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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz : - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 's covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell."

tables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse

hey espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States,

and by force restore their rights; but they are without

nouse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our pathens, in

FRANING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

tury, 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 be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

The free States are the guardians and e tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-

for communities, when, unc

VOL. XXVIII. NO. 20.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1858.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1430.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

It is difficult to determine whether the malignity or the stupidity of the following distribe is in the ascendant. It is saturated with both of these qualities, as every intelligent reader will see.

## GARRISON'S LETTER.

The sentiments advanced by Mr. Garrison, in his The sentiments advanced by Mr. Garrison, in his letter addressed to the Orsini meeting, on Thursday crening last, are such as to outrage the sober convictions of all rational people. Standing simply as the advocate of negro emancipation in the United States, the opinions of Mr. Garrison would be of no consequence, and his influence slight, in proportion to the impracticability of effecting the liberation of slaves at the South, by means of the measures pursued to that end at the North. But he now openly and distinctly pronounces doctrines in which society and distinctly pronounces doctrines in which society is everywhere interested. As the leader of a party Massachusetts, which has already induced its Executive to commit one public act of enormous wrong, and by which various subsequent appointments to office have been controlled, his opinious imperatively demand consideration. Upon the views promulgated by him, not only would the social system of the world be reversed, but social order and the law of the universe itself would be irretrievably annihilated. We perceive that his letter was greeted by the audience with frequent and earnest demonstrations of approval. Assuming a position, therefore, from which he addresses much more numerous classes of our fellow-citizens, or of those resident among us, than when he merely stood upon the ground of abolition of negro slavery, the opinions which he pro-claims, and which seem to be received by a miscellaneous assembly, however small, with so much favor, ask a much more deliberate attention from those who are the sincere friends of civil liberty, as it is maintained and administered under republican institutions. We quote from this curious pronunciamento a single passage, which contains, it will be perceived, the sublimated essence of his doctrine:

'You rightly judge my character. I am not only an abolitionist for the chattelized slave, but an eman-cipationist for the whole human race. I am no advocate for one-sided liberty, or mere national indepen-dence; but, wherever tyranny exists, I loathe and execrate it, and proclaim liberty to be the inalienable right of every human being—liberty of person, of locomotion, of thought, of speech, of the press—liberty in all things, under all circumstances, in all lands, for all copies, through all time, and to all eternity. For scribed on my flag this motto— MY COUNTRY IS THE

Mr. Garrison, upon his own avowal, therefore, is not a citizen of the United States; he does not hold himself subject to its laws, and of course is not entitled to its protection; but he uses its soil and its liberty for purposes of his own merely, without regard to the common right or the common obliga-

The cause of which Mr. Garrison is the advocate, is no longer negro slavery, but universal emancipa-tion. It is not mere civil liberty, either, which he advocates,—but 'liberty in all things, under all circumstances, in all lands, for all peoples, through all time, and to all eternity'! We need only say of this doctrine, that it is the liberty of a madman, who would drive his own vehicle at headlong speed through a crowded street, utterly regardless of the consequences to himself and to others. For every just idea of liberty, and every possible beneficial application of it, can amount only to this— That every people is entitled of right to that degree of freedom, which it is capable of using and enjoying to the common benefit, and without injury itself, or to those with whom it may have direct or indirect relations. There must necessarily, therefore, be differences in this respect, as the world is constituted, and as it is likely to remain. A moral and religious people is entitled to a higher degree of civil freedom, than one demoralized and regardless or unconscious of religious responsibility—because, in that case, individual principle and public sentiment combine to restrain it from mischief to its own interest and to the public welfare. And it comes directly to this point, therefore,—that liberty, rightly understood, is not freedom from restraint; but the recognition of generous and charitable principles, of primal necessity and excellence, which conduce to a wise and noble self-control, and are essential to the existence of social order—which to Mr. Garrison, and those who agree with him, seem to constitute servitude. It is plain that this doctrine of Mr. Garrison, upon his own statement of it, if it could be carried out, would dethrone Supreme Good in heaven and earth, and substitute for its rule the demoniac discords, I ains and sufferings of the infer-

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In the same spirit, and guided by the same intelligence, is the unqualified and enthusiastic approval awarded by Mr. Garrison to the doctrine and duty of effecting social and political good by private assassination. He has been generally reputed a non-resistant—one of those men of peace, who are frequently found to speak daggers, though they use Indeed, he claims this position distinctly for himself in the course of the present letter. What neonsistency is his, therefore, in thus giving counhonor to the lowest and most odious form of violence and bloodshed? It is true that he resorts to a most bungling sophism, for the purpose of guarding his inconsistent position. His argument is neither more nor less than this- I, Garrison, the non-resistant, do not believe in killing any man,—not even such a monster as Louis Napoleon—yet I, the same person, judging of the deed from the stand-point of patriotism, &c., 'am bound to say that Orsini was no assassin in spirit or purpose, but a brave man, true to his convictions of duty,' &c., de., de. By this convenient mode of argument, I am enabled to write a letter to your meeting, in glorification of the assassin, and to give expression to my warm feelings of approbation of its sentiments and its purposes, and to offer my meed of honor to the honor to the hero and martyr whom it commemorates !

We do not expect that this plain exposition of these novel, extraordinary, and most mischierous sentiments will affect the associates and adherents of the party of Mr. Garrison. But, more or les rectly aiding these men in their objects, while they profess no sympathy with their doctrines or designs, protes no sympathy with their doctrines or designs, is another and a larger class, who ought to listen and to consider, for their own sake, if not for the common good. We might hope to give a much more efficient check to the propagation of sentiments so destructive as these—we might hope for a reformation which would involve the political regeneration of Massachusetts. If we want among the tien of Massachusetts—if many men among us, who have the strongest possible stake in the welfare of society, could be induced to feel how their indifof sciety, could be induced to feel how their indif-ference to such a good design helps on, as it has helped on, the progress of an evil cause—if they could see how their insensibility puts in peril the very ease which they enjoy—if they could be per-suaded to shake off their selfish apathy and seeming dullness of apprehension to impending ills, which, when they come, they themselves would experience the first and the worst of all.—Boston Courier.

It was characteristic of William Lloyd Garrison write an atrocious letter to the demonstration made in this city in favor of Orsini and Pierri. We be the pet of the petticoats. His lady colleagues have no sympathy with the despotism of Louis Napoleon; nor have we any with assassination, or with all species of higher-lawism. If any desire to see this mode of political warfare denounced—to see all manner of mobism, &c., &c., denounced—let them go to the times of 1774—75—76 in this counterpart of the times of 1774—75—76 in this counterpart of the times of 1774—175—176 in try, and see how earnestly the American patriots denounced and spurned, as the rankest of calumny, the tory allegations of that day, that their course was promotive of anarchy, or of any such political warfare as the mode of assassination. There was no such monstrous fallacy preached by Hancock and Adams men as this: a tyrant is a public nuisance; a public nuisance is what a whole people can abate,

The duty of crushing despotism is one thing— the hiring of assassins and murderers—individual war on society—the taking the laws into one's own hands—is quite another thing. Nobody condemns William Lloyd Garrison more strongly and more indignantly than Dr. Bernard, who has just been acquitted in England. After Chief Justice Campbell had completed his summing up, the prisoner rose, and in the most carnest, emphatic and indig-

### JUDGE LORING.

Some people are very much troubled, because the appointment of Judge Loring to the post of Chief Justice of the Court of Claims is in effect such a

f hostility are thus to be aggravated between the any conceivable subject, but the labor is State (we say nothing of its present rulers) will un-doubtedly feel the highest gratification at this hap-Secondly, (and this is the most important point) His vote was 60,958—the combined opposition, 69,—litical evil. It is in its last phase, alone, that its 898. The State, we say, will rejoice at this appointment. Then, of those who took an active part in pressing the removal, we have never heard the that the discussion of moral evils and social evils. number estimated higher than eight thousand peti- forms the legitimate province of the organization. tioners, led on by Garrison and the negro ex-law-yer, Bradley. We never analyzed the petitions; cally, to have this distinction made and established but the examization of the names upon one from the at the instance of the slaveholding interest. They town of Weymouth, furnished to the Courier of have suppressed the publication of a tract, approved March 17th, by an 'Old Farmer,' developed the manner in which even such a show of numbers was contrived for exhibition. In that town there are ters of high repute, respecting the duties of masters 1640 voters; upon the petition were 800 signatures; towards their slaves. If the slaveholders can afford the state of these 1910 only. our correspondent showed, that of these, 191 only were voters; that there were boys, 195; and 'females and children from the cradle upwards,' 414; —making in all, the round number of 800. Such is the public sentiment of Massachusetts, ridden as she showed as the public sentiment of Massachusetts, ridden as she showed as the public sentiment of Massachusetts, ridden as she shades, we need not refuse to admit the testimony; has been of late by charlatans and political quacks, and when they justify the suppression on the ground whom we have a most abiding confidence she will that slavery is a question of politics and not of morhard headlong from her sore and overburthened back, the coming fall. Such is the likelihood that this act of the President will tend to aggravate any (like ourselves) are determined to oppose all legislaunpleasant feelings between the State tion. In our opinion, the President could have sien of slavery. Nobody can object to the discus-done few things better suited to foster the right sion of a question of true politics in Congress: that sort of kind and generous feelings between poor, is, in fact, the proper place for its discussion.

abused and cheated Massachusetts and our noble us then accept this issue, and acting upon this

Aside from the question of legal fitness, which should always be the first consideration with the appointing power, the position occupied by Judge Loring pointed him out as a proper man for Executive favor. For the faithful and fearless discharge only in Massachusetts, but throughout the country. Their object of removing him from the office of Judge of Probate having been consummated, it was proper that the President should confer upon him the place now tendered. He will doubtless be confirmed by the Senate .- N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

NEW CHAMPION OF WOMAN'S BIGHTS. The cause of 'woman's rights' is not likely to

suffer for want of champions, of whom the newest is Mr. 'Potiphar Curtis,' author of several pleasant books of travel, sometime editor of 'Putnam's (de-ceased) Monthly, and, more recently, general essay-ist for 'Harper's Weekly 'newspaper. Mr. Curtis made his debut on the woman's platform in a recent lecture before the Shirt Sower's Union of New York, lecture before the Shirt Sewer's Union of New York, and came out very strong indeed against female sufferings, and in favor of female suffrage; and, judging by the newspaper reports of his oration, handled the subject with as much ability as Lucy Stone, or any of the 'old stagers' of the other sex, though, to be sure, they have the advantage of having used all his arguments long before he entered the field. Curtis, however, has the counter advantage of being the purpose of the meeting.—N. Y. Jour. Com.

ASSASSINATION AND THE ABOLITIONISTS.

It was characteristic of William Lloyd Garrison pleased the audience, but we caution the lecturer not to infer too hastily that he is henceforth to men who take part in those conventions get snub-bed by the garrulous and despotic female debaters. Every man who would give them a good word, but refuses to bestride their hobby in their own fashion, is put down by the Amazons as being no better than a fool or a hypocrite. Emerson once consented, at their urgent request, to give them an essay before a Boston assembly, which he did in his best manner; but one half of his discourse being above their appre-hension, and the other half not in accordance with cut down, cut off, destroy, kill; what a whole people can do, any one of their number can do; and, therefore, any one can cut off by assassination or otherwise, the despot of France!

hension, and the other half not in accordance with the dogmas of their sisterhood, they called him an ass, and have given him more curses than caresess ever since. Horace Mann attempted a similar service, but happening to advance some Scriptural vice, but happening to advance some Scriptural views in the course of his very elegant and eloquent lecture, they voted him a heretic and a bore. He immediately out the several transfer and a bore. immediately cut the acquaintance of all strong-mind-ed ladies, and resolved for the remainder of his life to follow the example of the fellow in the play, and 'meddle with no women's matters.' (Will Mr. Curtis fare better than his illustrious predecessors?) Emerson gave them fine sentiments and philosophy and in the most earnest, emphatic and indignant manner, spoke as follows:

'I protest that the balls that have been brought by
Giorgi to Brussels are not the Birmingham balls. I
could have brought evidence into court that would
have cleared me, but I did not, because I would not
compromise others. I am not a hirer of assassins, for
Rudio declared, on his trial at Paris, that he had himself asked to go to Orsini. I have conspired, and I kudio declared, on his trial at l'aris, that he had himself asked to go to Orsini. I have conspired, and I
always will conspire—it was my duty—it has always
been my duty, to crush despotism everywhere. I had
nothing to do with it more than anybody here—we
crush despotism, but never, never will I be a murderer.'

guments than the loose logic which its lady partiwhich, in its main features, allows of no better arguments than the loose logic which its lady partisans, with singular perversity, permit no man either to advance or gainsay.—Boston Post.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY. We do not think it is at all worth while to atdecisive rebuke to our own Executive. What of it? tempt to persuade or force the management of the We know of no public act more deserving of rebuke. Tract Society into the publication of tracts relating We know of no public act more deserving of rebuke than that piece of enormous wrong, against which we so often and so carnestly protested, and which excited all but universal indignation throughout the country. We congratulate Judge Loring heartily on the appointment, and the country upon securing the services of a person so deserving and so admirably qualified to fill the place. In this instance, the common reproach of the ingratitude of republics does not apply. Displaced by their inveterate hostility to the law which Judge Loring faithfully administered, his opponents, while in power, would have disregarded complaints, as they refused to listen to remonstrance and reason. But elevated, as it was the duty and privilege of the President to raise him, to a better place, he is a living rebuke to his vindictive pursuers and their instruments.

Of equal weight is the objection, that sentiments of hostility are thus to be aggravated between the levated the Livited States because the President to any conceivable subject, but the labor is useless unany conceivable subject. State and the United States, because the President, less somebody will read them. The gentlemen who forsooths exercising his rightful discretion and contracts on slavery, fail to show the public how those federal office a gentleman whom Gov. Banks chose tracts on slavery, fail to show the public how those tracts can be circulated among she persons whom to remove from one held under the authority of the State. This is mere schoolboy's talk. Besides, the

py selection. Nobody will pretend that any are to be displeased but such as voted for Gov. Banks—and we know multitudes even of those, who uttered curses both loud and deep against him, for the flagrant injustice of the removal of Judge Loring. Now slavery possesses a threefold character; we re-But the majority of the people did not vote for him. gard it as a moral evil, as a social evil, and as a po-

and the na- tion and constitution-making in favor of the exten-Union, than by thus rescuing a worthy citizen of is, we believe that more may be accomplished in both from the jaws of his vindictive pursuers, and the spread of slavery, rendering him and his State retributive justice,—rebuke whomsoever it will.—Boston Courier.

Acids from the constitution of level fitness, which

## NO MORE SUBMISSION.

We are fully aware this is a government of com-promises, and, like the relation of husband and of official duty, in the face of a powerful and threatening opposition, and of personal violence, he has
been for several years the object of all the malice
and spite which could be showered upon his head
by a band of fanatics, lately sustained and abetted
midst! We must either fight or submit, until with by almost the whole the Republican party, not one fell swoop the rights of Southern freemen are struck from the Constitution of American Lib We love the Union; we have been taught to re

vere it; the stars and stripes, as they have waved in breezes of victory and triumph, held up by the Con-stitution, have ever filled our heart with feelings of enthusiastic pride; yet, if that mighty prop is to be taken out—if Southern equality, guaranteed to us by the 'Magna Charta' of American liberty, is denied—then we say, away, away with this Union of Inequality! If the fatal step is taken by our Northern brethren, let us stand like a band of brothers, ready to defend our wives, our children, and our country. For the last time, we would them to pause where they are, and retrace their steps, and not force the conservative and Union-loving men of the South to a position which they shudder to take, but, taken, will defend to the last extremity.—Dadwille [Ala.] Banner.

The Richmond South and other radical Southern papers having protested against the hospitalities recently extended by the Southern people to Mr. Everett, on the score of his being an abolitionist, and of his placing his signature to a complimentary testimonial to Charles Sumner, Mr. Richard Yeadon, editor of the Charleston Courier the contle don, editor of the Charleston Courier, the gentle-man who recently welcomed Mr. Everett to that city, defends the proprietly of the courtesies shown to Mr. Everett, by the following explanations:

Shortly after the chastisement of the dastardly in bed, and under the confusing influence of an article is republished below.

anodyne, and he was asked to subscribe to the testiton and others to the paper, and not supposing that it contained aught of a violent or offensive charac- were first published, should be informed of an error Seeing the signature of the Mayor of Bosexplaining and regretting the untoward occurrence, and disavowing the sentiments contained in the pa-per. Here the matter rested, without further ex-planation, until our visit to Boston last autumn, to restore the remains of the gifted Legare to his

then absent from Boston. We subsequently called on, and had a deeply interesting interview, however, with a distinguished and bosom friend of Mr. E., in whose house and whose arms the lamented Legare breathed his last, and, in the course of conversation, we chanced to mention our disappointment at Mr. E.'s absence,

The foregoing explanation is now given, when its motive cannot be suspected, and that motive is simply to tell truth and do justice to an eminent simply to tell truth and do justice to an eminent Massachusetts, recently denied, in public debate, the strictic citizen: and we deem it due to Mr. E. to add that, although the facts of the explanation tive, without his privity or consent.

