the difference is. Mr. May declined speaking at present.

Mr. Foster read a portion of a recent debate in the United States Senate, when Senator Brown of Missis, sippi read an extract from a London paper, the Telegraph, (said by Mr. Cass to have the largest circulation of any paper in England.) The article distinctly took they now insist that I must take some lessons at that.

This, then, will be the first time I have missed the America, Great Britain would arm the slaves of the United States. Mr. Brown characterized the article as an atrocious one; he said he would do his friend who handed him the paper (Senator Foot of Vermont) the justice to say, that he assured him (Mr. Brown) that, in case of such a contest with any foreign power, every Northern State would come with alacrity to the support of the slaveholding States. And this was Mr. Foot, one of those Northern politicians whom Mr. Parker eulogized, this morning, as one of the stanch friends

Mr. STEPHEN P. ANDREWS said he could take the and soon would be issued from the press. oath to support the United States Constitution, even if understanding it just as S. S. Foster does, and with the full determination in his mind, at the time he took the oath, not to comply with a single provision in it which he deemed wrong. He should justify the act thus: The law and common sense recognize the fact, that a man is not held to fulfil certain promises because made under physical constraint and duress; so he should argue his oath was taken under a moral duress.

C. C. BURLEIGH remarked briefly on a few points in Mr. Foster's speech. He thought there was a decided and marked growth of anti-slavery in the country. The Society adjourned to 71 o'clock, P. M.

Evening. The Society metaccording to adjournment ; a very large audience being present, who listened with the closest attention to a most able and eloquent address, relating to the question of Kansas in part, but having a far more comprehensive reach, from Rev. hopeful fields for anti-slavery culture which were now THEODORE PARKER, of Boston ; continued until 10 to be found in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and o'clock, when the Society adjourned to Thursday, 10 other Western States. o'clock, A. M.

## THURSDAY.

sembly Rouges of The President in the chair.

misrepresentations of our meetings that had appeared a future paper.] in one or more of the papers. He said there were men who made it their business to come to our meetings, and take advantage of our proffered kindness, in providing tables and other accommodations for reporters of the press, to caricature our proceedings. Such men were not gentlemen, but blackguards. The New York Herald was an illustration of the blackguardism to which he referred, but nothing better could be expected from that paper, with its present proprietorship and management.

S. J. May thought the papers that had given unfair reports should be designated ; for while the Herald and Sun have grossly misrepresented our proceedings, the New York Daily Times had given a very fair report. CHARLES LENOX REMOND referred to the disgracefu language of the New York News, and denounce lits editor as a slaveholder and a negro-hater at heart. Mr. GARRISON, on behalf of the Business Committee,

presented the following resolutions :-9. Resolved, That the strength and success of slave-

port, where, it is well known, many families acquired nor in its resources-for they are few and poor; nor in rast wealth by the slave trade. I asked if it were true its fruits-for they are frightfully impoverishing, profithat those wealthy slave-trading families had become gate and tyrannical; nor in the number of actual slave-extinct. He said that it was even so. Mr. B. also al- holders—for it is utterly insignificant; but they are

mind, the manifest finger of God, setting a mark upon ed at the North as compatible with a Christian profes these men for the part they had borne in the great in- sion; so long as abolitionism is branded as an 'infidel movement; so long as the Bible continues to be inter-Rev. H. C. Howells, of New Jersey, wished to bear preted on the side of slavery, and yet accepted as the gainst slavery. He spoke with heart-felt emotion.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH traced the successive demands which the Slave Power had made of the country, till

11. Resolved, That (making all due allowance for

gle and local encroachments of slavery-what folly it to the horrible act of making man the property of man; is to make the mere non-extension of slavery an issue that the 'American Tract Society,' in refusing to puboffence to Southern men-stealers; that the 'American and statutes whereby it is prohibited from giving the the sum of all villapies,' and leaving its multitudinous victims to grope their way into eternity in heathenish and blasphemies of the slave system to the millions of minds under its guidance and control; are each and all ing wickedness, and it is equally a sin and a shame to contribute to their funds, or to give them any countenance whatever.

13. Resolved, That the managers of these powerful religious bodies are the most despicable of all time-serv-STEPHEN S. FOSTER said it was the glory of our plat- ers and trimmers ; and that they belong to the class whom Jesus denounced as 'whited sepulchres, vipers child of hell than themselves.'

14. Resolved, That in the re-appointment of the Rev

SYDNEY H. GAY, Esq., Assistant Treasurer, presented

8	past year	T. 15.16 (오프램프라틴 (VS) 제공 하나 이번			
o	American J	1, S. Society, in account with	F. J.		
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New York, May 1st, 1856. S. H. GAY, Assistant Treasurer. I have examined the above account and the vouchers, and found them to be correct.

J. S. GIBBONS.

Mr. GAY spoke with regret of the absence of the Treasurer, Francis Jackson, whose presence among us we miss for the first time for twenty years. He would take the liberty, he added, of reading a passage from a private letter from Mr. Jackson, which he was sure would be heard with interest. He says:

I am not now well enough to risk a journey to New York, and fear I shall not be with you at our Anniver-sary day. My friends tell me that as I have not indulged overmuch that rascally virtue called prudence,

Anniversary meeting for the last twenty years. I shall regret this for many reasons, not the least of which will be to lose the opportunity to take the hands and look upon the faces of those old friends of the slave who have stood by me in twenty pitched battles with your pre-slavery community. However, if I am not there in person, I will be in purse. Please, therefore, pleage for me two hundred dollars, that being my usual contribution.

Mr. Gay also stated that the Annual Report of the Executive Committee (which Report, we may mention, has been prepared with great care and faithfulness by Mr. Gay himself) was nearly ready for publication,

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., read a brief statement of the on erations of the Society during the past year, relating to the Lecturing Agents employed, the fields of labor occupied, the Tracts published and distributed, the colporteurs engaged in that work, and the pressing necessity of contributions to the Tract Treasury, now entirely exhausted. It may be stated, said Mr. Gay, that this brief state

ment which Mr. May has read will be incorporated in the Annual Report.

LUCRETIA MOTT, of Philadelphia, suggested that, as the time was short, and the topics of interest, and particularly those of an immediate business character. were numerous, the speakers should limit themselves as much as they conveniently could in regard to the time occupied by their remarks.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, of Ohio, and AARON M. Pow. ELL, of New York, made interesting statements of the

Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, of Jersey City, was then introduced to the meeting by the President. In a very logical, profound, and eloquently-expressed speech, Mr. The Society met at 10 o'clock, A. M., at the City As- F. held the attention of the audience in the closest manner for upwards of an hour. [This speech we Mr. Garrison desired to call attention to the gross hope to lay before our readers and the public in full, in

Mr. Quixor, after a few remarks correcting one or two not essential misstatements of facts, expressed the great pleasure with which he had listened to the admirable speech which Mr. Frothingham had delivered : and concluded with moving-if there were no objection as it was an unusual course—that Mr. Frothingham be respectfully requested to write out the address which he has this morning made to us, that it may be laid before a larger audience than has this morning heard it, either by publication in the Standard, or in some other

way, as the Executive Committee may think advisable. The motion was seconded, and, after some remarks from Mr. Garrison, expressive of his admiration of Mr. Frothingham's address, and the sadness of heart he had felt (as he listened to it) that every minister was not equally honest and faithful, in which case slavery could live but a little time, was adopted by acclama-

STEPHEN S. FOSTER spoke of the many admirable sentiments in Mr. Frothingham's address, and said he

a resolution (though not expressed in the beautiful

this Society, at the present time, is to convince the en- pied, amid all the light by which they are surrounded tire community that the anti-slavery of any and every political party which acknowledges allegiance and sarily tainted and spurious; and that the nearer its resemblance to the genuine, the more injurious is it to the cause of freedom, because the more likely to deceive its honest and true-hearted friends.

