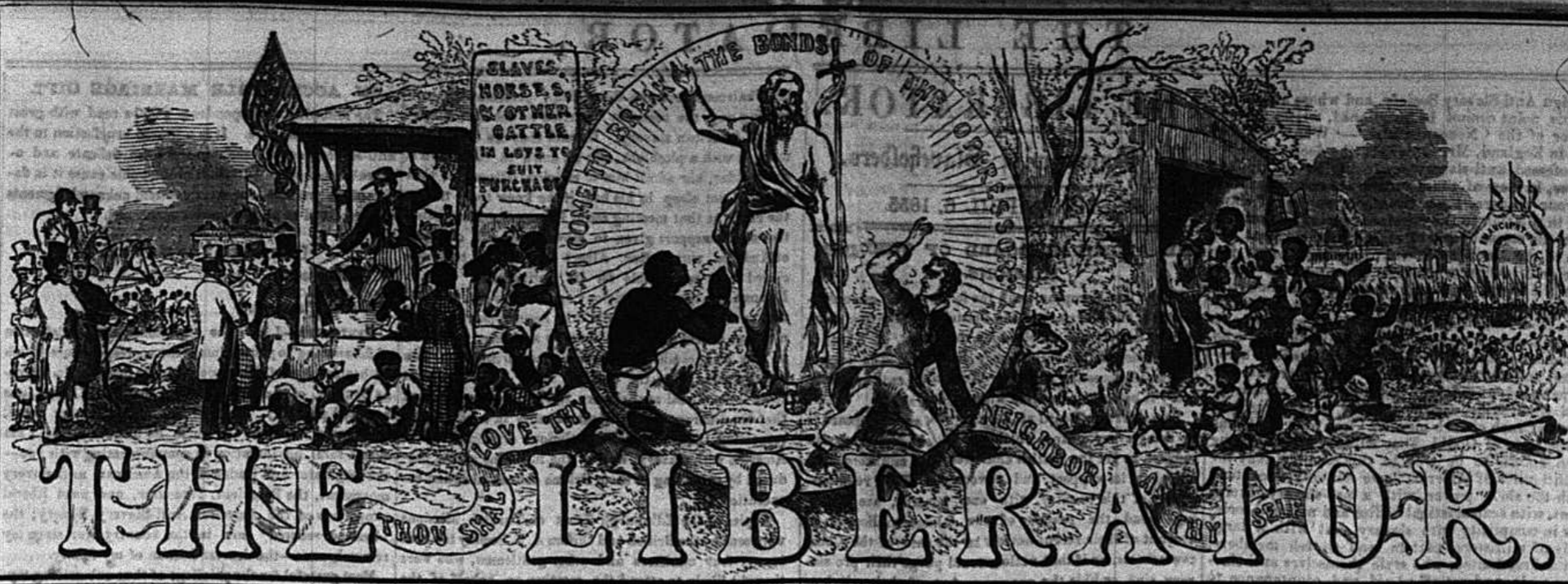


THE LIBERATOR
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING.
AT THE
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.



No Union with Slaveholders
THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.
VOL. XXV. NO. 14.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 6, 1855.

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THE LIBERATOR.

It is sometimes more potent than argument, and this conviction has led our correspondent to see that what virtue there may be in a little satire, effectively applied in the case of Dr. Adams, and the more than heathenish pastor of Essex Street Church.

AUDI ALITER PARTEM.

Not so fast, not so fast, neighbor Garrison! I read your Liberator every week, and being a good-natured man, wish to keep you right. You are out upon our Rev. Dr. Adams for his 'South Side View of Slavery.' I am, on the contrary, delighted with his view of that heathen institution.

How happy these slaves are! free from all care, troubled with no avarice or ambition, laboring just enough to keep themselves in health and spirits, reclining under the shade of the palmetto every day, frolicking with one another by night, and living on the fat of the land: dressed also in the height of fashion, and in the finest broadcloths, especially on Sundays and holidays, with gold chains around their necks, gold watches in their pockets, gold-headed canes in their hands, and all the ornaments of wealth and refinement.

They are, of all people on earth, the most happy, says Houston. Why should they be such fools as to run away from that Eden, and emigrate to the cold and comfortless North? You ignorant abolitionists would answer, that they have a natural and unconquerable love of liberty. But one of them told the good and saintly Rev. Doctor that he didn't wish to be free; so that he settled.

I cannot account for their folly but by phrenology and physiognomy, which teach that Negroes have large sensitive, fine fibers, and therefore have a natural and irresistible propensity to run away and hide. This sensitive often gives their masters great trouble in looking them up, to keep them from suffering. How kind in the masters to advertise them, even offering a large reward for them, dead or alive, wishing, if they are alive, to feed and clothe and take care of them, and if dead, to have the consolation of mourning over their remains, and giving them a Christian burial! Noble and humane Christians! how they grace and adorn human nature!

