

this subject are the appropriations we have made in the aid of fugitives. For this we have expended \$41. For this we have expended \$41. For this we have expended \$41.

For this we have appropriated \$615; and we think the time not far distant when this cause will prove one of the most powerful in its influence upon anti-slavery.

5th. *Anti-Slavery Agencies and Lectures.* This head includes a great deal of miscellaneous labor, which is being performed for the cause in various departments.

6th. *The promotion of education among the colored people.* For this has been expended \$2390. This I consider, on the whole, as the most efficient of all the means to be used against the system of slavery. The grand argument for slavery is, that the race are fit for nothing higher.

But the educational institutions on which we have concentrated, and intend still further to concentrate, most of our patronage, in this Miner's school for colored girls at our national capital. Our reasons for selecting this were, first, that being under the immediate eye of a slaveholding population, it would be demonstrating the point we wish to establish in the most conspicuous and notable manner. Second, that it has been undertaken by a woman whose talents for, and interest in, the work, are so remarkable, that they might almost be considered an inspiration.

Under the care of this woman, the school has attained to the most brilliant success in its defence of the most bitter threats and persecutions at first endured. A class of colored young ladies in this school have already passed through a course of education equal to that of young ladies in our best boarding-schools, and it is designed to give them still higher advantages at certain institutions in the North, in order that they may be thoroughly fitted for teachers.

From the Derby (Eng.) Reporter.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT THE TOWN HALL, DERBY.

On Tuesday evening, January 22nd, Mr. PARKER Pillsbury of Boston, U. S., delivered a lecture on Slavery in the States of America. The hall was filled with a respectable and attentive audience.

The CHAIRMAN, after a few prefatory remarks explanatory of the object of the meeting, introduced Mr. PILLSBURY, who was received with cheers by the audience.

Mr. PILLSBURY gave a vivid description of Slavery as it exists in the Southern States of the Union, particularly exhibiting the nature of slave legislation. Slavery had extended its giant power over the Northern States. Even merchants in free States were in favor of the continuance of slavery, having a vested interest in it, and often possessing slaves themselves. This colossal evil was consuming the heart of the great American Republic. It perverted all ranks of society, and all Christian denominations; it was the blight of the Southern churches. The slave question was involved in the present singular crisis of American political affairs.

Mr. Nixon then moved the following resolution: That this meeting is filled with profound sorrow that an evil so great as Slavery should exist in the otherwise free and republican States of America, and would express his deep and heartfelt sympathy in the moral and religious agitation of the subject by the abolitionists that country with a view to its peaceful and speedy overthrow.

The MAYOR of Derby, who had arrived in the course of the lecture, seconded the resolution, and made some truly forcible and eloquent remarks, as did also the venerable Dr. HUTTON, after which it passed unanimously.

DETERMINATION OF PRES. PIERCE TO BRING ON A CIVIL WAR.

In our telegraphic news will be found the startling announcement, that President Pierce has openly approved the official conduct of Wilson Shannon, and sent him back to Kansas with power to call to his aid the whole military power of the government. We have no doubt that the intention of the President is, to force slavery into Kansas with the bayonet. In truth, there is but little room for conjecture. The injunctive law is but the armed invasion of Kansas, the destruction of property by the ruffians, the shooting of Barnes, and the shocking murder of Stowes, are all officially approved by Mr. Pierce. When those who did these things were not condemned, and when the man who tried to light the flames of civil war is not only continued in office, but loaded with executive favor, we can imagine what atrocities he may commit without violating his instructions.

The law of no more negroes, authorized to enforce contain the *Misourians*. Those laws were passed, as all our readers know, by a body of men who had no legal authority to enact them, or to legislate, in any way, for the people of Kansas. The citizens were driven from the polls, and non-residents elected men to make laws for those whom they would not permit to vote! The men thus illegally chosen, met, deliberated, enacted laws, appointed officers, and adjourned. Those whose rights had been outraged, refused to recognize the acts of such a body. They were not more negroes, or more slaves, than many proclamations of an armed banditti. The inhabitants so declared, called a new election, ordered a State Convention, chose their delegates, framed a State Constitution, ratified it at the ballot-box, elected their officers under it, and are to meet on the fourth of March to frame laws for their own government. For doing this, for doing what any brave and honorable people would have done, for doing what the Nebraska Bill permitted them to do, they are to be treated as rebels, and Wilson Shannon is to be the man selected to put them down.

LETTER FROM HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

On Friday last, Feb. 22d, the birth-day of Washington was specially commemorated in Boston, under the direction of the Mercantile Library Association, by a public meeting in the Music Hall, (tickets \$1 each), with imposing ceremonies, which was eloquently addressed by Hon. EDWARD EVERETT. The following excellent letter was received by the Committee:—

WASHINGTON, 19th Feb., 1856.