Mr. Appingron, of Buffalo, said he felt that the cause of freedom was in great peril in our day. In il-Instration, he spoke of the course of the American Tract Society, in its pro-slavery truckling, its profound indifference to the crime and wrong of slavery ; and even in its recent course of staving off, for an entire year, all definite and Christian action about this garchy of three hundred and fifty thousand kidnappers great and vital matter. Adjourned to 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON. The President in the chair. The resolutions now before the Society were, by re-

quest, again read. EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee on Nomination EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee on Nomination of Officers, reported the following list of officers for the there honestly.

Anny K. Foster said that though she had not in-

President. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, of Massachusetts.

Vice Presidents, Peter Libbey, Maine ; Luther Melendy, New Hamp shire ; Theodore B. Moses, New Hampshire ; Jehiel C. claffin, Vermont; Francis Jackson, Massachusetts; most dangerous to our cause. They are to our move-Edmund Quincy, Massachusetts; Asa Fairbanks, Rhode ment what respectable, moderate drinkers are and Island; James B. Whitcomb, Connecticut; Samuel J. have been to the Temperance cause. We should ever May, New York : Cornelius Bramball, New York : Amy Post, New York ; Pliny Sexton, New York ; Lucretia Mott, Pennsylvania ; Edward M. Davis, Pennsylvania; Thomas Whitson, Pennsylvania; George and that offered by Mr. Garrison as a substitute. Atkinson, New Jersey; Alfred Gibbs Campbell, New Among those who took part in it were Messrs. Garri-Jersey; Thomas Garrett, Delaware; Thomas Donaldson, Ohio; William Stedman, Ohio; Benjamin Bowne, leigh, Abby Kelley Foster, and others. Ohio ; William Hearn, Indiana ; William Hopkins, Indiana ; Joseph Merritt, Michigan ; Thomas Chandler, Michigan ; Cyrus Fuller, Michigan ; John Wichell, Illinois ; James A. Shedd, Iowa ; Caleb Green, Minnesota ; Georgiana B. Kirby, California.

Corresponding Secretary - Sydney H. Gay, New

Recording Secretary-Wendell Phillips, Boston. Treasurer-Francis Jackson, Boston.

Executive Committee - William Lloyd Garrison Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Maria Weston Chapman, Wendell Phillips, Anne Warren Weston Sydney H. Gay, Eliza Lee Follen, James Russell Lowell, Charles E. Hovey, Samuel May, Jr., William I.

nanimously accepted, and the persons therein named

Mr. Gannison, in behalf of the Business Committee, reported the following additional resolution :

15. Resolved, That in consenting to those compromises of the Constitution, by which a slave oligarchy interesting intelligence designed for this number. a refuge in every part of the country, the foreign slave ARRIVAL OF GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. IN INDIA. The Declaration of Independence ; that, in giving their ad- city, especially from the native population, who grate ing growth and aims of the Slave Power; and, there- after his arrival, he became the guest of Baboo Prosfore, that there can be no true loyalty to freedom, no sona Comar Tagore, the most distinguished of Hindo

and principles of our Society into the great Western country. He expressed his own readiness to aid in carrying on a series of one hundred Anti-Slavery Conventions, and he knew of at least one other who was ready to go forth.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., spoke of a letter from Illinois which had recently come to the Executive Committee, calling urgently that a corps of Lecturing Agents might be sent into that State during the ensuing sea-

M. R. Rominson, of Ohio, rejoiced in the proposition of the anti-slavery people of the West, the fullest cooperation it was in their power to give.

earnest manner to the audience present for pecuniary next number. aid to the Treasury of the Society.

Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, inquired what was the exact purpose of the Society in regard to efforts cause, far and near, is requested to the address of the for keeping slavery out of Kansas, and making it a Managers of this Bazaar, which may be found in anothfree State. Mr. M. went on to urge that we should not er column. Let its appeal lead to immediate effort. forget that it is by gradual steps by which success is to

he protest against our identifying ourselves, as a Socie- He is an able and eloquent speaker. ty, with the Kansas Free State movement, so long as it. such. But what is the present state of the Kansas entitled 'Triumph of Equal School Rights in Boston question, as the Free State men present it to us? Proceedings of the Presentation Meeting held in Bos meet to exclude all colored persons from the State of lips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Charles Lenox Remond. based on that vile prejudice against color which we, as including mailing, if desired. Abolitionists, have always held to be the very handmaid of slavery, and against which we have labored and PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROtoiled so hard for so many years-and no one more faithfully than Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, one of the oldest soldiers in this good war. Now, shall we leave inviting the friends of Truth, Purity and Progress this position, and go and place ourselves by the side of without distinction of sect or name or nation, to attend these who are meanly stooping before this prejudice of the Fourth Annual Convocation of Progressive Friends, color ? God forbid ! We cannot join the present movement for Kansas, because it is false in principle. That is a sufficient reason why we should take no part in it. 1856, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing as long as Mr. May said that his sympathies had been roused for Kansas; he had given money for the purchase of rifles for emigrants in Kansas, and had induced others to we represent, in this work of beneficence and love do so, but did so wholly from feelings of sympathy in are earnestly invited to meet with us, at the time and their personal danger. He would not, however, for that reason, be identified with the proscription of the colored man. It is a clear question of duty and of right. But even on the ground of policy-of a wise policy-he was equally convinced that we can help the cause of true and ultimate freedom in Kansas unspeakably better, by uttering God's entire truth with regard to the doings of the people there, Free State men inclu ded, and not forgetting the platform of the Republican party, than we possibly can if one and all of us should take up the cry of Non-Extension-one thing at a time -availability, &c. &c. Let it be our part, guided by eternal truth, to create an anti-slavery atmosphere in all the Northern States, all around Kansas, and in it too, so pure and true, that slavery's bateful form shall find no hiding-place, and utterly disappear and perish. S. S. Foster considered it very important to decide how the anti-slavery funds should be expended, as well

as how they are to be raised. Should we cooperate with the Republican party, or should we oppose it? If it be anti-slavery, then I will give it my most hearty sup-The father of the slaveholder, said Mr.

9. Resolved, That the strength and success of slavesentiments in Mr. Frothingoum's address, and said he
port; if it is pro-slavery, then I shall do all in my sged 67, a native of Charles
port; if it is pro-slavery, then I shall do all in my sged 67, a native of Charles

received by the audience with special approbation, in power to oppose it. It must be one or the other; it annot be both. He believed it pro-slavery ; that Sew language of the speaker) which he desired to offer, as ard, Sumner, Hale and Giddings are hand in hand with the veriest slaveholders in this country. He denied

This was objected to by H. C. Howells, who ares and called Mr. Foster to order. Mr. F. was sustained promises support to the Federal Government, is neces. and proceeded in a very earnest and eloquent manne to show the truthfulness of his positions.

C. C. BURLEIGH came forward to reply to Mr. Foster, but gave way for Mr. Garrison, who then read, as a substitute for the resolution offered by Mr. Foster this morning, the following :

Resolved, That while we fully appreciate every ear nest effort made by the Republican party to prevent the introduction of slavery into Kansas, our charge againit is, that it swears to uphold and execute all the provisions of a pro-slavery Constitution, by which an oliare enabled triumphantly to hold in hopeless bondage four millions of our countrymen ; that it disclaims any wish or intention to change the Constitution in these particulars; and, therefore, to this fearful extent, it is a pro-slavery party.

