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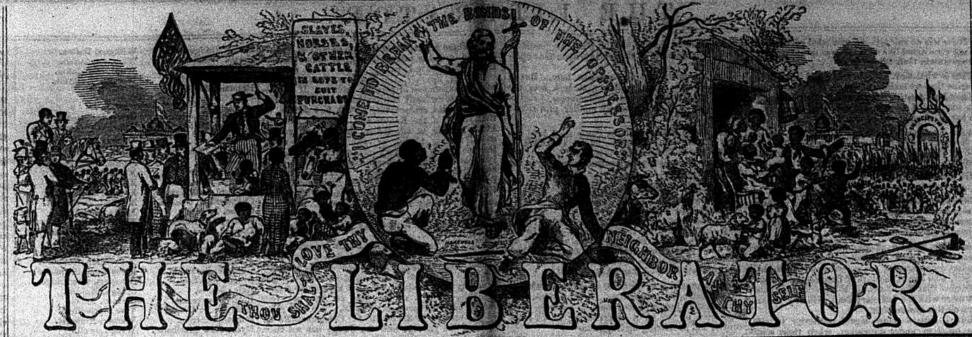
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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE The following gentlemen constitute the Finan-

cial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz: - Francis Jackson, Ellis GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHYLERICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.



The free States are the guardians and ea

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

tial supports of slavery. We are the juilers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuss-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 seithout excuss in aiding other States in binding on men an unrightness year. On this subject, our PATHERS, IN PRANING THE CONSTITUTION, SWEETED PROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk 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 enalaying 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. — William Ethers Charleson. - WILLIAM BLLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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### SELECTIONS.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGIOUS TRUTH AND AMERICAN INFIDELITY.

SPEECH OF HON. J. R. GIDDINGS, or onto.

In the House of Representatives, February 26, 1858, Upon the great issue of Freedom or Slavery pending before the American People. [WRITTEN OUT BY HIMSELP.]

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, Mr. GIDDINGS said:

MR. CHAIRMAN :-Questions of mere economy. those which relate to banks, to internal improvements, or protective tariffs, no longer occupy the public mind. These subjects have given place to questions of more transcendent importance, to those which relate to the rights of mankind, to the religious, moral, and political elevation of our race. The discussion of these subjects has in all past times been attended with agitation and excitement. times been attended with agitation and excitement. It brings the rights of the people into conflict with despotism, whatever may be the form of government under which the discussion takes place. Such is now the condition of this mighty nation; our Union is shaken to its very centre by the agitation of great and undying truths. Our Government is of great and undying truths. Our Government is vibrating between freedom and tyranny, and it becomes as thoroughly to examine the religious basis on which we found our political action.

The late message of the President in relation to

Kansas is without precedent in the history of executive communications to this body. Its tone of contempt for the people of that Territory finds no pre-cedent in our Government; while the language of the people of Kansas, expressed by her Legislature, is most extraordinary for sovereigns to use towards a servant already arranged before the tribunal of the popular mind for high crimes and misdemeanors.

Under these circumstances, I have thought that the best service I can render the people on the pres-ent occasion would be to analyze the subject which now absorbs the popular mind; and, so far as able, to define the issue now pending before the

That issue is founded upon fundamental religious truths, which are maintained by one political party,

and denied by the other.
Immediately after the last Congress adjourned, the men who wield the judicial and executive powers of Government publicly denied the great primal doctrine of our Government, that all men are endoced by their Creator with inherent, equal, and inahenable rights.' They essayed to obliterate the line of demarkation drawn by our patriot fathers between the despotisms of a darker age, and the rights of mankind as understood in this nineteenth century.

The annual message of the President, in its leading

positions and in its details, wholly disregards those right of human nature, and speaks of men created in the image of God, with undying spirits, with eternal destinies, as transformed into property, in direct contradiction of those truths which the Ar

ican people have long regarded as 'self-evident.'
It will be my object to render this issue more distinctly obvious. Its importance is transcendent; and, however fully other gentlemen may have ap-preciated it, I feel constrained to admit that I have failed to comprehend its vastness, or set bounds to the consequences naturally resulting from its deci-sion; yet every member of society is bound to ex-

amine and to act upon his own responsibility.

Our fathers, recognizing God as the author of human life, proclaimed it a 'self-evident' truth that every human being holds from the Creator an inalienable right to live, to sustain and protect life, at-tain knowledge, clevate his moral nature, and enjoy

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These prerogatives were recognized as 'gifts of God,' lying behind and above human legislation; and the founders of our institutions proceeded to declare that governments are instituted among men to seems their enjoyment. Thus our Republic was founded on religious truth, and it was thus far emphatically a religious Government. It has ever been sustained by the religious sentiment of the na-tion; and it will only fail when this element shall be discarded by the people. The attempt now made to overthrow these religious truths demands the

severest condemnation.

There are but a few men who openly deny the existence of a Supreme Being, or that He is clothed with the attributes of infinite wisdom, truth, and justice; or that men are religious in degree as they oring themselves into harmony with those divine qualities, make them their own, assimilate their characters to that of Deity. This is the sense in which I use the term 'religion.' I do not speak as a sectarian. Indeed, sectarians do not regard membership as religion, but merely as the evidence of religious feeling on the part of the individual. All admit that those who are wise, truthful, just, and pure, of all denominations, and men who, possessing their attributes, belong to no particular sect, are the truly religious men of curth.

I will here remark that I am conscious this exam-

ination of the religious character of our Govern-ment will subject me to the criticisms of all who de-ny the existence of man's inalienable rights; they ill insist that an examination of the religious char acter of our institutions is unsuited to this forum; that laymen should not tread on this holy ground; that laymen should not tread on this holy bear I assert, if there be a place on earth where religion, where wisdom, truth, justice, and purity of purpose should be observed and practised, this liable constitutes that place. If there be a class of liable constitutes that place. men on earth who ought to be so religious, who ought to be wise and truthful and just and pure of purpose, the members of this body ought to sustain

that character.

I repeat, we all acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being; that he is the Creator; that we are brought into life by His will. At this point, the American people separate into two great parties—one holding that sovereignty dwells alone with the Creator, and not with men; that kings, puterates. potentates, and all human governments, are sub-jected to the 'higher law' of the Creator, and authorized to legislate only for the protection of the rights which God has conferred on mankind. An other portion deny the existence of this 'higher law,' and insist upon the perfect and unlimited law, and insist upon the perfect and unlimited sovereignty of human Governments over the lives and liberties of the people. To be more explicit on this point, I will remark that the religious portion hold, that, as God gave life to the human race, He conferred on each a right to that liberty which is necessary to become wise, truthful, just, and pure; to bring himself into harmony with the law of God, and enjoy the happiness resulting therefrom; that these rights are equally self-evident as the existence of our race; that they are inherent, inclineable, and common to all men; that they constitute the great moral ligament which binds man to his Creator, connects earth with heaven, and unites the human race in ope common brotherhood, bound by the most sacred obligations to love, revere, and obey our

that we hold any inalienable rights from God.—
They steny that the right to live, and to attain moral elevation and happiness, is derived from heaven, or is superior to human enactments. The denial of these fundamental religious truths I can characterize by no other term than 'American infidelity.'
This issue literally separates the religious from the infidel portion of our people. In using this language, I do not seek to cast opprobrium upon those guage, I do not seek to cast opprobrium upon those contents referred to and their results. Clearly described to the safety. They soffered but little:
there was no flogging, no torture. But American infidelity consigns its victims to years of torture and suffering, and finally to death, for no higher purpose than to gratify the sordid passions of their individual oppressors.

These wholesale murders are but the outworkings of that infidelity which denies that God has endowed all men with the inalienable right to live. The centering the content of the public safety. They soffered but little:

there was no flogging, no torture. But American infidelity consigns its victims to years of torture and suffering, and finally to death, for no higher purpose than to gratify the sordid passions of their individual oppressors. infidel portion of our people. In using this lan-guage, I do not seek to cast opprobrium upon those who honestly disbelieve the religious truths which Jefferson and Adams and Franklin, and their associates termed 'self-evident.' I have no unkind feeling towards them. I regard them as brethren, entitled to my best wishes, my carnest prayers; and I apply the term 'infidel' to them as the only ex-pression by which I can characterize them as a

The outworking of this great primal issue is witessed in almost every important question that come before Congress. One portion of the members adhere to the central proposition, that man holds natu-ral and inalienable rights from the Creator, which are not to be invaded by human enactments; that they cannot be violated, except by incurring the penalties of that law which was ordained by Him who bestowed them upon our race; that every individual who invades these right of his fellow-man is and the President, and those who sustain him, described for single and shared and the President, and those who sustain him, described for the same and guilty of crime, and should be punished accordingly; that all human enactments professing to authorize the invasion of these rights are outside the just powers of human governments, are impious invasions of God's prerogatives, are despotic in their character, impose no moral obligation upon any individual, but involve those who enact and those who support them in the same degree of guilt with those who perpetrate the crimes; that such statutes can in no degree modify the moral guilt of those who trample upon the rights which God has bestowed upon their fellow-men. The other portion of the American people, maintaining a corresponding infidelity, deny the existence of these rights, deny that God has bestowed them upon mankind; ing infidelity, deny the existence of these rights, deny that God has bestowed them upon mankind they claim unlimited sovereignty for human governments over human rights.

proposition. Christians and patriots hold life to be the gfit of God. They regard it as sacred; they look upon invasion as a crime; that, as the Creator bestows existence upon those who bear his image, it becomes the duty of individuals, of associations, and of governments, to protect each and every human being in the enjoyment of life; that at this point human legislation commences, limited in its point human legislation commences, limited in its order. man being in the enjoyment of life; that at this point human legislation commences, limited in its appropriate powers to the protection of life, and not to its destruction; that human governments hold no other rightful powers in regard to life than to protect its enjoyment; that the execution of pirates and murderers, and those who invade our country, is also only for the purpose of protecting society; that these powers are ordained of God, sanctioned by religion, by philosophy, by the common sense of mankind. They believe that that command which was proclaimed from Sinai in tones of thunder, saying to every human being, 'Thou sharr nor KILL,' was truly the voice of God; that it is repeated in all His works, and in every revelation of Himself, and is binding on all our race. This commandment of God, this entire doctrine, is denied by the President and by all American infidels. And this constitutes the first collateral issue.

In our slaveholding communities, enactments have been passed, and are now supported, professing to authorize masters to murder their slaves. For indenied by the President and by all American infidels.

And this constitutes the first collateral issue.

In our slaveholding communities, enactments have been passed, and are now supported, professing to authorize masters to murder their slaves. For in-

stance, in those States the slave is denied the right of self-defence; the right to protect his life or his person. If he attempt to defend himself against his master, the master is authorized to slay him in any manner he may be able; if he run from the master, after being ordered to stop the most of the right of this right be denied, no other can be acknowledged. his master, the master is authorized to slay him in any manner he may be able; if he run from the master, after being ordered to stop, the master is authorized to shoot him; if he die under the scourge, the master is not held responsible. American infidels believe that no moral turpitude attaches to these statutory murders! while Christians hold that God's moral law remains unchanged by such enactments; moral law remains unchanged by such enactments; that the guilt of the murderer is in no degree modfind by such statutes; that the perpetrator stands unveiled before God and all good men, guilty as he would be if no such laws existed; that all who enact, and all who support such enactments, make themselves accessory to the crimes committed under them, are guilty as such, and ought to be subjected

unveiled before God and all good men, guilty as he would be it no such laws existed; that all who enact, and all who support such eneutients, make themselves accessory to the crimes committed under them, are guilty as such, and ought to be subjected to the same punishment with those who murder their slaves.

But this power of the master over the life of the slave constitutes the vital element of the institution, without which alsavery could not exist. It is excreised wherever slavery is maintained. Every master exercises the privilege of driving his slave, in sickness or in health, just so severely as he thinks will best subserve his own interests. It is on this principle that slaveholders openly declare it profitable to work their slaves so hard as to produce the death of the whole gang on an average of five years upon sugar plantations, and of seven upon cotton plantations, and to supply their places by other victims imported from the slave-breeding States. From official documents, it is estimated that thirty thousand human victims are thus sacrified annually with in the United States and Territories.

In the clave States, it is not uncommon to see advertisements in the public papers, offering a bounty for the head of a particular slave, who has absected from the gallows by those who administer the State laws in the county where the murder was perpetrated. Our Federal toops are often employed in the work of murdering a boon the county where the murder was perpetrated. Our Federal toops are often employed in the work of murdering a people who were born free, but whose ancestors had been slaves; and in one day, nearly three hundred men, women, and children, were barbarously and wantonly murdered by American troops.

This system of murder is excouraged and mains, and care to determine the body, to render it a comfortable and pleasant habitation during occupancy. The spirit is constituted the history of the head of a particular slave; and in one day, not an approach of the proposed of the full of the individual a

Universal Father. Of the possession of these rights, every sentient being is conscious. When God created man, and breathed into him the breath of life, when man became a living soul, this consciousness formed a part of his moral nature; and never in any age or in any clime, has man, even in his radest, his most barbarous state, been unconsciousness formed a part of his moral nature; and never in any age or in any clime, has man, even in his radest, his most barbarous state, been unconscious of his right to live, to nourish and protect life, and seek his own happiness.

These rights constitute an element of the human soul; they cannot be alienated by the individual; nor can any association of men, or any carthly power, separate the humblest of the human race from them. Men may rob their fellow-man of the food which he gathers for his own support; they may bind his himbs and scourge his body; they may prevent him from attaining knowledge; but his right to the food which he gathers, to defend his person, to attain knowledge, will remain unchanged. Their crimes will in no degree affect his right.

This relation of man to the Creator is repudiated by a portion of the American people. They deny that we hold any inalienable rights from God.—They seny that the right to live, and to attain moral elevation and happiness, is derived from heaven, all elevation and happiness is derived from heaven, a

actments referred to, and their results, clearly do-monstrate the views of those who sustain them, and are laboring in this Hall, and elsewhere, to extend them over our Territories, and wherever Congress holds exclusive jurisdiction. It is most obvious, that while the present Administration openly lends its in-fluences to such crimes, every intelligent man who sustains and upholds its policy, or fails to oppose it so far as able, becomes involved in the guilt of the murders which it sanctions.

But I shall be told that these enactments are con-

fined to the slave States, and that Congress holds no power to repeal or modify them. I reply that the clare that the Constitution extends and protects

But I shall be told that the Supreme Court of the United States have decided that our fathers did not But I desire to call attention to some of those specific rights which are included in the general proposition. Christians and patriots hold life to be

> gious sense of mankind. Yet, this absurdity is the ers say that white men may murder black men. The blacks deny this: God and Christianity and nature, and all religious, all just, all moral men.

deny it.
Yet this denial of the right of men to live con-

It follows that the freedom of speech must be restricted among the free people of slaveholding communities. The public mind must be there enslaved in order to maintain the institution, and no man be allowed to assert the doctrines I have referred to. legitimate outworkings of this infidelity. The right of all men in Kansas to live, to nourish and protect which lie at the basis of our Government. The life, attain moral elevation and happiness, had been asserted by congressional law; and under this enact-

ory of the traveller at every stop of his progress through our Southern States.

The legitimate heir of a plantation, on coming into possession of his estate, often sells the children of his father—the brothers and sisters of the half-blood—denying that they 'have any rights which white men are bound to respect.' This infidelity denies the right of six hundred thousand females of our land to protect their own virtue, and consignithem to practical prostitution. This state of society is but the outworking of that infidelity which denies the cristence of man's inalienable right to liberty and to moral elevation.

It would be in vain fir us to say to the Christians of Europe, or even to the Mohammentane of Turkey, that religious men of our country support such a system of pollution. Yet thousands of church men of Europe, or even to the Mohammentane of Turkey, that religious men of our country support such a system of pollution. Yet thousands of church men or but the high seriously endage or on subvert the holy Scriptures to the support of this infieldity. Newspapers professedly religious in the slave States implously charge Delity with authoring these crimes; while others, even in our free States, openly oppose and denounce all whe resist the extension, or expose the enormities, of elavery.

