

those which forbid to kill and covet, with the three between them, which malignant tooth, gnawed out the chief commandments whereon the law and prophets hang. This amphibious of the Western world then swallowed down the holiest words of Hebrew or of Christian speech, and in their place it left a hissing at the higher law of God.

Mr. Webster stamped his foot, and broke through into the great hollow of practical Atheism, which undergirds the State and Church. Then what a caving in was there! The firm-se base of Northern cities quaked and yawned with gaping rents. Penn's sandy foundation shook again, and black men fled from the city of brotherly love, as doves from a farmer's barn when summer lightning strikes the roof. There was a twist in Faneuil Hall, and the doors could not open wide enough for Liberty to regain her ancient Cradle; only soldiers, recruited to steal a man, themselves stole and in. Ecclesiastical quicksand ran down the hole again. Metropolitan churches toppled, and pitched, and canted, and cracked, their bowing walls all of plumb. Colleges, broken from the chain which held them in the stream of time, rushed towards the abyssal rent. Harvard led the way, *Christo et Ecclesie in rebus*. Down plunged Andover. "Conscience and the Constitution" clutched in its ancient, falling arms. New Haven began to cave in. Doctors of divinity, orthodox, heterodox with only a doxy of doubt, no settled opinion, had great alacrity in sinking, and went down quick, as live as ever, into the pit of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, the bottomless pit of lower law—one with his mother, cloaked by a surplice, hid 'neath his sinister arm, and an acknowledged brother grasped by his remaining limb. Fossils of theology, dead as Ezekiel's bones, took to their feet again, and stood up for most arrant wrong. There is no higher law of God, quoth they, as they went down; no golden rule, only the statutes of man. A man with mythologic ear might fancy that he heard a snickering laugh round the world below, mortifying, whinnying, and neighing, as it echoed from the infernal spot pressed by the fallen monsters of ill-fame, who, thousands of years ago, on the same errand, plunged down the self-same way. What tidings the echo bore, Dante nor Milton could not tell. Let us leave that to darkness, to silence, and to death.

But, spite of all this, in every city, in every town, in every college, and in each capizing church, there were found faithful men, who feared not the monster, heeded not the stamping—nay, Doctors of Divinity were found living—in all their houses there was light, and the destroying angel shook them not. The Lord came in the open vision, their eyes; they had their lamps trimmed and burning, their loins girt; they stood road-ready. Liberty and Religion turned in thither, and the slave found bread and wings. "When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will hold me up."

ANTI-COLONIZATION MEETING. At a meeting of the colored citizens of Syracuse, convened on Tuesday evening, March 18th, 1853, for the purpose of expressing their views upon the subject of Colonization, the Rev. J. W. Loguen was called to the chair, and T. A. Keene appointed Secretary.

The object of the meeting having been stated by the chairman, Messrs. G. B. Vashon, Wm. Jenkins, C. Highgate, Samuel Ray and H. J. Simmons were appointed a committee to draft resolutions for their action. They reported the following PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

At a crisis when danger threatens any class of the community, their duty, imposed upon them by reason, and by a consciousness of violated manhood, compels them to enter their solemn protest against all aggression, made or attempted upon their liberties; in order that the world may know that, however insignificant may be their number and political influence, they are not tame, submissive and willing victims of tyranny and injustice. In view of these premises, and of the wrongs which colored Americans have been forced to endure in the land of their nativity, we have decided, after calm and serious deliberation, that it be

Resolved, That we, the colored citizens of Syracuse, view the time which has been spent by nearly all the State Governments, in relation to the class of which we are members, as the offering of the most unhallored prejudice—as efforts to force into expatriation all those whom a dread of the indignation of the civilized world will not permit them to enslave.

Resolved, That we regard the various measures which have been employed to effect this purpose as unfounded in sound policy, utterly repugnant to the spirit of free institutions, and accursed in the sight of God.

Resolved, That our abhorrence of the scheme of African Colonization is not, in the slightest degree, abated; that we recognize in it the most intense hatred of the colored race, clad in the garb of pretended philanthropy; and that we regard the revival of Colonization Societies in various sections of the Union, and the expulsion of colored citizens from Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, and, more recently, from Illinois, as the most flagrant of a passion fit only for demons to indulge in.

Resolved, That we have heard, with the deepest regret, of the formation of a Colonization Society in our own county of Onondaga; but, that even in view of this sad event, we have reason to congratulate ourselves upon the fact that the great majority of its members are of a character so generally and definitively known, as to raise doubts with reference to the real benevolence of an association thus constituted.

Resolved, That if there be a colored man among us, so completely degraded as to look upon this plan of Colonization with the slightest degree of approval, he shows himself thereby to be utterly lost to every sense of manhood, and deserves only to be regarded as a moral leper—as a foe to his own best interests and those of his race—as a traitor to humanity—the traitor most accursed!

Resolved, That we are opposed to emigration in large bodies to any country—whether it be to Liberia, Canada, the West Indies, or elsewhere; that we believe our right to remain in this country to be as indisputable as that of our white fellow citizens; and that our own well-being, as well as that of our enslaved brethren at the South, requires us to look forward to this land as the place of our burial, as it has been that of our birth.

This report was received and unanimously adopted, after remarks by the Chairman, Messrs. Vashon, Jenkins, Keene, Highgate, Dickinson, and others. An admirable letter from Mr. H. K. Brown, protesting against the scheme of African Colonization, was then received and read.

After providing for the publication of its proceedings in various papers, the meeting, on motion, adjourned.

J. W. LOGUEN, Chairman. T. A. KEENE, Sec.

From the London Panch. GENERAL PIERCE'S CREED.

At the end of a speech, replete with bombast, delivered by General Pierce at Washington, on his inauguration as President of the United States, and indicative of his intended policy in that capacity, the General made the following profession of his faith as touching slavery:—

To every theory of society or government, whether the offspring of feverish ambition, or of morbid enthusiasm, calculated to dissolve the bonds of affection which unite us, I shall interpose a stern and ready resistance. I believe that involuntary servitude, as it exists in several States of the Confederacy, is recognized by the Constitution. I believe that it stands like any other admitted right, and that the States wherein it exists are entitled to efficient remedies to enforce the constitutional provisions. I hold that the laws of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, are strictly constitutional, and to be unhesitatingly carried into effect. I believe that the constitutional authorities of this Republic are bound to regard the rights of the South in this respect, as to be equal to those of the North, and that the laws to enforce them should be respected and obeyed, not with a reluctance, but with a cheerful and hearty consent, and according to the decisions of the tribunal to which their exposition belongs.

So far, however, General Pierce's Creed has at least the merit of consistency. In this "connection," as himself would say, it contains no objectionable phrase, except "involuntary servitude." That is merely misquoting. Why not have said at once "Negro Slavery"? Surely, General Pierce was not ashamed of the name—he is not ashamed of

the thing. And he should have boldly said so, and carried his belief out. It lacks, to complete it, a few additional clauses. As, "I believe that might is right; I believe that Negroes are property alike with cattle. I believe that we are at liberty to flog slaves at pleasure. I believe that there are no ties of relationship between colored persons which we ought to regard. I believe that there is no cause or just impediment why we should not, if we choose, traffic in human flesh, if black. I believe that we are not forbidden by any law, either of justice or humanity, from separating black child from parent, black husband from wife. I believe that there is no such thing as duty towards a black neighbor. I believe in the supremacy of popular feeling in the United States. I believe in a duty to that. I don't believe in a duty to any other power."

Instead of which fearless exposition of his facts, General Pierce proceeded to preach the following sermon:—

But let not the foundation of our hopes rest upon man's wisdom. It will not be sufficient that sectional prejudice find no place in the public deliberations. It will not be sufficient that the rash counsels of human passion are rejected. It must be felt that there is no national security but in the nation's humbled, acknowledged dependence upon God and his overruling providence.

Examine this for goodness' sake. By "sectional prejudice," Pierce means Abolitionism; he uses the word in that "connection." Then, in brief, his precious exhortation amounts to this: "It is not enough that we must not talk about abolishing slavery; we must also trust in Providence."

Did drunkenness—did madness—ever utter more awfully absurd than this impious snuff! The sequel to the Creed of General Pierce should, consistently, have been, "Hit the nigger hard; he has no friends on earth; and there is no friend to help him elsewhere."

We read that 50,000 in the streets declared that "Pierce is the man for the times." That was the response to the General's Creed. Had it concluded with the appropriate and logical negation, no doubt they would have said "AMEN!"

From the Commonwealth. MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, April 11. [To effect the bill for remunerating the Catholics for the lawless destruction of Mount Benedict.]

Mr. PRINCE, of Essex, asked leave to introduce the following bill:— AN ACT RELATING TO SUFFERERS BY A MOB IN BOSTON.

Be it enacted, &c. SECT. 1.—His Excellency the Governor is hereby authorized and empowered to appoint a Board of three commissioners, who shall have power to receive and adjudicate on all claims for loss of property by a mob in Boston, in the day time of the twenty-first of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five.

