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The following gentlemen constitute the Finanmittee, but are not responsible for any of the of the paper, viz : - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS LORING, EDMOND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

The free States are the guardians and essen-

tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse

for communities, when, under a generous impulse they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an

unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED PROM THE

RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must scalk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union

can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. VOL. XXVII. NO. 11.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 13, 1857.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1366.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Rochester Daily Democrat, Feb. 13th. A SUBSIDED AGITATION.

less fortunate that the population of this North-mountry is large, and that education is diffused are estessively among the people of all classes, for free institutions, the perfect tolerance in all saless of creed and opinion, and the diversity of characteristics, ensure the subdivision ory community, however small, into many differetsets; and every Communion will have its disjet coteries, agrowing on fundamental ideas, but stions. This does not prevent good-fellowship pi harmonious action, however it may make neighpast of a single congregation with oppositions and ationism akin to bitterness of spirit. herer now of witch burning, Quaker whipping, or sting poor Abblitionists. Truth left free, says the ical estraint. On this theory, our system is foundes prevalent over practical error-if it were, we shall have a commencement of the good time that, things are, is still to come. Within the present week, our city has been favor-

(readers may differ with us as to the participle) on the presence of certain distinguished advocate a political theory which has few supporters, and idiscontenanced by people who are regarded as noted in their notions of reform. They are able seens, devoting their whole thoughts to the ideas promulgate, and religiously sincere. At least is the case with the leader of this small party, os. Our readers have been advised of his pecuar sentiments, through the publication of a series his a position at the very extreme point, on the costion discussed. He is not satisfied with anying short of the sublimention of perfection. We destremes meeting in this, as in most other ultra-24. The Garrisonians contend that a dissolution the Union is the only cure for the evil of slavery. Sessionists of the South consider the breach o confederacy as the only means of perpetuating be blessings slavery confers upon that section. The i dos not accept their political creed; just as the enfessed pro-slavery party does, and for the same rason. We find the *Liberator* and the Democratic res joining in a crusade against all existing relipos organizations. These opposites seek to attain the widely different ends by the same means. It is all to say that neither will succeed. In reasoning s is theory, these parties show similitudes. On gress that the Constitution is a pro-slavery docu-nat, and the other agrees with them—one desires its be destroyed if it is, and the other if it is not. bth est their arguments upon independent clauses, all sot upon the whole body and tenor of the instanct. The Democratic party and the Garrissian come to like accordington. sums come to like conclusions, from not very dif-irst premises. The Democrats and Garrisonians qually dislike the Republicans. As non-religionists smire schismatics in the church, so wicked politi-We need not continue the parallel.

Now, for ourselves, we regret to admit that the Constitution is susceptible of the different constructos sought to be put upon it. That great instru-ant partakes of the imperfections of human nater; and as men are disposed to construe it, so they will interpret it. Self-interest gives a strong bias to mison. The Republican party regard it, in intended and in fact, anti-slavery. Its framers so intended it to be, undoubtedly: for they had no idea but that slavery would cease to exist while their countries. tr. under the beneficent influence of free institu ties, would still be in the gristle of youth. Nothig was admitted in its phraseology which should are to remind the world, when the era of entire feeton should arise, that a different state of things for existed in our country. But even were the inera plain reading of the instrument gives to popuera plain reading of the instrument gives to popular rights we are entitled to. Shakspeare's law applies almirably to this case. The Republicans differ from both Garrisonians and Democrats in their views of principles and policy. Nearly all, at the North, posses to condemn slavery. One would have it solished on the instant—another would confine it is limits, and operate upon the minds of slavebilles to indice them to consent to gradual ennabiles to induce them to consent to gradual eman-epation—the third is content to let slavery exist leaver, if the slaveholders desire it. And this lattreass are, moreover, willing to see it extended into hare slaves. One would destroy the Constitution, and thus bring about civil war; another would leav his exciting question open for contest between the the original policy of inhibiting its extension, and

ets, athered to.

Here is the evil of the 'Popular Sovereignty' systea. Were it a settled thing—as it has been—that savey cannot go beyond fixed limits, there could be to contest between it and freedom, in the settlement rigin countries by slaveholders and non-slaveholders. Permit a contest, and might must decide it. the may still bleed in the same dispute. If it is dented to a renewal of the war between antagonis-is issitutions, the Democratic party are already re-Surs, but the time is distant for such a struggle. an may be the first. Indications point to such

thing.

Not to lengthen this article, we leave that branch
We have "the subject where it is, for the present. We have at published the discussions of the Garrisonian Contents, because we did not think it profitable. Subject to talk of politics. They have always discussions affairs of State.' Before the 'good old times,' when telegraphs and railroads and free-schools existed, the country in weather. d, the country inn was the place

Where village statesmen talked, with looks profound, and news much older than their ale went 'round.'

The 'Village Statesman' and the quid nunc of the town will still continue to discuss the Constitution, Acts of Congress, the last murder—and do all that part toward saving or disrupting the Union. Who would prevent them? Surely not those who are for liberty of speak. Not long since, a metroto be liberty of speech. Not long since, a metro-plican print, ambitious of 'universal circulation, anget the country press that their duty was simply to party such matters as may be of local occurrence in interest, and that they had nothing to do with dilities, foreign or domestic. Confine the country less to neighborhood incidents and gossip, and deny has the ancient privilege of discussing rational of on the ancient privilege of discussing national af-in and foreign relations! Preposterous idea. There were some reprohensible utterances in the deconverte some reprohensible utterances in the

is convection; and we can readily see why it is at those who use such hard words should provoke seeings the retort of hard knocks. Mr. Garat-

sentiment. He survives as a monument to mark the progress of opinion on that subject. He can scarce-ly be spared; for he is an able representative man, however few his followers. We do not see that he now courts a repetition of former knock-down arguments—argumentum ad hominem—which went so little way toward convincing him of-error. If he did desire fresh persecution of that sort, he needs but to show his shining face and gentle-bearing a few rods below Mason and Dixon's line. Some of his compatriots, however, show what Yankees call sourcess.' and were they not under the protection the master? Clearly, the conclusion is, that if there 'sauciness,' and were they not under the protection of their mild leader, might be punished by some impulsive persons, who have not learned that hard words can gain their liberty by insurrection, non-resistants latitude, where bleached skins predominate, have an indomitable repugnance to people of the opposite color, and modify their sympathy when those of the contrasting hue are sufferers, the fact may explain clear case for your conscience, give a hearty God-why some may have thought a slander of the illus-

NORTHERN TEACHERS.

An unusual interest has sprung up recently on the subject of schools and school teachers, and the peri-odicals all over the country are discussing them, and we are free to confess our pleasure at the favorable

We wish to say a few words in regard to the prac tice a great many parents have fallen into of employ-ing teachers from abroad to instruct their children. We propose to give a few reasons for opposing the feeling, that Northern instructors are as good as Southern.

it is virtually saying our own countrymen are in-capable of performing this task, which is doing them manifest injustice. Must it be said of the South that she has not men and women capable of teaching her children? Must it be said, that we are comonly for the sake of benefiting others, but also them-selves? Must it be said of that section of the Union which has ever been noted for her uncompromising adherence to the general plan—of its noble and sacri-ficing devotion to the Constitution, and for its chivalric bearing and State's pride, must it be said of her that she cannot find within her borders spirits conthat she cannot find within her borders spirits con-genial to her own, in whom she can repose confidence enough to trust them with the responsible task of instructing youth? Let this be said no longer! Let our political opponents exult no longer over our want of confidence in our citizens! We tell you hat in nine cases out of ten, when you employ Northern teachers, you press a viper to your bosom, that will sting you by infusing into the mind of his pupils thoughts, feelings and tastes opposed to Southern interests and Southern institutions—who judices, at a time too, when these impressions can be made as easily as upon soft putty. The young mind has been compared to a blank sheet of paper, on which one can write with ease, and when Abolition fact that a majority of the people are for slavery. Let have made him an Abolitionist, and it would be con-trary to nature to teach one way and think another.

great promises if they will run away and go to some appalling massacre was effected in this very manner of approach—by appealing to the slave instead of or approach—by appealing to the state instead of the owner. This underhanded manner in dealing with us is quite prevalent in the South, and we ought now to make a beginning towards putting a stop to it, by refusing to employ teachers from the North. Shall we continue this odious practice? Why, we ask, has this abominable practice been so much in vogue with us? At the same time we pay Southerners too little, we pay more than they do in New England. The salaries are not sufficient to justify our own country in engaging in it to any extent, but are enough to bring down a horde of our enemie upon us. Are our young people to be ruined for the sake of saving a few dollars? 'Tell it not in Gath.' Then let us increase our wages—put far from us all such small and mean ideas as 'Ruin the child to save a dollar,' and come out in a noble, generous, patriotic light. There are hosts of young men and ladies who would be willing to devote their time and talents to this honorable profession, if patrons would give them enough to live decently and respectably on. The time will soon come when we shall see the necessity much plainer, and why not take time by the forclock? No! but like a nation of laggards, we must wait until the evil comes upon us with crushing force before we begin to move in the matter.

put under our own people. Remember, that 'just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined.' Put far from you all such people who say they are Northern men with Southern feeling. It is not so— at least, if it is, they are only worthy of contempt.

Then let our children be

Associations form ideas.

The Liberator

SLAVE INSURRECTIONS. EARLVILLE, La Salle Co., Ill., }

I am glad to see many of the leading Abolitionist

to keep him in bondage.

Admitting the Non-Resistant idea to be true,—and as Parker Pillsbury says, 'I fear it is,'—I see not why the non-resistant Abolitionist cannot sympathize with and even encourage slave insurrections. The existing relation of slave and slaveholder is one of intrinsic which the Constitution is based, together with every war, which results in the greatest injustice to the barrier which liberty has set up against the encroach slave, and an appalling sacrifice of human life, all on ments of tyranny, for the last five hundred years; a one side! Let the case be partially reversed. The party which could plot and attempt the assassination slave, by a successful rebellion, regains his liberty, of a Senator for exposing these crimes; a party which

the master? Clearly, the conclusion is, that if there no more substantial response than a 'soft and could aid them in doing so, for the reason that it is

If it be true that the white people of this better to save life and do justice, than to destroy life that injustice may be done. Now, my non-resistant friend, if I have made out a

trious dead deserved such punishment as is inflicted upon 'persons held to service' in another section of the country. But a community that laughed at the irate and Quixotic Simms, can afford to pass by such provocations as we allude to. pation has been pretty well discussed. Twenty-five years of anti-slavery debate ought to have resulted at least in a programme of action—to have prepared the way for some practical steps toward bringing about the desired object. Certainly, we are not going to continue the discussion twenty-five years longer without testing our theory by some practical experiments! I would suggest that the time has come to hit the Slave Power whenever and wherever it seems to hurt the most, provided the blows do not recoil upon ourselves. The only questions necessary to ask are, Is it wrong? and, Do the slaveholders like it? If the answer is No, then pay on; the more they dislike it, the more they should take. Nothing scares the slaveholders like insurrection. The mere report of the seeret intention of half-a-dozen slaves to rise turns every slaveholder south of Mason and Dixon's line pale selled to look abroad for individuals to perform the as death-no matter what his natural complexion may task that thousands would be glad to assume, not be. The bloody ghost of insurrection haunts the Slave Power perpetually with visions of a terrible retribution at the hands of those it has so long crushed and degraded. While it yet trembles with the fright caused by the late rumors, let Abolitionists not fail to seize the moment to encourage the slave by a timely expression of sympathy in his behalf, and to remind the slaveholder that this sympathy is fast hardening into something more substantial-that peradventure it may take the form of lead and steel. Would this be equivalent to revolution? The justification is, that revolution is the only-hope of the slave; consequently, the quicker it comes, the better.

The events of the last few years, and especially the late Presidential election, are very satisfactory evidences that liberty can never be established in the United will strive to impress on their young minds the nenfuse into their pliant dispositions Northern pre- structure of the existing government. It may be notions are once stamped thereon, it is a difficult a moment's attention be bestowed upon this point. thing to extricate them. The teacher's powers for The election returns show that Buchanan had over good or evil are unlimited, and birth and education 100,000 majority, it is true; but this is by no mean ducation 100,000 majority, it is true; but this is by no means certain data upon which to make the calculation, for illegal voting was the order of the day, and carried Again, a Northern teacher would necessarily be often brought in contact with the negro, and he may do much to injure the prospects of his blind employers. He can talk to them of freedom, and erally. Stephen Arnold Douglas had let it slip out the advantages they can derive from it, and make in an unguarded moment, that the friends of freedom great promises if they will run away and go to some free State, until he gets the minds of the poor de luded wretches worked up to such a pitch that they feel compelled to break the bonds which bind them to their owners. You may say, this is all imaginary, and has never occurred, but begging your pardon, we by the leaders of the Slavery party long before the were to be subdued; and this was no idle threat, no point you to the Southampton Insurrection. That day of election, and Atchison and Stringfellow had been sent to Kansas, to test the practicability of this new invention in 'subduing' the citizens of that territory, where it was found to work admirably. It has proved quite as successful as was anticipated in the levation of James Buchanan to the Presidency.

How many illegal votes were returned can never b known; but with all that Buchanan gained by illegal roting and false returns, he would still have lost his election, had it not been for that fundamental advantage which slavery has in the Constitution. The three fifths rule gave the South thirty electors. Deduct these from Buchanan's electoral vote, and he lacks five votes of an election. Again, add to the Fremont vote three fifths of the slaves, and it would give him 3,141,812 votes; while the united Fillmore and Buchanan vote amounts to only 2,707,392. Then we are to take into the account the thousands of non-slaveholding whites and free blacks at the South, who, if they had been allowed, would have voted for Fremont, together with the blacks in the free States who are denied the right of suffrage, and the Abolitionist who refuse to exercise it, and we have a large majority opposed to the incoming Administration, and who in the event of a revolution would sympathise with the slaves and their friends.

The outrages which constitute the history of the Slavery party and the expiring Administration for the ast four years, are marked and remembered with abhorrence by thousands who voted for James Buchanan under the delusion that he would exert his power to make Kansas a free State. When he disappoints them, as he most certainly will, they too will be with us. When it shall be seen that the incoming Administration is part and parcel, bone of their bone and fiesh of their flesh,' of the party which has shocked the moral sense of the civilized world by employing a horde of savages to murder a defenceless community in a distant territory, to burn their dwellings coming fully up to the sticking-point of endorsing, by speech and resolution, the efforts of the slave to gain his liberty by the same means that his oppressors use might be established on free soil; a party which had taken upon itself the defence of human slavery, whose rallying cry was and is, Man has a right to hold justice is restored, and human life is sacrificed on the other side. Now, supposing that those who believe in non-resistance had it entirely in their power to decide which three millions of freemen were to be ignomin-

stances create new duties? Does not this new aspect country.

Of our cause make it necessary to take some steps not It has alienated and estranged the people of the every department of the government, with the proba- is without any legitimate object.

trength to revolutionize. We can count on the asstance of at least three million slaves in the enemy's trade throughout our extensive and expansive country, who would join the standard of revolution, try, such as the world never witnessed. three fifths of whose strength would be against us in is ern allies of slavery, and you would change their North and the South—the East and the West of our

Government is the people, and if the people are with as, the Government is with us. There is no power ship the true God. Revolution, peaceably if we can, but - Revolution !

A. J. GROVER. Yours, for the slave.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT BUCHANAN.

Fellow Citizens:—I appear before you this day to ake the solemn oath that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States: and

will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.

In entering upon this great office, I most humbly invoke the God of our fathers for wisdom and firmness to execute its high and responsible duties in such a manner as to restore harmony and the analysis. such a manner as to restore harmony and the ar-cient friendship among the people of the several States, and to preserve our free institutions through-out many generations. Convinced that I owe my election to the inherent love for the Constitution and the Union, which still animates the hearts of the American people, let me earnestly ask their powerful support in sustaining all just measures calculated to perpetuate these, and the richest political blessings which Heaven has ever bestowed upon any nation. Having determined not to become a candidate for re-election, I shall have no motive to influ-ence my conduct in administering the government, except the desire, ably and faithfully, to serve my ountry, and to live in the grateful memory of my

country, and to the last state of the countrymen.

We have recently passed through a Presidential contest, in which the passions of our fellow-citizens were excited to the highest degree, by questions of deep and vital importance; but when the people proclaimed their will, the tempest at once subsided, and all was calm. The voice of the majority, speaking in the manner prescribed by the constitution, was heard, and instant submission followed. from hunt to learn the meaning of the corporations, was heard, and instant submission followed. Our own country could alone have exhibited so grand and striking a spectacle of the capacity of man for self-government. What a happy conception then was it for Congress to apply this simple rule, that the will of the majority govern, to the settlement of the question of domestic slavery in the territories? Congress is neither to legislate slavery into territories or States, nor to exclude it therefore the country. Any discrimination against a particular branch for the purpose of benefitting favored into territories, would have been unjust to heave the neonly negrective free to form. from, but to leave the people perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own

way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States as a natural consequence.