Mr. Buntuigh resumed, showing why, in his opinion, though in a wrong position, the Republicans were

tended to say a word, she deemed the present a very important crisis, and saw that many were in danger of being led astray from true and uncompromising principles. Compromise was fatal. The Republican party is no higher than the Whig or Democratic party eight keep our standard high, and upon our banner, inscriptions of absolute truth and justice. A very interesting discussion then followed upon Mr. Foster's resolution

On motion of S. H. GAY, both resolutions were laid upon the table.

son, Foster, M. R. Robinson, S. J. May, C. C. Bur-

The resolutions reported by the Business Committee sere then adonted

The meeting then adjourned sine die. The whole amount collected by the Finance Committee was \$165 70. Pledges, payable during the year, \$662 00. Collection at the door of the hall, Wednesday evening, \$79 34.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President. SAMUEL MAY, JR., Assistant Secretaries.

ANNIVERSARY WEEK IN NEW YORK. The larger por tion of the week proved to be very unpropitious for all the anniversaries, in consequence of a continuous north The report being submitted to the Society, it was easterly storm, attended by heavy rains. The meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society were well attended-the first one immensely large-and the proceed ings characterised as usual by great boldness and eloquence of speech. These occupy so many of our columns as to preclude all comment, and to exclude much

trade protected for twenty years, and the whole milita- numerous friends and admirers of Mr. Thompson, in ry power of the government pledged to suppress slave this country, will rejoice to hear of his safe arrival in insurrections, our fathers committed a grievous sin, Calcutta on the 25th February, where he received a and trampled in the dust their own heaven-attested cordial welcome from the principal residents of that hesion to such a compact, their descendants are com- fully remember the services which it was his privilege mitting a still more grievous sin, in view of the alarm- and happiness to render them in past times. Shortly unswerving fidelity to the anti-slavery cause, short of lawyers, Secretary of the Legislative Council of India the hearty and consistent adoption of the doctrine, - and a man of princely fortune, Mr. Thompson was No Union with Slaveholders, religiously or politically, present at Lord Dalhousie's farewell party at the Vice-C. L. REMOND urged that a greater effort be made regal palace, and was also present at Lady Canning's than has heretofore been made, to carry the doctrines inaugural entertainment. The London Empire says deposed King of Oude. This, however, the Empire says, is an error, as Mr. Thompson's business in India is chiefly of a non-political character.

PARKER PILLSBURY. Our long-absent co-worker, last, in the steamer for Boston, and may therefore be confidently expected here in all next week. During the which Mr. Remond had made, and pledged, on behalf approaching anniversary week, (we believe on Wednestended to him, in the form of a social festival, with ad-LUCY STONE BLACKWELL appealed in a direct and dresses, sentiments, &c. Further particulars in our

> TWENTY-THIRD NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR. The special attention of the friends of the Anti-Slavery

OUR FRIENDS in Abington and the adjoining towns SAMUEL MAY, Jr., after adverting to the long and will notice that MARIUS R. Robinson of Ohio is to speak intimate connection he had had with the friend who had on the subject of Slavery, next Sunday, at Abington just spoken, and to the many benefits which he had de- Town Hall. Mr. Robinson is the Editor of the Antirived from that intercourse, said he thought that both Slavery Bugle, the ablest and truest anti-slavery jourduty and a sound and just expediency utterly forbade nal of the West. We hope that large delegations from our identifying ourselves, for an instant, with the mere the neighboring towns will join with our Abington non-extension of slavery movement. Especially would friends in welcoming Mr. Robinson to Plymouth county.

stands on its present low and compromising level. Of AN INTERESTING PAMPHLET. We call the attention of course, of course, as a Society and as individuals, we our readers to a neat pamphlet just published, and for desire to see Kansas a free State, truly and honestly sale in this city at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, Why, they have, by a decided popular majority, adopt- ton, Dec. 17, 1855; including addresses by John T. ed a vote calling upon the first Legislature which shall Hilton, Wm. C. Nell, Charles W. Slack, Wendell Phil-Kansas! This is a measure of shameful compromise, Price, 10 cents single; twelve copies for one dollar,

GRESSIVE FRIENDS.

Upon the undersigned devolves the pleasant duty of to be held in the Meeting-house at Longwood, (betwee circumstances may seem to require-probably for three

days.

All those who desire to co-operate with us and those place above named. Nay, more—in the language of the Hebrew prophet we say, 'Whosever WILL, let him

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, RUTH DUGDALE, SIDNEY P. CURTIS, WILLIAM BARNARD, H. M. DARLINGTON, LIZZIE McFARLAN, ROWLAND JOHNSON, JOSIAH WILSON, HANNAH PENNOCK, OLIVER JOHNSON, SALLIE C. COATES, AMELIA JACKSON, SALLIE C. COATES, AMELIA JACKSON, ISAAC MENDENHALL, Committee of Arrangements.

All letters designed for the meeting should be irected to J. A. Dugdale, Hamorton, Chester Co., Pa Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, has promised to attend

J. A. Dugdale will hold a meeting for children, at 10 o'clock, A. M., the day preceding the Yearly Meeting; at the close of which, they will be invited to visit the beautiful Park of G. Peirce.

MARRIED-In Duxbury, April 23, George J. Profesos, of that place, and Menitable White of Marsh. DIED-In New York city, Feb. 28, John MITCHELL,

Tuesday, "Thursday, WM. WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the Amer Birmingham, Ct., Tuesday, May 20. Naugatuck "Wednesday, "21. Mr. Brown will probably remain in the Western part of Connecticut until Sunday, May 25.

Sunday, May 18.

ABINGTON-Manus R. Robinson, of Salem,

Ohio, the able Editor of the Anti-Slavery Bugle, will speak at the TOWN HALL in Abington, on American Slavery, on Sunday next. May 18th, at 10½ o'clock, A. M., and at 2 o'clock, P. M.

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massachu-

. Society, will lecture as

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sons of toil are subjected, how they share their fares, and the mode of life of their families while husbands, sons and brothers are absent fishing.

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### Portrait of Theodore Parker. FOR sale, at the Rooms of A. A. Child & Co., 19 Tremont street, a Portrait from Life of Rev. THE-opone Parker, by Anton Uhle, of Philadelphia. Full life size, elegantly framed. Price, \$100 00. This is

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DROCEEDINGS of the Presentation Meeting held in PROCEEDINGS of the Presentation Meeting held in Boston, Dec. 17, 1855; including addresses by John T. Hilton, Wm. C. Nell, Charles W. Slack, Wendell Phillips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Charles Lenox Remond. This Meeting was held to commemorate the opening of the public schools of Boston to all, irrespective of complexional differences, and the Proceedings make a very interesting pamphlet. For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, price 10 cents; 12 capies for \$1, which will include mailing, if requested.

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This Slave day m is und a farris and a the pi ingists. Free-died of a ethy of a ethy of a ethy of a ethy of the bie, bi pulse of the bie, bi sewar jet fai which one ti that yet fai which one ti that yet fai which one ti that it was of cold an ext We all ting to form wery So he oot of Cold an ext wery So he oot of the that it was of the cold an ext wery So he oot of the cold an ext wery So he oot of the cold an ext were so form were so form the cold an ext were so form the cold and the co

### POETRY.

From the British Friend. A FAMILIAR EPISTLE

TO MY GOOD FRIEND G. C., ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS · He who's convinced against his will. Is of the same opinion still :' Then how can I my own let fall, Who still am not convinced at all? By all I yet from Scripture draw, Love best fulfils the MORAL LAW! And hence it seems to me a fact, To hang is an immoral act! In spite of all that thine discloses, Of earlier code than that of Moses, Though I have little arguing skill, I would go back e'en earlier still : When Cain, in fratricidal strife, First took his brother Abel's life The God with whom he had to do, In his case, judge and jury too, So far from claiming blood for blood, In mercy by the culprit stood; And in the righteous sentence passed, That mercy's mantle round him cast ; And wheresee'er the murderer trod. An exiled wanderer from his God Howe'er the fratricide might fare, Commanded man his life to spare !