SECT. 2.—Notice shall be given of the time and place of such hearings, to all persons interested, by a publication thereof in the Boston *Liberator*, or other newspaper, and such other newspapers as said Commissioners shall deem expedient, at least thirty days before the time appointed therefor.

SECT. 3.—Said Commissioners shall award to each claimant a sum not exceeding the actual loss he may have sustained in consequence of the proceedings of said mob; which awards, as aforesaid, may be, shall be returned to His Excellency the Governor, under the hands and seals of said Commissioners, setting forth specially the amounts awarded by them to each person or association, which amounts shall be paid out of the Treasury of the Commonwealth to the persons or associations named in said awards, or their legal representatives. And His Excellency the Governor is hereby authorized to draw his warrant therefor accordingly.

SECT. 4.—There shall be allowed and paid to the Board of Commissioners such sums for their services in executing said commission, as the Governor and Council may deem reasonable.

Upon the question of granting leave to introduce this bill, Mr. PRINCE said, that on the afternoon of October 21st, 1835, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, consisting of some thirty ladies, of most estimable character, belonging to some of the most respectable families in the city, assembled in a hall in Washington street, (which had been leased as an Anti-Slavery office), for the purpose of listening to an address from Geo. Thompson, Esq., the eloquent British advocate of emancipation. At the time for the commencement of the meeting, an immense collection of people, estimated at 10,000, blocked up portions of Court, Washington and State streets, and Wilson's lane, vociferously declaring that the meeting should not be held, and demanding that Thompson should be delivered into their hands. The Mayor having reached the building, announced to the crowd from a window, that Mr. Thompson was not within. Mr. Prince contended that the Mayor ought to have told them, in answer to their inquiries concerning Thompson, "that he was not within," and that whether he was present or not, he should have ordered the mob to disperse, and then have done the utmost in his power to enforce that order. The city authorities were remiss in regard to their duty. The sign over the windows of the Anti-Slavery office was taken down, and by certain well known residents of Boston, (one of those, a leading politician, who figured conspicuously in the last Presidential campaign), it was broken into fragments by the excited men, and a police officer offering the slightest resistance! The mob then proceeded to the delivery of Garrison to their tender mercies. They rushed up the staircase, and pressed into the hall, where the President of the Society, Miss Mary Parker, who has ascended to a better world, was engaged in commencing the exercises with a fervent prayer, which sensibly affected many of those who listened. The ladies were obliged to retreat precipitately from the hall, to ensure their personal safety; and as they passed down the stairs, they were grossly insulted by rude and even obscene salutations. The mob entered, through a door, opening from the hall into the *Liberator*'s printing office adjoining, when, yielding to the advice of his friends, Mr. Garrison suffered himself to be lowered out of a back window, finally landing in Wilson's lane, where a delegation of the mob stood ready to greet him, rushing upon him like tigers, tearing his clothes from his body, and robbing him of his wallet and all the money he had in the world—not much, perhaps—but still, all he had. He was hurried into a carriage, and finally lodged for safety in Leverett street jail. Mr. Prince said that the occurrence was one of the most flagrant outrages upon human rights ever perpetrated since the settlement of this continent. The amount of property actually destroyed was not large; it was not the pecuniary value of property that is in view in the proposed bill, but it was the principle of the thing which is contended for. If the proprietors of Mount Benedict are to be indemnified, then let us do justice likewise to Mr. Garrison and his associates, who were mobbed; not as advocates of the creed or policy of a sect, but as advocates of great principles of freedom, justice, equity—principles which lie at the very basis of our republican government. Mr. G. is a native citizen of Massachusetts, who has always demeaned himself as a quiet, peaceable member of the community. When assailed by the mob, he was laboring for the maintenance of free discussion. He was there, therefore, assailed not only him and the anti-slavery ladies, but they struck at a fundamental principle of the American Republic—the sacred right of free speech.

Mr. P. stated that the mob in question were summoned by an inflammatory handbill, printed by the order of two Boston merchants! The outrage which the mob committed took place, not under cover of the night time, as in the case of the destruction of the Convent, but in broad daylight—no one interfering any preventive force! The mob was not a gang of rowdies, like those who assailed the nursery in Charlestown, but prominent men of the city, the ring-leaders—men whom the *Boston Commercial Gazette* of the next day reported as "well-dressed gentlemen of property and standing."

If any body in this Commonwealth is to be remunerated for loss by riot, those contemplated in this bill have a peculiar claim, which should not be slighted or overlooked. He would submit the matter to the impartial judgment of the House.

Mr. SIMES, of Boston, replied, saying he was one of the ring-leaders, and that the amount of the so-called mob, that they were mobbed, and an injury was not very great, and the amount of remuneration could not be higher than the price of a hat, or a suit of clothes.

Mr. BATES, of Lowell, urged that this was an underhand attempt to injure the bill for the relief of the sufferers by the burning of the Ursuline Convent, and with the order offered by the gentleman from Dennis, was an attempt to break down the bill, which they feared to discuss openly. He was in favor of giving leave to introduce this bill, and would have it laid on the table until Mr. Garrison and his friends asked for remuneration. No one had asked for the bill introduced by the gentleman, while the destruction of the Ursuline Convent had been before the Legislature nineteen years, and had at one time presented a petition signed by two thousand persons.

Mr. WOOD, of Boston, followed, denouncing the system which had been resorted to to kill measures by side issues. If gentlemen desired to defeat the Convent bill, they ought to attack it directly. He thought the bill passed on Friday was as pure as any dew-drop that ever fell from heaven. The question being taken, leave was granted by 112 to 41.

On motion of Mr. PRINCE, the bill was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

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THE LIBERATOR. No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, APRIL 15, 1853.

NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the city of NEW YORK, at the CHINESE ASSEMBLY ROOM, No. 539 BROADWAY, on WEDNESDAY, MAY 11th, 1853, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

THE BUSINESS MEETINGS OF THE Society will be held in the large COMMITTEE ROOM of the same building, on the AFTERNOON OF WEDNESDAY, MAY 11th, and on THURSDAY. It is very desirable that large delegations from all parts of the country shall be in attendance, not only at the public Anniversary, but at these subsequent private meetings for the transaction of important business in relation to proposed operations of the Society for the ensuing year.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, PRESIDENT. WENDELL PHILLIPS, } SECRETARIES. SYDNEY H. GAY, }

REPLY OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ., TO HON. HORACE MANN.

BOSTON, April 7th, 1853. W. L. GARRISON, Esq. DEAR SIR,—Mr. Mann dislikes the length of my letters. I am sorry they are so long, both for his sake and that of your readers. I might perhaps quote, in defence, the saying of the old English divine, "Ignorance can ask more questions in an hour than Wisdom can answer in six months"; but that might be thought personal. The question, however, is so comprehensive, that I cannot promise to be very brief.

At last, Mr. Mann enters upon a frank and elaborate defence of his conduct in the matter of colored schools. I am glad of it. It is a duty which he has long owed to the anti-slavery public, and to his own good name. If any reader thinks his defence a satisfactory one, Mr. Mann should thank me for this opportunity of making it; for I assure him, he has never had, among abolitionists, the slightest credit for any thing like what he now claims. In my opinion, the facts on which he rests his defence only deepen his guilt. I never saw or heard of the articles in the *Common School Journal*, to which he refers. But I have the most entire confidence in his personal veracity, and if he wishes to be understood to say that nine years ago he opposed the separate education of colored children, in articles published with the full responsibility of his name, I accept it as a fact. In view of it, I should not again use the precise phrase I did, that he never "gave us one word of recognition, countenance or aid." But I should still assert exactly the same in substance, namely, that he never gave us any substantial or public assistance.

Bearing, however, this claim of his in mind, let us examine his other statements. The first is, what he did, twenty years ago, as a Trustee of the Institution for the Blind. The meetings and records of those Trustees are private. What could I know, what could the public know, of the opinions expressed at those meetings, or recorded on those books? All that the abolitionists, all that the public knew, was that the only colored child, who, about that time, applied for admission to the Institution, was refused. As in other cases, we were obliged to judge the Trustees by their public actions, which we knew, not by their private opinions, which we could not know.

His second specification is a scene that took place in his parlor, or private rooms, at Bridgewater. I could not know, and surely was not bound to know, all the conversations Mr. Mann was holding in private. If, however, the private parlors of Normal School teachers are to be opened, I can refer him to a conference held in one, about that time, in which his views as to the admission of colored children to those schools were not at all what he now represents them to have been. Mr. Mann does not suspect me of this "base trick" attempted on him at Bridgewater, "some eight or ten years ago," nor very far from the time of one of my attacks on him. This is very generous in him, seeing that my attacks were made five years and three months ago, just three or five years after the alleged "trick." You rolled the water I was drinking last spring, said the wolf to the lamb. "But I was not born then," said the lamb. Does Mr. Mann remember the fable?