Dear Sir,—I have been honored by your invitation to the Mercantile Library Association on the 19th of February next. Your kind and generous interest in my cooperation with the young men of that association; and I need not assure you of the gratification with which I should participate in any services calculated to exalt the example of Washington.

Particularly at this moment should it be invoked, when the republic, which he helped to found, seems to shake with the first throes of civil war, engendered by an interest which was ebbed during his life, and formed and nurtured by him as he died. His great name should now be employed for the suppression of that slave power, which is the fruitful mother of so much wretchedness. It will not be enough to quote his paternal words for Union. His example must be arrayed against the gigantic wrong which now disturbs this Union to its centre, and which, in the madness of its tyranny, destroys the very objects of Union.

The play of Othello without the part of Othello would be a barren spectacle, and the example of Washington, without his territory against the malignant force which now disturbs the republic, would be hardly less barren. Let the young men of Boston be encouraged to dwell on those sentiments and acts, which, while they elevate his name, apply with prevailing power to the existing state of things among us. Let them bear in mind that he declared it to be 'among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law,' that to promote this purpose he expressed a desire in a recorded interview with a distinguished foreigner for the formation of an anti-slavery society; that on many occasions he condemned slavery; that in congratulatory letters to Lafayette on his purchase of a plantation with a view of emancipating the slaves on it, he exclaimed, 'Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country;' and that, finally, by his last will and testament, written within one year of his death, he bore his practical testimony to those ideas.

With these things taken to heart, the example of Washington will exert its just conservative influence over the country, holding it back from the extension of that evil, against which he set himself, and arousing the general sentiment to repulse the aggressions which now threaten civil war. Then, indeed, will be the Father of his Country, though dead, yet speak.

Believe me, my dear sir, very faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

CHARLES G. CHASE, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 29, 1856.

SHARP'S RIFLES—THE GOSPEL OF WAR—THE CROSS VERSUS LIFE.

We have copied from the New York Independent, an article written by HENRY WARD BEECHER, in reply to the New York Observer, touching the moral efficacy of Sharp's rifles in the settlement of the Kansas question. Animated by a bitter personal spirit toward Mr. Beecher, and a malignant pro-slavery purpose, the *Observer* seized upon some warlike expressions which fell from the lips of Mr. B., and affected to be awfully shocked in view of 'such rampant appeals to the bloodiest passions of fighting man, by a preacher of the Gospel of our Lord and Savior,'—hypocritically declaring that 'this world is already too fond of rifles and cannon-balls,' while in the same breath admitting 'we are not of those who deny the right which necessity imposes of sometimes resorting to them.'—falsely asserting that 'the Bible,' instead of 'the word of God,' (which is not a book,) 'is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of the soul and the spirit,' &c., and winding up with the assertion that 'such a sword is better than a rifle.'

As a reply to this malicious, canting, jesuitical impeachment, on the part of the *Observer*, Mr. B.'s rejoinder is scathing, crushing, annihilating; and were it simply a controversy confined to the parties named, we should leave it just where it stands, enjoying the castigation so well merited and so signally applied. But it relates to the eternal principles of right—to the cause of freedom and humanity—to the sanctity of human life—to the relations of man to man—to the method of redemption through martyrdom and the cross of Christ—and therefore it challenges our attention.

Mr. Beecher has effectively answered the *Observer*, but has he vindicated the rightfulness of war, or shown the inefficiency of the peace principle? Has he proved that, in a given emergency, the Cross must give way to one of Sharp's rifles, or that the former sometimes needs the defence of the latter? There is a terrible levity in his language and manner, and a thorough unbelief in the potency of suffering for righteousness' sake, which clearly indicate that he knows not what spirit he is of—that he may be qualified to use a rifle, but he is not yet competent to be a minister of the gospel of peace.

We admit that if it be right to destroy human life in any case—to resort to murderous weapons in defence of life and liberty, when these are in peril—then the *bona fide* settlers of Kansas are fully justified in employing Sharp's rifles against the Missouri banditti who are thirsting for their blood, and in destroying as many of them as possible. O that point we have no controversy.

But we insist on the inviolability of human life; on the duty of returning good for evil, at whatever hazard; on the immense superiority of the martyr spirit to that of armed-resistance; on taking the shield of faith, putting on the whole armor of God, and following His example, 'who, when he suffered, threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously; leaving us an example that we should follow his steps.' We maintain that it is from the assumed right of man to take the life of his fellow-man at personal discretion, on the ground of necessity, duty, personal safety, or the general welfare, that all the tyranny, violence and bloodshed in the world emanate, as water flows from a fountain; hence, that to MAKE LIFE SACRED IN ALL CASES is to cure all these excesses, and render their perpetration impossible. 'Where no foul is, there the fire goeth out.'