To me this single fact outweighs The law of Moses' later days : That law, for those to whom 'twas given, Was sacred as a voice from heaven! But since the gospel's law of love Was promulgated from above, To me as plain as noon-day light, Its merciful, forgiving rite Forbids all who beneath it live, To take the life they cannot give!

So solemn is this faith to me, I hold that man, whoe'er he be, That dooms his fellow-man to die. A murderer in the Christian's eye! And though I owe to none a grudge, In my view, both Jack Ketch and Judge, When these have done all they can do, Are in their turn but murderers too Much of the difference is comprised In theirs being murder legalized!

By the same rule I turn away, Disgusted, from the battle-fray, And with instinctive horror shun All laurels for the hero won-By Marlborough or by Wellington ; Deeming all war, in reason's eye, But heartless, wholesale butchery

Such is the creed, my good old friend, In which I trust my life to end; How long our anti-christian law May be allowed to glut its maw, With ravenous tooth and bloody fang, And hoarsely mutter Hang! Hang! Hang! Being no prophet, but a poet, I cannot guess, far less can know it ; But in my faith, or soon or late, That barbarous law must find its fate; And hempen cords, no longer prized, Like racks and thumb-screws, be despised-Despised and loathed, as relics base, Of darker ages the disgrace ; But cast to moles and bats away, In the broad light of gospel day !

BERNARD BARTON.

From ' Panch.' THE SHOT WE HAVE TO PAY. For peace I heard the cannon bang, I counted till a hundred rang ; At each of those explosive sounds,

The bells, too, and the cheering boys, Together made a merry noise; Their mingled uproar seemed to say, One hundred million pounds-hooray !

Thought I-so went one million pounds !

That two-years' war has cost ; and what For all that money have we got? Experience chiefly, I surmise, And hope that it may make us wise

Wiseacres we have been, alas ! Forming one great collective Ass, And penny wise, at last we've found

Is foolish something o'er a pound. Obliged to spend these millions-could We but have spent them as we would.

A little we should have, I trow, Besides experience now to show. In widened streets we should rejoice,

Could we have been allowed that choice; Some architecture would replace Our edifices mean and base. Oh! what might not the Board of Health

Have done with part of that vast wealth Divided into many sums! For one thing, cleared off all the slums. The Thames might now be drained-or near To ebbing bright and flowing clear. With salmon soon as gudgeon thick, At least as high as Hampton Wick. We might have founded many schools,

That people might not grow up fools ; We might-what might we not have done, That mortals do beneath the sun? Oh! what a stress, oh! what a strain

On thew and muscle, heart and brain, To work that debt out so immense, Will be required for ages hence ! Compelled in strife to interpose, We've had to wipe a bleeding nose,

And through that nose condemned to pay, Must grin and bear it as we may, In future we, perhaps, shall keep Up, both on the land and on the deep, A proper force of armed police, Whereby we may preserve the Peace.

TIME'S CHANGES.

The more we live, more brief appear Our life's succeeding stages ; A day to childhood seems a year ; And years, like passing ages.

The gladsome current of our youth, Ere passion yet disorders, Steals, lingering, like a river smooth, Along its grassy borders.

But as the care-worn cheek grows wan, And sorrow's shafts fly thicker. Ye stars that measure life to man, Why seem your courses quicker?

When joys have lost their bloom and breath, And life itself is vapid, Why, as we reach the falls of death, Feel we its tide more rapid ?

It may be strange ; yet who would change Time's course to slower speeding, When, one by one, our friends have gone, And left our bosoms bleeding ?

Heaven gives our years of fading strength Indemnifying fleetness ; And those of youth a seeming length, Proportioned to their sweetness.

Master and slave alike shall find An equal judge of human kind.

### THE LIBERATOR

RELIGIOUS CREEDS. DEAR LIBERATOR :

There are two things pleasant to behold ' under the sun': a man better than his creed, and a man bettered by his creed.

M D's sometimes disagree with one another and D.D.'s quite as frequently disagree with themselves. I knows no oppression, gave to the poor child a fair form am not certain that persons with prefixes and affixes do and beautiful features, and at the early age of thirteer not as often make mistakes as plain John Smith and Tom Jones. A great man trips at a rolling stone as had fallen on them. There is no law strong enough t well as a little one. A wise man may be as helpless in the dark as a foolish one. A creedmonger sometimes stumbles upon the truth, by virtue of his strong com-

Taking up the Independent, not long since, my attention was drawn to an article under the caption-'Trust,' It proved upon reading, to be a very good article, and quite as free from certain common defects which unfortunately much pertain to modern religious literature, as could be expected. It embodied a very pointing to the past, can we wonder that she does not good lesson; but the writer had either forgotten his creed, or what is better, perhaps, progressed beyond it. As all human creeds fall far short of the excellence to the vigor of youth, to toll in the cane or cotton fields which even man may attain, it is always pleasant to with no hope of mercy but from death? see men leaping over and rallying their energies beyoud the bounds of sectaries. All honor to the man who dares do a good deed, or speak a truth, without Christian land, let a thought of the toiling slave-moth consulting his creed for a formula. Instituting a comparison between the earthly parent and the great All-Father, relative to the production of love, care, kindness, foresight and providence, the writer remarks :-

'He is trying to do, on a small scale, in a narrow level with the brutes. na infinite sphere, with a perfect nature and with transcendent excellence. . . . God cares not less, but infinitely more, for every child, than any earthly parent; watches more willingly, provides more surely, and gladly and abundantly.'

P. S. The above was written while soft the slave States a few months since. was told me by the poor slave mother.

It seems that there can scarcely be any better foundation for an argument in favor of the final progression of the whole human family up to the plane of moral goodness, than our author lays down as above. If it be true that Our Father so much exceeds the earthly parent in love and kindness as the infinite and perfect exceeds the finite and imperfect, how is it possible for earthly parents to conceive of any greater good to their children than He has decreed?

The true parent, possessed of the power, would no fail so to control circumstances that his children should reach an elevated plane of happiness. What parent would rejoice in the birth of a child, knowing that it should certainly lead a miserable life here, as the initiatory to an eternity of pain? Is there one such parent living?

author's creed,) and elected some while he reprobated others, in how much is such infinite love purer and better than finite love? Nay, since so much excellence even the first chapter of Genesis; and the constant and power are lodged in the first, and all to so little lical investigations—that 'a little girl must not purpose, is not the latter rather to be venerated?purpose, is not the latter rather to be venerated?— ask such questions —made her, at that early day since, in deed, it fails to realize the sublimity of its an advocate of Religious Freedom, and of Wo conception of good to man from want of power, while man's Rights; as she could not realize why, on the first decrees that the aspirations of the human soul shall transcend even the disposition of divine love to gratify. It seems that every attempt to hedge in divine love

with creeds and dogmas must signally fail. Every theologian measures the Omnipotent arm by his own. vance of all the religious rites and ceremonies of When Jacob wrestled with the angel, he typified the Jewish faith, although some of them, on account of the desired that the religious rites and ceremonies of the Jewish faith, although some of them, on account of the desired that the religious rites and ceremonies of the desired that the religious rites and ceremonies of the desired that the religious rites and ceremonies of the desired that the religious rites and ceremonies of the desired that the religious rites and ceremonies of the desired that the religious rites and ceremonies of the desired that the religious rites and ceremonies of the desired that the religious rites and ceremonies of the desired that the religious rites and ceremonies of the desired that the religious rites are the rites are the religious rites are the rites are the religious theological labors of modern divines. When the Jews handed themselves down as the peculiar people of God, sometimes painfully disturbed by the startling they only symbolized modern sects. While the Christian world, individually, is certainly monotheistic, col-utility of these multifarious observances. As an tic. What an impassable gulf yawns between the God her father, with much anxiety, why he fasted so

of Moses and the God of Jesus! How differs the God much more than others—a habit which was seriof the New York Observer from that of the Independ- told that it was to please God, who required this ent! The Deity of the vindictive man is likewise vin-dictive and cruel; that of the loving and charitable is replied, 'If God can be pleased with making you also infinite love and charity. It is not strange that christendom is an aggregate of warring sects. Christendom is an aggregate of warring sects.