How cruel in Washington and others to deprive their slaves of such affectionate care, by making them free! The only excuse for that great and good man is, that he undoubtedly labored under a kind of abolition insanity. Well, Uncle Tom's Cabin is torn down. How ridiculous and a surd to believe that those pious and exemplary Christian masters, who pray in their families, my grace at table, and attend even the sacraments of the Church, should ever abuse their slaves, and sell them away from their families, parting husbands from wives, parents from children; being no Christian would or could be guilty of such abominable inhumanity. Such cruelty would shock even an infidel. The benevolent and worthy Doctor's Views will enlighten the Northern mind—at least conquer some of their foolish prejudices against slavery. I hope he will visit Utah this spring, and give us a West Side View of Polygamy. He knows the Holy Bible sanctions this institution as much as slavery. The renowned anti-slavery Lane, the venerable patriarchs, the illustrious Moses, the pious David, (a man after God's own heart), and the glorious Solomon, the wisest man on earth, all had just as many wives as they pleased, besides concubines. That was Liberty, Free Trade, and Slaves' Rights. But here, in this cold, codfish, ice-making State, a mighty fuss is made, if a man has only two or three wives, or simply keeps a concubine. I hope the Reverend Doctor, on his return from Utah, will write another book, and endeavor to conquer this foolish prejudice. This is also important for the preservation of the Union. The rapidly increasing Mormons are becoming formidable, and may secede, unless this prejudice can be conquered. As the great Mr. Webster saved the Union before, the Reverend Doctor may render the same service now, and go down to posterity with a name that distinguished statesman. As, however, he will be violently opposed, especially by such weak women as Mrs. Stowe and her abolition sisters, I would suggest, with great deference, that he take the most calm and candid view of polygamy that he has of slavery, and not exactly advocate the system, but tell how he visited some Mormon gentlemen, where one of his beautiful wives was cooking dinner, another increasing the children, another attending another sick while just confined, another putting the chambers in order, another gracing the parlor, and all harmonious, sociable, cheerful and affable, delighting in their several duties, and basking in the smiles of their Abraham husband: then leave the people to infer the pleasure and advantages of polygamy.

Now, Sir, as you and your abolition adherents are such devoted infidels as to reject the Bible authority for slavery, you will undoubtedly have the impudence to reject the same authority for polygamy and concubinage. But, Sir, great names for talent, learning and piety, such as the Rev. Dr. Adams, the Rev. Dr. Dewey, and the profound President Lord, are not fathers, that you can blow away with your polluted breath. Having become conversant as apologist for slavery, they must and will, even to be consistent, now become apologist for the other Abrahamian example. They have put their hand to the plough, and if they now look back, they are not fit for the stations they fill, and they may be assured I will never again defend them against your rail attacks.

MILTON.
Now, what an ungrateful and ungodly wretch that gentleman in Montgomery, Alabama, who lately said to a Northerner, 'I have been just reading the book of Job, though I think the fool predominates. Why, the book has seen more virtue in slavery, during the few weeks he was in Georgia, housed up as an invalid, than I have seen in all my life. We don't pretend down here that slavery is right; we only claim it as the best mode of things we can have just now. But this holy man never sees the elephant of slavery, than he falls into and worships it. What an ass the man must be! How irreverent to a learned and pious D. D. of Boston. But the Reverend Doctor must expect persecution, especially in a righteous cause. He may also be ridiculed and abused for advocating polygamy and concubinage, but standing on the Bible platform, and abiding by it, he need not fear such buffeting of man.

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

We make the following extracts from the very able and conclusive majority Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, in favor of the removal of Judge Loring from the office which he now pollutes:—
A Judge of Probate may do many things, either as a citizen or as a Commissioner, which would render him unfit for the office of Judge of Probate, and yet not render him liable to removal by impeachment. Hence the reservation of the right of removal by address.

The power of removal by address, under chapter III, article 1, of the Constitution, was intended to reach cases in which judges might not be subject to impeachment. The individual holding office may not be guilty of crime, gross immorality or official misbehavior, so as to be liable to removal for such cause on trial, and to judgment on impeachment, and yet, from gross or rash measures, or from inhumanity of person, or general offensiveness to the community, or from loss of the public confidence, ought to be removed by address, which is without trial or judgment.

The causes for articles, trial and judgment, on impeachment, are limited. Removal by address, besides all these causes, which, from various reasons, it may be best not to make the subject of solemn trial and severe judgment that involve the disgrace of conviction, with the penalty of disqualification for office, and may extend to impeachment from any office of honor or trust, extends to a much wider range.

This is a wise constitutional provision, the only one, which (the judiciary not being elective) holds the judiciary accountable to the people. It is not limited to cases of official misconduct. To thus restrict it, is to nullify it. A servant is not beyond the reach of the people, merely by keeping clear of criminal misconduct.

They have reserved the power of simply dismissing from service. This power is in no danger of being abused, being restricted to cases in which the House, chosen from the people in towns, the Senate, elected in the larger districts, the Council, selected from the people by a joint ballot of these two branches, and the Governor, chosen by the whole body of the State, concur.

To omit to exercise it, from the fact that it might be abused, would be a dangerous precedent: for it would be a practical recognition of a limitation to a right of the people.

Mr. Loring, in his protest, denies the practical exercise of the power, by denying the right of the people to exercise it. He denies this right, because he says there is no good cause, or what amounts to the same thing, it would be 'extreme injustice and want of equity.' The fallacy is here. He declares that no cause for removal is good, unless it amount to official misconduct. Whereas, unless there be cause, short of that, that are sufficient in the mind of the people, the power is practically annihilated.

It is precisely the case in which the people see that the man, in person, mind or morals, is such as they do not wish to retain in their service, that this reserved constitutional right was meant to reach.