Who threaten the lives of the honest settlers of Kansas? Who have invaded their territory, assumed the reins of government, committed robbery and murder, and sought to drive out every freedom-loving spirit? Surely, not a band of non-residents; not those who set upon the 'self-evident truth,' that the Creator has endowed every human being with 'an INALIENABLE right to life'; not believers in the sinfulness of war, under all circumstances. No! They are those who scoff at the principles of peace, and are ready at any time to join with Henry Ward Beecher in exulting in Sharp's rifles, or Colt's revolvers, as worthy of all acceptance. What if they had been taught, by precept and example, from early childhood, to discard all such murderous weapons, and to reverse the image of God, however marred by sin, and to return blessing for cursing—would Kansas at this time be suffering from their lawlessness? What—wild and besotted as they may be—if they had been met by 'Free State men' in a Christ-like spirit, weaponless on principle, and ready to die rather than to return evil for evil—would they now be filled (as, alas! they are) with the spirit of hell? Mr. Beecher begs the question when he so sarcastically declares—'Let thieves and assassins and rioters know, that their schemes of violence would never be resisted, except by moral means, and society could not stand a month.' We shall leave him to resort to the weapons and devices of 'thieves, assassins and rioters,' and descend to their plane of deadly antagonism; but, as for ourselves, we shall rely on moral means for the blessing and protection of Heaven; and if these shall lead us to the stake or to the cross, we know that 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church,' and cannot doubt that the world will be aided by the sacrifice. Let 'society' act upon this principle, and be animated by the divine spirit of love toward all its enemies, and we have no doubt that there will be fewer 'thieves, assassins and rioters' than there are now, with all the instruments of death relied upon for protection. It may excite the laugh of the unreflecting to say, that 'you might just as well read the Bible to buffaloes as to those fellows who follow Atholion and Stringfellow,' but the comparison is a beastly one, and places man on a level with the brute, for the purpose of justifying his destruction. This is not to be in the spirit of him who came to seek and to save the lost—even the most degraded of our race.

It may be a smart retort upon the dissembling editor of the *Observer*, to say, ironically, had he lived in the days of the Puritans, 'he would have been seen going down to the Indians with a Bible, reading English texts to Pequot ears, and saying to all who expostulated,—'Such a sword is better than a rifle'; but the example of Christ is not thus to be turned into mockery, and the principles of peace are not to be rejected on any supposition, however ludicrous. In what manner Christ and his Apostles 'would have been seen going down to the Indians,' had they been living at that time, it is not difficult to conjecture, inasmuch as the weapons of their warfare were not carnal, and as they had no fear of those who could kill the body only. To suppose them marching with Sharp's rifles for the slaughter of the Indians is at least as preposterous as the editor of the *Observer* reading English texts to Pequot ears. Even in the latter case, Mr. Beecher sarcastically admits that 'this course might not be inconsistent with self-preservation; for all superstitious savages have a kind of respect for the insane, as if they were peculiarly inspired.' But did they look upon William Penn and his followers as mad, because they had no deadly weapons in their hands, or revere them almost as if they were demigods, on account of their just and loving spirit? It is strange, it is shocking, that at this late day, Mr. Beecher should exult in view of the sanguinary exploits of the fierce old Puritans against the poor Indians, who were regarded by them as no better than 'Buffaloes,' to be hunted to their extermination, and whose blood is yet crying unto Heaven for retribution. With what a gusto he says,—'The Puritans used to carry their muskets and their Bibles with them to church: the one for inside work, and the other for outside work!' History shows us the result of this policy, in characters of fire and blood. Contrast with it the peaceful course of Penn and his associates, and the consequences flowing therefrom!

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Ernest Linwood; a Novel. By CAROLINE LEE HENST. Boston: Published by John P. Jewett & Co. 1856. pp. 470.

In addition to its fascinating power, there is a most touching and melancholy interest thrown around this remarkable work, from the fact that the gifted author thereof recently departed this life in Florida, where she was temporarily sojourning with her husband, simultaneously with the publication of '*Ernest Linwood*.' In how prophetic a strain did she conclude her work!—'We, too, are passing on in the procession of life, and the ways of time that are rolling behind us will wash away the print of our footsteps, and others will follow, and others still, but few will be tossed on stormier seas, or be anchored at last in a more blissful haven.'—'A marvel, what a mystery is life! The beautiful forms lie cold in the grave—the hand and the brain are for ever powerless—the light of genius has gone out in darkness—the spirit has vanished out of sight, away, away—and earth has lost one of its loveliest ornaments.'

Ernest Linwood is a rich contribution to the popular literature of the day. Already, thousands of copies have been sold, though only a few days from the press. It makes a large, handsome volume, creditable to the enterprising publishers.

