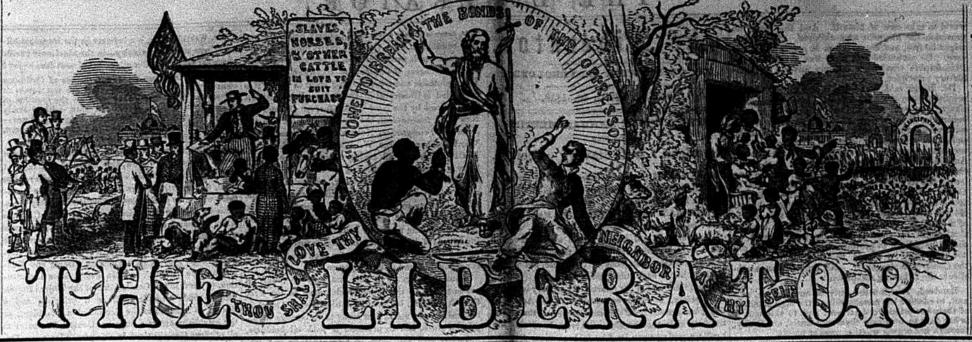
HOBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent. TERMS -Two dollars and fifty cents per an-

mm, in advance. Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN pollars, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters

relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to e directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inserted three times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts. Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soictics are authorised to receive subscriptions for Tas

The following gentlemen constitute the Pinancial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the lebts of the paper, viz: - Francis Jackson, Ellis GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and conthey espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an enrighteous yoke. On this subject, our farmens, in FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED PROM THE arour. We their children, at the end of half a contury, 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 enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to b 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 BLERRY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXVIII. NO. 18.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 1858.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1428.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Christian Intelligencer [Dutch Reformed.] SOMETHING TO BE MARKED.

The Liberator, of Boston, a paper edited by Garrison, the Abolitionist, contains, in one of ent issues, nearly three columns of ridicule and abuse of 'revivals of religion'; and 'the dogmas the Westminster Shorter Catechism 'also come n for a large share of the vituperation of this wonman. This shows us, as plain as dayridi, what Garrison is; he is an opponent of the heistian religion as it is understood in nearly all the heistian Churches in our land; for whatever the form of policy and government may be, in doctrine the doctrines of the Westminster Catechism—they all agree. Even the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Episcopal Church are, to all intents and purposes, identical with it.

The recent development is of importance in its sture. It makes it plain that Abolitionism and infidelity have joined hands, and made a solemn It makes it right for us to say, Abolism and infidelity are henceforth to be one. Of this we have ourselves long been persuaded; but now it is out, and can be confirmed without equivoeation. It is a development which we believe decides the fate of that abusive and malignant mania. The Universalists and Socinians of New England task the temperance movement under their especial patronage, and sent out lecturers all over the land to proclaim it was another gospel. It was a com-mon saying with these men, that 'they wanted no better religion than was provided for in the temperance pledge. The result is before the world. No one need be told what the effect was. Where is the amperance cause?

and now what will the three thousand clergymen of New England, who once subscribed such an earnest memorial to Congress, do? Are they to follow in the lead of Garrison? Is he the Diotrephes who, common consent, is to have the pre-eminence ong them? Will they patronize and fellowship him and his doctrines on slavery any more? It seems to us that this movement of the *Liberator* necessitates a choice between revivals and Abolitionsm. The incompatibility of the two is now plainly hown, and can no longer be denied. We have wondered at the infatuation of the

hree thousand New England clergymen in preaching, for so long a time, almost nothing but Abolionism. It has surprised us that they did not see uffering through such a course; and now, when ied is pouring out his Spirit so extensively upon he land, out comes this profane mocker, and tells been this is all delusion and fanaticism, and that belitionism instead of 'Christ the wisdom of God, and the power of God.' It is an important crisis and we shall wait with painful interest the develments of the future. The beast has shown his cloven foot so plainly that we think even the 'dupes' may see it. Will they take him at his word, and follow him still further into the dangerous paths in-

to which he is treading?

The elergymen out of New England have felt for their brethren there. To them it has been plain at their minds were extensively under the influmee of a hallucination; that they were viewing miliar objects. Many have hoped anxiously for a day to come which would dispel from their minds the occasion of this sinister influence. Will this produce an awakening, an extensive awakening, such as New England people are accustomed to welcome and follow out? We shall see. One thing is certain, that if ever a set of men deserved symthy and commiscration for their signal failure a ne manifest injudiciousness of their course, it is hese men. And it is almost too bad first to dupe them so, and then spit upon them, as this man of the Liberator has done. If they bear it all meekly, we shall certainly have a very lively conviction of their patience; and did we not know better, might be tempted to regard them as stupid.

The two articles below are from the American Presbyteof which Rev. Albert Barnes is Associate Editor ! ! REST FROM AGITATION.

The Western Reserve Editors of the Central Chrisian Herald, speaking of the action of the late Asembly on the subject of slavery, express the opinion that our body may now turn from agitation and strife to the work of saving dying souls. This is a blessed privilege, and, with this feeling on the part of our brethren in Ohio, we may hope to enjoy it. They

'The results of this action upon our Churches are most blessed. All the trouble in the Churches, which has grown out of the existence of slavery, our connection, has ceased, and we have a blessed in on that subject. The attention and interest which have been given to this subject can now, and we hope will, be given to subjects more intimately connected with the salvation of souls, and the prosperity of the Churches. In our Presbyterial and Synodical meetings, the subject of slavery has, for ears, occupied more time than any other subject. At the meetings which have been held since the action of the Assembly, it has occupied but little time. And it is pleasant to notice that, instead of this exciting subject,' the attention of the Synods and Presbyteries has been occupied in looking over their respective fields, and in devising ways and means to supply the destitute within their bounds. This is one of the most hopeful features of our praich of the Christian Church; and it is traceable, brough the blessing of God, to the fact that the We should 'thank God and take courage.' question '

ASTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. A Convention of 'ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. A Convention of Methodist ministers and laymen was held for two days last week, in Rochester, N. Y., to discuss the 'new rule,' by which slaveholding is to be a penal offence, and all slaveholders excluded the Church. The discussions took a wide range, and were made to embrace the abolition of the 'Presiding Eldership,' and the admission of lay representatives to their Conferences. The tone and spirit of the debates, as reported, would but slightly suggest the characteristic humility and piety of John Wesley. What practical results were obtained, or prospective good accomplished, is not discernible from the published proceedings, saving that it has afforded another opoccedings, saving that it has afforded another oprunity for uneasy and restless spirits to extend ir surplus energies and overheated zeal in vaporng for the amusement of the public.

Modern Conventions are becoming too much a andern Conventions are becoming too much a trade, and are got up frequently for the special benefit of a class of men who have a great propensity for keeping the popular mind in a ferment. We are indined to believe, however, if these men could be content to restrict themselves to a more legitimate and appropriate appears of action, they would accomand appropriate sphere of action, they would acomsh, in the aggregate, much more permanent good, least to the Church and the world, than they ow any promise of doing by this modern popular ethod of berating the Church and scandalizing

have seceded from the New School General Assembly, met at Knoxville, Tenn., on Friday, April 2d.
Rev. C. H. Reed, D. D., of Richmond, Va., was unanimously chosen Moderator.

There were about twenty Commissioners present

mong them Dr. Boyd of Winchester, Va., and Dr.

Ross of Huntsville. Ala.

The name proposed by the Covention at Richmond, viz: 'the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,' was unanimously DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

At the afternoon session, a Declaration of Princi-ples was reported by the Committee on Bills and Overtures (Dr. Boyd chairman.)

Overtures (Dr. Boyd chairman.)

In this paper,—

1. An adoption of the Confession of Faith for substance of doctrine, is declared.

2. It is stated that no judicatory, minister, or private member can be censured or condemned in the Presbyterian Church, for any doctrinal sentiments, Presbyterian Church, for any doctrinal sentiments, or for any practices, without trial.

3. That the General Assembly possesses no legisla-

4. The right of any Judicatory 'to hear testimomy against another Judicatory, or against any min-deem unanswerable, and those considerations deci-sive. You have interpreted the Constitution fairly,

er and slave, is not referred to in the Confession of ty have acted, and when you display, I do not well ter and slave, is not referred to in the Confession of Faith, either directly or indirectly, as an offence, it cannot, in itself considered, in any case, be made the basis of discipline in the Presbyterian Church. At the same time, we declare the right of the Church Courts to take cognizance, in their judicial capacity, Courts to take cognizance, in their judicial capacity, of cruelties practised in this and other relations in

tles intimated that the slaveholding relations was sinful, and as they did not attempt to remove slavesiniul, and as they did not attempt to remove slaveholders from the Church by legislation, or by testifying against it; and, further, as the system of
slavery is an institution of the State, its continuance
of Christian wisdom and expediency, as you have so or abolition depending entirely upon the will of the State, irrespective of the views and decisions of Church Courts; it is the judgment of this Synod that the discussion or agitation of slavery in the judicatories of the Church, except so far as respects the moral and religions duties growing out of the relation of master and slave, is inappropriate to the functions of said judicatories. It is therefore to be excluded entirely, as a subject of discussion, from

this Synod. 9. Entertaining the above views, and disclaiming all responsibility for, and endorsement of the ac-tions, resolutions, and testimonies of past General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church, whereby suspicions and doubts of the good standing and equal rights and privileges of the slaveholding members of the Church, or implications or charges against their Christian character, have been either implied or expressed, this United Synod is organ-ized. And to avoid misapprehensions of our position, we hereby express the wish that Presbyteries, from every section of the Union, who adopt the Westminster Confession of Faith as their system of docctrine, and adhere to its form of Government and book of Discipline, and who, whatever may be their master and slave, is inappropriate to the functions of the Church, and therefore ought not to be introduced into the Church Courts, should unite with our body, and thus aid in the diffusion of the truths of our common Christianity, free from an agitation that has alreal resulted in the dismembership of

several evangelical Churches, and threatens still further to divide the body of Christ. The above report was made the special order for

Saturday morning, April 3d.
On motion, third Thursday in May, 1858, at a quarter before 8 o'clock in the evening, was fixed as the time for the next meeting of the United Synod. The place, the Second Presbyterian Church; Lynchburg, Va.

devotional exercises, the Synod adjourned until Saturday morning.

From the Boston Courier.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY. Our readers will remember, we trust, that Rev. Mr. Bliss, of this city, has just furnished the pub-lic with an admirable series of letters, in a pam-

that the Tracts distributed shall be such as will make a deep impression upon all thinking and calculated to receive the approbation of all high-minded men, I cannot doubt. evangelical Christians.' But as tracts on slavery cannot be circulated among the inhabitants of the slave States, the Society in the first place presumptuously assumes, that such inhabitants are not evangelical Christians, since their approbation is out of the question, and next would misappropriate the funds, which have been largely contributed at the South, as well as the North, by confining their beneficial application entirely to the North.

We observe what seems to us a very unchristian-like editorial notice of this pamphlet, in the Congregationalist newspaper, published in this city, and none the less so for being dishonest, since it leaves off from the paragraph quoted by it the very exception stated by the anthor, which, if printed by the Congregationalist, would have shown how captious and injust its comments were. As an offset to this, we print the following letters to the author, from gentlemen whose judgment and nonor make the public consideration for their opinons sure.

Hanover, A. H., Application of the members of the Tract Society with care and profound interest. I know not which to admire most, the conclusiveness of reasoning, or the Christian spirit you have manifested throughout.

The fifth letter is admirable.

I thank God you have been enabled to write the best and the most conclusive exposition and defence that has yet appeared on the subject.

Yours, truly, JOHN RICHARDS.

My Dear Sir,—I am in receipt of your letters to the members of the Tract Society with care and profound interest. I know not which to admire most, the conclusiveness of reasoning, or the Christian spirit you have manifested throughout.

The fifth letter is admirable.

I thank God you have been enabled to write the best and the most conclusive exposition and defence that has yet appeared on the subject.

Yours, truly, JOHN RICHARDS. is out of the question, and next would misappro-

Receiving, as I do, your statements respecting | Elizabeth, N. J., April 1, 1858.

UNITED SYNOD OF THE PRESBYTERIAN the origin, history, and proceedings of the Society as correctly made, it appears to me that your positions, the reasoning to sustain them, and the conclusions arrived at, are exhibited with great ability and clearness. They are too satisfactory and conclusive to be essentially affected by any other expressions.

position founded upon fair statement and reasoning.
Any one not thus founded is unsuitable to the cause,
and not worthy of consideration.

That the religious community should, at this time of the Lord's marvelous doings, refuse a calm and deliberate consideration and judgment, and yield itself to the control of self-will, prejudice, or passion, is too depressing and derogatory to our Christian character to be admitted.

I trust, therefore, that you will not have labored Most respectfully, ETHER SHEPLEY.

FROM HON. RUFUS CHOATE.[!!]

them, and have considered the argument which they embody, and the considerations of a large expediency by which the proceedings of the Society, as such, have heretofore been conducted. That argument I

justly, and with an ability and force, which, from 5. It is claimed that nothing can be made the basis of discipline in the Presbyterian Church, which is not specifically referred to in the Constitution of the Church as crime or heresy.

6. As slaveholding, or the relation between master and slave is not referred to in the Confession of the Church as crime or heresy.

6. As slaveholding, or the relation between master and slave is not referred to in the Confession of the Society have acted, and when you display. I do not really the confession of the second along the confession of the confession o

fe.

7. Inasmuch as slaveholders were admitted what is written of the Special Committee, their 7. Inasmuch as slaveholders were admitted into the churches organized by the Apostles, and as neither Christ nor his Apostles intimated that the slaveholding relation was a sin, although they lived in the midst of the institution, and enjoined upon masters to treat their slaves with kindness, it follows, necessarily, that a Church Court that makes slaveholding, in any case, a bar to communion, is usurping authority that belongs only to the Great Head of the Church.

8. Inasmuch as neither the Savior nor his Apostles intimated that the slaveholding relations was sinful, and as they did not attempt to remove slavely slavehold of pusillanimity may well be endured, while the actual policy can be defended on such grounds of law, such a practice of the past, such a ground of law such a practice of the past, such a ground of law such a practice of the past, such a ground of law such a practice of

I am, sir, your friend and obedient servant, RUFUS CHOATE.

FROM HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP. [!!]

My Dear Sir,—I thank you for the copy of your letter which you have kindly sent to me. You have discussed the question relating to the publication of Anti-Slavery Essays by the American Tract Society with great thoroughness and ability, and have cor firmed me in my long cherished opinion, that such publications do not rightfully enter into the province of the Society, and that they would be fatal at once to its unity and its usefulness. I am, respectfully and truly, your friend and ser-

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

FROM REV. DR. SHEPARD. Bristol, R. I., April 5, 1858.

Dear Sir,—I thank you for a copy of your let-ters. They are just what I needed to settle my mind. I was perplexed and stumbled by Dr. Way-land's and Dr. Palmer's letters, and felt the force of book of Discipline, and who, whatever may be the population, believe opinions of slavery as a civil institution, believe that the relations of master and servant should be that the relations of master and servant should be their reasoning; and yet, being a conservative man, no bar to membership in the Church of Christ, and I did not like to take a stand against the deliberate that the agitation of the question of slavery, further than pertains to the performance of the duties of the Tract Society. I had pretty much made up which the Scriptures state as imposed upon my mind to remain neutral. But, having read your my mind to remain neutral. letters, I am convinced that your argument upon the Constitution is unanswerable. No candid mind can withhold conviction to the truth of your posi-

Whatever we may think of the state of feeling and action at the South, on this subject, we must receive it as a fact, and act accordingly; they alone are accountable for the motives which move them to take the ground which they do. You have done incalculable service to the Tract cause in these United

With sincere esteem, I remain, yours in Christian bonds. THOMAS SHEPARD.

FROM PRESIDENT LORD.

Dartmouth College, March 29, 1858. My Dear Sit,-I have received your letters on the Tract Controversy, and presume myself right in

referring the favor to your courtesy.

Please accept my acknowledgements both for your kind consideration and your able performance. phlet form, upon the controversy between the I have read the letters with great satisfaction. They American Tract Society and its publishing committee. The committee refuses to publish Tracts especially directed against slavery, for the sufficient reason, that the constitution of the Society provides, that the Tracts distributed shall be such as will make a deep impression upon all thinking and high-ninded men. I cannot doubt.

Yours, very respectfully and truly,

FROM REV. DR. RICHARDS. Hanover, N. H., April 5, 1858.

FROM CHIEF JUSTICE SHEPLEY, MAINE.

Portland, March 30, 1858.

Lev. Sern Bliss:

My Dear Sir,—Your 'Letters to the Members I think you have done the cause and the world good service.

I think you have done the cause and the world good service.

Yours, very truly, R. T. HAINES.

town the glorious and successful struggle which or reputation, by herself traducing, or encouraging not only wiped from England a foul blot that for others to traduce, the only party of American Abe anti-slavery societies, and to inform 'the Christian philanthropists of Newcastle' that 'an excellent opportunity is just now presented to them to furbish

up their arms, and to enter once more on the conflict.' So far, so good.