We trust that the censure, unjustly incurred by invitation and reception here, will prove our apology to our illustrious friend for doing him the justice of the foregoing explanation.

We may, perhaps, take another opportunity to answer certain unfounded charges against Mr. Ev-erett, accusing him of abolitionism, Freemontism, and free soilism of the Sumner school. For the present, however, we content ourselves with saying that we know him to hold the institution of slaver to be a legal one, entitled to the protection of the Constitution, and to be neither sinful in itself, nor anti-Scriptural; to have been a conservative and old line Fillmore Whig in the last contest for the Presiency; and that, although like most other men, born and bred in non-slaveholding countries, he is no advocate or propagandist of slavery, yet for his expressed and still entertained opinions, he has been, expressed and still entertained opinions, he has been, and still is denounced and vituperated as a pro-slavery man by the abolitionists of Boston and Massachusetts. They will never forgive a man and a statesman who declared in Congress, as the Representative from Boston, that ' there was no cause in which he would sooner buckle a knapsack on his back and place a musket on his shoulder than to put down a servile insurrection in the South.'

The speech of Mr. Everett in which the foregoing mphatic declaration was made, was his maiden peech in the House of Representatives delivered

a notice of their having been received to go upon their journals. In returning them to their original source, Gov. Wickliffe addresses the following latter o the Governor of Maine :

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, BATON ROUGE, La., April 17. To His Excellency the Governor of Maine :

, Sir : The resolutions adopted by the Legislature of the State of Maine on the 15th of April, 1857, and by you forwarded to me, have at your request been laid before the Senate of Louisiana, and due onsideration having been had thereon, I have been

land, and ranks obedience thereto as among the most solemn of the obligations which she has as-sumed upon herself as a member of the Confederacy.

week's Liberator, that an Orthodox elergyman in Cummington has recently denied the facts stated in No. 19 of the Anti-Slavery Society's series of tracts, respecting the attempt made by the Senior Secretary of the Summer, in the Senate Chamber, by the impetuous Bible Society, in its official monthly publication, to Brooks, sundry citizens of Boston determined to get turn the influence of that institution to the support up a subscription for a testimonial to the caned ca- of slavery. In consequence of a similar denial, made up a suscription for a testimonial to the canca ca-lumniator, by the way of consoling him, we sup-pose, in his crest-fallen condition and most pitiable plight; and a prefatory address was attached to it. With numerous, or at least several signatures al-ready appended, it was brought by one of the signers to Mr. Everett, at a time when he was sick is had and under the confusion of all signatures of any signature.

ter, Mr. Everett signed without reading it, and in the entire ignorance of, if not actually misled, as to its contents. On seeing the paper in print, he was greatly pained, mortified and chagrined at perceiving the intemperate and vulger slang to which his name had been unconsciously attached, and he soon after addressed a letter to a friend in Charleston, even larger and regretting the antiward converges. Important Document. The Secretary had evidently made a mistake in quoting from memory.

I will merely add, that no explanation has yet been made in reply to the question with which the subjoined article closes, nor is any to be expected. Inmother soil, when we called at Mr. Everett's resi-dence, as well with a view to the delivery of his dividuals, entirely unauthorized to speak for the Sooration on Washington, in this city, as to the object clety, will continue in private to deny the allegations of our mission, but we failed to see him, as he was made below, until they are put to silence by the evidence there produced. But the Secretaries and the Society remain silent. They have no idea of grieving the righteous souls of their ten Vice-Presidents from slaveholding States, (all of whom are, ex officio, members of the Board of Managers,) and of their one hundred and thirty Life Directors from slaveholding especially in reference to a renewed invitation to him to visit Charleston, and also alluded to the explanation, given above, of Mr. E.'s signature of a paper so offensive to South Carolina, which our distinguished host fully confirmed, adding, substantially, 'Sir, I can tell you what is much more to the purpose; not only did my friend, Mr. E., sign the paper stated and threy fine phetotral mundred and threy fine phetotral mu per, under the circumstances stated by you, but he went much further. He made it a point to express Until they are driven to speak by some such urgent his discontent to the gentleman who had procured his signature to the document, and addressed a latd a let- persuasions as have recently been applied to their behis signature to the document, and addressed a letter to Mr. Summer himself, disavowing the sentilioned brethren of the Tract Society, we shall hear no ments contained in the exceptionable document to official reply to these charges. But, at present, whowhich his (Mr. E.'s) seeming sanction had been unconsciously given.' We add further, that the proposed testimonial proved a failure, and the same has never been presented or purchased.

slevery.—c. x. w.

truth of the following statement, made on page six to add that, although the facts of the explanation are confirmed by Mr. E. himself, their publication is unauthorized by him, and made of our own motive, without his privity or consent.

'Relations of Anti-Slavery to Religion':—

The American Bible Society, a great incorporated ourselves, and the vindictive assaults made on us for body, supported by and fairly representing all the the prominent part we have borne in Mr. Everett's sects which call themselves Ecangelical, has circulating and reception here, will prove our apology sentation of the Bible as a pro-slavery book, charac terizing the representation ('Bible Society Record,' November, 1854, and April, 1855.) as an 'IMPORTANT DOCUMENT,' and an ' EXCELLENT ADDRESS."

Since much of the evidence contained in the tract above-mentioned was condensed, by the desirableness of brevity, into the shortest space, we take this opportunity to state the full evidence in the case alluded to, for the benefit of the many who, in con-

are met by unscrupulous denials.

The 'Bible Society Record,' published monthly in New York, is the official journal of the American Bible Society, and anyof its numbers can be obtained at the Society and anyof its numbers can be obtained at the Society and anyof its numbers can be obtained at the Society and anyof its numbers can be obtained.

ed at the Society's Depository in this city.

The number for November, 1854, contains extracts (editorially headed 'IMPORTANT DOCUMENT,') from an address delivered before the Abbeville Bible Society, at its anniversary, July, 1854, by Robert A. Fair, Esq., Abbeville, South Carolina, on the fol-lowing topic: Our slaves should have the Bible.' One of the purposes of this address is to assert for the Bible a pro-slavery character and tendency: and among its statements to this effect, in the portion republished and endorsed by the Bible Society as an IMPORTANT DOCUMENT,' are the following : -

'The fear to put the Bible into the hands of the speech in the House of Representatives delivered March 9, 1826, in reply to the resolutions introduced by Mr. McDuffie to change the manner of electing Presidential electors.'

THE MAINE RESOLUTIONS.

At the late session of the Louisiana Legislature, Gov. Wickliffe sent into the Senate a series of insulting resolutions, which had been forwarded by the Governor of Maine as the sense of the Legislature of that State on the subject of Slavery. The Senate voke legislation, and use the strong arm of the law.

of that State on the subject of Slavery. The Senate voke legislation, and use the strong arm of the law, refused to take any notice of them, or even to allow to wrest it from their own slaves, members of their own family, nurses of their own children.

Does the feature of slavery justify the distinction

Does the feature of slavery justify the distinction made, or destroy the palpable antagonism in the reasoning? If the teachings of Holy Writ were at war with the institution of slavery, and we were struggling to maintain it in opposition to those teachings, . WE MIGHT BE DISPOSED TO VIELD THE FORT. But how stands the case? Why, that the teachings of the Bible are not only not unfriendly to the institution of slavery, but that it is in them the institution is most amply recognized: it is upon them that we is most amply recognized; it is upon them that we triumphantly rest its defence.

Further on, the author of this Address represents requested by that body to return them to you.

Louisiana recognizes the Constitution of the United States, as expounded by the highest judicial stability of the institution beyond the possibility of

## Again, he says-

most solemn of the obligations which she has assumed upon herself as a member of the Confederacy. These resolutions are essentially aggressive and revolutionary in their tendency and aim, and seek the subversion of a compact which Louisiana has plighted her faith to support. Addressed, as they are, to her, she cannot therefore but regard them as solicitations to treasonable disloyalty on her part, and as such, she not only deems herself justified in repelling them, but feels that her honor would be deeply wounded, were she to give them of place in her archives.

With due consideration,

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT C. WICKLIFFE.

—Baton Rouge Addocate, 21st.

Again, he says—

There is a prevailing ignorance upon the subject of alswery, on the part of both master and servant, by an example in the part of both master and servant, by an example of alswery, on the part of both master and servant, by we would not be startled at the announcement of the fact, that two-thirds of the slave population did not know or believe that the subject of slavery, or their condition, was over alluded to in the Bible; that two thirds of them are in utter ignorance of the authority by which we essay to hold them in bondage, or demand at their hands obedience and service. To such, how galling is the yoke, how bitter the bondage! Nor would we be startled by the announcement of the fact, that two-thirds of the slave population did not know or believe that the subject of slavery, or their condition.

We would not be startled at the announcement of the fact, that two-thirds of them are in utter ignorance of the subject of slavery, or their condition.

We would not be startled at the announcement of the fact, that two-thirds of the slave population.

We would not be startled at the announcement of the fact, that two-thirds of the slavery, or their condition.

We would not be startled at the announcement of the fact, that two-thirds of the slavery, or their condition.

We would not be startled at the announcement of the fact, that two-thi

Now, the whole of this villanous representation, first, that the Bible sustains slavery, and next, that its circulation among the slaves is desirable for the

its circulation among the slaves is desirable for the very purpose of fortifying slavery, promoting its stability, and making it perfectly impregnable, is fully endorsed by the American Bible Society, by their publication of it in their official organ as an 'important document.' But this is not all. In the Bible Society Record for April, 1855, appears a letter from the Senior Secretary (Rev. J. C. Brigham) to his colleagues, dated 'St. Augustine, Florida, Feb. 28th, 1855,' in which occurs the following passage: lowing passage :-

'This subject of furnishing the Bible to slaves is one of vast importance, and will, I trust, receive more of the attention of our Southern auxiliaries than here-tofore. I find that the EXCELLENT ADDRESS recently delivered in South Carolina on this subject, and re-printed in part in our Record, has been widely read, and so far as I have learned, meets the approval of the Christian community."

Thus this second endorsement by the Bible Socie y of a pro-slavery address, (representing the Bible as a pro-slavery book, and urging its circulation for the purpose of fortifying slavery,) vouches for it not merely as important, but as EXCELLENT.

Now let us glance at the position previously held by the American Bible Society towards the American

Twenty-seven years ago, on motion of Rev. Dr. Milnor, seconded by Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, it was 'Resolved, That this Society, with humble reliance on Divine aid, will endeavor to supply all the desti-tute families in the United States with the Holy

Scriptures, that may be willing to purchase or receive them, within the space of two years.'

An official publication of the Bible Society, recently issued, states the result of that resolution as follows:—'By the blessing of God, in the course of that time, every accessible family in the more settled portions of our country was visited and supplied with the Bible.' And the agents of the Society, in this country and abroad, reported, entirely without with the Bible.' And the agents of the Society, in this country and abroad, reported, entirely without qualification, the gratifying intelligence, that every family in the United States had now been supplied with the Bible. This intelligence was received with peculiar satisfaction by British Christians. But they afterwards learned that the slave population had been entirely neglected in this distribution.

had been entirely neglected in this distribution.

Twenty-two years ago, at an Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York city, May 6th, 1834, it was voted to offer five thousand dollars to the American Bible Society, on condition that they would supply every colored family in the United States with a Bible. A committee of eight persons, Rev. Cyrus P. Grosvenor Chairman,

was appointed to make this offer, and made it the same day, and the Bible Society declined to accept it.

At the Annual Meeting of the succeeding year, May 12th, 1835, the following preamble and resolution, renewing the offer, were passed:— Whereas, the American Bible Society regards it-

self as unable directly to offer the Holy Scriptures to our enslaved brethren; therefore, Resolved, That we earnestly entreat that Society to request its auxiliaries to see to it that every colored family in the United States be furnished with a copy

of the Bible, and renewedly extend to that institution the offer of five thousand dollars towards the effort." A committee of seven persons, Lewis Tappan chairman, was appointed to communicate this offer. They did so, and the Bible Society again declined to

A letter in the Wilmington (N. C.) Press (dated Oct. 7th, 1835, and signed Th. P. Hunt) states exultingly in relation to this offer, 'The Society resolved to have nothing to do with it.' And, in reference to a report that they had accepted it, Mr. Hunt says—'The Bible Society published, some time since, a denial of the report, in Duff Green's

This, then, appears to be the history of the Bible Society's relation to the slaves :—
1. They utterly neglected and ignored their destitution of the Scriptures, both as families and indi-

2. When requested from without, by persons desirous of promoting the interests of the slaves, to supply the slaves equally with others, being at the same time offered five thousand dollars towards the expense of the undertaking, they utterly refused, and afterwards took pains to repel the rumored im-

and afterwards took pains to repel the rumored imputation of having consented.

3. When they found a proposition for such distribution originating among slaveholders, published for the very purpose of securing their domination as slaveholders, and recommended as the most thorough means of keeping the slaves in permanent subjection—without any special request or offer of funds, they echo the proposition, republish it with its array of pro-slavery arguments in their official organ, and characterize it as an important pocument and an haracterize it as an IMPORTANT DOCUMENT and an EXCELLENT ADDRESS, and as meeting the approval of

EXCELLENT ADDRESS, and as meeting the approval of the Christian community.

Now, will any friend of the Bible Society tell us why, after having first neglected and then refused to distribute Bibles among the slaves for the bearing of the slaves, they favor and recommend such distribution when it is desired for the bearing of the kasters, and assumed to be favorable to the ferrestruity of their power as slaveholders? Does the Rev. Senior Secretary (J. C. Brigham, D. D.) and do the Hon, and Rev. Managers of the Bible Society really prefer that slavery should be fortified and perpetuated? We pause for a reply.—C. K. W.

### perpetuated? We pause for a reply.-c. K. W. From the New Bedford Republican Standard. INDIGNATION SPREADING.

The tremendous wave of public indignation which the removal of Judge Loring excited in Massachusetts has spread towards the South, and is, we suppose, still moving onward. In Boston it threatened an indignation meeting in the Cradle of Liberty, which should utterly overwhelm our unfortunate Governor, and the abolitionists at whose dictation he made so fatal an attack on the independence of the Judiciary. But it passed on without bringing about any such catastrophe. In Washington, it bore upon its crest the promise of a fat office which should console the immaculate Judge for his losses in the discharge of his duty. But neither have these expectations been gratified. Moving still further South, the last we hear of it is in the Old Dominion, through the Richmond South, a correspondent of which suggests:

ondent of which suggests:

'That the Legislatures of all the Southern States pass resolutions sustaining the course of Judge Loring, and expressing their contempt of the miserable vengeance taken by the Legislature of the mighty state of Massachusetts; and that a medal be sent to that upright servant of the law, not to reward him for doing his duty, but commemorative of the fact that, to her eternal disgrace, Massachusetts is the first State in this Confederacy whose Legislature, too cowardly to assert its fancied rights against the national government by secession or otherwise, wreaks its vengeance

against the individual aworn to execute the law, and endeavors to set the interest of the man in opposition to his official duty. Let the government also redress the insult, by an attack on the most sensitive point that the people of Massachusetts are known to possess, (perhaps the only sensitive point,) namely, their pockets, and, by a closing of the national factories at Springfield and clsewhere, tear out the vitals of the State in the shape of a portion of her revenue.

By all means, let the resolutions be passed unani mously. The South are adepts at making resolu tions, and they are very cheap too. The State of lost condition, and prepare to return to its duty on their receipt. Next to being banished from South Carolina, as was done to an unfortunate negro, not long since, we can conceive of no more condign and terrible punishment, none more likely to strike terror into our citizens and to bring them upon their knees; than the passage of a series of resolutions expressing the sense of the Southern legislatures as to their conduct.

But, above all let, the medals be executed. They

constitute the most faithful and imperishable historie records. They perpetuate the memory of events when tradition and written records have perished. when tradition and written records have perished.