Congress has also prescribed that when the terri-tory of Kansas shall be admitted as a State, it shall Congress has also prescribed that when the territory of Kansas shall be admitted as a State, it shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission. A different opinion has arisen in regard to the time when the people of a territory shall decide this question for themselves. This is happily, a matter of but little practical importance, and, besides, it is a judicial question, which, legitimately, belongs to the Supreme Court of the United States, before whom it is now pending, and will, it is understood, be speedily and finally settled. To their decision, in common with all good citizens, I shall cheerfully submit, whatever this may be. Though it has been my individual opinion that, under the Nebraska Kansas act, the appropriate period will be when the number of actual residents in the territory shall justify the formation of a constitution, with a view to its admission as a State into the Union. But, be this as it may, it is the imperative and indispensable duty of the government of the United Stases to secure to every resident inhabitant the free and independent expression of his opinion, by his vote. This secured right of each individual must be preserved. This Geing accomplished, nothing can be fairer than to leave the people of a territory free from all foreign interference to decide their constitution. The whole territorial question, being thus settled upon the principles of squatter sovereignty, a principle as ancient as free government itself every thing of a prac-

sentiment. He survives as a monument to mark the progress of opinion on that subject. He can scarce by the spared; for he is an able representative man, however few his followers. We do not see that he now courts a repetition of former knock-down argaments—argumentum ad hominem—which went so that Buchanan and Co. have laid down a still blacker programme of iniquities which are to be consummated during the next four years, millions of voters who helped to place it in power, as was the case with Frank Pierce's Administration, will repent in dust and ashes that they ever did so; and if not ready to rally under the banner of revolution, will at least results are the constitution, slavery in the States is beyond the reach of any human power, except that of the respective States themselves wherein it exists. May we not then hope, that the long agitation of this subject is approaching its end, and that the geographical parties to which it has given birth, so much dreaded by the Father of his Country, will speedily become extinct? Most happily will it be for the sympathise with the party of freedom.

It may therefore be honestly doubted whether a majority of the American people endorse slavery and the party which is now in power. On the other hand, the slave and his friends have a thousand encourage-ments, in the present state of American affairs, which has been productive of no possible good to any huments, in the present state of American affairs, which may being, it has been the prolific source of great evils to the master, to the slave, and to the whole

heretofore deemed expedient? Is it not time to en-lorse slave insurrections, and preach revolution? Or ously endangered the very existence of the Union. dorse slave insurrections, and preach revolution? Or shall the Abolitionists counsel peace, and the Republicans prepare to meet the issue at the polls in 1860? It certainly appears little else than madness, after the late proofs of the power of slavery to 'subdue,' to hope to triumph at the ballot-box four years hence. hope to triumph at the ballot-box four years hence. This new system of Democratic warfare, introduced are nearly forgotten; but this question of domestic slavery is of far greater importance than any mere by the border-ruffians in Kansas, and so joyfully political question, because, should the agitation conadopted by the Slavery party, both North and South, it may eventually endanger the personal safeand so extensively and successfully carried into ope-ty of a large portion of our countrymen where the ration at the late elections, with four years more to institution exists. In that event, no form of govration at the late elections, with four years more to ripen and perfect itself in, with the advantage of the three fifths rule, which will give slavery in 1860 thirty-four electors, with the immense power and influence incident to the control of the national treasury and the treasury and the treasury and the control of the national treasury and the treasury and the control of the national treasury and the treasury and treasury and the treasury and treasury

le admission of several new slaveholding States into It is an evil of the times that men have underthe Union, the Slavery party can defy all opposition at the polls. Theodore Parker says, it seemed to him before election that it was the last opportunity sult to different States and sections from its dissofor a peaceful settlement of the slavery question. It lution—of the comparative injuries which such an seems to me so still. While we have not strength to meet this issue in the ordinary way, owing to the adrantageous entrenchment of our enemies, we have weighty question, all such calculations are at fault. The bare reference to a single consideration will be hree fifths of whose strength would be against us in is conducted on railroads and canals, on noble a political contest. Change the interests of the North-

ern allies of slavery, and you would change their principles, and thereafter they would trouble us no more than weathercocks trouble the wind; so that, if we did not gain their strength, the party of slavery would at least lose it.

But it is said we should have the United States

The United States

The United States

The United States cance when we reflect on the terrific evils which would result from disunion to every portion of the confederacy-to the North not more than to the above the people, except a superstitious regard for the South—to the East not more than to the West. Constitution, and the moment the people will it, this These I shall not attempt to portray, because I feel great American Juggernaut will be broken in pieces, an humble connucence that the kind of the most inspired our fathers with wisdom to frame the most inspired our fathers with wisdom to frame the most perfect form of government and union ever devised by man, will not suffer it to perish until it shall have been peacefully instrumental, by its example, in the extension of civil and religious liberty through-

out the world.

Next in importance to the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union, is the duty of preserv ing the government free from taint, or even the sus-pictor of corruption. Public virtue is the vital spirit of republics, and history proves, that when this has decayed, and the love of money has usurped its place, although the forms of free government may remain for a season, the substance has departed

forever.

Our financial condition is without a parallel in Our financial condition is without a parallel in history. No nation has ever before been embarrassed from too large a surplus in its treasury. This, almost necessarily, gives birth to extravagant legislation. It produces wild schemes of expenditure, and begets a race of speculators and jobbers, whose ingenuity is exerted in contriving and promoting expedients to obtain the public money. The party, through its official agents, whether rightfully or wrongfully, is suspected, and the character of the government suffers in the estimation of the people. This is, in itself, a very great evil. The national mode of relief from this embarrassment is to appropriate the balance in its treasury to great nation. propriate the balance in its treasury to great national objects, for which a clear warrant can be found al objects, for which a clear warrant can be found in the Constitution. Among these, I might mention the extinguishment of the public debt; a reasonable increase of the navy, which is, at present, inadequate to the protection of our large tomage affoat, now greater than that of any other nation, as well as the defence of our extended sea cost.

It is beyond all question the true policy, that no more revenue ought to be collected from the people than the amount necessary to defray the expenses of a wise and economical and efficient administration of the government.

of the government.

To reach this point, it was necessary to resort to may have been practicable to our domestic manufac-tures, especially those necessary for the defence of the country. Any discrimination against a partic-ular branch for the purpose of benefitting favored corporations, individuals or interests, would have been unjust to the rest of the country, and inconsis-tent with that spirit of fairness and equality which ought to govern in the adjustment of a revenue

tariff.

But the squandering of the public money sinks into comparative significance as a temptation to corruption when compared with the squandering of the public lands. No nation in the tide of time has ever been blessed with so rich and noble an inheritance as we enjoy in the public lands. In administering this important trust, while it may be wise to grant portions of them for the improvement of the remainder, yet we should never forget that it is our cardinal policy to preserve these lands as much as may be for actual settlers, and this at moderate prices.

is the only true, as well as the only safe, theory of the Constitution.

Whenever, in our past history, doubtful powers have been exercised by Congress, they have never failed to produce injuries and unappy consequences. Many such injuries might be adduced, if this were the proper occasion. Neither is it necessary for the public service to strain the language of the Consti-tution, because all the great and useful powers re-quired for a successful administration of the gov-ernment, both in pace and in war, have been granted, either in express terms, or by the plainest granted, either in express terms, or by the plainest implication. Whilst deeply convinced of these truths, I yet consider it clear that under the wartruths, I yet consider it clear that under the warmaking power Congress may appropriate money towards the construction of a military road, when this
is absolutely necessary for the defence of any State
or territory of the Union against foreign invasion.

Under the Constitution, Congress has power to
declare war—to raise and support armies—to provide and maintain a navy—and to call forth the
militia to repel invasion. Thus endowed in an ample manner with the war-making power, the corresponding duty is required that the United States
shall protect each of them (the States) against invasion.

How is it possible to afford this protection to California, and our Pacific possessions, except by means of a military road through the territory of the United States, over which men and munitions of war may be speedily transported from the Atlantic States, to meet and expel the invaders? In case of war with a naval power much stronger than our own, we should have no other available access to the Pacific coast, because such a power would instantly close the route across the Isthmus of Central Amer-ica. It is impossible to conceive that, whilst the Conica. It is impossible to conceive that, whilst the Constitution has expressly required Congress to defend all the States, I should yet deny to them, by any fair construction, the only possible means by which one of these States can be defended. Besides, the government, ever since its origin, has been in the constant practice of constructing military roads. It might also be wise to consider, whether the love for the Union, which now animates our citizens on the Pacific coast, may not be impaired by our neelector. Pacific coast, may not be impaired by our neglect or refusal to provide for them, in their remote and iso-lated condition, the only means by which the pow-er of the States, on this side of the Rocky Moun-tains, can reach them in sufficient time to protet tains, can reach them in sufficient time to protet them against invasion? I forbear, for the present, from expressing an opinion as to the wisest and most economical mode in which the government can lend its aid in accomplishing this great and necessary work. I believe that many difficulties in the way, which now appear formidable, would, in a great degree, vanish as soon as the nearest and best route shall have been satisfactorily ascertained.

It may be right that, on this occasion, I should make some brief remarks as to our rights and duties ake some brief remarks as to our rights and duties as a member of the great family of nations.

In our intercourse with them, there are some plain principles, approved by our own experience, cultivate peace, commerce, and friendship with all nations; and this not merely as the best means of promoting our own material interests, but in a spirit of Christian benevolence towards our fellow-men, wherever their lot may be cast. Our diplomacy should be direct and frank, neither seeking to obtain more, nor accepting less than is our due.

We ought to cherish a sacred regard for the in-lependence of all nations, and never attempt to in-

erfere in the domestic concerns of any, unless this hall be imperatively required by the great law of elf-preservation. To avoid entangling alliances has been a maxim of our policy ever since the days of Washington; and its wisdom no one will attempt to dispute. In short, we ought to do justice in a cindly spirit to all nations, and require justice from

them in return.

It is our glory, that while other nations have exended their dominion by the sword, we have never equired any territory except by fair purchase, or as in the case of Texas, by the voluntary determin-ation of a brave, kindred and independent people to blend their destinies with our own. Even our ac-quisitions from Mexico form no exception. Unwil-ling to take advantage of the fortune of war against sister republic, we purchased those possessions un-ter the treaty of peace for a sum which was consid-ared at the time a fair equivalent.

Our past history forbids that we shall in the fu-

Our past history forbids that we shall in the fu-ture acquire territory, unless this be sanctioned by the laws of justice and honor. Acting on this prin-ciple, no nation will have a right to interfere or to complain, if, in the progress of events, we shall still further extend our possessions. Hitherto, in all our acquisitions, the people under the protection of the American flag have enjoyed civil and reli-gious liberty as well as equal and just laws, and have been contented, prosperous and happy. Their trade with the rest of the world has rapidly in-

trade with the rest of the world has rapidly in-creased, and thus every commercial nation has shared largely in their successful progress.

I shall now proceed to take the oath prescribed by the Constitution, whilst humbly invoking the bless-ings of Divine Providence on this great people.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

From the New York Tribone. EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI.

The telegraph informed us some days since of the passage, in the Missouri Legislature, of a resolution on the subject of the emancipation of the slaves in that State. That resolution, as reported in the St. Louis papers, was in the following terms:—

Louis papers, was in the following terms:—

'Whereas, Circumstances have rendered it necessary, and it is due to the constituent body of our felow-citizens of the State of Missouri, that the Legislature of the State should give an unequivocal expression of opinion in regard to the subject of the emancipation of slaves in the State:

'Be it therefore resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, That the emancipation of the slaves, held as property in this State, would be not only impracticable, but that any movement having such an object in view would be inexpedient, impolitic, unwise and unjust, and should, in the opinion of this General Assembly, be discountenanced by the people of the State.

In the Senate, a motion to lay this resolution on the table was lost—nays 23, yeas 6. A motion to suspend the rules to allow it to be read a second time was then carried, 26 to 4, when the resolution was adopted—yeas 24, nays 4. The names of the four Senators who had the courage and sagacity to record their names in the negative were Mesers. Blow, Runnels, Holmes and Stevenson. Three of the four belonged to the St. Louis delegation.

The resolution having come down to the House, it was opposed in an able speech by Mr. Brown of St. Louis. He took the ground that the emancipation of her slaves would be a most decided benefit to the State of Missouri. This speech drew a large audience, and we are glad to learn from the Missouri Democrat, that a full report of it is to be published.

A series of resolutions on the same subject had been introduced into the House some time before, but had been got rid of by being laid on the table. An attempt was made to dispose of this in the same way, but it failed, 29 to 97. The House was then brought to a vote on the problem. but it failed, 25 to 97. The House was then brought to a vote on the resolution, when it was carried, 107 yeas to 12 nays, the 12 nays being members of the St. Louis delegation. A Mr. McGee, from Putnam County, on the northern border of the State, asked to be excused from voting, but this being refused, he prefaced his vote by a short speech, in which he stated his belief that a majority of his constituents were opposed to slavery, and is favor of which he stated his belief that a majority of his constituents were opposed to slavery, and a favor of emancipation; but as they had not instructed him on the question, and as he was himself of a different way of thinking, he should vote for the resolution. It would seem that the entire St. Jouis delegation, in both Houses, with the exception of two, voted in the negative, representing, as the Missouri Democrat boasts, a constituency of 140,000 freemen.

That such a resolution introduced into the Legislature of a slaveholding State should have encountered any opposition, that members should have been found, who not only dared to vote against it, but to place that opposition on the avowed ground of hos-

found, who not only dared to vote against it, but to place that opposition on the avowed ground of hostility to slavery, is a most notable circumstance. A circumstance even more notable in the tenor of the preamble and resolution as introduced and adopted, in such striking contrast to anything which, within the last twenty years, has emanated from any Southern legislative body in relation to this subject. It has not been by resolutions expressed in moderate and decent terms, such terms as 'impracticable, ingredient, impulitie and unjust,' that the idea of expedient, impolitic and unjust,' that the idea of emancipation has hitherto been met. That is to treat the emancipation question like any other po-litical question; whereas hitherto no Southern Leg-islature has been able to touch the subject without being thrown into a perfect paroxysm of slave-driv-ing rage and fury. The term 'emancipation' has been altogether too well sounding to be employed in relation to the slaves. Insurrection, blood, murder, robbery, all summed up in 'abolition'—that word so horribly significant to slaveholding ears—these are the sort of euphuisms which slaveholding Legislathe sort of euphuisms which slaveholding Legislatures have been accustomed to employ in reference to the question of emancipation. So far from merely declaring that any movement toward freeing the slaves ought to be iscountenanced,' they have denounced the parties concerned therein, or suspected to be concerned therein, as conspirators and incendiaries, to be pursued, hunted, and destroyed without merey, and no matter by what means like so out mercy, and no matter by what means, like so many poisonous reptiles. Not confining themselves to their own territory or their own citizens, more to their own territory or their own citizens, more than one Southern Legislature has set a price upon the heads of supposed leaders in the emancipation movement resident in other States. To nip the sub-ject of slave emancipation in the bud, a series of tyrannical and unconstitutional laws has been enacted in which freedom of the press, freedom of speech even freedom of opinion have been totally garded. It is at this moment quite as safe to agitate republicanism in Russia, or freedom of religious

opinion at Rome, as it is to advocate free labor in the greater part of the slaveholding States.

It is, however, in the very nature of things that such tyranny should produce a reaction. In Missouri it has begun. The policy of emancipation finds able and fearless advocates in the Missouri finds able and fearless advocates in the Missouri Democrat, and other journals. The Democrat is in no way discouraged, but returns to the charge in the following style:—

'The increase in the population since 1850 is 206,000 in round numbers, of which 13,000 only are slaves. At the largest estimate, the number of slaveholders does not exceed 25,000, while the entire white population amounts to 784,000. The non-slaveholding population lation is increasing at the rate of thirty per cent. ever five years, while the ratio of the increase of the slave holding section of our people for the same period can only be represented by the fractional part of a unit. From this we can only arrive at the conclusion that Missouri will be a free State during the present gen-eration, for the non-slaveholders, who are so vastly in the preponderance, will soon discover that the negroes are in their way; and when they make that discovery, a resolution of the Senate will not impede their legiti-mate but irresistible action. The new revelation of Democracy in the Kansas-Nebraska bill asserts the omnipotence of a simple majority for creating, modify-ing, or abolishing any institution; and when that ma-jority calls for emancipation in this State, we trust the "National Democracy" will recognize the voice of

The concluding suggestion of the Democrat is a pregnant one. We will add still another. When the question of abolishing slavery in Missouri comes to the decision of the ballot-box, should the emancipationists lack a few thousand votes to give them a majority, Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska, to say nothing of Kansas, are close at hand. Those who sustain the Bogus laws of Kansas could hardly object to a little aid from abroad to help the passage of a Missouri emancipation act.

From the Practical Christian. WENDELL PHILLIPS AT CORTLAND NEW YORK.

The inhabitants of our pleasant but conservativillage have just enjoyed the rare opportunity of hearing four grand and brilliant lectures from Philanthropy's greatest American orator. Early in the autumn—taking time by the forelock—I wrote to autumn—taking time by the forelock—I wrote to Mr. Phillips, requesting him, if possible, to visit us in the course of the lecturing season, and to speak to us on 'The Philosophy of Reform.' His reply was, that he would endeavor to do so, and that if our Association would take him on a Saturday night, he would, in addition, occupy my place, a part of the day, at least, on Sunday. Of course, the gener-ous offer was most gladly accepted, and the arrange-ments were made accordingly. For several months, therefore, many of us anticipated his coming with pleasure, praying that the railroads might not be blockaded with snow—so as to prevent his reaching us. And on Saturday, February the 14th, he safely arrived, accompanying me from Syracuse, whither I had gone to attend an Anti-Slavery Convention, held by Mr. Garrison & Co. The day was fine, but the evening sky being overcast with clouds, and the travelling muddy, it seemed rather doubtful about our having a large audience, and the more anxious were fearful. But about three hundred and fifty were fearful. But about three hundred and fift persons assembled, and listened to Mr. Phillips fo an hour and a half with great satisfaction and de light. Of course, we did not have the orator aroused as some of us have heard him in the old Marlboro Chapel, or the Melodeon, or in Faneuil Hall; bu we heard him in his subdued, chaste, classic, charm we heard him in his subduced, chaste, classic, charm ing and heroic eloquence. He was Wendell Phillips though not with the fire that some anticipated which fire would, indeed, consume him should it be nightly kindled on the altar of his heart. But no one that could appreciate the highest style of oratory went away disappointed; but all hungered and thirsted for more of the 'same sort'—more such infidelity' and 'treason'!