The *Traveller*, an interesting biographical sketch of Mrs. Henst, says—

During the spring and summer of 1855, she devoted herself to the composition of her last work, which has just been prepared, entitled '*Ernest Linwood*.' The telegraphic message conveyed the sad tidings of her death upon the very day that her publishers issued her new book; and the work is indeed worthy the crowning act of a literary life of such varied and rare accomplishments. Its closing part seems to have been written with a pen prophetic of her own departure.

As a novel, the work will take a permanent place in American literature. '*Ernest Linwood*' exhibits the varied talents of Mrs. Henst in their highest range, combining great vigor of thought with graphic delineation of character,—the most touching womanly sympathies with the strongest vitality of genius and boldness of conception. A high moral, religious charm pervades the entire work, imparting a glow to the finest feelings of our nature: and from the beginning to the end of the work, strength is added to strength, and beauty to beauty. Its characters are finely drawn, and Mrs. Henst seems to have dipped her pen in the fountain of the human heart, and with a wizard's wand laid bare the various and conflicting passions of our nature. The great moral one which is always found in all her works, is powerfully predominant in '*Ernest Linwood*.'

In the full strength and prime of womanhood, this accomplished and elegant writer, after a life of such great usefulness and literary honor, has been called away from earth. The devoted wife and mother, the light of social life, the ornament of the literary circle, has departed, and her star shines with increased brilliancy amidst the surrounding gloom. On the 6th inst. she seems to have dipped her pen in the fountain of the human heart, and with a wizard's wand laid bare the various and conflicting passions of our nature. The great moral one which is always found in all her works, is powerfully predominant in '*Ernest Linwood*.'

WOLFFEN: An Authentic Account of Things There and Thereabouts, as they are and have been. By J. B. Boston: Published by Sampson & Co., 1856. pp. 504.

The author of this real New England work stands behind the screen, and leaves the public to judge of its merits, without any reference to his name or fame. Its scenes are at first located in the State of Maine, and shift from thence to the South in the progress of the story, which incidentally exhibits some of the features of the 'peculiar institution,' and shows that the heart of the writer beats warmly for freedom. It bears some resemblance to that unique and admirable work of the lamented Judd, 'MARGARET,' but without impairing its originality or power. The style is without pretence, the portraits drawn with artistic skill, the sketches of country life and its incidents extremely graphic, and the plot without intricacy. As far as we have seen it noticed, it receives the universal commendation of the press; and justly so. It is a book for the household—to occupy the long winter evening, or to be perused in the shady retirement of summer. We have marked some passages, as specimens of its quality, for insertion in a future number of our paper. In the mean time, we commend it as an agreeable and instructive volume.

EDITH HALE: A Village Story. By THÉRÈSE TALMON. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1856.

A handsomely printed volume of more than five hundred pages, and dedicated to 'Messrs. Phillips, Sampson & Company,' the publishers. The story is located in Waterbury, Connecticut, and is crowded with incidents and personages calculated to amuse and interest from the commencement to its close. It adds another to the many volumes of light literature with which the press is teeming, and which, though not destined to reach a distant posterity, are well-adapted to the present hour, and will help to cultivate the mind and improve the heart.

THE CONGREGATIONAL HARP. By L. B. BARNES. Boston: Published by Oliver Ditson, Washington Street, 1856.

This is a choice collection of Hymn Tunes, Sentences and Chants, of both Ancient and Modern Composers, carefully selected from various publications, and designed more particularly for congregational uses, and social religious meetings; together with a variety of Tunes for Sabbath Schools. We give it our warmest commendation.

BETTER BE A DUMB BELL. The lecture on slavery, delivered at the Tremont Temple on Thursday evening of last week, by Hon. JAMES BELL, U. S. Senator from New Hampshire, was a very tedious and worthless effort—unrelieved by a single valuable thought or expression—and was suited to the state of things thirty years ago, advocating as it did gradual emancipation, the compulsory purchase of the slaves by their own extra toil, and the colonization of the entire colored population to the coast of Africa! The employment of such a Rip Van Winkle ranks next in the grotesque to that of the alvolderh Toombs.

Our lecturing excursion to western New York, recently, was attended with some drawbacks not put down in our programme. The weather proved to be freezing cold and stormy throughout, the mercury ranging at zero, and frequently far below it, and the snow obstructing all railroad travelling for several days; in consequence of which, we had to recall meetings appointed for at Troy, Syracuse, Skaneateles, and other places. We lectured twice in Albany to large audiences—once in the Representatives' Chamber, and once in Van Vechten's hall. Also at Rochester, (on a most ineluctable evening), Buffalo and Auburn. Every where our reception was truly gratifying. We tender to our beloved friends, the Anthonys, Posts, Hallows, and Burrites of Rochester—the Wrights of Auburn—and the Motts and Topps of Albany, our most grateful acknowledgments for their generous hospitality, active cooperation, and unwearied efforts to make our visit a pleasant one to be long remembered.