If each State should execute one, representing a different scene in the great drama of the Burns' rendifferent scene in the great drama of the Burns' rendifferent scene in the great drama of the Burns' rendifferent scene in the great drama of the Burns' rendifferent scene in the great drama of the Burns' rendifferent scene in the great drama of the Burns' rendifference in the great drama of the gr

ferent scene in the great drama of the Burns' rendition, a complete account of that event would be
preserved for transmission to posterity. That of
Virginia, for instance, might bear on one side the
portrait of Judge Loring, with the inscription,

'Conservatori institutionum respublica grata.' On
the other might be represented the trial scene in the
Court House, with the legend, 'A. Burns, redditus.
June 2, A. D. 1854. E. G. Loring, judice.' So
on different medals of the series could be represented
the arrest, the Court House in chains, and a Massachusetts Judge stooping under them, the trial. the arrest, the Court House in chains, and a Massa-chusetts Judge stooping under them, the trial, Loring recommending Mr. Phillips not to put fur-ther obstacles in the way of the fugitive's going back, Loring drawing a bill of sale of the fugitive, the cannon in Court House Square, the fugitive marching through files of soldlers to the wharf, the embarkation, with other incidents of the event, and finally, Judge Loring receiving from the sheriff the announcement of his removal, with the inscription, Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.' These medals, with the resolutions of the Legislatures en-graved on parchment, would be an invaluable testigraved on parchment, would be an invaluable testimonial to the Ex-Probate Judge, a soothing balm for all his wounds, and would doubtless be mention-ed in his will, and bequeathed as a rich legacy unto

But there is another portion of the Southern population whose sentiments on this subject we have not seen expressed in any Southern paper. We refe to the class called slaves. Although the public journals are silent on the subject, it is not to be inferred that they are insensible to the iniquity of Judge Loring's removal. On the contrary, we learn from private sources that their indignation is hardly surpassed by that of the whites. They contend that while they have a personal right to run away, they have also a constitutional right to be sent back. In accordance with the Dred Scott decision, that they have no rights which white men are bound to respect, their masters use every precaution to prevent their exercising the first right, while the abolitionists throw every obstacle in the way of their enjoying the second. So great has their devotion to the Constitution and laws become, under the excellent moral and religious instruction they enjoy, that they tremble at the danger to which they are exposed by the removal of Judge Loring. In what manner their feelings will be expressed is not yet determined, but we have no doubt that they will contribute some testimonial to express their sense of the inflexibility, impartiality and gentleness with which he has per-formed a painful Constitutional duty. Probably there will be a largely increased number of fugitives to Boston, attracted thither by the desire of being sent back by the martyr Commissioner.
We await with anxiety the successive arrival of

the undulations of this great wave of indignation at Charleston, Mobile and New Orleans. Gathering strength as it goes, it is difficult to tell what height it may arrive at. But we are prepared to meet the result.

### Fron the National Anti-Slavery Standard. TWENTY-FIFTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLA-VERY FESTIVAL.

We know not when we have experienced a stronger sentiment of satisfaction about any minor matter not involving a principle, in the Anti-Slavery cause than we felt to-day on receiving the manifesto of the women of New England, respecting their Twenty-fifth Anniversary.

These are the women who have helped us, through

so many difficult and dangerous years, to keep a flag flying over the thin host, in token of embodied exce, as the point of union to the Abolitionists : the sign of hope to the slaves; the standard of our principles; the symbol of our tolerance; the proof of our good faith; our medium of communication with each other; our means of bringing battled power to bear upon the nation for the removal of slavery from its policy, and of securing the sympathy of the nations for our cause, as th conflict goes on.

This change in the financial method of person

This change in the linancial method of persons who have so long kept guard and garrison will not fail to send a feeling of cheer to the very extremities of our Anti-Slavery body, through the inferences drawn from it by the New England people and the

country at large.

It is a most encouraging symptom for the slave that the pro-slavery world is so very sensitive to the movements of Abolitionists. It has seen so many unexpected and astonishing effects of moral power that, as before the city detended by Archimedes, it cannot see two sticks put across over the wall with-out anxions speculation. It feels how strong rin CAUSE must be in the hearts of the people, when its very financiers think it the only thing now worth the name of policy, to waive the certainty of \$3,000 to \$5,000 per annum for the sake of a certainty that makes these and any sums shrink into insignifi-

The growing sympathy must have a larger vent. The increased devotedness must have a larger type of its great object. The new troops of volunteers must have a grander field. The visible symbol must be more ennobling. Now must be presented, not the little instruments, but the object itself. The men of this twenty-five years do not need to be shown 'the sacred beauty of the good old Cause,' as though a glass, darkly, lest they should lose their tempers, and try to trample it down. They can see it face to face, and live the better for it.

We have often thought with warmest gratitude of the condescension of the venerated and beloved European friends of the cause to the necessities of our here in the United States. To them, as they could not fail to notice the disproportion between the little instrumentalities and the august cause— between the slender means and the gigantic under-taking—the Abolitionists must have often seemed short-sighted and narrow-minded, incapable, illshort-sighted and narrow-minded, incapable, ill-judging and routinier. But they may be assured that this is the first moment that it has been practicable to do otherwise than has been done, or to follow ether methods than those pursued. All this first twenty-five years has been a struggle for foutbald. Name till now have we been a masters of foothold. Never till now have we been ' masters of the situation.'

We have neither interest nor policy in seeming stronger than we are. We are 'without conceal-ment' as well as 'without compromise'; and we now say openly to our friends abroad what the Ame-rican world of the European high-roads, of the diplomatic dinners, of the partisan press, will try to conceal from them a little longer—that the cause has now arrived at vantage fround for gaining the

Would, for the cause's sake, the time were come when we might say to those next friends, whom, for mere distinction's sake, we call foreign-

No, my fair Cousin! no more help from England! Rather proclaim it, Westmoreland, through our host, That he who hath no stomach for this fight, Let him depart! His passport shall be made, And crowns for convoy put into his purse!

But the time is not yet. Still, in all lands there But the time is not yet. Still, in all lands there are, doubtless, many spots where the credulity to be disabused, the hostility to be overcome, the ignorance to be enlightened, the indifference to be averted, may be best encountered by precisely the same methods as at first; and still we must everywhere, as heretofore, owe to our friends in Europe the indispensable ounce-weight of direct help that, in every emergency of achievement for mankind, turns the doubtful scale in moments when the strong will, outsigns the present means to secure the present outgoing the present means to secure the prese advantage, has dared to draw on the great univers heart in behalf of futurity. And still, as hereto-fore, we think it no shame to receive aid of hearts to whom we owe so much-hearts to whom native

land, however dear, is but the best loved province of

their great country, the world. But we must not, at this me even in thought, the present rule of action, by pre-senting the cause as the world's business. Time for that hereafter.

for that hereafter.

Our present purpose merely is to refer our readers to the invitation of the ladies, in another column, and to congratulate them, and the cause, and the friends of the cause everywhere, that the change in these arrangements, opening as it does, so great and effectual a door for every form of co-operation, Southern as well as Northern, European as well as American, in the country equally as in the cities, social as well as financial, by correspondence as well as by presence, is so completely and fitly made, conformably to the exigencies of a new quarter of a century.

century.

It is, in this world of caprice and change, nothing short of a sublime train of thought that suggests itself as one's eye runs over the list of names appended to this manifesto, and observes how many of them, who have cast in their youth among the treasure with exultation, are now—as they make us feel—casting in their second quarter of a century

with a still profounder joy.

We tender to them our congratulations; for thus it is that the race of man takes a guaranty of life,

that its days of age shall be "No dark days, fading from their prime" for the last days must needs be the best days-found in the way of rightcoursess.

NEW YORK CONFERENCE ON SLAVERY. The New York East M. E. Conference, now in session in New York city, resumed on Friday the discussion of the Report of the Committee on Sla-

very.

The report was opposed by Dr. Perry, Rev. Mr. Merwin, Dr. Kennedy, Rev. George R. Crooks, and Dr. Baugs, and advocated by Rev. Mr. Hubbell, Rev. Mr. Stutley, late of Boston, Dr. Curry, and Rev. Mr. Hatfield.

Dr. Perry declared that the passage of the Resolutions would result in the division of the Church, and said he would go to the Baltimore or Philadelshie Conference.

phia Conference. At length, Dr. Bangs said he thought the ques

tion had been discussed long enough, and he called for an immediate vote.

The vote was taken on Dr. Bangs' substitute for the second resolution as reported by the Committee. The substitute was voted down by a vote of 51 to

A vote was then taken on the original second res olution, when it was adopted on a division. The third and fourth resolutions reported by the Committee were then voted on singly, and all of them

were adopted by the Conference.

A vote was then taken on all the resolutions reported by the Committee, in the aggregate, when all were adopted as follows:

THE SLAVERY RESOLUTIONS AS ADOPTED BY THE CON-PERENCE.

Resolved, That we affirm the language of our discipline as it was in 1784, in declaring that the practice of holding our fellow-citizens in slavery is contrary to the golden rule of God, and contrary to the rights of mankind as well as the principles of the American Revolution, and we therefore does it our most bounden duty to take immediately some effectual action to extirpate this abomination from us.

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

pulpit.

Resolved, That while we oppose slavery as citizens, and give our sympathy to those who in the State are maintaining the cause of freedom against the slave power, we are specially the opponents of oppression and sin, and the supporters of emanci-pation as the requirements of righteousness; and we would therefore remember that our anti-slaveryism should be deeply imbued with the spirit of the holy gospel; that it should wisely consult the honor and unity of our Church, in the full faith that the highest proof will be attained through the legitimate insirumentalities of her established institu-

Resolved, That we offer our unfeigned thanks to Almighty God, and tender our cordial congratula-tions to the friends of humanity, for the rapid extension of the principles of justice and freedom during the past year, as well as for the cheering pros-pects of the extension of free institutions in our country; and we cherish the anticipation that with proper effort in maintaining and diffusing light and truth on the subject, all misunderstanding and division will disappear; our church will unite as with the heart of one man upon the ancient Wesleyan platform; and as in the great English emancipation struggle, Methodism will be unanimous and enerretic in the cause of freedom.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS IN RUSSIA.

A letter from St. Petersburg, dated March 21st, in Le Nord, gives the following interesting informa-

The committee for the government of Nijni-Novgorod, charged to investigate and prepare plans for the emancipation of the serfs, held its first sitting on the 3d inst., that being the anniversary of Alex-ander II's accession to the throne. General Mouravieff, the military governor of the province, made a remarkable speech, from which we make the following extract :

Gentlemen, imbue yourselves with the spirit of your mission. He who holds in His hand the hearts of kings has called you to accomplish a mighty work, to give freedom to those who do not pose

it. And if such be your mission, think on the greatness of the part that Providence has assigned Be not unworthy of it; do not prefer your own material interests to the welfare of these millions of human beings whom their lot has made dependent upon you. Moral interests take of material ones, and you ought to prove t by your acts. I said moral interests : yes, gentlemen, the solution of the question now occupying us will assuredly raise us to a higher degree of moral action; and it will enhance the lustre and exalt the moral dignity of the class called to fulfil this work with a self-denial based on the conscientiousness of human rights.

ness of human rights.

Amongst the people whose material existence we have to secure, there is many an individual who, content with his present position, desires no other. Glory and honor to the owners of such individuals! But their happiness is merely fortuitous. Now, party half-way, and to give up something which the gentlemen, you are called to substitute certainty for interests of vital godliness and sound morality im chance, and remove from the administration which peratively call upon him to claim, and pertinactously relates to an entire class of persons, everything of an arbitrary character. But success will not be obtained in this, so long as we continue to see in man a mere productive power similar to that of animals in general; we shall only obtain success by resuscitating, or rather by restoring, the human dignity which has been stifled, and by invoking the assistance of free labor. It will be only then that an intelligent and equitable appeal, unaccompanied by any arbitrary requirement, will reawaken the living strength of the nation, and will infuse life into what

now appears to us to be dead. Do not separate, then, from your material calculations, the respect due to the rights of man, and you will justify the confidence of the sovereign of the nation. I may say more—you will deserve the admiration of the whole world, whose eyes are fixed on you at this moment. Your work will win for you the blessings of the Omnipotent and those of merce shows how even the ideas of morals and man-collective humanity, whilst history will rank you ners, and the very language, of those who are in alliamong the promoters of justice, among those who love their neighbors, and will name you as the

founders of your country's prosperity.

A Moscow correspondent of Le Nord says that A Moscow correspondent of Le Nord says that an important ukase has been signed, the effect of which is to preclude landed proprietors henceforth from converting their peasants into domestic serfs, whilst they are still to be empowered as heretofore, to convert their domestic seris into peasants. The government will thus follow up its idea of transorm-

ing the peasant serfs into peasant proprietors.

The emancipation of the numerous class of serfs attached, not to the glebe, but to the person of a master, is attended with great difficulties, and to this day neithern government or nobility have come to any decision on the subject. The government, by the decrees referred to, has at last endeavored to prevent this class of serfs from increasing.

A letter from Moscow states that the government

has applied to the various mortgage banks and credit institutions of the country to obtain statistical returns of all the small estates belonging to the poor-

er class of nobility, and mortgaged to the banks, having from fire to twenty-fire peasant serfs, attached to them. The object proposed is to discover gage these peasants from the small estates, and to establish them upon the crown lands.

THE CZAR'S PROCLAMATION.

The St. Petersburg Gazette publishes an Imperia decree, signed by the Emperor Alexander, establishing in the districts of Kiew, Podelis and Volbyn a preparatory committee for carrying out the ema-cipation of the serfs in those provinces. One of the members of the local nobility is appointed President Facel committee in to consist of two members of each Each committee is to consist of two members of ea district, selected from the landed proprietors des mated by the head of the local administration.

The general committee is to consist of two members of each of the three districts selected by the landed proprietors, an experienced proprietor from each district, and one member appointed by the

each district, and one memoer appointed by the Minister of the Interior.

The Imperial rescript contains the following rules for the emancipation of the seris:

1. The proprietor retains his right of property over the whole soil, but the peasant retains the enclosure of his habitation, of which he becomes owner by redemption within a given time. Moreover, the hand has the condition of the amanity of land necessary. owner by redemption within a given time. Moreover, he has the use of the quantity of land necessary, according to local conditions, to assure his existence, and to provide him with the means of fulfilling his obligations toward the State and his landlord. For the use of this land, the peasant must either pay a rent or work for his landlord.

either pay a rent or work for his landlord.
\*2. The peasants are to be classed into rural districts; the domainal police are under the proprie tor.
3. The relations which are to be established by tween the proprietors and the peasants must be suc as to guarantee the regular payment of the taxes

the State.'
Similar Imperial rescripts have been sent to the authorities of Samara, Simbirsk, and Orenburg.

EMANCIPATION IN RUSSIA. The Zeit of Berli announces that in five more government districts of Russia, namely, Orel, Woronesch, Kursk, Kasan ready to adopt the new arrangement of the rela-tions between master and earl, left open to their choice by the recent ukase of the Emperor Alexenoice by the recent usase of the Emperor Alex-ander. This, together with the six government districts in which the same step has already taken place, shows the movement to have already em-braced the fifth part of those portions of that em-pire in which serfdom is still a legal institution. In fact, dispatches from St. Petersburg say, that nearly the whole of the Russian nobility are now in forces of experience of the series of the series. in favor of emancipating the serfs.

# The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, MAY 14, 1858.

### NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION:

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention will old its twenty-fifth anniversary in Boston, in the MERCANTILE LIBRARY HALL, in Summer street, on WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 25th and 26th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., on each day. With the tide of Anti-Slavery sentiment swelling nigher and stronger in all directions, this anniversary ought to secure a larger and more enthusiastic gathering than has yet been witnessed on a similar occasion. Let all necessary home and business arrangements be seasonably made, so as to insure this most desirable attendance. A determined and united effort must be made, the coming year, to consecrate the soil of New England to freedom in all cases, by making it unlawful to hunt, arrest or try any person on the charge of being a slave or the property of another, before any commissioner, jury, or other tribunal whatsoever This must be the rallying-point until the work be

consummated. There will be no lack of able and eloquent cham pions of the cause at this anniversary. [Particular hereafter.]

In behalf of the Managers of the Massachusett Anti-Slavery Society,

FRANCIS JACKSON, President. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Sec.

# THE 'INDEPENDENT' IN THE TRACT

In an editorial article entitled . What will be done? in the Independent of April 15th, in relation to the (then) approaching meeting of the American Tract Society, we find the following paragraph.

· The acceptance and adoption of the Annual Report is a mere matter of form-a part of the Anniversary exercises. To oppose the adoption of the Report, or even to utter a 'No,' when the question i put to vote, would be an unprecedented disorder in the meeting. It cannot be expected that anybody will be sufficiently audacious to make the attempt."

While we write these words, the members of the Trac Society are assembling for this important business Before they are printed, our readers will have the opportunity of knowing whether the editor of the Independent spoke ironically, or in sad, serious earnest in the above sentence. We counsel all who wish to know how much his professions of love of freedom are worth, to examine the proceedings of the Tract meeting, scrutinize them through all the adjournments, if any such shall be made, and judge by what shall there appear, of these two things.

First, whether the editor of the Independen promptly opposes what ought to be opposed, and demands what ought to be demanded, or whether his action (or inaction) shall prove that he regards more the traditional decorum of the Tract meeting, and the wishes of his pro-slavery 'brethren in Christ,' than the demands of true Christianity and the rights of

Next, whether he agrees to meet the pro-slavery party half-way, and to give up something which the interests of vital godliness and sound morality' imadhere to.

## MINOR IMMORALITIES OF SLAVERY.

While the grosser manifestations of the wicked ness of Slavery are defended, openly, in Church and State, even by people who, like South-side Adams, pretend to preach the Gospel, and by institutions which, like the Tract, Bible, and Foreign Missionary Societies, pretend to diffuse the Gospel, the small minority who oppose that wickedness must assault mainly, the forms of it which are thus defended The following sentence from the Journal of Com ance with slaveholders, become corrupted by such evil communication :--

With respect to Oregon, no objection to her Constitution seems to exist which has any valid force, unless it be to the provision excluding free negroes and as some of the States already in the Union are allowed to exercise THIS RIGHT, common fairness does not seem to allow of the exclusion of an applicant from the Pacific coast on that account.