The county of Suffolk has a colored population of 2,608. Can they approach without a shudder the Commissioner who has voluntarily surrendered to slavery another man, born with rights to liberty, and treated as their own property? Removal by address is a power which ought to be exercised for sufficient cause. The causes are more extensive than those for impeachment.

Shall the poor trembling suppliant for the God-given boon of freedom plead on the soil of Massachusetts under the terror of dirks and pistols? What though the Judge who permits this be a United States Commissioner? Is it fit that he also should be a Massachusetts Judge of Probate?

The duties of the office of United States Commissioner interfere with the duties of the office of Judge of Probate. The statute is imperative, that a Probate Court shall be held in the county of Suffolk on every Monday, except the first of each month.

Yet Mr. Dana, in his argument before the Committee in favor of Mr. Loring, wished it noted, as a proof of Judge Loring's kindly disposition, that he adjourned his Probate Court to try the Burns case.

Yes, the business of the County of Suffolk must be delayed an entire fortnight, that Colonel Suttle may be enabled to take a man from the free soil of Massachusetts to the slave soil of Virginia one day earlier.

Massachusetts protests against this delaying the business of the widow and the orphan to accommodate a Virginia slave-hunter. Our laws declare it piracy to kidnap men from Africa. Shall it be deemed in Massachusetts a business fit for a Judge of Probate to dabble in?

The Massachusetts Declaration of Rights affirms, 'in the rights of every citizen to be tried by judges, as free, impartial and independent, as the lot of humanity will admit.'

Your Committee were greatly impressed with the importance of some of the admissions of Mr. Dana. He admitted that the decision of Judge Loring was against law and evidence, and yet endeavored to shield Mr. Loring from the charge of wrong intentions by saying that Mr. Loring brought certain instincts from birth and education, and surrounding influences, certain associations and predilections, which carried him inevitably to a decision. He did not bring to the case strong instincts of liberty and justice.

As a man, thus biased by education, associations, predilections and surrounding influences, 'as free, impartial and independent as the lot of humanity will admit'!

Your Committee had always supposed that Massachusetts required her judges to bring instincts to the bench favorable to liberty and justice, and not such as to carry them to the side of the slave.

Your Committee do not intend to sit in judgment upon the motives which brought Judge Loring to volunteer to act as judge in a case similar to one which Mr. Benjamin F. Hallett is said to have refused to try. They do not intend to inquire into the motives that brought him ultimately to the decision which he made in the Burns case. These are only within the cognizance of his own conscience and his God. But acts come within the cognizance of the general good, and such as militate against the general good, and results must be guarded against with judicious care.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT.

Extracts from a Lecture delivered by FRANCIS DOUGLASS in Rochester, Albany, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Portland, Bangor, and other cities:—
Let us now turn away from the church, and examine the Anti-Slavery movement in its branches, for divisions are here, as well as elsewhere. I will not enter on a recitation of their causes. God forbid that I should open here those bitter fountains! I may say, however, that the first grand division took place fourteen years ago, and on the very minor question, Shall a woman be a member of a committee in company with men? The majority said she should; and the minority seceded. Thus was a grand Philanthropic movement rent asunder by a side issue, having nothing, whatever, to do with the great object which the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized to carry forward. Before I would have stood in such an attitude, and taken the responsibility of dividing the ranks of Freedom's army, I would have suffered my right arm to be taken off.

How beautiful would it have been for that woman, how nobly would her name have come down to us in this history, had she said: 'All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient!' While I see no objection to my occupying a place on your committee, I can for the slave's sake forego this privilege. The battle of Woman's Rights should be fought on its own ground; as it is, the slave's cause, already too heavily laden, had to bear under this new addition; but I will not go further on that subject, except to characterize it as a sad mistake.

I shall consider, first, the Garrisonian Anti-Slavery Society. I call this the Garrisonian Society, because Mr. Garrison is, confessedly, its leader. This Society is the oldest of modern Anti-Slavery societies. It has, strictly speaking, two weekly papers, one in England, and one in America, and holds numerous public meetings for the dissemination of its views. Its peculiar and distinctive feature is, its doctrine of 'No union with slaveholders.' This doctrine has, of late, become its bond of union, and the condition of good fellowship among its members. Of this Society, I have to say, its logical result is, not, negatively, Anti-Slavery. Its doctrine of 'No union with slaveholders,' carries out, dissolves the Union, and leaves the slaves and their masters to fight their own battles, in their own way. This I hold to be an abandonment of the great idea with which that Society started. It started to free the slave. It ends, by leaving the slave to free himself. It started with the purpose to imbue the heart of the nation with sentiments favorable to the abolition of Slavery, and ends by seeking to free the North from all responsibility for Slavery other than its own.

As a mere expression of abhorrence of Slavery, the sentiment is a good one; but it expresses no intelligible principle of action, and throws no new light on the pathway of duty. Defined, as its authors define it, it leads to false doctrines and mischievous results. It condemns Gerrit Smith for sitting in Congress, and our Saviour for eating with publicans and sinners. Dr. Spring uttered a shocking sentiment, when he said, if any prayer of his would emancipate every slave, he would not offer that prayer, for he would not be the instrument of the leader of the disunion forces, when he says, that if one vote of his would emancipate every slave in this country, he would not cast that vote. Here, on a bare theory, and for a theory which, if consistently adhered to, would drive a man out of the world—a theory which can never be made intelligible to common sense—the freedom of the whole slave population would be sacrificed.