The number of heart-broken mothers, and the torture which they suffer on being separated from their children, the physical suffering ones that the legitimate sequence of American infidelity. If these God-given prerogatives of our race be abandoned, the mother can have no right to the intellect which God has given her; no right to the intellect which God has given her; no right to the intellect which God has given her; no right to the intellect which God has given her; no right to the intellect which God has given her; no right to the intellect which God has given her; no right to the intellect which God has given her; no right to the intellect which God has given her; no right to the right of the most proposed popular to the gr

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policy of those communities is to circumscribe bu-man thought, prevent a knowledge of the duties which men owe to themselves and to their fellow-said this was wrong; that such rights did not per-

man thought, prevent a knowledge of the duties which men owe to themselves and to their fellowmen. This policy was for many years enforced in this body. Members were prohibited from speaking of the crimes and iniquities of slavery, lest the people should understand the subject, and refuse to sustain such infidelity.

The right of legal marriage is unknown among the slaves. They are not permitted to understand the relation nor the duties of husband and wife, and the relation nor the duties of husband and wife, and the relation nor the duties of husband, or her who calls herself wife, while he retains the other. He sells the parent, and retains the parent. These separations are but the practical workings of that infidelity which denies to parents and children those inalienable rights which God and Nature have be stowed upon them.

Slaves can have no proper conception of the rights of property. Robbed of their own carnings, told that they have no claims to the food which they gather, it were impossible for them to conceive of any such right in others. Nor is it possible that ern population without greatly affecting the morals of the free people. Indeed, the existence of four millions of slaves among six millions of free people, must, of necessity, characterize the morality of the free people. Indeed, the existence of four millions of slaves among six millions of free people, must, of necessity, characterize the morality of the free people. Indeed, the existence of four millions of slaves among six millions of free people, must, of necessity, characterize the morality of the free people. Indeed, the existence of four millions of slaves among six millions of free people, must, of necessity, characterize the morality of the free people. Indeed, the existence of four millions of slaves among six millions of free people, must, of necessity, characterize the morality of the free people. Indeed, the existence of four millions of slaves among six millions of free people, must, of necessity, characterize the morality of th

constitute the platform of a large and increasing political party.

That day witnessed the dawning of a reformation more deep, more radical, more important in its religious, its moral, its social and political effects upon mankind, than has occurred since the sixteenth century. It is more deep and radical than that commenced by Calvin and his co-laborers. I assert the right of man to religious and moral elevation, as superior to the power of kings or human Governments. The great reformers of that age dared put forth no such doctrine. Their lives would have constituted the price of such an avowal. They were constrained to admit the divine right of kings over the liberties of their people, and many of the usurped powers of the church.

The Philadelphia convention will be remembered in coming time, as first in the history of the political parties of our nation to make religious truths the basis of its political action, and first to proclaim these rights of mankind as universal, to be enjoyed equally by princes and people, by rulers and the most humble. It was the first to receive the second of the political action and surveys and the most humble.

enjoyed equally by princes and people, by rulers and the most humble. It was the first to proclaim the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The result of the presidential election of 1856 showed the advocates of oppression that there was but one alternative for them to pursue. They were constrained to take distinct issue with the advocates of liberty, by denying these religious truths, or disband their party in every free State.

The Supreme Court was selected as the instrument for officially avowing this undisguised infidelity. That tribunal was favorably constituted for such a purpose; a majority of its members were slaveholders. Other members had been appointed to office apparently on account of their uniform servility to the slave power; and every circumstance combined to render it the appropriate instrument for performing this work. The time, too, was a matter of importance. No sooner had too, was a matter of importance. No sooner had the Thirty-Fourth Congress adjourned, than a ma-jority of that tribunal, in violation of its own de-clared rules, digressed from the question before them, to utter its denial of those doctrines of the

them, to utter its denial of those doctrines of the republican fathers.

But this decision, opposed as it is to the self-evident truths of our Decharation of Independence, to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, to the intelligence and conscience of the American people, is emphatically repudiated by them. The vanity and arrogance, exhibited by a majority of the court, in charging Hancock and Adams and Jefferson and Franklin, and their illustrious compeers, with proclaiming doctrines which they did not intend to express, and of failing to utter principles which they intended to avow, has called forth from the popular mind indignant pity for the court, rather than doubts as to the intelligence and Christianity of those savans who founded our institutions.

from the popular mind indignant pity for the court, rather than doubts as to the intelligence and Christianity of those savans who founded our institutions.

It shall not argue the absurdity of this decision. Its falsehood is as self-evident as the truths which it denies. Arriving at the conclusion that the sages who signed our Declaration of Independence meant precisely the opposite of that which they solemnly proclaimed, the court proceeded to declare—in contradiction to its letter and spirit, to the history of the age, to the conscience and judgment of all Christian people—that black men were regarded as having no rights which white men were bound to respect; and on this basis founded their conclusion, that Congress has no constitutional authority to protect the lives, liberties, and property of the people in our Territories where it holds exclusive jurisdiction. This atrocious decision attempts to outlaw one-eighth part of the human race; to place them without the pale of legal protection; it affects to authorize any and every crime to be perpetrated against them. Under this decision, they may be robbed and murdered; in short, this decision would extend American infidelity, with all its attendant crimes, wherever Federal jurisdiction exists. Thus has the issue been mande between the religious portion of the community and those who maintain this heathenism. This issue involves the entire American people. All denominations of men are now constrained to cast their influence on one side or the other. To sit silent, would merely aid the cause of infidelity and despotism. He who refuses to act, by such refusel, casts half his influence in favor of the crimes which I have enumerated. The functions of our Government for the time being are prostituted to sustain and extend this infidelity. The Prophet of Mecca, nor his followers, ever sanctioned doctrines so barbarous as those which now rule in the Administration of our Government. The Turk will be constrained to units with the Christians in the mainter hance of tho

our race.
Could I hope that my remarks would meet the eye of British ministers, I would, in an especial manner, invoke their official influence against this infidelity. I would be seech them no more to sanc-tion, by their action, that blasphemy which seek

to transform the image of God into property.

I acknowledge that our Government was dishonored in the eyes of all Christians, when its Executive became the agent and solicitor of those pirates who claimed to own the fathers, the mothers, and children, on board certain slave ships, wrecked on British islands, where, thanks to Christian civilization, no slavery exists. The President, espousing the cause of men who deserved the halter and the gallows, demanded compensation from the and the gallows, demanded compensation from the British Government for their loss of human flesh. Our representative at the Court of St. James ap pears to have misled and deceived the British minis-try. In one of his official communications he de-clared, that 'our Government had determined more than once, in the most solemn manner, that slaves killed in the public service of the United States, even in a state of war, were to be regarded as property, and not as persons, and the Government held responsible for their value.

When referring to this assertion of our minister. fifteen years since, I pronounced it unfounded and untrue. I said this in the presence of the delegation from Virginia, the State of which our ministion from Virginia, the State of which our minis-ter, Mr. Stevenson, was a citizen, and I called on them, as his friends, to sustain his assertion by showing some one instance in which this Govern-ment had paid for slaves killed in the public ser-vice. I declared the whole history of Congress showed that we had, in every instance, refused such payment, and I defied them to show an exception to such practice. No man was the children to such practice. now repeat the assertion. I pronounce the state-ment of Mr. Stevenson untrue, a libel upon our Government, and a slander upon the American people. I not only declare his assertion untrae, but I declare the opposite to be true. The British ministry, by complying with this demand, tacitly admitted that phrase of American infidelity which seeks to degrade the human soul to the level of swine. More recently, they paid the slave-dealers the estimated value of the fathers, mothers, and children, on board the Creole, who obtained their

children, on board the Creole, who obtained their own liberty by gallantly taking possession of the vessel, and landing on British soil.

The money—the dollars and cents—are of no importance; but concessions to this infidelity, at the present time, are important. It was an object with the slave power to obtain from the British ministry the admission that men are property. I would entered the British Government, and all would entreat the British Government, other Governments, to maintain the dignity of our common nature. In the language of one of the most eloquent of England's orators, I would say, 'He who gave us the forms, commands us to main-tain the rights of men.' The Christians of the tain the rights of men.' The Christians of the United States, and of other nations, would rejoice to learn that the British ministry now, as in 1820, refuse even to correspond with our Executive on the subject of property in human flesh.

I would also warn the Spanish Crown, and other

continental Powers, that our present Executive is seeking, by all the various means and arts of di plomacy, to detach Cuba from its allegiance, to plomacy, to detach Cuba from its allegiance, to annex it to the United States, in order to increas the influence of the slave power, and add strength to this American infidelity.

I hope and trust that this conspiracy may be

defeated; that all Christian Governments may exert their power against the further extension of this scourge of our race. I would most earnestly invoke the Christians, philanthropists, and patriots of this, and of every nation and kindred and language, to exert their moral influence, their legitimate for the overthrow, the final eradication of this infidelity from the earth, and for upholding the natural Heaven-endowed rights of man, for the progress the moral elevation of our race, until all shall un derstand the will, and obey the laws of our com mon Father, and attain that happiness which con stitutes the ultimate object of human existence.

#### SPEECH OF MR. PITMAN, OF NEW BED. FORD, ON THE REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

The Boston Daily Advertiser, of Friday last, cor tains the following report of the cogent, manly, and eloquent speech of Mr. PITMAN, of New Bedford, de livered in the Massachusetts House of Representative on the preceding day, in favor of the removal of Ed ward Greeley Loring. Its perusal will give universal satisfaction, as it is in exact accordance with the allprevailing sentiment of the people of Massachusetts.

#### Mr. PITMAN spoke as follows :-

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House :never read the charter of our liberties in the Bill of Rights, prefixed to the Constitution of Massachu Rights, prefixed to the Constitution of Massachusetts, but from the bottom of my heart I bless the honored memory of John Adams, for he has engraven, as with a point of iron, upon that tablet, immortal principles, which we are told in that Bill of Rights we ought to recur to constantly, and keep in mind. And I cannot better commence this discussion. sion than by reading the fifth Article of the Bill of

· All power residing originally in the people, being derived from them, the several magistrates and officers of government vested with authority, whether legislative, executive

does it stop there, gentlemen? -

or judicial, are their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them.

That, gentlemen, is the impreguable basis upor which the advocates for this removal place their argument, that the judicial officers of this Commonwealth are but the agents and substitutes of the people, and are at all times accountable for to them.

When we turn to the Constitution itself, we find there is nothing to qualify, nothing to limit, but everything to confirm this view of the judicial tenure. We read in the Constitution that officers are to hold their offices during good behavor, provided—what? provided, nevertheless, that the Governor, with contheir offices during good behavor, provided—what's provided, nevertheless, that the Governor, with consent of the Council, may remove them upon the address of both houses of the Legislature,—that is, although they behave well, they may be removed, upon the address of the legislature, by the Governor, with the concurrence of his Council. That, Mr. Speaker, is Massachusetts doctrine, and for the defence of that, I stand here to-day, for the defence of the unlimited right of Massachusetts to change all her rulers, judicial or other, just when we please, just as you change the Governor of your Common. just as you change the Governor of your Common-wealth. It is embodied in this Constitution and Bill of Rights, that you have the right to change your judicial officers. Is this at all radical doctrine? wealth. Is the source we wealth to change your judicial officers. Is this at all radical doctrine? I take it from the Bill of Rights and the Constitution, and I have the authority of the ablest men in this Commonwealth, who discussed this power in the Convention of 1820. Let me premise that I belong to that school of interpretation which holds that we are to gather the construction of an instrument from the words of it, when they are clear, and not from anything else. And this is clear and unambiguous, that the people may, at any time, for any causes, remove their judicial officers. But in the debates of 1820, in the Convention called for the formation of the Constitution, we find for this power the authority of the first men of the country. Mr. Lincoln, afterwards Governor of the State, a man whom every one knows not only as a lawyer of ability, but as a gentleman of conservative temperament, said in that debate:—

'There was no analogy—because other governments are not constituted like ours. It was said that judges have estates in their offices'—

doctrine that we maintain here. Then Mr. Austin, afterwards Attorney-General also one of the acutest lawyers that ever adorned the bar of Massachusetts, said that—

he did not agree to this doctrine. The office was not made for the judge, nor the judge for the office, but both for the people. There was another tenure—the confidence of the people.—Debates 1820, p. 480.

He goes farther, and says that-

The power of removal is a necessary check on the judiciary. It was urged that the judiciary ought to be supported, because it was the feeblest of the three departments of the government. He was astonished to hear this argument. - p. 523.

And, Mr. Speaker, if Mr. Austin, in 1820, was astonished to hear the judiciary pronounced the weakest department of the government, what shall we feel, who live in the days of Dred Scott decisions? I conceive that the liberties of this people, this hour, rest more with the judiciary than with any depart-

ment of this government.

But I have a more signal authority to cite. But I have a more signat authority of the Courts, and as surring up his grace.

The question under discussion, when these senting ments were uttered, was this; it was proposed, in the Convention of 1820, to alter the power of rethe Convention of 1820, to alter the power of removal by a majority, and to substitute therefor a moval by a majority, and to substitute therefor a moval by a majority, and to substitute therefor a move the court of any self-or any party in the Court of any moval by a majority. power of removal by two-thirds. The proposition was voted down, by nearly two to one. It was then proposed and carried in the Convention, that the legislature should state the case of removal, and serve the person interested with a copy, so that he might be admitted to a hearing in his defence before the two Houses. That proposed Article in the Constitution went to the propose. It would seem to be that when I read that law I would seem to be that when I read that law I would seem to be that when I read that law I would seem to be that when I read that law I would seem to be that when I read that law I would seem to be the two Houses. might be admitted to a hearing in his defence before the two Houses. That proposed Article in the Constitution went to the people. It would seem to be a perfectly reasonable one; its provisions have been a perfectly reasonable one; its provisions have been one of common sense induced the legislature of Ohio to pass such a penal statute as that upon their a perfectly reasonable one; its provisions have been a more than observed in this case; but the people voted it down, simply because they would not bring the least shadow of doubt upon the right of removal.

The object of the amendment was to secure the judges from a temporary excitement, operating on the legislature. It was not to protect them against the reople, but against the representatives of the people.

He had no fear of the voice of the people, schen he could get their deliberate voice, but he did fear from the Legislature, if the judge has no right to be heard.—n. 524 heard.'-p. 524.

Now this was the sentiment of Judge Story. Here, we have heard Judge Loring, over and over again and we have taken the judgment of two successive legislatures upon the matter, and are about to take that of a third; we have observed more than all the safeguards which Judge Story, as a leader of the conservative sentiment of the Convention, suggested. We have got at the will of the people of Massachusetts. And, as Mr. Story said, the object of the amendment which he advocated was to secure the judges against the legislature; but we have got at

the will of the people, and we are about to execute it.
I say that the Judiciary are not independent of the people. And I am surprised that gentlemen should rise up here, and tell us that the Judiciary are to be independent of the people. Mr. Speaker, we have engaged in the solution of a problem which has for its postulate the right, and the power, and the duty of the people to administer the government. I know it is a tremendous and a fearful experiment; but we believe that, although the people are liable to do wrong, taken as a whole, they are not likely to do wrong as the monarchies and oligarchies tried in the world heretofore. And upon this belief we have perilled everything, and to carry out our principle we must make the Judiciary depend, in a proper, constitutional mode, upon the will of the people. There can be no basis in the world for a popular government like ours, but the will of the people. There is nothing, there can be nothing, people. There is nothing, there can be nothing higher than popular sovereignty in our system o

government.