The right ! forsooth, of excluding free men, charge with no crime, from a democratic State ! The con mon fairness ! of letting white men abuse and insul negroes, at pleasure! Our thanks are due to Hon. Charles Sumne

Hon. Henry Wilson, Hon. A. S. Murray and Hor John P. Hale, for Congressional documents. B. will see that the subject upon which h rote has been anticipated by another communication

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. The twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the America Anti-Slavery Society commenced at Mozart Hall is New York, at 10 o'clock on Tuesday morning.

The Treasurer's report showed that the recthe Society for the year have been \$18,512, to which may be added the receipts of the auxiliary Societies, making in all \$35,967. Expenses, \$32,942.

The Hall was well filled. Amongst the persons on the stage were Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy.

A. J. Davis, Robert Purvis and Charles L. Remond. William L. Garrison, the President, called th meeting to order, and read a selection from the Scrip-tures. Prayer was offered, and after it, Oliver Johnson, Secretary, read a warmly sympathizing letter from Joshua R. Giddings.

Mr. Garrison then read the following series of Resolutions :-

Resolved, That as no man can, in reason better title to be a freeman than any slave at the South so, he who maintains the rectitude of slavery, in any instance, strikes a blow at the freedom of all mankind, and becomes an oppressor on a world-wide

Resolved, That chattel slavery is delineated in its whips and chains, its yokes and thumb-screws, its paddles and branding-irons, its drivers and bloodhounds, its scourgings and mutilations, its bloody persecutions and horrible cruelties, its abrogation of the marriage institution and enforced licentiou atheistic assumptions of power above all that is called God, its devilish nature and accursed aim, its thronging perjuries and shocking blasphemics; and the steady growth and constant expansion of a system so frightful are demonstrative proof, that to this nation most justly applies the description of the prophet Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood-judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off : for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter: and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey.'

Whereas, the slaveholders of the South no longer plead exemption from criticism or condemnation, on the ground that slavery has been unfortunately entailed upon them, that they recognize its evils, that they design its gradual extinction, and only ask a reason able extension of time to enable them to proclaim general act of emancipation; but, instead of this, have holdly thrown off the mask of dissimulation, and now openly declare to the world that their bloody and polluted slave system is never to be abolished, but to be just, humane and Christian, sanctioned by the Bible. and essential to the well-being of society—thus subverting all moral distinctions in the universe, affirming hell to be heaven, the dominion of Satan to be the government of God, and all conceivable crime and wickedness to be the end of the law for righteousness'; therefore,

Resolved, That the day has gone by, (if it ever existed.) here at the North, to frame or to offer any apology in behalf of Southern slaveholders; but, having revealed themselves to be the enemies of freedom universally, merciless and profligate in spirit, desperate and heaven-defying in purpose, and bent on eternizing their terrible oppression, they are to be classed among the most dangerous and depraved of the human race, and treated accordingly.

Resolved, That if Christianity is, in its spirit and aim, hostile to the existence of slavery; then the religion of this country, which gives its sanction and protection to slavery, is not Christianity, but corrupt and apostate.

Resolved. That if Christianity is not inimical slavery, then the millions who are groaning in bondage have nothing to hope, but every thing to fear, from its prevalence; and though the earth should be filled with such a religion, it would still witness the triumph of despotism, and the oppression of the poor

Resolved, That while we believe, and have ever maintained, that between Christianity and slavery there is no more affinity than between Christ and Belial-and while we reject the pro-slavery interpretations of the Bible, by its recognized expounders, as false and wicked-still, the rights of man and the wants of human nature are neither originated by, nor dependant upon, any form of religion or any book; but it will forever remain a 'self-evident truth, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creafor with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the

ursuit of happiness.' Resolved. That we register our testimony against the American Church, the popular religion, and the government of the United States-because by their deliberate consent and active cooperation, four millions of our countrymen are held in the galling chains of bondage, whose emancipation is resisted by them with exceeding obduracy of spirit and malignity of

Whereas, by the 1st section of Article 4th of th Constitution of the United States, it is expressly declared - . The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States' - therefore,

Resolved, That to deny that those who are nativeborn and personally free-whose blood has been freely oured out on every battle-field, from the earliest to the latest conflict in behalf of American liberty and independence-who are eligible to every office in the gift of the people-by whose suffrages, in common with all others entitled to vote, the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the government brought into existence and put in operation, every President elected from George Washington to James Buchanan, and the Constitutions of many of the States ratified - who are found at the polls at every election, whether to vote for President, Governor, Lieutenaut Governor, members of the Legislature, or Representatives to Congress-of whom allegiance and taxation are as strictly exacted as of the white inhabitants, and who their obligations and duties, but have always shown themselves to be animated by the most patriotic feelings-to deny that such are, or can be, citizens of the United States, in accordance with the plain meaning of the Constitution, is to outrage the common sense of mankind, and most wickedly to pervert judgment, that the foundations of freedom may be destroyed For whether is greater-the power which creates the government, or the government which is created by

Resolved, therefore, That the decision of the Su preme Court of the United States, in the Dred Scott ase, ought to be indignantly protested against, and resisted at all hazards, by every State in the Union that has any regard for its sovereignty, or for the safety and liberty of its citizens.

Resolved, That the new traffic in Coolies is essen tially the old traffic in Africans—as unscrupulous in its means and methods, as rapacious in its purposes, as murderous in its results, and as horrible and heartrending in all its aspects, and should subject those engaged in it to equal infamy and punishment; and as both are now in active operation, to the shame of Europe and America, the friends of bleeding humanity throughout Christendom are solemnly summoned renew the conflict with this accursed spirit of gain, and to combine in one common league to extirpate slavery and the slave trade from the earth. Resolved. That, to every true friend of his country

an amazing and most humiliating contrast is presented, on the one hand, in the insane declaration on ral elements,' (!) and that 'its destiny is to exist as Czar to secure the entire abolition of serfdom through- from the work of practical righteousness.

out his vast empire, as an act of justice and human y, and for the honor and regeneration of Russia; ity, and for the he Scriptural prophecy, that 'the first shall be last, and the last first.'

Resolved, That, in the spirit of the command to give 'credit to whom credit' is due, we regard with high satisfaction and great admiration the praiseworthy and philanthropic course adopted by the Emperor of Russia, in this particular; because (in the ords of M. Pauloff) the glory and prosperity of Russis cannot rest upon institutions based on injustice and falsehood'; and because (in the words of M Babst, the eminent Professor of Political Economy at the University of Moscow) 'the wants of a great nation cannot be satisfied with the coarse conditions contrary to all progress, of primitive economy found-ed on compulsory labor—s labor, the limits of which are as restricted as its nature is unproductive,'

Resolved, That the consummation of border ruffia ism and lawless usurpation, in regard to Kansas, has been ignobly achieved by the present iniquitous na-tional administration, in forcing through Congress, by the most corrupt devices, the 'bill of abominations submitted by Mr. English for the admission of tha territory as a State into the Union, on conditions unheard of since the adoption of the Constitution, most insulting and utterly degrading in their nature, mingling bribery, intimidation and proscription, in equa proportion, and therefore to be indignantly spurned by the people of Kansas, at all hazards. Neverthe

Resolved, That 'the vital and most detestable iniquity in this complicated and accumulated monstros ity of wrongs, this series of iniquities and oppression upcoiling and inveterately convolved, is not the thing that has provoked and steadied the opposition' to the Lecompton Constitution, on the part of the Free State men in Kansas, and of their advocates in Congress; this show of bravery has not the honor of a conscientious conflict against sin and injustice; it is not the establishment of slavery that troubles the conscience and stirs up the wrath, but the saddling of slavery upon the people against their will—not the inhuman-ity and sinfulness of the system, but the fraud against popular sovereignty in having the system chosen and appointed for the people, instead of being permitted to choose it or reject it for themselves-and this it i that almost explodes a volcano, almost breaks up a party, almost unsettles an administration, deluges th country with floods of popular eloquence and indigindefinitely extended and vigilantly guarded as right, nation, occupies the Senate and House of Represen atives for nearly six months in the manufacture o speeches, and keeps the whole country in a heat and tumult of pure disinterested patriotism!

Resolved. That the party which concerns itself ex clusively for the rights and interests of whith me and white labor, and refuses to espouse the cause o all such as are appointed to destruction,' without regard to complexional distinctions, is a party destitute of principle, without consistency or moral efficiency, incapable of maintaining an uncompromising attitude and wholly undeserving of respect or confidence .-Hence, the only difference between the Democrati and Republican parties is one of degree, not of principle-of limitation as against boundless expansion of latitude and longitude in opposition to universal propagandism and indiscriminate subjugation.

Whereas, from the date of its organization to th resent time, the American Tract Society has not only allowed the adulterous, inhuman, bloody and souldebasing system of slavery to go unrebuked in any of its multitudinous publications, but has deliberately expurgated every tract and volume, published by it, of every word condemnatory of slaveholding, in order to propitiate the Southern oppressors and traffickers in human flesh, who 'neither fear God nor regard man '-thus leaving four millions of imbruted men and women in the land to perish 'like dumb driven cattle,' even everlastingly, according to the Orthodox creed: and.

Whereas, the small minority who have been asking for a change in the policy of the Society, have manifestly shown that they seek peace rather than purity, the removal of a reproach from the Church rather than either her reformation or the freedom of the slave, by the following indications, namely:

By their entire silence on the subject until plaint was made by persons outside of the Church and the Society ;

By the smallness of their original demand, namely, for the publication of tracts about slavery, against slavery;

By their suffering the Committee of Investigation according to the unimpeachable testimony of Dr. Hawes of Hartford) to be of the Publication Committee's selection ALMOST ENTIRELY '-equivalent to letting the accused persons pack the jury ;

By their unanimous acceptance of a Report from that Committee, which was so ambiguous that the opposite party also unanimously accepted it, and so inefficient that the 'management' have quoted it in defence of their old policy to the present day;

By their unanimous agreement that even the strong side, the quasi-reformatory side of this Report, should demand only some publication, by the Society, respecting 'those moral duties which grow out of the existence of slavery, as well as those moral evils and vices which it is known to promote '-instead of branding slaveholding itself as sinful and anti-Christian By their demand that a tract in favor of slavery

now known as 'the suppressed tract') should be published, and the characterization of this proslavery tract, by their representatives, as 'a book o Christian counsel'-' of evangelical instruction'; and, finally, By their wasting in silence, or in discursive and in

efficient criticism, the precious twelve months that have now passed, instead of making vigorous efforts to arouse, combine and enlarge the protesting minority. have never been found wanting in the performance of to reform the Society, and to revolutionize the administration :-

Therefore

Resolved. That the solemn and startling accusation ointly and publicly made against the American Tract Society, in November last, by a number of 'pastor and ministers of Congregational churches in Franklin and Lamoille counties, Vermont,' is thoroughly sustained by all the facts in the case-namely :-

'As now conducted, it (the Society) has proved unfaithful to its own Constitution: to the cause of humanity and of God: to the cause of truth and of evangelical religion. By throwing itself, as it has done, as a shield between slavery and the public sentiment of Christendow, it has become the continuent of Christendow. a shield between slavery and the public sentiment of Christendom, it has become the enemy of liberty and the bulicark of oppression. As thus conducted, it is the corrupter of public laws and the principles of morality, and by giving countenance to the notion that peace and joy in the Holy Ghost may be promoted and may exist without practical righteousness, it becomes a mighty corrupter of the religion of the Gospel.

Hence, until the Society be placed in more trustworthy hands, and impelled in its publications to deounce slavery, under all circumstances, as at war with ' the interests of vital godliness and sound morality,' yea, as the sum of all villanies,' it ought not to receive the aid or countenance of any church, or any individual, claiming to be virtuous, humane or

Resolved, That the 'revival of religion,' which h swept over the country with contagious rapidity during the last three months, is manifestly delusive and spurious, exceptional cases to the contrary nothwithstanding; because it has expressly excluded the millions American soil, that the institution of alavery is as in bondage from all consideration-has multiplied its essential to the existence of a legitimate republic as converts as readily at the South as at the North-has are the laws of gravitation to the control of the natu- excited no opposition in the midst of universal, allabounding corruption and profligacy-has received the long as civilization and self-government last,' (!) and sanction and cooperation of the most pro-slavery diin the despotic attempt to extend it all over this con- vines and journals in the land-has operated (as it was tinent, in accordance with this sentiment-and, on the evidently designed) to strengthen a Church which is other hand, in the determined efforts of the Russian the bulwark of alavery, and to divert attention

Whereas, a central despotism exists at Washington whose purpose is to uphold and extend slavery; and Whereas, one of the readlest means to resist it is the machinery of the State Government; and,

Whereas, according to all precedent before and and Whereas, according to the people, under any act of Government, gives to it the force and sanction law; therefore,

Resolved, That we urge the Northern States to a Resolved, That ry for effectual resistance to the Slave Power; and ry for effectual restriction to fugitive slave shall eng he surrendered from their limits, and no man that be surrendered from the put on trial as to the question whether he is or ever has been a slave. Resolved, That they who stand aloof from the As

ti-Slavery enterprise occupy a position dishoneral to themselves, merciless towards the enslaved, vel. pleasing to the slaveholders, hostile to the geom welfare, derogatory to the honor and fame of then public, and treasonable to the cause of freele throughout the world.

The Resolution relating to the 'revival' was green ed with mingled applause and hisses, the form

however, decidedly prevailing.

Charles Lenox Remond, of Salem, Mass., Vanta first speaker, and was followed by Wendell Phills who defended the anti-revival Resolution. Theodore Parker, who was expected to speak in the

evening, has been detained in Boston by indisposing A full report of the proceedings will appear in the week's paper.

## CALUMNY AND FALSEHOOD

It is seldom that a baser, more malicious, or no utterly inexcusable lie is told than that which appear in the editorial columns of the Courier, May 3d, ad of the Post, May 7th, attributing sympathy with assassination, and approval of it, to Mr. Garrison,

Both these cases are marked by every aggravates circumstance of which calumny is susceptible, he these writers knew that Mr. Garrison has long bear Non-Resistant, opposed in principle to capital punish ment, to war, public and private, and to the this of human life in any case whatever; both have the held him up to ridicule or reproach, as a fanetic, this very ground; both hold for themselves, and the credit to themselves as freemen and patriots for held ing, the very opposite ground, namely, the right ness of capital punishment, of war, and of arms revolution; both knew (if they read Mr. Garner) letter to the Orsini meeting, upon which they make these comments,) that it is from this very stand-nest of patriotism, in which the great mass of the comes nity share their opinions, that Orsini is pronounced 'no assassin in spirit or purpose;' both knew that this same letter, Mr. Garrison repeated his belief is the inviolability of human life, and accorded his me. pathy to Orsini, not as the slayer, but as the reals tionist, the hater of oppression, the conspirer for the overthrow of tyranny, the faithful laborer for fire dom ; both knew that he has, times without number in speech and writing, expressed his belief in the tosibility of revolution without war, and his desire the the freedom of the slaves in this country, and of the oppressed millions in Europe, might be thus secured: and yet, in the face of all this, the Post represent that Mr. Garrison has recommended assassination and that this recommendation is 'characteristic's him, and the Courier represent him as giving in qualified and enthusiastic approval' to the detra and duty of effecting social and political good by ge vate assassination.' Both these articles may be see in their appropriate place on the first page of the

Upon the deliberate perpetrators of falsebood s atrocious as this, all reply would be wasted; but few words may be profitably spent upon the dietanglement of the sophistry which accompanies tis falsehood, for the benefit of those who read it.

The Post represents it as a ' monstrous fallacy 'st any one in a community may properly 'abate's pa lic nuisance therein existing. Since, however, out the calmest, wisest and most conservative of our wi cial authorities has just given an opposite seem upon this very point, we will leave the Post to ups the matter with Judge Shaw.