JOHN OF MORLEY.

### LETTER FROM PATHER HENRY. BROTHER GARRISON :

I hasten to give thanks to my brother for his kind and faithful correction of my blind 'quotation of the tune to lose her mother. A year afterwards, her ancient scripture.' He has done right. He has fulfilled father married again, and through a misdirected one text of that scripture, (if I mistake not.) that we kindness, involved her in a property law-suit, at should be eyes to the blind and feet to the lame-that which she pleaded her own cause, and won it is, to help them to see and to help them to walk. Thus possession, alleging that she cared not for it, but my brother has helped me to see my error, for which I only for justice, and that the inheritance might not feel grateful. I did 'smile' when I saw my mistake; full into mercenary hands. She subsequently travbut my brother will perceive that my memory was not elled much in Poland, Russia, the Germanic States, forgetful of the 'sacred text,' but imputed it to the Holland, Belgium, France and England, during wrong person-to the man of Tarsus instead of the which time she witnessed or took part in sou man of Bethsaida. The second anointing that I spoke of had allusion to the 25th verse of the same chapter, late King of Prussia concerning the right of Poimmediately following those quoted by my brother :- lish Jews to remain in that city. The Jews o After that, he put his hands again upon his eyes, and Prussia Poland are not permitted to continue in made him look up: and he was restored, and saw every man clearly.' I firmly believe, that if we would look up to the higher law of leave we should see that case, they get a permit to tarry on a visit, look up to the higher law of Jesus, we should see but not to transact any business for themselves, clearly the relation we stand in to God our Father Mdlle. Potoski being from Poland, and a Jewess, and man our brother, and therefore could not in any was, of course, subject to the same disability. She case be accessory in shedding our brother's blood. I am sorry my brother did not give his true name, for I plying for it, but she preferred to stand do not like blind names any better than I do blind outsitions. I feel impressed by my own spirit arms. quotations.' I feel impressed by my own spirit, or my and obtained the right to remain as long as she brother's who criticised my letter, or some other spirit wished, and to do what she pleased. that attends me while I write, that the true name of the In Hague, Holland, she became acquainted with Theodore Parker, of Boston. Now, if I have made imprisoned for an alleged crime, of which he in

P. S. Brother Garrison, I wish you to correct one good old Methodist minister. I formerly belonged to 1830, and witnessed most of the exciting scene left that Church, on account of its pro-slavery and pro-in the central part of the capital, where they war position, and sent my resignation, and my reasons were principally enacted. On seeing Louis Philclined to publish it, because he thought my coupling as Charles X., will one day have good reason to my protest against war with that against slavery, wish himself safely off the throne of France. would injure his paper, and he hoped I would not press lished it in THE LIBERATOR. I now stand in no connection with any body of ministers or any organized have been ever since I left the section of that Church, and others, but it don't frighten me, and fully advocated ever since.

In 1834, she presided at the formation of In 1834, she presided at the formation of all Classes are

## THE INPANT SLAVE.

There is sorrow and anguish in the little circle that constitutes the 'household band' in yonder palmetto hut. A child, an heir to their misery and degradation, commenced lecturing on the evils of the existing is born ! Rough hands receive its tender form, rude social system, the formation of human character noises and jarring sounds strike on its delicate ears. the rights of woman, and other subjects of a re-Its little limbs are wrapped in coarse garments, and it is laid by the side of its slave mother. Who will wonder that tears are in her eyes as she gazes at this litthe conservative ranks. At a great public meet-tle part of herself, to which she has given being, and ing convened in the Tabernacle, at New York, for remembers that this is all she may ever give it ; while to her mind's eye are presented the many, many long years of servitude which are before it! All unconscious, it lies in its helplessness and purity, heeding not whether it be bond or free; but who shall fathom the depth of that mother's love, or the bitterness of her thoughts, as she gazes on the little face nestled in her bosom? Can we wonder that fancy recals the hour which first made her a mother, or that the voice of a stigmatized as 'Infidels.' This bold innovamother's love should call loudly for her first-born? Where is she? Has the strong arm of Death removed

were her child at rest in the arms of the Infinite Fa-

her. She knows that the rising of every sun sees her hastening forth to a day of unrequited toil, and the evening dews track her weary feet to her miserable home. She looks back to the time when this same sun browned toiler was an innocent and helpless child, like the one now nestling in her bosom. Then a few short years of happy childhood were hers, before her young heart realized that she was black. But Nature, wh years, the licentious gaze of her Christian (!) master protect her from his insults , her body and soul are his ubservient to his will! A year of shame and wretch edness passes over his victim; but now the outraged wife sees her husband's folly, and with bitter loathing the poor child is dragged away, all unheeding the heartwithering anguish of the poor mother, who will not be comforted. She is sent to the slave-market, never again to gladden that mother, or to know her care And now, with the torturing finger of Memory ever rejoice that another is added to her little flock, only to be torn from her heart in the innocence of childhood or

White mothers! when you gather your little one about you, and thank God that you were born in a er mingle with your prayers to the common Father of us all ; and while teaching lisping voices to love their God, teach them also to love their black brothers and sisters, and to hate the laws which place them on

P. S. The above was written while stopping in on of the slave States a few months since. The sad story

### From the Excelsior. MRS. ERNESTINE L. ROSE.

ERNESTINE L. Rose, whose maiden name wa kow, in Poland. Her father was a very pious and learned Rabbi, and so conscientious that he would take no pay for discharging the functions of his office, saying he would not convert his duty into a means of gain. As a child, she is said to have been of a reflective habit; and though very active and cheerful, she scarcely ever engaged with her young companions in their sports, but took great delight in the company of her father, for whom she entertained a remarkable affection.

At a very early age, she commenced reading the Hebrew Scriptures; but, unfortunately, having large Causality, she soon became involved in serious difficulties by raising queries respecting the formation of the World, the origin of Evil, and Yet, if God foreknew every thing, (and such is our other obscure points suggested by the sacred histonor, on the other, why a little girl should not en joy the same right as a little boy to ask for infor mation.

When a child, she was noted for her strict obser lectively, it is pantheistic, or, more properly, polytheis- illustration, it is related that she one day asked ously impairing his health and spirits-and being

This thought had a remarkable influence upon her mind. She reflected much, in consequence, on Religion, and at the age of fourteen renounced ber belief in the Bible-an act which called down upon her much trouble and persecution, both from her friends and from Christians.

When sixteen years of age, she had the misforvery interesting and important public affairs.

While in Berlin, she had an interview with the Prussia, unless they can bring forward as security

Constant Reader' is my esteemed friend and brother, a very distressing case of a poor sailor, (the faanother 'blind quotation,' will not my brother be as sisted she was innocent. After inquiring into the faithful as in the other case, and give me the true text? case, the subject of this sketch had a petition SAMUEL HENRY. drawn up, which she personally presented to the mistake in the reply to my letter, namely, that I am a the poor woman restored to her distressed family that body of ministers, but in the year 1841, I think, I to which it gave birth, as she was then residing for the same, to brother Sunderland, who then published a paper in New York, for publication; but he declined to publish it because he thought

In England, she became intimately acquainted it. He said it was true, and added, 'Would to God it with Lord Grosvenor's family, with Frances Far-were not true.' I then sent it to you, and you puband others of the nobility; also with the most prominent members of the Society of Friends, with Joseph John Gurney and his sister, Elizabeth Fry, Church, and have not for years past; but I am called the eminent philanthropist, in whose company she 'infidel,' like yourself and 'A Constant Reader,' and visited the Newgate Prison. In 1832, she formhave been ever since I left the Methodist Church, by ed the acquaintance of Robert Owen, and warm that Church, and others, but it don't frighten me and ly espoused his principles, which she has faith-

Society called the Association of all Classes and all Nations, without distinction of sect, sex, par-

ty, condition, or color.