'infidelity' and 'treason'!

Sunday morning was rainy, and the prospect was that the day would be so. This dampened our ardor somswhat, especially as many of our audience were expected from a distance of from two to ten miles; but about three hundred persons assembled even in the morning. Mr. Phillips took for his subject 'Slavery in relation to the Church'—and it was one of his finest efforts minus the 'fire.' It delighted, it instructed, it aroused, it convinced—some, I doubt not, it converted, as I know that others it confirmed. It was a genuine Gospel Sermon, without firmed. It was a genuine Gospel Sermon, without twang, without cant, without dogmatism, and full of truth and beauty—not priestly but manly. There was no concealment and no compromise about it, of course, but it was as persuasive, in the highest sense of the term, as it was severe. I think I never before saw so large an audience carried right onward and upward, by a speaker uttering such radical prin-

and upward, by a speaker uttering such radical principles. It was good to be there—many felt it to be, and so expressed themselves with great emphasis.

The afternoon address was Slavery in relation to the STATE—a most able, thorough, searching, eloquent and convincing discussion and presentation of the subject in all its bearings. Such a Discourse was never before heard in Cortland County—never in many places in the land. The doctrine of 'No Union with Slaveholders,' was presented as only Mr. Phillips can present it, and the people—now full four hundred—seemed to respond to him, for time-being at least, most heartily. Not a few thought it four hundred—seemed to respond to him, for time being at least, most heartily. Not a few thought if the best lecture of the four, and the greatest they ever heard. Even politicians said—'there was no getting away from the argument; and an impres-sion, I am sure, was made by both the margin. sion, I am sure, was made by both the morning and afternoon discourses that will not be soon effaced. plowed in deep, and more scattered, evidently pron ising something of a harvest.

In the evening—Sunday evening! Mr. Phillips gave us his 'Lost Arts;' and five hundred persons came out to hear it—many church-members who could not get out in the day time. It was a day of

struggling between duty and desire-fear and desire,

struggling between duty and desire—fear and desire, too—and many an one, I presume, wished to be with us—with the multitude for that day—who did not it dare venture. But one very excellent and brave presbyterian Elder heard Mr. Phillips each time. The 'Lost Arts' was popular, of course, as it is every where, and won for the orator 'golden opinions' from even those who could not endure or hear his 'infidelity and treason.'

And thus passed the 15th of February—Sunday—and the evening of the 14th—in Cortland. A memorable time, too, will it long be in our village and the vicinity. Mr. Phillips was exceedingly generous with us, as to the matter of compensation, and in that way also laid us under special obligations to him, which we shall not forget. Could he come again soon, we could not promise him's house that would hold the people who would flock to hear him, such a favorable impression has he made by his whole bearing and speech. We can assure him that he has made a very strong and deep mark upon many winds. he has made a very strong and deep mark upon many

Before closing, I would say that Mr. Phillips visited Central College, five miles distant from us, on Saturday afternoon, and addressed the students, and others assembled, for one hour or more in a most appropriate and admirable manner—carrying away with him the benediction of that interesting and important Institution. He has been urgently solicited. with him the benediction of that interesting and important Institution. He has been urgently solicited to be present, in June, at the College Commencement, and we are all hoping, hereabouts, that he will be able to accept the invitation. He would have a large concourse of people to listen to him. W. H. FISH.

Cortland, N. Y., Feb. 18, '57.

THE PULPIT UNDER LAW.

The 'Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster' is valuable not only for the glimpses it gives us of the familiar moods of a great man, but also for the incidental revelations it makes of the principles and motives of sundry lesser men who hovered about him as satellites.

In the second volume of this correspondence, at page 412, is a letter dated 'Washington, Jan. 12th, 1851, Sunday morning,' and addressed to 'Rev. Mr. Adams.' Neither the Christian name, the residence, or the ecclesiastical denomination of Mr. A. is given, and there is no clue to his identity, except Webster. This is styled 'Christianity and Civil Government;' but, as we do not find the discourse the world they reside! It also laws down the dectrine among our pamphlets, we will not venture a hint as to the author. Our concern is not at all with the minister as a person, but with the principle which he seems to have avowed in his letter to Mr. Webster.

Mr. Webster passes some fine compliments upon the discourse, and then adds: 'You see, therefore, my dear sir, that I do not agree with you that the only merit of your discourse is, that it was the first, in the order of time, which the Northern pulpit gave forth in obedience to law.'

Did Mr. Adams then claim that his discourse was

'the first which the Northern pulpit gave forth in obedience to law'? We cannot judge whether Mr. Webster quotes the very words of Mr. A.'s letter; but inasmuch as Mr. A. must have furnished Mr. Webster's letter for publication, he of course accept ed the construction which Mr. Webster here p upon the letter that Mr. A had sent him.

upon the letter that Mr. A had sent him.

But what is the meaning of the claim thus set forth? That the pulpit is under law, all will agree.

In this country, however, all Protestant Christians are agreed in repudiating any such legal supervision over the pulpit as is exercised in France and Austria. They justly maintain that the maintain that the They justly maintain that the pulpit is under law to Christ alone. Did, then, Mr. Adams intend to claim that up to January, 1851, he was the first minister who had preached in obedience to the law of Christ? We cannot suspect him of such foolish

arrogance.

Did he mean that up to January, 1851, he wa the first minister who enforced the proper Scriptural duty of obedience to civil government? We would not impute, even to an unknown person, a vanity so preposterous. When have there been wanting, in the North, at least, ministers to preach in obedience to the law of Christ, or on due obedience to civil

Setting aside, therefore, both these interpretations. Setting aside, therefore, both these interpretations, we find in the phrase 'Northern pulpit,' and in the position of Mr. Webster at that time, a key to the interpretation of this singular phrase. The law, in obedience to which Mr. A. gave forth his voice 'first in the order of time,' was the Fugitive Slave Law—the law which forbids a minister of Christ to shelter the poor and needy outcast; the law which requires that minister to sales his own brother in Christ and minister to seize his own brother in Christ. deliver him over to hopeless bondage; to take James Hamlin from his wife and children, and from the communion-table of the Lord, and surrender him to stripes and imprisonment; to deliver a brother minister, like Anthony Burns, to the tender mercies of the slave-dealer; to hand over a trembling woman to the lusts of a Southern plantation;—this was the

prejudices,' and to obey that law 'with alacrity.'
That some ministers were befogged into a temporary
recognition of that infamous statute as a law to be obeyed, even by Christians, we distinctly remember. But that any minister should boast his alacrity to preach 'in obedience to that law,' it was reserved for this correspondence to disclose. When and where was this sermon preached? Was a sermon preached 'in obedience' to the Fugitive Slave Law, a Gospel sermon? And what do plain Christians think of such a Gospel.

From the New York Evening Post. THE INAUGURAL MESSAGE.

Buchanan's opinion, the territories have a right to exclude slavery if the inhabitants do not desire its introduction. A few sentences afterwards he informs us that this is not his view of the matter. He explains that 'it has been his individual opinion that, under the Nebraska act, the appropriate time [to settle the question of slavery] will be when the number of residents in the territory shall justify the ber of residents in the territory shall justify the formation of a constitution, with a view to its admission as a State inio the Union.'

Mr. Buchanan, therefore, holds the extreme South-

ern doctrine, that the people of a territory have no right to exclude slavery by any ordinances they can ling spectacle to be found beneath the stars. Yet make. It is only in their capacity as a State that their condition is demoniacally held up, by Mr. Fitz-they can do this. This is the limit which, accordingly held up, by Mr. Fitz-they can do this. ing to him, the Constitution sets to the power of the territories. 'Congress,' he says, 'is not to exclude slavery,' neither is the territory. Of course, slaveslavery,' neither is the territory. Of course, slavery is to be freely admitted while the region is in its territorial state, and allowed to plant and propagate itself—to take firm and ineradicable root, if it can. Then this is done-when slavery is fairly establish d, and the people come to form their State constitution—they may get rid of it, if they are able! That, according to Mr. Buchanan, is the 'appropriate time.' What strange ideas Mr. Buchanan has of the appropriate time! The appropriate time to apply the remedy is after the disease has destroyto apply the remedy is after the disease has destroyed the patient. No power of prevention is allowed by Mr. Buchanan's doctrine, either to the people of the territory or to Congress. And yet Mr. Buchanan goes on to prate about popular sovereignty, through sentence after sentence, as if he really held that the territories had some power over the question of alexer.

of slavery!

If Mr. Buchanan had openly professed these opinions before his election, it would have made a very essential difference in the support he received in some of the United States. If he had then expressly said, of the United States. If he had then expressly said, as now, that Congress has no power to prevent the introduction of slavery into the territories, and the territories no power to exclude it, we should have given him credit for frankness; but we could have appealed, and he knew it, with great effect to the people, to flock to the polls, and record their votes against this man who stands up as the champion of slavery, claiming for it the prerogative of overruling the will of the majority, and the legislative power, whether in the Union or in the territories. Under the load of this enormous doctrine, his cause would have broken down.

But Mr. Buchanan is of opinion that 'it is hap-pily a matter of but little practical importance when the people of the territory shall decide this question for themselves.' It is of no consequence, he thinks have broken down. But Mr. Buchans for themselves.' It is of no consequence, he thinks, whether they try to exclude alavery before it is contrast between the intelligence, thrift, virtue, wealth, whether they try to exclude alavery before it is contrast between the intelligence, thrift, virtue, wealth, population and growth of these conflictive portions of the republic! There are no 'isms' at the South, it is true—except diabolism; nor are there any in Ruspeople make their decision while they are able to

make it freely, or postpone it till the slaveholdir influence has obtained the mastery, and the questic is already virtually settled! Would Mr. Bucham

is already virtually settled! Would Mr. Buchanan say to a western settler, that it made no practical difference whether he opmed the door of his cabin to a panther, and let him in for a struggle on the floor, or whether he fired at him on his approach through a loop-hole in the wall?

Mr. Buchanan professes carnestly to deprecate all further agitation of the question of slavery. If we could be amused with hypocritical professions in high places, we should be amused with this. Here is a man who puts forth the most monstrous doctrines, who claims for slavery a national character, making its empire conterminous with the jurisdiction of the federal government, making it supreme in the territories, setting it above the power of law and of the popular will, and who yet utters solemn warnings against agitation. While he is stirring the subject freely, and in the most offensive manner, he exhorts those who differ with him not to meddle with it. We cannot take Mr. Buchanan's advice. If he agitates the subject, so must we. If the friends of slavers and the subject, we have the subject of the subject of the subject of the subject, so must we. If the friends of slavers are subject of the subject, so must we.

The Liberator

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, MARCH 13, 1857.

SLAVERY A BLESSING-FREEDOM A

We have received from Ticknor, Fields & Co. this city, a copy of the crazy work which we revie in our last number, entitled 'Cannibals All! Slaves without masters. By George Fitzhugh, Port Royal, Caroline, Virginia.' The design of it to show that personal freedom and free institution are a calamity and a curse, and chattel slavery, with its whips and fetters and branding-irons and bloodhounds, is an unspeakable blessing to all the workin the world they reside! It also lays down the doctrine that 'Christian morality was not preached to fre

competitive society, but to slave society, (!) when

it is neither very difficult nor unnatural to practice it but it is 'WHOLLY IMPRACTICABLE IN PREE SOCIETY This is incomparably more impious than was the de claration of the scribes and pharisees, that Jesus had devil, and was guilty of death; for they made it spite fully, and cast it as a foul reproach upon his character whereas, this brazen eulogist of an accursed institutio coolly makes a similar charge against the Founder Christianity as a compliment, and finds in diabolism the only true method of saving the world! According t him, Christ did not come to redeem, but to enslave mankind,-all but a few, who are to be masters, over seers, drivers, and slave-dealers; his is a gospel of slavery, not of freedom; and his is a kingdom of darkness, not of light! It is true that, in the tem ple, Jesus read the words of Isaiah, and applied ther to himself :- 'The spirit of the Lord God is upon me because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.' It is true, he enjoined this as a rule of universal obligation, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor a thyself,' and illustrated what he meant by it in the parable of the Good Samaritan. It is true, he said to his disciples, 'Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them: but it shall no e so among you; but whosoever will be great amon you, let him be your minister; even as the Son Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many.' But, accord ing to the reading and understanding of Mr. George Fitzhugh, Port Royal, Caroline, (Va.) these passage mean that Jesus came to abolish free society, to up root free institutions, to transform the great mass o mankind into goods and merchandize, to establish chattel slavery universally, and to the end of time And such is the gospel according to Beelzebuh that i

preached at the South Mr. Fitzhugh is astonishingly adroit and ingeniou -or, at least, imagines himself to be so. He assumes ements of peace, comfort, security, prosperity and first gave forth its voice through Mr. Adams.

Mr. Webster wished the North to 'conquer their bliss; but he very wisely neglects to present any one of its features for inspection, and declines pointing out any one of its many blessings. Thomas Jefferson early testified as follows :- 'The whole commerce be tween master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions : the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other.' We know that this witness is true. Mr. Jefferson further said :- With what execuation should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half of the citizens thus to trample upon the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the The President takes early occasion to advert to the case of the territory of Kansas. It was, he says, 'a happy conception for Congress to apply this simple rule, that the will of the majority shall govern in the settlement of the question of domestic slavery in the territories.' One would infer from this that, in Mr. amor patrie of the other!' Thirty thousand escaped ed parental and filial consanguinity, of all testi kind of brutality, of all freedom of locomotion, of all choice of employment, of all free will and conscience of all education and moral culture, of all rights and all property, and thus sunk to the level of cattle and swine, present the most affecting and the most appalhugh, as a model one for all the laboring people of the world, who, he maintains, ought to be owned and

governed like brute beasts The ingenuity of Mr. Fitzhugh is equally striking in his treatment of 'Free Society,' which he so fre quently pronounces a failure. He scorns the North and flies across the Atlantic, to find cases of extre destitution, competitive selfishness, swindling monop oly, an oppressive use of capital, &c. &c., and arguas though these were the legitimate fruits of freedom He also finds in free communities a disposition to think, to argue, to dissent, to run to 'isms'; and this to his jaundiced vision, is nothing better than infidel ity on the one hand, and anarchy on the other! He says that each of the philosophers of Europe 'prove clearly enough, that the present edifice of Europea society is out of all rule and proportion, and must so tumble to pieces; but no two agree as to how it is What if they do not agree, in regard to he rebuilt." the remedy? It is something to be agreed as to th rottenness of the edifice—a rottenness which Mr. F insanely attributes to liberty, but which all the world but himself knows to be wholly attributable to a despotism, kindred in spirit to American alavery, though not at all comparable to it on the score of injustice and villany. Freedom in the world is, as yet, only a comparative term—not an absolute possession. When it most abounds, there society is most civilized, refined prosperous, enlightened, enterprising and safe. Take New England as demonstrative evidence of this.— Take the entire North, and contrast it in these particulars with the entire South. The difference is reat as exists between the effulgence of noon-day and the darkness of midnight. See the astonishing contrast between the intelligence, thrift, virtue, wealth, population and growth of these conflictive portions of the republic! There are no 'isma' at the South, it

yard. The dead are without excitement; they are not chargeable with heresy; they plot no treason, make no attempt to excite insurrection, are as passive as clay in the hands of the potter, and behave with countenance to agitation, complain of no ill-treatment, and are perfectly contented as they lie. How much

tics and grievous monopolies here at the North; but he has not the sense to see that these spring from injustice, class legislation, misuse of trust, and not from moral advantages which are there enjoyed, and which freedom itself, which is indeed the gift of God, and render it a peculiarly happy location for an Educa the noblest inheritance of the human race. If Mr. Pitzhugh is disposed to compare the politico-econorical results of a state of freedom with those of a sta of slavery, let him take population for population, and no grog-shops exist; no intoxicating liquor is use see what follows. For example: the slave population is quite as numerous as that of all New England. resort are open for loafers and loungers, where public How many dwellings, shops, banks, manufactories, morals are endangered; no vulgarity or obscenity churches, and other edifices, does it own? Not one. tolerated, no profanity is permitted; no quarrelin How many ships and railroads? Not one. What or fightings, or coarse, harsh words are countenance household furniture, implements of husbandry, me- but all the people are interested and pledged to prechanical tools, scientific instruments? None? is its capital and stock in trade? Nothing. How and to secure the young, and all who dwell there many acres of land does it possess? None. What against the follies, ains and abominations of the world does it own? Not a hand, not a leg, not a head, not at large. The real reforms and philanthropies of the a heart, among them all. What, then, is its pauper- age are there fostered and sustained, and Practical ism? Total and unparalleled. Its education and in- Christianity is the acknowledged religion. Such betelligence? Heathenism. Its prospects? Dark, ing the case, the fact need but be mentioned to those dreary, hopeless. Its motive for exertion? The lash. who desire the young in their charge to be under salexists in New England—find all its defects, its suf-ferings, and its crimes, and place them in one scale; dale Home School. then let him take the schools, academies, and colleges-the public and private libraries-the all-prevail- April 15. ing competence, intelligence and happiness—the immense aggregate wealth in solid gold and silver, in to be very reasonable. houses and lands, in ships and manufactories, in ten thousand different forms, and not one farthing in human flesh—the universal industry, enterprise, inven- the public at large, having no doubt, as soon as its tion and thrift-&c. &c. &c., let him take these, and real merits are known, that the number of applicants place them in the other scale, and see which scale will will be greater than the ability to receive them. kick the beam, - adding to the adverse side the whole alave population of the South, with all their owners overseers, drivers, and bloodhounds!