Of his third specification, the *Common School Journal*, I have already spoken. For his fourth, he adduces a private document, privately communicated to his friend, the City Solicitor of Boston, and now first brought to light! At that very time, Mr. Mann felt to bear alone the jeers of the profession, the contemptuous criticism of the City Solicitor, and the criticism of the daily press, for maintaining that very opinion which he was very quietly putting into the Solicitor's private desk, and thus avoiding all responsibility!

Does Mr. Mann remember Macaulay's searching criticism of the defence usually made for Charles L? We charge him with having broken his coronation oath—and we are told that he kept his marriage vow! We accuse him of having given up his people to the merciless inflictions of the most hot-headed and hard-hearted of prelates—and the defence is, that he took his little son on his knee and kissed him! We censure him for having violated the articles of the Petition of Right—and we are informed that he was accustomed to hear prayers at six o'clock in the morning! Mr. Mann's case seems to me similar. The title page of his volume of speeches is, "Slavery: Letters and Speeches, by HORACE MANN, THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BOARD OF EDUCATION." It is a title of which he is justly proud. The practice of cheating the colored child out of his legal rights in our schools had prevailed a long while in some of the large towns and

cities of the State. A few earnest but unpopular men for ten years besieged the door of the Legislature, to obtain redress. I charge the Secretary that he was never there. They gave School Committees in the various towns no rest, urging them to abolish the unjust distinction. I charge the Secretary that he was never there. The Secretary published eleven able, eloquent and detailed official Reports on the school system of the Commonwealth, one each year. I charge that, in all of them, he either wholly omitted the subject, or entirely misrepresented it.

And he replies by telling me what he did in private, as Trustee of the Institution for the Blind; by lifting up the veil, which, very properly, covered his victim's torments at Bridgewater! and by now, at last, informing the public that he did once whisper a legal opinion into the private ear of a City Solicitor! How common it is for men, especially Americans, when charged with public default, to attempt a defence by alleging some private misgiving they indulged at the time, and which they think should qualify public censure! When the first fury of New England rebuke burst on Webster's head for his 7th of March Speech, you remember his defence—"He had a provision of jury trial for fugitive slaves in his desk, but forgot to offer it!" So Boecher, arraigned for gagging discussion twenty years ago at Lane Seminary, confesses now, for the first time, that, in private, he opposed the Trustees! Long ago, when Jeffries grew pale before the Revolution of 1839, he stammered out the excuse, that he tried, in private, to oppose James II., but the King would not let him stop butchering. And Haynes, sent to Coventry by the decency of the nineteenth century, shrieks out before he dies, "I, too, strove, in private, to hold the Emperor back; but he would make me whip and hang!"

Fifthly, Mr. Mann tells us that the School Law of 1845 was passed "after consultation with him, and with his hearty approval." As every one knew, his object was to make the Common Law certain by a statute law; and to ensure, beyond contingency, the equal rights of all the colored children in the State. We all thought it had done so. He was surprised that the Supreme Court afterwards disregarded it entirely! That law was passed in consequence of the appearance of a few abolitionists before the Legislative Committee. The draft which we asked them to adopt they threw aside, and submitted one of their own. I told that Committee, at the time, that their draft was ambiguous and equivocal, and would not secure our object. One of them admitted this, half in jest, adding, "Mr. Phillips, we in Boston know that such schools are illegal, but we mean to have them, nevertheless." Had Mr. Mann stood where I stood that day, and where he should have stood, by virtue of his office, and of the interest he now claims to have always taken in this question, he would neither have given that bill his hearty approval, nor been afterwards surprised that the Supreme Court put it carelessly aside.

Sixthly, Mr. Mann says, "In my Reports, I uniformly stated the law to be such as would confer upon colored children equal school privileges, in all respects, with white ones, which I believed it did. Where the practice did not conform to the theory, I labored to make it do so, and when I left the Secretaryship, we had nearly succeeded."

This is evasion. I never criticised his Reports for misstatements of law, but of fact. No intelligent lawyer doubted what the law was; though we all knew it was, he hoped to expect that a pro-slavery court would fairly rule it. The public looked to his Reports for a correct statement of facts, and he crippled the efforts and clogged the path of the abolitionists by crying "peace," when there was no peace; by total misrepresentation.

Such are the Reports to which Mr. Mann refers, in answer to my charge of inattention to this official duty. What Mr. Mann means in his seventh item, about a "Statute of 1848," I do not know. There was no Statute made on this subject, in 1848. If it be a misprint for 1846, I have already spoken of it. Any codification must have been made after the Supreme Court's Session, and so after my criticisms. Of course, therefore, that does not belong to this discussion.

And, eighthly, he says, he always visited the colored schools. Of course he did. It was the formal routine of his office, and he has no bearing either way. Mr. Mann's defence shows two things—that he knew of this abuse; and that his opinion of its illegality and cruelty coincided with ours. The remarks I have now made show that he did nothing, in public and in earnest, to remedy it. I do not think that this new state of facts improves his position before the anti-slavery public. The public will judge.

The test to which I would like to submit the matter is this: Could I call together, to-day, all the members of legislative and town and city Committees before whom we have so often urged this question, and ask them all whether, during that long struggle, any one of them ever imagined that Horace Mann stood with us in the contest, I am confident the idea would be new to almost every one, if not every one of them. If from them we made an appeal to the public, whose patience we, instant in season and out of season, have so long wearied, not one in a thousand would say that he ever heard of Mr. Mann as a party in the effort.

Mr. Mann excuses himself for not having publicly helped us, by saying that, when he entered on his office, a religious sect importuned him to make the schools subservient to their religious views, and that he refused to do both. If he thinks that the question of admitting the colored into schools is in anywise akin to the claim that colored children, whose fathers pay taxes, shall have the same right in schools supported by those taxes that their white neighbors have—he only shows that he does not, even yet, comprehend the subject, or the anti-slavery enterprise itself.

And, after all, this excuse is not broad enough. If Mr. Mann's convictions date back, as he claims, "twenty years," I beg him remember that, long since that date, he had been a member of our State Legislature, had indeed been President of our Senate; he, the friend of education. Where is the record of any attempt on his part, while in the Legislature, to secure legislative prohibition of these schools? If his peculiar delicacy, as Secretary, forbade his taking a public part—such public part was his bounden duty while a leading member of the Legislature itself.

Mr. Mann regrets that my "denunciatory, unparalyzing and undiscriminating course has made the performance of his duty towards the oppressed African far more difficult," &c. &c.

It seems to me, Mr. Garrison, that you and I have heard that remark before. R. R. Gurley made it in regard to Colonization. Henry Clay made it in defence of the slaveholders. Orville Dewey made it when offering to return his mother into slavery, if necessary. Moses Stuart made it, apropos to Paul sending back Onesimus. One of the miserable wretches who came here to identify Sims, objected to our denunciatory course. I claim all those epithets as our sure title-deeds to the gratitude of posterity. I was "unparalyzing" when the rich and educated combined to rob the poor of their best birthright, education. I was "unparalyzing" when reformers, men who claimed to be the peculiar friends of liberty and justice, stood silent lookers on. I was "undiscriminating" when priest and politician, educationist and sectarian, Presidents of Senates and pure-proportion millionaires, alike joined in wronging the weak because they had no friends, and because to "pass by on the other side" would increase one's influence.

Mr. Mann thinks my recent speech claims too much, ludicrously so much for the abolitionists. It was made in the presence of those who have known us all for the last twenty years. They know the facts; and if my claim is ludicrously exaggerated, it will only make me a laughing-stock, and so no harm done. I spoke and printed my remarks in Boston, which heard in this connection of Garrison and Chapman, Jackson and Quincy, Loring and Sewall, Foster and Pillsbury, Weld, Smith, Goodell and Jay, long before it heard of Sumner, Chase, Palfrey and Hale. To the judgment of such a community, I cheerfully submit my claims.

But let me word of mine do injustice to the well-earned fame and self-sacrifice of Mr. Palfrey and his friends. Mr. Mann's next five paragraphs, (relating to human law keeping my abhorrence of slavery in check,) to the right to agitate the question of slavery in Congress, to his imperfect list of Anti-Slavery exertions, and to his support of the Constitution, "with his interpretation of it," seem to me mere trifling, unworthy of him, and unworthy of my notice. I should speak more strongly, if I spoke at all of his attempt, further on, to evade my remark on his Jesuitical construction of an oath.

I will now proceed to notice the manner in which my remarks about the oath are dealt with. Mr. Mann does not attempt to answer any one of my questions or arguments. To be sure, in closing, he offers to discuss with me our duties under the Constitution. I have not yet got from him a definite answer to my first inquiry, "Whether he now thinks the Constitution of the United States secures to the slaveholder the right of recapturing his slave, when he escapes into the free States." Let him answer that frankly, and I shall gladly debate with him. But it seems to me idle to go on with an opponent who refuses me any full knowledge of his present views, and bases his defence now on one ground, and now on another, totally irreconcilable with the first.

Mr. Mann's whole attempt, in this part of his letter, is to show, that if he is wrong, I am as great a sinner as he. Suppose I grant all he claims; may I being a sinner does not prove him a saint—may being wrong does not begin to prove him right. That course is weak, and touches its downfall, when its champion has nothing to say for his foes but "You are as bad as I am."