In the spring of 1836, she came to the United States, since which time she has resided in the city of New York. Soon after her arrival, she formatory nature. In the discharge of her duties as a public lecturer, she was frequently brought intecontact with minds of a high order, enlisted in he purpose of considering the necessity of an improved system of Free Schools, Hon. J. S. Buckngham, M. P., and Rev. Robert Breckenridge, of Kentucky, being among the speakers, Mrs. Rose took occasion to call the Rev. gentleman to order for violating the sense of the audience in entirely the important object which had called

\* Pasting, with the Jews, means abstaining entirely where is she? Has the strong arm of Death removed from food and drink from before sunset one evening her? The poor mother's tears would soon be dried, until after the stars are out the next evening.

tion upon the hitherto unquestioned prerogatives of the clergy, at once caused a tremendous excitement. Loud cries.—'Throw her down!'
'Drag her out!' 'She is an Infidel!'—resounded in all parts of the building. She, however, remained calm and composed while the tumult lasted, and, after quiet was restored, continued lasted, and, after quiet was restored, continued lasted, and, after quiet was restored, continued lasted, and after quiet was restored, continued lasted, and after quiet was restored, continued lasted, and felt the soft hand of a woman pressing his aching head, smoothing his rumpled pillow, and whispering concentrations are remained to the soft hand of a woman pressing his aching head, smoothing his rumpled pillow, and whispering concentrations are remained to the soft hand of a woman pressing his aching head, smoothing his rumpled pillow, and whispering concentrations are remained to the soft hand of a woman pressing his aching head, smoothing his rumpled pillow, and whispering concentration in those gentle tones which only woman can use, and which steal over the wretched heart like oil over the troubled waters!

Did he ever think of what the great choir of Drag her out! 'She is an Infidel!'—resounded in all parts of the building. She, however, remained calm and composed while the tumult lasted, and, after quiet was restored, continued her remarks, which made a deep impression upon those present. Certain religious papers at the time considered it a forewarning of some terrible calmity, that a woman should call a minister to

necount, and that, too, in a church!

Mrs. Rose has lectured in not less than twenty three different States of the Union. Some of them she has visited often, and on several occasions she has addressed legislative bodies with marked effect, advocating the necessity of legal redress for the wrongs and disabilities to which her sex are subject. As an advocate of Woman's Rights, Anti-Slavery and Religious Liberty, she has earned a world-wide celebrity. For twenty-four years a public speaker, during which period she has associated with the influential classes in Europe and America, and borne an active part in the great progressive movement which marks the present as the most glorious of historical epochs, Ernestine L. Rose has accomplished for the elevation of her sex and amelioration of social conditions, a work which can be ascribed to few women of our time.

The history of her life and experience, as disclosed to the limited circle of her friends, is said to be highly interesting and instructive; but hitherto she has uniformly resisted all their solicitations to give it to the world. They are not without hope, however, that she may, at some future day, consent to do so.

### From the American Baptist. 'OVERCOME EVIL WITH GOOD.'

H. W. Beecher very trothfully informs us, that 'moral influences are not designed nor adapted to every work which needs to be done.' 'Where timber is to be felled and hewn, an axe is better than a Bible,' &c. Now if 'soft words' and kind actions are no more adapted to 'turn away wrath' tree, then is this reasoning pertinent to the case, and the Bible itself mocks us by directing us to overcome evil with good.' Happily, however, its blessed testimony, that the return of love for batred, and the feeding and clothing of our 'enemy,' will melt the hardest heart, as the 'coals of fire melted the solid metal in the crucible of the refiner, Rom. 12: 20, is often confirmed by fact to those who honor such testimony with their confi-Some years ago, when Mr. Pillsbury was the

Principal at the State Prison in Connecticut, a criminal was brought there, who, for some time, developed a character of peculiar depravity. One day, having violated some law of the prison, he seized a bar of iron, and threatened the life of any man who should dare to come near him. Pillsbury was called, and began calmly and kindly to address him, substantially, as follows: 'I am your friend—I feel for you, and sympathize with your condition. When I sit down to my well-furnished table, I think of your coarse meal. When I lie down upon my soft couch, I think of your hard bed. The laws of the Institution must be maintained : come with me.' The man was subdued. He was put in a cell. Soon after, he sent for Mr. Pillsbury, who went to him, inquiring what he wanted. 'O,' said the man, melted to what he wanted. 'O,' said the man, melted to tears, 'your kindness has overcome me: I never met such treatment before; I have been knocked down; this I can bear-but your kindness has overcome me.' He craved forgiveness. Permit another illustration. At the time when

the Irish attempted, by force of arms, to throw off the English yoke, the peaceful Quakers refused to engage in the work of slaughter. This so enraged one of the hostile parties, that a regiment of sol-diers was sent to destroy their village. They found the entire community, who had been warned of their coming, in their places of worship, praying for their enemies. What was the result! Had their obedience to the divine command no more effect on the soldiers than it would have had on a herd of buffaloes'? The effect was, that they left them, and returned without purloining so much as a single loaf of bread. On another occasion, a military captain raised his sword to strike down one of the Quakers. His wife stepped up to him and calmly said: 'Friend, thou canst not hurt a hair of my husband's head, except God permit thee, and the sword fell from his hand.

Such effects indeed may not always follow our attempts to overcome evil with good. Like our Master, we may suffer for well-doing. The sword and the rifle are no certain security. 'He that

taketh the sword (may) perish by the sword.'
Tell me not of 'Comwell,' or of 'the eloquent England clergy,' some of whom, with all their acknowledged piety, could, in 'old times' men, and persecute their Baptist and Quaker brethren to prison and to death. I ' call no man master.' Tell me of the precepts and practice of Him . who hath set us an example that we should walk in his steps.' If my Christian brethren can die in peace, while attempting to kill their enemies, it narmonizes far better with my conscience to die like Jesus, praying for them.

HENRY GREW. Philadelphia, April 23, 1856.

### SHOCKING SCENE AT AN EXECUTION IN LONDON.

On the 31st of March, William Bousefield, convicted of the murder of his wife and three children, was executed in front of the gaol of Newgate On Saturday he made a desperate attempt at selfdestruction by plunging his head into a fire; and cooling lotions had to be applied to relieve the pain during the remainder of the wretched man's exist-ence. The prisoner refused to take any sustenance, and got only some milk, which was forced down his throat. On the morning of the execution, he appeared so utterly prostrate that he had to be carried to the scaffold by four men. All this is now thought to have been simulated that he might secure sympathy by creating a scene.

its proper position. The Rev. Mr. Davies accomwretched man, but from his apparent state it seemed useless to perform the usual offices ed a book of travels in the United States. He is an of religion. When the signal was given, the chair extravagant admirer of the ladies of America, and has horror of every one, it was found that the prisoner, by a powerful muscular effort, had drawn himself up to the level of the drop, and that both his
feet were resting upon the edge of it, and he was

Which she says:— In our city is a church where cards

which she says:— In our city is a church where cards vainly endeavoring to raise his hands to the rope, are placed upon the back of each pew-One of the officers immediately rushed upon the (Heaven save the mark !) are requested by the ladies scaffold, and pushed the wretched man's feet from not to spit upon the carpets." their hold ; but in an instant, by a violent effort, he threw himself to the other side, and again succeeded in getting both his feet on the edge of the passed threescore and ten, thus confirming the opinion ceeded in getting both his feet on the edge of the drop. Calcraft, who had left the scaffold, imagindrop. Calcraft, who had left the scaffold, imagin-ing that all was over, was called back, and he seiz-of all the members of the human family. ed hold of the wretched criminal, and it was with considerable difficulty that he could force him from the scaffold, and he was again suspended. To the sewing. The sole can be melted off and on again without astonishment and horror of the spectators he a astonishment and horror third time succeeded in placing his feet upon the than other shoes, and 200 persons are employed in the platform, and again his hands vainly attempted to manufacture. reach the fatal rope. Calcraft and two or three other men then again forced the wretched man's feet from their hold, and his legs were held down until the final struggle was over. While this fear-ful scene was being enacted, the bells of the different neighboring churches were ringing merrily upon the announcement of peace, offering a sad contrast to the melancholy proceedings.