The writer then warmly eulogises Mr. Frederick Douglass and his paper, scandalously maligns the Abolitionists, whose principles Mr. Douglass has betrayed, and awards to Miss Griffiths the highest become of philanthymas. He saws honors of philanthropy. He says :-

midst of the troubled conflicts of American Abolistionists. Its great guiding principles are two. First the troubled in the trouble fight its battles on the ground of the Constitution, as one essentially opposed to slavery, and seek to preserve the Union as the most effectual means of freeing the slave. And second—That the Anti-Slavery movement be based on Christianity, a Christianity broad and catholic, but at the same time, thorough and evangelical. Now, in the upholding these two principles, Mr. Douglass has had to content means of the trouble depending the Crimean war, it was strong enough to awaken our Neutrality laws into unexampled activity, and to prevent any sympathy or aid from this country reaching the enemies of the Czar.

But as every dog has its day, so the Russian bear has had his at Washington. We have nothing more to fear of Russian influence with any pro-slavery administration. Our readers must not be surprised if a motion is introduced into the Senate, before the session closes, to terminate diplomatic relations with ca, which is as general and strong as it is mean and contemptible, but also against a certain party of Aborellitionists who openly proclaim that their hatred to slavery is only equalled by their detestation of the Christian faith. Hence Frederick Douglass's paper—which fiths thoroughly understands the kind of help which American Christian Abolitionists require at the present time at the hands of their British friends; and toast was proposed by M. Katkoff—' The health of the Emperor.' After a few words from M. A. V. own worth and the goodness of the scheme of assistance she has to propound. It should be clearly understood that she is no 'Woman's Rights' advocate, but a sort of Elizabeth Fry or a Sarah Martin in the little before his Lecompton message; and a little before his Lecompton message: anti-slavery enterprise. Her custom is to gather to-gether private meetings of her own sex interested in the cause she has at heart, and to organize ladies' societies, to aid in spreading anti-slavery information, and in the escape to Canada of fugitive slaves.'

ho institution of slavery, is attributable either to to mar our rejoicing. Yes, gentlemen, I repeat it in pardonable ignorance or to gross malignity. But, a new spirit animates us, a new era has commenced unfortunately, there are many persons really interested in the anti-slavery cause who are likely to be misled by libels of this kind, and in consequence, to withhold their sympathy and support from the very party of American Abolitionists towards whom, if they were rightly informed, they would cherish the warmest feelings of gratitude and respect. In ignorance, they may be induced to turn their backs upon the noblest and most Christian advocates of the slave, and to unite themselves with those who unfortunately, there are many persons really interested in the anti-slavery cause who are likely to be the slave, and to unite themselves with those who have sacrificed his cause on the unholy altars of per-

stitution and the Union will rebuild that temple of liberty which they have made a desolating ruin, and give freedom to the millions whose limbs they have fettered, will provoke the derision not only of the deeply read students of American politics, but of the comparative uninformed novice who may have perused those chapters of the history of Kansas sole wish for the welfare of his people, with that this have accomplished by the perused those chapters of the history of Kansas sole wish for the welfare of his people, with that an included heartiness which may now be expected.

en to an editor to print. Certainly, my humble testimony is not needed, but yet I cannot forbear to say that, speaking as one who has resided in America, who has made himself acquainted with the principles and the policy of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and who regularly peruses those speeches and publications for which the Society may be considered responsible: I can truthfully declare, that I know of no body of men and women, either within or without the pale of the church, who have to a greater extent made Christianity—practical and pure, not sectarian and corrupt—the guiding principles' of their public and private conduct. 'If, therefore,' I may say with Mr. Garrison, 'the American Anti-Slavery Society be an infidel society, it is

SELECTIONS.

So only in the sense in which Jesus was a blasphemor, and the apostles were solitious fellows, seeking to turn the world upside down. It is infidel to Satan, the enslaver; it is loyal to Christ, the Redeemer. It is infidel to a gospel which makes man the property of man; it is bound up-with the gospel which requires us to love our neighbors as ourselves, and the apostles were solitious fellows, seeking to turn the world upside down. It is infidel to Satan, the enslaver; it is loyal to Christ, the Redeemer. It is infidel to a gospel which makes man the property of man; it is bound up-with the gospel which requires us to love our neighbors as ourselves, and To the Editor:—

Dear Sir,—I once indulged in the hope that the old cry of infidelity which was at one time very vehemently raised against the American Abolitionists had died a natural death in this country, as it appears to have done in the United States. To say nothing of the obligations which honor and gratitude imposed upon every lover of freedom not to take part in any attack upon those who, whatever might be their religious opinions, had furnished the sublimest proofs of their lovalty to the cause of the

might be their religious opinions, had furnished the sublimest proofs of their loyalty to the cause of the slave; it appeared to be impossible that Englishmen, with their knowledge of the principles upon which public movements in this country are based, should denounce the American Anti-Slavery Society for inviting the co-operation of Christians and unbelievers, just as the Anti-Corn-Law League did in its day, and the thousand-and-one moral and political associations are doing at the present time. But I have lately observed a partial resuscitation of the old cry against our American friends; and that, too, only in those places which have been visited by a certain Miss Julia Griffiths, who has come to this country on a professedly anti-slavery mission. on a professedly anti-slavery mission.

This lady recently made her appearance in Newcastle-on-Tyne, and there has since appeared in the Northern Daily Express an article entitled 'A New But if Miss Griffiths is wise, she will confine herself

Anti-Slavery Movement in Newcastle.' After re- to the legitimate business of her mission. Let her calling to the recollection of the young men of that rest assured she will gain nothing, either in money generations had stained her escutcheon, but morally litionists whose leaders, by their chivalric and self-ennobled the men engaged in it, the writer proceeds to lament the virtual extinction of the local themselves a place in history, which a Howard or a denying devotion to a great cause, have won for themselves a place in history, which a Howard or a Washington might envy.

F. W. CHESSON. Very truly yours, London, March, 1858.

From the N. Y. Evening Post. THE END OF RUSSIAN INFLUENCE AT WASHINGTON.

Hitherto Russia has been quite a pet of the Southern oligarchy, and Russian influence has been recog-nized as a sort of fourth estate in our Federal Gov-'His (Mr. D's) paper is at this moment doing its work with increased influence, while it offers a rallying point, and holds up a standard of hope in the midst of the troubled conflicts of American Aboli-Pending the Crimean war, it was strong enough to

thorough and evangelical. Now, in the upholding these two principles, Mr. Douglass has had to contend not only against the pro-slavery sentiment of America, which is as general and strong as it is mean and the content of the Czar, or that Baron Steekl, his diplomatic repairment of the Czar, or the Czar, or the Czar, or the Czar, or the

tian faith. Hence Frederick Douglass's paper—which is the only paper now in America owned and edited by a colored man—has never been a commercial success, while it has unquestionably exerted a great moral power, and its extinction now would be an unspeakable calamity. To prevent this, and at the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, an English pation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, an English pation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, an English pation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, an English pation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, an English pation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, an English pation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, an English pation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, and at the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, and at the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways and the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, and at the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, and at the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, and at the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, and at the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, and the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, and the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, and the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, and the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, and the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, speakable calamity. To prevent the speakable calamity. That we may not be suspected of overstating lady, who for some years has resided in America, and devoted herself with much ardor to the cause of the gravity of the insult to our 'domestic institution' of which the Czar has been guilty, we hasten to lay before our readers an account of a very remarkable banquet held at Moscow on the 9th of Scottish towns and some English ones. Miss Griffiths thoroughly understands the kind of help which fiths thoroughly understands the kind of help which dred and eighty persons were present. The first dred and eighty persons were present. The first toast was proposed by M. Katkoff—'The health of the speakable calamity. The health of the cause of the mation, and a curse to the nation, and a curse to the nation and a curse to the nat

Gentlemen: A new spirit animates us; a new era has commenced. Heaven has allowed us to live long enough to witness the second regeneration of Russia. Gentlemen, we may congratulate ourselves, Those who are conversant with the slavery question in America do not need to be informed, that the charge which the Northern Daily Express prefers against 'a certain party of Abolitionists, of being as hostile to the Christian faith as they are to the institution of slavery, is attributable either to the institution of slavery and institution of slavery attributable either to the institution of slavery attributable eithe the slave, and to unite themselves with those who have sacrificed his cause on the unholy altars of personal vindictiveness and religious bigotry.

I have nothing to say about the supreme folly of the two guiding principles' which are attributed to Mr. Douglass's paper. The idea that the Constitution and the Union will rebuild that temple of the found in the path thrown open by him there which that have made a desolating ruin, and the condition of the individual cast its shadow over society at large. The Emperor has struck at the roots of this evil. The glory and prosperity of Russia cannot rest upon institutions based on injustice and falsehood. No: these blessings are hences the condition of the individual cast its shadow over society at large. The Emperor has struck at the roots of this evil. The glory and prosperity of Russia cannot rest upon institutions based on injustice and falsehood. No: these blessings are hences and falsehood are represented by the condition of the individual cast its shadow over society at large. The Emperor has struck at the roots of this evil. The glory and prosperity of forth to be found in the path thrown open by him which are attributed to the roots of this evil. perused those chapters of the history of Kansas which have appeared in the columns of the Tribune and the Anti-Slavery Standard during the last three years.

But when we come to the statement of the Northern Daily Express, that Mr. Douglass, in upholding the two principles above alluded to, has had to contend against a certain party of Abolitionists who openly proclaim that their hatred to slavery is only equalled by their detestation of the Christian faith, we have to deal with what is really a very grave and serious matter. Those who are familiar with the history of the American Abolitionists, but more especially those who enjoy the privilege of their friendship, and are really acquainted with their views, not only of slavery but of the Christian religion, know full well that a baser calumny was never given to an editor to print. Certainly, my humble testimony is not needed, but yet I cannot forbear to

der his reign, have always responded to the real wants of the people. We have met here to celebrate an event which will be an epoch in the annals of our history, and upon which future historians will dwell with pleasure. At the very commencement of this century, one of our first manufacturers said to Storch, that trade will never flourish under our system of compulsory labor, or, in other words of said to Storch, that trade will never flourish under our system of compulsory labor, or, in other words, of serfage; already, in 1849, the Free Economical Society proved by facts the inconveniences of serfage as regards agriculture. The development of national wealth has ever gone hand-in-hand with the regular organization of popular labor, which, asit gradually emancipates itself from stringent conditions, becomes more active, more progressive, and, consequently, more productive. In proportion as national labor gradually issues forth free from such disadvantageous conditions, the love of work increases among the people. Emulation and competition arouse the sleeping energies of the nation; they will not allow them to rust, but excite them to healthy activity and continual progress. The day of the primitive forms of the economical condition of the people has now left us forever. The wants of a great nation now left us forever. The wants of a great nation increase daily, and cannot be satisfied with the coarse conditions, contrary to all progress, of primitive econ-omy founded on compulsory labor—a labor, the limits of which are as restricted as its nature is unproductive. Our task is not to double, but to increase ten-fold our productive power, our labor, our wealth, unless we wish to see taken away from us by nations more advanced than ourselves, the markets which are ours by tradition, and by our geographical position. We cannot increase our productive power, except by a regular organization of national labor, which will then boldly take in hand and work the treasures now hidden in our land.

The learned Professor concluded by an appeal to all honest men to support the Emperor in this great social reform. Various other speeches, we are told,

were made, all in the same spirit.

Such are the terms used by the leading minds of barbarous' Russia in reference to the unprofitableness and wickedness of compulsory labor. 'We breathe more like Christians,' says M. Pauloff, 'our hearts beat more nobly, and we may look at the light of Heaven with a clearer ever' since we have light of Heaven with a clearer eye,' since we have ceased to exact unrecompensed and involuntary labor from our fellow-creatures. 'The glory and prosperity of Russia,' he adds, 'cannot rest upon injustice and falsehood.' Can it in America?

How strange it seems that, while a despotic government like Russia can discern so clearly, not merely the injustice, but the inexpediency of slavery, and can take steps at once to inaugurate a more desired solicities and control of the freezy government of the freezy government. enlightened policy, every energy of the freest gov-ernment in the world should be exerted in exactly the opposite direction! And what is more remarkable, though this reform affects the wealthiest and most influential class in Russia, we hear nothing from them about dissolving the empire, nor are Russian statesmen and philosophers bludgeoned in their Council Chambers for expressing anti-slavery opinions. On the contrary, M. Pauloff says, in his speech, what no American Congressmen of this day could say, at a similar meeting: 'We have met to-day to express our deep and sincere sympathy for a holy and praiseworthy work, and we meet without holder under this Administration, who should les any countenance to such an entertainment, would be permitted to hold his cituation half an hour;

be permitted to hold his situation half an hour; and, if in a Southern State, the meeting would as surely be broken up by violence as the ice in the streets of this city will melt before the 4th of July.

Such an example, and such doctrine as this, from Russia, cannot be forgiven by the Propagands. She has been relied upon as the great bulwark of slavery by the South, and for years past an intimacy has been growing up in consequence, between the two been growing up in consequence, between the two governments, which no one could explain or under-stand. The recent decree of the youthful Emperor upsets the card castle within which the Slave Power has been entrenching itself, and leaves it nothing but the paradoxes of Fitzhugh, and Stiles, and De

WADE'S DAGUERREOTYPE OF THE DOUGHFACES.

Your allies, the doughfaces of the North, in my judgment, are the most despicable of men. The modern doughface is not a character peculiar to the age in which we live, but you find traces of him at every period of the word's history. He is void of pride; he is void of self-respect; he is actuated by a mean, grovelling selfishness that would sell his Maker for a price. Why, sir, when Moses, un-der the immediate inspiration of God Almighty, enticed a whole nation of slaves, and ran away, n to Canada, but to old Canaan, I suppose that Pharaoh and all the chivalry of old Egypt denounc-Pharnoh and all the chivalry of old Egypt denounced him as a most furious Abolitionist. I do not know but that they blasphemed their God, who had assisted the fugitives from labor to escape. I have no doubt at all that, when some Southern gentlemen of the gospel come up to preach to the North, they will say that the Almighty acted a very fanatical part in this business. I am afraid they will say so; for He was aiding and abetting in their escape. But, amidst the glories of that great deliverance, even feeding upon miracles of the Almighty as they went along. there were not wanting those ance, even feeding upon miracles of the Almighty as they went along, there were not wanting those who loved Egypt better than they loved liberty; whose souls longed for the flesh-pots of Egypt; and who could turn from the visible glories of the Almighty God to worship an Egyptian calf. These were the doughfaces of that day. They were national men. They were not exactly Northern men with Southern principles; but they were Israelites with Egyptian principles. with Egyptian principles.

Again, when the Savior of the world went forth

Again, when the Savior of the world went forth on His great mission to proclaim glad tidings of joy to all the people of the earth, to break every yoke, and to preach deliverance to the captive, he met with the same class of men in the persons of Judas Iscariot and the chief priests. In the days of our own Revolution, when Washington and his noble associates were carrying on that struggle to establish justice, and to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, they met with the same class of men in the admirers of George III. and Lord North.

They are all of the same class—false to the educa-tion of their fathers—false to the great principles which have been instilled into them by their mothwhich have been instilled into them by their mothers from their birth—willing to do anything that will minister to the cupidity of their masters, let the consequences be what they may. It is this class of men, aided by a class aristocracy at the South, that has enabled the minority to rule with the irou hand the majority, since the organization of this Government. I have endeavored to daguerrectype these men for the benefit of future ages; for I believe that, like the Indian tribes, they are disappearing. You have put them to very hard service, sir. They die faster than the Northern negroes in your riceswamps—politically, I mean. You put them to service that they cannot stand. When you ask them to vote for a fugitive bill, they may do it once, but political death stares them in the face. When you ask them to go with you for the repeal of the Missouri restriction, you find the same state of things.

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From the New York Tribane. NEW YORK EAST METHODIST EPISCO PAL CONFERENCE.

The Rev. Dr. Floy stated that it having been as The Rev. Dr. Floy stated that it having been asserted yesterday on the floor of the Conference, that the Methodist Discipline of 1784 did not use the language incorporated in the report of the Committee on Slavery, he produced a copy of the Discipline of 1784, and read extracts from the book, which seemed to be entirely new to many of the members. The language of 1784 is even stronger than that used in the report of the Committee; indeed, it seems from the records of that day that Methodist preachers were the most devoted friends of liberty, and bitterly hostile to slavery in all its forms and

aspects.
The Rev. Mr. Long, who has taken a prominent stand against slavery in the Philadelphia Conference, and is the author of a work entitled. Pictures of Slavery in the Methodist Church, was introduced and marrily released by many members of duced, and warmly welcomed by many members of

After the transaction of routine business of no public interest, the second resolution of the report of the Committee on Slavery was taken up :

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Church as unit to exert herself in ameliorating the condition of slavery in our country, and to use all Scriptural and prudent means to effect as soon as possible their eman-

The Rev. R. M. Hatfield of New York moved the adoption of the resolution. It had been charged that, in discussing these and kindred questions, he was more excited than usual, and sometimes wickedly so. He disclaimed all intention to do wrong, or to injure the feelings of any brother in the Church. He felt interested in the subject of slavery, and whenever he spoke or read of it, he necessarily became excited, and felt it to be his duty to warmly speak and act in this matter. He though that the report did not quite come up to the spirit of the Church's sentiment. It was not quite strong enough to suit him, but he would go for it heart and soul. He contended that slaveholding anywhere was wicked; it was a sin to sell slaves under any circumstances. It was the duty of the Church to educate her people up to the true standard of Anti-Slavery sentiment. He considered that the Confer-ence were bound to do that on account of the subject, as regarded the action of the General as well as of the Annual Conferences. One of the General Conferences had passed a resolution to the effect that the testimony of a negro should not be taken against a white member of the Church, and to choke down the agitation of slavery.