Mr. Mann excuses his vote for John P. Hale on the ground that he had no chance of being elected. Would Mr. Mann have voted for any friend to become captain of a gang of horse-thieves, provided there was no chance of his being elected? Of course not. Yet he will not presume to say that horse-stealing does not written into virtue when compared with the crime of returning runaway slaves.

But have Free Soilers organized a party, and do they spend all their labor, to elect a man to an office, which, after all, he could not conscientiously accept? Hear this, ye Free Soilers, who are always taunting Garrisonians with throwing away their votes! What will the party do, when it becomes a majority? Cease to nominate Presidents, I suppose, for fear of being able to elect them? Or, does Mr. Mann consider the danger of their ever being a majority so distant, as a "very vanishing point," as not to be worth considering? But Mr. Sumner was elected Senator, and serves as such; and the Senate co-operates with the President in appointing Judges, District Attorneys and Marshals, to execute the Fugitive Slave clause. If Hale could not be President, how can Sumner be Senator?

His next defence is, that if Hale had been elected, there would have been no chance of his being required to do any constitutional act for the return of fugitive slaves; since no President has been called on, for the last sixty-four years, and there is a better chance still in time to come. This statement is incorrect. Mr. Mann forgotten President Fillmore's Proclamation on the occasion of Shadrach's escape, no longer ago than Feb. 18th, 1851! It is an act certainly within his constitutional duties. But, waiving this, and granting that the fact were as he states, it matters not to the argument. I will not stop to say that Mr. Mann would never agree to commit murder, merely because he thought there were ninety-nine chances out of a hundred that he would never be actually called on to do the deed; which shows his argument to be ungrounded. But I assert further, that granting it in full, it does not touch the case at all. The Bank of England has not been, I believe, con-

ceded by troops for nearly fifty years. But what is the time of tumult, which the Bank outlasted? The Bank on the building. But does its not being called on to do so, rob the Government of all its moral credit as property in London? The United States excepts the case in Virginia since 1851. But what keeps the States from ready to march at a moment's warning. Do they not acquit the United States of all responsibility for protecting slavery since 1851? The Fugitive Slave Law has been executed in many places unable to follow the lead of example of Christians and Synagogues. Why? Because necessary, whole regiments would be brought out to enforce the courts' decisions, indeed the whole force of the Union. Very properly, therefore, they actually did so, and was able to act efficiently. But does this mean that the President is the least?

A child was punished yesterday, and a school was punished. But, obeying to-day, without waiting for the will of the parent had no hand or part in the wrong of the second day's obedience. That is according to Mr. Mann. He will not deny that the judicial power has not acted on slaves within the last sixty-four years. Yet on Feb. 17, 1851, he could say—

"Judicial power" does not consist in a sheriff's process, nor in a commissioner's catching up the accords of an insolvent's estate, nor in a court's construction of a judgment which binds the arms of a constable and Harper's Ferry, which has the armory at Springfield, militia of the United States, which has the treasury of the nation, and to visit with death one man, a thousand men, or a hundred thousand men, if need be, who shall confront it with resistance."

If this be a correct description of the "judicial power" which has been constantly returning slaves, what part in the work has the President, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States? Did George T. Curtis send Thomas Sims? I own not. It was the army and navy of the United States, which Millard Fillmore at his head, that really kept the street silent, while that infamous proceeding executed its payments.

The President who appoints a deputy to do an act, and stands by while the act is done, is as much responsible for it as if he had done it with his own hands. The fact, therefore, that the President has never been actually called on, except in Fillmore's proclamation against Shadrach, to execute the Fugitive Slave Law, is of no force in this argument. Mr. Mann stands, therefore, by his own confession, in this position: Acknowledging that the Constitution orders the return of fugitive slaves, he voted last fall for J. P. Hale as President. To elect Hale, Mr. Mann did all he could. He gave his vote. He has not been able to get God will not hold him responsible for ten thousand votes, but for one. No man who voted for President Pierce did more for him than Mr. Mann did for Hale. He gave his vote, and all the influence which his example had.

Now, what is the meaning of that vote? Interpreted into words, it is this: "I, Horace Mann, hereby resign and authorize you, John P. Hale, to serve the office of President of the United States, and to take the oath of that office, which is faithfully to execute the duties of President of the United States, and to the best of your ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the U. S." I request and authorize you to appoint judges, marshals, and other filling officers, to execute the various provisions of that instrument, and cause others, that for the return of fugitive slaves; and in case such return be resisted, to array the army and navy of the Union for its enforcement. To place Mr. Hale in that position, Mr. Mann did all he could. If the loss of Hale's election, some great national calamity had been lost, and posterity had accused this president for allowing it, Mr. Mann would have laid his hands on his heart and said, "I am not guilty; I did all I could to elect him." If, in such circumstances, he could not fully have made such a claim, he must not expect when the tables are turned, avoid the full responsibility of his act.

I have no wish to introduce any new points into this discussion. But I go farther: I claim that every vote in the last election is morally responsible for the election of President Pierce, and for all the ordinary constitutional acts he may do. Every vote, under this Constitution, is understood to assent to this fundamental principle, that "the majority shall govern." Man under such a Constitution as ours, he enters a Presidential canvass, he, in effect, says, "My candidate shall be President, and execute the ordinary functions of the office, and exercise all the ordinary functions of the office, if he obtains more votes than his friend." I will not stop now to unfold this idea, but every frank and honorable mind will realize that this is an essential condition of constitutional government.

I have heard of a firm, made up of a Christian and a Jew, that did business together five days in the week. Then the Christian kept shop Saturday, while the Jew worshipped, and the Jew kept shop Sunday, while the Christian attended church. Thus they made more money than their neighbors. Mr. Mann's arguments are of this nature. He rides two horses at the same time. Now he uses one theory, and now another. When one thinks he has put his hand on hold, he goes there. For instance: He is understood to hold, with Mr. Sumner and the Free Soil party generally, that the duty of surrendering fugitive negroes to the States, and that the cause needs no additional legislation. He affirms, also, that he swears to support the Constitution as he understands it. As Governor of Massachusetts, therefore, he would be bound to see that fugitives were returned. Any slaveholder might, as Free Soilers think, use the old English writ, and call on the President to issue a writ, (no hard task,) the Government convince a Boston jury.

They used, it is said, to let church members make wooden nutcrackers, which was held in honor...

take it away. It is a right antecedent and paramount to all Governments; and pronounced 'self-evident and inalienable' by our Declaration of Independence.

But the evil is far greater than the mere destruction of this Government. Truth—the entire sacredness of promises—is the ligament that binds society together, and makes progress possible.

My idea of the way to reform government is this. When God shows any man that a governmental arrangement is wrong, (morally wrong, not merely inexpedient), that man should therefore refuse to join in it.

I have great respect for General Jackson's opinion on a fortification of cotton bags; but no respect at all for his opinion on a point of law. It happens, however, that on this occasion, I entirely agree with the Jackson doctrine, as quoted by Messrs. Mann and Sumner.

It is in this part of his letter that Mr. Mann calls me 'arrogantly' for refusing to go to Congress! On this theory, what a nation of heroes we must be!

Mr. Mann speaks (p. 287) of Mr. Webster as 'bound in fulfillment of his constitutional duty, to secure, by law, to fugitive slaves, what right had Mr. Mann to talk in this strain to Mr. Webster?'

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OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. A quarterly meeting of this Society was held in Col's Hall, in Carver, on Fast Day, April 7th.

Resolved, That if the fact which God has ordained be to undo the heavy burdened, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke, then the Fast Day observance of this nation is an insulting mockery of God and his most holy and humane requirements; since nothing is more certain than that Fast Days would not be appointed, were the overthrow of slavery required as a condition of holding them, or the result as an immediate consequence.

Resolved, That the demand of slavery and the whig and democratic parties, requiring a cessation of the anti-slavery agitation, and a silent acquiescence in their unparalleled atrocity and abominations, is an attack on the freedom of speech and the press, that should be resisted at all hazards, and trampled under foot by a justly incensed and outraged people.

Resolved, That the election of Charles Sumner to the United States Senate was demanded by his friends entirely on Anti-Slavery grounds. Our support of him was solicited strictly as an Anti-Slavery measure.

Resolved, That the people had a right to expect and to demand that he should be true and faithful to the interests of the cause he professes to represent, and since he has now set in the Senate through two whole sessions, both of them together occupying a year of time, and only spoken of the question of Slavery once, and even then conceded to the slave-holder and slave-hunter the right to hold and hunt their victims, under certain Constitutional limitations, it is time that he be held to answer for unfaithfulness, or be desired to resign, if this be all that he can perform in his high station for the cause of justice and liberty.

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NOTICES OF MEETINGS, &c. WENDELL PHILLIPS will address the citizens of NORTH BROOKFIELD, on the subject of Slavery, at the Upper Town Hall, on THURSDAY EVENING NEXT, April 21, at half past 7 o'clock.