So much for these general principles, principles to which we should often recur, principles which if the result of their discussion shall be to deepen in the minds of the people of this Commonwealth, I think we shall have spent our time more usefully than in almost any other manner. I now proceed to the consideration of the question before the House. I was sorry, Mr. Speaker, that it had not fallen

to my lot to get the floor at an earlier hour; because, sir, it has been charged by the gentleman from New-buryport (Mr. Cushing), that there is a studied ambiguity in the statement given of the reasons for this ground. I hold that this is sufficient and im the removal of Judge Loring. I know, sir, that that gentleman would acquit me, for one, of any desire to be ambiguous, or to shirk, in any degree, the reason for which I advocate this measure. I put it upon two independent grounds. One of

Judge Loring acted in the Burns case, we had the law of 1843, known as the Latimer Statute,—passed at the instance of the Hon. Charles Francis ed at the instance of the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, then a member of the House,—prohibiting our officers from acting under the law of 1793. When it was proposed to bring Judge Loring to account for acting under the law of 1850, he said the statute of 1843 did not apply to the law of 1850, notwithstanding the title of the Act of 1850 was an act supplementary to, and to amend the act of 1793. Very well; he had the benefit of that technical defence. But in 1855, the Legislature passe the clear and positive inhibition that is now upon our statute-book. And, Mr. Speaker, that inhibition has been pronounced constitutional by perhaps the ablest man for the consideration of that question the ablest man for the consideration of that question upon the floor of this House, a man, without disparagement to others, who brings more judicial ability to that question than any one else in the House. I might almost rest it upon his judicial opinion; and gentlemen will observe that the distinguished late Attorney-General of the United States has not said,—and I honor his professional honesty,—that the thirteenth section of that law is unconstitutional. In reply to my direct question vesterday, he replied

Should I insult this House by arguing that the pinion of Governor Gardner is worthy to be considered in this question, upon the point of the con-stitutionality of the law? But Governor Gardner

communication the opinion which I entertain, that this bill is obnoxious to very grave objections in many particulars, and is clearly repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. of the Constitution of the United States.

In my judgment, the bill is also exceptionable in some of its provisions, as being beyond the constitutional competency of the Legislature, under the provisions of the Constitution of the Commonwealth. It attempts to construe and declare the true intent and meaning of the provision of the Constitution which subjects judicial officers to removal by the Executive, upon address of both branches of the Legislature.

Now, gentlemen, who will read this opinion,—and I wish before the vote was taken, every man with any doubt upon the matter might read that opinion in full,—will read it, and say that Mr. Clifford does

more astonished that he should place his justifica-

I might fairly rest the question here. But if gentlemen will take the liberty to look into the laws of other States, passed in no moments of excite-ment, they will find precisely similar provisions;

'No Judge or Justice of the Peace shall hold the office of Sheriff, Depary-Sheriff, or Constable,'— Laws of Conn. Compilation, 1854, sec. 77.

'No Judge shall have any partner practising in the Court of which he is a Judge.'

'No Judge of the Court of Appeals or Justice of the Supreme Court shall practice as an Attorney, Solicitor, or Counsellor in any Court in this State.'— Rev. Stat. New York, vol. 2, p. 463.

'No Judge of any Court of Common Pleas in this State shall act as Clerk of the Court of which he is a Judge, or as an attorney at law or counsellor in

Judge, or as an attorney at law or counsellor in any Court in this State, any license to practice law custam, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.'—Laws of New Jersey, Nixon's Digest, p. 375.

And a provision in the State of Ohio, to which wish to call special attention. Ohio provides, after reciting that judges of the court of common pleas have been in the habit of appearing in the lower courts, and as stirring up litigation—

voted it down, simply because they would not bring judges. I supposed that the judges of any cirilized the least shadow of doubt upon the right of removal by address. In the debate upon the proposition to substitute two-thirds for a majority, Mr. Story said—

out to past such a penal statute as that upon their judges. I supposed that the judges of any cirilized without being imprisoned in the dungeon of the substitute two-thirds for a majority, Mr. Story said—

out to past such a penal statute as that upon their judges. I supposed that the judges of any cirilized without being imprisoned in the dungeon of the substitute two-thirds for a majority, Mr. Story said—

out to past such a penal statute as that upon their judges. I supposed that the judges of any cirilized the least shadow of doubt upon the right of removal statute as that upon their judges. I supposed that the judges of any cirilized the least shadow of doubt upon the right of removal statute as that upon their judges. I supposed that the judges of any cirilized the least shadow of doubt upon the right of removal statute as that upon their judges. I supposed that the judges of any cirilized the law, and obey it, without being imprisoned in the dungeon of the country judges. terday, when I heard the argument of the gentleman from Boston, (Mr. Hale,) I saw there was need supposing his views of constitutional law to be correct, of such a provision as that. For he said yes terday that when a law is upon)the statute-book, a judge may violate it with perfect impunity, if there is not a penalty attached to its violation.

But I do not think it necessary, in Massachusetts,

to provide that if a judge of your own do not obey the laws, he shall be punished as you punish ordina ry criminals. I believe we have a power, the exercise of which is better than penal laws upon you

statute-book to punish judges.

The gentleman from Taunton seemed to mistake in one part of his remarks, the precise order of events in Judge Loring's case. Judge Loring had his sitting, in the trial of Burns, before the passage of the law of 1855. Observe that it is the contin ation in the office after the passage of the law which constitutes his offence. While I speak, he is violating the law, every hour that we suffer him to be is the office. And he has himself said, in his protest of 1855, that he is under sovereign obligation to iolate the law of Massachusetts, not only passively but actively. I call the attention of the House nis language. He says :-

. The duties of Commissioners of the Circuit Courts of the United States, under the law of 1850, are imperative upon them; and an application made, pur suant to law, to any one Commissioner, fixes that du-ty on him, and after such application, he can neither decline nor evade it.

I say, gentlemen, he tells you he is shut up to the violation of the laws of Massachusetts. And now, I put it to the conservative men of this House, who, I think, ought to agree with me so far as this,—I put it to them to say, whether a man who violates the law of the Commonwealth, and sets the Commonwealth at defiance not merely, but who does it defiantly, assuming upon his own private opinion of the constitutionality of a law to disobey it, not as a martyr, but as a man eating his master's bread, and spurning both his wishes and commands, and keeping his salary. I wit it to them to say whather ing his salary,—I put it to them to say, whether the insulted majesty of the Commonwealth does not demade some vindication at our hands? So much, Mr. Speaker, for the first part of this

So much, Mr. Speaker, for the first part of this question. But, sir, I should do injustice not only to the feelings of my own heart, but should be guilty, perhaps, of doing wrong to those who are advocating this measure, were I to put it only on this ground. I hold that this is sufficient and imer ground. I desire to say, that for one, I seek to remove Edward Greeley Loring because he has lent himself to the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. ounds. One of those —the other appeals to hem are impregnable.

That, Mr. Speaker, is one of the strong motives that press upon some; and it is that which, in my opinion, gives a moral force to, as well as a large necesgrounds appeals to the head—the other appeals to the heart. I think both of them are impregnable.

First, as to the legal argument: It is that Judges Loring has violated the law of 1855. At the time

Sir, I have no time so speak of that infernal stat-

ute in the language that it deserves. But, sir, feel more strongly upon this matter than many. For it happens to me to represent a district that has within it, I suppose, more fugitive slaves than any district in this Commonwealth. And, Mr. Speaker, I have seen, as perhaps few gentlemen have seen the cruelty of this statute, not merely in its execution, but as it is held in terrorem over these poor trembling creatures.

Soon after its passage, the Sabbath stillness of the

morning hour in our city was broken with an alarm preconcerted signal for the approach of the kidnap pers. In an hour of quiet, we saw men hurrying a if for their lives, because they feared that the slave eatther was upon their track. Mr. Speaker, how should we feel, if every knock at our doors might be In reply to my direct question yesterday, he replied that he had not said it was unconstitutional. And he took care not to say so. This is significant enough. Now, gentlemen, what have we opposed Loring gives, in his decision. He says:

'The identity of Anthony Burns is the only ques-tion I have the right to consider.'

sidered in this question, upon the point of the constitutionality of the law? But Governor Gardner has sheltered himself under the ex-Attorney-General of the State. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have some regard for the reputation of my friend, Mr. Clifford, who differs from me, toto calo, in many respects; and I call the attention of the House to the startling fact that Mr. Clifford never pronounced that section of the law unconstitutional—never! That is the defence, too, which Judge Loring sets up, that he has acted upon the opinion of Mr. Clifford. I hold in my hand that opinion, which, but for the lateness of the hour, I would read in extenso. But I will read only that passage which turns upon this part of the law. He says:—

'I must content myself with expressing in this communication the opinion which I entertain, that this bill is obnoxious to very grave objections is many particulars, and is clearly repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

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'I must content myself with expressing in this communica The identity of Anthony Burns was the only question he had to consider! There is a statute of the day the man that executed that law. I do not think I am more sensitive than other men; but it happened to me, since the rendition of Simms, to appear before Mr. Commissioner Curtis, and I cannot express to you the loathing with which I went into that man's presence. And I am not in favor of making a delicate woman of our Commonwealth go before a man like Commissioner Loring, after he has fastened the shackles and the fetters upon a man in Massachusetts. I believe that we owe it to the people to spare them the degradation of appearing before such a magistrate.

any doubt upon the matter might read that opinion in full,—will read it, and say that Mr. Clifford does not confine himself, so far as relates to this part of the bill, to the fourteenth section, which assumes to say what the succeeding legislature and Governor? shall consider sufficient cause for address? This he considers unconstitutional; and in that opinion I agree with him. I do not think that a legislature are right to pass such a law binding upon their successors. But Mr. Clifford did not say, although the had it directly in his path to say, that that section which says that no officer of Massachusetts shall hold the office of a Commissioner of the United States is unconstitutional. And I challenge, here, to-day, the production of any competent, impartial lawyer, who will give an opinion to the effect that that section of the law is unconstitutional. I think the argument may safely rest here. And let me say, in passing, that I am utterly astonished that Judge in passing, that I am utt ore such a magistrate. Mr. Speaker, I alluded to the case of Sir

There are depths of infamy, as well as heights Harris, Bridgewanne, and the former belongs to the authors of Harris. Winchen

Mr. Speaker, the Burns case was y, it certainly happened at a time when Mas-tts was exasperated, to the last degree, by eage of the Kansas and Nebraska Act. It, ar, to be selected as the day to hamiliate further, to sink us still lower. The rendiseemed, air, to be selected its the day to hamiliate us still further, to sink us still lower. The rendition took place with every circumstance of selemnity; that very circumstance indicated the depth of interest that Massachusetts felt. It is computed, sir, that fifty thousand persons lined State street, and vicinity, to witness the sending back of the second man into slavery from Massachusetts. This time, sir, Massachusetts was stirred still more deeply, and the result was the passage of the Personal Liberty Bill of 1855.

This rendition of Anthony Burns was nearly four years ago. The gentleman from Boston says—why cannot we be satisfied with twice obtaining a verdict upon the conduct of Judge Loring,—and that ought to satisfy us. I submit, sir, that the trouble is simply this,—it is a trouble that an Attorney very rarely, but sometimes, experiences. We have gained two verdicts in the case of the Commonwealth vs. Edward G. Loring, and the Judge has set them aside. And now the people have set him aside, and

aside. And now the people have set him aside, and we are to have a new verdict. (Laughter and ap-Rabson, Gloucester. Mr. Speaker, I do desire that when men in the Bicknell, Weymouth.

South put the brand of 'Thief' upon such men as Walker, a citizen of Massachusetts, whom some of our representatives well knew, for an act of humanity that will hand his name down to posterity with Curtis, Quincy. hosor; while the South, I say, brands a man for a Cushing, Hingham. hosor; while the South, I say, brands a man for a crime against slavery, I desire that the North should affix a hrand of meral infamy upon a man guilty of a crime against liberty. (Mr. Dodge of Chatham, from his seat,—'Amen!') I do not desire this, Mr. Speaker, for revenge; if I know the sentiments of my heart, I stand here for public justice and public right. I desire to include in the same category with Judge Loring, every manageneous to the law. Far be it from me,—far be it from me to entertain any sentiments but those of pity for Judge Loring. I know he may be sheltered and supported by men of Boston who live in high places. But if I am certain of anything, it is of the name that history will give him. For, Mr. Speaker, it so happens that history, which conceals every defect of reformers,—which forgets all that was vicious in Luther, and that was abusive in Milton,—although it covers with a management of the state of the st abusive in Milton, -although it covers with a mantle of charity every sin of reformers, does not fail to fix in the pillory any man, no matter how great his private virtue, who arrays himself on the side his private virtue, who arrays himself on the side Knox, Chester. of tyranny. And that despised William Lloyd Garrison, in the annals of history, will stand above Lewis, Boston. men of splendid talents who have not lent them to the cause of freedom. (Applause.)

Mr. Speaker, the gentlemm from Newburyport, (Mr. Cushing,) the other day, in his speech, uttered, as it seems to me, sentiments that we ought to America.

protest against upon other grounds than those which have been alluded to. He said, with voice, and air, and gesture, that satisfied me that if that 'poor demented negro' had met with a misfortune in losing he would have met with a greater misfortune if he had found one in the gen Newburyport—(much laughter)—he said to this House that the Caucasian race were the masters of this country,—its sovereigns, its rulers,—and that with the help of God, we will still continue to be the rulers of the United States; and this is the same spirit in which the Supreme Court of the United States decided that colored men, at the time of the Revolution, had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. Now, sir, against the spirit of this I solemnly protest. It is the spirit of the oppressor, all the world over; it is the spirit of the op-expression in the pirate's arm apression in the pirate's arm, but never ought to ind expression in a legislature, or a judicial tribunal. It is this spirit that says, because we are stronger, we should strike down the weaker; because we are we should strike down the weaker; because the more intelligent, we should deprive the less intelligent of the few privileges they have had,—that because the negro is poor and degraded, therefore the rights of citizenship may be taken from him, and he may be exposed to the rapacity of every man who chooses to rob him. It is this spirit that I protest

chooses to rob him. It is this spirit that I procest against. This is not Massachusetts doctrine.

We, Mr. Speaker, make laws to protect the weak. This is no question of social equality; it is the question of political rights. And it is the fundamental axiom in our theory, that the rights of the humblest are to stand on a level with the rights of the strong-And so I stand here to-day to say that Mas chusetts cares for the humblest of her citizens .-And I feel proud to stand here, and remember that we are considering a case which arises out of the rendition of a poor, ignorant, friendless negro.

That is the boast and pride of our Commonwealth, that no negro can be taken from our soil without stirring, to the very bottom, the sentiments of every spond affirmatively, (and they will, undoubtedly,) Massachusetts man. And, Mr. Speaker, it is that which makes the honor of the Commonwealth. It is the love of liberty that illustrates the Past; it is the love of it to-day that brightens the Present

MASSACHUSETTS ERECT!-JUDGE LORING A THIRD TIME VOTED UNWORTHY TO HOLD HIS OFFICE.

For the third time, the people of this Common wealth, through the Legislature, have demanded the removal of Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate for Suffolk County, for the unwarrantable part he took in the rendition of Anthony Burns, and for his contumacious violation of a law of Massachusetts, by which he is forbidden to hold the office of Judge while acting as a Slave Commissioner. Since our last number went to press, the House of Representatives has, after an earnest discussion, taken friend, for of late the Freeman is not sent to this office action in favor of the Report of the Joint Special Com- in exchange for the Liberator, which is mailed regumittee for the removal of the Judge. [We have no larly to it. Is this intentional? room for particulars, but record the result with high satisfaction, as will the people generally.]