Wilson Shannon has been confirmed as Governor of Kansas by a party vote of 30 to 12. Previous to the confirmation, Senators Wilson of Mass. and Wade of Ohio made sharp and energetic speeches in exposition of Shannon's character, and of the iniquity of the invasion of Kansas. The *Traveller*, of Tuesday evening, contains Mr. Wilson's speech entire—occupying more than six columns of that paper.

SECTARIANISM—A NOVEL CHARGE.

Since its organization, the American Anti-Slavery Society has been opprobriously represented as 'disorganizing,' 'fanatical,' 'incendiary,' 'treasonable,' and 'infidel.' These epithets have been applied to the spirit of malice, with a pro-slavery design, for lack of sound argument, or through gross ignorance. Our esteemed friend, GEORGE SUTHER, JR.,—actuated by no such motive, and an inflexible opponent of slavery—brings a new, and certainly a very novel charge against the Society, (see his letter on our last page,) namely, that it is 'sectarian'—using that term in its ordinary application! That this charge is not only utterly preposterous, we not only believe, but know; that it needs any refutation at our hands, we cannot be persuaded; that it is made with deep enmity, and an unfriendly spirit, we fully believe; that there is the slightest evidence of its truthfulness furnished in the letter alluded to, we cannot discover.

There are certain conditions of the human mind with which it is useless to contend; mental and moral idiosyncrasies, which are governed by no rule, and morally exceptional; morbid tendencies which do not come within the scope of reason or argument; inclinations which, in an effort to stand straight, induce the individual to lean backward. Some believe so much in outward machinery as to make themselves mere machines; others reject all instrumentalities as fettering the freedom of the soul. Some are so practical as to have no faith in an abstract principle; others are so purely ideal as to cease to be practical.

'Some men there are, love not a gaping pig; Some, that are mad, if they behold a cat; And others, when a bag-pipe sings 'em ' nose, Cannot contain their urine.'— As there is no firm reason to be rendered, Why he cannot abide a gaping pig; Why he, a harmless necessary cat; Why he, a swollen bag-pipe; or of force Must yield to such inviolable names. As to offend, himself being offended; So can I give no reason, nor I will not. More than a lodged'd hate, and a certain loathing, I bear Antonio, that I follow thus: A loag suit against him. Are you answer'd?'

We accept our friend SUTHER's having in his heart any 'lodged hate,' while classing him with the exceptional cases alluded to, in regard to some of his opinions and peculiarities. All organized action he treats as dread and deprecatory; in a meeting, with a chairman and secretary, is in his view subversive of individual liberty; a society which aims to do a specific work is not to be tolerated; a gathering restricted to the discussion of a particular subject is a fetter upon free thought, which at all times, and in all places, ought to have a limitless range. If 'many hands make light work,' they also make, in his opinion, bad work. Cooperation, combination, association—these he treats as inherently and necessarily hostile to individual and personal independence; and so consistently stands aloof from them all, bearing his testimony against them as sectarian and restrictive, and therefore unworthy of countenance.

With his mental organization he does well to stand aloof, 'fighting on his own hook,' and according to his own taste. His error consists in making his inability to unite in associated effort the test of principle and the measure of duty for all others. There are two extremes—one of entire isolation, the other of organized absorption. As the world goes, the tendency is to absorption, making the individual subordinate to the organization, and to be sacrificed for its preservation and success. Hence, too much vigilance cannot be exercised in regard to union with others, even for the promotion of an object unquestionably good. It was a wholesome admonition of the Apostle—'Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?'—'Where no combine for good ends, bringing their heads, hearts, hands, means and influences together, to the sacrifice of no freedom, to the compromise of no principle! If they cannot cooperate in all things, shall they refrain from cooperating in matters about which they are agreed?'

In what does the 'sectarianism' of the American Anti-Slavery Society consist? Certainly, not in its fundamental doctrine,—the inherent sinfulness of slaveholding; not in its object,—the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slave; nor in its making a connection with itself the proof of anti-slavery zeal and fidelity, for it has never done this; nor in disciplining any of its members, or requiring conformity of action on peril of excommunication, for it out of all one; nor the narrowness of its platform, for to it all are invited, to exercise equal legitimate freedom of speech concerning slavery, pro and con; not in showing favor to one religious sect more than to another, for it has certainly been no respecter of parties or persons; not in its spirit, for it has always exhibited a manly and serene front, and courted the severest scrutiny; not in being inexorable in its demands, for otherwise it would have lowered its standard, and betrayed the cause of the slave; not in making its unity, growth and prosperity, as an association, an object of undue solicitude, for it has never acted with reference to so low an end. Nor has it ever promulgated any doctrine, adopted any measure, taken any position, for the purpose of conciliating public opinion, obtaining popularity, or augmenting its funds. Its course has been absolutely disinterested, independent, fearless, uncompromising. Through what has it not been called to pass, in the shape of popular hatred, contumely, persecution, misrepresentation? It has faithfully and impartially arraigned every party and every sect, found hostile or indifferent to the anti-slavery movement; while it has endeavored to rally around the standard of emancipation, men of all parties and of all sects—all are summoned to extinguish an alarming conflagration, which threatens to destroy the town or city—requiring no change of political or theological views, in order to make the cooperation effective and the spirit harmonious.