DANIEL FOSTER, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will speak in West Brookfield, Saturday evening, April 16. Brookfield, Sunday, " " 17. Warren, Monday, " " 18. Palmer, Tuesday, " " 19. Millbury, Thursday, " " 21. Whitinsville, Friday, " " 22. Upton, Sunday, " " 24.

SALIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. A. S. Society, will lecture as follows: April 17. Portland, Me., Sunday evening, 7 & 8. April 17. Portland, Me., Thurs. & Sun. eve's, 7 & 8.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold a meeting in Abington Town Hall, on Sunday, April 17, through the day. PARKER PILLSBURY, by request, will deliver his lecture on 'The French Revolution,' at STONEHAM, on Friday evening, April 16.

PLYMOUTH COUNTY. Andrew T. Foss, an Agent of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows: Middleboro', Friday evening, April 15. Plymouth Town Hall, Sunday, " " 17. Halifax, Monday, " " 18. West Duxbury, Wednesday, " " 20. Marshfield, Thursday, " " 21. Duxbury, Friday, " " 22. Kingston, Sunday, " " 24.

PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will speak in Stoneham, Sunday, April 17. Sandwich, Monday, " " 18. Hyannis, Wednesday, " " 20. Harwich, Thursday, " " 21. Dennis, Sunday, " " 24.

LORING MOODY will lecture on Slavery in Danvers, Tuesday evening, April 19. Danvers Port., Wednesday, " " 20. Beverly, Thursday, " " 21. Manchester, Friday, " " 22. Essex, Saturday, " " 23. Hamilton, Monday, " " 25. Taunton, Sunday, " " 26. Raynham, Monday, " " 27.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in Abington Town Hall, on Sunday, 17th instant; in Ware, on Sunday, 24th instant; in Concord, Mass., on Sunday, May 1. Subject: Progress of individual and social man, and the obstacles in the way of true Progress, especially war and slavery.

NEW BOOKS, OF RARE INTEREST AND VALUE. JUST PUBLISHED BY JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY, BOSTON.

THE UNPARALLELED DRAFT UPON OUR RESOURCES. During the past year, on account of the unprecedented sale of Uncle Tom's Cabin, a large number of most valuable manuscripts were obliged to lie untouched in our safe, waiting a favorable moment to appear in print.

THE SHADY SIDE, OR, LIFE IN A COUNTRY PARSONAGE, BY A PASTOR'S WIFE. This volume is designed, in a measure, as a contrast to that charming little book, Sunny Side, and we doubt not that it will meet with quite as favorable a reception as that work.

COUNT STRUENZEE THE SKEPTIC, AND THE CHRISTIAN. TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY MRS. WILSON. This most interesting work contains the history of the last days of this distinguished man, and the account of his numerous interviews and conversations with his pastor, Minton, through whose instrumentality he was led to abandon his skepticism, and embrace the religion of Jesus.

THE LAST HOURS OF CHRIST, BY W. G. SCHAFFNER, Missionary of Constantinople. A portion of this most admirably written volume of Meditations on the last hours of our Saviour upon earth, was published some years since, and met with great favor from the religious public. The work has been re-written, and very much enlarged, and is again offered to the community.

DR. BEECHER'S THIRD VOLUME. We have just issued the third volume in the series of the writings of this venerable and eloquent man, as has been lately said of him by some one, 'the father of more than any other man in the country.'

WHITE SLAVERY IN THE BARBARY STATES BY HON. CHARLES SUMNER, U. S. S. Illustrated with 50 superb designs by Billing, engraved by Baker, Smith & Andrews, Price, 50 cts. This superb volume in its typography and illustrations, and elegant in its composition, being one of the finest productions of its accomplished author, is offered to the public in this most desirable form, with the hope that thousands may peruse its glowing pages, and from them receive fresh stimulus in their efforts to elevate humanity from degradation and wrong.

JUDGE JAY'S WRITINGS ON SLAVERY. In one volume, 12 mo., with a portrait. PRICE, \$1.00. Who has rendered more efficient services to the cause of humanity than the venerable Judge Jay? His collective writings will be among the very best contributions to the anti-slavery literature of the country.

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KEY TO UNCLE TOM, IN GERMAN. This work is now being translated into German, by one of our best German scholars, and will be issued soon after the publication of the English edition.

PROF. BELA B. EDWARDS, D. D., WITH A MEMOIR, BY DR. PARK. This work, which has been unavoidably delayed, will be issued in two volumes, 12 mo., about the 1st of April. The numerous admirers of Dr. Edwards will hail with pleasure this announcement. The collected writings of such a man, are an invaluable contribution to our literature, more particularly when compiled by so ripe a scholar as Dr. Park. The Memoir glows with all the fervid enthusiasm of the Editor.

COMPLETE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MUSIC, BY JOHN W. MOORE. Assisted by JOHN S. DWIGHT, Esq., the learned and accomplished Editor of The Journal of Music. This work will occupy an unoccupied field, no such work ever having been compiled before, either in this country or in England. It will be a complete Dictionary of all Musical Terms, a History of the Science of Music, from the earliest times to the present; a Treatise on Harmony and Thorough Bass; a Description of all known Musical Instruments; and a complete Musical Biography, containing a succinct memoir of more than 3000 of the most distinguished Musical celebrities and composers who have ever lived. To be comprised in one large royal 8vo. volume, of about 1000 pages, double columns. To be published during the summer.

THE ABOVE VALUABLE WORKS ARE PUBLISHED BY JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., BOSTON, JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON, CLEVELAND, OHIO, And for sale by Booksellers generally.

THE CAUSE OF TEMPERANCE seems gaining new life among our colored fellow-citizens. GEORGE W. BURGAY and JOHN C. CLERK delivered able and eloquent addresses, last Tuesday evening. Rev. EDWIN THOMPSON will continue the good work next Tuesday evening, April 19th.

POETRY.

THE LIBERATOR.

For the Liberator.

LITTLE MARY'S REQUEST.

'Little Mary' was a gentle child, possessing, in an eminent degree, the spirit of Christian love. She was much impressed with the accounts she heard of the sufferings of poor slaves in the Southern States of America, and wished to add her mite to the contributions of those kind friends in Edinburgh, who prepare annually a large collection of gifts for the Anti-Slavery Fair.

Having received a wax doll for a Christmas present, she determined to dress it and send it to Boston as a token of her sympathy; but ere her labor of love was completed, 'Little Mary' was summoned to the 'better land.' In compliance with the request of this beloved child, her mother undertook the hallowed task, and finished the work commenced in faith and hope.

'Little Mary's' Doll was forwarded to the Anti-Slavery Fair held in Boston, during Christmas week, 1852, accompanied by a beautiful and touching letter to the present owner of the angel child's simple offering of love.

Weep not for me, dear Mother, I know we soon must part; But God's kind angel bringeth Sweet hopes to glad the heart. She speaks in tones of music; Hush! that how soft they fall! Our Father calls your lov'd one, He watcheth over all.

When I am gone, sweet Mother, You will not be forgot, For in the land of angels It may be Mary's lot To shield and bless you, ever, As guardian spirits do, The friends whose hearts enshrine them When vanished from their view.

Before I leave you, Mother, Once more that story tell, How Jesus blessed the infants, And loves them now so well: Oh! why will men yet spurn him, And mock his holy name, By making slaves of children? How sad that deed of shame!

I often wonder, Mother, How people do explain The Savior's gentle teachings, To give them such a strain; I'm sure the precious Bible Would tell them it was wrong; Perhaps they never read it, Those dreadful scenes among.

My strength is falling, Mother: One wish do you fulfil, When from my home of brightness I watch you, love you still; That pretty waxen image, My heart in kindness gave To help the kind and faithful, Who labor for the slave—

Oh, Mother mine! 'tis waiting Some hand like yours to grace Its form with robes of beauty, That it may find a place Where Freedom's labors gather, With offerings rich and fair; I know my simple token Will be accepted there.

Dear Father! pray you bless me; Though fading fast from sight, Mourn not for your lov'd one, She soars to peace and light; And those poor suffering children, Who here in bondage pine, Will there be welcomed kindly, And share our joy divine.

Where lovely flowers spring; We all shall meet in heaven, To see their blossoming. Kind Father! gentle Mother! Oh! call me still your own, For God will guard me for you, Within that blissful home.

Thou art gone to thy Father's home, fair child, Where the angel-children dwell; But the low, soft tones of thy spirit-harp, Cast o'er us a hush-ring spell. Loving and holy That minstrelsy, It cometh from heaven, So pure and free.

Its melody floats on the air of morn; When the dew-drops kiss the flowers; And the flow'rets' prayer, with that music sweet, Is upborne to the angel-bowers. Lowly and trusting, His care we own, Who giveth the children So bright a home.

When the silent night bids its curtain fall, And the lonely spirit seeks, Amid faithless fears, for one cheering hope, The harp of our lost one speaks, Gently in murmurs, 'I love ye yet, Children in heaven, No friend forgot.'