On motion of Mr. Page of Cambridge, the year and nays were ordered on the adoption of the address, and the roll being called, it was agreed to by the follow-

ing vote: Yeas, 127, viz: American Republicans, 123, viz : Abercrombie, Braintree. Holmes, Rochester. Howes, Essex. Johnson, Abington. Allen, Scituate. Allen, Oakham. Johnson, Upton. Kelly, New Bedford. Kingsbury, Needham. Lewis, Wellfleet, Allen, New Bedford. Arnold, Northampto Atwood, Chatham. Lovejoy, Lynn.
Littlefield, Melrose.
McKinstry, Southbridge.
Mann, Stoughton.
Marble, Charlton. Bates, Lynn. Bates, Worthington. Benchley, Worcester. Marble, Seekonk. Marshall, Rockport. Morton, Andover. Newhall, Sangus. Blanchard, Marshfield. Breed, Reading. Newton, Westboro'. Nichols, Freetown. Norcross, Fitchburg. Osgood, Sterling. Burt, Wilbraham. Parker, Worcester. Patten, Amesbury. Pierce, Holyoke. Butters, Methuen. Campbell Conway. Carpenter, Foxbo Pierce, Holyoke.
Pitman, New Bedford.
Porter, Hadley.
Potter, Dartmouth.
Prescott, Salem. Chapin, Springfield. Chase, Lynn. Chase, Salem. Cheney, Holden. Churchill, Milton. Putnam, Danvers. Rantoul, Beverly. Ray, Nantucket. Reed, Abington. Collins, Newton Renny, Chicopee.
Richardson, Dracut.
Richardson, Franklin.
Scott, Uxbridge. rse, Woburn. ch, Westhampton. Shove, Dighton. Shumway, Groton. Smith, Becket. Smith, Danvers. Soule, New Bedford. Davis, Ware. ge, Chatham. n, South Reading Soule, New Bedford.
Spooner, Boston.
Stevens, Lowell.
Studley, Dennis.
Taft, Williamstown.
Taft, Dedham.
Tay, Lowell.
Thayer, Worcester.
Tillotson, Worcester.
Tillotson, Worcester.
Wakefield, Mariboro
Wales, Randolph.
Walker, Brookfield.
Warren, Grafton.
Waterman, Scituate.
Watson, Bedford.
Wells. Greenfield. Edwards, Newbury. Eldridge, Fairhaven

Pay, Palm

ak, Bernardston ter, Tana

Howard, Easton. Shaw, Weymouth Nays, 101, vis:

Williams, Boston. Wing, Sandwich. Wood, Hopkinton.

Jepson, Lowell. Kimball, Haverhill. Kimbey, Warelam. Keland, Holliston. Mitchell, Nantucket. Moore, Waltham. Morrill, Fall River. Mudge, Petersham. Noble, Cambridge. Plummer, Brighton. Richardson, Sudbur Richardson, Attlebon Saunders, Cambridge. Spragu, Malden. Stevens, Athol. Hardy, Lawrence. Hoadley, Lawrence. Bolden, Billerica. Vose, Springfield. Warner, Amherst. Wise, Lowell. Gardner Americans, 28, viz :

Mayo, Orleans.

Page, Cambridge. Parsons, Brookline. Paul, Boston.

Pearce, Gloucester.

Prescott, Boston.

Ruggles, Dorchester. Sands, Boston. Sprague, Boston.
Temple, Framingham
Tucker, Lexington.
Wyman, Boston. Pattee, Boston. Pray, Charlestown.
Proctor, West Cambridge.
Riley, Boston.
Sheldon, Webster.
Spofford, Newburyport. Caldwell, Charlestown. Crane, Norton. Cushing, Newburyport. Sumper Milford. Draper, West Roxbury. Hatch, Boston. Keyes, Somerville. Kniffen, West Stoel Knox, Chester.

Thayer, Blackstone. Tinkham, Middlebero Walker, Roxbury. Washburn, Boston. Wetherbee, Acton. Willard, Charlestown Willis, Roxbury. Wood, Boxford. Woods, Groton. Woodworth, Worcester. Young, Boston. American Republicans, 6, viz : Dodge, Beverly. Moore, Southampton. Woods, Enfield. Atwood, Provincetown.

Chapman, Chicopee. Sanderson, Springfield. Deblois, Boston. Lawrence, Charlestown. Leonard, Pittsfield. Gardner American-Scammel, Milford.

In the Senate, on Wednesday, that body re pended to the action of the House by a vote of nearly wo to one!

On motion of Mr. EARLE, of Worcester, the ye and nays were ordered, with the following result :-Greene, Northfield, Haynes, Waltham, Adams, Townsend,

Allen, Shrewsbury, Bagg, W. Springfield, Bailey, Fitchburg, Boyden, Amherst, Branning, Lee, Cornell, New Bedford, Crane, Dalton, Earle, Worcester, Fabens, Marblehead Felton, Brookfield,

Bennett, Leominster.

Nays, 14, viz: Bliss, Pawtucket, Bonney, Lowell, Ellis, Carver, Esty, Framingham, Frost, Boston, Holbrook, Weymouth, Hooper, Boston,

Merrick, Walpole, Parker, Boston, Reed, Taunton, Sawyer, Charlestown, Stone, Newburyport, Turner, Brookline, Usher, Medford.

Ingalls, Methuen, Jenkins, Scituate,

Prince, Essex, Swift, Yarmouth,

Walker, Springfield.

Knight, East Hampton, Metcalf, Mendon, Morissey, Nantucket, Phelps, Boston, Porter, Boston,

Absent (by sickness)-Mr. Field, of Athol. It only remains for the Governor and Council to respond affirmatively, (and they will, undoubtedly,) and

## The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, MARCH 19, 1858. MR. GARRISON'S LETTER TO THE VER-

MONT CONVENTION. The Green Mountain Freeman has at length published Mr. Garrison's Letter to the Vermont Auti Slavery Convention,-which letter had been entrust ed to it for publication some six weeks previously For the knowledge of this fact, we are indebted to

The following is the letter referred to. printing it, the Freeman (either designedly or through nexcusable carelessness, as the manuscript was very legible) makes numerous errors-among them, for Christ-like souls,' substituting the unmeaning words,

Cabinet-like souls, &c. !! Boston, Jan. 25, 1858.

REV. N. R. JOHNSTON : DEAR SIR-Though circumstances will prevent my bodily presence at the Anti-Slavery Convention, to be held in Bradford, this week, I shall assuredly be there in spirit, responding to every true word uttered against the sum of all villanies,' exulting in every indication of a firm and resolute purpose to seek its eter-nal overthrow, and rejoicing in every advance towards

unity of feeling and action, with reference to the sa cred cause of impartial liberty. I rejoice that the Convention opens its doors to al who may wish to attend, and offers them in good faith a free platform, whatever may be their views on the subject of slavery. 'Let there be light.' Let the discussions be free, carnest, manly, yet kind and fraternal, and characterized throughout by candor and impartiality. Let truth be the object sought-the path of duty honestly inquired for, and courageously we comed, lead where it may; for it can never lead in wrong direction. Let there be no evasion, no dust throwing, no side-issue, no compromise, no attempt to palliate or excuse, no verbal quibbling, no meta physical hair-splitting, no special pleading, no sanctionious cant, no cowardly apprehension of 'conse quences.' Let the question be clearly stated, intelli gently understood, and thoroughly canvassed. It is not, on the part of the North, simply one of self-defence; or pertaining to Kansas, or to the territorial extension of slavery, or to the Fugitive Slave Bill, or to the Dred Scott decision, or to the designs of the Slave Power upon Mexico, Cuba, Central Ameries, St. Domingo, or to the guilt of the South generally. It includes all these, and a great deal more It is, primarily-1st. What is American Slavery, its origin, spirit, history, assumption, and purpose What is it, judging it by its own code, and testing it by its own fruits? 2d. Who, and how many are it victims, and what is their physical, mental and more condition? 3d. Who are responsible for their enslave ment, and of whom shall their blood be required 4th. What is the religious relation austained by the North, through its churches and various other ecclesisatical bodies, to the slave system? 5th. To what extent is the North responsible for the continuance of that system, through its political and governmental

elations to the South? 6th. Ought the watchword throughout the North to be, No Union with Slave.

Briefly I will say, that Slavery originated in man, stealing, by violence and blood, and, as it cannot change its character, is man-stealing to this hour. Its spirit is brutal, sensual, devilish-at war with God and man, and merciless in its treatment of all those who call its rectitude in question. Its history is one of perfidy, usurpation, lust, cruelty, blaspheny, and every conceivable sin and crime-crowded with horrors and reeking with blood. Its assumption is that it is God-ordained and God-approved-sanctioned alike under the Old and under the New Dispensation—the normal condition of the labering class es, without regard to race or complexion—never to be abolished, but, on the contrary, to be cherahed, strengthened, extended, perpetuated, at whatever sacrifice or hazard. Its purpose is, avowedly, to seek the overthrow of all existing free institutions, to subjugets the entire country to its bloody sway, to tolerate nothing which does not bow down to its behest, and to claim the right of universal dominion. Its code is, the repeal of all the commands of the Decalogue, and all the injunctions of the Gospel—the concentration of all injustice, the culmination of all villany, the acme of all impiety, sundering as it does all human ties, subjecting its victims to every species of torture, degrading them to a level with beasts and perishable property, compelling them to live in a state of un-cleanness and pollution surpassed by nothing in Sodom or Gomorrah, and making the traffic in their bodies and souls one of the most active branches of commerce. Its fruits are unbounded profligacy, horrible profanity, wholesale robbery, infernal barbarity, and thronging woes and curses innumerable. Earth shudders at its existence—Heaven cries out against it-Humanity execrates and fices in terror from it-God, and angels, and the spirits of the just made perfect above, and all noble and Christ-like souls on earth, demand its immediate and utter extinction

The number of those who are clanking their chains in our land, ' without God and without hope,' it is frightful to contemplate. Think of it! It exceeds the entire population of the six New England States! It is equal to one seventh portion of all the inhabitants in America! Its increase, by natural generation, is not less than one hundred thousand annually Every five minutes, a fresh victim is added to the immense throng who are doomed to toil, and sufer, and bleed, without redress and beyond all conception! They are systematically degraded, brutalized, heather. ized. These are our brethren, according to the fieshmade of the same 'one blood,' 'a little lower this the angels'-under the same law to God-entitled to the hopes and privileges of the same gospel-as dex to the common Pather as ourselves-invested by creation with the same inalienable rights-destined to the same immortality-and accountable to the same tribunal.

Where lies the responsibility for their awful fate Upon every religious denomination which does not beg an uncompromising testimony against Slavery. Upon every church which recognizes slaveholders as of the household of faith, and disciples of Christ. Upon erery political party which gives any quarters to Slavery, whether in Kansas or in Carolina. Upon all the people of the North, comprehensively speaking through their persistent and willing complicity with the slaveholders and slave-traffickers at the South, in every variety of action and combination. Upon the Constitution of the United States, with its iniquitous slaveholding compromises, as 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and upon all who swear allegiance to it. Upon the American Union, which makes every State slave-hunting ground, and renders it possible for three hundred and fifty thessand Southern taskmasters to hold in iron bonday

four millions of the children of God! What, then, is our common duty? Repentance in sackcloth and ashes-confession of sin-unwivering adherence to the cause of freedom-no Union with Slaveholders!

Yours, to break every yoke, WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

A. S. CONVENTION AT ALBANY. NEW YORK, March 11, 1858. MY DEAR FRIEND:

Your absence from the Convention at Albany was deeply regretted by all. To some who had never see you, it was a sore disappointment. However, welst a good time. The number in attendance at every sesion was respectable; and at each of the evening sesions, it was large. A pretty full report of our proceedings, prepared by a very intelligent and lovely young lady, will be published in the Anti-Slavery Standard next week, so that I need not attempt in this any detail.

In the resolutions some of which will not be net to you-we endeavored to set before the minds of the people the present political and religious aspects of our nation, as they appear to us at this time. They were pressed very ably and earnestly upon the consid eration of our auditors by Mr. Phillips, Mr. Remond. Mr. Powell, and Miss Anthony. And all present who dissented in any respect or measure from ou doctrines or methods, were repeatedly invited to speak, were assured of a respectful hearing and a explicit reply, if one should be deemed necessary Several gentlemen, especially one, who is a memb of the General Assembly, accepted our invitation, and pressed the common objections to your and Mr. Phillips's theory and practice of not voting The gave rise to a spirited but brief discussion, which eslivened the evening, and furnished an occasion for the fuller explanation and enforcement of that theory.

Your letter was read at the opening of the int evening session, and was, as your word is apt to be the key-note of the speeches. It will be published with the report of our proceedings in the Standard of next week.

Your absence, and Mr. Phillips's brief stay, made me apprehensive that the second day of the Conva-tion would be less useful than the first. But Mr. Remond and Mr. Powell spoke several times, and miformly with power; and in the evening, Rev. A. D. Mayo, of Albany, unexpectedly gave us a speech of great ability, on the forces of freedom that are op posed to the forces of slavery in this country and the world, showing that Liberty must triumph. That was much in what he said to encourage us. Soil, I felt, especially after hearing Mr. Powell's able repit. that the effect of his speech might be to lighten to much our sense of responsibility for the continuaof slavery. We ought to labor as if the emancipati of the enslaved depended upon our exertions, although it be true that God in his providence is wielding mighty agencies against every form of oppression. For it should be ever borne in mind, that his might est instrumentality in the reformation of communiis a change in public opinion,-the disse among the people of right sentiments and feelings specting the evil that should be abolished.

The last evening of the Convention was, on whole, the best. The large audience remains throughout the session, and seemed reluctant rate than impatient to depart.

You will be glad to hear that, at the suggration, believe, of our indefatigable fellow-laborer, Susas l ANTHONY, it was voted to hold a meeting similar the one just closed annually in Albany, on the well succeeding the annual meeting of the Massachusett Anti-Slavery Society. It is to commence on the morning of Thursday, and continue through that sal the two or three succeeding days, as may be for expedient. This is obviously a wise arrangement, it will enable yourself, Mr. Phillips, and others, so order your other engagements as to ensure your st-tendance on the Albany Convention.

Yours, truly, SAMUEL J. MAY.

WILLIAM LEGED GARRISON.

HOLINESS VERSUS GOODNESS.

If you say A, you must say B, says the popular proverb. The Abolitionists, for a quarter of a centuprovero. And Absolute and the contracting the truth of this declaration of the wisdom of ages. Unable, from the laration of the numbers, to effect, by themselves, the deliverance of the slave, they, of course, at the commencement of their enterprise, sought to enthe comments, and more powerful interests, in this great object, and, first of all, that class which is this great bound, by its very constitution and profeslogically sion, to oppose sin, and forward a great work of pracsion, to oppose sin, the Church was, of course, the body first looked to by the Abolitionists for aid in breaking the chains of the oppressed. The acquiesbreaking the Church in that sin from the beginning, and its supineness in allowing an effort at reform in and he supment originate with the unregenerate that direction that making good, by active influence, its claim to be regarded as the "light," salt, "leaven, which saved that world from error and corrupen, which strange to the early Abolitionists but they attributed this to inadvertence rather than put they active than unfaithfulness. It was necessary to awaken the untailmanness the Church; to bring to its knowledge the sufferings of the slave, and the guilt of the slaveholder. This bethe stave, and the garden apply itself to a correction of the evil, an overthrow of the sin.

But how was the Church to be reached, since its congregations were many, and the Abolitionists were congregations were many, and the restrictionists were few: How, but through the clergy? It was strange, indeed, that they had not spontaneously begun this protest. If the Church should, ex-officio, have commenced a work of reform in advance of the 'world,' much more should the leaders of the Church have taken this precedence. This also, however, was charitaken this present to inadvertence; and Mr. Garrison and his associates confidently appealed to the clergy, hoth through the press and by personal solicitation, with the confident expectation that they would commence with vigor, and in earnest, the work of purifying the church from gross sin, removing a frightful source of corruption from the community, relieving Christ's little ones who were kept in heathenish ignorance as well as under oppression, and preparing the way of the Lord by the removal of an obstacle so gigantic as slavery from the path of his Gospel. This appeal was disregarded, and these expectations

disappointed. The champion of Orthodoxy, Dr. Lyman Beecher, then in his prime of vigor, plainly told Mr. Garrison that he could not attend to slavery, being occupied with matters of more importance. His son, Edward Beecher, pastor of Park Street Church, wax so indifferent to the oppression of the colored people in Boston, that he did not take the trouble to oppose, by a single word of remonstrance, the successive outrages perpetrated by that Church in 1830, first, forcibly keeping a colored man (on Sunday, Feb. 21st,) from the occupancy of a pew in their meeting-house which he had bought and paid for ; next, permanently plundering him of that valuable piece of property; and, lastly, passing a vote, (in a church-meeting, opened and closed with prayer,) which has prevented colored people from worshipping there on equal terms with others to the present day. The heads of Andover Theological Seminary, and the clergy of the country generally, followed these examples of indifference to the evil and the guilt of oppression of the colored people, and kept absolute silence on the sub-The hope of enlisting the clergy in opposition to

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slavery, and of influencing the Church through their means, having failed, it became necessary for the Abclitionists to address the Church directly, partly through the press, and partly through such of their number as were church members. In this correspendence with the clergy, the Abolitionists had themselves gained new insight into the power wielded, and the corruption engendered, by slavery. They had supposed the slaves alone to be its victims; but the efforts made for their relief had shown slavery to have invaded the North, penetrated the Church, and surrounded the pulpit with its chain; and a plain statement to church members of the evil and the guilt of slavery required its influence upon the clergy as well as upon the slaveholder and the slave, to be laid open before them. If slavery was sapping, not only the morals and the manners of the country, but also its religion, and the very sources of its religious instruction, the evil was yet more imminent, and was to be The churches followed the counsel and the example

of the clergy, and refused, almost universally, to take any radical and efficient action against slavery. Here was more evidence of the extent and the depth of corruption wrought by that pernicious system. It became plain to the Abolitionists, that if an institution so powerful and so reputable as the Church sheltered slavery in its bosom, welcomed slaveholders to its communion as Christians, and refused, even when requested, to utter any testimony either against the tyrant or in favor of the slave-the Church was ' the bulwark of slavery,' and help against that wickedness must be sought from another quarter.