But, again: NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. I dislike the morality of this sentiment, in its application to the point at issue. For instance: A. unites with B. in stealing my property, and carrying it away to California, or to Australia, and while there, Mr. A. becomes convinced that he did wrong in stealing my property, and says to Mr. B., 'no union with property-stealers, and abandons him, leaving the property in his hands. Now, I offer that to the requirements of stringent morality! He certainly has not. It is not only his duty to separate from the thief, but to restore the stolen property to its rightful owner. And I hold that in the Union, this very thing of restoring to the Slave his long-lost rights can better be accomplished, than it can possibly be accomplished outside of the Union. This, then, is my answer to the motto, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.'

But this is not the worst fault of this Society. Its chief energies are expended in confirming the opinion that the U. S. Constitution is, and was, intended to be a slaveholding instrument—that piling up between the slave and his freedom, the huge work of the abolition of the Government, as an indispensable condition to emancipation. My point here is, first, the Constitution is, according to its reading, an Anti-Slavery document; and, secondly, to dissolve the Union, as a means to abolish Slavery, is about as wise as it would be to burn up this city, in order to get the thieves out of it.

But again, we hear the motto, 'No union with slaveholders.' I answer it as that noble champion of Liberty, N. P. Rogers, answered it with a more sensible motto, namely—'No union with slaveholding.' I would unite with anybody to do right; and with nobody to do wrong. And as the Union, under the Constitution, requires me to do nothing which is wrong, and gives me many facilities for doing good, I cannot go with the American Anti-Slavery Society in its doctrine of disunion.

The mission of the Garrisonians ends with the dissolution of the Union—that of the Free Soil party ends with the relief of the Federal Government from all responsibility for slavery—but the Liberty Party, by its position and doctrines, and by its antecedents, is pledged to continue the struggle while a bondman in his chains remains to weep. Upon its platform must the great battle of Freedom be fought out—if upon any short of the bloody field. It must be under no partial cry of 'No Union with Slaveholders!' nor selfish cry of 'No more Slavery extension!' but it must be, 'no slavery for man under the whole heavens.' The Slave as a man and a brother, must be the vital and animating thought and impulse of any movement, which is to effect the abolition of slavery in this country. Our Anti-Slavery organizations must be brought back to this doctrine—or they will be scattered and left to wander, and die in the wilderness, like God's ancient people, till another generation shall come up more, worthy to go up and possess the land.

The following timely appeal has been published in England, in the form of a tract, for the enlightenment and guidance of British Christians. Read it!

TURKISH MISSIONS.
AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

British Christians have recently been called to unite with the American Board of Missions in the work of spreading the Gospel in Western Asia, and an association has been formed in London for this object, in which stands the honored name of Lord Shaftesbury. The agent for the scheme, Rev. C. G. Young, has enlisted much sympathy in its behalf, while travelling throughout the country. But while zealously promoting this interesting object, he has entirely kept out of view the character, with respect to American slavery, of the association with which British Christians are solicited to unite. This has been a subject of concern to the anti-slavery friends of Britain, who are well aware of the injurious effect, to the cause of the slave, of this unqualified co-operation, in many quarters unqualified eulogy of the American Board. They therefore made some efforts to induce the British public. Among others, the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society thought it right to draw up a short history of the proceedings of the American Board in regard to slavery, which pointed to its unfaithfulness in many particulars, alleging that the Board had overlooked the three millions of immortal beings at home, that it had suffered the missionaries in the Cherokee and Choctaw nations to admit converts to the church while still holding slaves and carrying on a system of buying and selling their fellow-beings, even when such traffic involved the separation of parents from children, &c. That till the meeting held at Hartford in September last, when some improvement took place, attributable to pressure from without, felt in many ways, among others by the increasing adherence of the friends of missions to the American Missionary Association, an extract from anti-slavery principles, the Board had not given forth anti-slavery testimony, and that even then it was not of the decided character to be expected from such a body. The statement containing these allegations was circulated to some extent, and was sent to a gentleman deeply interested in this missionary movement, with a request that his attention might be directed to the facts illustrating the pro-slavery tendencies of the American Board, so that his influence might be used to present its real character to the British Christians. In reply to this request, this gentleman expressed regret that the Ladies' Committee should circulate injurious misrepresentations of a society instrumental in abolishing slavery in the Sandwich Islands, and whose influence indirectly might be seen in the recent abolition of the sale of Circassian captives. He also alluded to the recent meeting at Hartford, repudiating the idea that the improved resolutions were attributable to the motives that had been suggested. On this point, the Association, an extract from the New York Independent, 'a paper supported by Mrs. H. B. Stowe, her brother Rev. H. W. Beecher, and others,' to exhibit what he considered the opinion of 'the true friends of the anti-slavery cause in the United States.' The extract says, 'Many have been perplexed with the position or supposed position of the Board, who have never wholly forsaken it. We may hope that they, and all who rejoice in the explicitness and Christian militancy with which it has now declared itself, will express their joy by going forward with new courage, and with a more cheerful self-denial, in co-operation with the great and venerable institution, around which so many prayers and devout aspirations have gathered, and which has been so prospered in its work.' This gentleman's Note also alluded to the effect which this 'unqualified interference' of members of the Anti-Slavery Society might have in marred the effort of Friends of missions in Turkey, as an expression of international goodwill, but suggested that 'the anti-slavery movement would suffer far greater injury by the alienation of some of its best friends, from these proceedings.'