The Post proceeds to represent the attempt of Om to kill Louis Napoleon as ' individual war on some It would not be possible more directly to reverse truth. Orsini is the representative of ' society' inter of its opponent. The individual, Louis Napoleo, h people; a war characterised by unspeakable new ness, deceit, corruption, profligacy and cruelty, beis innumerable murders, committed solely at the sale and to sustain the ill-gotten power, of the despot. I the lowest estimate, three-quarters of the French ple wish him dead, and would have rejoiced at success of each of the many attempts to destry His power, however, is so buttressed and sustained a corrupt priesthood, a profligate army, and mi tudes of venal officials who live, like himself oppressing the people, that the people have no opposite tunity to combine or to organize in opposition to be Thus, whatever is done for his overthrow med 2 done by individuals, on their own responsibility at their own peril. Few men will venture ther is against such desperate risk, for the public willis. but it cannot be doubted that the people of Fran would hail with honor and gratitude any one the should deliver them from the tyranny of Louis Nap leon. Orsini then was accomplishing the most herfelt desires of the community in which he lived at making war, in their behalf, upon an indivisi whose power is destructive, and whose very exists

is prejudicial, to their welfare. Finally, the Post falsely represents the position Dr. Bernard to be in conflict with that of Mr. Gr rison. Those positions are precisely identical. Bat say that they conspire, and that they always will conspire, to crush despotism everywhere. Both ar its that they will not shed blood, nor employ other shed blood, for that purpose. The difference bears them is merely one of expression, Dr. Bernani we ing to apply to Orsini the opprobrious terms 'asset' and 'murderer,' while Mr. Garrison, doing justice his motive, refrains from the stigma of meanness selfishness which those words imply, and price Orsini's love of freedom, and devotion of his light her interests, while he records his dissent from means by which Orsini sought (no doubt consider ously) to promote those interests.

A like profligacy of speech, descending from se false statement to absolute reversal of the trads seen in the article of the Courier. The course dis paper (under its present administration-how the ed from a former editorship and proprietorship! been to favor passive and to praise active constitution ism; to do what it can to keep the few rich and po erful, and the many poor and weak, still in present relative positions; and to honor most the who labor most effectively to that end. Now, a man born and bred in the freest and most mist ened portion of the world, and belonging by as plexion, education, position, native genius mir quired powers to the privileged class, (in shall called a free country,) instead of living in selial joyment of his privileges, has spent a quarter century in teaching the poor and oppressed their res and in levelling upwards, so as to give every me every woman as fair a chance for happiness sales fare as himself—when such a man, being is risk younger devotees of freedom to speak for the struction, declares liberty to be the inalienable rate every human being, and that he wishes it to tri throughout all lands, what does the Courie of him ? It says

'He uses its soil and its liberty (the soil said liberty of Massachusetts) for purposes of his

merely, without regard to the common right or the

ommon obligation. And again:
We need only say of this doctrine, that it is the liberty of a madman, who would drive his own vehicle at headlong speed through a crowded street, utterly regardless of the consequences to himself and to

others. And again:

It is plain that this doctrine of Mr. Garrison, upon his own statement of it, if it could be carried out, would dethrone Supreme Good in heaven and earth, and substitute for its rule the demonaic discords, pains and sufferings of the infernal world.

This is what the Courier assumes to be the practical effect of a doctrine which is expressed as plainly in the American Declaration of Independence as in the letter of Mr. Garrison to the Orsini meeting!

But the Courier not only complains of that idea of liberty in which Mr. Garrison and the Declaration of Independence agree, but it gives a different idea, and volunteers an original statement of what civil liberty is, saying that 'Every people is entitled of right to that degree of freedom which it is capable of using and enjoying to the common benefit'; that there must necessarily be differences in this respect'; and that a moral and religious people is entitled to a higher degree of civil freedom than one demoralized. and regardless or unconscious of religious responsibility. • • It comes directly to this point, therefore—that liberty, rightly understood, is not freedom from restraint, but the recognition of generous and charitable principles. (!11)

Passing by, for want of space, much of the absurdity of this, and of other portions of the article, in question, that demand comment, we come directly to the practical point, and ask the Courier-WHO IS TO DECIDE for each nation, to what degree or amount of civil liberty it is entitled? Is Louis Napoleon to decide this matter for France? Is a nation that is not perfectly moral and religious to be considered, on that account, destitute of all right to self-government, and even of the right to change a bad master for a hetter? Is a people suffering under excessive oppression to be denied the right of revolution until they have gained, under that oppression, a high degree of intelligence and virtue? Is a man never to go into the water until he is sure he can swim ? Is France so vicious, as, for that reason, to have no right to choose her own ruler? Is Louis Napoleon so virtuous and saintlike, as, for that reason, to have the right of absolute control over the French people, and the further right to imprison or to kill all who hold a different opinion? And, finally, until Louis Napoleon graciously consents to the establishment of that freedom of the press, that freedom of public meetings and speeches, and that open and deliberate process of organization, by which alone a great nation can declare its united will, must no individual in that nation move towards the accomplishment of such an end, or lift one finger or raise one whisper against the tyrant, liar, traitor, murderer, who now triumphs over prostrate France? Let the Courier answer .- c. K. W.

### THE TRACT SOCIETY'S IDEA OF 'DE-CENCY. Towards the close of the year 1856, a gentleman

who sympathized with the American Tract Society in the difficult task enjoined them of publishing tracts on the subject of slavery, (difficult, because whatever they should publish, however conformed to, and demarried by, the Constitutional standard, would be distasteful either to pro-slavery, or anti-slavery men,) conceived the idea of helping them over this difficulty. His method was the following. He offered a premium for the best tract on that highly important department of the great subject, . The Family Relation as affected by Slavery, choosing for his committee of award gentlemen recognized by the community as eminently qualified to judge of what such a work should be, alike as to style and substance. Having obtained their designation of the best of thirty-live manuscripts offered in competition for this prize, he offered the successful one to the Tract Society for publication, thinking, in his innocent simplicity, that they would willingly publish what had received this amount of public commendation from members of four evangelical sects, and designing, when it should be accepted, to give them a handsome donation to cover the expenses of its publi-

The Publishing Committee rejected this tract, without the specification of any other reason than that it would not answer their purposes. This fact being made known, the 'American Reform Tract and Book Society' at Cincinnati applied for, and received, permission to publish it, and it has now been, for six months or more, before the public.

Although those who have commented on the pro slavery position of the Tract Society have made frequent allusion to this 'rejected tract,' no particular criticism has been made upon it until a few weeks since, when Chief Justice Green of Tennessee, in a long letter to the Journal of Commerce, devoted about a column of that paper to an examination of what he declared to be errors and misrepresentations in the tract in question. Its author made a prompt reply, showing not only that Judge Green had failed to refute his allegations, but that the very statutes and law Reports referred to as refuting them, schen fully quoted, gave full and manifest corroboration to the assertions of the tract. With characteristic disingenuousness, the Journal of Commerce refused to insert this reply, which (with the criticism that gave rise to it) was thereupon printed in the Anti-Slavery

The writer has seen no other attempt at detailed criticism on the tract in question. Several pro-slavery 'religious' papers, however, have made a general charge upon it of another kind, one characterizing it as 'indelicate,' another as 'indecent,' and another as too filthy for perusal by any decent family.'

However gross the exaggeration of these expres sions, as applied to the rejected tract, it is very true that a plain description of what takes place on the plantations, and in the families, of the slaveholding Vice-Presidents, Life Directors, and Life Members of the Tract Society, would be offensive to all chaste eyes and ears. But since those things exist, he who is called to write on 'The FAMILY Relation as affected by Slavery, if he would give a true representation, must allude, in some manner, to some of them. The writer of the tract in question thought it best not to allude to the worst of those things at all. But since the subject of the tract rendered it imperatively necessary to allude to some of them, he spoke of the most common of these abuses, in terms which were not thought unfit for publication by President Wayland and Bishop Clark. These charges are here alluded to for the purpose of suggesting the following inquiries:-

If practices so immoral and indecent, that the very mention of them in guarded language gives a shock to modesty, not only commonly prevail through a wide-spread community, but are defended and maintained, and that by the church as well as 'the world '-is it better that they should remain, still further to corrupt that community, than that the ear of modesty should be pained by such mention of them as is the indispensable preliminary of their

What sort of 'religious' newspaper is that-what sort of Tract Society is that—what sort of church is that-which deliberately decides that the latter of these two evils is worse than the former, and acts

AN ELOQUENT ADVOCATE.

we were so unfortunate as to miss hearing it. Here is a pithy extract from it:—

'Is it improper for a woman to spend half an hour at the polls, and highly proper to be crowded for hours into a lecture room or church to hear prurient poems in a play or see the petty spectacle of an opera? Unwomanly for a woman to drop a ballot in a box; but quite modest and ladylike to whirl in a polka in the arms of a man she never saw before, and have her check fanned by his tipsy breath? That there are children now in some cities who will one day go with their wives to the ballot-box as they now do to the theatre or lyceum, I just as firmly believe as I do that women are quite as well informed as men on political subjects. I believe that women are as intelligent as their gardeners, or as those of our fellow citizens who land here ignorant of our laws and customs, but whose eyes are anointed with political sight by the tobacco spittle of the City Hall. I know how busy and dangerous is prejudice in all its different forms; but it is our duty to keep ourselves free from prejudice, and to call our friends around us with sacred hospitality, and be ever generous to every movement which tends to the welfare and elevation of our common humanity.' (Great applause.)

"Is it improper for a woman to spend half an hour at the polls, and hear proper to be crowded for hour file hands and hear proper to he hands of these just and intelligent men, ignorant, stupid Bigotry has had another official and foucible rebuke, and a religion which has no respect for justice, and none for truth, and that endeavors to accomplish its base purposes by intolerance, alander for justice, and none for truth, and that endeavors to accomplish its base purposes by intolerance, slander for justice, and none for truth, and that endeavors to for justice, and none for truth, and that endeavors to accomplish its base purposes by intolerance, slander for justice, and none for truth, and that endeavors to the heart or justice, and none for truth, and there been love of mon humanity.' (Great applause.)

A scurrilous, and therefore characteristic, article from the Boston Post, with reference to this admira- good neighborly feeling, magnanimity and justice ble lecture, and anticipating its delivery here, may be is to be found in the fact that truth-loving person found in the right place on our first page.

YEADON AND EVERETT.

\*Byles,' the occasional Boston correspondent of the New York Tribune, in his last letter, says:—

'I have been very near writing to you several times within the last week or two, to demand your sympathy with us in the uneasiness we have felt at the attack under which our much-admired New England orator suffered lately in Charleston, and which must have nearly carried him off. And the worst of it is, that it was a second access of the same distemper, and therefore much more trying to his constitution. The first, you may remember, was at a Pilgrim-Father dinner at Plymouth, when Mr. Richard Yeadon complimented Mr. Everett on his old speech—to unmake which I suppose he would give up any dozen of his newest ones—in which he said that there was no cause in which he would so readily shoulder his musket and buckle on his knapsack, as to suppose a su cause in which he would so readily shoulder his mus-ket and buckle on his knapsack, as to suppress an insurrection of slaves. That was enough, one would think, for an ordinary life-time. What must have been his sensations on being encountered on his ar-rival at Charleston by the same affliction, and ad-dressed as "Orator, Patriot, Sage, Cicero of America, Laudator of Washington, Apostle of Charity, High Priest of the Union, and Friend of Mankind!" There was some more of it; but this is all I can recollect, and quite enough to have been the death of recollect, and quite enough to have been the death of a less sensitive and refined person than Mr. Everett. An eminent physician once told me that he knew of a negro who had the small-pox three times, and died of it the last. This was hard enough; but what is it, compared to a white man having the Yeadon twice in the natural way? Really, it should be one of those maladies, like the measles and scarlet fever, to which one is not liable a second time. He certainly could not survive a third attack. It would be as fatal as the small-nox was to the poor negro. It is surely no were understood, we could not, with the slightest the small-pox was to the poor negro. It is surely no wonder that he broke down under it and came home. Is there no Jenner sufficient to discover some pallia-tive of this disease? Could anything be done by way of the Quarantine to keep it away from this part of the country. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. A most impudent and damning defence of Mr.

Everett from the suspicion of having a particle of humanity or love of freedom in his breast, by this same Yeadon, the reader will find in the receptacle of proslavery scoundrelism, the 'Refuge of Oppression."

We take especial pleasure in copying, on the fourth page, the excellent sermon recently delivered by Gerrit Smith in Peterboro. Very few sermons are so good representatives of Christianity as this. Very few contain so much truth, very few include so little traditionary superstition. It is a good thing for a reformer to understate, rather than overstate, the claims of his cause; and moreover, such lamentable ignorance prevails upon this subject, that twenty will sees that he has not gone far enough. But he who has learned thus much of truth is in the sure way to learn more, and we rejoice in every new preacher who opposes a 'religion of authority,' and who holds, with Paul, that religion is 'a reasonable service.

pro-slavery actions and character of Edward Everett : bers than ever before. but yet lower depths of meanness and servility in that advertised to the world by his 'friend' and ally, increase their contributions. Richard Yeadon of South Carolina. May all such men have such friends. c. x. w.

FREE SPEECH AND FREE INQUIRY. FRIEND GARRISON-Some of my neighbors have

thought it might be well to chronicle another unsuccessful attempt of bigotry to silence free thought and free speech. A year ago, a few earnest persons, at the suggestion of that able advocate of human rights, Dr. W. S. Brown, put their small means together, and fitted up the Hall of the District Schoolhouse in this place for public social free meetings. We held meetings once a week during the summer months, and then discontinued them. When we had had five or six meetings, the evangelical Christians, so called, made a request to occupy the Hall on Sunday forenoons, as we used it in the afternoon only. We cheerfully complied. They continued their meetings through the Winter. When Spring arrived, and with unnumbered smiles invited us again to resume our number, (S. Kimball, a tried advocate of the right.) called on one of the most religious of these would-be Christians, who held the keys of the little room, and asked for them, for the purpose of opening the Hall. The reply was substantially thus: 'Our conclusion is, to have no more of your infidel meetings in the house.' It was replied, that this refusal of the keys was unexpected and unjust, since we had incurred the expense (between twenty and thirty dollars) of fitting up the Hall, and granted them the use of it, and especially as our settees were still there. Whereupon, this saintly disciple of the popular theology remarked that we had enjoyed the use of them; intimating that though such 'infidels' were unfit to occupy the Hall, it was sufficiently proper for them to furnish seats for the 'pious' !...

Having learned that justice, to say nothing of decency, was not to be expected from these presumptuous and conceited bigots, we forthwith applied to the School Committee for fair play and the protection of a natural right. They appointed a public meeting for the hearing of both parties. But the 'pious' party did not appear, and had only left with the Committee certain grave and astounding charges against us, to wit-that we were Infidels, Deists, Atheists. Sabbath-breakers, teaching seditious doctrines, and setting examples of a nature to corrupt the rising generation !! The only element wanting in these charges to secure their success was truthfulness. We admitted that we were infidel and atheistic to the popular god and religion, but not so to the God of justice and benevolence; that our doctrines were dangerou to priesteraft and bigotry, but not to the principles of

not as soon do on Sunday-that all time was sac On Friday evening last, GRONGE W. CURTIS, Esq. of New York, delivered before a highly intelligent and appreciative audience, in the hall of the Lowell will worship God always—that is, will exert himself Institute, in this city, a most eloquent and radical lec- carnestly to realize his kingdom of truth and right Institute, in this city, a most eloquent and radical lecture on Woman's Rights, which gave great satisfaction, and left nothing to be desired, we are told—for we were so unfortunate as to miss hearing it. Here is a pithy extract from it:—

are uniformly orderly, moral and intelligent as an in town, and the only reason for this outrage upor are inclined to expose and denounce the hypocriti cal cant, the worthless ceremonies, and the sectarian machinery employed to galvanize a dead church into the semblance of a living vitality. Our meetings were commenced and will be continued every Sunday afternoon, and the public are invited to attend. Our object is to cherish, advocate and advance whatever is in harmony with the principle of love and the best good of human society, and to oppose all that is opposed to truth and justice. We propose not to preach the gospel, but an application of it to existing crimes

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION FESTIVAL

The undersigned, who have for so many years don what they could to promote the Anti-Slavery Cause,

financially and otherwise, through the medium of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, will, as usual,

were understood, we could not, with the slightest hope of success, ask of the public, whose affair it is no less than our own, direct contributions of money. We, therefore, devised an Annual Bazaar for the sale of contributions of articles, and it afforded an opportunity of great usefulness, both financial and social, to

But the changed state of the public mind now suggests greater directness in the method and increase in the usefulness of this anniversary; and we propose, this year, to give our usual sums and take up our accustomed collections by direct cash subscription; and we entreat the friends, both at home and abroad who have been wont to co-operate with us, to do the same, nothing doubting the result will much exceed the sum (\$3000) raised last year.

To our Southern friends we present this prospect

with increased hope of their co-operation in consequence; for, as none better than they know what slavery and the daily increasing risks of its tenure are, so none have a deeper concern in seeking the most effancy that Mr. Smith has gone too far, for one that fectual means of putting an end to this common sin and suffering of our native land.

The money we have annually raised has been bith-

erto employed to sustain the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, the organ of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY Society: but, following the recent indication of the Executive Committee in making individual efforts to place that paper on a self-supporting subscription ba-Fail not to read the article on the first page, sis, we shall enable them to devote the result of our entitled 'Mr. Everett and Mr. Sumner.' Abolition- joint financial effort to sustain eloquent and faithful ists have often been obliged to expose and rebuke the lecturers, now so much needed, in far greater num-

By this plan, we may accomplish double the amount Northern man with Southern principles have been of service to our cause, and thus furnish its friends mined into, and dug out, and publicly exposed and and our own with a two-fold motive to continue and

No words from us at this late day are needed to stimulate a prudent generosity by description of all the means that go to change the mind and the heart of a great nation on the central question of its policy, or to kindle a sublime one by commendation of a cause identified with every thought that is ennobling and holy, with every hope that is august and magnificent, with every memory that is precious and sainted, with every idea that is consoling and beautiful, with every effort that is enlightening and beneficent, with every association that history, or poetry, or patriotism, or philanthropy, or Christianity, or life or leath, have sanctified and blessed.