As l'aul, when the Jews rejected his Gospel, turned to the Gentiles, so the Abolitionists, repulsed by the clergy and the churches, turned to the community at large to ask help for the slave, and again brought to their work an enlarged experience of the detesta ble character and corrupting influences of slavery which demanded plain expression in their lectures and writings. They had hitherto, with the rest of the world, conceded to the clergy and the churches the real possession of the character they so confidently claimed. But the recent developments obliged them to pause and reflect. Is there, can there be any concord between Christ and Belial? Can the Church which shelters slavery in her bosom be the true Church of Christ? Can the clergy who have led that Church into that position, and who now uphold them in it. be true ministers of Christ, and trustworthy expounders of his gospel? The Abolitionists frankly stated these questions to the people at large; they did more; they gave, for themselves, an emphatic negative to both. They defended Jesus, and the religion which he taught, and the book in which that religion is recorded, from the calumnious charge that these, or either of them, authorized the claim of the slaveholder, or disregarded the oppression of the slave. They pointed out the distinction between Christianity and the various sects, calling themselves 'evangelical,' which make up the popular religion in America; be tween these American churches and the Church of Christ; and between their pro-slavery clergy and the ministers of Christ; and, from that moment, the clergy and the churches thus exposed have never ceased to oppose, stigmatize and calumniate the Abo

Apart from general calumny—the cry of 'Infidel! (equivalent to that of 'Mad Dog ! ') which the clergy directed against the Abolitionists—this opposition mifested itself in two forms. First, positively, by the assertion that certain acts of the Abolitionists in behalf of the slave were anti-Christian acts, (such as publicly showing that slaveholding was sin, and ought to be immediately repented of and forsaken, on the Sabbath; and seeking aid, in all the departments of anti-slavery labor, from women as well as men; and next, negatively, by trying to show that Christianity is a system irrespective alike of pro-slavery and anti-slavery; that evangelical piety is in a department quite separate from these, and can coexist with either, ust as with the wearing of silk by one man and wool en by another, or with the trade of a bookseller as well as of a carpenter; that the evidence of a man' regenerate or Christian state may be satisfactory and omplete, not only without any principle, on his part opposition to slaveholding, or any desire to help hose who are suffering the extremity of oppress indicated by that word, but with the claim that he owns certain men, women and children, and is determined still to hold and use them as his property; or

such claim to ownership, representing it as perfectly credited, by the Lord of the vineyard,) not to that conformable to the Christian Scriptures, the will of God, and the religion taught by Jesus of Naxareth. In short, to state the case with a moderation falling are disobedient; and lastly, to know by rote the far short of the truth, they try to represent Christian peeted to admit them to heaven. For, the sermon ity as a thing so utterly irrespective of pro-slavery or anti-slavery, that Dr. South-side Adams may claim to be a representative of it as truly as William Wil-magical words the berforce or William Lloyd Garrison.

So high has been the reputation, and so great the influence of the clergy, that these lies were actually believed by large numbers of the people. It became necessary, therefore, for the Abolitionists to reply to these calumnies, alike upon themselves and Christianity, and, in their speaking and writing in regard to alayery, to show these four things :

1. As to the actual teaching of the Bible—that it fully justified the anti-slavery labors which had been objected to, both of men and women, on Sunday, the first day of the week.

2. As to the character of the Bible-that it is directly and thoroughly opposed to slaveholding; but that, if the clergy could make good their pretence that the oppressive acts which constitute slavery were authorized by that book, this would not show slavery to be right, but would show the Bible to be wrong.

3. As to the holding and using, the buying and selling human beings as property, or the attempt to with them on earth, and praising him as the best mi justify that practice-that both are totally and absolutely incompatible with the Christian character; so that Parson Brownlow of Tennessee, and Dr. Southside Adams of Boston, cannot possibly become Christians until they ore changed in these particulars.

4. As to a thorough detestation of slavery, and a practical opposition to it wherever its influence extends-that this is an essential, component, and indispensable part of Christianity; so that Parson Brownlow and Dr. South-side Adams cannot possibly become Christians until their hearts and lives are re-

formed to this extent at least.

Every one of these movements of defence, which have been found needful by the Abolitionists, either against the calumnies of the clergy on the one hand, or their pro-slavery preaching on the other, has been represented by those very clergymen as an attack sake of opposing religion.

of the departments of Christianity, as well as of than forty which had made this conspiracy. The anti-slavery, against their perversions, is introductory to some remarks on a sermon preached at Abington, by Rev. F. R. Abbe, and phonographically reported in the Abington Standard, Feb. 19th, 1858.

This sermon formally states, and undertakes to desystem of all the sects calling themselves 'evangeliof all those sects have frequently done) to turn, by direct and pointed application, to the discredit of preparation for his labors to-morrow. Or, if he shall anti-slavery, and, by equally effective implication, to the permission and allowance of slavery. This doctrine is the maintenance of a radical distinction between goodness and holiness; between the traits of character and the course of action by which a man improves himself and benefits his fellow-men, and those by which he pleases God.

It is important to mention, that the distinction made here is not the real and valid one between mere external morality (the doing of outwardly right actions without affections corresponding to them in the heart) and the doing of good things from good motives, (doing that which will improve one's self or benefit others, from a real desire for the improvement or the benefit.) Both these are taken together in contrast to holiness, the characteristic which is to render a man acceptable to God. This appears from the fact that the author enumerates among the things that are well enough for earth, but not needed in heaven, and met, after death, by condemnation, instead of approval, from the Creator, not only merely 'external acts,' (such as alms-giving from selfish motives,) but 'our natural affections,'- parental love,'- those affections which bind the family and the neighborhood together'; and also 'our simple moral qualities,' among which he enumerates 'probity, honesty, temperance, . justice, . virtue, . love to man and hatred to tyranny; desire for the freedom of those are in bondage and wrong.' Upon the person who have these qualities, but have not that other quality which he calls 'holiness,' he represents the following sentence as being pronounced after death : 'Away! away! . There will be no opportunity of exercising these, your highest gifts and noblest graces, in heaven. Away, for ever!

What sort of heaven is that in which there will be no opportunity of exercising probity, justice, virtue,

Let us now look at that other characteristic, different from those above rehearsed, and better than they, by which it is asserted that a man does become acceptable to God. The writer asks-

'If these things are good, but not holy, what things are both good and holy!'

After trying and rejecting a plan which, though entirely satisfactory if it were possible, is correctly assumed to be utterly impossible (namely, the simultancous and constant observance, without a single exception through life, of these two precepts; from the Old Testament, Fear God and keep his commandments, and from the New Testament, Love God with all the heart, and your neighbor as yourself,) the author comes to the one only practicable plan which will secure holiness, and thus render its possessor acceptable to God. And (it must be kept in mind) the author assumes this thing, when attained, to be goodness as well as holiness, although he has previously declared the qualities enumerated under the head 'goodness' to be utterly needless and valueless in heaven. The provision for attaining holiness and goodness in one act (which would seem to be instantaneous) is as follows :--

'The Eternal Son of God has come to our earth, and has taken upon Him our nature and human flesh. He has come, and has obeyed these two com-mandments to the letter, fully, from the first hour of without even the slightest consciousness to the last, without even the slightest failure.' [That is to say, he has perfectly loved God and perfectly feared Him at the same time, and all his life long, notwithstanding the absolute incompatibility of these two emotions, each with the other, and notwithstanding the declarations of the New Testament— There is no fear in love! Perfect love casteth out fear. He that feareth is not made perfect in

'He, in the love which he had for mankind, laid own his life for us. He laid down that life in sacrifice and by his spotless obedience, by that perfect and infinite sacrifice, has made provision so that we may come and receive, not our own holiness, but His holiness ascribed to us; so that by the single act of faith, true and carnest faith in Him, and in his dispose of some one size, and not through their own act of faith, true and carnest faith in Him, and in his love and sacrifice, we may be considered holy in the sight of heaven. • • That is the only holiness to which we can arrive. That is the only holiness which will carry us in safety through death, to the gate of heaven, and to that blessed vision of Christ and the throns.

Thus the person who, whatever his character, whatever his past life, has exercised this one simple act of faith, is immediately admitted, at death, into the heaven where neither justice, honesty, virtue nor love to man are needed. And a very fit place for him it will be; since the faith which this pro-slavery parson describes, and which he separates from 'good-ness,' and in comparison which he discredits 'good-ness,' is a barren faith, which, instead of applying itself to the performance of the duties of this world, and thus preparing itself to fulfil the duties of what-ever world shall be next assigned by the Father for its dwelling place, has for its function these three things, and no more : first to believe that some other

with the concoction and publication of a defence of and honestly performed, is creditable, (and actually

'His password is 'Christ Crucified'! and at these magical words the gete flies open, and a host of an-gels, with anthems, attend him to the throne of heav-

of 'The Pulpit and the Pew'-himself an Orthodex minister-has described as most acceptable to worldly rofessors of religion, in these words:

Be touching and tender on the atonement in gen eral, and be 'great on death,' and they turn to you with approbation. Be terrible, though temperate against actual and present transgression, and they turn against you.' Of course they turn against you! Of course the

persons who want to get the credit of holiness' on the grounds of another person's faithful fulfilment of his duty, are the very persons who object to have 'goodness' in this life required of them; the very persons who will not only agree that honesty, justice and the love of man will not be needed in heaven, but who will . better the instruction by dispensing ister who preaches against anti-slavery, like the Rev F. R. Abbe.

If this disparager of 'goodness' had been willing to preach the truths of his own Bible, he would have taught his hearers that the syailing faith is a 'faith THAT WORKETH,' and 'that worketh BY LOVE, actually practising justice, honesty, love to man and help to those in need, instead of lazily trusting to be approved because Jesus practised them.

The persons, however, who hold this faith, and who lead this life, are sometimes intensely hated and vindictively opposed by the advocates of Mr. Abbe's religion. In proof of this, we will mention a transaction which has recently occurred in Boston, and which bears no resemblance to goodness, however strong may be its claim to rank as 'holiness.'

On Saturday afternoon, the 6th inst., in the vestry upon Christianity—a sifting in of infidelity—a departure from the legitimate work of anti-slavery for the pastor,) a number of men came together to invoke the This sketch of the manner in which the assaults of place, against the influence, health, strength, reason the clergy have obliged Abolitionists to defend some and life of Theodore Parker. 'And they were more following were among the forms of petition and imprecation there used:—
O Lord, if this man is a subject of grace, conver

him, and bring him into the kingdom of thy dear Son. But if he is beyond the reach of the saving infend, a doctrine which is implied in the theological fluence of the Gospel, remove him out of the way, and let his influence die with him. O Lord, send confusion and distraction into his

speak to the people, meet him there, Lord, and con found him, so that he shall not be able to speak." Lord, we know that we cannot argue him down, and

the more we say against him, the more will the people flock after him, and the more will they love and revere him. O Lord, what shall be done for Boston, if thou dost not take this and some other matters in hand?'

[This despairing confession and petition, and the re sult of them, are well suited to remind us of Elijah's comment on the priests of Baal, and the sort of Deity on whom they relied for help. . They called on the name of Baal from morning even until noon, saying, O Baal ! hear us. But there was no voice, nor any that answered. . . And it came to pass at noor that Elijah mocked them, and said-Cry aloud! for he is a god! either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked! And they cried aloud. . . And it came to pass, when mid-day was passed, and they prophesied until the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice, that there was neither voice, nor any to answer, nor any that regarded!

We continue our quotations from the Park-stree curse-meeting.]

·O Lord, if this man will still persist in speaking in public, induce the people to leave him, and to come

The 'exhortations' which alternated with thes prayers were of the same character. One man urged his brethren to 'pray that God will put a hook in this man's jaws, so that he may not be able to speak."

We return to Mr. Abbe's sermon. This sermon is weak and foolish, besides being inonsistent and self-contradictory. Most of its weak ness and folly we must leave untouched for want of space. But the test which the author proposes, infallibly to distinguish between the merely good und the holy, would be 'hard to beat' in point of absurd-

Whatever is simply good can be perverted to abom inable uses, but whatever is holy cannot be so pervert-

Thus, while justice, honesty, the love of man, the hatred of tyranny, may be perverted to abominable ases, the use of the expression 'Christ Crucified,' as pass-word to get into heaven, cannot be so per-

If there is any one expression which has been used nore than another, to justify every kind and degree of wickedness, from the bloody conquests of the Catholic filibusters, with the crucifix in one hand and the sword in the other, through the horrors of the Inquisition—the holy Inquisition !-down to the atrocities of Deacon Netherland in the practice of slaveholding of South-side Adams in its defence, and of the officer of the Tract Society in providing for its continuance -it is this very expression, 'Christ Crucified,' I ever guiltless martyr was crucified afresh, again and again betrayed with a perfidious kiss, wounded in the house of his pretended friends, and so misinterpreted as to rivet on the necks of men the fetters that he lived and died to break, it is Jesus of Narareth. Ir his name a shameless priesthood, Protestant as well as Catholic, are still selling indulgences for sin; still circulating among men, and authenticating as gen-uine, a spurious 'holiness,' while they discredit that goodness' which God requires of mankind, alike in this world and in the next.

True and plain as it is that God's approval of men will be proportionate to their obedience, that is to the conformity of their outward and inward life to so much of his perfect wisdom as they can gain from dience of some one else, and not through their own next, that even this vicarious obedience has been ren dered available and efficacious only by a bloody sacri fice; and lastly, that the rejecters of these dogmas are necessarily, by that fact, rejecters of religion, and especially of Christianity; and that the relation which they cultivate towards God is an offering to him of 'mere morality,' without religion.

Since such things are believed by the people, a well as asserted by the clergy, it is needful to add to what has gone before the following explanation.

what has gone before the following explanation.

That which has been said respecting obedience—in other words, the duty of striving to bring the actual life, outward and inward, into habitual conformity with the will of God—or, in yet other words, the constant effort to improve one's own character and to benefit one's fellow-men—does not in the alightest degree imply that we are to dispense with religious feeling—a tender sense of our filial relation to God, with gratitude for His paternal providence exercised over us—nor with preper—the soul's striving to enter into

Him—nor with self-examination—an attempt to dis-tinguish whether we are or are not, at present, in con-formity with His will—nor with penitenor—a heart-felt regret for our sins, both of commission and of not got the article. said in this article, positive or negative, expresses or implies the alightest disregard for any or all of these things. He is the wisest man who heedfully uses all these precious privileges, and makes each of them, in its appropriate place and time, helpful towards a closer conformity of his life to the will of the Infinite conformity of his life to the will of the Infinite kneeling position, begging for mercy, and losing the burthen; and the work is done, and a fair start made teaching foolish superstitions in regard to every one of them, and making their very names a 'damaged phraseology.' But as all these are means, and not ends—as they are useful or not in proportion as they help us, or not, to practise that OBEDIENCE which is the one thing needful—as a life spent solely in these would be as perfectly wasted and useless as one spent in sharpening instruments that were never to be used
—and as forty thousand clergymen in this country are constantly enjoining them as if they were ends and not means—we have chosen to inculcate the practical work to which the tools above mentioned are

LETTER FROM REV. A. T. FOSS. LINESVILLE, Crawford Co., Penu., )

DEAR PRIEND GARRISON: What of the night?' From thousands of anxious pro-slavery religionist is only an idol. These all ask, What of the night?' in fear and alarm. But those who are in the midst of the conflict with slavery and all its sustaining influences,-its parties, constituthey are asking with cheerful hope and unfailing

faith, 'What of the night?'
I am desirous to do, with others, what I may, in giving to all an intelligent and truthful answer. And this I may doubtless best do by giving an ac- the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Those who count of the progress of the conflict in that portion of stay in Massachusetts know but little of the influence the field where I am directly engaged with the ene- of their meetings upon the cause in the different and

In the first place, I have never seen the time when the people were more anxious to hear on the subject of anti-slavery, since the first few years, when the novelty of the thing drew the unthinking multitude to hear its doctrines, than now. Although the weather for the greater part of the time since I have been in Ohio has been most inauspicious, yet the meetings have been full, and often crowded to the outside door. This was more especially the case in the early part of the fall, in the counties bordering upon the myself in their time.