Dr. Bangs denied that assertion, and stated that

he could prove it a falsehood. The matter referred to was in the pastoral address, which he wrote himself. The clause was recommending to the church es to refrain from the discussion of the subject among their congregation.

Mr. Hatfield contended that the intention of the

General Conference was that the church should scholly refrain from the discussion of the question, and it was no use quibbling about it. Some time since, one of the members of the Philadelphia Conference (the Rev. Mr. Long) published a book, in which he stated the position of the church on the slavery question. Hardly had the book been published, when he was cited by the Bishop to appear before the next Conference, and answer the charge of sedi-tion. The official organ of the church published the charges far and wide, to the detrime reputation of the brother. When the Conference met, the brother appeared, and fully refuted the charges. The Conference exonerated him from the charge fully, but this did not save his reputation from the blow which had been given it by the free publication of the charges. In speaking of the Pailadelphia Conference, Mr. Hatfield cited from Mr. Long's work, in which it was stated that there were eight hundred members of the Conference in Delaware and Maryland who hold slaves-in one district. It had been charged that it was unsafe to pass these resolutions, as it might injure the feelings f the Southern members of the Conference, and they, becoming dissatisfied, would withdraw and go to the South. He thought that if that was the ase, the sooner they went, the better for the Con-

The Rev. Heman Bangs replied to the remarks of the Rev. Mr. Hatfield. He thought they were very the Rev. Mr. Hatfield. He thought they were very much like a political stump speech, and reminded him of the dog baying at the moon. The brother saw slavery at a great distance, and was trying to get at it. Thirty years ago, slavery existed in the State of New York, and then such a speech might have answered. Slavery could never be done away with the state of the sta with by ecclesiustical or political agitation. The church had nothing to do with slavery, which was purely a civil and political relation. The relation purely a civil and political relation. of master and slave may exist on motives of philan-thropy or on other grounds without sin. The speak-er concluded that St. Paul recognized the relation of master and slave under certain circumstances, and gave instructions for the observance of that relation. The church had no right to dictate to him that he should bring the subject of slavery into his pulpit, or allow his congregation to be harangued on the subject of slavery. He had his commission on the subject of slavery. He had his commission from a higher source than the Conference. He was of a mind to read the Conference, the same address that he made in Danbury, which precisely explained his position. In the present day, the boys knew more than their elders, and endeavored to educate them, instead of the elders educating the youngsters. Pulpits now-a-days were made the scenes of political harangues, which never should be permitted by

any Christian minister.

The Rev. Dr. Crooks was the next speaker. He contended that the spirit of this resolution was precisely what had been contended for by the brethren of the border for years, and that was, that the subject should be presented prudently as well as firmly. When this was done, so long as prudence as well as firmness was used, there was no trouble, nor would there be. He had noticed with pain in this portion of the State, that when we were discussing this subject, there was too much bitterness and hostility toward their Southern brethren, which was unchristian in its tendency. It had been charged that the record of the Philadelphia Conference was not clear on the subject of slavery. He asserted that the record of no Conference was clear when they went back for thirty years. He said that the they went back for thir; y years. He said that the men who are the leaders in the Anti-Slavery movement were reared upon the Maryland Peninsula. The significance of this is, that their hearts are true upon this subject, and that they can be trusted. He had imagined that he was in the Senate when h heard his brother (Mr. Hatfield) firing his great guns at Green of Missouri. There was a growing Anti-Slavery sentiment upon the borders, and which Anti-Slavery sentiment upon the borders, and which was steadily increasing. There were men, too, on the Peninsula, who believed slavery is right, and who would not bear the language of the Discipline upon the subject, and who, perhaps, would have to separate from the Church; yet, it was nevertheless true that there was an Anti-Slavery feeling constantly growing and becoming more and more powerful. Wherever our Methodism goes on the borders, it carries with it the spirit of freedom, and though its progress might be slow, it would surely be felt.

progress might be slow, it would surely be felt. It was moved and carried that the Rev. Mr. Long of Philadelphia, who had been alluded to in the re-marks of members, be permitted to address the Con-

Mr. Long said that Dr. Crooks had framed his judgment upon the extent of Anti-Slavery sentiment in Delaware and Maryland, within the precincts of the Philadelphia Conference, upon what he had ob-served in Wilmington. It was well known that Wilmington was a Quaker city, as much so as Philadelphia, and that Wm. Lloyd Garrison could speak adelphia, and that Wm. Lloyd Garrison could speak his sentiments there without molestation. He said that there were 1,000 slaveholders in Philadelphia Conference, holding 3,000 slaves. He read to the audience the advertisement of one Levi E. Travers, a wealthy local preacher of Cambridge, Maryland, offering a reward of \$300 for the capture and return of two runaway slaves. He read, also, similar advertisements of other members of the church in Maryland. He alluded, also, to the fact that there were ministers who held slaves. The Rev. Wm. were ministers who held slaves. The Rev. Wm Quinn, one of the oldest members of the Conference Quinn, one of the oldest members of the Conference, had recently sold a negro, to be free at 35 years of age. This he considered the meanest act of slave-holding oppression. Taking from a man the best portion of his life, and then, when he was perhaps broken down from hard work, turning him upon the

world to take care of himself. And this made no provision for his wife and children. The father might be free, and the children be consigned to slavery. He contended that there was a spirit in the Philadelphia Conference entirely adverse to Anti-

Philadelphia Conference entirely adverse to Anti-Slavery principles.

Dr. Bangs said that when it was stated that the primitive voice of the Church was so strongly against slavery, he read from the rule to show that slave-holders in Virginia were allowed two years to consider whether they would obey the rules, and at the end of six months, the operation of the rule on slavery was suspended. A doughface denunciation of Anti-Slavery from the pastoral address of the General Conference of 1836 was also read. It was very lange, but its spirit may be found in the Journal of eral Conference of 1830 was also read. It was very long; but its spirit may be found in the Journal of Commerce to-day. Dr. Bangs said that he was proud to avow himself the author of that address. He had been very much mortified at the bringing in of a brother (the Rev. Mr. Long) from another Conference. If such proceedings were allowed by Conference. If such proceedings were allowed, he should be obliged to protest against it, and he did not know but he should be obliged to retire from the Conference altogether. He proposed as a substitute the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the duty of our Church, as unit, to educate her membership to the high standard of these her primitive doctrines; and to this end, it is her duty to inculcate them prudently, and firmly, through her organs whether press or pulpit.

Dr. Bangs said that he was an old manpreached fifty years—but if Brother Hatfield was right, he had not preached the whole Gospel, and he begged God to have mercy on him. ['Amen!' If the resolutions [published in the Tribune yesterday were adopted, he would be compelled to preach about Abolitionism. That he could not do. Would he allow his daughter to marry a murderer, a thief, an adulterer? Of course he would not. And yet, according to these brethren, a slaveholder was all these. He did not think that slaveholding was of these. The did not think that slaveholders would all be damned. They were jeoparding the character of this Conference by such speeches. [On both sides.'] He knew that they had a majority, but he begged that they would not carry this measure merely for that.

The Kannadar charged the movers of the first resolu-

Dr. Kennaday charged the movers of the first resolu it is, primarily, comprehensively, and uncomprotion with a falsification of history. They had quoted from the action of the Church in 1784; he had the misingly, to effect the immediate, total and eternal original journal, and it was his impression that there

was no such action.
Dr. Curry showed him the quotation in a History of Methodism, but that did not change Dr. Kennadry's opinion. He said that he wanted the matter put over to give him time to investigate, but it was rushed through in hot haste. He then branched off LITICALLY! into an account of his first vote, and a celebration somewhere, and his general good feeling toward the black race; indeed, he was intending to visit some colored camp-neetings this summer. He told a story as an illustration, which was very good as a

As an old Dutch farmer, just arrived at the dignity of Justice of the Peace, had his first case of marriage, he did it up in this way. He said first to the man, 'Vell, you vants to be marrit, to you? Vell, you lovesh dis voman so good as any voman you have ever seen?' 'Yes,' answered the man. Then to the woman: 'Vell, do you love dis man so better as any man you have ever have seen?' She hesitated a while, and he repeated: 'Vell, vell, do you like him so vell as to be his vife?' 'Yes, yes,' she answered. 'Vell, dat ish all any reasonable man could expect. So you are marrit; I pronounce you man and vife. The man asked the Justice what was to pay. 'Notting at all,; you are velcome to it, if it vill to you any good!'

There was nothing else in Dr. Kennaday's speech

of note, except a mysterious warning to reporters not to report the tremendous revelation which he proceeded to make, that there was a regular combining dew'—crowding the columns of the daily press nation of nefarious and atrocious men who went into the slave States, some in one character and some in another, and told the slaves about Freedom at the North Star, and gave them directions for running away, taking care that they should not get very far and night—prayer-meetings in Boston, New York. before a reward was offered for their capture, when Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago-prayer-meetings these nefarious men would return them, and pocket the money. He told of a man in this city who had pocketed \$200 for returning fugitives, but for pru-dential reasons, as he said, did not give his name. He concluded an address of nearly an hour by declaring that the first quality essential to a minister Divine Spirit! Surely, if 'the vigor and success of was prudence, the second discretion, the third pruths war' against the foce of God and the kingdom

The Rev. Mr. Inskip took up Dr. Kennaday's story, followed him through his rambles until the reverend gentlemen of the Conference found their risibles getting out of their control, and the venerable Dr. Bangs called the Conference to order. He thought it unbecoming for members to stamp and laugh and halloo so. Mr. Inskip went on to answer the charge that the Anti-Slavery men were 'eccle-siastical demagogues,' and similar Christian epithets. It was true that something had been accom- the field of reform and the work of practical rightplished in the Baltimore Conference: they no long- cousness to the furtherance of a pharisaical piety and er asked of a member ission the sectarian narrowness, other wires being dexterously question, 'Are you an Abolitionist?' If that was still a bar to membership, they ascertained it privately. He hoped they would go on until they no longer exhibited the disgraceful spectacle of endorsing a local preacher, Mr. Travers, who was an exhibited the disgraceful spectacle of endorsing a local preacher, Mr. Travers, who was an exhibited the disgraceful spectacle of endorsing a local preacher, Mr. Travers, who was an exhibited the disgraceful spectacle of endorsing the spectacle of the tensive slave breeder.

The venerable Dr. Banks interrupted Mr. Inskip escape identification—enemies of woman, in their con-

again; but he was sustained by the Chairman.

He went on to say that slavery in Maryland was worse than slavery in Louisiana. In Maryland, slaves are kept for breeding purposes; they were not in the extreme South. He believed in preachnot in the extreme South. He believed in preaching not only the provisions and promises of the Gospel, but the principles and the practice—in preaching to men not only what they should believe, but what they should do. He did not believe in leaving all social and political action to politicians. Were judging from the past, will promote meanness, not the a slave, he would have his owner make him free; manliness—delusion, not intelligence—the growth of and so he thought his duty was to tell his owner to do unto others as he would have others do unto him. He could not appreciate the argument that freedom this free country; freedom has not injured us. It for the country. The rapidity with which it has might injure his influence; that he granted. So, spread over the land, without any opposition from too, it might injure his influence if he was a spread over the land, without any opposition from too, it might injure his influence if he were to preach to Mormons against polygamy. Their opponents attempted to ridicule them for firing against slavery from so long a distance. But he could find a glorious band of men who would go down to Accomac. and stir all niggerdom to the very centre, provided they were allowed the privileges of freemen, and they could be secured against personal injuries from these very Methodist preachers and class-leaders. Dr. Kennaday had told them about a preacher being dragged from his horse, and a cannon being drawi

up in front of a church, for suspected Abolitionism.

Dr. Kennaday indignantly denied that he had said anything about a preacher being dragged from a horse. (It was from a pulpit). He would not be misrepresented, and demanded the protection of Mr. Inskip went on to sustain the proposition

that slavery was a sin, and should be abolished, and the church should work for its abolition. From now, until his death, his voice should be raised against slavery. 'Wherever you send me,' said he, addressing the President, 'I am the preacher, and in your absence, the bishop also.' He would not be still. In this city of doughfaces, there should be some who would stand up for the right.

The Rev. J. A. Roche attempted to get the floor for a reply, and the Conference adjourned. (To be concluded.)

Is Ir TRUE? We are informed that the Philadelphia Conference would not allow the question to be asked of their young preachers, candidates for admission, 'Are you connected with slavery?' Nor admission, 'Are you connected with slavery?' Nor even this question, 'Are you a slaveholder?' Nine-ty-three voting against proposing the latter question, forty-one in favor of it. Rev. I. T. Cooper said he was a slaveholder, for the slave's good. The Northern Independent reports that the bishop said the Conference might be asking next, 'Do you wash your face in the morning?' Whereupon some of your face in the morning? Whereupon some of the 'conservatives' actually stamped, and clapped their hands! Brother Cunningbam, with becoming dignity, remarked, 'He was ashamed to hear such a witticism uttered in connection with a subject of such moment, and to hear it cheered by such a body

We, too, are ashamed to be compelled, by strict justice, to print such a remark. For years the question was asked of candidates, 'Are you an abolitionist?' And now it has come to pass that though our Discipline plainly forbids a minister or an official member to have any connection whatever with cial member to have any connection whatever with slavery, yet in the Philadelphia Conference the question, 'Are you a slaveholder?' is not to be asked. 'Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.'—Zion's Herald. all at peace with each other!

Liberator

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, APRIL 30, 1858.

TWENTY-PIPTE ANNUAL MEETING

American Anti-Slavery Society

Anti-Slavery Society will be held in MOZART HALL, No. 668 Broadway, (above Bleecker street,)

on TUESDAY and WEDNESDAY, May 11th and

12th: commencing, as usual, at 10 o'clock, A. M.,

on the first day, and closing in the afternoon of the

last. Arrangements will be made to secure address-

es from eloquent champions of the cause, not only at

At no time within the quarter of a century in which this Society, as the representative of the Afterican

slave, has pressed upon the consciences of the people

the duty of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION, have the ob-

ligations resting upon its friends been more impera-

tive, or the incitements to fidelity on their part great-

er than at the present hour; and never was it more

important that they should come together, in large

numbers, from every part of the land, to confer with

one another upon the state of the cause, and, by an interchange of thought and sympathy, prepare for new

The object of the Society is not merely to make

Liberty national and Slavery sectional '-nor to pre

vent the acquisition of Cuba-nor to restore the alia

Union-nor to terminate slavery in the District

of Columbia and in the National Territories-but

overthrow of Slavery, wherever it exists on American

soil, and to expose and confront whatever party or

sect seeks to purchase peace or success at the expense

of human liberty. Living or dying, our motto is,

No Union with Slaveholders, religiously or Po-

'THE GREAT REVIVAL.'

As, for more than a quarter of a century, we have

been unremittingly engaged in efforts to promote a

revival of justice, honesty, humanity, freedom, tem-

perance and peace-in a word, of that love which is

the fulfilling of the law '-throughout this sin-strick-

en land, we have not been inattentive to the rise, pro-

gress, and peculiar characteristics of the so-called 're

vival of religion,' which, for the last three months, has

spread like an epidemic in all directions, over a wide

extent of country-claiming to be thoroughly evan-

gelical, that is, genuine Christianity, such as the world

needs for its regeneration, and without which there is

no hope of salvation-multiplying its 'solemn assem

with the record of its proceedings, and flashing along

the telegraphic wires the announcement of its mar

in Richmond, Savannah, Charleston, Mobile, New

Orleans-prayer-meetings in town, village and hamlet,

and accompanied with a copious outpouring of the

of darkness are at all in proportion to the lofty and

sounding phrase of the manifesto' of the clerical fra-

ternity, the long-desired millennium-for America at

least-must be at the very door. But it is not so.