WHERE SHALL THE DIVIDING LINE BE! Our esteemed correspondent 'G. W. B.' (see our have not been disappointed. Not one noble idea, no ast page,) in giving his views of Disunion, says-We want no issue between North and South, but be- be to guide the nation in the pathway of freedom, of tween Freedom and Slavery,' But it happens that the geographical division will run pari passu with the weak, and the oppressed, marks the document. He moral division, in the very nature of the case-i. e., considers it a mark of consummate wisdom, and between the free and the slave States, free institutions and slave institutions, free labor and slave labor. Hence, ever since the national government was formed, all the heart-burnings and collisions that have taken place, have been uniformly between the North and the South as such. If the North is bent on to oppress the weak, to grind the poor, to enslave the cherishing and defending her free institutions at all laborer, to whip, maim, slay, to buy and sell their huhazards, and the South is determined to cling to her man subjects, if they please and as they please, and slave institutions with even greater tenacity, then a that no authority or power exists to interfere with geographical division is as inevitable as it is desirable; this right. But as this is the doctrine of the Ameriprecipitated as it will be by the highest moral considerations, and by all the promptings of self-preservation and self-interest.

As long ago as 1836, Gov. Ritner, in his me message to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, had the sagacity to perceive, and the courage to declare, when and where the line of disunion would be inevitable, provided the North remained true to the cause of freedom, and maintained her own natural and constitu-

'Above all, let us never yield up the right of free discussion of any evil which may arise in the land, or any part of it; convinced that, the moment we do so, THE BOND OF UNION IS BROKEN. For the Union being a voluntary compact, to continue together for certain specified purposes, the instant one portion of it succeeds in imposing terms and dictating conditions it succeeds in imposing terms and dictating conditions upon another, not found in the contract, the relation between them changes, and that which was union comes subjection.

That is just where the North stands of all her constitutional rights at the South, and reduced to a state of abject vassalage by the connection. Let the cord be cut—the bond be broken—by all that is just, holy and true!

When the day of separation shall come, it will be far more glorious than the day which witnessed the secession of the colonies from the mother country, and of which John Adams said, 'It ought to be com memorated as the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God. Through all the gloom, I can see the rays of light and glory. I can see that the end is worth more than the means, and that posterity will triumph, although you and I may not see it.' When that day shall come, O LIBERTY!

· We'll search the earth, the air, the sea We'll search the earth, and thee!
To cull a fadeless wreath for thee!
And every field for freedom fought,
and shore, and mount, where aught And vale, and shore, and mount, where Of lofty manhood can be found, Shall be our blooming harvest ground; From victor's arch, from martyr's pall, Triumphal or funereal,
For law, and equal rights, and life,
Who won or fell in holy strife.

INVIDIOUS DISTINCTIONS.

Now and then, there are those who profess to cherish great respect and a warm regard for us perin the Anti-Slavery vineyard as PARKER PILLSBURY, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, MARIUS R. ROBINSON, (editor of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle,) and the like. With the warm personal friendship we cherish for the lat-ter—the absolute confidence we have in their integrity of soul and disinterestedness of purpose—we can tolof soul and disinterestedness of purpose—we can tol-erate no such distinction, for a moment. Nothing has occurred to warrant such a line of demarcation. are proud of their friendship, and hold them to be worthy of universal respect and confidence. If they are to be ostracised, we beg to be included in the list. Individual preferences may exist, in regard to temperament, method and taste, without invidiousness; because what exactly suits one may not be so agreeable to another. Mr. Phillips, for instance, is the most popular orator in the Anti-Slavery ranks; and we think deservedly so :-- not because he is not as faithful est culture that education can give him. But he would indignantly spurn the distinction that should be made fearless advocate of unpopular truth is too well estably any one between himself and his co-laborers, on lished to need any certificate. Every thing from his he ground of personal worth or public respect. No one is more generous than himself in reference to such, in public and in private.

How to WRITE. Fowler & Wells, 142 Washing ton street, Boston—308 Broadway, New York—231 Arch street, Philadelphia—have just published the first of a series of popular Hand-Books, entitled 'How to Warra: A Pocket Manual for Composition and Letter-Writing; embracing hints on per ionship, friendship, and love; illustrated by numerous examples of genuine epistles, from the pens of the best writers. To which are added, forms for leters of introduction, notes, cards, &c., and a collection of poetical quotations.' We give our hearty com ations to this work, as it will prove highly use ful in every family, it having been prepared with great care and excellent judgment. HOPEDATE HOME SCHOOL

We call the special attention of our readers to th took at Hopedale, sanctioned by the authorperfect propriety; they are exempt from all care, sufities of the Hopedale Community, and under the care
fering and danger, do not ask to be liberated, give no of Mr. and Mrs. Harwood as Principals. There is not a place in the whole country to which children and youth of both sexes can be sent with more cer better all this than life! exclaims the profoundly philosophical Mr. Fitzhugh;—life, with its burdens, its sorrows, its perils, its catastrophes, its wide-spread miseries! Life is a failure—let death overspread the world, and then will come the reign of universal peace and contentment! Mr. Fitzhugh quotes Gerrit Smith, Horace Gree-ley, William Goodell, Stephen Pearl Andrews, and ourself, to prove that there are many unjust inequali-immortality. To those acquainted with Hopedale-its principle

and character-it is unnecessary to state the superior tional Institution. To others, however, a few words of explanation may not be out of place. There, in a population of about two hundred and fifty persons as a beverage, or is allowed to be so used; no places o morals are endangered; no vulgarity or obscenity is What went and suppress these misdeeds, pollutions and vices Now let Mr. Fitzhugh analyze 'free society,' as it utary moral and social influences, to enable them t The next term will commence on Wednesday

The expenses of board, tuition, &c., will be found

We again warmly recommend this School to all anxious parents and guardians in particular, and to MR. BUCHANAN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

We presume none of our readers expected a very elevated or otherwise able document in the Inaugura speech of the new President; and therefore they one sentiment worthy of a man, whose business should peace, and of a generous protection to the poor, the proof of the most perfect Democracy, to adopt as a fixed rule, that every territory and State shall be left free to have slavery, or have it not, as it pleases, without word or act of objection on the part of anybody ;in other words, that the strong shall have the right can democracy, it is of course Mr. Buchanan's, who has declared himself in advance not to be James Buchanan, so much as the impersonation of the American Democratic party. And that party being-as it has so long been—the ready and convenient organ of the Slave Power, (the most successful of all the political parties in the struggle for this place,) Mr. Buchanan is certain to have work enough to do for his masters. A spirit of tame subserviency to that power character ises the address throughout. They who weakly ex pect of this administration better things than the last gave us are but increasing the causes of their own mortification and too tardy repentance.—M.

THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT of the United States, in the case of Dred Scott, has come at last, and an abstract of it will be found in another place. The epinion of the majority of the Court, as delivered by Judge Taney, will be given in our next. n is, to the last degree infamous and to rannical. None more cruel or abominable was ever given by Scroggs or Jeffries, Dissenting opinions which we have not yet had an opportunity to read but which are regarded as exceedingly able, were delivered by Judges McLean of Ohio, and Curtis of Massachusetts. We cannot but rejoice that the voice of New England, as uttered on that bench, was in harmony with the principles of justice. The fact cannot be winked out of sight that all the (five) judges from the slaveholding States decide that the law and the Constitution are in all points pro-slave ry.—that the judges from the Middle States dodge the question,-and that New England and Ohio alonhave a word of protest against the usurpations and encroachments of slavery .-- M.

THE MASSACHUSETTS REGISTER, for the 'year 1857, has just been published by Mr. GEORGE ADAMS, 91 Washington street, Boston, and is an encyclopedia of valuable intelligence, pertaining to all the relation of citizenship. It contains the usual variety of in formation respecting the Government and Institution of the State, revised and corrected. Complete lists of the Professional Classes; the Legislature, State and County Officers; the Municipal Organizations of the several cities in this Commonwealth for the curren year; Courts, Commissioners, and Justices of the Peace; Banks, Insurance Companies, Manufacturing Companies, Colleges, Academies, Societies, News-With papers, and Post Offices; Titles of the Laws and Rethe latsolves passed in 1856, and a Business Directory of Bosttegrity votes of 1856, the population of 1855, and the State Tax of each town apportioned for 1856. Also, a list of the churches and elergymen in the State; together with a chronological record of the General Events of the years 1854-5-6. The work is deserving of univer-

THE PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN. We learn by the la number of this excellent and admirably conducted paper, that a new arrangement has been made, where by the care of its publication and editorial supervisi and uncompromising as the most radical of us all, but is to be wholly assumed by Adin Ballou, who has because he has the rarest gifts by nature, and the fin-hitherto written the leading articles in its columns, and whose reputation as an earnest reformer and pen indicates thought, the highest purity of mind, the utmost reverence for 'the higher law,' the deepest sympathy with suffering humanity. His paper is poorly patronised—to the shame of the age—and needs a strong addition to its subscription list, which we hope will be made during the present year. Its price is one dollar per annum, payable in advance. THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER (Crosby, Nichols & Co.)

for March, 1857, teonains the following papers:—

I. Robinson's Later Biblical Researches. By Rev. and Letter-writing; embracing mints on penmanany and the choice of writing materials; practical rules for literary composition in general, and epistolary and newspaper writing and proof-correcting in particular; and directions for writing letters of business, relaborations. II. Rhode Island Biography. By Rev. J. F. Clarke, of Boston. III. Rhode Island Biography. By Rev. J. F. Clarke, of Boston. III. Rhode Island Biography. By Rev. J. F. Clarke, of Boston. ology of Heathen Religions. By Rev. J. F. Clarke, of Boston. III. Rhode Island Biography. By Rev. Charles T. Brooks, of Newport, R. I. IV. Indian Hon. [Lorenzo Sabine, of Pramingham, Mass. V. The Grinnell Expeditions By Rev. Thomas Hill, of Waltham. VI. Rev Ephraim Peabody, D. D. By Rev. J. H. Morrison, of Milton. VII. Mac Whorter on the Memorial Name. By Prof. Noyes, of Cambridge. Notices of Recen

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION It seems that the societies in New York chy, Brooklyn which have assumed the above department as appropriate to them, have followed the the as appropriate the Boston Association in trying formally in oughly to exclude from their meetings such a oughly to exerting to slavery as a few of their as bers seem desirous to present. The following a brief statement of their recent movements and present.

THE NEW YORK ASSOCIATE

The following preamble and resolution, program The londwing at its December (monthly) here by Mr. Lasar, a faithful German Abolition debated, and left open for future discussion Whereas, every organization of Christian by

Whereas, every organization of Christian sections, though outside the Church and separate and case from it—associated in the name of Christ, for the text therance of his cause on earth, is in a messare like the Church itself, put in trust with the Gospel of or lad Jesus Christ, and should seek in all possible ways bear witness to the truth of that Gospel, bear witness to the truth of that Gospel, bear witness to the truth of that gospel bear witness to the truth of that gospel bear witness and to resist all opposition—particularly that what and to resist all opposition—particularly that what organized and formidable—to the progress of the principles throughout the land and the world, as involuntary servitude—converting them thereby an enhanced the serving them thereby an enhanced the serving them thereby an enhanced the serving the subjection, the many for the ordinary facilities of education, as in many instances of the word of God—in short, whole practice of human slavery, in all in details with all its consequences, wherever it may end with all its consequences, wherever it may end with all its consequences, wherever it may end as in the sight of God, a violation of the progres of Christianity; and

Whereas, in the providence of God, one of the find questions which occupies the attention of this subject; and while the exigencies of the times demand a few and while silence itself is interpreted as an option, therefore,

Resolved, That this Association—in content of the statement of the character of the content of the conten

therefore,
Resolved, That this Association in common with
Resolved, That this Association in common with Resolved, That this Association—in common wind other Christian bodies—hereby solemnly bear in testimony, for Christ's sake, against the institutes of human slavery, wherever it may exist on the face of the earth, as a violation of the law of God; and axis it particularly as it exists in this enlightened and Christian country, as putting to shame the principles of Christianity.

At the January meeting, after a long and tempertuous debate upon the above resolution, it vis & placed by the following, offered by Prof. Crash, of the University of New York, which was finally single ed, 86 to 58, and therefore is now the rale of the New York Association. We quote from the published

Mr. Crosby said that he was in favor of almost

'Mr. Crosby said that he was in favor of sinst every word of those resolutions, but he did not thin it right to discuss any thing, however good, show which good, honest Christians had difference of epicion. He therefore proposed the following substints:

'Resolved, That inasmuch as this Association was organized for the special objects, upon which all is members agree, having in view the promotion of evangelical religion among young men, and the discussion of slavery is not one of those objects, but the subject is one upon which the members do not all agree, one which disturbs our peace and harms ny, and alienates many friends of the Association in the community around us, therefore all discussion of action, in any form, upon the question of slavery, and action, in any form, upon the question of slave upon political and sectarian issues generally, is to meetings of this Association, is hereby declared isconsistent with its objects, and out of order, and a forbidden."

Here we find the assumption, made in the named Christianity, and sanctioned by 86 church member out of 144, that pro-slavery piety is just as good a anti-slavery piety, and must have the delicacy of in nerves respected, and shielded from the contact of unpleasant truths in a Christian meeting.

The Standard informs us that the New York Amciation, immediately before the discussion which aded in the adoption of the resolution declaring the selject of slavery foreign to its one exclusive object, the promotion of evangelical piety among the young me of New York, had listened with apparent interests an address, delivered at its own request, by a missinary from Natal, upon the condition of the native habitants of Southern Africa! The negree of the Cape of Good Hope, it seems, may be legitimately cared for by the Association, they being included in the one object of promoting evangelical religion arms the young men of this city; but the slaves of the South ing compelled, in their zealous devotion to their great purpose, to leave them to the sympathy of reciless fanatics and infidels!

THE BROOKLYN ASSOCIATION. At its December meeting were presented the pre-

amble and resolution quoted above as rejected by the New York Association. They were indefinitely pos-At the January meeting, a motion to take then "

for further consideration was voted down-We find additional details and comment

lows in the Standard :-

. The rejected resolution was first introduced in the Brooklyn Association by Mr. Theodore Tilton, a brest young man, in whose religion freedom and human are fundamental. The Brooklyn body was also ter-

bly agitated. The discussion ended in the adopte the following substitute, by a vote of 53 to 38:-

the following substitute, by a vote of 53 to 38:—

Whereas, certain misrepresentations have species in the newspaper press, touching the opinions of actions of the membership of this Association upon the subject of slavery; and

Whereas, while we hold that the proper sight of this body has no direct connection with the infittation of slavery, in its political bearings, we still believe that, in view of the false position in which we have been placed before the public, it becomes us to speak our true sentiments concerning this matter; therefore,

Resolved. That we believe the system of America

Resolved. That we believe the system of America slavery is a social, political and moral evil, and on-trary to the spirit of Christianity.

slavery is a social, political and moral visitarity.

This was a triumph of those who affected a conservative and moderate anti-slavery policy. Cealisticanity," they found a reason for expressing the opinion on the subject, not in the wrongs suffer by the slaves, nor in the demoralizing and irregions tondencies inherent in the system, but in creat reports affecting their own precious reputations. Brave young soldiers of the cross, truly! Even the resolution, the fruit of a compromise, was extedingly distanteful to the party opposed to all agistics, and at the next meeting (having worked the win a secret, and feeling sure of a triumph) they introduced the following:

Whereas, this Association was designed and expanded for specific ends, which, as set forth in is friend for specific ends, which, as set forth in its friends.

Whereas, this Association was designed and erguized for specific ends, which, as set forth in its Its amble and Constitution, are 'to improve the spinish intellectual and social condition of young me, it means appropriate and in unison with the spinish the Gospel, — to combine the Christian influence is stimulate the piety of the young men of this direction of the original vicinity, 'which objects have hitherto nerved the modern and united the hearts of its members in frequency and united the hearts of its members in frequency and united the hearts of its members in frequency and united the hearts of its members in frequency of slavery is not promotive of these objects is inconsistent therewith, and productive of cril; then fore,

Resolved. That the introduction or discu any of our meetings, of the subject of slaver, or any political or sectarian issues, is irrelevant and seign to our arowed objects, and a bar to their second plishment; and we therefore declare them controlled and their discussion henceforth out of order.

The Anti-Slavery party, taken generally by a rise, met the onset bravely. Their first moreous prise, met the onset bravely. Their first more prise, met the onset bravely. Their first more was in a very damaging proposition to smead the recolution by a specific declaration that it was seeinged ed to prohibit prayer for the slave! The invited this was killing, and the resolution was finally a feated, by a vote of 61 to 45.