Yes! even now those deep spirit-tones bring Repose to the troubled breast; Voice of our household Child of our love! Thy mission to earth is blest. Parted we are not— Our hearts are one— The dear God keeps them, His ear will do for them.

Morning, Noon, and Night. The following beautiful song, typical of Youth, Manhood and Age, has recently been sung by Mr. Dempster, with great success. Morn calleth forth to a fair boy straying 'Mid golden meadows rich with clover dew; She calls, but still he thinks of nought but playing, And so, she smiles, and waves him an adieu; While he, still busy with the flowery store, Deems not that morn, sweet morn, returns no more.

PUBLIC PRAYER (SO CALLED).

Every one has heard and enjoyed the story of the political minister who prayed, the Sunday after the opposite party had come into power—O Lord, bless the Governor of this State, with the Lieutenant-Governor and the Council, and grant them that wisdom and discretion which they so greatly need. Every one knows, too, how frequently ministers use the privilege of their position to incorporate into what is accurately called 'the long prayer,' not only their political and theological opinions, but the latest news of the parish and the town. And this practice exists not only among the Orthodox sects, but the Unitarians; even among the most ultra ministers, and the least shackled by custom and prescription, in that sect.

But the just above-mentioned, like the shield about which the two knights quarrelled, has another face to it, very different in appearance and character from the one first observed. However appropriate may be the petition for further supplies of wisdom to the Governor and Council, (and far be it from me to say that this is not always in season,) the intimation of their present great deficiency in that commodity is clearly designed, not for God, but for men; and so with the passages in our Sunday prayers commencing, 'Thou knowest, O Lord—and Thou hast graciously given us—and Thou hast taken from us one who—and We know that thou art—and We know that thou art not—and We know that it is thou who—and the like, by which the exercise called prayer in the pulpit is spun out to so proreptitious a length. At least half of these performances, on an average, is addressed so manifestly to the people, and is so destitute of pertinency on any other theory, that we need, properly to characterize it, a new epithet, which shall signify at once prayer—sermon—news. But to place this heterogeneous composition in the department labelled 'Prayer,' is to commit not only the impropriety of calling things by the wrong names, but an act of irreverence towards Him to whom the prayer purports to be offered.

But leaving these manifest improprieties, which most thinking people would admit to be an incongruous mixture with real prayer, let us look at what are commonly considered appropriate parts of it; and while looking, let us bear in mind these two things; first, what prayer really is, namely,

'the soul's sincere desire, Unuttered, or expressed,

and next the fact, that our intercourse with God should be characterized by the most perfect and absolute sincerity.

The expression of gratitude to the infinite Father for the various manifestations of his goodness to us is certainly an appropriate part of prayer when this gratitude is really and actively felt; so is the request for those things which we know to be helpful to us, and which we recognize to come from His hand, when the sense of need is really and actively felt. But can a real and active sense, either of gratitude or of need, be excited at pleasure, by making out a catalogue of our possessions or our necessities? It seems to me that this is impossible. It seems to me that the recognition, by the understanding, of certain things which we have undoubtedly received from God, or of certain other things which would be serviceable, if God should give them to us, is a very different thing from the hearty feeling of gratitude; and I confess that the long lists of these acknowledgments and petitions which I hear enumerated by the clergyman on Sunday, and by the 'professor' at his morning and evening 'family altar,' do not impress me as springing from a 'realizing sense,' then and there actively felt, of the import of the things uttered. But if not so felt, do not these partake of the nature of 'vain repetitions,' and 'idle words'? Were they not better left unspoken, until the sense of gratitude or of need does arise?

Your little girl asks for a pencil or a doll. She asks for it, because it is the one chief thing she really desires at that time. There is obvious sincerity and heartiness in the request, and when it is granted, her real thankfulness is unmistakable. But would you think her any more grateful, if she imposed it upon herself as a duty to come to you, and repeat the same things every morning while the gift lasted? Or would it be wise in you to require, or request of her, such an observance? Would it not be still more unwise in her to offer, or in you to require, daily or weekly, formal thanks for all the things she receives from your care and kindness? Would the frequent periodical rehearsal of the food, clothing, shelter, instruction and amusement for which she is indebted to your kindness, prove her any more sensible of it than the hearty, spontaneous 'Oh, thank you, father,' with which each new favor is greeted at its coming?

At the risk of needless repetition, I will state this point once more. To recount, mentally or in words, the things for which we ought to be grateful, is not being grateful. To recount, mentally or in words, the deficiencies we know to exist in ourselves, does not at all imply that we really desire the corresponding excellencies of character. But where the real gratitude, the real desire, are wanting, the expression of them in the form of prayer is not merely useless, but demoralizing and pernicious. It cannot cheat God, but it does cheat, and thus seriously injure, the soul that regards and offers it as real prayer.

Gratitude and desire are not voluntary things. They cannot be aroused from a state of quiescence, and put in action at any moment, by the turning of a crank. Even the electrical machine will not always give forth its spark at your solicitation; how much less can the human soul, with its individual will, choice, passion, on one hand, and its indifference, quietude, abstraction, on the other, be screwed periodically up to a previously specified pitch. The thing cannot be done. The voluntary direction of the mind to a particular point may modify, may accelerate or retard the action of the emotions, but it cannot control them.

The proper time for the expression of gratitude or desire is the natural time, namely, when existing circumstances arouse the feeling to conscious operation. Of course, these feelings need not be expressed every time and all the time they exist, but never when they do not consciously and actively exist.

Your friend does you a very important service, and you thank him. Perhaps the feeling of gratitude permanently remains, perhaps gradually dies out. In either case, you do not consider it necessary or desirable to keep on thanking him. Perhaps you feel his kindness so strongly as constantly to seek opportunities to benefit him in return. But even then, you do not thank him every time you chance to meet him, still less do you appoint certain days and hours for the purpose of periodically returning thanks to him. The feeling of gratitude in the heart seizes the natural occasions of manifestation as they arise, but does not make a business of manifestation, in season and out of season.

Why is it any more appropriate, or desirable, to make a business of manifestation of our feelings to God? To hang out signals to apprise the All-seeing that there is something to be seen? To deliberately inform the Searcher of hearts that our hearts contain such and such things? Yet many well-meaning people regularly do this, without considering that it is at once an absurdity and an impertinence.

Two theories prevail respecting the duty of periodical public prayer. One of these affirms it to be commanded by God, and the other assumes that it is a practice well-adapted to keep alive in our hearts the sense of our obligations and necessities, and therefore that it ought to be observed. The first of these assumptions I deny, and demand the proof that God commands or desires any such observance from us. The second appears to me to reverse the truth, instead of accurately stating it. The habit of expressing emotions that we do not feel, as if they were the present sincere desire of the soul, must do harm instead of good, and a very great harm, since it gives an ally of insincerity to the most sacred of all relations, our intercourse with our Maker. But it must

be admitted that whoever occupies a pulpit, where the prayer is expected with as great regularity as the sermon, is constantly exposed to the chance, at least, of having his thoughts so engrossed by other matters as to be unfitted, for the time, for any hearty and real performance of the duty of prayer. And there must be many times in the course of each year, when this disabling preoccupation of mind actually does exist in the minister, who can yet use the customary words, in the customary tone, for the customary time, without allowing any absence of heart and soul to be perceived by men.

But if this mental unfitness for the act of prayer is thus liable to be felt by the minister, how much more by the people! and how small the probability that the speaker, (who is acting merely as the mouthpiece of the congregation), can carry even half their minds and souls with him through the extended series of his petitions, Sunday after Sunday! It would be unreasonable to expect of them more than a decorous quietude while the service lasts, and the admission, as they walk home, that the minister made a very good prayer.

The true view of prayer is, not that it is a duty which God requires, or a service which he needs from us, still less, that it is a means of changing his purposes in our favor, but that it is a privilege, always accessible when the proper conditions for it exist, and sometimes very precious. If the full heart, overburdened with joy or grief, often finds unspeakable comfort in the utterance of itself to merely human (and thus imperfect) sympathy, how great must be the comfort, when this resource is not at hand, or is inadequate, to know that the truest friend, the most tender sympathizer, and the ablest helper, is at that moment present with us, and to relieve ourselves by the expression to him of what we feel!

God certainly knows our hearts, with or without our consent. But, as it is possible for us to regret this supervision and fret under it, so it is possible to welcome it, to rejoice in it, to delight in voluntarily presenting ourselves unveiled to his eye, and to find pleasure in expressing to this Omniscient Friend just what we would wish to communicate to our best friend, if he were not omniscient.

Intimate friends often say to each other that which each is aware that the other knows as well as he. The act of expression is a pleasure, and the act of response equally so, though no particle of new information is communicated. Every one knows this, and practices it. How is this joy of expression less real, exercised towards the invisible than the visible friend?

God plainly says to men, in their experience, what some one has written in the New Testament:—Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man will hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in. Prayer is the opening of the door. Not that he cannot already see all that is in the house, but he wishes the soul voluntarily to make him welcome, and the right-feeling soul delights, for its own sake, in giving the demonstration of welcome.