We cordially and respectfully invite the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the world over, to meet with us at the close of the year, (time and place named hereafter,) to receive our subscriptions, our good wishes, and our thanks, and to unite with us on an occasion which, as the end of one quarter of a century of labors and the beginning our efforts for scattering the seeds of truth, one of of another, will be of no ordinary commemorative interest and prospective significance to THE CAUSE. MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

MARY MAY, LOUISA LORING, BLIZA LEE FOLLEN. L. MARIA CHILD, HENRIETTA SARGENT, ANNE WARREN WESTON, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, HELEN ELIZA GARRISON, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, FRANCES MARY ROBBINS. CAROLINE WESTON, MARY WILLEY, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, SUSAN C. CABOT, LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZA F. EDDY, ABBY FRANCIS, SARAH RUSSELL MAY, ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, EVELINA A. S. SMITH, ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL, AUGUSTA G. KING. ELIZABETH VON ARNIM. ANNA SHAW GREENE. ELIZA APTHORP, MATTIE GRIFFITH. MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT. ANNE LANGDON ALGER.

DEATH OF SENATOR EVANS. The telegraph anby Messa. The telegraph and acts of Africa mentions twenty-two versels, of all descriptions, which have been captured by the English craisers since April of last year, for being engaged in the elave trade. All but one were American, and the larger number belonged to New York, Boston and New Orleans.

The telegraph and bigotry, but not to the principles of sound morality; and that our examples, while they were intended to inculcate true reverence for God, and an earnest love for man, were at the same time, and to the same extent, intended to cast contempt upon the corrupting religion of a pharisaical Sabbath keeping and slave-keeping church.

One of the gentlemen asked if I held to doing any thing on Sunday consistent with my health. I replied that I would do nothing on any day that I would be contended to cast contempt upon the corrupting religion of a pharisaical Sabbath keeping and slave-keeping church.

One of the gentlemen asked if I held to doing any thing on Sunday consistent with my health. I replied that I would do nothing on any day that I would thereafter. He was 71 years old.

To THE POINT. The following are among the res-olutions adopted at the State Anti-Slavery Conven-tion held in Bradford, Vermont:—

Resolved, That American Slavery is a heinous sin, and infamous outrage against God and humanity; at war with natural right, the Bible, Christianity, and the gospel of Christ, and is the deadliest foe to both master and slave, as well as to the peace and pros-

the gospel of Christ, and is the deadliest foe to both master and slave, as well as to the peace and prosperity of the nation.

Resolved, That for this, the great ain of the nation, the God of the oppressed has a controversy with us, and nothing but breaking off our sins by righteousness and showing mercy to the poor, can avert the impending desolating judgment of Heaven.

Resolved, That the present almost absolute comtrol of the National Government by the Slave Power—the filloustering designs of the South for the purpose of extending the Slave system into new territories—the fearful- and monstrous decision of the Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case—the official declaration of President Buchanam, that Slaveholders are as much entitled to hold Slaves in any of the territories as any other property—the fearful and startling doctrines, avowed by the South in favor of reviving the African Slave Trade, and the continued subjugation and fearful condition of Kansas—are new evidences that the Slave-Power is determined, if possible, to drive the friends of Freedom to the wall, and are also additional evidences that Presdom and Slavery cannot live together. In view of these facts, we are called to gird on the whole armor of righteousness, and renew our efforts to annihilate both Slavery and the Slave-Power.

BASE CONSPIRACY AND PERSECUTION.

A few months ago, a fugitive slave was arrested in Cincinnati who made resistance, and stabbed the U. Marshal Elliott. Two or three fugitives had been concealed in the room of Wm. Connelly, a newspaper reporter, apparently with his consent. They were taken after a struggle, in which one of them was mortally wounded by a deliberately simed shot, and Connelly fled and left the city. He was poor, and had a family to support; so he went to New York and engaged in his business there. But he had offended the Slave Power, and could not be permitted to escape punishment; and accordingly he was sent after, and brought back at an expense of over five femded the Slave Power, and could not be permitted to escape punishment; and accordingly he was sent after, and brought back at an expense of over five hundred dollars, which the people have to pay, of course, and which is divided up among the bloodhounds of the United States District Court over which the dis-Hon. Humphrey H. Leavett presides. Poor Connelly is in jail, where he will remain for months, perhaps, while his dependent family is beggered! These are the tender mercies of our slave-driving Government. But let us not forget the officials who deal them out. Stanley Matthews,—in 1848, a violent free-soiler, editor of the Philanthropist, since a 'Democrat,' by which he became a Judge in Cincinnati, and was a Senator in the last Legislature,—is the prosecuting Attorney in this Court. He could have entered a solle of course, and let the poor reporter escape. This would not serve his masters, however. Connelly is not able to pay for the negro who was lost. Let us look at the Champaign County case. How did this pure District Attorney Matthews manage that? Five or six men were indicted and held to bail for assisting a negro in escaping, and had Democrat,' by which he became a Judge in Cincinnati, and was a Senator in the last Legislature,—is the prosecuting Attorney in this Court. He could have entered a nolle of course, and let the poor reporter escape. This would not serve his masters, however. Connelly is not able to pay for the negro who was lost. Let us look at the Champaign County case. How did this pure District Attorney Matthews manage that? Five or six men were indicted and held to bail for assisting a negro in escaping, and had offended the majesty of the Fugitive Slave Law even more than Connelly—for they had laughed at the U.S. Marshals. Being able to do so, they paid for the negro, and the Court and District Attorney let them off—as they say in England, compounded a felony with them!

This fellow, Matthews, has turned his coat many times; and a short time since, was making anti-Le-

times; and a short time since, was making anti-Le-compton speeches in Cincinnati, from which we fear that he will before long, (prompted by his keen perception of the ruin coming upon the Administration,) seek a place in the Republican ranks. We hope he never may; but if he does, we hope the troud of his political infamy may be so clear, that he will find no Republican mean enough to give him countenance. It is time that the world should know it traitors, and making their enoughs. mankind, their enemies .- Jefferson (Ohio) Sentinel.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW AN EXPENSIVE INSTITU-The Fugitive Stave Law an Expensive 'Institu-rion.'—Leaving out of question the justice or expedi-ency of the Fugitive Slave law, it is proving a decid-ly expensive institution. The recent arrest (in New York) of William M. Connelly, indicted for harboring and concealing fugitive slaves, affords an illustration. The reporter of the Gazette happening in at the Dis-trict Court-room the other day, his eyes happened to fall upon the original writ for the arrest of Connelly,

Service of writ . . . . . . . 2 00

Added to this sum are the Marshal's fees for making the first arrest in New York, when the accused slip-ped through the deputy's clutches, say \$60; expenses of jury and witnesses when the indictment was found, say \$50; which gives a total of \$420 88 already expended. To this may be added, at least, \$400 more as disbursements to the Marshal, Clerk, Attorney, witnesses and jury upon the approaching trial, and we have the sum of \$820 88—the principal part of which goes into the pockets of government officials. There is nothing cheap about the Fugitive Slave law!
—Cincinnati Gazette.

REWARD OF INFAMY. Judge Loring has at last been overtaken by the hand of retributive justice, and the last drop has been poured into his cup of humiliation. The Pretorian Guard that surrounds James Buchanan has received him with its congenial em-brace, and hereafter, like the convict in the chain gang of a penal colony, he will be compelled to drag with him wherever he goes, the galling mark of his disgrace. With all our detestation of his conduct in the Burns case, and the subsequent attitude of contemptuous defiance which he assumed towards the laws and the public sentiment of Massachusetts, we

laws and the public sentiment of Massachusetts, we would not have wished so wretched a fate to have befallen our worst enemy. It is a terrible commentary upon the danger of one false step.

Edward G. Loring, ex-Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk, has received the appointment of Judge of the United States Court of Claims, at Washington, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judge Gilchrist. He belongs to the slave-catching government at Washington, and it is fitting they should call him all their own. The people of Massachusetts have cut clear of their connection with him in a manner which leaves no dispute as to their own sentiments, and now, if the General Government chooses to adopt him for a pet, why, it is their affair, and not ours. He is probably not intellectually fitted for his new position; but that is a matter of alight consideration with those who appointed him.—Ded-

JUDGE LORING. E. G. Loring, of Boston, who has been so notorious as a fugitive slave catcher, for which the people of Massachusetts discharged him, as Judge of Probate, has been appointed by Buchanan, at the request of Southern Senators, as Judge on the U. S. Court of Claims, in place of the late Judge Gilchrist. This is highly proper. Loring is a good catch-pole for slave-hunters, and it is eminently fitting that the slave power should give him his mess of pottage.—Bellows Falls Times.

A BLACK AMBASSADOR. In a work published in 1855, touching the diplomacy of the United States,

Upon this, the New York Evening Post remarks: Our government now refuses in any way to recognize the independent black power of Hayti, although nize the independent black power of Hayn, although our commercial relations with it are important. It would be curious to know if any official evidence exists of the reception of this black envoy from a chief of insurgent slaves by one of our early Presidents, beyond that furnished by the French official account of these negotiations.

Washington Slave Catchens. It is a settled practice with the authorities at Washington, that all the police officials shall be slave-catchers. A few days ago, when a bill was under consideration for the organization of the police of the city, Mr. Giddings offered the following amendment and remarks; but it was voted down in less time than it took to offer it: Provided. That said auxiliary guard shall not be employed in the arrest of any persons except those charged with crime or other offences against the law.

Mr. Chairman, I do this merely for the purpose of stating a fact. I have this morning received the report of an attorney employed by myself to investigate a case where a freeman is now in prison, and sent-enced to be sold unless his friends come forward and enced to be sold unless his friends come forward and pay the expenses of his imprisonment. My attorney, employed for that purpose, has found witnesses who will testify under oath that the man who is imprison-ed has been a freeman from his childhood up. I state this fact that northern men may know that in this bill we are paying northern money to involve north-ern honor, and to imprison and sell freemen into slavery.

'Moving Miranon of American Stavent.' We are informed that a fine panoramic painting, to which the proprietors have given the above title, is now in process of execution, and will be finished about the first of June. It is said to be in the hands of one of the best artists in America, who is painting it from original sketches. It will doubtless be a very instructive and interesting work of art. Mesers. Herimann and Garcelon, of Maine, are the proprietors of the picture.—Journal.

TROUBLE. The editor of the Nashville Christian Advocate is in trouble. A brother minister, Rev. Mr. Elliott, teaches dancing in his female academy, and has inveigled Jonas, one of the reverend editor's slaves, into a banjo company, to please the young ladies. The editor is afraid he shall not be able to give Jonas a proper religious education. It is a case that certainly calls for deep sympathy. Perhaps he had better send Jonas to the auction block.—Zion's Herald.

ANOTHER RAILROAD CALAMITY .- CRASH ON A BRIDGE.

Utica, May 11. A frightful accident occurred this morning, at 64 o'clock, on the Central Railroad, by the crushing of a bridge over the Saquoit Creek, three and-a-half miles west of this city, near Whites-

boro'.
Seven or eight persons are already dead, and five or
The injured number 40

six others are hardly alive. The injured number 40 or more.
The killed are:

H. Moore of Rising Sun, Ind.; head crushed. Two children of Abraham Mack of Cincinnati. An unknown man is an in the baggage room at

passenger cars one above the other, and splintering the platform and seats to atoms as the cars struck the

abutments.

The persons injured were all on the passenger car

of the express train.

The passenger car of the accommodation train did not reach the bridge.

Different stories are told as to the cause of the accident. One is that an axle of the express baggage car broke as it reached the bridge, and thus threw the trains together. The other attributes the casualty to the rottenness of the timbers of the bridge.

THE SIXTH YEARLY MEETING OF HE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS OF PENNSYL VANIA will convene at Longwood, (near Hamorton,) Chester County, on FIRST DAY, the 30th of Fifth month, 1858, at 10 o'nlock, A. M., and continue its month, 1858, at 10 o'nlock, A. M., and continue its sessions, probably, for three or four successive days.

The friends of Truth, Purity and Progress, however named or nameless, are cordially invited to aid us by their presence and co-operation.

OLIVER JOHNSON, HENRIETTA W. JOHNSON,
JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, WILLIAM BARNARD,
ISAAC MENDENHALL, JAMES C. JACKSON,

ISAAC MENDENHALL, JAME and others. NOTICE .- CHARLES C. BURLEIGH is an

Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, more particularly for the Western part of the State. His post-office address is Cummington, Hampshire Co., Mass.

A COLORED GIRL WANTED,-A colored Attorney, trial, and all part of can secure a permanent and advantageous situation officials. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

olored men want situations in stores and dwelling courses. One who has learned the pegging shoe businesses. ess 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 colored lad from the South, aged 16 years, is desirous of securing for him the opportunity of learning either the carpenter's or the bricklayer's trade. Any one 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

THE REAL . UNCLE TOM.

TRUTH STRANGER THAN FICTION Father Henson's Story

-OF-

HIS OWN LIFE. WITH AN INTRODUCTION NAME OF THE PARTY OF

MRS. H. B. STOWE.

A N extraordinary story of an extraordinary man. His early and his later life—his trials, his sufferings, his stripes, his wonderful escapes, and his present position. Reader, would you know what American slavery is, purchase and read this book, more thrilling than a romance, more startling in its details than any work of fiction, and yet a true story of one colored man's experience, and that man THE ONE FROM INCIDENTS IN WHOSE LIFE MRS. STOWE DREW SOME OF THE MOST INTENSELY 'It was at the end of this year (1798) that the President (Adams) received the envoy Toussaint l'Ouverture, who came to treat of the re-establishment of commercial relations with Saint Domingo.'

"In Man's experience, and that man THE ONE FROM INCIDENTS IN WHOSE LIFE MRS. STOWE DREW SOME OF THE MOST INTENSELY INTERESTING AND THRILLING SCENES IN HER WORLD-RENOWNED STORY OF 'UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.'

WE SHALL PUBLISH THIS Remarkable Book ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF MAY.

The First Edition will consist of 5000 COPIES.

Those expecting to be supplied with this edition will please forward their orders at an early day. We can employ 1000 TRAVELLING AGENTS. MEN AND WOMEN,

and at such a discount from the retail price as will make the business profitable to them.

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May 14.

The following remedies are effected to the public as the best, most perfect, which medical science can afford. Aran's Carrantro Friza have been prepared with the utmost shill which the medical profession of this age possesses, and their effects show they have virtues which surpass any combination of medicines hitherto known. Other preparations do more or less good; but this cures such dangerous complaint; so quick and so surely, as to prove an efficacy and a power to uproof disease beyond any thing which men have known before. By removing the obstructions of the literaal organs and simulating them into healthy action, they remove the surrains of life and vigor, — health courses any for when taken by one in health they produce but little effect. This is the perfection of medicine. It is antagonistic to disease, and no more. Tender children may take them with impunity. If they are sick they will cure them, if they are well they will do them no harm.

Give them to some patient who has been pronstrated with bilious complaint; see his benat-up, tottering form straighten with strength again; see his long-lost appetite return; see his clammy features blossom into health. Give them to some sufferer whose foul blood has burst out in screouls till his skin is covered with sores; who stands, or sits, or lless in anguish. He has been drenched inside and out with every potton which ingenuity could suggest. Give him these Prills, and mark the effect; see the scabs fall from his body; see the late loper that is clean. Give them to him whose angry humors have planted rhomatism in his joints and bones, move him, and he screeches with plan; he down the him whose angry humors have planted rhomatism in his joints and bones, move him, and he screeches with plan; he whose passing stomach has long ago eaten every smile from his face and every muscle from his body. See his appatite return, and with the him whose angry humors have planted he marked him his body is the him his

CHERRY PECTORAL an imperishable renown. But its usefulness does not end here. Nay, it accomplishes more by prevention than cure. The countless colds and coughs which it cures are the seed which would have ripened into a dreadful harvest of incurable diseases. Influenza, Croup, Bronchitis, Hoarseness, Pleurisy, Whooping Cough, and all irritations of the throat and lungs are easily cured by the Cherry Pectoral if taken in season. Every family should have it by them, and they will find it an invaluable protection from the insidious prowler which carries off the parent sheep from many a fock, the darling lamb from many a home.

Authenticated evidence of these facts, with directions for the treatment of each complaint, may be found in Ayer's American Almanac, of which we publish, three millions, and scatter them broadcast over the earth, in order that the sick every where may have before them the information it contains. Druggists and dealers in medicine generally have them for distribution gratis, and also for sale these remedies, prepared by Dr. J. C. Ater, Practical and Analytical Chemist, Lowell, Mass.