In view of these transactions, Rev. George Cheever has written a series of scorehing article in the Independent, from one of which (Jan. 22d) we use the following:—

"An association that, at this time, in our own contry, instead of maintaining freedom of opinion and discussion on the one great question that, in church and state, is every where agitating the community should deliberately attempt to exorcise itself for that agitation by a policy of enforced ailence, by in

Dr. Cheever proceeds to urge upon these slow Dr. Cheerer process to dage upon these slow and timerous young Christians the very consideration which Rev. Albert Barnes (in his recent work, 'The Church and Slavery') so energetically and repeatedly presents to the Church, as an inducement for her so let up her voice against slavery—namely, the fear of being left in the rear by the certainly advancing movement of 'the world' upon this subject-which would be excessively disagreeable to bodies which claim not only to be in advance of 'the world,' but to be the very 'sait' which preserves it from corruption, the very light' which guides it towards safety. Dr. Cheever says-

Now, whether the morality of slavery be a uscless question or not, all the world—outside the Young Men's Christian Associations—will grapple with it; and such associations cannot preserve the respect of the memunity, if their one ruling impulse is the dread of agitation, and the fear of political reproach.'

Now, however just may be the statements abo esoted, (and we heartily subscribe to the truth of erery word of them,) it strikes us that the youn men in question have some cause both for surprise ar complaint at Dr. Cheever's coming down upon them in this severe fashion. To make our meaning clear, or must advert to the object and mode of operation of the Young Men's Christian Associations.

Their object is the recruiting of Orthodox churche by members gained from what they call the world. which of course includes the churches not Orthodox: and the web of preliminary measures, tending to this end, is elaborate, far-reaching, woven with churchly still, and attended with a large measure of success

The rule of these Associations which gives then this practical sectarian efficiency is, that no one but member in regular standing of some 'Evangelical church (so-called) can be an active member, with the right to vote and to hold office. Those who are no church-members can have the privilege of the read ing-room and the lectures, if they will consent thu to be ranked in an inferior caste, just as the colored people can hear the preaching and praying in Rowe street and Park street churches, if they will sit a inferiors in the 'negro pew.' The sects which call themselves 'Evangelical' are united in this Associa tion by the ingenious contrivance of an equal repre sentation in the government, two members of each 'Evangelical' church being placed on the 'Standing Committee. Their mode of operation is-

1. To provide a central and well-warmed a lighted reading-room and library, the books and pe riodicals of which have first passed the ordeal of church censorship.

2. To provide an annual course of public lecture controlled and directed by the same influence.

3. To cause a statement of the objects and practi cal working of the Association, with a list of its offieers and the locality of its rooms, to be forwarded to the pastor of each ' Evangelical' church in New England; and to post printed circulars containing simila statements in the porch of each 'Evangelical' church

4. To seek out young men taking up their resi dence in Boston, and endeavor so to direct their asso ciates, boarding-houses, and places of employment amusement and worship, as to bring them as speedily and thoroughly as possible, under one department of mother of the sectarian influence combined in the

They declare the object of their Association to l religious, the salvation of souls'; all their meetings, for business, for improvement and social intercourse are opened and closed with prayer; the clergy ofter attend their rooms, and take part in their exercises they hold a prayer-meeting on every Monday night throughout the year; and the name of Rev. Nehemish Adams stands prominent on their list of life-mem

Now, since these Associations were got up by th 'Evangelical' churches, for the enlargement and multiplication of those churches, and the (assumed) bene it of the young men who can be induced to join them, or to enter any of their preparatory departments-and since the action of the Associations is kept identical with the action of the churches by the into vote-and since Dr. Cheever (being a prominent and active manager of the operations of those churchs in New York) knows very well that those young men have acted in this matter exactly in accordance with the church whose children and propagandists they are-they may not unreasonably feel both surtrised and hurt at his turning against them. And especially will they feel surprised and hurt when they read in his book, just published, (God against Slavery,') the following accurate description of the proslavery character of that church and pulpit and prayer-meeting piety, which is the avowed pattern and model for their imitation :

'Just so now, men pray for revivals of religion, bu if any brother from the country, too simple-hearted to understand the atmosphere and the currents of the prayer-meeting, happens to pray for the deliverance of the oppressed and the slave, a feeling runs through the room as something strange, ill-judged, unmaniered, as if fanaticism has appeared bodily in the assemble. If

hered, as if fanaticism has appeared bodily in the assembly. If slavery be in any way referred to, they remark upon the injudiciousness of such preaching, they certain it is to put a stop to revivals of religion, and drive away the pious, praying hearts that long for the outpouring of God's spirit. p. 85.

Our young men look in vain to our pulpits for that sympathy with the oppressed and affinity with the native impulses of the human heart for freedom, which true religion always possesses, and which the true gospel cultivates. They are repelled by the cold, the true religion always possesses, and which the freedom is banished from the sanctuary. p. 86.

This witness is true! Both pulpit and prayer meeting-especially in cities, but also generally throughout the country-are confirmed by long habit in the practice of keeping silence upon the subject of slavery themselves. (thus acquiescing in its indefinite tontinuance,) and objecting to any censure of it by strangers who join in their exercises, or by any of the small minority in their own body whose attention has ben drawn, by external influences, to this most impertant subject, as a disturbing force, a contrarious element, something quite foreign to their piety, their re-Igion, their gospel, though, as Mr. Cheever justly returks, true religion always possesses it, and the true gospel CULTIVATES it.

Now, although Dr. Cheever has lashed these young men so terribly in the Independent, (there are columns of his articles, in various numbers of that paper, as serere as the brief extract we have made in the middle of this article, and their censure, be it remembered applies only to the roting members of the Association the are also church members,) they undoubtedly stand (in this relation to slavery which we have been conidering) in exactly the position most agreeable to the thurches of which they are constituent parts, and whose runners or drummers they are. If fidelity to the precept and example of their employers be a virtue, they have a right to expect from their churches the greeting- Well done, good and faithful servants Now, Dr. Cheever, being more sagacious than the majority of ministers in reading the signs of the times, has begun to turn against slavery a little in advance of them. But if he were as just as he is sagacious, he would give those unlucky 'Young Men' the further aid of his superior discernment and his authoritatire position, by pointing out to them that the church itself, under whose banner they have enlisted, is no tale guide; that it is, precisely, coming under her in-thence so much, and imbibing her spirit so far, that his led them into this wicked pro-slavery position; that, instead of being made by their church-memberthin safer and better guides for the young ' worldlings'

of their acquaintance, that very church-membership miles from Lyndon. We found no friend Powell to is a disqualifying element for beneficial leadership, introducing worse temptations and vices than it counteracts and excludes; and that, of the two, their sitting at the feet of the young worldlings, and learning of them, would probably produce less evil result, and would bring parties into a state of better preparation, than their present one to receive the religion of Jesu the manifestation of love in the heart towards God, by daily, practical love in the life towards the neigh bor -c. x. w.

WESTERN CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE LECTURING FIELD

Lyons, Iowa, March 2, 1857.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON: You have often heard of the pioneers of the West. They were a hardy and enterprising class of men, with their glaring capitals, 'NO UNION WITH advance of others, and who have created conditions of the people are burning with desire to see two live comfort and refined enjoyment for others, at the ex- specimens, male and female, of the Garrisonians pense of much deprivation and suffering to themselves. But they have been well repaid for their sacrifices. lawyers and doctors, Democrats and Republicans
They now possess rich farms, and are surrounded with black, white, and mixed,—a large meeting and the necessaries of life in profuse abundance; and those goodly. We spoke to them of the faith that was in who have chosen to do so have added to these, luxury and refinement. Well, in the Anti-Slavery cause ing the gospel of 'No Union with Slaveholders,' where our favor. When we had finished, a Democrati its Christ has not been before named. Whether I lawyer arose, and expended the usual amount of gas shall succeed in this as well as the pioneers of upon the terms, 'Our glorious Union,' stripes and whom I have spoken, remains to be seen.

The people here have heard of the infidel, treason oving, Constitution-burning, Garrisonian Abolitionists, but till now, they have not heard them expound their own doctrines. I came into Illinois last October, but was unable to do any thing for the Anti-Slavery cause. Politics ruled the hour. There was engaged for a rehearsal the next evening, preparatory no place nor time not occupied by some political gathering. I left the State in utter despair of doing any lowing the rehearsal. We were, however, followed thing for the slave till this great seething, bubbling political cauldron of hell-broth should be taken off. and its contents served out to those who had sold the next evening. This we were willing to do, if any their manhood to obtain the unsavory mess. The election over, I concluded once more to make an attempt on Illinois, some six weeks since, in company with Mrs. LUCY N. COLMAN, of Rochester, N. Y. ho is an earnest and faithful laborer in the Anti-Slavery field. Of our first meetings in Livingston county, Mrs

THE LIBERATOR. We came from Livingston to Whiteside county. Our first meetings were in Sterling, a new and very thriving village, and the county seat, containing some twelve hundred inhabitants Mrs. Colman had some anti-slavery friends here, among whom was a gentleman of wealth and intelligence, and, what is better than all, a heart in love There must have been near five hundred people in at with humanity. Our friend Jacob Powell is a bachelor, and his house is kept by a Mr. and Mrs. Hown, came evident that there were some dozen or more per who are very excellent people, and whose hearts are friends received us in the most hospitable manner. Illinois, or he would never have thanked God for good people of Unionville succeeded in restoring or three of them; one at a time is certainly all that is der, and we proceeded. One of the Democrats pro endurable, to say nothing of any devout aspirations posed that we should divide the time with them. This connected with them.

a fortnight; and sure I am, that the success which ing phrases as the evening before. We answered his attended our meetings in Sterling and vicinity is harangue as we deemed it deserved. The feeling of greatly owing to his generous and efficient aid. Our the meeting was strongly in our favor. Friend Boyer meetings in Sterling were large, filling the court-house gave us a standing invitation to make his house our night after night with earnest and attentive hearers. home whenever our cause should lead us again to And many a hearty 'God bless you!' we received visit the town. from anti-slavery men, who have become quite sick of the weak and wavering course of the Republican leaders in Congress.

We had the pleasure of meeting here our much es seemed friend and fellow-laborer in the world's progress, Giles B. Stenbins. He gave us his hearty coperation; and did good service in the cause by some excellent talk in our meetings. He is lecturing to preach one part of the day, and the Universalists

Our collections in Sterling were quite generous, amounting to more than twenty dollars. Friend Powell is very auxious that the American Anti-Slavery Society should send some of its agents into this field another season. Who ever may come, may rely upon him as a valuable assistant. We are under engagement to hold one more Anti-Slavery meeting in Sterling, and Mrs. Colman, at the earnest request of many friends, will speak one evening on Woman's Rights and Woman's Wrongs.

Although we were confined by the terrible flood that swept off bridges and submerged roads, for a fortnight, to Sterling and vicinity, vet our time was, I believe, mostly well and profitably spent.

At length, the waters having fallen, our friend Powell undertook the perilous task of getting us, not 'tother side of Jordan,' but on the other side of the Elkhorn. He succeeded in passing through the flood which made across the road beyond the bridge, by driving on a narrow path, with the water three feet deep, and on either side ten feet in depth. It was a pretty nice operation, as the water was so thick with ture for extending the right of suffrage to women. The mud that the eye could afford no aid; a variation of Hall was well filled, a good proportion of the audience three feet from the track would have given us a sub being ladies. A large number of the members of the mersion which the veriest Baptist in all the world Legislature was also present, and the closest attention would say was enough. We, however, went over was paid to the remarks of the several speakers. this Jordan dry shod.' Well, we are now upon good soft mud, where there is more of vexation than of danger. But our perils were not yet over. We had FREEMAN CLARKE of Boston. He said the question sloughs to pass, or go round, which one might as well as to whether further legislative measures were no be drowned and done with it as to attempt to pass. required to bring the laws of the land into harmony We, however, did pass them, and arrived in Lyndon with the advance of popular opinion, was one of grea about noon, all safe.

description of buildings, a meeting-house, store, tav- They did not propose a hasty measure. A grea ern, blacksmith's shop, &c. The meeting-house was change was contemplated, and it should come slowly In full demand when we arrived there. A series of but there was no need of delay in the consideration of religious meetings was going on, occupying every the matter. They did not propose to use the language evening in the week, except Saturday and Monday. of complaint, but would endeavor to show that ther The minister consented that we should have the meet- was no good reason why women should not enjoy ing-house for these evenings. The slave must take equal political privileges with men. The principle of what is left, so we put out our handbills, headed 'No equality, which lies at the base of our Constitution Union with Slaveholders,' and although it was past seems to require this. The argument of propert one o'clock when we got our bills out, yet we had a taxation was here addiced. large collection of people. We spoke the word to Women, he said, though amenable to the laws, ca them with great boldness, and were heard with that have no hand in making them. The reform conter deep silence which always accompanies close atten- plated is one demanded by the advanced public sent tion. On Monday night, it was intensely dark, with ment. The speaker reviewed several acts of enlight flurries of rain, and the streets almost impassable by ened legislation with reference to women, and asked reason of the mud-O, what mud!-and yet the peo- the Committee not to stop here, but to carry out ple came, and our meeting was much larger than on consistently principles which were not new, but had the preceding Saturday evening, and the interest been previously recognized by legislators.

seemed much increased. Had not the meetings of The feminine element was needed in legislation ned much increased. Had not the meetings of which I have spoken occupied the time, we should well as in other matters of life. Legislation affects all have felt it our duty to have given more time to this the relations of life, and why should this element b interesting field. Many friends begged us to visit excluded? Would it not make legislation merciful Lyndon, if we came again into the State. We did not Was not female legislation required to protect wo get much money, for in addition to other causes, the men? Reference was made to several outrages against agent of the American Bible Society had just been along, and taken, in collections and subscriptions, fifty dollars, to aid that Society, which is in the most intimate relations with slavery. Most of these people and gave license to acts of oppression. An ignorant, who paid this money believe themselves anti-slavery. They have money for the enemies of the slave, but Ripley, and a Mrs. Peabody could not. little have they for him who is smiting to break the The speaker next considered some of the bonds of the slave.

take us to this village free of charge, and there was no public conveyance; so we had to pay a man two dollars and fifty cents to take us on. Here we were strangers, and had to go to a poor, dingy, comfortles hotel, whose landlerd had the marvellous impudence to charge one dollar and a quarter a day for the priv ilege of staying where to stay was hardly endurable We saw upon the sign of this hotel the omino words, ' Preserve the Union!' and we felt, that this did not augur well,-and so it turned out.

We immediately put ourselves in motion to a meeting for the evening, We were successful in getting the Wesleyan church, and at two o'clock had our bills out. We did not expect much of a meeting but through the dark and the mud they came, and gave us a large audience. The fact is, those bills who came amid these vast and desolate prairies in SLAVEHOLDERS, awaken much attention, and all Our audience was made up of ministers and laymen us, and presented the evidences of its truth. We were heard with the liveliest interest, but it was evident beam now emphatically pioneering,—like Paul, preach- fore we closed that the interest was not entirely in stars,' 'treasonable designs,' 'fanatics,' 'incendiaries, &c. &c. He spoke forty-five minutes, and we rejoine in a much briefer space of time. He replied, and we spoke a few words of benediction, and the meeting closed, and, as we supposed, our work in Unionville We had been informed that the Wesleyan church was to a concert which was to come off the evening fol to the hotel by a young man, whose heart was all aglow with anti-slavery life. He desired us to speak place could be obtained. Our young friend, Jame Garlick, said he would see if some arrangement could not be made, and report in the morning. He succeed ed in getting the Congregational house for the rehearsal, so that we could have the Weslevan church, a on the preceding, evening. We immediately put out our bills for the evening. Henry Boyer came in, and Colman has spoken in her recent communication to kindly took us to his own cheerful home. O! what s sense of delight thrills one's whole being, when lifted from one of these holes, and placed in the midst of

beauty, comfort and friends! Although the night was dark, and the roads alm impassable, so deep was the rich, adhesive mud, ve the meeting-house was filled to its utmost capacity tendance. Soon after we commenced speaking, it be sons in the house who had come for the purpose o warm and earnest in the Anti-Slavery cause. The disturbing and breaking up the meeting. These mer were not inhabitants of Unionville. In this town We immediately felt ourselves at home, and, like the not a drop of intoxicating liquor is sold. But thes spostle Paul when he came to the place called the low men were brought from a neighboring town to Three Taverns, we thanked God and took courage. disturb and break up the meeting. Poor creatures I am quite sure, by the way, that Paul's taverns must they were intoxicated with the vilest whiskey, and have been better houses, and cheaper, than those in maddened with the spirit of their party. But the we refused, but told them we would be generous, and Friend Powell gave us his home, his team, and we were so. The lawyer again took the floor, and prohimself, for the service of the Anti-Slavery cause, for ceeded to deliver himself of nearly the same sound

From Unionville, we came, after much delay,-fo the railroads are in a horrid condition, in consequ of the flood,-to Fulton, where we found it impossi ble to get up a meeting, in consequence of a protract ed meeting which was in progress. We crossed the Mississippi to Lyons, where, after much trouble, we obtained the large school-room where the Baptists literary societies in the West. We heard him deliver the evening. The Baptist minister informed me he his lecture on 'The New and the Old.' This ranks should on Sunday preach on Baptism, and refused to among first-class lectures. I have heard some that appoint our meeting. The Universalist clergyman poorer. I hope our lyceums in the East as well as the large and spirited meeting. The Baptist minister de-West will avail themselves of his valuable services. nied some of Mrs. Colman's charges, so far as his denomination was concerned. I. of course, knew all about it, and was able to present him to the people in any thing but a favorable light. This room was en gaged for a lyceum lecture on Monday evening, or we should have held one other meeting. As it was, we were obliged to leave.