Our friend SUTHER takes exception to our declaration, that the American Anti-Slavery Society has never asked either Episcopalian or Presbyterian, Baptist or Methodist, Unitarian or 'Infidel,' to yield one jot or tittle of their peculiar theological views, but only to recognize in the slave 'a man and a brother'; and, therefore, he brands the Society as 'sectarian'! This is a *non sequitur*. In forming a fire department, no one is required to give up any of his religious tenets; ergo, the fire department is a 'sectarian' organization! And so of every association, for the promotion of the general welfare, to the support of which all are invited, without reference to their party or denominational views. Now, the way to break down the partition walls of narrow and bigoted sectarianism is to induce those who are imprisoned therein to work with all others for the accomplishment of a common good, on common ground. Thus, the anti-slavery, the temperance, the peace, and the woman's rights movements have all powerfully aided to soften sectarian prejudice and party animosity, while each has left every mind free to adopt such religious or political opinions as its ideas of truth and duty may elicit; and also every mind, on its individual responsibility, (not in its associated action,) equally free to impeach or to discard all such opinions. What more can reasonably be demanded?

Though our friend SUTHER regards us as sectarian by position, he sends us his letter of arraignment for insertion in *THE LIBERATOR*, confidently expecting it to be printed there, with all cheerfulness. Whenever convenient, he attends our 'sectarian' anti-slavery meetings, and occupies our 'sectarian' platform, and exhorts us to abandon our 'sectarian' organization; and he is listened to respectfully and kindly, as a very worthy, sincere and conscientious person. Now, let him try his luck in any other direction where a sectarian spirit actually exists, and see what will come of it. Let him send letters of condemnation to the organ of any religious sect, bent on its enlargement and prosperity, and see whether they will be readily published, or thrown under the table. Let him venture upon a Presbyterian, Baptist or Episcopal platform, and call upon that denomination to disband, and tell us the result of his experiment. He will then easily learn to distinguish between things and combinations essentially and inherently different—between the darkness of midnight and the effulgence of the noon day.

We hope ever to be keenly jealous and vigilant as in any encroachment upon individual freedom of speech and of conscience; but we desire to retain the power of a just discrimination, so as not to magnify mole-hills into mountains, or to mistake a harmless flock of sheep for a terrific monster. If we cannot find the freedom we desire in any association, we shall imitate the example of our friend SUTHER, and stand aloof from them all; for there is no organization beneath the stars which it is a duty to join, the soul (sovereign of all things on earth) having a right to determine its own sphere and method of action. On this subject, let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind; and especially let him be careful not to mistake an expedient for a principle, or an instrumentality for a liberty.

A NEW OBJECTION.

Ever since we commenced the publication of *THE LIBERATOR*, we have been governed by the principle to allow its columns to be opened to both sides of every question discussed therein, leaving every writer to bear his own responsibilities, and assuming none but such as were justly attached to our own lucubrations. We have thus set an example of fairness and impartiality, which has made our paper conspicuous among all the periodicals in the land, and won for it a solid reputation. At an early period, we established a department of infamy, entitled the '*RETRIBUTION OF OFFENSE*,' wherein we recorded the severest accusations and the most malignant attacks upon us personally, and the anti-slavery cause generally,—the most rabid and the ablest defenses of slavery,—the pro-slavery acts of ecclesiastical and political bodies,—the wicked statements of Southern legislatures,—and various other forms and manifestations of the slavesholding and colorphobia spirit of the nation, North and South. Our objects were—