### From the New York Sunday Times. WOMAN'S 'SENSUOUS' VOICE. One of our religious papers (the Churchmon

expresses itself hostile to the presence of females in the choirs of our churches, on the ground that their voices are 'sensuous.' We wonder if the writer of that super-pious article entertained a similar opinion of his mother's voice when she sang him to sleep in his infancy on her bosom Did he suppose our Savior agreed with him when he heard the voice of Mary as she wept at the foot of the cross, and listened to her accents of sorrow at the open sepulchre! Did he ever think so him-

Heaven would be like, if only the deep basso of male voices were employed in chanting Hosannas to the new kingdom, and ask himself if such harmony could be characteristic of eternal justice? Sensuous indeed! Go to! We would rather hear one good woman's voice raised in gratitude to her Creater them all the course manifesting the maries. Creator than all the coarse, rasping, file-music of half the divines of the day in their eloquent perora-tions; and we look on it as the most delicate com-pliment to the delicate sex that Providence could have paid in the midst of its sensible dispensations. that, while it gave among the birds the grace of beauty and the power of song entirely to the males. it reserved both precious gifts, with us, especially for womankind, in order that they might better present to our minds and hearts a visible conception of the angels!

### From the Independent Press. DOES THE WORLD IMPROVE?

The oldest English Catechism, of which we have any account, was called 'The Master of Oxford's Carechism.' Copies of it still exist. The following extract of questions and answers will give some notion of its character, and of the

condition of religious thought in the people by whom it was used :-Q .- Say we now, where was God when he made

heaven and earth ! A .- I say, in the further end of the wind.

Q.—Whereof was formed the name of Adam ! A.—Of four stars; this be their names—Areax, Derx, Arostolym, and Momfumbres. Q.—Of what state was Adam when he was made!

A.—A man of XXX, winters of age. Q.—Of what length was Adam! A.—Of four score and seven inches. -A man of XXX, winters of age. Q.—How long lived Adam in this world?
A.—Nine hundred and thirty winters; and afterwards in hell, until the passion of our Lord

Q .- What are the best herbs that God loves !

A.—The Rose and the Lily.
Q.—Wherefore is the sun red at even?
A.—For he goeth toward hell. This Catechism was in use in England in the

ime of Henry V. Could it now be used there or here? Have we any College Prefessor who could write and publish such a Catechism? No. It is too far below the present condition of religious thought. Yet, theologians who encouraged the use of such books, felt vastly wise. They had quite as powerful a consciousness of infallibility, and quite as keen and fierce a scent for heresy, as the most famous theologians of our time. They; too, were the sturdy watchmen of the present who mourned a little for the past. They, too, for hade men to preach or believe anything different from the established notions of religion, and they had faggots and fire to enforce their prohibition. So it is—and let the theological Mrs. Partingtons stare, scold, lift up their hands with holy horror, and do battle till their breath is gone, if they will-progress in thought is possible, and the world does move.

MEMORIAL OF THE WAR. A large and influential MEMORIAL OF THE WAR. A large and influential committee, composed partly of naval and military officers, partly of clergymen and civilians, has been formed with the view of raising funds for the erection of a church in Constantinople, as the most appropriate monument to the memory of those who fell in the late war, and of gratitude to God for the restoration of peace. A public meeting will shortly be held for the promotion of this object, under the presidency of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. The Society for the Promagation of the Gosnel has already received. for the Propagation of the Gospel has already received upwards of \$1,000 in aid of this object. TA Masonic Temple is to be built in New York

which in size and magnificence will surpass any edifice of the kind in the world. It is to be five stories high, 100 feet front and 125 feet deep, and will contain ample accommodations for the Grand Lodge, and all the subordinate lodges, chapters, encampments and councils. It will be built of brown sandstone or marble, and will cost, it is supposed, \$400,000. The site has not yet been decided upon. PRINCELY MUNIFICENCE. Peter Cooper, Esq., is

erecting a massive edifice, 150 feet square, and six sto-ries high, at the junction of the Third and Fourth Av-enues, New York, 'for the advancement of Science and Art.' He is building it at his own expense, fire-proof, with the utmost care, and at a cost of several hundred Robert Hall.' Tell me not of 'the whole New thousand dollars—the direction of the whole to be ultimately placed in a Board of Trustees, and the entire income of such parts of the building as may be rented e devoted to the support of the institution. No property in the souls and bodies of their fellow- charges are to be made for instruction, and it is to be open to all young men of correct and moral habits.

AN AMERICAN HOTEL IN LONDON. The British Par liament has passed a bill incorporating a hotel company, with a capital of \$4,850,000. It is to be on Trafalgar Square, to be called the Imperial Hotel, and will be the largest and most splendid hotel in the world The new hotel in Paris, on the American plan, is succeeding beyond all expectation. That cost \$4,500,000

SALE OF THE LARGEST COW IN THE UNITED STATES The great Durham mixed cow, for several years owned by Wm. Shepherd, of the Manchester House. this city, was sold yesterday to Francis F. Hoyt, o Concord, for \$500. This cow was raised in Pembroke and is seven years old. She girts nine feet, and weighs 2760 pounds, being the largest cow in the United States.—Manchester American.

A LABORIOUS LIFE. Martin Luther published his first book in November, 1517. Between that and his death, an interval of twenty-nine years and four months, he published seven hundred and fifteen vol

M. Banelli, of Turin, is said to have invented a all rates of velocity, and, at the same time, with the As he appeared totally unable to stand, it was telegraphic stations on the line; while the latter are, considered best to place him in a chair under the at the same time, able to communicate with the trains. peam, and he was sustained in that position by one It is added that M. Banelli is in possession of a sysbeam, and he was sustained in that position by one tem of telegraphic communication by which wires are of the assistants, while Calcraft fixed the rope in tem of telegraphic communication by which wires are its proper position. The Rev. Mr. Davies accom- entirely dispensed with.

M. D'Alembert, a Frenchman, has just publish of religion. When the signal was given, the chair in which the wretched man was still seated of course gave way with the drop, and consequently the fall was not near so great as it is under ordinary circumstances. The sound of the falling drop had scarcely passed away, when there was a shrick that the following placard is to be seen over an editor's office out West: 'Subscriptions received from the course of the ladies of America, and has should be sincerity by marrying one of them—a Miss Phillips, of Philadelphia. In dilating upon the fearful frequency of duels in the United States, he assents that the following placard is to be seen over an editor's office out West: 'Subscriptions received from the course of the manuscription of the manuscription of the work of the course of the manuscription of the manuscription of the fall was not near so great as it is under ordinary circumstances. The sound of the falling drop is the fall was not near so great as it is under ordinary circumstances. The sound of the falling drop is the fall was not near so great as it is under ordinary circumstances. The sound of the falling drop is the fall was not near so great as it is under ordinary circumstances. The sound of the falling drop is the fall was not near so great as it is under ordinary circumstances. had scarcely passed away, when there was a shrick editor's office out West: 'Subscriptions received from the crowd of 'He is up again;' and to the 9 to 4; challenges from 11 to 12 only. Wipe your feet, if you please.