While I was with the Remonds, in Granger coun-

nearly impossible to collect any large number of people to hear. In Portage county, we succeeded better, although the rain and mud were great hindrances in able as the battle of Bunker Hill. I am still more our way. In Ashtabula county, the people have come together in great numbers. Rain or shine, mud of Governor Walker's Inaugural, as a history of Kanor snow, they have come, filling all the places of sas affairs. I would ask, respectfully, is it his custom as it regards the desire of the people to hear.

Secondly, I have never seen the time when the people were as desirous as now to hear the radical doctrines of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I deby the fruit it has borne, and some accept the doc- to a point so important? trine, and all stand convicted of its truth. Our docpeople want them. I cannot supply one half of the plained the matter in private, reënter the controveryear, if there shall be any money in Ohio, -as there not now, or next to none,-the treasury of the Western Anti-Slavery Society will, to a greater depeople here, who are really wealthy, are, in present Dec. 29, 1855 :means, really poor. The New York merchants gamble in stocks and fail; the merchants in Ohio, who have consigned their cheese to these houses, lose, and they fail; and the farmer, who has sold his cheese on credit, loses the produce of his dairy, on which he depended for money. This is the case all over the Reserve in Ohio, so that the condition of the Anti-Slavery treasury now does not indicate the increase of strength which our cause has really received.

Thirdly. What is the labor now most needful to be done? Evidently, to my mind, to change the moral condition of the people of this land. If slavery was late in Kansas.

T. W. H. abhorrent to the feelings of the people, it would perish. In the day and hour that the American people

do not want slavery, they will not have it. terpreted, as the word of God? Evidently, it must be to reconcile them to the existence of this great wrong. They think God, somehow, has ordered it, Christian Church, on the fourth page of last week' in his 'inscrutable providence,' to work out some be-nign and beneficent result. This influence is seen. The sentence should have read as follows: in the prayers of the pulpit, and the vestry, and the family :- O, Lord I we pray theo that thou wilt remove slavery in thine own time, and in thine own way. And feeling that God's own time has not come, and his own way has not been revealed, they are quite resigned to wait for further indications of Divine

This is true of the most anti-slavery men and wo nen in our churches. How can it be otherwise than that the moral sense must be made weak and imbecile, while they receive as the word of God those sanction of slavery, lust, lying, and murder, which are found in portions of the Bible? O! never did I feel as now, that the true anti-slavery work is to show men now, that the true anti-slavery work is to show men that these self-evident wrongs cannot be made right, whatever or whoever may sanction them. The Bible and its God, as they are interpreted by the churches of this land, are the sanctiflers and upholders of alavery; and my work is, in seeking the alave's deliverance, to push them off from his neck. And this can only be done by dethroning them from the hearts of the people, whom they have blinded with superstition, and chained with bigotry. But recently, in an anti-slavery meeting, a man, very prominent in the church of his place, was clamorous to know hose I proposed to aboliah slavery. I told him my plan, and then asked him for his. Mark his answer! He said his plan was 'to do the best we can, and wait for God in his providence to remove it. We must have a better religion than that under whose influence slavery has grown up from nothing to its present color-

ication with God, and to obtain somewhat of sal proportions, and under whose influence it is no

revive and put life into this pro-slavery religion, by olding protracted meetings many weeks in sion, using all the usual appliances of prayers, terrific descriptions of death-beds, and judgment scats, where Parents and children, they must part, Some shout for joy, some bleed at heart.

And then comes the remedy,—the anxious seat, the for heaven. But with all this terrible outlay, with the lurings of a golden heaven and the terrors of burning hell, they have only been able, so far as I can learn, to mystify and befool a few young children, and some very weak persons of a larger growth. They have poured this stream of galvanism upon their dead church, and a few spasmodic kicks have been produced. But the moment the current ceases, the contortions, which some mistake for life, cease also, and again all men receive the same evidences of death as were said to have pungently existed in the decaying body of Lazarus.

In nearly all the places which I have visited, I

have found true and noble spirits, who have made my labors pleasant, and their co-operation has contributed much to make them profitable. Among this number stands first WILLIAM HOISINGTON, of Wayne, Ashtabula Co., Ohio. He was born in physical blindness, but his mental and moral vision is singularly comes to the ear of the watchman the above inquiry. clear and far-reaching. He was for many years a And not from those only who are in the midst of the much-esteemed minister of the Orthodox Congregabattle between the powers of light and darkness, does tional order. He is true as steel to the cause of huthis inquiry come, but with more of anxiety and manity, and this of course separates him from that alarm from those who hear only the din and roar of ministry and church. He preaches constantly to the conflict. The politician is filled with alarm for large collections of people in Ashtabula county, and the safety of his idel gods,—his Party, his Constitution, and his Union; the religionist for his idols,—his fully our views of Disunion. He is a man of varied Sect, his Bible, and his God. For the God of the and extensive learning, and lectures much upon the sciences of Astronomy, Geology and History. These lectures, I am told, show a depth of research and an accuracy of statement that would be highly creditable to one with eyes, but in a blind man, they are tions and unions, its sects, its bibles and its gods,— truly astonishing. He is doing a great and good work in this county.

I am here in Pennsylvania for a few days, or for as long a time as duty may seem to demand. I am filled with joy at the success of the annual meeting of remote parts of the country. Every throb of the great Anti-Slavery heart in dear old Massachusetts sends a tide of life and health and joy to every part of the anti-slavery body. Yours, in and through the conflict,

WORCESTER, March 15, 1858.

I do not know that it is necessary for me to add any thing to my statement a month since, in regard river in the vicinity of Wheeling, Va. But these to the Topeka Constitution, inasmuch as neither of meetings have been reported by Mrs. Colman and your correspondents attempts to question the truth of my assertions then. I can only say that I do not, in the least, under

ty, the weather and the mud were such as to make it stand what Mr. Pillsbury means by his expressions of complication or difficult of comprehension, when it is a mere historical fact, as simple and unquestion astounded that he should have accepted the authority meeting, usually to their utmost capacity. So much to go to the Boston Post for reliable narratives of the proceedings of Abolitionists?

Five minutes devoted by him to the commones books on the subject, such as Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, p. 132, or the Report of the Congressional nounce the Constitution, and no shudder passes over Committee, p. 645,—would have settled the whole the audience; I pronounce the Union 'a covenant matter. Was it asking too much of professional antiwith death and an agreement with hell,' and prove it slavery lecturers, that they should give so much time

J. A. H. asks for 'chapter and verse.' I was amaz trines are not only tolerated, they are demanded. The ed to see J. A. H., to whom I long since fully exdemands for labor, nor do but a small portion indeed sy at this late date. I cannot, however, comply with of the labor demanded. Truly, 'the harvest is great, his wish; for precisely what I assert is, that there is stitution.

Perhaps, however, the following will satisfy him from the official report of the Committee (J. H. Lane, gree than ever before, feel its weight. Many of the Chairman,) announcing the result of the election

And I do further declare, that of the votes cast at And I do further declare, that of the vees case the aforesaid election "for" and "against" "the passage of laws by the General Assembly, providing for the exclusion of free negroes from the State of Kansas—the result of the vote to operate as instructions to the first General Assembly on the subject"—a najority are in favor of such exclusion."

If any one now turns to my letter of Feb. 12, he will find that this coincides with my statement. Noth ing ever followed from these instructions, the subject has never been revived, and no law on the subject, except the 'bogus' laws of the Missourians, now ex

Though crowded with the favors of correspon dents, and much other valuable matter, and therefor Now, what, of all else, is most in the way of this sorely pressed for room, we readily consent to the ocnoral change? I answer, without the fear of suc- cupancy of a large portion of our present number cessful contradiction, the religion of the land. Its with the serious and earnest speech of Hon. Josawa God and its Bible, as preached and interpreted, are R. Gippings, (perhaps the last we shall have from his both on the side of the Slave Power. Look at the lips in the House,) on The Conflict between Relireceived and honored commentaries of the Bible, gious Truth and American Intidelity. It is conceived which are authority in our theological schools and in and expressed in a tone of deep moral and religious our churches. All these, with some trifling excep- feeling. By his use of the term 'infidelity,' it will tions, interpret the Bible, in some of its parts, as sanc-tioning chattel slavery. The malediction of drunken with that title—and very justly. To call it the re-Noah is the word of God; and the command of Mo- ligion of Him who came to bind up the broken-heart ses to buy and hold men in bondage for ever is said ed, to set the captive free, and to vindicate the broth to be inspiration. Now, what must be the influence erhood of the human race, is to commit one of the upon the minds of those who receive this book, thus greatest outrages upon reason, truth and justice.

Connection. Near the middle of the Letter to

But, long before undertaking this task, you will have learned that reformers in religion, interfering with that craft by which the dominant priesthood live, have always met this reception at their hands, and also, that 'it is a small thing to be judged of man's judgment.'

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Collections by Parker Pillsbury: At Hopedale, Mass., Milford, " Plymouth, " FRANCIS JACKSON, Treas.

NOTICE.—HENRY C. WRIGHT will lectur in Union Hall, North Abington, on Sunday, Marci 21st. Subject: The Ante-Natal Education of Man-Also, in Ellaworth, Maine, on Sunday, March 28 Subject: The Supremacy of Man over his Incidents

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says- Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum are perfect marvels. After using them six weeks, my extremely gray hair is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied it is REV. MRS. E. C. ANDRUS, for many years Mis-

sionary to Hayti, now of Martinsburgh, N. Y. The climate having seriously affected her hair and scalp says, 'I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. I have tried various other remedies for my hair, but never anything that so materially and permanently benefitted me, as has Mrs. S. A. Al-. H. EATON, Pres. Union Univ., Tenn. . I have

used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum but very irregularly, but, notwithstanding, its influence was distinctly visible. The falling off of hair ceased, and my locks, which were quite gray, restored to their original black." REV. H. V. DEGAN, Ed. Guide to Holiness, Bos-

ton, Mass. 'That Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum promotes the growth of the hair where baldness has commenced, we now have the evidence of our own eyes.' REV. J. A. H. CORNELL, Cor. Sec. B'd Educ'n N.

Y. City. I procured Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorative and Zylobalsamum for a relative. I am happy to say it prevented the falling off of the hair, and restored it, from being gray, to its natural glossy and beautiful black." REV. JNO. E. ROBIE, Ed. ' Chr. Adv.,' Buffalo,

N. Y. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum are the best hair preparations I have ever known. They have restored my hair to its original

REV. J. WEST, Brooklyn, N. Y. 'I am happy to

bear testimony to the value and efficacy of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, and also to acknowledge its curing my gray-REV. GEO. M. SPRATT, Agt. Bap. Penn. Pub. Soc.

· We cheerfully recommend Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum." REV. J. F. GRISWOLD, Washington, N. H.

Please inform Mrs. — where Mrs. S. A. Al-len's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum can be had in Boston. You may say in my name that I know they are what they purport to be. REV. D. T. WOOD, Middletown, N. Y. 'My hair has greatly thickened. The same is true of another

of my family, whose head we thought would become almost bare. Her hair has handsomely thickened and has a handsome appearance since using Mrs. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. REV. MOSES THACHER (60 years of age,) Pitcher,

N. Y. Since using Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorer and Zylobalsamum, my hair ceases to fall, and is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied 'tis nothing like a dve.' REV. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, Ct. 'We

think very highly of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. RRV. S. B. MORLEY, Attleboro', Mass. 'The ef-

fect of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum has been to change the 'crown glory' belonging to old men, to the original hue of youth. The same is true of others of my acquaint REV. J. P. TUSTIN, Ed. ' South Baptist,' &c., Charles-

ton, S. C. 'The white hair is becoming obviated by new and better hair forming, by the use of Mrs. S A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsa.

REV. C. A. BUCKBEE, Treas. Am. Bible Union, N Y. 'I cheerfully add my testimony to that of numerous other friends, to Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. The latter I have found superior to anything I ever used." REV. WM. PORTEUS, Stanwich, Ct. . Mrs. S. A.

Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamun have met my most sanguine expectations in causing my hair to grow where it had fallen.' REV. D. MORRIS, Cross River, N. Y. 'I know of a great many who have had their hair restored by

the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. REV. JOS. McKEE, N.Y. City. Recommends them

REV. E. EVANS, Delhi, O. 'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalse mum. They have changed my hair to its natural color, and stopped its falling off."

REV. WM. R. DOWNS, Howard, N. Y. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Dressing has no superior. It cleanses the hair and scalp, removes harshness and dryness, and always produces the softness, silkiness and natural gloss so requisite to the human hair."

REV. C. M. KLINCK, Lewistown, Pa. "Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused a new growth.'

We might quote from others of the numerous letters we have and are constantly receiving, but we deem the above sufficient to convince the mest skeptical that we have at least the best preparations in the world for the hair of the young or old. We manufacture no other preparations. Occupying the large building, corner of Broome and Elizabeth streets, exclusively for office, salesroom and manufactory, we have no time or inclination to engage in other manufactures.

These are the only preparations exported in any quantity to Europe.

These are the only preparations exported in any quantity to Europe.

We also would call attention to the fact that we have always avoided all charlatanism. Our preparations are the highest priced, but the cheapest, because it lasts longer, and does more good: the expense, in the end, less than others. We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced. One bottle of Restorer will last nearly a year. \$1,50 per bottle. Balsam, 374 cents per bottle.

GENUINE

nearly a year. \$1.50 per bottle. Balsam, 374 cents per bottle.

GENUINE

has 'Mrs. S. A. Allen' signed in Red Ink to outside wrappers, and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bottles. Restorer bottles are of dark purple glass, with the words, Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, 355 Broome Street, New York, blown on them. The Balsam bottles are of green glass, with Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Balsam, 355 Broome Street, New York, blown on them. Circulars around bottles copyrighted. None other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgery, and will be prosecuted by m as a criminal offence.

Some dealers try to sall other preparations on which they make more profit, instead of these; insist on these.

Sold by nearly every drug and fancy goods dealer. Address all letters for information to

World's Hair Restorer Depot NO. 355 BROOMS STREET, N. Y.

#### POETRY

For the Liberator.

[A LIQUOR SO CALLED.] 'Cream of the valley' call ye it?
'Tis the valle of the deep, unfathomed pit,
The valley of cruelty, hate and despair! What is the stream that is murmuring there? Tears of mothers, wives, orphans, that deadly stre And blood of the murdered, the dark red gleam Curdling its current ! Is that your cream ? Cream of that valley'! among whose stones Lie heaps and heaps of mouldering bones; Bones of the murdered, when drunken strife, With maniac rage, grasps the unsheath'd knife! Cream of that valley! Oh, what is its breeze, No soft breath of Spring that awakens the trees, But the hiss of hate, and the infant's wail, And the shrick of the murdered swell that gale ! 'Cream of that valley '! the valley of death, The death of the soul! Oh, how every breath Of the sinful wretches who throng its strand Sends the taint of guilt throughout the land! Cream of that valley ! Wet not thy lip! The blood of thine innocent babe wouldst thou sip. Of thy nearest and dearest the vital stream ? Turn, turn, ere thou touch, from that valley's cream Tenterden, (England.)