This whole West is ripe for the reaper's sickle. As ever, A. T. FOSS.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN. HEARING BEFORE A CONVENTION OF THE JUDICI

Speeches by Rev. James F. Clarke, Wendell Phil

lips, and Mrs. Lucy Stone.

A hearing was had Friday afternoon, in the Hal of the House of Representatives, before a Convention of the Senate and House Committees on the Judicia ry, relative to the Political and Civil Rights of Wo men, and in behalf of the petitioners to the Legisla

REMARKS OF REV. JAMES PREEMAN CLARKE.

The Committee was then addressed by Rev. JAMES and increasing importance. Shall the right of suf-This is a country town, with the usual number and frage be extended to the women of Massachusetts

bonds of the slave.

Next we came to Unionville, a little village of some five hundred inhabitants, and lying about eight disagreement in political views. He knew many in-

bands in questions of politics, but who yet lived har-moniously. It is said they do not wish to vote, and do not understand politics; but the speaker was of the opinion that the women of New England were intelligent enough to vote. New England supplies the whole

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country with school mistresses.

It is said that it would injure the feminine character No doubt some injury would come of such a measure as every great reform necessarily involves some evil; but we are not the guardians of the feminine character, and our daily experience shows that they can boldly appear in public places without danger of

Finally, it is urged that the idea is new, strange and singular; and this objection is only to be overco by discussion and investigation. The Pacific Railroad and the Transatlantic Telegraph were regarded as mad schemes upon their first inception, but now they are considered entirely practicable

So with this question. The time will come when it will be a matter of wonder that one half of the world have so long been denied the right of suffrage.

REMARKS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The Committee was next addressed by WENDELI PHILLIPS, in his usually terse and eloquent manner He asked the Committee to distinctly separate the object of the petitioners from what is usually called Woman's Rights. He then proceeded to explain how. We borrow our social idea of woman from the Eastern and Greek ideal of civilization. We have trodden under foot the Eastern idea of secluding them, but the moment we undertake to go farther, conservatism flies in our faces. Our statutes grow out of the feudal law that woman, being physically ncapable of going to war, must be excluded from the

Self-government was the first principle of represen-tative government. If the poor class can take better care of themselves than the rich can take of them, then can woman take better care of herself than mar can take of her. It was cruel to set twelve men to try woman. England recognizes the idea by the practice in India. When a person is tried there, six Hindoos and six Englishmen are put on the jury.

There are, said the speaker, between nine and

twelve millions of property held by women in Boston. If you would strike woman out of the tax list, then you would be consistent in striking her out of the ballot list; if you do one and not the other, then you belie the principle upon which the Constitution based. Throw away these dregs of the feudal system. We have outgrown it. Why let it linger in the case of woman? If we allow her to go in the street, and allow her to do so much in the various occupations of life, then let us go further, and, in obe nce to the demands of the times, inaugurate a principle and lay down a system. Don't let legislation halt after the question of property, but allow her to assert her rights in those vital questions of law and politics by which property is guarded. The one half million of women in Massachusetts have as much to do in influencing the legislation of the State as the men, and he is a fool, and had better be sent back to the common schools, who does not know this. It is true, she does not influence the laws so directly, and with so much profit as she would if the laws wer right. With respect to the matter of property legislation, the speaker said nine-tenths of the humanity on your statute books came from selfish wealth, and partly to protect the property of rich daughters. The meanness of money has written more laws on that statute book than anything else.

The right of suffrage was not based on intellect The meanest man can throw one vote. Daniel Webster could do no more. Woman has intellect enough to be punished, and has enough to consent to the laws. If she injures her feminine delicacy to be at the ballot-box, it injures it just as much to go to the House of Correction. What if she does differ from man Agassiz is not Webster; he could not understand constitutional argument; a woman may be more of a poet than a lawyer, but poets are not disqualified from

It is said if this principle is adopted, husband a wife will quarrel. Three hundred years ago there was a religious qualification, and the world stood aghast at the idea that woman should choose her own faith. Her husband must choose it for her. But no harm could come of different views in questions of polity: he hoped there would be a difference, for the independence of private judgment.

The speaker said he did not claim that woman was better than man, but the complement of man. When she is introduced into this hall, it will be forty per cent. better than it is to-day. (Laughter.) Mr. Phillips closed with a few eloquent words

appeal for justice to woman.

REMARKS OF MRS. LUCY STONE.

The next speaker was Mrs. LUCY STONE. In commencing, she expressed a feeling of diffidence in fol-lowing the eloquent speakers who had preceded her. But who but women should speak for women? She came before the Committee to-day to ask that the principles enunciated by our forefathers, that all men are created free and equal, be carried into practical execu tion. 'No government is just but that which derives its powers from the consent of the governed.' Yet in the face of this great and radiant truth, two thousand women of Massachusetts had been denied a right which they claimed, because, forsooth, no more had asked for it. Every State from Maine to Minnesota had covered its statute books with injustice to women. Allusion was made to the case of Harriot K. Hunt, who every year paid her tax under protest. Allusion was also made to the general laws relating to women, their subjecting and degrading tendencies if husbands should be brutal enough to exercise

Massachusetts, said the speaker, next after Louisia na, stands in advance of every State with respect to its property laws. Might she be the first to do complete justice, and add thereto the right of suffrage, to protect the rights conferred by the former!

She saw no force in the argument, that if were allowed to take part in politics, family dissen-sions would thereby be created. Every aspirant for office finds it to his advantage to cultivate the most amiable relations between himself and all voters; and if his wife were a voter, he would certainly endeavor to keep her good-natured. (Great laughter.)

It is said that many women do not want to vote! If this be so, it is only a new argument why they should have the right. It shows that long-continued subjection has deadened the spirit within them, and should nerve every generous heart to help them up.

The speaker was inclined to think that man's treatment of woman was from a spirit something more akin to reverence than wrong. They thought it indelicate and improper for women to mingle with men in public assemblages; but they should remember that if men are too bad for us to go with, they are too bad to make laws for us. (Applause.) In Canada, women attend business meetings, and vote vivs voce with reference to school matters. They are treated with entire respect, and their influence is seen in the improved manners of the people at those meet-

Eloquent allusion was made to the story of Mrs Patten, the heroine of the sea.

The speaker then spoke of the nu in various parts of the country in favor of extending the right of suffrage to women. The report of the Committee in the Ohio Legislature was entirely satisfactory to the most ardent friend of the principle. The minority report in the Wisconsin Legislature was of the most earnest and sanguine character. The bill to secure this right went to the third reading in the Nebraska Legislature, and would have passed, but the

time of adjournment arrived too soon to have the

As in the day of our national doubt and darkn there is wanted in this great reform men willing to come bravely forward and pledge their lives, their for tunes and their sacred honor; and as men come and pile up a monument of stone on Bunker Hill, to com memorate the deeds of our forefathers, so shall a mon ament hereafter be erected to commemorate the brave defenders of this great principle—a monument, not of stone, but of men and women of an ennobled race ittle lower than the angels.

We simply ask, said the speaker, in conclusi rotection, not generosity, but simple justice.
[We are indebted to the Boston Journal for the

foregoing sketch of the admirable speeches made on this interesting and important occasion, and which were listened to with the deepest attention and the warmest approval by a large and enlightened audince. We trust the Legislature will do all that it car o secure political justice to the petitioners.)-Ed. Lib.

All petitions for the removal of Judge Loring hould be now sent to the Legislature without delay.

THE DECISION IN THE DRED SCOTT CASE WASHINGTON, March 6, 1857.

The opinion of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case was delivered by Chief Justice Taney. It is a full and elaborate statement of the views of the Court. They have decided the following all important points: They have decided the following all important points:

1. That negroes, whether slaves or free, that is, men of the African race, are not citizens of the United States by the Constitution.

2. The ordinance of 1787 had no independent constitutional force or legal effect subsequently to the adoption of the Constitution, and could not operate of itself to confer freedom or citizenship within the Northwest Territory on negroes, not citizens by the Constitution.

west Territory on negroes, not citizens by the Constitution.

3. The provisions of the Act of 1820, commonly
called the Missouri Compromise in so far as it undertook to exclude negro slavery from, and communicate
freedom and citizenship to negroes within the northern part of the Louisians session was a legislative act
exceeding the powers of Congress; and void and of
no legal effect to that end.

In deciding these main points, the Supreme Court
determined the following incidental points:—

1. The expression, 'Territory and other property of
the Union,' in the Constitution, applies in terms only
to such territory of the Union possessed at the time of
the adoption of the Constitution.

2. The rights of citizens of the United States, emigrating into any Federal Territory, and the power of
the Federal Government therein, depend on the general provisions of the Constitution, which defines in
this as in all other respects the powers of Congress.

3. As Congress does not possess power itself to make
enactments relative to the persons or property of citizens of the United States in a Federal Territory, other
than such as the Constitution confers, so it cannot constitutionally delegate any such powers to a Territorial

zens of the United States in a Federal Territory, other
than such as the Constitution confers, so it cannot constitutionally delegate any such powers to a Territorial
government, organized by it under the Constitution.

4. The legal condition of a slave in the State of Missouri, is not affected by the temporary sojourn of such
slave in any other State, but on his return his condition still depends on the laws of Missouri. As the
plaintiff was not a citizen of Missouri, he therefore
could not sue in the courts of the United States. The
suit must be dismissed for want of suredistion.

mit must be dismissed for want of jurisdiction The delivery of this opinion occupied about three hours, and was listened to with profound attention by a crowded court room. Among the auditors were gentlemen of eminent legal ability, and a due proportion

Judge Taney stated the merits of the case. The question was whether or not the removal of Scott from Missouri with his master to Illinois, with a view of a Missouri with his master to Illinois, with a view of a temporary residence there, worked his emancipation. He maintained that the question depended wholly on the law of Missouri, and for that reason the judgment of the Court below should be affirmed.

Judge Capron believed the Supreme Court has jurisdiction to decide the merits of the case. He argued that Congress could not do directly what it could not do indirectly. If it could exclude one species of property, it could exclude another. With regard to the Territories ceded. Congress could covern them only.

Territories ceded, Congress could govern them only with the restrictions of the State which ceded them and the Missouri Act of 1820 violated the leading features of the Constitution, and was therefore voic He concurred with his brother Judges that Scott is lave, and was so when this suit was brought.

Several other Judges are to deliver their opinion

On Saturday Judge McLean delivered his views i the Dred Scott case, after arguing that slavery is limited to the range of the State where it is established by ted to the range of the State where it is established by municipal law. If Congress deems slaves or free col-ored persons injurious to a Territory they have the power to prohibit them from becoming settlers. The power to acquire Territory carries the power to govern it. The master does not carry with him to the Terri-tory the law of the State from which he removes. Hence the Missouri Compromise was constitutional, and the presumption is in favor of freedom. Dead

ion is in favor of free Scott and his family were free under the decisi

Scott and his family were free under the decisions of the last 28 years.

Judge Curtis dissented from the opinion of the majority of the Court as delivered by Chief Justice Taney, and gave his reasons for the dissent. Judge Curtis maintained that native born colored persons can be citizens of the State and of the United States. That Dred Scott and his family were free when they returned to Missouri. That the power of Congress to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territory was not as the majority of the Court expressed, limited to Territory belonging to the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, but has been applied to five subsequent acquisitions of land. That Congress has power to exclude alavery from the Territories, having established eight Territorial governments without, and recognized slavery in six, from the time of Washington to J. Q. Adams. These opinions occupied five hours in delivery.

ions occupied five hours in delivery.

Judges Wayne, Grier, Campbell and Daniel had papers expressing their views on certain opinions of the Court, but did not read them.

Adjourned till the time fixed by law.

IF Judge Curtis's opinion in the Dred Scott case is regarded as exceedingly able. It is better even than the excellent opinion of Judge McLean. All the great lawyers here are enthusiastic in their culogiums of its merits. It cannot be too highly praised. giums of its merits. It cannot be too highly praised. It is an impregnable breastwork of solid granite against the political heresies which have taken possession of the federal judiciary.—Washington corr. Boston Daily

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. IN the House of Representatives this morning Mr. Adams of Lowell offered an order instructing the Committee on Federal Relations to consider the expediency of instructing our Senators and requesting our Representatives in Congress to propose an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, electing Judges of the Supreme and Inferior Courts by the people for a term of years. of years.
Mr. Couch, of North Bridgewater, offered an orde

Mr. Couch, of North Bridgewater, offered an order for the appointment of a special committee to consider and report what measures should be taken in view of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case. Messrs. Couch, Hudson, of Lexington, Lee, of Charlestown, Hale, of Boston, and Ranney, of Boston, were appointed on the part of the House.

Both these orders are very proper. Mr. Adams proposes a practical measure, which will probably have sooner or later to be undertaken, unless the country is prepared to submit without resistance to the infamous decision of the Court. A systematic agitation, to get rid of the Supreme Court, as at present constituted, must now be undertaken, in conjunction with the other aggressive measures against slavery. — Boston Telegraph of Tuesday.

ALBANT, March 9. In the Assembly to-day, Mr. Foot offered a resolution, appointing a committee of three from the Senate, and five from the Assembly, to examine and consider the decision in the Dred Scott case, and report thereon.

[Correspondence of the New York Tribunc.]

[Correspondence of the New York Tribune,]

Washington, March 6. The decision of the Supreme Court made to-day, that colored persons are not citizens for the United States, and that Congress has no power to impose any restriction upon the spread of slavery, has been heard and commented on here with mingled derision and contempt.

If epithets and denunciation could sink a judicial body, the Supreme Court of the United States would never be heard of again.

Chief Justice Taney's opinion was long, elaborate, able and Jesuitical. His arguments were based on gross historical falsehood and bold assumptions, and went the whole length of the extreme Southern doctrine. He held that the Constitution was made only for white men, and that it carried alsavery into the Territories. The decision, as it stands, is ample to head off all legislation by Congress on the slavery question, and effectually bridle the free States.

A distinct decision will be made the moment a case involving the question can be raised, and then the nationalization of slavery will be complete.

NEW HAND-BOOK FOR HOME IMPROVE-MENT-BY MAIL.

How to WRITE; A NEW POCKET MANUAL OF Composition and Letter-Writing. A popular Hand-Book, embracing hints on Penmanship, choice of Writing Materials, Practical Rules for Literary Composition in general, and Epistolary and Newspaper writing, PUNCTUATION and PROOF COR-RECTING in particular; with Letters of Business, Relationship, Friendship, and Love; illustrated by numerous examples of genuine epistles, from the pens of the best writers; including Forms for Letters of Introduction, Notes, Cards, etc., and a collection of Poetical Quotations. Price, in paper, prepaid by mail, 80 cents; muslin, 80 cents.

The following, in press, will be issued as soon as

HOW TO TALK; or, Hints toward a Grammatical and Graceful Style in Composition and Debate.

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HOW TO DO BUSINESS; A Guide to Success in Practical Life, and Hand-Book of Legal and Com-mercial Forms. Same. One dollar will pay for the four works, in paper,

and \$1 75 in mustin. They will be sent to sub bers, postage prepaid, as fast as issued, by FOWLER, WELLS AND CO.,

142 Washington, St., Boston

DIED—At Somerville, March 1st, of inflammation of the brain, Robert Roberts, son of Benjamin F. and Adaline Roberts, aged 12 years.

FALL RIVER.—An Anti-Slavery meeting will be held at Fall River on Sunday next, afternoon and evening, which will be attended by PARKER PILLSBURY and HENRY C. WRIGHT. ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN MIL.

TON, N. Y.—An Anti-Slavery Convention, under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at MILTON, (Ulster Co.) N. Y., on SAT-URDAY afternoon, and Sunday, March 21 and 22. OLIVER JOHNSON, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, and AARON M. POWELL will be in attendance.

MEETINGS IN DUTCHESS CO., N. Y .-AARON M. POWELL and SUSAN B. ANTHONY; Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings as follows: Pleasant Valley, Saturday evening, March 14

Sunday, Sunday, Tuesday evening, Wednesday " Thursday " Clinton Corners, Clinton Hollow, CHARLES SPEAR will deliver his third Lec-

ture next Sunday evening, at 7 o'clock, in the Lyce-um Hall, Mercantile Bulding. 16 Summer street. Subject: The English and American Prisons.

WILLIAM C. NELL will deliver an antislavery lecture at Peltonville, on Wednesday evening, March 25.

HOPEDALE HOME SCHOOL

For Children & Youth of both Sexes.

THIS School is located in the pleasant and quiet village of Hopedale, Milford, Mass., within two hours' ride of Boston, Worcester and Providence,—a place admirably fitted for an Educational Institution which is designed to combine with intellectual training proper attention to the physical health and comfort, and a watchful regard to the moral and social culture of those who may share its privileges and opportunities. Its success, since it has been under the superintence of its present Principals, together with their former experience, and general qualification for the position they occupy, increases the hope and the belief that they may prove themselves worthy of the confidence and patronage, not only of their friends, but of the friends of a true and comprehensive education, and of the public at large.

but of the friends of a true and comprehensive educa-tion, and of the public at large.