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THEODORE METCALF& CC., BREWER, STEVENS & CUSHING, BROWN & PRICE, Salem; H. H. HAY, Portland; J. N. MORTON & CO., Concord, N. H.

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ELOCUTION

Is rapidly rising in favor, and a competent teacher of this art will supply a long-felt want. Miss H. G. GUNDERSON, Teacher to the Mercantile Academy, No. 11 Mercantile Building, Summer street, offers her services in this department to Colleges, Academies, Schools, professional gentlemen, ladies, and all who wish to acquire a correct style of reading and speaking.

Miss G. has permission to refer to the following

gentlemen :G. F. Thayen, Esq., late Principal of the Chauncy Amos Baker, Esq., Principal of Chapman Hall School.

Rev. J. W. OLMSTEAD, Editor of the Watchman and Reflector.

Rev. C. F. Barnard, Warren St. Chapel. Prof. H. B. HACKETT, Newton Theological Seminary.

Prof. ALVAH HOVEY, ""

Rev. O. S. STEARNS, Newton Centre.

Rev. J. Newton Brown, D. D., Philadelphia.

Rev. L. F. BEECHER, D. D., Principal of Saratoga Female Seminary.
Boston, May 1, 1857.

THE ESCAPE OR, A LEAP POR PREEDOM: A Drama, in Five Acts, BY WILLIAM WELLS BROWN,

WILL be published on the first of June, and will be for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Price, 25 cents. WANTED-By a Lady recently from Edinburgh,

Scotland, an engagement as Resident or Visiting Governess. She has much experience in teaching the young. Testimonials will be given and references exchanged, on application to 'TEACHER,' 2043 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.

Representative Women.

THIS magnificent group includes the Portraits LUCRETIA MOTT.

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

For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, y WM. C. NELL. Price, \$1.

DANIEL MANN, M. D., SURGEON DENTIST, And Manufacturer of Mineral Teeth,

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.

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a little above Bedford street,
Mch 19

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.

A30 3t GEORGE W. FLANDERS.

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## POETRY.

LESSONS OF THE STREET. Walking through life's dusty highways, Mid the tramp of hurrying feet, We may gather much instruction From the 'lessons of the street.'

Now a beggar sues for succor Nay, repress that look of pride ! 'Neath that wrecked and shattered body Doth a human soul reside.

Here's a brow that seems to tell you, 'I am prematurely old : I have spent my youthful vigor In an eager search for gold."

On the cheek of you pale student Is a divorcement most unkind-"Tis the cruel separation Of his body from his mind.

Here a painted child of shame Flaunts in costly robes of sin, With a reckless mirth that cannot Hide the smouldering fires within.

And here's a face, so calm and mild, Mid the restless din and strife; It seems to say, in every line, 'I'm aiming for a higher life."

Just then I caught a mournful glance, As on the human river rushed, A harrowing look, which plainly said 'The music of my life is hushed.' Look on that face, so deathly pale,

Its bloom and flush forever fled I started, for it seemed to bear A message to the silent dead. Thus hurries on the stream of life,

To empty where Death's waters meet; We pass along, we pass away-Thus end the lessons of the street. FRANCES E. WATKINS.

> From the Dover Morning Star. WHITE SLAVES EY J. W. BARKER.

Your whole class of manual laborers and operatives, as you call them, are slaves. Our slaves are black, yours are white. - Senator Hammond's Speech.

Base slanderer of the sons of toil, That sweat amid our Northern hills, With honest hands and hearts as free As our own native mountain rills-Your voice is heard in happy homes, Where Freedom's fires are burning, And like a tide the echo comes, Your haughty slander spurning : · Go preach upon the cotton plain, To souls that wear the galling chain-Go tell your peers your heathen story, And boast your greatness and your glory :-But ne'er to sons of Pilgrim sires, Whose altars glow with Freedom's fires Whose fertile fields of old were wet With freemen's gore, and living yet Are bright mementoes of those arts That tried the faith of patriot hearts: O never, over patriot graves, Declare there toils a race of slaves!

Is he indeed a slave that toils Early and late, but cheerfully? Whose sunburnt hands and busy feet Are tokens of his industry? A slave! He is a willing link In the great brotherhood of man, Toiling to fill his mission here, And harmonize the glorious plan. Ordained of God for human weal, Order and beauty to reveal.

But when, at evening's holy hour, He lays his dusty garb aside, And in his humble, happy home, Seeks shelter from the earth's rough tide : When round him gather loving forms, And whisper words of hope and cheer-Wherever else the bondman dwells, Sure he can have no shelter here.

The laborer's hand strokes auburn curl And reads the tale in love-lit eyes; He hears the music of kind hearts, That throws o'er care a bright disguise; Yea, glories in his proud estate, A palace is his humble home, The sunlight is that glorious thought, · These friends and treasures are my own. All through the starry midnight hours, No dream of terror chills his bliss, No fiend to smite those golden links, Can enter such a home as this.

What if the morrow's sun invite Him on to scenes of toil and care ? The price he earneth day by day, No 'master's' claim shall ever share.

Proud of his birthright, he can sing Of friends, of liberty and home; To steal this jewel from the soul, The spoiler's foot can never come No dark'ning veil is ever drawn To shut out knowledge from the mind; Her light illuminates his toil, And guides his reason, halting, blind.

You call the poor man 'slave," and say That Heaven ordained the foul decree, And ages hence must fix the seal. That Heaven has set on poverty :-Aye, more than slander—'tis the breath Of blasphemy, defiant, bold,-You bow a humble, suppliant knee Before the glittering shrine of gold.

A poor man, o'er Judea's plains, Once trod a solitary way: No princely throng, with welcome strains, Crowded around his weary way.

At nightfall, ne'er a kindly voice Gave him a welcome to repose, No sumptuous fare for him was spread, For him no cheerful song arose.

The rich would scorn the lowly Guest, The proud deride his mean attire, And at his high and kingly claim Was hotly kindled royal ire.

In senate halls he was reviled-The friend of publicans is He, His mission amid captive souls To set the heavy-burdened free.

Was He a slave, that Glorious One? 'Poor and despised, a child of grief!'
And they the humble fishermen, That hastened to the world's relief?

Nay, haughty Southron, ne'er again In Freedom's hall the libel tell! O, utter not those shameful words, That freemen's hearts will e'er repel!

Niagara Falla. INFLUENCE. If in one poor bleeding bosom,

I a woe-swept chord have stilled: If a dark and restless spirit, I with hope of heaven have filled; If I've made, for life's hard battle, One faint heart grow brave and strong Then, my God, I thank thee, bless thee, For the precious gift of song.—Currwoop

# The Liberator.

. SUBSTANCE OF THE DISCOURSE Delivered by Gerrit Smith, In Peterboro', February 21, 1858.

Word has gone out that I am this day to present s large assembly. It is indeed a new religion that I am to present; and yet it is an old one. It is old, and ere a thorough and gospel honesty can character yet it is new. It is the same religion which was us. I say fallen nature. Let me remark, that I do preached and lived by Jesus Christ more than not entertain the common views of this subject. Owwas once delivered unto the saints.' Thus, old is this and intellectual laws, we inherit a constitu religion : and yet, so little is it preached and apprehended, it well deserves to be called a new one.

I see, my neighbors, that you are disappointed. You came to this place with your curiosity highly excited to hear about a new religion: and it turns out that I am to tell you of but the old one. I have put a damper upon your raised expectations by anno ing for my theme the old religion of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, is it not a new religion to many of you? The commandment that ye 'love one another' was, in point of fact, an old one : and yet Jesus said, 'A ndment I give unto you, that ye love one another.' To those whom he addressed, it was new.

Do I stir the indignation of some of you by intimating that you are not accustomed to hear the religion of Jesus preached? But when and where do you hear it preached? 'Every Sunday,' say you. 'In all the churches,' say you. - Well, if this is so, I confess that I am not so fortunate as you are; for very rarely do I hear it. You tell me that the clergymen of this neighborhood preach it. These are good men; I love and honor them; and I doubt not that they are in the way to heaven. But, if I understand them, it is not the religion of Jesus Christ which they preach. They preach in favor of creeds, and churches, and a clerical order of men. So mistaken are they, as still to believe that Jesus came to establish all these :- | | I ask again-where does He teach that the want whereas, he came to send them all down stream. Blind are they still to the fact, that when His religion shall come to prevail over the whole earth, there will not one church creed be left; no, nor one clergyman; no, nor one church, in the present and popular sense of

A religious creed is proper. Every man should have one. But a church ureed is improper. Fifty or a hundred people in Peterboro' or Cazenovia, however much alike in their views and spirit, should no more be required to adopt a common religious creed, than to shorten or stretch out their bodies to a common length.

There is a sad misconception in regard to a church elso. The common idea is, that, to make a church, people must come together and organize, much as in the case of a Mutual Insurance Company. This is the way a sectarian church is made. But Jesus no more thought of providing for a sectarian church than for a political party. In His eye, the Christians of a place are the church of the place; and this, too, whether they know it or not, or will it not. They are such by the force of their character; and votes can neither make nor unmake the fact.

As to the clerical order. Many clergymen are among the best of men. Nevertheless, such an order is wholly unauthorized, and exceedingly pernicious. Their assumption of an exclusive right to teach religion makes the teachers conceited, dogmatic, arrogant, tyrannical; and their hearers lazy in mind, and slavish

The plea for a clerical order is, that men learned in religion are needed to teach it. This, however, is a pagan idea, that has come down to us. To be able to teach a pagan religion-to explain its mysteries and superstitions and absurdities-does indeed require much study of books, and much cabalistic learning. Somewhat so is it in the case of the Hebrew religion also. But the religion taught by Jesus is not a letter, but a life. So simple is it, that the unlearned can both understand and teach it. Even fishermen he pronounced fit to teach his religion. Ay, little children can comprehend it. 'Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou has perfected praise,' says Jesus. I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, says he, 'that thou hast hid these things from the wis and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Wise and good men are the teachers in many theological seminaries. Emphatically true is this in the case of the one in our own county. Nevertheless, a heological seminary is a mistake. This it is because is too simple to make the training of a theological he shall not be safe who mistakes in regard to the seminary necessary for those who teach it. We spirit and essence, the soul and substance of religion. sure us that the religion which He has given to the given, it nevertheless does not follow that they shall should allow the wisdom and goodness of God to asworld must correspond, in its simplicity, with the simplicity of the masses.

Let it not be supposed, from what I have said, that I object to the pastorship. Every church should have at least one pastor. He may, or may not, however, have many of the gifts of a preacher.

Every true church of Christ is a simple democracy Such, practically, were the primitive churches. Its ordinary assemblies should be mere conferences, in which all persons, male or female, are to feel entirely free to speak as the spirit moves them. In this wise are they capable, without having any other preachers than those of their own body, to edify the church, and progress of civilization, and of filling the world with to glorify God. No Christian should doubt his right ignorance and superstition. It is adapted, as no other to open his lips on such occasions. Faith in Christ book is, to enrich the mind and expand the soul. But is the warrant to speak for Christ. 'I believed,' says misapprehended, misinterpreted, and perverted to the Paul, 'and therefore have I spoken.' But, in addition to this means of grace and growth within themselves, the collective churches should have, and should liberally support, a powerful itinerant ministry: and this I can say, without being inconsistent with what I But our reason is, under God, the final judge in al among the churches, as did the Pauls and Barnabasses less, this book, like every other book, is to be regarded of ancient times. The obscurest country church should as the servant of reason, and not reason as the servan be favored, as often as every month or two, with a dis- of it. Reason must sit in judgment upon the Bible course from a Finney, a Beecher, a Lucretia Mott, as well as upon all things else; for it is the voice of an Angelina Weld, a Chapin, a Parker, a Beriah God in the soul, and nothing must ever be allowed Green, an Alonzo Potter, or an Abram Pryne. (1)

But I proceed to add to my reasons for declaring that the clergymen of this neighborhood do not preach the religion of Jesus. They do not preach it for they preach that salvation turns on believing in the 'doctrines. I am not blaming them for teaching the divinity of Christ, the atonement, an eternal hell, and the plenary inspiration of the Bible. What I blame them for is, their teaching that they who do not understand and receive these doctrines must perish. I might admit that Jesus taught all these doctrines. But where did he teach that if a man does not understand and receive them, he shall perish? He taught that at the close of this earthly drama, men are to be judged by their lives. The great decisive question then will be -- not what were your doctrines, but what were your deeds. How did you acquit yourself in regard to those simple duties, opportunities for doing which crowd the whole pathway of both high and humble life, even from childhood to the grave. Did you feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, and wel- of passion and prejudice :- or, to speak perhaps with come the stranger, and visit the sick and the prisoner? In perfect and beautiful consistency with these interrogatories is the Savior's declaration : 'By their fruits ye shall know them'; and also the Apostle's; legitimate guide. It may lead us to ruin. Still, we · Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Fa- are not at liberty to give it up for any other leader ther is to visit the widow and the fatherless in their

False tests of character do our clerical neighbors apply in their trying of us by 'the doctrines.' In re- loss. What was due from us when we had a right judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was ed or supplanted it. We cannot cancel our obligawell with him : was not this to know me? saith the tions by our crimes. Lord.' Says Micah: 'What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, love mercy, and walk hum- authority of the Bible is claimed on the ground of its

things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' It is honesty that He enjoins in these words. To be honest is to be a Christian. The most honest man on earth is the best Christian on earth. It is indeed the most comprehensive honesty that is here required. The spirit which dwelt in Jesus can alone inspire it; and strangers are new religion: and hence, no doubt, this unusually we to that spirit until we are born again. Radica must be the change in our fallen and depraved nature, eighteen centuries ago. It is the same 'faith which ing to ancestral violations of moral as well as physical rally as well as physically and intellectually impaired. This is all I mean by a fallen nature, adding thereto what we may ourselves have done to degrade it. The clergy of our neighborhood believe and incul

ate that little can be done for a man until he has beome thoroughly instructed in, and entirely converted o, that whole form of doctrine which they regard as vital. This step taken, and his next is to confo life to the teaching. Now I admit that the creed exerts an influence upon the life; but it is not so great as that which the life exerts upon the creed. The creed should be left to grow out of the life, rather than the life out of the creed. Let a man set out to deal more justly and lovingly with his fellow-men, and he will soon find himself forming a creed which corresponds with his improved course of life. As his life becomes increasingly pure and beautiful, so will his creed become increasingly sound and comprehensive. In saying that the life influences the creed, more than the creed the life, I am justified by the Savior's declaration: 'If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine.' It is mainly in doing right that we get a right creed.

But it is said that Jesus requires faith, and make it the condition of salvation. Faith in what? Is the doctrines on which our clergymen harp habitualof such faith is fatal? 'However this may be,' reply our clergymen, 'He nevertheless make faith in Himself essential.' I admit it. He says: 'If ye believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your sins. But just here comes up the great question-what is it to believe in Christ? Is it to believe in 'the doc trines'? If so, then the millions of good men, who had never heard of them, nor even of Christ, and the millions too of good men, who, having heard of them had nevertheless mistaken conceptions of them, have perished. But as sure as God is just and merciful all good men, live and die they in whatever ignorance of the person of Christ or of 'the doctrines,' are saved. What then is it to believe in Christ? I an swer, that such belief, in its very highest sense, is faith faith in justice, sincerity, mercy, love, and other mor al qualities of which man, be he in Christendom or heathendom, has instinctive knowledge, and for his growth in which, be he in Christendom or heathendom, he is responsible. These are the qualities which made up that sum of truth which Jesus came into our world to live to honor, and die to magnify; and of which He declares Himself to be the imperson tion when He says: 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.' This is the truth of which He spake when He said to Pilate : 'To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth.' I repeat, that to believe in Jesus, in the very highest sense, is to believe in those virtues which were all clustered in His perfect character: and, moreover, it is to believe in them so cordially and so constantly as to make them our own by their blossoms and fruits in our lives. Our lives and our likeness to Christ are the precise measure of our

I am well aware how contrary to the common view of it is this view of faith in Christ. As is generally held, right apprehensions-adoring, melting thought of His person and personal character, constitute preeminently true faith in Christ. I would not under value such apprehensions and thoughts. He who has them not, even though the life and death of Christ are clearly before him, can give no satisfactory proo that he appreciates the truths which Christ came to teach and illustrate, and no satisfactory proof that he velcomes the duties which He came to enjoin. Nevertheless, the Savior does himself admit that men may mistake Him, and yet be safe. 'Whosoever,' says he, speaketh a word against the Son of Man, it shall be Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him." That is, If men may err in regard to Christ, and yet be for be forgiven, who live in the denial of those vital truths which the Spirit of God teaches in every heart.

I said that our clergymen make the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Bible essential to salvation; and that, in so doing, they preach not the religion of Christ. But are they not also in error in respect to the fact of such inspiration ?

The Bible is really the best book in the world though the present uses of it make it practically the worst. All other books put together are, not s much as the Bible is, the occasion of obstructing the extent it is, no other book -nay, no number of booksdoes so much to darken the mind and shrivel the soul.