To this Note the Committee felt bound to reply, in justification of their course; and as it has occurred to them that the above points may also strike others who have not looked closely into the subject, they have resolved to print their reply for wide circulation, in the earnest hope that it may be useful in stimulating such right action from the British churches, which are, according to J. G. Birney, 'the bulwarks of American Slavery'; and respecting whom Albert Barnes declared that 'THERE IS NO POWER OUT OF THE CHURCH WHICH COULD SUSTAIN SLAVERY AN HOUR, IF IT WERE NOT SUSTAINED IN IT.'

December 22d, 1854.
SIR,—Your Note was duly received and read at the last meeting of our Committee; and I should have claimed an immediate reply, but that we wished to consult further testimonies, and consider them carefully, lest we had inadvertently given forth misrepresentations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This, after further investigation, we cannot discover to be the case. The records of the Board do not declare anti-slavery principles, while doctrines of expediency have characterized the instructions to the missionaries on this and some other subjects. In proof of these assertions, we may briefly recapitulate a few general points. The Board is constituted in a large measure by slaveholders; while ministers of slaveholding churches, and slaveholding members, take part in its management as officers, corporate members, and agents. To secure the support of the South, the emissaries of the Board have taken no notice of the sin of slavery, while travelling among the slave states to collect funds for foreign objects, and have not scrupled to accept for their treasury that which was literally the price of blood. The Board itself has never declared slaveholding a sin, and has suffered the same laxity to obtain among the Indian missions, where slaveholding converts are received as Christians. The Board has never acted out the injunction which is the only authority for all missions, 'Go ye into all the world to preach the Gospel to every creature.' It has overlooked three millions of immortal souls at its own door; may have received as a Christian brother the tyrant who makes and sustains laws to doom them, as far as he can do so, to perpetual heathen darkness. (We need not remind you of the laws of some Southern States which decree death as the penalty of teaching slaves to read the Bible, and others of kindred nature.)

Setting aside this flagrant course of unfaithfulness to its calling, has the Board in other respects acted fully, by preaching the pure Gospel of peace to Christians? It is instructing the missionaries to preach it in all that they do, but the elevation and conversion of the fallen race; have the converts been called on to forsake their sins, or has the standard of Christianity been lowered to suit them? For an answer, we look to the various discussions and decisions of the Board. In 1845 a long and labored report was given in and adopted, defending the course of the Board in admitting slaveholders to the mission churches. Rev. Dr. Wood of Andover is admitted to the committee. In the course of the debate, Dr. C. E. Stowe (now Professor Stowe) said, 'I would sooner die than say our missionaries ought to enter their open protest against all the evils with which they come in contact.' Dr. Beecher of Boston said: 'masters and slaves existed in the primitive churches, and it was allowed by Christ and his apostles. Slavery is an organic sin made by law, and therefore not dealt with as other sins.' In 1840 similar deference to organic sin was adopted, at this time more especially regarding the subject of polygamy, when the sanction of the Board was given to the admission of converts to Christian fellowship while retaining this heathen custom. The discussions on this occasion we do not quote, as it is with the decisions we have principally to do; but they were of a most repulsive character, and are important as showing the sentiments of those of whom the Board is composed. In 1847 there was not much variation of the anti-slavery question before the Association, but it was proposed to send some one to visit the Indian missions. Mr. Treat accordingly went and returned, bringing in, in 1848, his comprehensive Report, and founding on it the letter now so generally called by his name; this letter recommended that slaveholding should be considered prima facie evidence against the fitness of a candidate for admission to the church, but it was to be left with himself to prove his freedom from the guilt of the system. It also recommended that the missionaries should not employ slave labor; beyond this, there was little of practical anti-slavery application; such as it was, however, it was too anti-slavery for the Board, who did not adopt it from 1848 to 1854, and the old position was retained, till at the recent meeting at Hartford, the subject having been introduced by the melancholy reports from the Choctaw mission, a resolution was moved in accordance with this letter, which (not without considerable and warm opposition) was carried.

It may be important here to call to mind that the laws of the Choctaw nation, now stringently enforced, prohibiting the teaching of slaves, imposing barriers in the way of emancipation, &c., had been in operation since 1836, and till now no protest was made against them by the missionaries and the Board, if we except Mr. Treat's deprecatory mention of them in his Report in 1848. In the same Report he alludes to another melancholy fact, that the number of slaves had increased 'under the Gospel.'