The design of this School is to educate in the high-est and best sense of the term; to exalt substance above show, attainment above accomplishment, next above appearance, being above seeming; to make neith-er parrots, puppets, nor pedants, but thinkers; to aid in the formation of a symmetrical, harmonious, sub-stantial character; to fit its pupils for any truly hon-orable calling, and for solid usefulness in life. Hence, the superficialities, mockeries and shows the school orable calling, and for solid usefulness in life. Hence, the superficialities, mockeries, and shams, that so often characterize popular and fashionable boarding schools, will be studiously avoided, and thoroughness rather than extent—quality with the studiously avoided.

will be studiously avoided, and thoroughness rather than extent—quality rather than quantity—will be carefully regarded.

Parents and Guardians desirous of finding a pleasant and comfortable HOME for their children or wards while prosecuting their studies, where they will be well cared for, and kindly treated—where they will be removed from the evils and temptations of common society, and from the corrupting power of prevailing wickedness—where they will be nurtured in virtue, humanity and pure religion, will find here an unusually favorable opportunity of realizing their wishes.

As this Institution is thoroughly Reformatory and Progressive in its purpose and spirit, it must necessarily rely to a very great extent upon the friends of Reform and Progress for its prosperity and support. To all such, its claims and merits are respectfully and confidently submitted.

confidently submitted.

To those desiring it, the names of persons who have had children or wards at the School, and of others competent to judge in the matter, will be given, on application, for purposes of reference and particular information.

The next,-Summer Term,-of this Institution will commence on Wednesday, April 15, 1857, and continue twelve and a half weeks.

For further information and particulars, see large Circular—to be obtained by addressing either of the Principals., Hopedale, Milford, Mass.

WILLIAM S. HAYWOOD, Principals. ABBIE HAYWOOD, 3 wis3wos

DR. ALCOTT'S NEW BOOK

The Laws of Health. OR THE PERSON OF

Sequel to 'The House I Live In.'

THIS is unquestionably one of the most complete and valuable Physiological works ever written. It is designed by the venerable author not only as a book for the family, but for the school-room, and is well worth ten times its cost to any family in the land. The Author and publisher are daily receiving the strongest testimonials in favor of this admirable book.

President Howkins of William Colleges and the strongest testimonials in favor of this admirable book. President Hopkins, of Williams College, writes the

WILLIAMS COLLEGE, Dec. 22, 1856. Dr. Alcorr—Dran Sin—You have been a public benefactor, a pioneer in a great work, and I have no doubt have prevented untold suffering. A wide circulation of the 'Laws of Health' cannot fail of being

Sincerely yours, MARK HOPKINS. John D. Philbrick, Esq., Superintendent of the Public Schools, Boston, speaks as follows:

Dr. ALCOTT-My Dran Sin-I have read your 'Laws of Health' with great satisfaction, and I say to my friends, 'Go and do likewise.' I have just put a copy into the hands of a college student, and wish a copy of it might be put into the hands of every student in every college, seminary and school in the land.

Most respectfully yours,

JOHN D. PHILBRICK.

The work is comprised in one handsome 12mo volume. Price \$1.

JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY,

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DENTIST.

D. MANN, M. D., Surgeon Dentist, formerly MANN & MELEOVENE, Summer Street, resides at 13 Avery Street, and attends to those who wish for

his services.

15 For the convenience of invalids and others, who may not conveniently visit a Dentist's Office, Dr. Mann will attend at the residence of those who de-

WHO ARE FREEP

Freedom is no gift of man; Freedom is our birthright ;-all Freedom is Heaven's glorious plan. None can call his brother 'Slave!' And himself continue free :

None be honest, and a knave. Fettered art thou, Tyranny, By whatever name disguised. Never was a tyrant free.

Terrible the tyranny Beauteous Italy deforms. Are her trembling tyrants free

Reigns in grand, historic Rome. Are its priests than dupes more free? Serfdom's cruel tyranny

Keeps degraded Russia low Is her haughty despot free? And that Southern tyranny, Making human beings things Are the blood-stained masters free?

Silencing all noble speech-Slaves are that mobocracy. Fettered art thou, Tyranny, Boast of freedom as thou wilt.

And their mobs' wild tyranny,

Tyrants never can be free. Tenterden, (Kent,) England. JANE ASHBY. For the Liberator

OUR WILLIE. Our Willie is a little boy, Not yet quite four years old, And yet his doating parents think His worth cannot be told. They contemplate his little form

As none but parents can, And hope their only prattling boy May grow an honest man. He wears his little, little pants,

And velvet jacket red.

And glossy ringlets darkly curl Their wealth about his head. His sparkling eyes like diamonds shine, And show a heart of glee,-A spirit full of joy within,

Exultant, light and free. Love dances joyous in his face, And lights it with a smile. And all its features indicate

A heart all free from guile. Forever may that face, dear boy, Be radiant all with love, Through all thy pilgrimage on earth, And in the spheres above. Springfield, Mass.

OH! TEACH THY SOUL ITS POWER. The diamond on thy brow may flash, thy glittering gold may lure; But, maiden, in thy hour of pride, know that thy sou

is poor; For by that heartless glance I know, and by tha haughty mien, There is a wondrous world of light and joy thou he

not seen. Fed only by that flattering crowd, thy soul is poor and blind. And cannot see the glorious life God made for the

to find. Look up-the stars will give thee light, and every little flower Will tell thee what a world is thine-oh, teach thy

soul its power : And nearer, nearer to thy God a grand new life will

A life so rich and beautiful, in morning light will break : And the splendor of thy jewelled brow will gladden

When from thy soul-lit eyes shall flash a grander living light.

> LOVE IN ALL SEASONS. BY CHARLES MACKAY.

I'll love my Love in the days of Spring, And for her sake, each living thing. We gather garlands by the way, We pluck the blooms of the merry May, We roam the woods, we trace the streams, Our waking thoughts are bright as dreams No bee on the blossom, no lark in the sky, Is happier than my Love and I!

I'll love my Love in the Summer time, Our years shall ripen to their prime: We'll sit in the shade a little more, Beneath the elm-tree at the door: We'll watch with joy the children run, We'll give the world our benison :-No bird in its nest on the tree-top high Shall be so blithe as my Love and I!

III. I'll love my Love in the Autumn eves; We'll gather in our barley sheaves; We'll reap our corn, we'll press our vine, We'll hear on the hills our lowing kine: We'll pluck our peaches from the wall, We'll give our friends a festival: There is no joy the world can buy That we shall not share-my Love and I!

I'll love my Love in the Winter cold-So shall our tale of life be told; We'll sit together by the hearth, Spectators of a younger mirth: And, as the children come and go, We'll dwell in the light where their faces glow : We'll live in love, and loving die, And still love on, my Love and I!

CHEERFULNESS TAUGHT BY REASON. BY ELIEABETH BARRETT BROWNING. I think we are too ready with complaint

In this fair world of God's. Had we no hope Indeed beyond the zenith and the slope Of you gray blank of sky, we might be faint To muse upon eternity's constraint Round our aspirant souls. But since the scope Must widen early, is it well to droop, For a few days consumed in loss and taint?

O, pusillanimous Heart, be comforted,

And like a cheerful traveller take the road, Singing beside the hedge. What if the bre Be bitter in thine inn, and thou unshed To meet the flints? At least it may be said, Because the way is sHORT, I thank thee, God!

CHEERFULNESS.

There is no gloom on earth, for God above Transmuting sorrows into golden joy, Free from alloy; His dearest attribute is still to bless. And man's most welcome hymn is grateful cheerful The Liberator.

NOTES BY THE WAY-No. III. PEPPERELL, Feb. 18, 1857.

in Pepperell. Milford is claimed as the most anti- others whom I might mention, are champions and pi slavery town in New Hampshire, and judging from the little I saw of other places, I should be disposed They might perhaps (and perhaps properly) go fur the little I saw of other places, I should be disposed to yield it the palm. All this, however, may not be saying very much, compared with what ought to be true of every community. Because a place is strongly Republican, it does not follow, as a necessary con-sequence, that there is very much real love of man motives, or call their sincerity in question. As to in the hearts of the people, or any very deep-scated their course on the slavery question, I believe they ar attachment to the cause of equal justice and universal all well meaning men, as well as wise statesm to contain the most anti-slavery feeling refused us the use of its church on a Sunday evening, when they union. And such I rather think is the true position friends of freedom, however, were determined not to a 'finality,' unless it could be made to subserve the be banked, and procured the Town Hall, where we ends of justice, as well as humanity. Parchment held a meeting on a Tuesday evening. A goodly should never be exalted above principles, nor form number was present, including the few noble and above substance. Governments, as well as Constitu ry stripe and hue, from those who are ready to 'let the us constitutions should embody the spirit of their age, Union slide,' who say the slave would be justified in or else they are useless and ineffective. What shall cutting his master's throat, and that, in case of an in-surrection, they would declare the masters the aggres-sors, and act accordingly, down to those who apolo-nant with death, and an agreement with hell'? No, abominations, and justify the political demagogues of to despair. Let us strive a little longer to vindica the Republican party in all their concessions to the Slave Power,—with a few bogus Democrats who supand are ever ready to do the bidding of their mas- disdain. I believe this government contains within ters, and quite a sprinkling of rowdies, who belong to itself the elements necessary for its own political reno party in particular, but are always sure to go for generation. These elements exist in the hearts of the slavery and rum.

was clearly shown from its own records, and the tes- | Shall we say, in the language of Lamartine, 'Goo timony of its own accredited organs; but, strange help our humanity, for man cannot ? Certainly, we to say, in all that large audience, no one was found so should invoke God's blessing upon our efforts for free poor as to do it reverence. But, when we came to dom, but in so doing, we should not abjure human the compromises of the Constitution, the sinfulness of means and instrumentalities. We should still rely sustaining the Union, and, above all, the rottenness upon man, and still appeal to the nobler instincts of and heartlessness of the Republican party, half a score humanity; for God blesses only those who make efof sturdy politicians came to the rescue. At first, any forts. Our Southern brethren should have our symremark, however heartless and brutal, which was pathy and our help in the great work of reformation aimed at the poor bondman or his advocates, elicited If we cut ourselves off from them by separation, ou meeting would break up in disorder and confusion. This, remember, was in the boasted seat of Republicanism! After a little time, however, better feelings seemed to get the ascendancy over the lower passions, and for the last hour, we had as quiet and orderly an audience as any man could wish to address,-save it was thought by some that the Republicans monopolized more than their share of the time. Of this, however, I think no one ought to complain, as they had the hard side of the question to defend, and frequently found it necessary to go back and take up their first statements, and make new ones. If there the truth, were not so much to sadden the heart in the fact that so large a portion of the political world have no fixed principles of right and wrong, it would have been ludicrous to see how virtue and vice are made to shift places as though they were synonymous terms. These politicians have become so evasive and non-committa that they remind one of the Irishman's flea, -when you put your finger upon him, he is not there.

From Milford, I went to Danforth's Corner. Here we held one meeting, in a school-house, which was well attended. I preached the Gospel of Disunion. circulated some tracts, and got one subscriber to THE LIBERATOR. I found but one person in the district who is ready to advocate the doctrine of equal and impartial justice to the colored man, but all seemed preach.

Leaving Danforth's Corner, I next brought up at Hollis. This is a hard place for all true reformers, The politicians have been so long trodden in the dust by intriguing demagogues, and the members of the religious organizations are so completely under the thumb of the clergy, that very little free thought or manly action can be expected. I went round among the Republicans, and asked them to aid me in getting up an anti-slavery meeting; but not one could I find who was willing to take any responsibility in the matter. Some of them told me that they did not want i meeting, that they were on the eve of a State election, and there must be no 'agitation'! As though truth had any thing to fear from free discussion But many of these pseudo free soilers are just coming out of the fog of sham democracy, and can hardly, as yet, be said to be born into the kingdom of Republi canism, which itself is a kingdom of darkness. But there is some hope even of Hollis. One of the min. isters of the place was driven from his parish last fall because he voted the Republican ticket. This so in censed the more liberal portion of his supporters, that they refused to pay any other man. The result will probably be the death of a Hunker society. Let us

While in Pepperell, the travelling was exceedingly unfavorable, and it was next to impossible for person to go far to attend a meeting of any kind. I held two meetings in school-houses in different parts of the town. They were thinly attended. How it would have been under more favorable circumstances I am unable to say. I judge, however, that the tide of Anti-Slavery sentiment has not risen higher than free

thank God, and take courage!.

Here my labors in the Anti-Slavery field cease fo a time. When the ways are settled, I may make another effort to save some from the impending doom which must ere long overwhelm a guilty nation. Until then, adieu!

COLPORTEUR.

THE UNION. LAKEPORT, N. Y., Feb. 21, 1857.

MR. GARRISON:

DEAR SIR,-I desire to say a few words, through the columns of THE LIBERATOR, in reference to the Disunion Convention lately held in Worcester, Mass.

However absurd and impracticable it may seem to certain Union-savers and politicians who desire office more than the triumph of principle, I for one am bold to say, that unless freedom shall become nationalized and slavery sectionalized, (as I think was the intention of the framers of the Constitution,) the Union should and will be dissolved. I do not look upon the Union as a 'conclusion,' unless it can be made to fos ter the spirit of liberty, instead of slavery, aristocracy and despotism. Union ! 'we sicken at the name,' and pronounce it, practically, a splendid failure. Our government is a failure, because it has falled to secure that for which it was adopted. Originally intended to secure and keep inviolate the inalienable rights of man, and promote universal liberty, it worked well till those by whom it was brought into existence wer no more. While Jefferson lived, the great principle contained in the Declaration of Independence, the self-evident truth, that 'all men are created equal,' was respected, and regarded as a great political principle, the existence of which was necessary to the basis of every Republican government. That principle, instead of being confirmed by the present generation, and adopted as a truth that admits of no con-

tradiction, has in some degree been repudiated. In

the National Capitol it has been characterised as a 'self-evident lie,' and scoffed at by those who love slaery more than freedom. But it has not been gene rally repudiated, nor have the majority turned against

The Republican party, though more conservative than its name indicates, has the welfare of this truth Since my last, dated at Nashua, I have lectured I believe, thoroughly at heart. I candidly believe once in Milford, once at Danforth Corner, and twice that Seward, Sumner, Wilson, Chase, Giddings, and freedom. How much there is in Milford may be in- will do their utmost to exterminate slavery from the ferred from the fact that the society which is thought land. But they propose to do it through peaceful and were not going to occupy it themselves. Probably We should remain in the Union and preserve our Con the minister, who has always been Hidden on the sla- stitution intact, not for the purpose of being domi very question, had his full share of influence in the neered over by the Slave Power, but for the purpos matter, as I was informed that a majority of the com- of using our influence more effectually against it. To mittee were in favor of opening the house. The be sure, it would be unwise to set the Union down as self-sacrificing friends of immediate and unconditional tions, are but the creatures of man, and by him may emancipation, a large number of Republicans, of eve- be abolished or sustained at pleasure. Laws as well gise for oppressors, vindicate the Constitution, with I think not: at least, at present. Let us strive a little all its compromises, sustain the Union, with all its longer to reform this government, before we give way port the abominations of Cushing, Pierce and Co., faces, ere we throw it away as a thing only worthy ou people, and in due time will bring forth effects that The pro-slavery character of the American Church | will regenerate the government.

great applause, and for a time it seemed as though the influence will in a great degree be lost. They will take the means of perpetuating slavery within them selves, and defy the world. The South will organize a great slaveholding empire, and eternize slavery a the natural and normal condition of the laboring classes. Thus, instead of abolishing slavery in the South by separation, we would fortify it, and render it invulnerable. I think the time has not come when we should 'let the Union slide.' When all Northern efforts shall have failed to establish the supremacy of freedom, then will the time have come But we never can commence too early to agitate for

Yours, respectfully, WELCOME O. SPENCER,

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION. HARVARD, March 3d, 1857.

To know exactly what we want is a great help to wards obtaining it. Defining and discriminating are important signs and means of progress. Do we wan the Union to be dissolved, or the principles upon whiel it was formed? Do we want two separate Republic made out of the United States, or the United States made into one free government? Is the issue be tween North and South, or between Freedom and Slavery? Is our conflict a geographical or a mora one? Are we for a geographical disunion or a moral willing and anxious to hear the glad tidings which we disunion? Do we mean by the Union, the Constitu tion and Government of the United States, as at presterritories under one general government?

We answer for ourselves, that we want the princi ples of the Union dissolved, the covenant with unrighteousness dissolved. We want the people of the United States, including blacks and whites, to provide themselves with a free Constitution and Government We want no issue between North and South, but be tween Freedom and Slavery. Our conflict is a moral not a geographical one; and we go for a moral, and not a geographical disunion.

We regard the present Constitution and Govern nent of the United States not right in a moral point of view, and therefore we are for righting them. hold no allegiance to them as supreme. We mean with God's assistance, to subvert them, not by the sword nor by the ballot-box, but by telling the truth

and suffering the consequences. We have no quarrel with the South nor with South erners, any further than they please to identify themselves with oppression; and we have as much battle with the North and with Northerners as they please to identify themselves with oppression. We are willing to be called rebels, and to be hung for treason, rather

than pay allegiance to the United States supremacy Still, we love the South; we love our whole cou try; we love all mankind; and we take the course of opposition to the principles of the Union that we de take, because we love the Right, and love our fellow-

WILLIAM G. BABCOCK.