Jesus says, 'When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy Father in secret.' Does this mean that the literal closet is necessary, or the wooden door, turning on hinges; or that knees and lips, and length of time, and bodily privacy, are necessary? Not at all. The real closet is where you and the Father are alone together; and you may be alone together in the midst of a crowd, or surrounded with, and aiding in, the most active business. In any half-minute through the course of your day's labor, you may open the door, unseen of other men, and the Father will come in, allaying your weariness, reviving your strength, cheering your despondency, and reassuring you of his continued presence and love.

This is true prayer. The formal, protracted, and repetitious utterances of 'Lord, Lord,' in the meeting-house, do not seem to me to be the present 'sincere desire,' either of the preacher or the people, and therefore not prayer, in the proper sense of that word. Hence I should be well-content to dispense with them.

C. K. W.

SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS.

NUMBER II.

Boston, March 23, 1853.

MR. GARRISON: In my last article on the subject of 'spiritual rappings,' I undertook to show that a belief in them denied the necessity of mental culture, and rebuilt one of the worst errors of the Church, viz: authority. I will now add, that this 'spiritual' belief is equivalent to blasphemy against the goodness of reason. I am aware, that in speaking as plainly on this subject as truth demands, I shall wound the sensibilities of many of my dearest friends, who I regret to know are strong believers in the rappings; but although adhesiveness is large in my cranium, yet conscientiousness is still larger, and therefore I must speak, even if I lose all my friends in consequence. I regard a belief in the 'rappings' as the boldest attack upon God that this age has witnessed. Call you this opinion of mine ultraism or not, I am decided in entertaining it. I have stated that this belief attacks the mental nature of man. Let me now enlarge upon this point. First, what is God, but Reason ruling in the soul? If God reveals himself to men, is it not only through reason? If I know any thing of God, it is through my reason. God often reveals truth to me, but never except through the exercise of that portion of himself, which, in his goodness and impartial love, he has communicated to all men. 'This is the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' In the Scriptures, it is often called 'His Spirit.' Without this infallible teacher, man would never know when he was right, and honesty of heart would afford no protection against error. With it, perfect honesty will surely give its possessor perfect light. 'If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light.' Hence, a soul not dead to every thing, except to know and to do the will of God, can never be certain of being free from error; while one thus lost in God will never err, in important particulars. 'The meek will be guide in the way of truth.'

If I give up my reason, I am no longer a human being, but an automaton: I have denied God, and am 'worse than an infidel.' No man can embrace the 'spiritual rapping' theory, and not disown reason, partially, at least, for it begins by requiring him to believe a plain and palpable absurdity. It says, deny the plainest principles of natural philosophy, and write yourself down a fool. What I mean by this, is that it requires you to swallow the absurdity of believing that an effect can be produced without an adequate cause.

Matter possesses the property of inertia, or inability to move, or to cease motion, without a momentum sufficient to overcome this inertia. Two things are requisite to the production of this momentum, viz, weight and velocity. A child can move a book, but not a heavy table, because its momentum is sufficient in the one case, and is not in the other, to overcome the inertia of the article. In the case of 'spirits,' both weight and velocity are wholly lacking, and, of course, the momentum cannot exist, which momentum is necessary to overcome the inertia of the table. It is in vain to talk of the laws of natural philosophy being suspended in these cases, for that only increases the difficulties in the case, and drives us into the belief of all kinds of spirits being able to work miracles, which is still more a denial of reason.

It is acknowledged by the believers in the 'rappings,' that the 'spirits' possess bodies of so light a material that they can float at random through the atmosphere, and yet, in the next breath, they ask us to believe that a 'heavy chest with three stout men upon it,' has been moved by these ethereal creatures. It is true that electricity possesses the power of tearing asunder dense objects, but it is only by penetrating these objects, and permeating the whole material. In the case of the 'spirits,' no shattering of the table is apparent. It is generally moved as slowly as if a gentle child was touching it, which also proves that lack of weight, on the part of the 'spirit,' is not

attended for by a velocity sufficient to form the requisite momentum. I know of no greater absurdity than to attribute effects to causes utterly and wholly inadequate to the production of them; and yet this absurdity is required by every believer in the 'rapping' theory. It appears to me, that believers in the spiritual origin of these manifestations would do well to recall to memory the principles of natural philosophy which they doubtless learned in their school-boy days, and thus be saved from this great delusion.

But this is not the only absurdity this theory requires a man to believe. You must also disown all faith in the wisdom of God, and believe he has no better way of convincing men of the reality of a future state of existence, than by material demonstrations, and by flooding the world with a greater variety of the most foolish and contradictory ideas, than the rhapsodies of half-witted men have ever before inflicted upon the race. We are told that this is the ushering in of the 'new dispensation'—that 'heaven is now opened unto earth'—that 'this is the day prophets and apostles long desired to see, but died without the sight.' In short, that this is the grand era of God's everlasting efforts to convince men of the reality of a future life. Without stopping to show the folly of expecting to convince material men of spiritual truths by appealing to their senses, I will offer a remark or two upon the short-sightedness of the Deity, manifested in this singular procedure of his.

First, if the moving of a table by a spirit convinces a man of the existence of spirits, then the moving of a dozen tables would be likely to convince many men of the same doctrine, and the overturning of a house would convince many more. Now, if human spirits can move tables, God's spirit can move houses, and the 'everlasting rocks,' which movements would settle forever the question of spiritual existence, if such a question can be settled by material demonstrations. But God moves no houses or rocks, and therefore is either guilty of short-sightedness, or is aware that men cannot be really converted in this manner. Our friends may take the former horn of the dilemma. I prefer to take the latter. But this is not all. Imagine a man converted to spiritualism. He was once an infidel. Why was he so? Because he was not under the influence of reason. He dwelt in the outward world, and was material in his nature. He now is made spiritual, not by the arousing of his neglected spiritual faculties, but by material manifestations around him. In other words, the effect of the disease is destroyed, but the cause still remains, which is an absurdity. How true, in this respect, is the language of Mr. Parker, uttered years ago, in reference to miracles; that the confusion caused by outward miracles would blind the eyes of the person, and prevent him from exercising his reason, and thus believing. It is singular that Christ should have failed to work miracles of this nature, when the Sadducees were questioning him respecting a future state of existence. Was it not his great object to 'bring immortality and life to light'? and yet when did he ever resort to such means to convince unbelievers? Did he not quote Lazarus' remark to the rich man, 'They will not believe, though one should rise from the dead'? Is not that remark as true to-day as it was then?

But, what certainty can a man have, even externally, that spirits exist, by believing these manifestations? It is a well-known fact in the spiritualists' theory, that the spirits of animals communicate with mortals, as well as the spirits of men; and if the communications of the latter prove their existence, of course those of the former prove their existence also. Indeed, some of the 'spiritual' believers now admit the future existence of animals, for this reason.

But of what earthly use is it for a man to believe theoretically in a future existence? Does not the Church fight for that faith? It is far better for a man not to believe in a future life, until his reason is convinced, than for him to be overwhelmed by materialism, and forced to adopt a theory without intellectual conviction. Is it right for a man to embrace even anti-slavery, except through his reason?

Then, such a future state as these revelations teach: Why! Mohammed, in his most voluptuous moments, hardly taught a theory more revolting to every lover of true spirituality than the new theory of heaven. Give me non-existence beyond the grave, in preference to such a place as these so-called spirits reveal heaven to be. Look at Thomas Paine's travels in the other world! Thomas and his friend William Penn stood before a literal castle, built of stone. William said, 'Minds are now-serving many masters in this castle, through fear of their displeasure.' In other places he saw men hard at work. In others, he saw them eating and drinking. In some places, spirits were deceiving their fellow-spirits with false doctrines. In one vast temple was a 'long line of warriors, with broken spears and rusty guns, without locks.' In short, the materiality of the other world is the basis of all these revelations. Even the fashions of this world exist there, and 'fashionable circles' are spoken of as having deans. Here we have Slavery, Error, Carnality, Aristocracy, and Warriors, besides all sorts of material demonstrations, calculated to charm the outward senses. Hardly any allusion is made to the presence of God, or Christ, and nothing is taught respecting that sublime doctrine of true religion, the perfect union of the soul with God. According to these theories, heaven is no better than this earth; we do not cast aside this mortal body, or at least exchange it for another, and we are still to find pleasure in material good.

Now, of what earthly use is it to convince men of the existence of such a carnal abode? Will it deliver them from the power of the senses to be told that these senses are to be gratified forever? For one, I think infidelity is less calculated to do harm than such burlesque representations of the glorious spiritual life, to which we are all destined.

Then, again, read Dr. Rush's reputed lectures on the Healing Art, and witness his mental deterioration, since he left this world. Who can wish to exist hereafter, if he is destined thus to decline in intellectual life? No one, surely.

I shall, in my third and last number, deduce still stronger objections to this 'spiritual' theory.

Yours, for true spirituality, C. STEARNS.