Undoubtedly, then, there is evidence of progress in the late proceedings of the Board, and in this we rejoice; but we must be allowed to judge in some degree of the considerations which prompted it, by the pleas advanced in support of the resolutions, even in connection with more noble advocacy, at the meeting at Hartford. Rev. W. W. Professor Stowe made the following resolutions, and you will send a thrill of joy through the North, and open a way for the renewed co-operation of thousands who have been compelled to withhold their contributions. Dr. Lyman Beecher said: 'they had now an opportunity to secure to the Board the churches of the West, &c. Dr. Bacon said, 'The views of those who furnish our funds must decide our action.' The Rev. Dr. Pomroy affirmed that 'no action less than or different from the resolutions would harmonize the diversity of the North. Dr. Todd asserted the same thing of the Friends of missions in the Bay State and Granite State, &c. &c., and therefore we must infer that this improvement is in a great degree attributable to pressure from without, owing to the advance of public opinion, which has been produced through the instrumentality of the unceasing efforts of the abolitionists, the production and wonderful effects of Uncle Tom's Cabin, and the agitation and passage of the Nebraska Bill. This progress is manifested in the assent of the members of the Beecher family, as well as others, if we may judge from the expression of their sentiments in previous discussions; and therefore their opinions and the impressions given forth by the 'Independent' are not quite those which should influence us in this country, who are free from the fully and as associations likely to affect them. We rejoice to hail every improvement, and therefore we will appreciate the noble advocacy of the cause by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and Mrs. H. B. Stowe. Still we must respectfully submit that such a body as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions should not wait to be stimulated

The following letter, addressed to the Editor of the Christian Observer, will show Mr. Treat's present anti-slavery sentiments:—
Missionary House, Boston, Oct. 7, 1854.
DEAR SIR.—In your Paper of this date, you publish an extract from the Watchman and Observer, and therein inquire, 'Is this a fair and truthful statement?' I did not send Mr. Treat's address to you, and you will send a thrill of joy through the North, and open a way for the renewed co-operation of thousands who have been compelled to withhold their contributions. Dr. Lyman Beecher said: 'they had now an opportunity to secure to the Board the churches of the West, &c. Dr. Bacon said, 'The views of those who furnish our funds must decide our action.' The Rev. Dr. Pomroy affirmed that 'no action less than or different from the resolutions would harmonize the diversity of the North. Dr. Todd asserted the same thing of the Friends of missions in the Bay State and Granite State, &c. &c., and therefore we must infer that this improvement is in a great degree attributable to pressure from without, owing to the advance of public opinion, which has been produced through the instrumentality of the unceasing efforts of the abolitionists, the production and wonderful effects of Uncle Tom's Cabin, and the agitation and passage of the Nebraska Bill. This progress is manifested in the assent of the members of the Beecher family, as well as others, if we may judge from the expression of their sentiments in previous discussions; and therefore their opinions and the impressions given forth by the 'Independent' are not quite those which should influence us in this country, who are free from the fully and as associations likely to affect them. We rejoice to hail every improvement, and therefore we will appreciate the noble advocacy of the cause by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and Mrs. H. B. Stowe. Still we must respectfully submit that such a body as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions should not wait to be stimulated

REPLY OF EDINBURGH LADIES' EMANCIPATION COMMITTEE.
December 22d, 1854.
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Setting aside this flagrant course of unfaithfulness to its calling, has the Board in other respects acted fully, by preaching the pure Gospel of peace to Christians? It is instructing the missionaries to preach it in all that they do, but the elevation and conversion of the fallen race; have the converts been called on to forsake their sins, or has the standard of Christianity been lowered to suit them? For an answer, we look to the various discussions and decisions of the Board. In 1845 a long and labored report was given in and adopted, defending the course of the Board in admitting slaveholders to the mission churches. Rev. Dr. Wood of Andover is admitted to the committee. In the course of the debate, Dr. C. E. Stowe (now Professor Stowe) said, 'I would sooner die than say our missionaries ought to enter their open protest against all the evils with which they come in contact.' Dr. Beecher of Boston said: 'masters and slaves existed in the primitive churches, and it was allowed by Christ and his apostles. Slavery is an organic sin made by law, and therefore not dealt with as other sins.' In 1840 similar deference to organic sin was adopted, at this time more especially regarding the subject of polygamy, when the sanction of the Board was given to the admission of converts to Christian fellowship while retaining this heathen custom. The discussions on this occasion we do not quote, as it is with the decisions we have principally to do; but they were of a most repulsive character, and are important as showing the sentiments of those of whom the Board is composed. In 1847 there was not much variation of the anti-slavery question before the Association, but it was proposed to send some one to visit the Indian missions. Mr. Treat accordingly went and returned, bringing in, in 1848, his comprehensive Report, and founding on it the letter now so generally called by his name; this letter recommended that slaveholding should be considered prima facie evidence against the fitness of a candidate for admission to the church, but it was to be left with himself to prove his freedom from the guilt of the system. It also recommended that the missionaries should not employ slave labor; beyond this, there was little of practical anti-slavery application; such as it was, however, it was too anti-slavery for the Board, who did not adopt it from 1848 to 1854, and the old position was retained, till at the recent meeting at Hartford, the subject having been introduced by the melancholy reports from the Choctaw mission, a resolution was moved in accordance with this letter, which (not without considerable and warm opposition) was carried.

It may be important here to call to mind that the laws of the Choctaw nation, now stringently enforced, prohibiting the teaching of slaves, imposing barriers in the way of emancipation, &c., had been in operation since 1836, and till now no protest was made against them by the missionaries and the Board, if we except Mr. Treat's deprecatory mention of them in his Report in 1848. In the same Report he alludes to another melancholy fact, that the number of slaves had increased 'under the Gospel.'