THE TOWER OF BABEL

A correspondent, for whose whole communication re have not room, after commenting on the assump tion lately made of a discovery of the ruins of th tower of Babel, and the extraordinary deduction made by the theological newspapers from this assum ed fact, quotes the following remarkable specimen of logic from a letter in the Boston Traveller, narrating the above-mentioned 'discovery': -

'There is a providence to be traced in these di there is a providence to be traced in these discoveries. They serve not only to arouse, but to instruct they not only gratify the curiosity, but establish beyond all doubt and controversy the veracity and inspiration of the Sacred Records.

Our correspondent makes the following pertine inquiries :-

Does the truth of God require a miracle to support it? Do the Golden Rule and the precept to ' do just ly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God,' requir historical evidence, or a miracle, to attest their goodness and truth ?

Would God teach men to abhor idolatry, cruel and murder, by commanding the indiscrimin ter of idolatrous nations, men, women and children Would he teach them truth, equity and justice, by falsehood, rapine and wholesale plunder?

Does the fact that the Jews are a historical people and that the Bible has a historical basis, prove that all its miraculous narratives are true, and that the laws it contains all emanated from God?

Would the discovery, after the lapse of a tho years, of the ruins of a city in Illinois, or the rui of another at Salt Lake, built by the Mormons, prove that the Book of Mormon was inspired, and that I Smith was a true prophet?

Has the fact, that St. Patrick is a real his personage, as much so as Noah, Abraham, or Moses that he introduced Christianity into Ireland as cer tainly as Moses was the lawgiver of the Jews, that uments of his power and greatness

Finally, will the discovery of the Tower of Babel, if true, confirm the miracle of the confusion of tongues, and assign the true cause of the dispersion of mankind over the earth, and that the true origin of the diversity of languages among mankind is to be traced to that event?

TNOUTRER.

INQUIRER.

FAITHFUL PREACHING IN PLYMOUTH.

PLYMOUTH, March 2, 1857.

Dear Mr. Garrison:

Yesterday afternoon, (Sunday, March 1st.) I attended the meeting at the Universalist Church, and was much pleased with the sermon by the pastor, Rev. R. Tomlinson. His subject was 'The Pulpit and Slavery, 'And the sermon was truly a stern rebuke to clergymen and professors of religion who are not active in efforts to remove this gigantic evil, and who do not battle (with the weapons of love) the false and permicious doctrines sought to be inculcated by Northern religionists and politicians, of the divine authority of slavery. He examined many points connected with the school of the examined many points connected with the school of the examined many points connected with the school of the examined many points connected with the school of the examined many points connected with the school of the school of the point education of both sexes has a point of the inferior ity of woman's intellect is rapidly finding its place among the exploded dogmas of the middle ages. It were only necessary to mark the trial of the experiment for successive years through all the course of college study, to be fully dispossessed of the remnant of so groundless an assumption.

And your committee believe, that the plan of educating the seres jointly, which is contemplated in the petition before us, would secure to woman a much more thorough and scholarly training than is likely to be furnished upon any other system. Female seminaries—those which are so, exclusively—are too often—not to say generally—much less rigid in their course of study, than Colleges which are established upon the ordinary basis.

And besides, the joint education of both sexes has slavery. He examined many points connected with the subject, and advanced truly liberal and enlighten-ed views on them all. There can be no doubt but secured by separate institutions exclusively for that great good will result from his teachings. His either. There is a social education as well as intelreasoning was sound-his sentiments were benevolent and Christian-his utterances bold, and easily to be understood-his denunciations severe but just-his conclusion irresistibly true. May others imitate his excellent example! Yours, for impartial liberty,

WM. H. BARTLETT.

SPIRITUAL PROSPECTS OF BOSTON.

The Boston correspondent of the Journal of Con erce (understood to be Rev. Hubbard Winslow) has lately published in that paper the following ample certificate of the good and regular hunkerism of a new

'The Rev. Jacob M. Manning, now pastor of a Con gregational church in the neighboring town of Med-ford, has received and accepted a call to become a col-league pastor with the Rev. Dr. Blagden of the Old South Church in this city. Mr. Manning's antece-dents are quite favorable, and give his friends great reason to hope, that his residence among us will not only be a blessing to the Old South congregation, but to the city of Boston, and to the cause of divine truth. He maintained a high rank as a scholar both at Amherst College and at Andover Theological Seminary, and during his three years' experience as a settled pas and during his three years' experience as a settled pas-tor, has acquired such a reputation as 'to have made him worthy, in the opinion of those who know him best, of the distinguished position to which he has just been called. He will find in Dr. Blagden a model man with whom to labor as co-pastor. It may be added, that Dr. B. is in the prime of life and useful-ness, and that the services of an assistant minister were only required by the new undertaking of the parish to build up a church enterprise in a destitute portion of the city.

The same eminent saint thus rebukes (in love) the Manchester clergymen who recently protested against the engagement of Theodore Parker as a Ly-

'You have printed in your columns a protest signed by several clergymen of the city of Manchester, N. H., against the admission of Theodore Parker as one of the lecturers before the Lyceum of that city. It was, perhaps, well, that those ministers should have remonstrated as they did. It has occurred to me however that their reporter would have become have remonstrated as they did. It has occurred to me, however, that their protest would have been more influential (it did not prevail with the directors of the Lyceum) if they had all been known as men who preach nothing but the gospel of Jesus Christ, as men who promote reform only on the clearly revealed principles of Revelation—and as ministers of whom it could be said, that both in the pulpit and out of it, their expressions and their lives are entirely opposed to could be said, that both in the pulpit and out of it, their principles and their lives are entirely opposed to those of Theodore Parker. And is it not worthy of particular inquiry whether ministers who are substantially evangelical and consistent may not lose much of their moral power to meet and to refute Parkerism, if they on any occasion preach as he does in reference to their country and its rulers and laws, instead of preaching just as the Bible instructs them to preach; and if they, for any pretext, and under the pressure of any emergency, adopt a single principle of Parker to wage war against any evil, or to advance any good? If Parkerism is erroneous as a system of morals and

Besides, is it not true that if evangelical ministers preach a grain or two of error, and declare a little truth on subjects on which they were not ordained to preach at all, that the people who hear them will soon desire to hear several grains of error along with the truth, and much preaching that is foreign to the designs of the pulpit, so that if their own clergymen will not indulge them with it, they will send for Theodore Parker, and thus the little leaven of error leavers a mass of mind? So much may be said, without ens-a mass of mind? So much may be said, without any intimation that the ministry of Manchester is not as good or even better than the average ministry of New England.

If you say A, you must say B, says the old fox Therefore ignore the whole alphabet of reform. Touch not, taste not, handle not, favor not anything which tends to change the established order of things, except in the single point of converting men, as fast as you can according to Blagden and Adams, which is also according to slavery.

AN INFIDEL REBUKED. An infidel boasting, in a published letter, that he had raised two acres of 'Sun-day corn,' which he intended to devote to the purof infidel books, adds: 'All the work done on chase of infidel books, adds: "All the work done on it was done on Sunday, and it will yield some seventy bushels to the acre, so I don't see but that Nature or Providence has smiled upon my Sunday work, how-ever the priests or the Bible may say that work done on that day never prospers. My corn tells another story. To this the editor of an agricultural paper replies: If the author of this shallow nonsense had read the Bible half as much as he had read the works of its opponents, he would have known the great Ru-ler of the Universe does not always square up his ac-counts with mankind in the month of October.'

We cut the above from the Salem Observer, under the head 'Moral and Religious.' We add to it, as a fitting accompaniment under the same head, that neither the infidel nor the editor of the agricultural paper aforesaid seems to have read the Bible very intelligently. If they will examine it again, using their own eyes, instead of either infidel's or minister's spectacles, they will see that not the slightest intimation s given in that book, that the Great Ruler of the universe has, or ever had, the slightest objection to men's raising corn on Sundays.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN. From the Detroit Daily Tribun

THE STATE UNIVERSITY FREE TO WOMAN AS WELL AS MAN. We printed yesterday a petition sent from this city relative to a Female College to be situated at

Ann Arbor, and to be under the control of the Regents of the University, tuition free.

The following report from President FAIRVIELD, of Hillsdale College, the Senator from the Hillsdale of Hillsdale College, the Senator from the Hillsdale District, was made on a petition of Wm. Willer, T. B. Farnsworm and 77 other citizens of Detroit praying that the Michigan University may b opened to all, without distinction of sex.

The adoption of this plan would make ample provision for higher female education—at least so har as any one Institution can thus provide. And it would do so with but little additional expense. The same Board of Instruction, with the exception of one or two female teachers to whom would be of one or two female teachers to whom would be intrusted the particular charge of that Department, would equally meet the demands of both sexes. The classes at the University are not so crowded, nor will they be probably for many years to come, that the addition of ten or twenty young ladies to either of them, would render them inconveniently large, or make a division of them necessary. And the studies required for vigorous and complete intel lectual development are substantially the same for both male and female.

That the highest advantage should be secured for in celebration of his memory, prove that the miracles the education of woman, is a proposition that at recorded of him are true, that a book entitled 'The this day and before this Senate, it would be quite superfluous to defend by argument. Experience has abundantly shown that, in almost all the studies of the college. the college course—languages—rheteric—composi-tion—history—natural sciences—moral philosophy and criticism, woman is fully the equal of the stern or sex. In mathematics and mental philosophy, she may have slightly the disadvantage; but even in these departments her success has been honorable in a high degree. We have a few ladies even in Mich-igan, whose scholarship in most of these descripigan, whose scholarship in most of these depart ments would fit them to adorn a professorship in ou

And besides, the joint education of both sexes ha

either. There is a social education as well as intel-lectual. And this, though of inferior importance,

lectual. And this, though of inferior importance, is not to be neglected.

It is some times objected, by such as have not observed the practical working of the system, and who have not well studied the intricacies of human nature, that such a joint education would be adverse to the cultivation of the best manners; and especially to the highest refinement of the female character. But no objection could be more entirely unfounded. In the daily meeting and mingling of the sexes in the recitation room and elsewhere, under the indithe recitation room and elsowhere, under the judi-cious regulations which the wisdom of a college faculty would impose, the habit of good behavior which ordinarily characterizes man in the presence of woman becomes fixed and permanent; while in College halls, away from their presence and influence, a roughness and coarseness of behavior are frequently induced, that never would appear—and never do appear in Literary society where both sexes are found. Such is the genial and refining influence which is partially according to the control of the con influence which is naturally exerted upon the young men connected with those higher Institutions to

But is not this a gain to the young man, at the expense of that refinement and delicacy which are the charm of the female character? Far otherwise. Affectation is not refinement. A dignified ease and naturalness of manners is the highest attainment in the social circle. And more than this. We give to woman her full credit for the softening and harmonizing influence which her presence exerts. But the influence, in truth, is reciprocal. And not unfre-quently there is a rudeness in female Seminaries, or in those circles where young ladies gather alone, that disappears entirely in the presence of well-bred men. The influence of the association is, in this respect.

equally happy upon both.

Every observer has noted the fact—out of which has grown an oft repeated remark—that it is a misfortune to any family of brothers to be without a sister's influence; and equally that it is a misfor-tune to a family of sisters, in which there is no brother. But according to the theory of some upon this subject of education, it were a manifest mistake

this subject of education, it were a manifest mistake of the author of human society, that all families were not arranged upon the judicious plan of separating entirely the different sexes.

But is not the moral effect of the proposed arrangement a ground of objection to it? Exactly the opposite. The daily meeting of noble and pure-minded young ladies, engaged in the elevated and elevating pursuits of science—just such as will, with very rare exceptions, be found within college walls—is a stronger defence to any young man against the temptations to seduction, and to vice and immorality, than all the didactic treatises on moral reform that were ever penned. That the separation of the sexes is not conducive to the separation of the sexes is not conducive to the highest degree of social morality, is abundantly de monstrated by the entire history of oriental society

Nor again does such an arrangement operate to divest from the vigorous and protracted pursuit of science, as some theorists have been ready to object. There are some young men that are fated to be the victims of impulse—that are mad for a settlement. before their beard is grown; and even the braying If Parkerism is erroneous as a system of morals and of which Solomon speaks would not cure them of religion, it is altogether wrong, and those who would resist him and it triumphantly must not have even a grain of him or his in their system of faith and practice.

The beard is grown; and even the braying them of which Solomon speaks would not cure them of their folly. Let them haste to their gaol—there is no delivering them. If they did not meet some grain of him or his in their system of faith and practice.

> and they are not to be set aside by exceptional cases It is the young man that is shut out from female society, confined within the college walls, and but now and then, Aladdin like, gets a glimpee of the half-covered face (though this oriental figure does not very well apply to modern American far of some bewitching daughter of Eve, that of some bewitching daughter of Eve, that is smit ten; and forthwith deems himself a ruined man, i something is not done; and the partnership is close up with the utmost dispatch. But were this sam young man—a freshman or a sophomore perhaps— to meet this same young lady and a dozen others from week to week in the recitation room, it would become a more matter-of-fact sort of a thing; and he would in all probability take a more sober view of life and its relations. Experience has abundantly proved that there are fewer hasty settlements—fewer proved that there are fewer hasty settlements—fewer premature and troublesome engagements—fewer runaway matches—fewer crazy young men—fewer headlong plunges into the matrimonial sea, in colleges where the joint education of the sexes prevails, than elsewhere. And that in general the discipline and government of such institutions are more easy ore effective than under the exclusive system But why argue in any of its aspects the question of joint education? Already the system provai

> of joint education? Already the system prevails in Academies, and Seminaries, and Norman Schools. And why not in Colleges? If it is safe and expedient to educate both sexes together during that period in which there is most of impulse and volatility— the period at which these other institutions throw open their doors to all, irrespective of sex—it cer-tainly cannot be less safe or less wise to open the doors of the College to those more advanced and more mature. But this is not an experiment. There are already not less than half a score of Colleges of high respectability in different parts of the country, where doors are open to all; and with the happiess results. Why may not the College Department and Scientific School of the Michigan University be equally open?—and thus the vexed question of a Female College, to be endorsed and sustained by the State, be put at rest. A small additional expense would secure the result and secure the result. ditional expense would secure the result, and securit more effectually than by any other means which your committee can conceive to be really practica-ble. The details of the arrangement they do not propose to enter into. That will be left for the Rents, if they deem our recommendation worthy o

consideration.

Besides the College Department, there is connected with the University a Medical Department. We know of no effectual reason why that should not be equally open to all. The first Medical Colleges of the country have been thus opened—and the adaptation of woman to the medical profession, if she chooses to enter it, at least within certain limits, will chooses to enter it, at least within certain limits, chooses to enter it, at least within certain limits, will be universally conceded. Your committee hope that the prayer of the petitioners will be granted; and to that effect we report the accompanying joint resolution, commending the whole subject to the candid consideration of discreet men who have been or may hereafter be chosen to conduct the affairs of one of the noblest educational institutions of the country—The University of Michigan.

FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

The Eight Annual Commencement of the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania, took place at three of clock on Saturday afternoon, at Concert Hall. We were gratified to see the Hall crowded to its utmost capacity, and still more gratified to see at least three fourths of the audience ladies. It evinces a growing interest in Semale physicians, among that class who, we regret to say, are the most bitter, as a class, against any improvement in the condition of women. The exercises were opened by the President, Professor Charles D. Cleveland; who, by way of explaining a portion of the duties he was about to assume, stated the significant fact that he had called on nine different clergymen, inviting them to attend and open the proceedings with a prayer, but they had all found excuses for declining. He therefore The Eight Annual Commencement of the Female

assumed that duty himself, and performed the solemn ceremony quite as acceptably, we prome as any of the declining clergymen.

After the prayer, the President proceeded (in the foolish fashion of using the Latin instead of the English language) to confer the degree of Doctor of Medicine on the following graduates:—Min. Elin. both P. Baugh, Miss Hannah II. Surannah Hayhurst, Miss Mary J. Scarlet, Mis Surannah Hayhurst, Miss Orie R. Moon, Va., Min. Phoebe Wilson, Pa., Miss Orie R. Moon, Va., Min. Liney M. Potersilia, N. C.

Phoebe Wilson, Fa., Silse Orie R. 2000, Va., Ila.
Lucy M. Petersilia, N. C.

The Valadictory address was delivered by Professor The Valadictory address was derivered by Professor Edwin Fussel, and was admirably calculated to is spire confidence in the soundness of the tracking and ability of the Professors of that institution and ability of the Processes of that institute.

The benediction was pronounced by Rev. Mr. Johnson, after which the lady graduates received the asgratulations of numerous friends, and the anticar dispersed.—Philad. Woman's Rights Adverage.



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in the Stomach, Back, or Nide, take from four to sixt mills on going to bed. If they do not operate sufficiently, take more the next day until they do. These couplaints will be swept out from the system. Don't war these and their kindred disorders because your stomach is foul.

these and their kindred disorders because your stomich is foul.

Fon Scropula, Envirely and frequently, to keep the Skin, take the Pills friely and frequently, to keep the bowels open. The eruptions will generally soon begin to diminish and disappear. Many dreadful ulers and serse have been healed up by the purging and purifying effect of these Pills, and some disgusting diseases, which sense to saturate the whole system, have completely yieldsite their influence, leaving the sufferer in perfect beath. Patients I your duty to society forbids that you should parade yourself around the world covered with jumples, blotches, uleers, sores, and all or any of the unclean diseases of the skin, because your system sails cleansing. TO PURIFY THE BLOOD, they are the best medicine

To Purify the Blood, they are the best medicine ever discovered. They should be taken freely and frequently, and the impurities which sow the seeds of incurable diseases will be swept out of the system like that before the wind. By this property they do as much god in preventing sickness as by the remarkable cures which they are making every where.

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