1. To make ours a truly free press—not one-sided, but just, manly and courageous—evading no argument, afraid of no exposure, seeking no advantage of position, and educating our readers to examine and weigh whatever could be urged in opposition to the principles laid down, and the course pursued by us—believing that
- 'Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just.'
2. To keep the Abolitionists constantly 'posted up' in regard to the sayings and doings of the Southern slave oligarchy and their Northern abettors, that their zeal might be stimulated, their vigilance increased, their knowledge accurate, and their action decisive—recognizing the wisdom of the maxim, 'Forward, reformers!'
3. To demonstrate, by an amount of evidence that could not be gainsaid, the beastly nature, infernal spirit and horrible assumptions of slavery; and thereby, by confirming every accusation brought by us against it, and showing that we were guilty of no injustice or extravagance.
4. To furnish and perpetuate a pro-slavery department, to which the future historian of the anti-slavery struggle could resort, and find (what else might lack his researches) the exact position of men, parties and sects, from year to year, respecting that struggle—in their own declarations, resolutions and acts, in their own language, without mutilation, and alike unquestioned and unquestionable. We have thus preserved a vast amount of matter, for the impartial judgment of posterity, which, but for this fortunate device, would have been too ephemeral, or too widely scattered, ever to have been gathered together. And, surely, hideously orientured and atrociously malign as they have been, the Abolitionists have a right to clear and triumphant vindication of themselves, such as is furnished by the '*RETRIBUTION OF OFFENSE*,' from the hour we established it up to the present time, and to the end of this tremendous struggle. The time is coming,—if it has not already come,—when the defenders of slavery, in Church and State, will give us any sum to blot out that revolting and bloody record, and with it all the evidence of their unprincipled conduct. But, like Banquo's ghost, it shall not 'dovs at their bidding,' shall continue to affright the guilty wretch, who in vain shall exclaim—

'Never shall they glory in it: Thou canst not say, 'I did it!'

This department of our paper covers a period of twenty-two years. During that long term, we have never heard from any of our subscribers a single objection to it, till now; but, on the contrary, we have heard of it with the deepest interest, watching it as a barometer is anxiously consulted, eager to learn from it 'the signs of the times,' finding in it matter for astonishment and MATTER FOR THE WAR, and using it to substantiate their strongest assertions. We have never yet heard, and never expect to hear, of any true anti-slavery man or woman being converted to the pro-slavery side of the conflict by it; but we know it has been vastly serviceable in opening the eyes of the blind, exciting the strongest indignation and indignation against the horrible slave system, and confirming the purpose of such as were seeking its eternal overthrow.

At last, at exceptional case turns up. It will be seen, by a reference to his letter in another column, that our esteemed friend and early contributor, JONATHAN T. EVERETT, regards this department of our paper as decidedly objectionable, for the reasons specified by him, and complimenting us for our letter to Dr. Howe and his associates, declining to lecture in the course with such men as TOOMBS, HILLIARD, MARSH and WISE, (a letter which has been universally approved,) our friend EVERETT thinks he sees 'force of reasoning and consistency' in the dodge made by Dr. Howe, that there is no difference between putting such unblushing advocates of ferocity between the pillars erected for them in *THE LIBERATOR*, and consenting to recognize them, on any platform, as worthy of all respect and honor. So, in the difference, in our view, is world-wide, as great as that which exists between hanging a man, and presenting him as one entitled to the highest consideration. In *THE LIBERATOR*, Mr. TOOMBS stands with the brand of MAN-STAYLER upon his brow. On the platform of Boston, he stood endorsed as an honorable advocate. The invitation extended to him was understood by him, and was doubtless designed by the Committee to be construed by the whole country, as recognizing his claims to public respect, and all the honors of the occasion. It was this virtual endorsement of his character, and the absurdity of hiring such a man to come all the way to Boston on such a wicked errand, to which we took exception. We do not object to allowing the vile criminals to be heard in self-defence; but we do object against receiving them as honest and upright men, and paying them 'for their villainy.' By us, they are presented in their true character. In all anti-slavery meetings they are allowed a hearing; but only because we allow every opponent a chance to be heard, because we allow every opponent a hearing; but only on the principle of free discussion, subjecting him to every ordeal on the spot, if he has the spirit to encounter it. The distinction in these cases is to us so obvious, that we are surprised our friend EVERETT does not perceive it as a glance.

Referring to the parties who get pilloried in our paper, the East Boston *Leiger* of last week says—'Mr. Garrison long since understood their value, and offered his company in his always given them a "red-ink" in his paper, the most effective department in it.' We must hold on to the '*RETRIBUTION OF OFFENSE*,' anti-slavery cause to curse our land, and we beg our readers to terminate its existence; and we beg our readers to mark, learn, and inwardly digest its contents, from week to week, as furnishing powerful incentives to the hewed labor in the cause of our 'fellows-countrymen' and 'phials.'

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

SUGGESTED BY READING THE LATE SLAVE TRAGEDY IN CINCINNATI.

Hark! On my ear there falls a horrid shriek! My chill'd blood curdles in my veins to hear A mother's arm is raised to slay her child!

REMEMBER THEM IN BONDS.

Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them, and those that suffer adversity as being also in the body.—PAUL.

For the Liberator.

PLEA FOR THE FALLEN.

She is our sister, fallen though she be; Let pity plead, poor erring one; And earnest, truthful hearts, with words of cheer, Save her from deeper guilt—stand kindly near.

From the British Friend.

A SONG FOR THE PEACE.

Ring, ring the sweet bells, and unfurl the gay banners, Let cold party feeling and enmity cease; Arise, ye glad nations, with lofty Hosannahs, And welcome with triumph the Angel of Peace.

THE AWAKENING.