Undoubtedly, then, there is evidence of progress in the late proceedings of the Board, and in this we rejoice; but we must be allowed to judge in some degree of the considerations which prompted it, by the pleas advanced in support of the resolutions, even in connection with more noble advocacy, at the meeting at Hartford. Rev. W. W. Professor Stowe made the following resolutions, and you will send a thrill of joy through the North, and open a way for the renewed co-operation of thousands who have been compelled to withhold their contributions. Dr. Lyman Beecher said: 'they had now an opportunity to secure to the Board the churches of the West, &c. Dr. Bacon said, 'The views of those who furnish our funds must decide our action.' The Rev. Dr. Pomroy affirmed that 'no action less than or different from the resolutions would harmonize the diversity of the North. Dr. Todd asserted the same thing of the Friends of missions in the Bay State and Granite State, &c. &c., and therefore we must infer that this improvement is in a great degree attributable to pressure from without, owing to the advance of public opinion, which has been produced through the instrumentality of the unceasing efforts of the abolitionists, the production and wonderful effects of Uncle Tom's Cabin, and the agitation and passage of the Nebraska Bill. This progress is manifested in the assent of the members of the Beecher family, as well as others, if we may judge from the expression of their sentiments in previous discussions; and therefore their opinions and the impressions given forth by the 'Independent' are not quite those which should influence us in this country, who are free from the fully and as associations likely to affect them. We rejoice to hail every improvement, and therefore we will appreciate the noble advocacy of the cause by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and Mrs. H. B. Stowe. Still we must respectfully submit that such a body as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions should not wait to be stimulated

The following letter, addressed to the Editor of the Christian Observer, will show Mr. Treat's present anti-slavery sentiments:—
Missionary House, Boston, Oct. 7, 1854.
DEAR SIR.—In your Paper of this date, you publish an extract from the Watchman and Observer, and therein inquire, 'Is this a fair and truthful statement?' I did not send Mr. Treat's address to you, and you will send a thrill of joy through the North, and open a way for the renewed co-operation of thousands who have been compelled to withhold their contributions. Dr. Lyman Beecher said: 'they had now an opportunity to secure to the Board the churches of the West, &c. Dr. Bacon said, 'The views of those who furnish our funds must decide our action.' The Rev. Dr. Pomroy affirmed that 'no action less than or different from the resolutions would harmonize the diversity of the North. Dr. Todd asserted the same thing of the Friends of missions in the Bay State and Granite State, &c. &c., and therefore we must infer that this improvement is in a great degree attributable to pressure from without, owing to the advance of public opinion, which has been produced through the instrumentality of the unceasing efforts of the abolitionists, the production and wonderful effects of Uncle Tom's Cabin, and the agitation and passage of the Nebraska Bill. This progress is manifested in the assent of the members of the Beecher family, as well as others, if we may judge from the expression of their sentiments in previous discussions; and therefore their opinions and the impressions given forth by the 'Independent' are not quite those which should influence us in this country, who are free from the fully and as associations likely to affect them. We rejoice to hail every improvement, and therefore we will appreciate the noble advocacy of the cause by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and Mrs. H. B. Stowe. Still we must respectfully submit that such a body as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions should not wait to be stimulated

REPLY OF EDINBURGH LADIES' EMANCIPATION COMMITTEE.
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from without; but should, in its Gospel character, assume and maintain the highest standard of moral and Christian duty, and if this has not hitherto been done, and obedience has been rendered to expediency rather than to the laws of God; and if even yet there is no word of repentance; we would suggest that this Board is not a trustworthy ally in its pure and holy enterprise as the propagator of the Gospel. Far be it from us to seek to injure the cause of Missions! On the contrary, we would earnestly desire that they should be so conducted, as that, with the blessing of God, their good may be sure and everlasting, which we could scarcely hope for the antecedents of the American Board. On this point we have alluded to the Indian Missions; and to give another side of the question, we quote a letter from Rev. D. S. Brayton, a Baptist Missionary among the Karens.

"Will you tell me how to meet the following objection: I have to meet wherever I go among the wild Karens! If I become a disciple, when you get a large number of us, you intend to entice us away and make slaves of us in your own country? This objection is urged with as much seriousness and confidence as if they were actually acquainted with the system of American slavery. . . . And will they not become acquainted with it? I see not how it can possibly be avoided. . . . And when once it is known, it will spread like wildfire among the people. Some time since I noticed the following remark as coming from Bro. Kincaid: 'If the heathen were aware of the slaveholding character of our churches, by whom the missionaries are sent out, the usefulness of the missionaries would be at an end.' Now I should not be willing to go quite so far as this, and say that their usefulness would be at an end. But I most sincerely believe that the strength of the missionaries' arm would be sadly paralyzed."

As Mrs. Stowe mournfully exclaims in the Key, "We have sent our missionaries to all quarters of the globe; but how shall they tell their hearers converts the things that are done in Christianized countries? How shall our missionaries in Mahometan countries hold up their hands and proclaim the superiority of our religion, when we tolerate barbarities which they have repudiated? . . . No, there is no resource. The church in the United States is shut up, in the Providence of God, to one way. She never can fulfil her mission till this is done. So long as she neglects this, it will be the way of everything else which she attempts." And if this be the case, surely it would be better for British Christians to go forth independently in their great work, leaning on the Almighty arm alone for help.