The whole thing, comprehensively speaking, is an

emotional contagion without principle-an imposition

upon weak and unenlightened minds, sincerely trust-

ing to be led in the right direction-a diversion from

'not of heaven,' but 'of men'-of men whose posi-

the times are too clearly defined, to enable them to

tempt of her rights-enemies of progress, in all its

unpopular manifestations. Exceptional cases, n

doubt, may be found, but, 'like angels' visits, few

and far between.' - Some incidental good may grow

out of it. Granted: so it may, so it has often done,

out of a wide-spread conflagration, the prevalence of

the cholera, universal bankruptcy. This revival,

bigotry, not of humanity-a spurious religion, no

genuine piety. We dread its influence upon the cause

of impartial liberty, and expect nothing good from it

popular wickedness and organized villany, nay, by

their tacit approval, is conclusive evidence of its

worthlessness. The fact, that it is graduated to the

level of Southern slaveholding inhumanity, and flour-

ishes in amicable juxtaposition with a revival of the

slave trade, both foreign and domestic-that not a

prayer-meeting excites any disturbance or uneasiness

in all the blood-dripping South-that the same theo-

logical dogmas are as readily accepted there as at the

strates it to be 'the form of godliness, without the

power thereof.' (1) Its utter lack of vitality is seen in

the very respectful, if not zealous countenance given

to it by the satanic press generally-in whose columns

may be seen, side by side, announcements of its con-

quests with bullying threats if the Lecompton Con-

stitution be not adopted, with envenomed thrusts at

abolitionism, with bitter mockings at the Kansas

shrickers,' with devilish pleas for the restoration of

the foreign slave traffic, with revolting advertisements

for the sale of men, women, children, and infants, at

public auction, in lots to suit purchasers, &c. &c. Its

hollowness is manifested in the distinct warning given,

meaning that Mordecai must not be permitted to sit

at the king's gate, that Banquo's ghost must be kept

down, that Hamlet must be omitted from the play-

meaning, especially, that the awful guilt of the Amer-

ican Church, on account of its complicity with that

system which is ' the sum of all villanies,' must not

be alluded to; that a deaf ear must be turned to the

cries of the millions who are supplicating to have

their fetters broken; that nothing but old stereotyped

religious phrases or forms of expression, indefinite con-

Christ, emotional outbursts of an excited imagination

the recital of marvellous personal experiences, barren

generalities about feeling the need of a precious Sa-

vior, &c. &c., must find an utterance in prayer-meet-

(1) Here is an item in one of our exchange papers

The South is 'full of the habitations of cruelty.'-

ow lying before us :-

essions of sin, unintelligent professions of faith in

that 'no controverted subjects must be introduced'

North, and conversions are as easily made-demor

North and South, crowded with expectant listeners

S. H. GAY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, Secretaries.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President.

the first, but at each subsequent session.

labors and conflicts in its behalf.

The Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Ame

ings, ostentatiously advertised, publicly held, arbitra-rily conducted, with the Holy Spirit limited to three tes in each particular case, or summarily silenced The diplomatic and compromising spirit in which it is conducted is illustrated in the fraternal interest felt in its success by the New York Observer (1) and the

New York Independent, the Congregationalist and the American Presbyterian, Nehemiah Adams and Henry Ward Beecher, George W. Blagden and Henry M. Dexter—each and all crying 'Peace, peace,' when there is no peace, and affecting Christian unity when they have little faith in each other. A revival so managed, with such antecedents and accompaniments, with elements so heterogeneous, giving no alarm to sinners of the first rank, to demagogues of the vilest character, giving no joy or hope to the uncompromis-ing friends of justice and humanity, is surely no cause for exultation, but rather calls for open rebuke, stern

endemnation, and public exposure. A strong testimony to this end may be found on our last page, in the discourse delivered in the Free Church at Lynn, by SAMUEL JOHNSON-an Abdiel in his position and spirit, ever ready to do homage to unpopular truth, and to proclaim it with all boldness, whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear.' It will be seen, by its date, that this discourse was preached prior to the delivery of the first sermon by THEODORE PARKER, on the same subject; and we are confident it will not be found inferior, on the score of interest or ability, of pith or value, to any thing that has yet been published.

The two sermons on Revivals, by Mr. PARKER, have excited great and general attention, and since their publication in a cheap form, have obtained a wide circulation. The demand for them is still fresh-edition after edition being speedily exhausted.

Rev. Mr. Kalloch, late pastor of the Tremont Tem ple church, having wisely withdrawn from that position, and abandoned his clerical calling, the pulpit has been occupied of late by Rev. Thomas D. Worrall, of whom we know nothing, except that we are what support or countenance do they extend to it? told he is a young man, of Scottish origin, of fair Next to nothing. How do they regard the Non-Reability, and that on Sunday last he undertook to re- sistance movement? Only with aversion and conview the aforesaid sermons of Mr. Parker. His discourse, as reported by Mr. J. M. W. Yerrinton, appeared in the Bee of Monday evening. We see noththe whole question, with so much of evasion, misstatement and unwarrantable assumption as to make us distrust the honesty of its author, without at least a pruning-hook '? There is certainly ground to ima better knowledge of him. As a specimen of his taste, we quote a single sentence :-

'I have looked carefully through those sermons, to to drag an eel out of the mud with the hand, yet hink the gills stick out enough to enable us to hold it sufficiently long to get the form of the thing.

A very slimy illustration, certainly. Again he says :-

'There is something markably funny about this Theodore Parker. . . . I give him credit for his good intentions, whilst I must confess he has a queer way of making them manifest. . . . All else in these sermons is but shell, and Hard Shell at that.'

This is neither 'remarkably funny,' nor remarkably

witty, nor in very good taste. The only effective retort we find in this ambitious review is the following :-

It is hardly consistent, it must be admitted, for one who, like Mr. Parker, takes pride and pleasure in the warlike deeds of revolutionary nncestors-who believes in the saving efficacy of Sharpe's rifles, and discards the doctrine of non-resistance-to deprecate a revival of the Orthodox religion in this country, on the ground that it is not unfavorable to war. On this subject, we think Mr. P. has yet to find and maintain the true peace ground-treating war, however advantageous or praiseworthy its object, as intrinsically immoral, inhuman and irrational. If there or attempt the invading, conquering, or annoyir this Commonwealth; and that the Governor be in and lasting distinctions-peace and war are irreconcilcable elements, and cannot on any pretence be interchanged, any more than holiness and sin, right rules and regulations of the Constitution, and the and wrong, liberty and slavery. He who is disarmed laws of the land, and not otherwise. cannot kill; he who disarms himself for conscience sake has no disposition to kill, even to save his own life. 'Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God.'

Let us see how Mr. Worrall looks at this matter. He very truly says that 'Jesus of Nazareth taught example of Maximilian, who said to Dion, the Prothat, ' in every age of the church, there have been multitudes of Christians who have believed that war cas entirely and totally opposed to the spirit of the gospel. He asks Mr. Parker to 'point to any well-written book on the subject of peace, that does not make the fact that war is opposed to the spirit of the gospel the cardinal argument in favor of universal peace." And, finally, he says- All State Churches have been been Christian Churches at all. In all this, we hear-

(1) An editorial article in the Observer, on ' What fruits the revival should yield,' commences thus :-

'The soul is above all price. It profiteth nothing o gain the whole world, and lose it. There is joy in eaven over one repenting sinner, and greater jo hen thousands turn to God. Who can count th when thousands turn to God. Who can count the value of the souls that this revival has brought into the kingdom? Who can estimate the woe escaped, glory won, the saved soul's good, the Savior's praise? This is the first great fruit.

This same New York Observer, that thus cants about the value of the soul, is the paper that coolly gives over to eternal damnation, (as far as absolute despotism, chains, whips, enforced demoralization, the abolition of marriage, the extinction of all parental and filial ties, filthy concubinage and adulterous amalgamation, the prohibition of all teaching, and the banishment of the Bible can effect it,) four milspeculators are constantly engaged, and for whose nounced a chattel, claimed as property, and ranked with swine! In the language of a Methodist preacher :

'They'll loudly talk of Christ's reward, And bind his image with a cord,
And scold, and swing the lash abhorred,
And sell their brother in the Lord
To handcuffed heavenly union.

'They'll read and sing a sacred song,
And make a prayer both loud and long,
And teach the right and do the wrong,
Hailing the brother, sister throng,
With words of heavenly union. They'll raise tobacco, corn and rye, And drive, and thieve, and cheat, and lie,

And lay up treasures in the sky. By making switch and cowskin fly, In hope of heavenly union. 'They'll crack old Tony on the skull, And preach and roar like Bashan bull,
Or braying ass, of mischief full,
Then seize old Jacob by the wool,
And pull for heavenly union.

• The Revival at the South.—The revival of religion is extending widely at the South. The system of daily prayer meetings has been inaugurated in most of the Southern cities. There has been a great increase in thurch membership in that section. How many revivals of such a religion will it take Mr. Worrall, to secure obedience to the Divine comand of evangelical prayer-meetings, at the same time mand to 'break every yoke, and let the oppressed go

Mr. Worrall, then, is a believer in the incompatibil-

churches at the present day who are not lovers of peace, and who, could they vote on the question of national erbitration, would not vote, with a ready heart—in spite of this pretended holy love of war—that the sword should be beaten into a ploughshare, and the spear into a pruning-hook.

· Few members of Orthodox churches, who are no

overs of peace '1! Now, this assertion is totally a variance with the truth. This nation is, and ever he been, under Orthodox guidance. Every State main-tains war to be justifiable—the nation expressly sanc-tions it, leaving it entirely optional with Congres when to declare war, and conced to 'grant letters of marque and reprisal, make rule concerning captures on land and water, raise and sup port armies, provide for organizing, arming and disc olining the militis, &c. In every State Constitu tion, (1) and in the Constitution of the United States, war is made organic both as a principle and ystem, as much so as the election of a President, or the establishment of a Supreme Court. To each and all of these Constitutions, in this particular, every Orthodox church in the land gives its hearty ratification-supports the national flag-sanctions fortifications, armories, West Point Academy, sham fights and real fights, and all 'the pomp and circumstance of war '-all that is necessary to the completeness and efficiency of the war system. Hence, according to Mr. Worrall's admission, 'they are not Christian churches at all.' The smallest possible countenance is given to the cause of peace by members of Orthodox churches :- they are found either as officers or chaplains on board of naval ships, or in the army, or onnected with the light infantry and artillery companies, ready to plunge into war at the bidding of the government. Look at the American Peace Society. conducted with almost crafty circumspection, with no moral courage to apply the peace principle-yet, tempt. Now, under these circumstances, what can be more reckless than the assertion of Mr. Worrall, that 'the fact is, there are few members of Orthodox ing in it but a flippent and superficial treatment of churches at the present day who are not LOYERS OF PEACE, or who are not ready 'to vote that the sword shall be beaten into a ploughshare, and the spear into peach his intelligence or to question his honesty.

Mr. Parker may be (as we think he is) incor and vacillating on the peace question, but he is entirely right in saying that a revival of this Orthodox religion, to any extent, would do nothing for the suppression of the war system, or of the spirit of war.

We have some other criticisms to make upon this sermon, but, for lack of space, are compelled to defer them until our next number. It has been printed in pamphlet form by the publishers of the Bee, and may be obtained at their office, 7 State Street. Price, 6 cts.

(1) The following is one of the peaceful, dove-like Articles of the Constitution of Massachusetts :-ARTICLE VII. The Governor of this Common

wealth, for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of all the military forces of the State, by sea and land; and have full power, by himself, or by any commander, or other officer or officers, from time to time, to train, instruct, 'The very paragraph in which he objects to the revival, that it would tend to promote war instead of removing it, contains the fearful charge, that if this revival should convert the African slaves, it would make them men of peace—that they would not dare to strike their masters down! Now, this orthodox religion has too much of the spirit of war; anon, it has too much the spirit of peace. Verily, there is no such thing as pleasing some people!'

The very paragraph in which he objects to the revival should then to time, to trime, to trime, to trime, to trime, instruct, to assemble in martial array, and put in warlike posture, the inhabitants thereof, and to lead and conduct them, and with them, to encounter, repel, resist, expel and pursue, by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, within or without the limits of this Common wealth, and also to kill, slay and destroy, if necessations and the spirit of peace. wealth, and also to kill, slay and destroy, if necessary, and conquer, by all fitting ways, enterprises and manner, attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of this Commonwealth and to use and exercise, over the army and navy, and over the militia in actual service, the law martial, in time of war or invasion, and also in time of rebellion, declared by the legislature to exist, as occasion shall necessarily require; and to take and surprise, by all ways and means whatsoever, all and every such per-son or persons, with their ships, arms, ammunition and other goods, as shall, in a hostile manner, invade trusted with all these and other powers, incident to the offices of captain-general and commander-inchief, and admiral, to be exercised agreeably to the

ANSWERS TO 'NOTES AND QUERIES.' The New York Observer, in an editorial article upon the revival, (which reached its culminating point some weeks ago, and which is now fast subsiding,) asks, with an intensity of interest which remen to put up their swords. He properly quotes the peats the question six times, in the course of the article-'Why should the work cease?' We like to consul, 'I am a Christian, and cannot fight.' He says give information to the needy, and we will inform the Observer. It is on account of a law of God, in obedience to which, a pendulum that has swung one way always tends to swing back again. If the Observer had used its eyes to any good purpose for the last five and twenty years, it would necessarily have gained this knowledge for itself; and if it had been willing to report honestly what has taken place in the community a dozen times within that period, its reafighting churches, and, to the same extent, have not ders also would have known that much. Let our su perannuated contemporary have patience awhile, and after worldliness has had its swing, churchliness will come up again without fail. The time has not yet come for Christianity to sweep them both away. How long, O Lord! how long must we wait for that con-

> Every one has his afflictions in this world, and the Observer has lately been 'grieved.' It came to grief through reading, in the 'Life Thoughts,' lately published from the extemporaneous discourses of Henry Ward Beecher, the following sentiment; a sentiment which, it naively says, ' we can hardly believe that any sane Christian man believes :-- THE MOST DANGER-OUS INPIDELITY OF THE DAY IS THE INPIDELITY OF RICH AND ORTHODOX CHURCHES.'
> While Mr. Beecher is so inconsiderate as to quote

summation devoutly to be wished?

Scripture sentiments in language other than that of the authorized version,' he will always be liable to these charges from the old women who edit the Oblions of souls, in whose traffic so many evangelical server. How should they know, if he used words of his own, and spoke them without the Bible emancipation no prayer could be safely offered in all twang, that he was merely repeating the sentimen the Southern region! One moment, the soul is held that Jesus uttered to the orthodox ministers and deato be 'above all price'; the next, it is offered on the cons of his time?—'The publicans and the harlots auction-block at a paltry sum! In one breath, the go into the kingdom of God before you!' And how slave is hailed as a child of God, and as having 'Christ should they suspect that their own insinuation, above within, the hope of glory'; in the next, he is pro- expressed, that Mr. Beecher is insane, is precisely the comment that was made by their ancestors upon that same Jesus ?- He hath a devil, and is mad! why hear ye him '1-c. x. w.

> THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for May, contains articles on American Antiquity; Roger Pierce; Amours de Voyage ; Intellectual Character ; Loo Loo ; Charley's Death ; The Catacombs of Rome ; The Pure Pearl of Diver's Bay; Camille; The Hundred Days; Epigram on J. M.; Beethoven, his Childhood and Youth; A Word to the Wise; Henry Ward Beecher; Mercedes; The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table;

> This number completes the first volume. The At lantic Monthly has met with great success, and deserves still more. It is in independent hands, and has from the start evinced a manly, free and excellent spirit, and furnished its multitudinous readers with large and choice variety of matter, at a very trifling cost. The best literary talent has been secured to in sure and enlarge the high reputation it has so well

Boston : Phillips, Sampson & Co., Publishers. Price, \$3,00 per annum, or 25 cts. a No.

earned.

LETTER PROM MRS. LUCY N. COLMAN ROCHESTER, April 20, 1848.

I have been laboring for two weeks past in West ern New York, in the counties of Genesee and Ch. leans, and as it may be interesting to some of you leans, and as is they readers to know the state of Anti-Slavery there, herewith send you's short account, as it presented a

A Mrs. Sarah A. Brown, of Alabama, Ga county, being exceedingly interested in the Women's Rights reform, had sent to Rochester for a speak upon that subject; and as that cause lies very as my heart, I concluded to accept her invitation, meta-ing, at the same time, to labor for the American time both man and woman.

I found, on my arrival, that there was much labor to be done to first make an opening, so that I call speak, and speak effectually, upon this greatest of a speak, and speak and speak and a would try to be judicion The evening of the day on which I arrived, there a a prayer-meeting held at Mr. Brown's home. a prayer-meeting, made; seemed to be an established weekly meeting, made; of the regular Baptists, (of whom were mine host to hostess,) the Free Will Baptists, and some few Met. odists. I was very tired with my journey, but I ca. cluded to remain in the room with the meeting thinking that, from the course pursued, and the week spoken, I might learn much of the people who we to make up my audience the following day, when was to speak to them of the wrongs of the ostension

The meeting in due time commenced; many pay, ers were made and exhortations given. I listen with anxiety to hear one word of petition for the far millions enslayed. One man in his exhortation n minded the Christian friends of their great happing in living under a free government, where they we allowed to worship God as their consciences dictate! and then they spoke their great joy in the contraplation of the glorious revival which was so universal over the land.' At last, one of the company seemed suddenly to recollect that there was among them who had not, by any word or sign, jin. ed in their meeting. A prayer was immediately at fered in my behalf, and I was urged, 'through God to do my duty. I was hardly prepared for that besides, I knew it would be more politic in men keep my thoughts to myself, that is, if I desired large audience the next day. But it is of no me is me ever to try any thing but simple honest; Ica. not dissemble; and so I, concluded to do my dunt in answer to the prayer which had been offered in my behalf. I told them my opinion of the American ligion which was now being revived, of the falsity ignorance of him who should call this government free, while every sixth man and woman is a size; that I felt that the prayers which had been ofind there that night were too selfish to be of any and as the greatest sufferers in our land had been entirely forgotten.