Lo! the dawning is arising From its slumber, long and deep; And the friends of God are waking, Never to sleep.

THE LIBERATOR.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SECTARIANISM TO ANTI-SLAVERY. AND THE SECTARIANISM OF THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY.

TORONTO, C. W., Feb. 13, 1856.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: DEAR FRIEND,—It is assumed by the American Anti-Slavery Society that Sectarianism and Anti-Slavery are compatible with each other.

Sectarianism is nothing but the limitation of liberty. A sect is such, not because its members believe in a given creed, but because it says thus shall you believe and do, and not otherwise.

Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them, and those that suffer adversity as being also in the body.—PAUL.

We were not made with souls of ice, To freeze the blood that swells our veins, To thum the suffering souls of vice,

How long, how long, O Lord, he cries, Before my heavy chains shall fall! How long shall liberty delay

For the Liberator.

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by what rule of fair dealing can the American Anti-Slavery Society escape a similar condemnation? Why does Sectarianism stipulate that the condition of its cooperation shall be, exemption to its cherished creeds from the ordeal of free examination and free exposure?

The ever-ready objection to free instrumentalism for the abolition of slavery is, that people despond of cooperating for this object, and coming together with the mutual understanding that for this object they were come together, could have no guarantee that this business would be attended to.

I have thus endeavored to show the incompatibility of Sectarianism with Anti-Slavery; also, the Sectarianism of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and its consequent pro-slaveryism, as an organization, and its consequent arguments as, I will venture to prophesy, will prove themselves unanswerable.

Yours, very truly, GEORGE SUNTER, JR.

From the New York Independent.

SHARP'S RIFLES AS A MORAL AGENT.

The New York Observer is in distress of mind on account of some remarks which we made upon the efficacy of Sharp's rifles.

At a public meeting held in his church to promote emigration to Kansas, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher made the following remarks, as we find them in the report of the New York Evening Post:—

He believed that the Sharp rifle was truly moral agency, and there was more moral power in one of those rifles than in a hundred slaves of Kansas.

We remember the time when in the same church, the same minister of the Gospel of Christ presented a cannon-ball to a political agitator as the argument to which it was best to resort.

Or, if physical resistance to physical violence is right, does it mean that the people of Kansas had no right of self-defense, and no reason for arms?

Upon the whole, we think the Observer has improved in its tone toward us, since we last had the necessity of laying upon us of reading its personal remarks. But we do not exactly understand the ground of its present criticism.

Or, if physical resistance to physical violence is right, does it mean that the people of Kansas had no right of self-defense, and no reason for arms?

The facts were simply these: A peaceful town was for many days threatened with assault and destruction by a lawless band of marauders, who, in moral character and purpose, were plainly nothing different from so many pirates on the sea, or bandits upon the land.

We praised them for their wisdom and their courage. We praise them again. Their stand was noble, and salutary to the country. It was worthy of New England, and of that New England necessity which, amid wars and revolutions, built those foundations on which the Observer stands to revile their descendants for a worthy imitation of their fathers' traits!

The Bible is a book of moral truths. In that sphere where moral truths are proper, it stands before all other instruments. But moral influences are not designed nor adapted to every work.

When Gov. Kossuth was in America, it was proposed that the surplus funds derived from public dinners should be given to him for a Hungarian fund. I was one of the committee that was requested to act in getting up a *Banquet of the Press*.

When Gov. Jackson, as President of the United States, visited Boston, Gov. Everett publicly presented him with a relic of our Revolution, viz: a ball which was found upon Banker Hill, accompanying it with appropriate remarks.

absurd than the pious sentence in the Observer about the sword of the Spirit being better for the defence of Lawrence against armed Missourians than is any rifle.

Indeed, the Scriptures themselves give us the highest instances and proofs that physical treatment is sometimes the most powerful preparation for moral treatment.

When then, these ignorant fellows saw courage added to their own, and that they were to determine to defend their rights, they were rather than yield one hair's breadth of principle, it inspired both respect and fear; and there can be no question, in the minds of any who know what such sort of men are made of, that this armed cohort of the Kansas emigrants did more to produce a recognition of their rights, than a hundred sermons or a thousand Bibles.

Our ancestors, too, had real long ugly-looking swords made of steel and sharpened on grinders, and when the Indians attacked them, they used them!

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THE REPRODUCTIVE ELEMENT IN MAN, AS A MEANS TO HIS ELEVATION AND HAPPINESS.

FOR THE MISDEMEANOR of a speech in Faneuil Hall against Kidnapping, before the Circuit Court of the United States, at Boston, April 3, 1855.

REMOVAL.

THAXTER & BROTHER, Opticians, (successors to John Pierce,) have removed to 139 WASHINGTON STREET.

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DR. M. is a regular graduate in dental medicine and Surgery, and operates on the most successful terms.

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