From the Springfield Republican. MY SEWING MACHINE. Dear Cousin Jane :- Such a change has passed O'er my earthly lot since I saw you last, That I cannot rest till my pen extends The joyful tidings to all my friends. My burden is gone, and my sky is bright, My mind is calm, and my heart is light; I'm a happier mother, and wife and self, And I owe it all to a little elf, The usefulest fairy that ever was seen,-My Wheeler & Wilson's Sewing Machine,

As I said just now, I'm a happier wife,-My husband's shirts were the plague of my life : They were sometimes made, but were never done : Bless me! the trouble was only begun! It was always, 'My dear, this shirt is not right,' The neck was too loose, or the wrist was too tight; They always were needing a button or stitch, Were too large or too small, I could never tell which If I made twelve as alike as twelve leaves on one tree Tho' the first might be right, yet no other would be When I think of a shirt from beginning to ending. Of the fitting and stitching, and starching and mend

ing, Of the shirt that don't fit the disconsolate man, Of the shirt that does fit him, so spick and so span, So stiff and ungraceful, and yet the sole gain From so much of labor, of time, and of pain,-I almost am tempted my thought to express, Men had better keep still on the matter of dress. Could I make but one speech, like a Webster's Wirt's.

I think it would be on the subject of shirts. But to come to the point I had almost forgot, I would now quite as lief have a husband as not. He timidly, last week, brought me a pile Of shirts to be made, which I took with a smile, The first of the kind which he ever had seen,-I thought he would kiss my Sewing Machine. I have six young children-dear little ones, Three little daughters, and three little sons,-Six little children, all to be dressed In school-day clothes, and in Sunday best; Six pairs of pants, and nine pairs of shirts, Two dozen collars, and two dozen skirts; Six little jackets, and twelve little sacks, Outside garments for six little backs; Kerchiefs to hem, and garments to mend, And many another stray odd and end; This was the work to be done this fall, But then, dear me ! it was nothing at all ! I gave it all with a brow serene, To my all-sufficient Sewing Machine.

And as for myself-what with children and spous What with visitors, servants, and market and house It was nothing more than might well be expected, that my own private wardrobe was somewhat neglected.

I sewed up holes, and I ran up slits, I put on patches, and I put in bits, I went without button, and hook and clasp I wore old things till their very last gasp; But now I'm thoroughly fit to be seen-Thanks to my good little Sewing Machine.

It would do you good to open the door Of my linen closet, and see the store For bed and table, of piles and tiers, Enough to last us for twenty years. So far as such things are concerned, I can say I am perfectly ready to die to-day; Though it would seem a pity to quit the scene So soon after buying a Sewing Machine.

You'll think me extravagant, I'll engage, But, my dear, 'tis the subject of the age ! The world is divided 'twixt those who have got Sewing Machines, and those who have not. Poor, benighted beings are they, Who sit and sew the old-fashioned way. Now, Cousin Jane, don't you want to see What these wonderful things may be? Come-and your duties you need not shirk-But come with an extra trunk full of work ; You will never go back to your home, I ween Without taking with you a Sewing Machine.

> WORK SOME GOOD. BY ALFRED GARDNER, BRASS-MOULDER. Oh, work some good! for every man Can help to make a reformation; No matter who or what he be-Of high degree, or lowly station.

Set on thy mind to work a change; . Be firm, and break the coward's fetter; Tis always easy to do bad, But quite as easy to do better.

Choose for thy task a noble one, For noble thoughts will find their level. And good must come from them at last, For nothing good can bring forth evil.

Work on! though slow thy progress be, Yet proudly keep thyself from sinking If hands will not perform thy task, Go back, and have recourse to thinking,

Begin thy work with steady brain, Nor hurry on thy inclination; No house was built within a day, That did not soon want alteration.

Work on, and do the best you can; 'Twill be a hint to many a brother; Thy recompense will surely come,
For one bright action claims another.

Creeds may grow old, and systems decay, And theories be lost forever: Wealth may depart, and fly in a day, But friendship that's true dieth never, eth by, and yesterday's grave

Buries all that the present may sever,

But above the falling and fallen doth wave.

The motte, "Friendship that's true dieth never."

nity's dear, and Hope spreads its wings, Life brightens, and seems a rich tressure,
When the Angel of Peace broods o'er me and sings
Love, Friendship and Truth last forever.

## The Liberator.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN. Woncester, March 7, 1858,

justified in assuming the reverse? Three years ago, when the first memorial was sent to the House, it obwhen the first memorial was sent to the House, it obtained a reading, and the motion to print was defeated only by a vote of 88 to 72. At that time, the statutes relating to woman were so barbarous, that, as a member told me, 'they thought they had done utes relating to woman were so barbarous, that, as a member told me, they thought they had done something pretty smart, when they reported a bill, providing that if a husband, through drunkenness, or any other cause, should neglect to provide for his wife for the space of one year, she should have the control of her own earnings, transact business in her own name, and have the guardianship of her children. What became of that bill nobody ever knew, but it never found its way to the statute-book. Another, however, and one so far as it went, worthy of Massachusetts, did find its way there, and stayed there, in spite of an attempt at the next session to repeal it.

Three years have passed, with all the additions light they have been enabled to throw upon the subject. Last year, one hearing was granted; this winter, with rare magnanimity, they have granted us two; they have listened to the highest talent and respectability of the land; the respectable part of the press has in general been courteous in its tone; and, in view of the pressing emergencies in the midst of which we live, when every hour is fraught with inter sts which, in ordinary times, it takes years to unfold, it seems to me like casting a reflection on the enlightened sentiment of the State to assume beforehand that they will not do all that lies in their power. We must let them know that we are in earnest, that we ask for what we want; and when they, no more than we, can give any reason why they should refuse our claim, it certainly seems like making a great concession to admit that we expect any thing less than a compliance with our request. If we, in the honest simplicity of our hearts, urged by a conscience that never alumbers, demand equality as our right, we shall never be satisfied until equality is granted us. It is true that the Legislature of '55, though standing on a most ridiculous platform, (which, however, was only the spontaneous outgrowth of an outraged public sentiment,) spoke out the unsophisticated heart of the people, untrammeled by the conventional prejudices that usually fetter such bodies, in more than Anti-Slavery songone act.

But it would have seemed far more likely to pass bill striking out the word 'male' from the Constitution, than one which has actually passed the Senate exempting from taxation the property of widows and unmarried females, because it would be a great deal more for the interest of the government. If that bill should pass the House, and become a statute, we shall be relieved from any further trouble in the matter, as thanked God for his sublime intrepidity. Such advoit will eventually undo itself, and clear the way for universal suffrage.

It is true that it is the weakness of some natures to be too sanguine in their advocacy of a favorite idea, too impatient of success to be willing to wait a reasonable time; but, as Mrs. Dall has so admirably shown, this is no new idea; it is one which has agitated the world since time began, and the only argument now brought against it, with any show of plausibility, is, that woman does not ask for it. Neither does the slave ask for his freedom; and though one is bound by statutes, and the other by penalties, the same law of mental thraldom belongs to both, varied only by circumstances; revealing here, as in every other oppression, that it is only its opposite, the great law of equality, carried by minorities, that can emancipate and disenthral the great beating heart of humanity, S. E. W.

### THE LOVE OF GOD.

At the Music Hall, Sunday, March 7, Rev. THEO-DORE PARKER preached from the text, 'Then shall I be satisfied, when I awake in thy likeness.' He held that the desire to know God and trust him was a natural desire. All nations and tribes, even the barbarous and savage, manifested it, of which the preacher gave several striking proofs. He could not understand how any person, seeking for happiness, should neglect to cultivate the religious principle. He alluded to his own personal experience, and attributed the happiness of his whole life, under all circumstances, propitious or adverse, in smooth waters or against a rough, cold and adverse current, to his continual trust and confidence in God. When a boy, he wondered to hear religious men say that the 'natural man' had no desire to know God, for he felt sure that the natural boy had. He gathered his early knowledge, and filled his soul with the love of God, from the fields, flowers and blossoms of spring, as naturally as the bees gathered honey from the same source, and filled their hives beneath the lilac bushes. The reason that so many turn away from the study of God is, that a dark and false theology is substituted for the true light, and men are presented with a vindictive God, instead of the God of boundless love. Yet such is the strong natural longing after God, that men will even bring themselves to know and worship this hateful idol of theological invention—this Juggernaut of Christendom. This natural love of God, which leads men to grope after him in darkness and error, is full of promise, for when the traditions of the dark light of religious truth shall prevail, then men will

Religion is beyond all price. There are million in Boston, whose possessions extend on every side, yet whose hungry and naked souls shiver and perish in a worse than arctic winter; and there are those who carry their whole worldly possessions in a basket by their side, whose wealth of soul surpasses all possible earthly goods.

The preacher's illustrations of the power of religion in guarding the soul in temptation, and sustaining in affliction, and directing it in doubt, were peculiarly beautiful and affecting. The picture of the widowed Rachel bereaved of her only son, her last earthly hope, whom she commits to God, sustained by a full confidence that her treasure shall be restored to her,the picture of Jonas in his deserted counting-room, listening and almost yielding to the suggestions of the tempter, who promises wealth and honor as the reward of a dishonest act, but finally spurning the thought, as his sainted mother's image and teachings return upon his memory,—the portrait of old Mr. playmate, whose image in rosy childhood and on her bridal day fills his memory, as he reads on her coffin-plate, 'sged XCIL' and says, 'a little before me, but ng ; we shall soon meet again, -were strongly

his hearers, especially the young, to cultivate religion as superior and far more desirable than knowledge,

The discourse was intensely religious, and was the nore interesting to some from the well-known fact, hat the preacher had been made the subject of spe-

LETTER TO FRANCIS JACKSON. RICHVILLE, (Crawford Co., Pa.) Feb. 16, 1858.

THE LIBERATOR.

DEAR MR. JACKSON:

The delight and joy we had on taking our place in this household that so cordially enlarged its circl to receive us yesterday, can only be real to the travel. ing anti-slavery lecturer, who always advances w Dear Garrison:

On reading Mrs. Dall's able argument before the Legislative Committee, I was somewhat surprised and pained at her closing paragraph. That, as I understood it, assumed as a fact, that the Legislature would take no definite step towards effecting the desired change in the Constitution, but only prepare the way by continued agilation. That is very probable; but judging from the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally justified in assuming the 'reverse'. Three years ago, in the past, might we not be equally as years ago, in the past, might we not be equally as years ago, in the past, might we not be equally as years ago, in the past, might we not be equally as years ago, in the past, might we not be equally as years ago, in the past, might we not be equally as years ago, in the past, might we not be equally as years ago, in the past, might we not be usual, with a half-dozen battles to prove that Mr Garrison is not an infidel, and Mrs. Foster worse than an infidel, before the people will yield the Anti-

Slavery cause their confidence.
We have now had fifteen meetings, secured severa abscribers to the Liberator and Standard, seen some of those curiosities who voted for ' Buchanan and Free Kansas,' and spent three weeks in this State, which, as Mr. Emerson wrote, disappointed the hopes of mankind, and betrayed the cause of freedom' by her election of 1856.

While at Randolph and Jamestown, in the State of New York, we were met with an urgent invitation from Dr. James Catlin to come to his place in Sugar Frove, where himself and Mrs. Catlin, Mr. and Mrs. Pratt, and Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Miles showed us great kindness and friendliness. We gratefully saw how deep and heart-felt Dr. Catlin's earnest sympathy with the cause is, -how cheerfully he gave his solicitude and influence to have us remain as long as we possibly could in this region. We held among these people six large, crowded meetings, which I can but hope were effective in Anti-Slavery good, especially in dissipating unfounded prejudice against Mr. Garrison and his noble sims. Again and again we heard a warm desire expressed to hear Mr. Garrison, Mr. Pillsbury, and Mr. and Mrs. Foster in that commun

ty. Dr. Catlin told us he would gladly convey them from the railroad and back again, (more than twenty miles,) if any of these would come, and he could know of their passing along on the New York and Erie railroad. But here, as everywhere else, the Slave Power is felt in all self-styled meetings for Christian worship, forbidding and frowning upon allusion to the slave. A friend told us, he was not long before in a Wesleyan prayer-meeting; no one had breathe an anti-slavery petition, or given the slightest token of good-will to the slave, when he, prompted by a convenient pause and his own ardor, sung that touching

' Peebly the bondman toiled, Sadly he wept,' &c.

This pious company were so shocked by this rash mention of the slave, that their devotions, which had before been brightly flaming, instantly died out, and

the meeting was abruptly dismissed.

I read with unbounded admiration and delight Mr. Wendell Phillips's speech in the State House, and cacy is a sure carnest of the success of the gloriou Cause. And what high-hearted hope Mrs. Chapman's able Report reveals! God speed the labors from the highest to the humblest champions of the Cause! Faithfully your friend,

SALLIE HOLLEY.

A MERITORIOUS ANTI-SLAVERY POEM Mm GAMPIEON .

DRAB SIR-I have recently had the pleasure istening to an Anti-Slavery Poem by our friend Day iel S. Whitney, of Southboro'. It has been lately written by him, and was first read at a Sunday eve ning meeting in my church, where it was well received. It has since been read several times in other places. It is an Allegorical Poem, representing an aspiring young man who has just left his Alma Mater, and who is looking forward to the employments and the rewards of life. He meets a Mentor of advanced years and benignant mien, who points out to him the glittering prizes which attract the admiration and the efforts of those who seek political place and preferment; and shows him that if he would obtain them, he must disregard the suggestions of humanity and mercy, and set his feet upon the neck of the downtrodden and trembling slave. Again, he points him to the high places in the Church, and assures him that they are to be attained only by steeling his heart to the gentle spirit of Christianity, and obeying the strong behests of the oppressors of their kind. But the noble youth spurns the wily blandishments by which he is beset, and marshals a true-hearted band to overthrow the Monster Power which thus tyranizes over his fellow-men; and his persevering efforts are at length crowned with triumphant success,

I am sensible I have given a very inadequate account of this poem. I think it is calculated to do good, and I have desired to apprize your readers of its xistence, because I know that Mr. Whitney would be glad of opportunities of delivering it wherever any may desire to hear it. I commend it to the attention of our anti-slavery friends, and hope they may afford themselves the pleasure of listening to these glowing verses.

Marlboro', Feb. 23, 1858.

#### CAN SECTS DO GOOD?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: DEAR FRIEND-In Columbus Crooks's letter of O. A. Brownson's book, in the last Liberator, occur ages shall have passed away, and the new dawning the following: That the Romish Church has done some good in the world, no intelligent and candid mar will deny. . . Her light was the light of the Dark Ages.' Without giving up my claim to either intelligence or candor, I will make bold to deny that the Romish Church has done any good in the world, as such. The same denial I will extend to every other sect, as such, and to every political party, as such. What is the Romish Church? What constitutes its individuality? It is a self-constituted cor poration for getting a living on the reputation of Christ and his religion, claiming and exacting obedi-ence to its will. Obedience to its will, that is its Alpha and Omega, its essential character, that which con tutes it what it is, which distinguishes it from its fel low-sects, as also from all liberty and progress.

Men are good and do good, not as they are faithful to this authority of sect, but as they are faithful to their own individual convictions of right and duty for the time being-not as the subjects of outward law, but as subjects of the inward living law which

God writes on each individual heart. Now, the one great business of the Romish Church over the coffin of his early of the Spirit of God, to brand it as of the devil, and and to substitute, in the stead of this inward law, own authority. Whatever the Romish Church ha own authority. Whatever the Roman Church has ever done, or pretended to do, underlying all its doings and pretensions is this denial of liberty to the individual to follow his own convictions, always main-taining its claim (as assential to its own existence) to unquestioning, absolute obedience. Has the scknowl-Romish Church has done good. Whatever amout of the light of the Dark Ages there might be in the Romish Church, not one particle of that light was of The light and the goodness that existed were sole in virtue of the remnants of allegiance that remained to the inward light of the living Spirit of God, and

of its greatest power, in utterly banishing from the

GEO SUNTER

LECTURES OF HENRY C. WRIGHT.