The war was now fairly proclaimed, and it was er. nestly hoped that the legitimate purpose of the meet ing would be kept before the people, and they would not be drawn off upon any side issues relating to paities. Agitation, however, does not down at the bit ding, and the majority of even that little section meeting desired to hear further upon the subject, and a proposition was made, that when I should have faished speaking upon the question of Woman's Right in that place, I should be invited to take up the other subject, and that the church be obtained for that per-

I spoke in this place (Alabama Centre) three ting in Wheatville three times, in Smithville twice, m have the satisfaction of feeling that my labor was a wholly in vain. In Careyville, no church could be obtained for my use, though there were two unoccupied-a Presbyterian and Episcopal Methodist. A lawyer, whose name I do not now remember, three open his office, and the anti-slavery meeting was held there. There was a large crowd, and as the weather was mild, those who could not gain an entrance in the house remained at the door and by the open wadows. I spoke over two hours, and when entirely exhausted, the people still lingered, unwilling to ga

The following evening, four gentlemen paid for the use of the Odd Fellows' Hall, and that was three open for a Woman's Rights meeting. Here also we had a crowd, and I endeavored to keep fully bein the people the fact, that though woman was opposeed and wronged, socially and politically, yet that he situation was not to be compared with that of a whole race in our midst. Woman may speak and denni her freedom.

From Careyville, I went to Shelby Centre, when! spoke three evenings in succession. The first coning, the notice was very limited, but quite a respecable number assembled. The Free-Will Buris were holding a meeting in their house that evening and did not choose to give it up; the Methodsa, who worship in a very large and commodious schoolhouse, were to hold their class-meeting there that evening, but they very generously gave me the home and attended the meeting. I did not, however, # account of this their generosity, fail to tell then a their wicked connection with slavery, of which is I fully believe they were ignorant until that time.

The second evening, we had a full house; the third, a throng. After speaking full two hours! gentleman by the name of Acer commenced as # tack upon the arguments made and the positions sumed. I never in my life so much regretted physical cal inability as then. I was completely exhaust having spoken thirteen times in thirteen days, besite riding from five to twenty miles a day in a carriest I was suffering at that moment from an attack of pleurisy, and unwilling though I was, I was obline to stop. I think, however, a half hour was spent's answering his questions, and then we adjourned

I hope some time to go again into these places; they seem to have been overlooked heretofere. think they promise a good harvest. I found the me generous hospitality every where extended to mi-Mr. and Mrs. Brown, at Alabama, Mr. and Mr. Chamberlain, of Careyville, Mr. and Mrs. Culvet, a Shelby, and many others, all made me welcome, and rendered my stay among them very pleasant.

From Shelby, I went to Alexander, but found afself too much fatigued to speak much. I held on meeting, and received many invitations to come spin, which I mean some time to do. My collections ves very respectable, much larger than while in Ohio. Yours, for the cause,

LUCY N. COLMAN.

We welcome to our exchange list, a new rel spirited journal in Boston, entitled 'THE TETTE,'E devoted to Temperance, Literature, and the Right of Man. It is published weekly, by Thomas Vicker -printed on fair type and a handsome sheet-and pr sents an attractive appearance. Price, two dollars year in advance—office No. 5, Water Street. There's need of it, especially in the Temperance cause, as we hope it will obtain a long list of paying subscribes

Several communications designed for our proent number are unavoidably deferred. These C. P. P., S. B. A., 'Progress,' and 'Haverhill, and appear next week. The one from O. S. M. we be cline publishing, as better suited to the object and scope of the Investigator, rather than the Liberty and because it might prove the commencement of it interminable theological and biblical controvers, which we have no space.

Cor 'Refuge of Oppression,' this week, is a cupied with specimens of pricetly cant and religion scoundrelism as pertaining—first, to the Anti-Slave struggle-and second, to the American Tract Soriely Observe who they are who give the Rev. Seth heir certificates and congratulations!

DEAR SIE, -As a life-member of the Society in which you have for many years acted as Secretary, I thich you with interest and careful attention your have read with interest and careful attention your recently published 'Letters to the Members, Patrons and Friends' of this Society, and of the kindred National Society in New York.

However satisfactory to yourself may be the state ments and arguments of this pamphlet, you have not ments and arguments of the pamphiles, you have not thought fit to leave its success to be decided by its inthought he to heart his saccess to be decided by its inexpressions of (general) commendation of it from expressions of high credit and influence with the community, among whom are Rev. Dr. Humphrey, Rev. President Lord, of Dartmouth College, Hon. Rev. Presidente, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and others.

I make no complaint of this. But certainly, the rectness or incorrectness of your statements and correctness is even more to the purpose than the opinjons of these gentlemen. Their opinions must have been based on the assumption that you had correctly stated the facts; and since even their opinions—constated the position they have long held of so much friendliness to slavery as is implied in hearty alliance, in Church and State, with slaveholders, and hearty opposition, in Church and State, to Abolitionistsneed to be received with some grains of allowance, I have thought fit to request of you, before the public to whom you have appealed, an explanation of some things in your pamphlet which seem to me unsound in point of reason, and of others which seem to me untrue in point of fact.

As the facts must be the basis of the argument, we will look at the former first.

You are of course acquainted with the fundamental first article of the Constitution. You necessarily know it from your intimate relation to the Society, and you have correctly quoted it on pp. 11, 12, as fol-

Art. I. This Society shall be denominated the AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY, the object of which shall be to diffuse a knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ as be to diffuse a knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of sinners, and to promote the interests of vital godliness and sound morality, by the circula-tion of Religious Tracts, calculated to receive the approval of all Evangelical Christians.

It appears, then, that you certainly know what this fundamental article is. Yet in another place, where you wish to raise an argument which the above article will not support, you make a different statement of it, which, while purporting to give its substance, materially changes the meaning, as well as the language, as follows :-

While it [the American Tract Society] receives the Bible as the revealed will of God, it has bound itself, by its Constitution, to circulate only such inter-pretations of the Bible as Evangelical Christians are

It is perfectly obvious that things calculated to receive the approbation of a body of persons amounting to several millions, and composed of men, women and children of various grades of intelligence and mental culture, may be, and are, very different indeed from things actually receiving their approbation. And the reason of this is no less obvious, namely, that while the points of agreement in the several standards of belief to which they have pledged themselves are uniform and permanent, and thus their agreement with things which agree with these may be properly assumed and expected, the actual agreement of this immense number of persons in any particular point will depend upon many various and varying circumstances, their habits, their associations, their prejudires, their amount of mental cultivation and moral principle. Yet you try to represent these two things s perfectly synonymous. Nay, more! So pertinacious is your attempt to substitute, in the minds o our readers, the idea last quoted for the idea in the first Article of the Constitution, that you repeat it, in various forms, no fewer than seven times more, of which I quote four, as follows :-

By uniting in thiz Society, its members agree that t shall not be used to circulate those interpretations filis revealed will respecting doctrines, ordinances, orms of worship and morals, in which Evangelical

Each party has full liberty to circulate its own private opinions, or those of others, respecting the di-vine will, outside of this Society, but it cannot use the Society for this purpose, except only so far as those opinions and interpretations are in harmony with those of all Evangelical Christians.' Ibid. They covenanted to diffuse those truths in which

'I affirm, therefore, as an undeniable truth, that the AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY was formed with the design of excluding from its issues all those topics, within the whole range of religious and moral truth, in which all Evangelical Christians are not agreed.

I call your attention to the fact that the passages above quoted are express and direct violations of

Let us turn to another subject.

In your second letter, entitled, ' Report of the Sperial Committee, immediately after your quotation of that Report, with its date, May 12th, 1857, you say-

'It should be borne in mind that, up to this time, thirty years from the organization of the Society, no tract specifically on slavery had been offered to the Committee, and no complaint made that it had not published

Here are two statements directly contrary to fact and truth, as I shall proceed to show.

On the 25th of February, 1856, I sent to you, Rev Seth Bliss, two manuscript tracts, entitled, respectivey. 'To a Slaveholder,' and 'To a Slave,' requesting that they might be published by the American Tract Society. Your letter of Feb. 29th, 1856, acknowledging their receipt, and stating that they would be forwarded to the Publishing Committee in New York. now lies before me; and the following passage from it shows that you had then conceived only in part the dea of misrepresenting the constitutional basis of the Society. For you said that the Publishing Committee, in deciding upon the merits of a tract offered them, must consider-

'Is the subject so treated as to be calculated to receive the approbation of Evangelical Christians in all parts of our country ? "

You had not then ventured to ignore the meaning And the existence of the word 'calculated,' though you took the liberty to substitute for all Evangelical Christians '- Evangelical Christians in all parts of

After the lapse of a year, having heard nothing further respecting my tracts, I wrote to you again to inquire what decision had been made respecting them. This letter was answered, not by yourself, but (at your request) by the Secretary of the New York Soriety, as follows :--

Ma. WHIPPLE:

DEAR SIR,-Your letter, enclosing Ms. The Slaveholder, &c., was laid before our Com., who did not think it adapted to be a good tract. It is much short-er than a four page tract. I understood your letter would be answered by Bro. Bliss, Sec. of the Soc. of

which you are a member.
With respect and esteem,
Your Bro. in Christ,

WM. A. HALLOCK, Sec. These things being so, how could you say that no tract on slavery had been offered to the Committee? I next come to your assertion that 'no complaint' had been made that the Society had not published on this subject.

I happen to have in my possession the copy of a etter which was sent to the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society in March, 1856, making the very complaint which you deny to have been made, as follows :-

· GENTLEMEN, -Since the promotion of vital godlihess and sound morality is specified in the Constitu-tion of the Tract Society as one of the primary objects for which your tracts are published—

And since you have hitherto systematically re-frained from publishing any thing in rebuke of SLA-VERY, one of the very greatest obstacles in this country to the promotion both of vital godliness and sound morality—

'And since it has often been said by your apolo-gists, and is clearly implied by your recently publish-ed circular, that no tract plainly rebuking slavery would be calculated to secure the approbation of all Evangelical Christians—

cal Christians, or that their objection to such tracts can be regarded in any other light than as showing the need that you should speedily publish and widely also publish in favor of it!

diffuse them:—
For these reasons, I hope, and as far as the opinfor these reasons, I nope, and as ar as the opinion of an individual can have weight with your Society. I carnestly request, that you will forthwith take measures for the publication of tracts rebuking the great central sin of slaveholding, and the many other sins which usually and naturally accompany at.

Wishing for the Tract Society prosperity in proportion to its purity and faithfulnes., I subscribe myself,

Your friend and servant,

How could you say, Mr. Bliss, that no complaint had been made?

Here is another untrue statement. Speaking of the function and power (which you represent as a supreme and irresponsible power) of the Publishing Committee, you say, p. 21 :-

· What they cannot agree to publish they must reject; and in their decision the members must acqui-esce, or break up the Society. The nature of the esce, or break up the Society. The Society admits of no other alternative. And again :-

'From their decision there is no appeal. The Society itself has no legal or moral right to reverse their decision, till it has first altered its own Constitu-

Instead of the Society being thus helplessly in the power of its unprincipled servants, there are two obvious remedies for such perversion and abuse of their function as the Publishing Committee have many times been guilty of, before coming to what you represent as the only alternatives-a breaking up of the the Society has ever published would be taken and Society, or a change in the Constitution. These remedies are, first, a rebuke of the Committee, and a requisition that they shall perform any particular point of requiring persuasion to accept and read them, every omission or commission; and next, their ignominious read without approving and without repenting, just expulsion from the office which they have abused. But you proceed to say-

When a tract is offered for publication, this Committee are as much obligated to decide, either to accept or to reject it, as is the Supreme Court of the United States to decide any case lawfully before it.

If this be true, the Committee have directly violatted the stringent obligation of which you speak, in the following instance.

Christians may properly continue slaveholders.

I sent this tract to the Secretary of the American Tract Society for publication. After some intervening correspondence, which appeared in the Congregationalist of February 4th, I received the following every one of the Northern States, not to speak of the letter in reply :-

'New York, Feb. 16th, 1858.

Mr. Charles K. Wripple:
Dear Sir,—The enclosed singular manuscript on the Duties of Dancing-Masters was duly laid before our Committee, who met January 18th, but no action was taken upon it. 'Yours, 'WILLIAM A. HALLOCK, Sec.'

After giving one more specimen of false statement in your pamphlet, Mr. Bliss, I will quote some of its then, a fair proportion of your attention should be sophistical perversions of truth.

You say, pp. 20, 21-

'The only tracts which the Committee are authorised to approve and circulate must be . . . 2d. Such tences. You say, (p. 79)—as can be circulated in the ordinary way, and in every

And again, p. 80-

No such limitation as is expressed in the italicised words above can be found, either in the Constitution, or in the resolutions reported by the Special Committee, and adopted by the Society. The italics are mine, designed to indicate the false statement which the sentence contains. But the form in which you present it gives us a misrepresentation added to a falsehood within the space of two lines, as follows :-

country."

By italicis '4g the word circulated, and putting quotation marks to the words immediately following it, you give the impression that the limitation in question is actually made in the Society's Constitution or Laws. Whence come the words 'in any and every These are the questions before us.

ing like them is found there!

They are found in the third Resolution in the Report of the Special Committee, where they bear not the Constitution, and then gravely proceed to prove only a different meaning from what you have repre- what nobody ever denied, that 'The Constitution is sented, but the very opposite meaning, the very meaning, in fact, against which your whole pamphlet is levelled. This is the Resolution :-

 That, in endeavoring to accomplish its high and holy mission, the Society should deal even-handedly, and bear impartial testimony against ALL forms of fundamental doctrinal error AND PRACTICAL IMMORAL-ITY prevailing in any and every part of our country. On the 46th and 47th pages, you quote this Resolution, and then attempt to pervert its meaning in

the following remarkable manner:-'The word "even-handedly" requires that they but the Executive Committee adhered as pertinacious-publish as freely on the one hand as on the other. This, of course, advises that if they publish on one level of mutilating books, and tracts until the reluktions. side of the slavery controversy, they must on all sides."

A more false and flimsy misrepresentation than this

never was made by Jesuit or Secretary. By this rule, even-handed dealing would require the Society, before they could distribute tracts on adultery in Utah and Virginia, where adultery is practised and defended, to publish tracts in favor of that sin as well as against it; before they could distribute tracts on robbery and of a truth covering the substance of a lie; the fact murder in New Orleans, where those vices are practised and defended, to publish tracts for them as well as against them; before they could distribute tracts on the use of tobacco or intoxicating liquors, or on dancing, or sleeping in meeting, in any State of the Union, they must publish tracts for as well as against those practices, since in every State some who rank as Evangelical Christians practise and defend

If we look at the bearing of the word 'even-handedly' in this Resolution without regard to the persons who reported it, or the occasion on which it was reported, or the events which gave rise to it, it will obviously appear to bear the general meaning that the Society should testify against all forms of error and immorality in one part of our country as much as in another. But, if we consider all those circumstance

would be calculated to secure the approbation of all Evangelical Christians—

'I feel bound—as a life member of your Society, a contributor for many years to its funds, and a patient waiter for many years in the hope that your silence on the subject was only delay, and not refusal to testify against that great sin—frankly to express to you my convictions on this subject, as follows:—

Believing that, on the ground both of natural and revealed religion, alaveholding is a sin, as plainly as thefit, robbery, drunkenness, adultery and murder, it seems to me that it comes as manifestly within your proper function to testify against it as against these:

Moreover, as you do not suffer any objection known or presumed to exist on the part of theves, robbers, drunkards, adulterers or murderers to weigh with you as an objection of Ecangelical Christians to the publication of tracts rebuking these sins, but rather take such objections as sufficient proof of the unregenerate state of the men who make them, and an additional stimulus to the publication of Christian truth and light upon those subjects, so it seems to me that you should deal with the sin of slaveholding; not for a moment admitting that those who live in the indulgence of that wickedness can be considered Evangelical Christians, or their their objection to such tracts can be regarded in any other light than as showing also publish in favor of it!

It appears, then, Mr. Bliss, that your statement (that the Society has bound itself not to publish what cannot be circulated in any and every part of our country) is a mere hypothesis—a figment of your own imagination. Yet a considerable portion of your bulky pamphlet is spent upon the attempt to represent this figment as true and imperatively binding. Let us now, leaving this, turn to the less extravagant and impudent claim, which lies at the foundation of the whole pamphlet, namely, that the Society ought not to publish tracts upon slavery, because they could not be circulated in the South. In regard to this, I have three things to say.