The clergy make the Bible supreme authority have said of the simplicity of Christ's religion. The questions. The Bible, instead of being used but to Pauls and Barnabasses of modern times should travel enlighten reason, is made to override it. Nevertheto be exalted above it. In reply to the folly, which makes reason inferior or antagonistic to faith, we declare it to be the basis of all true faith, and repugnant to no true faith. Reason, in a word, is religion; and the one duty of every man is to bring his passion and appetites, and whole self, into subjection to it The most reasonable person in Peterboro' is the best Christian in Peterboro'. Most happily chosen is the word where Paul calls religion a reasonable service.

But it is said that reason is not competent to pa upon religious questions. Jesus, however, says it is. Why judge ye not even of yourselves what is right? He came to throw men back upon their own consciousness of right and wrong, and to hold them to the deductions and confessions of their own reas And does not Paul also teach the sufficiency of rea son, in the first chapter of Romans (19, 20 and 21)

It is true that the reason of most men is greatly perverted. It is true that, in innumerable instances, it is reduced to little better than a compound more philosophical correctness, such a compound is allowed to take the place of reason. Nevertheless reason, poor guide though we may make it, is our only no, not for Church, nor Pope, nor Bible. If we have debased and corrupted our reason, we alone are re sponsible for the wrong, and we alone must bear the to good King Josiah, Jeremiah says: "He reason, is equally due from us when we have destroy

Our acknowledgment of the absolute and suprem bly with thy God? And how emphatically does Jesus inspiration. But where is the proof that it is inspired?

elergy? Is it to be looked for in what are called ex-

fallible. He does not claim to be.

I believe in the Bible: That is, I believe in its great unchangeable principles and everlasting truths, and needed extension to the acquaintance of man with in all of it which is in harmony with those principles God. The heavens above and the earth beneath, the and truths. If there are parts of it which my reason shall ever teach me are not in such harmony, these I In what I said of inspiration, I had no reference to

the power to foretell future events. That events were foretold by some of the writers of the Bible, I cannot He was like God, that He was crucified.

I said that reason has been overridden by the Bible. The vast evil consequences of it, no human mind can self? It is because its defenders have been allowed to take it out of the jurisdiction of reason, and submit its claims to the Bible. So, too, war and polygwrongs suffered by woman, have done not a little to prolong their existence by fleeing from their prompt ondemnation in the court of reason, to try what they can make for themselves out of certain cunning interpretations of the Bible. Alas! that it ever should be left to the decision of a book whether these naked and enormous crimes are or are not crimes! For what book is there that men cannot read in any and every way to suit their interests? The matchless crime of slavery is instantly condemned by not only the enlightened reason of manhood, but the untutored instincts of childhood. How absurd, then, to submit its character to the decision of pages and philology and exegesis-to the decision, which learning and ingenuity are as likely to draw to the one side as to the

If men are so low in understanding as to need Bible to teeah them the moral character of the crimes I have enumerated, then are they too low in understanding to be helped by a Bible. Then may Bibles be made as well for donkeys and monkeys as for men

Who is willing to be a slave? No one. And this proves that the reason of man, and the whole nature of man, universally condemn slavery. Hence does it prove that, if there is anything in the Bible for slavery, the Bible is so far wrong.

Again, how speedy and certain the conclusion we

are brought to by experience, observation, science, study of the laws of life and health, that intoxicating liquors are unfit for a beverage! And who, but a very wicked or a very stupid man, will appeal from that conclusion to the Bible, or to any thing else?

Who, too, but such a man, will ever feel it neces sary to go to the Bible to put polygamy on trial? Higher authority and more certain evidence than the Bible have we on this point, as well as on the point of rum-drinking. The census tables, in all ages and all nations, dispose of the question of polygamy. belong unto the Lord our God.' They prove the equal number of the sexes, and confirm the declaration of Jesus, that God made us \* male and female'-only one woman for one man, and only one man for one woman. Whoever, therefore, gets a plurality of wives, robs his brother; and whoever gets a plurality of husbands, robs her sister ;- just as the people who get two or three farms apiece have made themselves guilty of robbing the landless. By the way, our government shrinks from putting down its foot upon polygamy where it is made a religious institution. But the province of government is to uphold the great natural rights of its subjects; and none the less so where the violation of these rights is under the cover and in the name of religion. The very same obligation rests on government to suppress polygamy, that rests on it to suppress land-monopoly: women, as to punish the robbing men of land.

Again, let the Bible say what it will of war, wh in the light of reason does not condemn it as madness and murder?

And what, too, if, as is held by many. Paul does teach that woman, as compared with man, is an inferior order of being ? Who that receives such insane teaching is fit to have a wife or a daughter?

Lest what I have now said might be construed into the admission, that these crimes are countenanced by the Biole, I take this occasion to affirm, that no one of them finds the least shelter in the principles of that the atonement. Those sacrifices do, indeed, seem to blessed book. Neither the superstitious regard for the Bible, and the superstitious assumptions in its behalf, on the one hand; nor the assaults, which atheism, skepticism and an ungodly rationalism make and according to Jeremiah, (7: 22,) God Himself deupon it on the other, can ever shake the confidence which he reposes in it, who, in the light of a true. and therefore reverent reason, has studied the claims of this volume to acceptance, honor, love, and obedi-

I arraigned our clergymen for holding that the doc trine of an eternal hell must be believed in, in order to salvation. For, be the doctrine true or false, I cannot think that we shall be either saved or lost by any views we may entertain of it. I now arraign them they, either to preach or to entertain a faith in it. which is free from all doubts.

I confess-perhaps to my shame and condemnation -that I do not feel a deep and abiding interest in the next stage of our being. Far less concerned am I to know what is the future state, than to know and do the duties of the present.

I believe in future punishment. It is a reasonable doctrine. It is philosophically and necessarily true. For the terms which this religion keeps with slavery Every where our character must determine our condition. Every man, on dying, must go to his own place -to the place for which his character fits him. The death of his body can no more affect his character than the breaking of his spectacles or cane. His body, no more than his spectacles or cane, is a part of white, red, or black. The religion which does not go himself. That his character will surely remain eter. to bind together all human hearts is not the religious nally unchanged, I deny that any one has the right to of the Savior. A poor opinion of this revival shall I affirm. Jude teaches that persons can fall from heaven. Why then may they not rise from hell? For aught we can certainly know, there may be room in the life to come for repentance as well as apostacy. as great readiness as ever to cast votes for pro-slavery In one sense of 'everlasting punishment,' I am an undoubting believer in it-for I cannot doubt that the punishment of the sinner will be as everlasting as his of authority and the religion of reason has begun. I

Whilst I confess that I have no certain apprehen less confidently maintain that enough knowledge for way only, shall we get to heaven.

and millions of hells-that they are, in short, as nubetter answers my conception.

I blamed the clergy for holding that they must ecclesiastical interpretations of the Bible ?

make the life the test when he says: 'Therefore, all Is it in the assertion, to this end, of the churches and perish, who subscribe not to the doctrines of the diternal evidences—which, by the way, are to be searched after in that stream of ignorant and superstitious rejection. I also blame them for refusing to admit traditions which has come down to our age? Oh no! even the smallest doubt of the truth of the doctrine. The proof of the inspiration, is to be looked for alone in the pages of the Bible. If not found there, it can be play, there is certainly room for such a doubt. But, found nowhere. Moreover, every man must, and upon his own responsibility, judge of the proof for himself.

I do myself believe that most of the writers of the Proof for I do myself believe that most of the writers of the Phle man femalest doubt of the truth of the doctrine. In the mind of every man who allows his reason free play, there is certainly room for such a doubt. But, whether Christ is God or man, I leave to he discussions. It suffices me to see in Him the infallible teacher of religious truth, the perfect representative, and the Bible were inspired. All, however, I mean by their fullest and most winning expressions of His Father inspiration, is the special flowing of the divine mind I welcome Him as God manifest in the flesh.' My into the human mind, of which they enjoy the most largest conceptions of wisdom, justice, love are more who walk the closest with God. Thus blessed were than realized in Him; and it is my largest concepprophets and apostles. Subjects of this inspiration tions of these and other attributes of Deity, that there are in every age. The sublime pages of Paul make up the Deity I love and honor. Surely, if Lady prove that he was lagely inspired. But he is not in- Guion may say, 'The providences of God are God,' I may say, The attributes of God are God.

The mission of Christ to the world was to give al needed extension to the acquaintance of man with instructive course of providence, and the more instructive teachings of the Spirit, were insufficient to this will reject. For these, to use a law phrase, are void end, without the manifestation of God in Christ. It said that His mission was to die for the world? answer that His death was incidental to His faithful exhibition of His Father's character. It was because The one thing else for which I blamed our clergy

men was their making faith in the doctrine of the atonement essential to salvation. But are they not measure. Why, for instance, is it, that slavery is also blameworthy for making themselves so perfectly able to make so plausible and effective a defence of it- and stubbornly certain of the truth of the doctrine I am not disposed to controvert the doctrine. In my eye, there is none of that absurdity in it, which is so freely imputed to it. For aught I seekit might amy, and the drinking of intoxcalting liquors, and the have been decreed in the councils of howen, that a wrongs suffered by woman, have done not a little to being of Christ's superior dignite must die for man in order that the claims of the law be satisfied; in order that God 'might be just, and the justifier' of

But, although I make no opposition to the doctrine, nor even object to being numbered with those who subscribe to it. I nevertheless cannot feel, as do many, that it is true beyond all possible question. Moreover, I cannot see why I should love and honor Christ any the less, if it shall turn out that the law, instead of being satisfied by the righteousness of Christ, is satisfied by the righteousness which His spirit has wrought in them who love Him. That Christ lived, and suffered, and died for men, is abundant reason for their giving Him all possible love and honor, without their stopping to calculate what they have gained by Him. Moreover, it is the privilege of every good man to know that the claims of the law against himself are satisfied. The fact that he is good-that he loves God and man-is the highest possible proof he can have that they are satisfied. Paul closes his enumeration of virtues with the declaration : 'Against such there is no law.' No more can there be law against him who is adorned with these virtues. Admitting the doctrine of the atonement to be certainly and entirely true, nevertheless, the importance of our understanding and believing it is greatly overrated. But the importance of our believing that Jesus lived, and suffered, and died for man is in no danger of being overrated; for, thus believing and understanding, our hearts are drawn out in love to Him, and to the truth, and to our fellow-men, and to our Father. This is the needed effect upon us of the Advent. But on what precise principles it is, and whether by any of the supposed expedients or technicalities that our accounts in the book of heaven are balanced, is a matter we may safely leave among ' the secret things which

Again, I cannot, because Paul seems to inculcate the doctrine of the atonement, feel entirely certain that it is true. He says but little of it, except in his letter to the Jews :- and in what he says of it to them, he is, perhaps, more swayed by his and their common education, than by any revelations or inspirations. We must not forget that the Jewish education was full of atoning sacrifices. From early childhood, the Jew was taught to believe that the animal killed in sacrifice atoned for the sins of an individual or a family. How natural, then, was it for Paul to speak to his countrymen of Jesus, who did indeed die for the world, as One who had atoned for the sins of the world! Thus natural was it for John to say, as he looked upon Jesus : Behold the lamb of God, which aketh away the sins of the world!' He virtually said : 'Behold not the literal lamb which taketh away the sin of but an individual or a family; but, behold the figurative lamb-the lamb of God-which taketh away the sins of the world! If the atonement of Christ is but a mere fancy, it is, nevertheless, not strange that a Jew should entertain it. So fully posessed was he of the idea of atonement, that it must have been very easy for him to fancy a sufferer for another to be an atoning sufferer.

I do not forget that the animal sacrifices are wha s most relied on to prove the truth of the doctrine of be meet offerings to a cruel, bloody pagan God. Moreover, according to Paul, (Heb. 10: 6,) Jesus testified that His father had had no pleasure in them; clared that He commanded them not. Still, it must be confessed that there is a vast amount of evidence in the Bible that God did command these sacrifices. If, however, we must yield to this evidence, it nevertheless remains to be proved that they are types of the sacrifice in which the Lord Jesus offered up Himself. May not a man be good, and yet doubt the sufficiency of the proof to this end? One thing more under this head. Instead of the vulgar view of the atonement, may not Christ be regarded as in effect an for their undoubting faith in it. No warrant have atoning sacrifice, because He saves men from the penalty of the law by the converting influence which low out upon them from his life and death?

There is a wide-spread revival of religion in our country. Of what religion, time alone can surely tell. It is not Christianity, if it shall allow the rich to stand aloof from the poor, and the people of one complexion to refuse to associate with the people of another. It is not Christianity, if it is like the current religion. and with the murderous prejudice against the colored races, proves it to be a spurious and satanic religion. Why, the very first lesson in the school of Christ i to know our brother and sister, and to see Christ in every man, woman and child, be they rich or poor have, if there shall still be as much opposition as ever to negro suffrage; and as great unwillingness as ever to mingle complexions in the school and church : and My hearers, the great struggle between the religion

did not begin with Martin Luther and the early Protestants. They were still creed-bound; and their ensions of the kind, or degree, or continuance of either slavement to the Bible differed not essentially from future punishment or future enjoyment, I neverthe- enslavement to the Church. This struggle is chiefly the growth of the last half century; and in America me and for all men on this point is, that in the life to nothing has contributed to it so much as the Tempercome, 'it shall be well' with the righteous, and 'ill' ance and Anti-Slavery reforms-since nothing a with the wicked; and that the 'Judge of all the much as these has awakened a sense of human dig earth will do right," as well there as here. Whilst nity and human rights, and called for a common sense earth is our home, let us discharge with alacrity and and practical religion. The Protestants are wont to delight the duties of earth. In that way, and in that disparage the Catholics. Neverthless, the mass of the Protestants are with the Catholics in favor of a I spoke of the future as a place. I had perhaps bet- religion of authority, and against the religion of reater call it a state. That there are millions of heavens son. At this point they are essentially alike. For what submission is there to the Catholic church which merous as are the differences in moral character is more degrading or dwarfing than that which Protestants are so inexorably required to yield to the

We are living in an age of great progress progress in the material, include and moral world Every thing is going forward and improving exten Every thing is going for the remains stereotyped and ecclesiastical religion. That remains stereotyped and unchangeable. But we thank God for the abounding unchangeable. But we stand out to the abounding evidence that it will ere long give place to another and better religion. Already are there dawnings of and better rengions that glad day when the superstitions and absurding, which have so long debased and tormented men, that which have so long dever; and when Christianity is all her reasonableness and righteousness, shall ore. spread the whole earth.

Alas, how little has been accomplished by the superstitions and absurdities for the glory of God a the good of man! War, slavery, land-monopoly, p. lygamy, drunkenness, the wrongs of woman still a main. The religion of reason—that religion which says to man, 'Yea, and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?' had long ago done away vid these evils, and turned this sin-smitten, priest-ride superstition-bound world into a paradise. perstition-bound that we, who are busy in reducing

religion to reason, are busy, at least in effect, to erg. throw it. But, to bring religion into identity with reason is not to degrade, but to exalt it. And again it is not we who endanger religion, but those who duce it to a superstition. There is, indeed, darger that men will break loose from the Bible. But the danger springs mainly from the fact that rapidly is. creasing multitudes will no longer consent to be their necks to a religion of authority, and receive the Pible because it is the Bible, rather than because the eason has endorsed it. If this book shall be the aside as a superstition, it will be because its friend are unwilling that reason, and reason only shall pas upon it, and interpret it. The truth is, that the cirl. ization of Christendom is fast outgrowing the religion of Christendom;—and this is because reason is allow. ed to infuse itself more and more freely into circle tion, while it is still driven away from the precint of religion. Nowhere, probably, are the people me ready than they are in Italy to reject the current Christianity. And this is because nowhere is the cur. rent Christianity more emphatically a bundle of m perstitions, and because nowhere is it more industriously and superstitiously urged upon the superstition of the people. As an additional reason, nowhere the are the people opening their eyes faster to the religious impositions practised upon themselves. In a ver-Italy has outgrown her religion. Her limbs have by come too big for her garments. Italian civilization far in advance of Italian Christianity.

We who inculcate this religion of reason must be our account with great opposition, not to say virules; persecution. Because we cannot 'frame to pronounce the Shibboleth of the churches and clergy, we seed, ed infidels. It is the bad fashion of the age-it has been the bad fashion of every age-to apply doctrinal ten of character, instead of judging men by their frait. But never is it reasonable or Christian to go back of the life to judge of the character. To do so, is to h guilty of wicked intolerance. If we regard og neighbor's doctrines as unsound, and are neverthele constrained to acknowlenge his pure, and loving at beautiful, and reverent life, then, instead of condens. ing him for his unsound doctrines, we are to do his double honor for that goodness of his heart which maintains itself in the face of the errors of his under standing; and, what is more, we are to thank Godin consenting to dwell by His spirit in a heart which i coupled with a wrong head.

We regret to be compelled, by want of rom, to omit a small portion of this Discourse, so full dis terest to every free spirit.

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