Hall's Journal of Health states that of eighty

A new sort of shoe is now made at Andorer, out

of the spectators, he a out damage; the shoe is water proof, more darable WOMAN'S RIGHTS. We know no rights of woman that are separated from the rights of man. There is no injury inflicted upon the one, that does not recoil upon

the other. If the Turk keeps woman in abject slavery, the Turk himself becomes a degenerate slave. - London A DAGUERREOTYPE. A countryman entered a daguerreotype saloon a few days since, and wished a da-guerreotype of his uncle. I can do it, sir, but where

is he?' O, he's dead, was the simple reply; 'but I've got a description of him in an old passport.' The advertising columns of the London Time are estimated to yield the establishment the enormous sum of \$3,000,000 per annum. One firm alone pays the Times as high as \$150,000 a year for advertising, and there are several business cetablishments that pay it over \$50,000 a year for advertising alone.

A negro carpenter was lately sold in Adam County, Miss., for \$3,700.

John Batet, senior, of Greenville, S. C., had twenty-four children by his first wife, and has half a dozen more by his second.

Roun Hill Water-Cure

# MOTORPATHIC INSTITUTE

NORTHAMPTON, MASS. NORTHAMPTON. MASS.

In all the local advantages which trider aureous an institution for Invalids, and a Sanne few for others, seeking relaxation and pleasure, this may alone and purity alled. It is surrounded on the seeking teleparts, which afferts a relaxation and purity acres of forest park, which afferts a relaxed during the warm months, and protects to shade during the warm months, and protects to the winds in winter. The water is supposed to abundance from living mountain springs, and a number of the seeking facilities in the s for its softness and purity. The Bathing facilities in just been wholly remodelled and greatly calaried for now embrace every modern improvement for its fact and cal application of water, which is used in a theory and scientific manner. One of Vergnes's Elethodae ical Baths for extracting metallic substances, this taken as medicine or otherwise absorbed, has also obtained, and is in successful operation.

Dr. H. Halsted, the proprietor, (formerly d lossester, N. Y.,) continues to pay particular alless.

Dr. H. Haisted, the proprietor, (formerly of his ester, N. Y...) continues to pay particular these as Woman's diseases and weaknesses. The tense has has attended his method of treating such coopers by his system of Motorpathy has given him a new tended practice. He discards the benal tendeng the day, and makes no use of artificial surpose is system is founded on new pathological principle in by it permanent cures are effected with an exemple, tainty heretofore unattained by any them of his rapeutics.

tainty heretolore anattained by any spain of he rapeutics.

He also devotes himself to the cure of all themes kinds of Canaonic Diseases. Having been for heavy years at the head of a Hydropathic limitation within that time having treated many of the no many plicated cases, he has had an opportunity is have joyed of acquiring skill in the control of pretrected difficult complaints. joyed of sequiring sain in the course of preferred at difficult complaints.

There is a Gymnasium, Billiard Roes and leave Alley for the use of guests and patients. Gymnasium are of the unset.

Alley for the use of guests and patients. Grant and Calisthenic exercises are of the utmost inpense for the expansion, development and health sens to the lungs and various other organs, and in sens the the lungs and various other organs, and in see me are indispensable. Many modes are used in unhally and organic action, and thus to equalize the collation, and to aid the secreting venes without organic active efforts of powerful subjecting the baneful reactive efforts of powerful subjections. rious drugs.
Circulars sent free to any address on spilon

\* Exposition of Motorpathy, postage free, or the secipt of ten letter stamps; and Motion-Life and ceipt of six.

Address H. HALSTED, M. D., Northampton, Ma. March 28, 1855.

### NOTICE.

### HOPEDALE JUVENILE AND COLLEGIATE HOME SCHOOL

OUR friends, patrons, and the pablic are length formed, that we have this day dispost of as school building and lot, and appuritioners because tonging, to William S. and Abbie S. Harran & Hopedale.

Having been acquainted with the said penus individuals acting in a private capacity mady awithout any evidence of their competency to make a Home school, we prefer to speak neither favority as

unfavorably of them.

As regards Hopedale, we unhesitatingly delin conviction that no other village in New Espaise passes it in the morality and high-toned changes

its inhabitants. For further information concerning the chargest our future plans, please see our Cucult land, which will soon be issued. Those wishing to correspond with us in reference business or educational matters, will please address,

MORGAN L. BLOOM, SOPHIA LOUISA BLOOM Hopedale, Mass., April 15, 1856. 6

for the present, at Hopedale, Milford, Mass.

### Hopedale Home School: FOR CHILDREN AND YOU OF BOTH SEXES.

WILLIAM S. HAYWOOD, Principals.

This School, established in 1854 by M. L. and & L. Bloom, under whose superintendence it has been and the present time, will hereafter be conducted by the sh scribers, who hope, with their attainments and put is perience as Teachers, to prove themselves seetly dis confidence and patronage of their friends and the pulk generally. It is located in the pleasant and que Is lage of Hopedale, Milford, Mass., within two hore

ride of Boston, Worcester and Providence.

The design of this School is to educate a the higher and best sense of the term, and thereby a far it has who may attend it for any useful and traly harming. calling among men, as its purpose and facilities will be Particular attention will be given to the seni, seni

and religious influence exerted at all times and the who may avail themselves of the privileges benefits. Physical health and comfort, so often argistel a

Educational Institutions, will receive proper cars.

The Discipline of the School is intended to be sea and impartial, but kind and parental. No pupils taken under seven years of age. Parents and Guardians destrous of sainty a please, and comfortable HOME for their children with while prosecuting their studies, where they will keep cared for, and kindly treated—where they will keep moved from the evils and temptations of commet seeks, and from the second seeks and temptations of commet seeks. fy, and from the corrupting power of pretains which ness-where they will be nurtured in virtor, homes, and pure religion, will find here an unusually hunds opportunity of realizing their wishes.

## EXPENSIS.

(PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.) For Tuition in common English branches, bestish care, including washing, mending, &c. per Quanti ten weeks. For Tuition in higher English and Select Brand, enguages, Painting, Music, &c., an extra latence

able charge will be made. Text Books, Reference Books and Statishery, resit for the School, furnished without additional on A Normal Department, for these preposing to tel

The next (Summer) Term will commend at contemplated. Third Thursday (15th) of May.

For further information and particulars, se let Circular—to be obtained by addressing citier a

WILLIAM S. HAYROOD, ABBIE S. HAYWOOD St

Worcester Hydropathic Institution On Arch and Fountain Streets, WORCESTER, MASS.

THE Proprietors of this Institution aim to make it decention is elevated and healthy, and cary of screening all parts of the city.

The medical department is conducted by Dr. S. Dr

ens, and has never been limited to the exclusive at water in those cases which seemed to require the There has recently been erected a first-class by sium upon the grounds belonging to this indicate,
which is under the charge of an experiencel tends.

For term, by

For term, &c., address E. F. ROGERS, Superintenden Out-door practice attended to. Office bours, and

Worcester, Jan. 25.

## HAIR DOCTRESS.

MADAME CARTEAUX having, by a long off study and practical investigation, said in self acquainted with the various discress incident; the Hair and Scalp, would now inform the pulse the Hair and vicinity, that she trusts she is propagily boston and vicinity, that she trusts she is propagily entire satisfaction to all who may fave he self their patronage, and warrant a cure in nint case of ten. of ten.
Having recently removed from 284 to 365 Katha

Having recently removed from 284 to 355 Washington street, where she has a superior suit of room at now advertises a separate room for Hair Dying, also improvement in that branch, and Champoing.

Madame C. keeps constantly on hand, her claims the hair from falling off, but cause new hair in particular they are held in the highest estimation by all stells tused them.

Madame C's references are from the first people and neighboring cities, by whom she has been lead.

and neighboring cities, by whom she has been her patrouised since the offer of her services to the patro.

April 4 April 4.

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