1st. You do not know that tracts upon slavery cannot be circulated there, and you never can know it until the attempt is made. When your clients have published a single one of the many such tracts which their Constitution requires them to publish, and when a single colporteur has been forcibly prevented from circulating them in a single State, they may state that fact, (attested by some trustworthy witness,) and present their plea to be excused from any longer attempting 'to promote the interests of vital godliness and sound morality' in that quarter. Until this, at the very least, is done, neither you nor they have a right to say that tracts upon slavery cannot be circulated at the South. But-2d. They can be circulated there. No tract that

read with such intensity of interest as the first utterance of that long silent body upon slavery. Instead of Constitutional duty in which they have failed, by body would be eager to do both. Many, of course, would like the readers of tracts addressed to profane swearers and Sabbath-breakers : but your business is to supply tracts, and persuade people to read, and leave the result to God; and if you had faith as the hundredth part of a grain of mustard-seed, you would expect a blessing to follow the faithful utterance of truth or that subject.

Moreover, in at least four of the slaveholding States, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and Missouri, a party After the Executive Committee had printed the already exists in opposition to slavery, and a movepro-slavery tract entitled, 'Scriptural Duties of Mas-ment for emancipation is in progress. In all these ters.' (meaning slave-masters,) I wrote, in imitation States, at least, many would rejoice to receive and to of it, a tract entitled, 'Duties of Dancing-Masters,' circulate tracts against slavery; and if you bring auinculcating upon them what every Evangelical Chris- thentic evidence that the labors of your colporteurs tian will allow to be duties, but taking for granted among these willing souls have been violently opposed that dancing-masters might be Christians, and that and obstructed by 'Evangelical Christians,' for the Christians might properly continue dancing-masters; purpose of upholding slavery, it will open the very just as the Publishing Committee, in accepting and important and greatly needed inquiry-What is the adopting the tract above-mentioned, had taken it for evidence by which you distinguish such persons to be granted that slaveholders may be Christians, and that Evangelical Christians? and is it sufficient evidence?

3d. Even if not a single slaveholding State, or any part of one, were open to you-if your false claim were quite true in this particular-there is urgent need for the circulation of tracts against slavery in Territories. In every one of the Northern States, the influence of slavery is interfering essentially with the 'interests of vital godliness and sound morality,' is corrupting the church, and retarding the conversion of 'the world' to Christianity. There is more to be done in aid of the diffusion of Christ's Gospel in Northern States, in this department, than all your corps of agents and colporteurs could accomplish. Surely, given to this subject, among others. Let it at least be said of the Society-'She hath done what she could.' But this reminds me of another of your false pre-

'It has been said by others, that our Evangelical Protestant Christianity has settled the question, that the relation itself of master and slave is an immorali-

The Society has bound itself not to publish what true cannot be circulated "in any and every part of our come an every part of our come and every part of our come and every part of our come an every part of our come and every part of our come an every part of our come and every part of our come an every part of our come and every part of our come an every part of our come and every part of ou tee say, in their second resolution, it may not. The particular point wherein I now charge you with false representation is the italieised close of the

above sentence. The Committee have not said, either in their second resolution or anywhere else, that the Society must not become an organ of anti-slavery reform. Here is their language :-

. 2. That this Society cannot, therefore, with pro-The Society has bound itself not to publish what ANY ONE system of religious or moral reform, cannot be circulated "in any and every part of our such as temperance, peace, anti-popery, anti-slavery, etc., while within its proper sphere, its influence should sustain the cause of truth and righteousness IN ALL THEIR DEPARTMENTS.

All that any one has ever claimed as the duty of the Tract Society, in regard to slavery, is what is here allowed, namely, that it should give such a proportion part of our country'? From what document are of its instrumentalities to sustain the cause of truth they quoted? And do they bear, in that original and righteousness in the department of slavery, as in document, the meaning which you have represented ; the departments of intemperance, profane swearing, or Sabbath-breaking. You cannot show this claim to They are not found in the Constitution, and noth- be unreasonable, and so you misrepresent it first, and then confute your own misrepresentation; just as you say, (p. 13,) ' Some have said, we care nothing about a reality, and is obligatory.' Who have ever said-We care nothing about the Constitution of the American Tract Society'? All that has ever been asked, by the remonstrants against your pro-slavery course, is, that you act up to the Constitution.

You say of the Society, (p. 36,) 'Its sins are thou of omission.' And you proceed to enlarge upon this as though its sins were only those of omission.

This is a half-truth, which has, and was obviously intended to have, the effect of a lie. The Society's sins have not only been positive as well as negative, icy of mutilating books and tracts until the rebuke and direct prohibition of the Society stopped them, last May.

You say, (p. 59,) speaking of the proceedings of the Special Committee- It should be noted that the Southern members, friends and patrons, had no representative on that Committee.' Here again is the form that no member of the Committee was from a slaveholding State, made to convey the false impression that no member favored the Southern policy. The truth is nearly the reverse of your statement. Some of these members favored and actually supported the alayeholding interest; and every member who actually signed the Report gave his practical aid to that interest, whether or not he really desired to do so. How does it happen that the Executive Committee

have thus far been able successfully to withstand the

* As in their own body, so among the members of the Society and its friends, there were two parties respecting the subject of slavery. One party was satisfied with what had been published on this subject: * * * the other was vehement for going further, and in a very positive tane. The feelings and prejudices of both parties had, of course, their influence in the Committee.*

- 15.

* As in all such cases, their only relief was by It is certain that one of these parties in the Com mittee proposed to insert in its Report the very phrases which the Executive Committee have ever since claimed as authority for their subsequent non-publication ed as authority for their subsequent non-publication of tracts on slavery. These members were representatives of the South, in feeling, influence and action. It is certain that the other of these parties, with most culpable weakness, consented to the insertion of these phrases in the Report, satisfying (and stultifying) the insertion of as many and the south of the satisfying the insertion of as many and the south of the satisfying the insertion of as many and the south of the satisfying the insertion of as many and the south of the satisfying the insertion of as many and the south of the satisfying the insertion of as many and the south of the satisfying the citizens as usual, and exulting in his deed. He undertook to dragoon the physician who attended Pomeroy, for consenting to do so; but the medical man is a large, bully consented to the citizens as usual, and exulting in his deed. He undertook to dragoon the physician who attended Pomeroy, for consenting to do so; but the medical man is a large, bully consented to the citizens as usual, and exulting in his deed. He undertook to dragoon the physician who attended Pomeroy, for consenting to do so; but the medical man is a large, bully consented to the citizens as usual, and exulting in his deed. He undertook to dragoon the physician who attended Pomeroy, for consenting to do so; but the medical man is a large, bully consented to the citizens as usual, and exulting in his deed. He undertook to dragoon the physician who attended Pomeroy, for consenting to do so; but the medical man is a large, bully consented to the citizens as usual, and exulting in his deed. He undertook to dragoon the physician who attended Pomeroy, for consenting to do so; but the medical man is a large, bully consented to the citizens as usual, and exulting the citizens as usual, and exulting the citizens as usual, and exult themselves by securing the insertion of as many and weighty phrases with the very opposite bearing, in the same document. Of course, under these circumstances, the ins had the advantage over the outs; possession proved itself to be nine points of the law; the Executive Committee, having the choice between two sets of evidence of opposite meaning in the Report, chose that which favored their pro-slavery position, and stand now entrenched in this stronghold. The work which the high talent and eminent respectability of the Executive Committee were a year in elaborating, broke through, abortive and useless, at the first trial of its strength, and the whole of it is now to be done over again, unless the remonstrants give up the contest. And, for all this, the responsibility rests, not only on the representatives of the South in that Committee who proposed the significant phrases in question, but on the representatives of the remonstrants,

There are in your pamphlet, Mr. Bliss, other specimens of gross and inexcusable misrepresentation, with which I might enlarge this list. But the instances above cited are sufficient to authorize the request with which I close; namely, that you will give to the members of our Society, and to the public, (among whom your pamphlet is now circulating,) some explanation of these false and sophistical statements, or publicly retract them. Meantime, I remain

who consented to them.

Your friend and servant for the truth, CHARLES K. WHIPPLE. Boston, April 20, 1858.

STATE QUESTION ON THE AFRICAN AND COOLIE QUESTION.

Among the papers transmitted to the U. S. Senate from the President, on the subject of African Slavery, and African and Coolie laborers, is one from Mr. Mason, our Minister to France, dated Feb. 19, in which he relates a conversation with Count Walewski. Mr. Mason inquired whether there was any truth in the statements in the English Newspapers, that French vessels freighted with African emigrants would be regarded by British cruisers as engaged in the African slave trade. Count Walewski replied—No; that there had been some communication between the two governments, and that the British would not object to the French scheme while the wants of the British

Colonies were being supplied by the Coolie trade.

Count Walewski urged that the plan adopted was to secure African labor, which is indispensable to their colonies; the immigrants were free, and were rescued generally from impending immolation; that, relieved from ignorance and heathenism of the most degrading character, they would be humanized, they would be Christianized by being pleed in contact with the Christianized, by being placed in contact with the French colonists. It does not appear whether a con-French colonists. It does not appear whether a con-sideration is to be paid to the chiefs of tribes for their captives, or the people, but Mr. Mason infers there is. Nor is the duration of their service explained, and it remains to be seen whether any of the emigrants will

slavery greatly moderated, if not silenced, in France,—perhaps in England. He adds that it is quite evident that the conviction is gaining strength, both in England and France, that the compulsory emancipa-tion of the slaves in their tropical colonies by authortion of the staves in their tropical colonies by authority of their governments was a grave political error, an error unjust to the colonists whose rights of property were destroyed, and to the Colonies by the annihilation of the labor which made them productive, without securing any compensating benefits.

There is also a letter from Secretary Cass to Lord Napier, dated April 10, in which the former says that

the joint blockade of the coast of Africa has been pursued some years, and the benefit it has produced bears no reasonable proportion, he regrets to observe, to the expenditures of life and treasure it has cost. But there is another way of proceeding, without the dangers and difficulties which beset a blockade, and which is sure to succeed, if adopted and perseverer in, and that is to close the slave mart of the world, or rather the island of Cubs, which is now almost the only region where the slave dealer can find a market.

If these unfortunate victims could not be sold, they would not be bought.

To shut the ports of Cuba to their entrance is to

shut the ports of Africa to their departure; and to effect this, nothing would seem to be wanting but the cordial co-operation of the Spanish government.— The introduction of the slave into this country is a fact which Gen. Cass believes the present generation had not witnessed. It is understood that Spain has entered into engagements with Great Britain, if not with France, also, that she will use her best exertions to prevent the importation of slaves into her domin ions. This pledge, if granted, has certainly not been redeemed, although it is difficult to believe that the Spanish government would resist or neglect the firm remonstrances of these two great powers, or even

of Great Britain alone.

In reply to Lord Napier's remark about the habit of vessels on the coast of Africa to hoist the American flag as a protection against the British cruisers, and that this precaution does not protect the slaver Cass says the United States deny the right of the cruisers of any other power whatever to enter their vessels by force, in time of peace, and to decide the broad enquiry whether the vessel is navigating according to law, as claimed by England, and to send her in, at pleasure, for trial, cannot be submitted to by any independent nation without injury and dis-

In conclusion, Mr. Cass is instructed by the President to inform Lord Napier that, while he (the President) is determined to execute the treaty of 1842, with fidelity and efficiency, he is not prepared, under existing circumstances, to enter into any stipulations on the subject of the African slave trade.

ASSAULT UPON GEN. POMEROY OF KAN-Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune LAWRENCE, April 15, 1858.

Kansas City, which many erroneously believe to be in Kansas, is just now the asylum of a most desperate gang of Kansas outlaws, among whom are Col. Titus, Dick Murphy of Leavenworth, Bill Miller of Park-Dick Murphy of Leavenworth, Bill Miller of Parkville, Kelly of Atchison, and others not less lawless,
if less notorious. Titus keeps a fashionable saloon
and gambling shop, which is the resort of great numbers of the citizens; and with the support of his gang
he manages to rule the town by bullying and bravado. A prominent citizen of the town stated, a short
time since, that no man was safe there who was known
to be in possession of money.

But a transaction occurred day before yesterday,
which will hereafter cause the town to be shunned by

But a transaction occurred day before yesterday, which will hereafter cause the town to be shunned by all lovers of peace and order. This was nothing less than a gross, brutal and murderous attack by the Titus gang upon Gen. Pomeroy, who was in Kansas City on private business. The General had been attending a suit for the collection of money on some

have thus far been able successfully to withstand the main purpose for which the Committee of Investigation was chosen, and, in opposition to the testimony of Drs. Wayland and Palmer, two of its members, to maintain the ground that that Committee have given them 'no instructions' to publish on the subject of slavery? How, but because there were two parties in the Committee, each of which insisted on introducing into the Report certain phrases which its constituents desired to be the controlling and effective ones? It is difficult to exclude truth entirely from a pamphlet of 112 pages, and you have yourself admitted that a compromise was formed between two parties or interests, in the Special Committee. You ask—

'Why did a Committee of so honorable and intelligent men agree in a Report capable of being understood so differently?' p. 52.

And you answer, truly, this time—

'As in their own body, so among the members of the Society and its friends, there were two parties respecting the subject of slavery. One party was satisfied with what had been published on this subject: * • • the other was vehement for going further, and in a very positive tone. The feelings and prejudices of both parpositive tone. The feelings and property he had sold in the town, and just as he wa

he wore his weapons conspicuously displayed.

Next to the grossness of the outrage, the most remarkable thing is the hesitation of the citizens in regard to the punishment. The jury could not agree; some being for the largest fine known to the law—some for a merely nominal one. In the latter, was a nephew of General Calhoun, who stood out for a fine of one dollar!
Finally, the Jury disagreed, and a new trial wa ordered, which is to be had in a few days. Mean-time, the illustrious Border Ruffian is at large, bully-

to eat his words.

Gen. Pomeroy's injuries are not dangerous. The bone of the left arm is fractured, and some slighter injuries sustained. He left the next day for Wyandot, where he spent the night.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Donation. Mrs. Abby K. Foster, to redeem 1st of August FRANCIS JACKSON,

THE NINTH NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION will be held in New York city, at Mozart Hall, 668 Broadway, on Thursday and Friday, May 13 and 14, 1858, commencing at 10 o'clock Thursday, A. M.

Lucy Stone, Ernestine L. Rese, Wendell Phillips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, C. Lenox Remond, Mary F. Davis, Caroline H. Dall, Rev. T. W. Higginson, Aaron M. Powell, Frances D. Gage, and others, will address the sawral sessions of the Convention.

ldress the several sessions of the Convention. We regret that so many of the noble men and wo-men, who, in spirit, are with us, should have so long withheld from us kind words of recognition and en-

couragement.
We carnestly ask all those who believe our claim are just, who hope and look for a higher type of wo-manhood in the coming generations, to assert, now, their faith in the everlasting principles of justice, that have no respect for age, sex, color, or condition. Is it too much to ask that the Bradys, the Curtises, th too much to ask that the Bradys, the Curtises, the Chapins, the Beechers and the Stowes shall chee us by their presence at our coming Convention, or by letter make known their position in regard to this movement? Feeling assured that our cause is just that our positions are tenable, our platform is PREE for

all fair discussion.

Communications for the Convention may be addressed to Susan B. Anthony, Anti-Slavery Office 138 Nassau street, New York.

NOTICE -- CHARLES C. BURLEIGH IS A Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, ore particularly for the Western part of the State, is post-office address is Cummington, Hampshire CHARLES L. REMOND, an Agent of the

American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in DANVERS on Sunday, May 9th.

He will speak at PAWTUCKET, R. I., on Sunday,

HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture in Hopeale on Sunday, May 2, forenoon and after SITUATIONS WANTED .- Several young

olored men want situations in stores and dwelling ouses. One who has learned the pegging shoe busi ness is anxious to acquire a knowledge of sewing work.
Apply to WM. C. NELL,
April 9. 21 Cornhill.

PLACE WANTED .- A gentleman in the vicinity of Boston, having under guardianship a col-Judging from the tone of the public press, and reasons 'a priori,' Mr. Mason feels confident that in future we will see fanatical denunciation of American who can promote his object will please address WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

> TREES AND PLANTS. A Catalogue of the choicest Fruit and Flowering Trees, Shrubs, Roses, &c., will be sent on application. Carriage of all packages paid to New York. B. M. WATSON, Old Colony Nurseries, Plymouth, Mass. Mch26 7w

> MARRIED-In Chicago, April 7th, by the Rev. Mr. Schenck, in Trinity Church, Mr. Daniel Seales, of San Francisco, California, to Miss William Vir-OINIA SMITH, of Chicago, Ill.

Speech by Theodore Parker.

THE PRESENT ASPECT OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA, and the Immediate Duty of the North: A Speech delivered in the Hall of the State House, before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Convention, on Friday night, January 29, 1858. By THEODORE PARKER. Price, 17 cents. Just published, and for sale by BELA MARSH, No. 14 Brom-

Also, for sale as above, all of Mr. Parker's works, either in pamphlet form, or bound in cloth. Mch26 tf

Representative Women. THIS magnificent group includes the Portrait

LUCRETIA MOTT, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, ABBY KELLEY POSTER, LYDIA MARIA CHILD, HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, LUCY STONE, ANTOINETTE L. BROWN,

For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, by WM. C. NELL. Price, \$1. DANIEL MANN, M. D.,

SURGEON DENTIST.