Sunday and Monday evening in Central Hall. The first great principle laid down was that man's right to

tendom to have regard to forms, ceremonies, temple worship, singing songs of praise to and eulogizing the worship, singing songs of praise to and eulogizing the Father, leaving the children to the tender mercies of the auction-block or the sword; that in their eager-ness to attend their temple worship, the Priest and the other party unless elavery is totally destroy-to the auction-block or the sword; that in their eager-ness to attend their temple worship, the Priest and the Joseph or the premises assumed by the Levite pass by on the other side, while it is left for the poor Samaritan, or Atheist and Inidel to bind up the wounds and minister to the men fallen among the Constitution of the United States to be an instrument of freedom, not of slavery, and that no re-

By request of the audience present Sunday evening, friend Wright spoke Monday evening two hours on the state of man previous to birth, showing that the character of man, in this and the next life, was affected by the influences brought to bear upon him in that state; making it plain that the diseases incident to human life are transmitted from parent to child, entirely exploding the old doctrine that God removes people who die before living out half their days osing by a few remarks upon the soul of man after death, and relating some facts in his own experience touching modern Spiritualism.

The interest in the meetings increased to the last and I think they were highly appreciated by most of those who listened, and that much good to the cause will result therefrom. It is sincerely hoped that Mr. Wright will make us another visit as soon as practi-

Yours for humanity, J. W. SPAULDING.

THE OLD SCHOOL COVENANTERS. To the Editor of the Liberator:

The Anti-Slavery cause, in its onward progress, ha suffered many hindrances from the different religious denominations of this country, and has received from them comparatively little aid. Only from the smaller denominations have we been led to expect a friendly recognition and co-operation, and from nearly all of these, it has been but partial and limited, at best.

The Old School Covenanter Church has been an exception, which Abolitionists have universally made when criticising the position and action of other churches in relation to slavery. The Covenanters, like Abolitionists, are disfranchised for conscience sake, and professedly, at least, refuse allegiance to a slaveholding government. They are said also to refuse all ecclesiastical connection with slaveholders or their apologists.

I have been pained by an incident which came to my notice during the recent labors of Susan B. An-Anti-Slavery Society, in the vicinity of New York.

Among other proposed arrangements for their meetings, it was suggested, I believe by a well-known pastor of the Covenanter denomination, who is personally interested in and friendly to the American Anti-Slavery Society, that a series of meetings should be held in their churches in the city, proffering at the same in the city, proffering at the same result. It we believe, that the Constitution makes slavery national and inevitable, then we should be a Garrisonian, and say, sooner than give the devil and slavery a warranty deed and mortage bond of the Union, let it go. Better would be freedom with no Constitution, than Union and slavery, with all the instruments in the world. But time his most hearty co-operation. The proposition slavery, with all the instruments in the world. But was duly submitted to the proper authorities, and ochold the decision rendered! The proposed series of meetings could not be held, because of the heresy of slavery, and the only party to be trusted with the woman's speaking 'in the public assembly'!! The guardianship of the Constitution and the Union. meetings were not held. Like those of other less friendly societies, the Covenanter churches were closed against the Anti-Slavery Gospel, if it was to be publicly declared, in part, by a woman! The creed was exalted above humanity. The slave was left helpless and perishing by the wayside.

When woman's heart is bleeding, Shall woman's voice be hushed?

JUDGE TANEY'S DECISION AND THE FU-GITIVE BLAVE LAW REPUDIATED. In the Justices' Court in Boston, on the 2d of March, Judge Cushing gave a decision, recognizing the citizenship of a fugitive slave, under the following

The case was that of the Suffolk Savings Bank gainst Thomas P. Knox, as security on a lease taken trial that the bank required security. Mr. J. R. Taylor asked Dr. Knox if he would stand for him.

With it. I don't want to near any thing about that. Who knows he is a fugitive?' 'I can prove it on the spot, if required,' said the Dr., and again commenced speaking, when the Judge again commanded him to stop. 'I submit to the Court whether, before it, I am a slave, or a free man?' was the decided response of the Dr. The Judge decided he was free. 'Th must allow me to make my own defence, said he, and was going on to express the hope that the Court would decide the lesse legal, when the Judge did so decide, and gave judgment in favor of the plaintiff,—

lishing the citizenship of fugitive slaves, and that he accomplished, thereby establishing what has never before been acknowledged in the nominally free States.

THE POST ON THE CONSTITUTION.

It is a favorite trick of the Buchanan organs to epreent the American Republican party as idential with or agreeing with the Garrisonians in their ideas. Of course, everybody who reads the Garrisonian or the American Republican newspapers knows this to be fulss, but the Democrats who read the Juiga takes Sunday and Monday evening in Central Hall. The first great principle laid down was that man's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness was a self-evident truth, not to be questiened or argued; that it was written on the soul by God himself, consequently was prior to and above all constitutions and laws made by man; and further, that whatever was opposed to self-evident truth was a self-evident falsehood.

From the above stand-point were viewed the existing political, religious, and social institutions, showing very plainly that they were all utterly void of humanity, and that, instead of their securing the elevation and happiness of mankind, millions of human beings had been sacrificed upon their altars.

On Monday, Mr. Wright contrasted, in a very plain and lacid manner, the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary, showing the Christ of Christendom with the Christ of Calvary showing the Christ o

sent from their advice and conclusions. We bettere the Constitution of the United States to be an instrument of freedom, not of slavery, and that no recognition or sanction of the abominable institution of human bondage is contained in it, either in terms express or implied. We have never been able to find in the Constitution any anthority or sanction for the holding of human beings in bondage, and we believe that slavery exists outside of the Constitution and is wholly and solely dependent on local municipal regulations. This is the ground occupied by the American Republican party, and is, we think, the only sound and correct view of the subject. Hence we do not say with the Past and the Liberator, that the Constitution is a pro-slavery document, but on the contrary it is a great charter of Liberty. We do say with the Past, maintain the Constitution is a pro-slavery document. We do say with the Post, maintain the Const tution, but not because it maintains slavery; and we do not agree with the Liberator in advocating the destruction of the Constitution, because we believe it will survive the abolition of slavery heve it will survive the abolition of slavery—and we equally and strongly dissent both from the Garrisonians and the Buchananites in advocating the dissolution of the Union, because we say that slavery can only be checked and abolished by maintaining the Union inviolable. Hence, when the Post ing the Union inviolable. Hence, which it grossly makes such statements as the following it grossly misrepresents and belies the American Republican

Yet this instrument, this Constitution, is not merely by crazy fanatics, but by the whole Sew-ard class of politicians, as containing obligations in-consistent with the higher law of God, and there-fore it should be annulled; and Washington and his contemporaries are held up as guilty parties to this And this is wholly and eternally false. We never

party. It says of the Constitution :

knew that even Senator Seward denounced the Constitution, and we are sure that the Post cannot stitution, and we are sure that the Post cannot quote one word or sentiment from any prominent man or press in the American Republican party, which is hostile to that instrument. Will the Post make good its charge, or retract it? One or the other it is bound to do. The object of the Post is, of course, to identify the American Republican opposition to the Democracy with the ultra Garrisomans; but we have proved that the very men who do agree with the Garrisonians in their views and do agree with the Garrisonians in their views are purposes, are those of the party which the Post represents. They are the only false interpreters of the Constitution, and the only encaies of the Union. The only difference is that the Garrisonians are con-

THE KANSAS AND NEBRASKA ACT. Extract of a letter from Ex-Gov. R. J. WALKER, of Kansas, to the recent State Democratic Convention

This great act, declaratory upon its very face was intended to recognize the right of self-government in its broadest and most comprehensive sense ment in its broadest and most comprehensive sense, as vested in the people themselves, extending to all their domestic institutions, in ratifying or rejecting their State Constitutions, whose provisions could only be known and acted on by them when submitted for their decision by the Convention. And thus it was that the Kansas and Nebraska bill was a recognition of that great fundamental principle of public liberty, embodied in the Federal Constitution, reserving all sovereignty to the people of the several States, admitted or inchoate, and not as vested in conventions who possess no sovereignty. (which canconventions who possess no sovereignty, (which can-not be delegated or divided,) but are servants of the

by John R. and William Taylor. It appeared on trial that the bank required security. Mr. J. R. Taylor asked Dr. Khox if he would stand for him. Dr. K. replied that his name would not be good for any thing, as he had no property; but if he would represent the matter to the landlord in this way, and he was willing to take the risk, he (Dr. K.) had no objection to putting his name to the paper.

In a day or two, Mr. Taylor called with the lease. The Dr. remarked, 'So Mr. Parker has accepted my name?' Taylor replied, 'Yes; it makes no difference.' Upon reading the lease, the Dr. found that William Taylor, a fugitive, was a partner with Mr. Taylor, and said, 'According to the infamous decision of the Supreme Court, and the Fugitive Slave Law, this lease is not legal, as they deny a fugitive citizenship. Therefore, in case any thing occurs, the lease is not binding.' Taylor replied, 'Nothing will happen,' and thus the matter rested.

In a few days, John R. Taylor died, and the bank sued Dr. Knox for the rent. Upon trial, the Dr. stated his ground of defence to be two-fold; first, the illegality of the lease; second, the misrepresentation, —throwing the blame upon the bank, inasmuch as it lease is represented in

illegality of the lease; second, the misrepresentation,
—throwing the blame upon the bank, inasmuch as it
neglected to see that the security was good, according
to the presumption of the law.

On the second point, the Judge would hear nothing.
The Dr. then appealed to the Court on the legality of
the lease, denying that it was legal, according to the
Supreme Court of the United States and the Fugitive
Slave Law. William Taylor, under the law, being a
beast of burden, not a man, the lease is not binding.

Stop, stop, said the Judge, 'that has nothing to do
with it. I don't want to hear any thing about that.

Who knows he is a fugitive? 'I can prove it on the

seho throughout our republic, that the spirit of the Revolution is not extinct in their bosoms, but that from the lakes of the North to the lovely valleys of the Wabash and Ohio, you, the Democracy of Indiana, will stand as one undaunted column by the diana, will stand as one undaunted column by the great principle of popular sovereignty, sustained by them at the polls in 1850, as embodied in the submission of the Constitution for ratification or rejection by the unfattered vote of the people of Kansas, and of every other Territory.



Aver's Pills

As a Family Physic.

Pross Dr. E. W. Carneright, of New Orlease.

"Your Prizz are the prince of purges. Their excellent qualities surpass any cathartie was posses. They are mild, but very certain and effectual in their action on the horein, which makes them invaluable to us in the daily transfer, of disease."

FOR JAUNDICE AND ALL LIVER COMPLAINTS. From Dr. Theodore Bell, of New York City.

"Not only are your Pints admirably adapted to their
purpose as an aperient, but I find their beneficial effects
upon the Liver very marked indeed. They have in my
practice proved more effectual for the cure of ballous compagnite than any one remety I can mention. I slegged
rejoke that we have at length a purpaire which is worthy
the confidence of the profession and the people."

The confidence of the profession and the people."

DYSPEPSIA — INDIGENTION.

From Dr. Heary J. Knor, of St. Lonis.

"The PTLLs you were kind enough to send me have been all used in my practice, and have estished me that they are rinly an extraordinary medicine. So peculiarly are they radiapted to the diseases of the human system, that they seen to work upon them alone. I have cured some case of dyspepsic and indipendent with them, which had resisted the other remedies we commonly use. Indeed I have experimentally found them to be electrical in almost all the compisions for which you recommend them."

DYSENTERY — DIARRHUGA — RELAX.

Pross Dr. J. G. Green, of Chicogo.

Prom Dr. J. G. Green, of Chicago.

"Your PILLS have had a long trial in my-practice, and I hold then in esteem as one of the best sperients I have reground. Their alterative effect upon the liver makes them an excellent remedy, when cived in small doses, for below dysenfery and thurrybox. Their sugar-coating makes them rery acceptable and convenient for the use of women and children." INTERNAL OBSTRUCTION—WORMS—SUPPRESSION.

ANTERNAL OBSTRUCTION—WORMS—SUPPRESSION, Prom Mrs. E. Stuart, who proceives as a Physician and Mitry's in Boston.

"I find one or two large doses of your Pills, taken at the proper time, are excellent promotives of the natural screttion when wholly or partially suppressed, and also very effectual to cleanse the stomach and expel worms. They are so much the best physic we have that I recommend no other to my patients." CONSTIPATION - COSTIVENESS. CONSTITATION — COSTIVENESS.

From Dr. J. P. Vasagha, Montreal, Consuda.

"Too much cannot be said of your Pitts for the cure of entireness. If others of our fraternity have found then as a finactions as I have, they should join me in preclaining it for the benefit of the multitudes who suffer from that complaint, which, although bad enough in itself, is the persenter of others that are worse. I believe outcomes to originate in the liver, but your Pitts affect that organ and enre the disease."

Recon — SCHOPYLA — EAY.

EMPURITIES OF THE BLOOD — SCHOPULA — ERT-BIPELSS — SALT RHEUM — TETTER — TUNOUS — RHEUMATISM — GOUT — NEURALGIA.

-RHEUMATISM — GOUT. — NEURALGIA.

Prost Dr. Erekiel Hall, Philodelphia.

"You were right, Doctor, in saying that your Prize purely the blood. They do that! I have used them of late years in my practice, and agrees with your statements of their eficar. They attended the excretories, and carry of the impurities that stagnate is the blood, engendering disease. They stimulate the organs of digestion, and infuse vitality and rigor into the system.

"Such remedies as you prepare are a national benefit, and you deserve great credit for them."

you deserve great credit for them."

FOR HEADACHE—SICK HEADACHE—FOUL STOMACH—PILES—DROPSY—PLETHORA—PARALYMS—FITS—&C.

Prom Dr. Edward Boyd, Baltimere.

"Draw Dr. Arke: I cannot answer you what complaint I have cured with your Piles better than to say all that we irrer treat with a purgative medicine. I place great dependence on an effectual cathartic in my duly contest with disease, and believing us I do that your Piles had your persent with disease, and believing us I do that your Piles afford us the less we have, I of course value them in high."

we have, I or course value them out his.

27 Most of the Pills in market sontain Mercury, which, although a valuable remedy in satisful hands, is dangerous in a public pill, from the dreadful consequences that frequently follow its incantious use. These contain no mercury or mineral substance whatever.

## Aver's Cherry Pectoral

Has long been manufactured by a practical chemist, and every ounce of it under his own eye, with invariable accuracy and care. It is sealed and protected by law from counterfelts, and consequently can be relied on as genulos, without adulteration. It supplies the surset remeit the world line aver known for the curs of all pulmonary couplaints; for Cordin, Coluse, Hoavenstan, Astrona, Chen, Whootrace Coura, Beckentras, Increuser Coscunstruo, and for the relief of consumptive patients in advanced stages of the dilected, from the log cabin of the American persons in the makes these facts wider and being known, this medicine has gradually become the best reliance of the afflicted, from the log cabin of the American persons in the polaces of European kings. Throughout this entire country, in every state and city, and indeed almost every hamilet it contains. Creamer Petronat is known as the best of all remedies for discusses of the throat and langs. In many foreign countries it is actionsively used by their most intelligent physicians. If there is any depectors on what men of every station certify it has done for them; if we can irrust our own senses whon we see the dangerous affections of the lungs yield to it; if we can depend on the assurance of intelligent physicians, whose lusines its to know; in short, if there is any reliance upon any thing, then is it prefusably proven that this medicine docure the class of diseases it is designed for, beyond any and all other remedies known to mankind. Nothing but its lettingle virtues, and the unmistakable benefit conferred to

Prepared by Dr. J. C. AVER, PRACTICAL AND ANALYTICAL CHEMIST, LOWELL, MASS.

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Miss G. has permission to refer to the follows:

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NO POWDERS OR YEAST. HOW to make LIGHT, delicious tread, with its ple flour, pure scafer, AND NOTHING ELSE. This receipt, and 30 others, on plain Cooking, Hints on Health, &c., a little hand-book of it pages, mailed on receipt of 10 cents and a stamp. Our table has been supplied with this delicion bread for several months, and we would here add the we have accommodations for families and single sufference our rooms are lighted with gas; we have baths on each floor, with an abundance of hot was also, Electro-Chemical Baths for those who gas them. Transient Board, \$1 or more per day, scorling to rooms required.