APPEAL TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

The following is an extract from a letter which was sent to Mr. Pierce, (by a lady in New Hampshire), in reference to the melancholy death of his son—

'This cherub boy, on whom you doted with so much fondness and hope, met an accidental and sudden death. He was not torn from you under cover of law, and sold into perpetual slavery, to have his tender limbs galled with chains, and his flesh torn with the lash, as the colored children of slaves are; and when their mothers become frantic with grief, their consolation is a whip, or some cruel torture to silence their repinings. No, brother! You can have the satisfaction of placing the remains of your child under the folds of the valley, to repose quietly in their low bed; while parents, for no crime but having a colored skin, must be subjected to tenfold more anguish and torture by the cruel slave system, than to be slain outright themselves, or to have their offspring meet death as suddenly as your child did. Really, there is something wonderful and full of meaning in this sudden stroke, in view of the high position you are about to occupy, and the responsibilities attending the station! I seem to see in the overtire of these designs of Heaven, in suffering it to occur at this time, and in the awful manner it did. How could you feel for others' woes, if you never experienced any? Now, you can never forget the wormwood and the gall mingled in this cup of affliction, when you look at the system of slavery, and see the holiest ties and the most endearing relations sundered by it. If this event does not awaken your heartfelt sympathies, and stimulate you to active exertion for the immediate abolition of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the horrid system of slavery itself, I think your reign may be cast short, as that of some of your predecessors has been, or else be marked with more fatal consequences to yourself and the nation at large.'

SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS.

We find the following account of a very remarkable 'disposition,' in the Boston Courier, credited to the Springfield Republican, in which last paper it originally appeared. We have been strongly inclined to distrust many of the alleged marvels and wonders which the new science has brought to light, and have no disposition to aggravate the panic which they seem calculated to excite in some minds; but this latter, as such a reputable 'antecedent,' that its publication seems to us warranted. With Dr. Gardner, the author, we are personally acquainted, and know him to be a man of standing and veracity, and the editor of the Republican, who probably knows him also, vouches for his respectability by publishing his letter.

SUPERIOR OR SPIRITUAL SIGHT.—A Case. As there is at the present time much interest manifested in the public mind in regard to the truthfulness of the theory of spiritual manifestations in the various modes in which these phenomena are presented, viz: Rapping, tipping, writing and superior clairvoyance, I have deemed the following fact, which, with many others, has fallen under my own observation, as well calculated to sustain the friends of the harmonical philosophy in their position.

On the 17th day of February, 1852, I received a letter from Dr. H. A. Archer, of Meriden, Conn., requesting me to be present to witness an operation for the removal of an ovarian tumor at his house on the 19th of the same month. During the evening of the 18th, Dr. Reuben Barron, of Palmer Depot, came into my office, and in the course of conversation, remarked that he had recently been developed as a clairvoyant medium for spiritual communications, and that within a few days he had had some tests well calculated to convince him of the truthfulness of these impressions; yet he was not satisfied. I, at once, for the purpose of testing the power of this superior sight, handed him the letter I had received from Dr. Archer, enclosed in an envelope, requesting him by its newly developed power to inform me of its contents, and whether I should comply with the request therein contained. He took the letter, and although in an unfavorable condition, being much fatigued and somewhat excited, very soon passed into the superior condition. After an interval of a few minutes, Dr. B. said:—'This is a request for you to go to Meriden, to assist in a surgical operation, and you must go; it will be an advantage to you, and a benefit to other sufferers. I now wish you to be very attentive, and remember what I say, as to the spirit, or my guide, informs me it is for a test, to remove the doubts with which I am harassed, in regard to the truthfulness of spiritual manifestations.'

He then proceeded to describe the house and office of Dr. Archer, the room in which the operation was to be performed, the appearance of the young lady who was to undergo the operation, and also of her sister, who was with her; the tumor, both in regard to its enormous size, and its attachment to the left broad ligaments and Fallopian tube, and indeed minutely described, not only the tumor, but the entire operation of its removal. On the morning of the 19th, I repaired to Meriden, and to my surprise, found the description of the house, the room, and the appearance of the patient, as given by Dr. B. correct in every particular. It will remark, in this place, that about four years had elapsed since the first appearance of the tumor, during which time many eminent physicians and surgeons had been consulted, and they all, I believe, were of opinion that the tumor originated on the right ovary, and, of course, that its attachments were on that side. It will be remembered that Dr. B. wished me to be particular in regard to the location being on the left ovary.

About two o'clock, P. M., Prof. W. Burnham, of the Worcester Medical College, assisted by Dr. W. Ellsworth, M. D., of Hartford, and other medical gentlemen present, proceeded with the operation. On laying open the parietes of the abdomen, and exposing the tumor to view, it was found that the attachments were on the left, instead of the right side, and precisely as Dr. Barron had described them, while in the superior condition. After removing a portion of the contents of the tumor, and securing the arteries, the attachments were divided, and the enormous mass removed, weighing with its contents fifty-two and a half pounds. I will only add, in conclusion, that Dr. Barron was never in the town of Meriden, and was an entire stranger to all the parties;—that neither myself nor any other person present had ever seen the patient or heard of the case, previous to the reception of the line from Dr. Archer by myself, on the 17th, two days before the operation; that I did not know in what part of the town Dr. Archer resided, or any thing in regard to the appearance of the house or office; that there was no allusion in the letter of Dr. Archer in regard to the enormous size of the tumor, nor were any other particulars mentioned, except that an ovarian tumor was to be removed by Prof. Burnham, and requesting my attendance.

Now, if any of the learned and scientific Rev. or other Professors, who have been and still are investigating the subject, can give a rational explanation of or account for this one case, among the many that are of almost daily occurrence in the community, upon other principles than those of spiritual communication, or independent clairvoyance, they will have accomplished much towards the overthrow of the whole system of the harmonical philosophy. For the truth of my statements, in regard to the description given by Dr. Barron of this case, I am permitted to refer to S. L. Griggs, Esq., the former High Sheriff of Tolland County, Conn., now of West Springfield; and Wm. H. Seaman, of Ware; and by the result of the operation, to either of the medical gentlemen present on that occasion.

H. F. GARDNER, M. D.

Springfield, Feb. 23, 1853.

REV. CHARLES BECKER, of Newark, was some time since designated by the Brooklyn Association of Congregational Ministers to investigate and report upon the phenomena of our day, currently characterized as 'Spiritualism,' and sometimes as 'Spirit Rappings.' Mr. B. accordingly devoted many weeks to the requisite investigation, and has summed up his observations and reasonings thereon in a Report, which (by reason of the author's recent departure for Europe) was read in his behalf by his brother, Rev. Thomas K. Beecher of Williamsburgh, at a meeting of the Association yesterday, in Rev. J. B. Grinnell's Church, Fourth-street. The report is too long even for columns so ample as ours; but its reasoning is compact and forcible, and its conclusions so striking that we are glad to hear the Report will be very soon issued in a neat pamphlet by Putnam. Its main conclusions, so far as a speedy general audience is apprehended there, are as follows:— 1. The idea that these 'Rappings,' or whatever they may be called, are the product of mere jugglery, or intentional imposture, is not to be entertained by any one even imperfectly familiar with facts abundantly verified. 2. The hypothesis, that these phenomena have their origin in some hitherto latent action of Electricity, Magnetism, or any other natural and physical force, creates many more difficulties than it overcomes, and is also inconsistent with some of the best attested facts. 3. In like manner, the idea that these phenomena are caused by some unconscious, involuntary mental action of some person or persons still in the body, is equally unphilosophical, equally at odds with the attested facts, and equally open to the objection that it magnifies the marvel it professes to explain. To say that a table which sustains itself on two legs, or one, or none, at the request of some person near it, and responds intelligently to a dozen various questions as they are asked, is impelled so to act by Electricity, or Magnetism, or some mental impulse of an individual wholly unconscious of such influence, is to assume as true what is incredible, because contrary to the world's uniform experience, and to all the known laws of causation. 4. The assumption, that disembodied spirits cannot communicate with persons still in the body, is opposed to the whole tenor, not only of Hebrew and Christian, but also of Pagan History. The possibility of such intercourse—nay, the fact that it has occurred, has always been believed by the great mass of mankind. The assumption of the moral impossibility of communication between those we call the dead and individuals still in the body, is fatal to the existence of Christianity as a divinely originated faith, and cannot be entertained by any believers, however lax, in the justification of the Scriptures.

8. The fact of the evil character of these modern spirits is demonstrated by their general denial of the inspiration of the Bible, of the great finality of the Evangelical Christianity, their denials of the Bible as an infallible text of spiritual precepts, and of what they call 'the authority and infallibility of the revealed Word of God,' in Scripture. —Such are the leading ideas of Mr. Beecher's existing illustrations of ancient and modern phenomena akin to the modern Spiritualism, and lives and writings of unaccommodated mediums, gages through all ages. We cannot guess how many will acquiesce in Mr. Beecher's conclusions, but we think very many will be anxious to obtain and read his Report.

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