And Manufacturer of Mineral Teeth,

(Formerly Mann & Melbourne, Summer St.) Has an office in SUFFOLK PLACE, (two doors from Washington street,) and invites old friends and new ones to visit him. Invalids and others who dislike to visit a Dentist's Office will be waited upon at their own houses.

Suffolk Place opens at 300 Washington street, little above Bedford street. Mch 19

Homestead Wanted,

SNUG, convenient and cheap, in Massachusetts or its neighborhood. A small house, if comfortable and decent, preferred. One or more acres of land indispensable. Price must not exceed \$1500, and it is hoped that considerably less than that sum will suffice. The location must be pleasant, and in a good preighborhood. An anti-slavery community would be neighborhood. An anti-slavery community would be most agreeable, and if there should be some demand for the services of a physician, it would be of some consideration. Any one having such a place to dispose of may find a purchaser by directing a letter containing full description and lowest price, to A. B., care of R. F. WALLCUT, Liberator office, 21 Cornstill Poster.

HOUSE TO LET IN LYNN,

FOR A SUMMER RESIDENCE. A CONVENIENT house, with sixteen rooms, on the corner of Beach and Newhall streets, at the head of Long Beach. Apply on the premises. GEORGE W. FLANDERS.

IT IS NOT A DYE!

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S

HATR RESTORER WORLD'S

Hair Dressing. THE ONLY PREPARATIONS THAT HAVE A

EUROPEAN REPUTATION!! THE Restorer, used with the Zylobalsamum or Dressing, cures diseases of the hair or scalp, and RESTORES GRAY HAIR TO ITS NATURAL

COLORI

The Zylobalsamum or Dressing alone is the best hair dressing extant for young or old.

We take pleasure in presenting the following undeniable proofs that these are the best preparations either in Europe or America. They contain no deleterious ingredients—do not soil or stain anything.

GREAT BRITAIN. REV. W. B. THORNELO. Prescot, Lancashire, 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 HAYTI.

REV. MRS. E. C. ANDRUS, for many years Missionary to Hayti, now of Martineburgh, 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-

J. H. EATON, Pres. Union Unio., 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, Boston, 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

S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, and also to acknowledge its curing my grayness and baldness.' REV. GEO. M. SPRATT, Agt. Bap. Penn. Pub. Soc. 'We cheerfully recommend Mrs. S. A. Allen's

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

bear testimony to the value and efficacy of Mrs.

World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. REV. J. F. GRISWOLD, Washington, N. H. Please inform Mrs. — where Mrs. S. A. Allen'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 dye.' REV. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, Ct. 'We think very highly of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum.

REV. S. B. MORLEY, Attleboro', Mass. 'The effeet of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and 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., Charleston, 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, Stanwick, Ct. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum

have met my most sanguine expectations in causing my hair to grow where it had failen." 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 Re-

storer 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 Zylobalsamum. 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 most 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.

We also would call attention to the fact that we have 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, 37½ cents

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 us as a criminal offence.

Some dealers try to sell 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 MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S

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POETRY.

TO GEORGE B. CHEEVER, Of the Church of the Pilgrims, New York. So spake Esains : so with words of flame Tekoah's prophet-herdsman smote with blame The traffickers in men, and put to shame, All earth and heaven before, The sacerdotal robbers of the poor

God's awful scripture from the lips again Smites like live lightning on the hands profane, Lifted to bless the slave-whip and the chain. Once more the Hebrew tongue, Barbed with God's truth, is as a bow new strung.

Take up the mantle which His prophets wore, Speak as He prompts thee, show the Christ once more Bound, scourged, and crucified, in his blameless poor And shake above our land The unquenched bolts that blazed in Hosea's hand

Not vainly shalt thou utter, now and here, The warning burdens of the Orient seer, And smite with truth a guilty nation's ear. Mightier was Luther's word Than Seckingen's mailed arm, or Hutton's sword.

THE RUM-FIEND.

BY CHARLES MACKAY. The rum-fiend cast his eyes abroad, And looked o'er all the land, And numbered his myriad worshippers With his bird-like, long right hand.

He took his place in the teeming street, And watched the people go Around and about, with a buzz and a shout, Forever to and fro; 'And it's hip!' said the rum-fiend, 'hip, hurra! For the multitudes I see,

Who offer themselves in sacrifice, And die for the love of me ! There stood a woman on a bridge: She was old, but not with years-Old with excess, and passion, and pain, And she wept remorseful tears; And she gave to her babe her milkless breast, Then goaded by its cry,

In the sight of the passer-by! 'And it's hip!' cried the rum-fiend, 'hip, hurra She sinks, and let her be-In life or death whatever she did, Was all for the love of me !'

Made a desperate lesp in the river deep

There watched another by the hearth. With sullen face and thin, She uttered words of scorn and hate To one that staggered in. Long had she watched, and when he came, His thoughts were bent on blood ; He could not brook her taunting look, And he slew her where she stood; "And it's hip!' cried the rum-fiend, ' hip, hurra ! My right good friend is he; He hath slain his wife, he hath given his life, And all for the love of me! And every day in the crowded way,

He takes his fearful stand, And numbers his myriad worshippers With his bird-like, long right hand: And every day the weak and strong, Widows, and maids, and wives, Blood-warm, blood-cold, young men and old, Offer the fiend their lives. 'And it's hip!' he says, 'hip, hip, hurra!

For the multitudes I see, That sell their souls for the burning drink. And die for the love of me!

THE WORLD'S AGE. BY CRARLES KINGSLEY. Who will say the world is dying? Who will say our prime is past?

Sparks from Heaven, within us lying, Flash, and will flash to the last. Fools! who fancy Christ mistaken; Man a tool to buy and sell: Earth a failure, God forsaken, Ante-room of hells

Still the race of Hero-spirits

Pass the lamp from hand to hand; Age from age the Word inherits-Wife, and Child, and Fatherland. Still the youthful hunter gathers Fiery joy from world and wood ; He will dare as dared his fathers, Give him cause as good. While a slave bewails his fetters; While an orphan pleads in vain; While an infant lisps his letters, Heir of all the ages' gain; While a lip grows ripe for kissing; While a moan from man is wrung;

> From the London Illustrated News. GRIEF.

That the world is young.

Know, by every want and blessing,

There's good in tears, or they had not been sent By Him who is all good! It is not wise To keep our sorrows in our heart up-pent, When we can give them freedom from our eyes.

The storm-cloud only darkens the fair earth Until it falleth down in gentle rain; And then what wondrous beauties have their birth! So, when the heart is overcharged with pain,

We see a shadow upon every good; But let our heavy sorrows have their way, And as they well into a tearful flood, . What comfort may not come? Ah, who can say?

Grief hath a mission holier than joy-It moves the selfish, and it warms the cold; A common sorrow will e'en pride destroy, And change the king and beggar to one mould

Our griefs should make us gentler to our kind, And, as we comfort need, more comfort pay : So using sorrow, we our tears shall find Have washed some grossness of our souls away.

> FOR THE RIGHT. BY FRANCIS BROWNE. By the field or by the hearth, City, street, or mountain sod, Rise among the tribes of earth Fearful witnesses for God; Poor man, let not life's oppress Bend thy soul to craft or clay-Rich man, let not great possessions Send thee sorrowful away From the covenant of thy youth, Made with liberty and truth. True man, wheresoe er thou art, In the Senate, in the throng, Up and do thy dauntless part

Now against the nearest wrong ; For the days of generations That must heir what we have done-For the heritage of nations Premised long, but still unwon-For that kingdom all victorious, On whose coming faith depends-

For the rest that shall be glorious

In its shadow-forward, friends!

Ask of any the spot they like best on the earth, They'll answer, with pride, 'Tis the land of our birth.

The Liberator.

REVIVALISM, AND WHAT IT RESTS ON A DISCOURSE. Presched at Lynn, March 28, 1858. BY SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Minister of the Free Church. Then if any man shall say to you. Lo! here is Christ, or lo! there, believe it not."...Matt. xxiv. 22.

For the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force....Matt. xxi. 12.

Might I not select, as a comment on these texts the somewhat theatrical announcement by Dr. Kirk, tially avail the patient, when they leave him within the the other day, of the arrival of Christ in Boston, to the other day, of the arrival of Christ in Boston, to same vicious circle of belief concerning God and Duty attend the prayer-meetings of the business men? Might and Heaven in which they found him—when, instead I not refer you, in illustration of them, to the jubilee of removing his shallow notions of religion as pan of self-satisfaction that seems to be going up from so and periodical convulsion, and revival of an intolerance many persons, whose nearness to the kingdom of creed, instead of teaching him that moral and spiritheaven was never before suspected by the communi- ual growth is a matter of patient struggle and alow ty, -in view of the sudden discovery that they are self-discipline, they do but confirm the old delusions by fit to be taken into God's immediate confidence, and putting a little conscience into them?—Suppose, unassume airs of superior virtue and religious concern, to der the pressure of all this machinery, a few drunksay nothing of other emotions less creditable or Christian still, towards every one whose creed differs from their own? I think I do no injustice in such an application of the old words. Whatever may be thought of the merits of Revivalism as a whole, or of the purposes it may be led to answer through the good Providence of God, it is at least abundantly manifest, that the successors of that Pharisee fitfulness, and unreasoning superstition? If they stay who went up into the temple to pray, and came out again to sniff at the publicans and the heretics, are still a very great company. And in those members of the clergy, who are officiating as fuglemen of this noisy demonstration, -a demonstration, we must remark, that seems more like a Kossuth reception, or the blowing up of some South Sea Bubble or other brilliant business speculation, than the inaugurating of that kingdom that cometh not with observation, and whose children pray rather to the Spirit that seeth in secret,-I cannot help being reminded of those vain prophets, against whom Jesus warned his disciples, as pretending ' to announce the day whereof no man know, not even the angels of heaven, but the Father only '-and of whom it was said that 'they should deceive the very elect.'

At the outset let me say, I am not here to prove the present or any other religious excitement incapable of good. Show me your special cases of genuine reformation, distinctly traceable to it, and I rejoice with you; though I shall be slow to accept them till time shall have tested their worth : and you also should be slow to offer them. But what if they be exceptional? And this they must be,-if the method itself be evil. It is with this Method I am concerned, its essential character, and natural results. There are two grand duties set before, not ministers only, but all men, as to such matters. Since God has many marvellous and inscrutable ways of bringing us out of our blindness and selfishness, and unfolding the nobler nature in the individual and the mass, so it is always safest and most reverent, at least, to admit that no religious excitement is wholly evil. Our first duty is to accept the whole counsel of God, to cast aside nothing thereof as common or unclean. Fear nothing so much as to break the bruised reed, or to quench the smoking flax. But then our next great duty is to save as many as possible from those directions and that treatment of the religious sentiment, whose main tendency is pernicious, and whose philosophy is false. You are bound, therefore, in making up your minds as to the attitude to be assumed towards the present religious excitement, to look not to what is accidental and exceptional in it, but to what is radical and essen-

Briefly, then, the explanation of Revivals is three-

I. First, they are the paroxysms of a diseased spiritual and physical condition. They are the periodical crises of a false theology and a false morality, public and private. And here is the ground of sincerity there is in them, which, I take it, no thoughtful person, who observes their power over the mass of men, ever dreamed of denving. But they are none the less, for that reason, the signs of a melancholy, yea, a ghastly disease in the moral and religious life. So long as there is little or no recognition of Re-

ligion as steadfast obedience to God's constant workday laws of mind and body, so long Religion will come up once in a while as physical jerk, or spiritual anointed and legalized lies, with judging and right-God is believed to be standing somewhere outside heel of the oppressor. The removal of the man-stealthe world, coming into it occasionally in a Hebrew Prophet, in an Incarnate Word, in a local Revelation This is the kind of Atonement for Sin one is glad to attested by a crowd of miracles which stop when there is no longer any occasion for Him to break his own mock our best hopes in these days of sternest moral laws in order to guarantee His Revelation, coming in once in a while, after this exceptional fashion, but in the main staying outside the world, while men carry on their trade and politics on their own principles inside it, and manage religion on the same principles, keeping a balance-sheet of debt and credit with Him, paying Him off with you would take hold and help her.' Do they even abstract virtues for concrete sins, and Sunday faces for Monday frauds-so long as He is supposed to ings? Do they take in hand the sins of Conbe lying in wait to inflict special judgments upon such as may violate a day set apart exclusively for His coming down into churches to meet men, -so long as it is believed that He comes in and goes out like a man, York or Boston? When Dr. Kirk announced Christ's can be traded with, reasoned with, led this way and that, according to our private interests and impulses, made to love and repent, and be angry at times like a child-that He shuts himself up in a book or a creed, and has the diabolical propensity to leave men to their own wickedness, taking his saving Spirit altogether out of ity-a trading Christ? them, nay, cursing them to eternal damnation out of his presence, and that too of his own mere good pleasure, -so long as all this, or any material part of this, is taught and believed concerning God, so long you will see, periodically, spectacles like the present. You will see these Christian analogues to the religious ceremonies of Asiatic Shamans and North American Indians and Semitic Baal-worshippers. You will see the god called in, upon certain recurring occasions. with huge pother and din, as if he were asleep, or deaf, or on a journey. The drums ecclesiastic will have to be beaten all together, with prodigious vehemence, and great groanings and importunate entreaties will have to be poured out to overcome his reluctance, and convince him that he ought to make us all saints this very moment. And again and again the ponderous maupon his tardy movements to drag him, so to speak, into the souls he has deserted, without delay-and turn him this way and that in the prayer-meeting, as this brother or that village may request his special attention for the moment. For what is all this heathenism but the natural conclusion from the theological and moral premiss given? It is simply the turn which

character of the current religious belief. The explanation is simple. Man cannot be without some sort of Religion. He cannot put God quite out of his conscience and thought. When he does seek salvation, it will be in such form as he has been traditionally familiar with in the church and the world. When the ' hard times' come round, in days like ours, they act as eclipses and earthquakes and comets used to, in times when the phenomens of nature were more awful to men than they are now. So the panic in outward affairs breeds a panic in spiritual concerns. And the spiritual panic takes its shape and colo from the prevailing theological and moral traditions abovementioned. That is the whole of it. who have run pecuniary speculation into the ground But can that be a Revival of true Religion? Why with their competitive rage, should run saleation int so, any more than the panie at a comet or an eclipse?

a natural reaction to seriousness is led to take by the

You will notice that these convulsions must be pe- do up this business of saving their souls in the sa riodical, and so may be confidently predicted. They prompt and expeditious style as they have been trying come round like fevers and the cholera, results of a to do up the business of making money. They ex-

blood, the atmosphere, the relation of social man to the physical universe generally. And just as we have to take measures, not to help or urge them on, but to that, we treat them as signs of returning health, and if we can find some exceptional good, we incline to dwell on that, as though it showed that the disease ought to be encouraged. Doubtless they are reac-tions on a morbid condition, and so far natural; and yet in themselves how unnatural ! How can they be effectual efforts to throw off disease, how can they ess ards forsake the rum-shops, and here and there a prize-fighter the ring-and it is in a few such cases as these that I suppose the most practically effectual results are produced-how much has been done after all, if you have turned that religious and moral sense upon which they have got to depend for holding them fast to the better way, into a teacher of impatience, converted to decent habits, it must be in spite of the permanent influence which such teaching exercises upon the interior life. And, let me say to those who poast so loudly of a few such conversions, and exalt the converts of an hour as the glorious children of the nspiration of the Highest,-what if that which you put in place of the sensuality should make them worse even than sensual? Are you sure it has no such tendency? What do you suppose Jesus had in his mind when he said. 'The publicans and harlots shall go into the kingdom of heaven before you'? I do not know how it may strike you, but I think I find no difficulty in understanding him, when around one convert, supposed to be saved by Revivalism from the grip of his huge passions, I see fifty wiser heads whom it puffs up with Pharisaism, and hardens with bigotry in the name of piety and so turns the very light that is in them into darkness. You may call me uncharitable. I do not think I am so. I simply reason from given facts, by the ordinary rules of common sense. Nor do I judge men's motives. But when I read of thousands of persons, who admit themselves to have been in the bonds of sin a few days ago, confidently proclaiming themselves 'converted to Christ,' and coolly assuming to question whether the purest and best men in the community are even subects of grace,' I call the school they are studying in school of Pharisaism, and a school of Bigotry ;-and think I am using the very mildest language which the case will bear. I do not deny the need nor the worth of instantaneous convictions of sin. That is one thing. Instantaneous convictions of righteousness, and instantaneous airs of arrogant self-righteousness towards others-these are a very different thing.

I confess I can see nothing in this method of con ersion fitted to give men permanent store of that Religion which is practical love of God and man. It can hardly fail to illustrate the old saying, that what is lightly won is lightly lost again.' And, indeed, what element of calm persistency can this tumult in the nerves introduce? When it passes off, why should not the patient sink back into the old stupor, to be roused, by and by, with new agues when the absent god comes round again with his goadings, and then, after the transient madness and fever heat, to fall back to sleep as before? And how stand the facts? Are the churches humaner, broader, more protestant against wickedness, more long-suffering for Truth's sake, for these periodical storms, so often repeated? Or has the martyr spirit that delivers the slave, or enlarges the domain of thought, or in any other way practically regenerates society, come mainly from without the churches, and driven them on by pure compulsion to what little virtue in these directions they have shown? We have had revivals nough of a Christianity that fraternizes with slaveholding, that dares not wield the thunders of God against the hugest wickedness that ever cursed the earth. We want Revivals that shall begin with the ing the cause of the poor and dumb ones, under the ing Judge is the best revival I have heard of lately. see Massachusetts under concern about. It is easy to need with all this noise of prayer to an atoning Christ. We want a 'Great Awakening' to more practical purpose. I remember what Kossuth said with ill-disguised contempt to the churches that promised him to pray for Hungary: 'Hungary thanks you for your prayers-but she would be glad also if pray for the abolition of slavery in the prayer meetgress and the nation? Do they wash their hands of the Lecompton Constitution, or the prejudice against color, in those business men's prayer meetings in New arrival, he brought no message to this or any similar effect, no such proof that this Christ of his was Jesus, the martyr of Calvary, who came to open prison doors, and break bonds! Have we not here, rather, a

Christ that wants hearts for himself, not for human-II. And so I come to the second point in the explanation of Revivalism. It is, that men naturally carry into their relations with God the same habits and associations they use towards each other. You hear a great deal said in the Revivalist meetings about stocks in the Bank of Heaven. Do you think men would so glibly employ these analogies with their business life if the motive were not essentially the same with their business motives? It is the same, on the whole, They are, on the whole, after precisely what they sayspiritual ' Bank stock.' It is a private speculation to secure them an 'interest in the kingdom of heaven'to secure them against punishment at death. There isn't enough disinterested love about it to keep them from the spirit of persecution, and there never has been. Doubtless it is easy to ' give the heart to Christ at just chinery of Revivalism will have to be brought to bear six o'clock last evening.' But what was the consideration for this so generous gift, a gift so important as to be a sign of inward regeneration so important as to be worthy of a public announcement. Why, bank stock in the kingdom of heaven. And suppose you ask the heart sealed, after this fashion, to Christ, (!) to perform the simpler and nearer work of giving itself to humanity. Tell me why that gift should not require consideration in Bank stock of some tangible sort, likewise. It would be wiser to withhold the ancouncements of private conversion till after business We shall know then how many hearts are changed. But, I pray you notice this. It is not the first nor the fifth revival among business men within the last two centuries. Yet I question whether commercial competition was ever so unscrupulous as it has been within the last ten years. This remedy of Revivalism may, after all, be perpetuating the disease, may it not?

The business men's prayer-meetings are simply prayer-meetings, on business principles, neither more the ground in the same headlong way? They would vicious condition of the religious sentiment, just as pect to turn over spiritual experiences in their nimble

fingers as they have turned over capital. Alas! friends, left us too isolated even to trade. It reaches down to the insane delusion! What is it but the electric telegraph and steam engine and high pressure machinery generally, applied hot from the exhausted market to round the place to hear him; and then it reaches up the startled soul? Instead of wondering that it is so, to many of our most self-poised and reserved think-instead of being offended that it is so, we should wonder if it were not so, knowing that as this generation itualists. See what this swift and perfect conduction has been living, it could not be otherwise. And otherwise it will not be, until this generation shall change ble results we shall have, when the right shock is

suppose that the intoxication of business transferred come. into the domain of the religious sentiment, is con- All this, in fine, goes to show the perfect s who undertakes to do up his Religion in a businesslike way, than the 'opus operatum,' or work done for him, of the Atonement creed. It is clear profit on the books. I do not say that all men so interpret the clergy, those, I mean, who lie in wait on the outthat dogma; but I believe that this is the natural ef- skirts of this passionate social life, watching the mofect of it on the ordinary mind, at least, in moments ment when a lull in business, or the cholers, or some of excitement like the present. Is it strange that you other cause, brings on a reaction to seriousness, and should see this run on the spiritual banks, therefore? then deliberately work up the inflammable material into Why should you not, in spiritual panics among business men? If business men are to save themselves deal about the spontaneousness of all this,-that the from falling, at the outset of a serious life, into such will of man had nothing to do with it. If you have hammer, on a plan of mutual accommodation, which

ushing us on to be filibusters, in some sort, wheth-

they do not help the world out of the falsity and the in silencing the free speech of an honest man but vice; and that the mass of men are competent to those who know that their own instructions cannot something more deep and vital and rational if they stand before freedom of speech? were but assisted to attain it. I reply, also, that the I do not cite this as the general spirit of the prayerthe signals of their prayer-leaders.

But one significant fact must not be forgotten. For the men whose continual prickings good on and The Revivals are not merely to be disapproved. They shape these outbreaks of infatuation, scarcely any reexplosion is instant, now in this direction, and now

so hard 'that all that that part of the town ga of our half-primed American life can do. What no given, and the calm, deep flow of a practical Broth-And so, we need not resort to a Miracle of Divine erhood begins to sweep through these open channel Influence to explain the facts we are witnessing. There between man and man! Yes, God is in the Reviva was never a political or financial crisis worked by too, but not as the Revivalists fancy. He is showing simpler or more natural means than this religious us our capacity for mutual influence, showing als one. God is in it only as he is in all social movement the blindness and greediness of our instincts, impres and experience, by his slow, deep, all-embracing laws, sing on us that wholesome lesson of self-knowledge which the profoundest reason cannot confine within that the violent who would carry the kingdoms of the little circle of its particular associations and ends. this world by storm, will of necessity endeavor to do And there cannot be a more pernicious error than to the same thing with the kingdom of the world to

verted thereby into a dirine madness, and becomes In- ness of what the churches call the great awakenings, spiration. Men cannot change their ingrained habits when you consider the mass of those who are the sub of thought and methods of pursuing their ends in an hour. No one questions the fact that there has been gers to announce officially the arrival of Christ. The some rather serious reflection, lately, upon the deceit-whole thing is explicable without any such miracufulness of riches; but what must be the first natural lous phenomenon. The earth and the stars quietly effect of it upon a man whose passion has been to hold on their way, the spring slowly comes along grasp the hugest results and the swiftest with the much after the usual fashion, perhaps a little earlier least outlay of means? What is it more likely to ac- from good and sufficient natural causes, bringing first complish at first than to make him the easy dupe of the rippling streams and soft haze, then the viole those who play upon this passion,—who promise him and May-flower, then leading in the ripe summer that Religion, whereof he has some vague notion, as hours these full blooms before me prophecy of toof something which he is expected to have, is to be day; and it is just as impossible to make Christians bought by a little flutter of alarm, an easy assent to by forcing-pump and steam-pressure as it would be the doctrine of salvation through the merits of anoth- to make these fair flowers so-just as impossible as er, and of suffering the consequences of one's sins by was before all this uproarious machinery was set in proxy, and the undefined process, not very difficult, gear. Thoughtful people will not expect a deluge if we may judge by the ease with which tyres in nor a millenium just yet; and anxious inquirers, i spiritual armor perform it, of giving the heart to they are wise, will retire to their closets, to seek the Christ'? Nothing could be more grateful to the man God who seeth in secret, or hold modest and patient counsel with serious and competent friends. III. But, in the third place, the Revivals cannot b

understood without observing the influence of many o

one of these fanatical awakenings. We hear a great

traps of shallowness and pitfalls of vanity, they can read the religious journals, you have seen that these only do it by changing their business lives, -putting professional managers have been deliberately working calminess and integrity and devoutness into them. for this purpose for a long time past, that there has And do you find it strange to see a few-and after been much correspondence, much circulating of staall, it is but a few-of the men who shaved notes and tistics, much spurring up of backward churches. gambled in stocks last year, in hottest competition of Doubtless, as compared with past revivals, this has what they term prayer, three minutes each by the been, to a large extent, a movement among church members towards concentrating their force for a great gives each his chance to make what he can out of the demonstration. But the spirit is hardly less that of Lord, in that space of time? I do not. But do you the pulpit than if clergymen were exclusively ensuppose that God changes men's hearts in that caucus gaged in it. One needs but to attend a prayer meetfashion? Do you suppose Mammon goes out of men's ing to see the thorough and deliberate ecclesiastical souls by such exercisms, so like his own mad incan-mechanism by which the work is carried on. All this, it is most sadly transparent, is of man, and not I may be told that these instances are extreme. I of God. The clergy have doubtless the right to do, reply that they indicate the natural tendency. There after their own way, what they can to defend their are fiereer breakers ahead on these shoals, could they wested beliefs and interests against Spiritualism, Rabut be reached. There are Hurlgates of excitement tionalism, or any other enemy of the Evangelical to which this is mere child's-play, a little further on creeds. But when they bring the old machinery of in the Rapids of Revivalism, only it is not so easy to priestly manipulation or mesmeric revivalism to bear propel men on to them as it once was. I have no on the assembled masses, they cannot be allowed to fear that they will be reached, with all the agony and lay the superstition and bigotry they generate to the strain of this competition. I believe there is nothing charge of Jesus or of God. It is these men who give like the intense faith in the creed or the method the animus of the fanaticism. I do not say it is perthat there used to be. I am sure there is none of the sonal malignity that inspires them. It is a mixture old disposition on the part of ministers or church of motives, a mixture of zeal for the creed with unmembers to face the grim terrors of Calvinism, on conscious instincts towards their professional and priwhich the whole efficacy of the Revivalistic method vate interests, and by no means lacking in honesty depends. I see nothing but the poor, feeble, wailing But it is the same inspiration that produced Torqueshadow of all this in the prayer-meetings; and I mades and Dominics, inaugurated the inquisition think the result of them will be to show the weak- and drove the literary men of France by its persecu ness of the hold the traditional theology, with its strait- tions into storm-breeders of the French Revolution lacing of the mind, and its smothering of the affec- It is the spirit that in divers times before now has tions, has upon the heart of the American people. stirred up its converts 'to thank God that they are May God grant that there may come out of them not as other men, and especially as this publican, another effectual lesson,-I mean, as to the insanity and to say, 'Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in and fatuity of our American habit of trying to carry thy name, and in thy name cast out devils?' And by all kingdoms, spiritual and natural, by storm! For publicans and devils, it has always meant hereties to look how the scrambling predatory demon betrays the creed, as well as sinners against good morals and himself in every thing we Americans undertake, the public peace. And thus we hear of a company er in folly or in wickedness-who cannot wait to carn ering the 'expediency of opening the way of salvawhere the strong hand can seize without earning,-in tion (that is, the creed of Revivalism) to members of whatever direction we turn. Very unlike, in a moral the theatrical profession,' and of another company, in estimate, of course, are Rotten Speculation, Bor- another place, imprecating distraction upon the der-Ruffian Democracy, Spiritualism and Revivalism. mind' of Theodore Parker, calling on God 'to con-As respects honesty and good intent, of course not found his studies and stop his mouth, if he shall per to be mentioned in the same breath. Who would sist in speaking to his people, and if he be not a subthink, at first sight, that this same insidious consti- ject of grace (!), to remove him out of the way, and tutional demon lurked behind them all, pushing on let his influence die with him.' All this suggeste his children # different forms of the same mad game the simple question - Do you suppose that people, inof breaking into places and spheres they have no bu- nocent of all knowledge of the grounds of religious siness in, and no fitness for. Noise and self-glorifica- faith, would, in a community like ours, be stirred up tion, and the violent hand upon what we can get,- to such a fulmination of self-righteousness against a is it not our way in every thing? Is it strange that man whose theological scholarship surpasses that of when 'Conversion' becomes the prize to be grasped at, all their teachers taken together, and whose religious that should be the same? Ah! if we could but take character has won the respect and love of the people home the noble thought of Lessing-'If God should through all the heresy they identify with his name, if offer to over me Truth outright, I should prefer not they were not instigated thereto by those whose busito accept it. I want the blessedness of paying the ness it is to make them the blind instruments of a creed that knows but one prescribed formula of salva-If, upon such admission of the naturalness and netion, and treats investigation into that as a sin? cessity of all this, under the circumstances, one be Confound the studies of Theodore Parker ! Is there charged with indifference or contempt towards the any one who has an interest in stopping them but the religious experiences which belong to the vast major- men who live by preaching a faith which such studity of uneducated men,' I reply, that they are natural ics undermine? 'Shut his mouth or remove him out only to a false and vicious religious education; that of the way ! Is there any one who has an interest

sooner any one, however ignorant, finds out that meetings, only as illustrating their tendency. I these noisy, prurient, Pharisaic assemblies, where ex- admit that thus far there has been less fanaticism of cited and mesmerised people drag out their souls and the sort about the present Revival than is usual. I fling them under the feet of the crowd, and part with do not attribute the fact, however, to any lack of the all spiritual dignity and chaste reserve in the utte- old antipathies on the part of the clergy, but to the rance of their experience, are no place for the humil- growing good sense and kindliness of the community. ities or the disciplines of Religion, the better. The And therefore is it especially sad to see many minissooner he finds out that it would be as reasonable to ters undoing much personal influence which has gone go to the next caucus meeting, to get his soul con- towards dissuading men from creed-worship, by helpverted by that excitement, as to expect to meet the ing, however unconsciously, to put the bad demon grace of God in this, the better; for I think a crew of the old Theology into these softening hearts. They of delirious politicians could not possibly bluster and follow the strong set of the excitement. Why do rave so wildly as these self-deluded persons often do they not send home these loquacious converts with when fully fired with zeal for their own souls, and the admonition that religion is still, and makes no fancying the Infinite God runs this way and that at show? And why do they not rebuke the intolerance and enlarge the humanity of these sectaries?

are signs of disease, and so suggest its remedy; they proof can be too severe. I think no unbeliever in are signs of power, also, and suggest its need of bet- their Theology will be likely to take from them his ter guidance. They show how society is charged al-lessons in prayer. He will be moved to say the more together, like a Loyden jar, with blind instincts, seek- earnestly rather,-I do not pray God to confound ing gratification, some good, some evil, and how perfeet the conducting power is throughout the whole. studying more bravely and thoroughly. I do not It does not much matter what applies the touch, an pray God to remove them out of the way, but to save more ignorant men from the evil of their counsels to in that. And this state of tension we think to be in- intolerance and pride. I do not pray God to put a spiration, because the process is so exhilarating, and hook in their jaws, because freedom to speak is His the magnetism of the crowd so thrills and tingles own glorious gift, and we are unworthy of it if we through us. In this respect, it makes no difference do not defend our bitterest enemy's right thereto; bewhether the theatre, the public dinner, the political cause also the cause of Truth is nearest being won or the prayer meeting is the means of discharging when her foes say their worst against her. — But we the jar. If it were not one of them, it would be would call upon the ministers who do not rebuke the another. Now, this perfect conduction, however misused and left to itself, is a grand fact, the great hope of a spirit, in whatever form manifested, to consider well our civilization. It was never so perfect before. See how that story of the Samaritan heretic who bound up the it shows itself in Spiritualism and Revivalism, at the wounds of the man fallen among thieves, and how he very momentwhen what we call credit and confidence stood by comparison with the Priests and Levites between men seemed to be gone clean out of us, and who cursed him and his false gods on Genzim, and

passed by the spoiled and bleeding sufferer on p

When a lesson or rectangle at this moment, turns then ple are passing through at this moment, turns then to think somewhat seriously of life and destiny, just to think somewhat seriously only into calm account. to think somewhat so far as, instead of leading out into calm conviction it becomes passion and fanaticism, these are they it becomes passion and interesting these are they whom the great responsibility should fall. It is i who turn the springing waters to outerness it they who infest the fields of God's disciplines, the the seeds of repentance are so kindly sown, and he locusts, devour every green thing as it come; leaving blackness glaring up in mockery at the lorns aky. It is they who hover every where, like Bec. weens, over the deserts of sorrow, despendency ad weens, over the strike down the bewildered wayfur with the weapons of a gloomy and tyrannous creed, and bear him off into an intellectual slavery, under sie brutalizing disciplines ignorance and vain-glory the progress of a scientific age, and when order means fail, invoke the fanaticism of the prayer-me means tall, invoke the sand the reformers whom the cannot confute, and whom it is in vain to anathen tize. It is they who quench whatsover fires of pretical love the good Spirit sends the age. Nor va there ever a time when numbers of the class they me resent did not make good the charges of Jesus aging those who compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and then do with him — what you know.

And are these men 'blind leaders of the blind Then, surely, if the more the charity needed to more the mischief done. Need we ask why they as blind, why they know not what spirit they are of Need we ask what the secret of their power, win we see the despotism of the authoritative creeds is which both they and their followers surrender misand heart, and conscience?

I do not think we can be better employed, while this spasmodic excitement is going on, than in ten ously studying the actual foundations of those system of Theology that lead to it, and the like of it, and so I shall ask your attention, in the first place, to a few discourses on the Historical Origin of Christ. anity, and the way in which the faith and the recon actually grew up on which the creeds of Christendes



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