We wish to advert to the point in your Note referring to the Sandwich Islands. Very early in the history of the American missions in those islands, the missionaries formed an Anti-Slavery Society, and published a most powerful appeal to the American Board and people; this was not circulated, and it was decreed that no mission of the kind of a mission may print, or issue, or tract, or appeal, at the printing establishment, at the expense of the Board, with a view to its being sent to individuals or communities in the United States. (How this rule was understood by the missionaries is evident from one of them writing from India, "We are prohibited writing anything home on the subject of slavery; . . . but we cannot forget that slavery exists in the home of freedom, &c. &c.") Notwithstanding this oppressive policy, the anti-slavery efforts fulfilled their beneficial end towards the Sandwich Islands, and that aside from the Board rather than by its influence.

With regard to the renewed edict for the abolition of the sale of Circassian slaves, although, no doubt, as in the Sandwich Islands, the faithfulness of Christians would promote the righteous measure, it is well known to have been brought about by the agency of the British Government; at all events, the Firman of the Mahometan despotic sovereign of Turkey conveys a striking rebuke to democratic Christian America. It says, "Man is the most noble of all the creatures formed by the hand of God, who degrades himself by making him free horse. . . . But contrary to that decision, the Circassians indulge in the strange habit of selling their children and relatives as slaves, and even of stealing children from each other, in order to sell them like animals or articles of furniture. These proceedings, incompatible with the dignity of man, and contrary to the will of the Sovereign Creator, are altogether reprehensible, and I condemn them absolutely. Wherefore, &c. (proceeding to give directions for the suppression of this trade.)"

We feel it necessary to have occupied so much of your time in details which are familiar to you, but we were anxious to review them before you in the hope that your inferences from them of the character of the American Board might undergo some alteration.

Our plea for "interference" in this matter is founded on our earnest wish to obey the injunction to remember those in bonds as bound with them, and the conviction confirmed by those most deeply interested in the redemption of this country from slavery, including Mrs. Stowe, that there is no power so great which Britain can bring to bear on American slavery as the power of public opinion, and that there is no medium to express this so forcibly as through the religious organizations; therefore it is we are so anxious that the British church should give forth no "uncertain sound"; and therefore it is we have taken the liberty to lay before you this important subject, as from your interest in the cause of missions, and your influence in promoting it, you may be able to give rights of direction to the expression of British feeling, and induce a co-operation in this great work, only with those whose hands are free from participation in the sin of slavery.

We should indeed grieve to injure the Anti-Slavery cause by unweighed assertion; but we do not fear its being injured by the propagation of truth, whereby we hope to elicit an expression of encouragement for those who, in America, in the midst of obloquy and difficulties, are faithful to the cause of the slave, such as shall stimulate them to go on steadily in their work, and under all circumstances. And that the number of those who will increase in and around the Board, till it shall itself be quite worthy of the sanction and sympathy it now seeks, is our earnest wish.

We are most respectfully, for the Committee,
A. LILLIE, } Secretaries.
E. WIGHAM, }

The Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Committee, having heard of the introduction of this subject before the Congregational Union, and of its being supported by the Rev. S. R. Ward, addressed to him a Note of inquiry, to which it is but justice to him to give his reply—

"I beg to say, by way of reply to your very welcome Note, that at a dinner of gentlemen belonging to the Congregational Union, and not a meeting of the Union itself, a resolution was moved by another, and seconded by myself, pledging aid to persons connected with American and other missions in Turkey. . . . When Mr. Young expressed the opinion that to extend such aid might possibly induce the Board to take right action on the subject of slavery, I expressed the contrary opinion, seconded the motion for the adoption of the resolution, and remarked that I thought the teachers and preachers were worthy of British aid, while I had no confidence in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. . . . I do not conceive that the wrong position of the Board ought to operate as a barrier to my contributing to the aid of converted Turks, who are laboring in connection with the Board. I do not see that such aid, especially when accompanied with open and plain protests against the character of the Board, is or can be candidly construed into an approval, or a seeming approval, of the Board. . . . But, inasmuch as Mr. Cuthbert Young, the Secretary of the Turkish Mission Aid Society, makes it his special business to couple all his labors for this Society with a most hurtful and objectionable, and as I have told him, unwarrantable and false defence of that Society, and will continually make the one sustain the other, and collect money on that showing, I hereby to you, and to whomsoever you choose, renounce all connection with and advocacy of the Turkish Mission Aid Society. Gladly would I do anything in my power to aid that society. But if, through its Secretary, it must incessantly misrepresent the true position of the Board, and thereby mislead honest minds, touching its true character, I cannot, most not, aid in such work, directly or indirectly. I am, &c.
S. B. KINGOLD WARD."

In regard to the 'New York Independent', Mr. Lewis Tappan, whose name is known to many in this country, as Secretary of the American and

Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and whose authority on this point cannot be questioned, writes to the Editor of the 'Nonconformist'.—"What will be said in England, Mr. Editor, of the declaration in a professed anti-slavery newspaper in the United States, in view of those statements now submitted to your readers, that the whole subject of slavery, in relation to the missionary work, is settled from the eternal basis of right, by the recent action of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, when it is patent to the world that the Board sustains missionaries among the Indians, who admit to church privilege slaveholders—those who buy and sell men, women, and children, nay, church members—missionaries who contend that the Gospel of Christ allows such a practice, and that unless certain acts of cruelty are perpetrated, and it can be proved that slaves are held from selfish purposes, they have a right to consider each church member free from all blame in the sight of God? They will say what has long been known to be true in this country, that the abolitionists of America have not only to contend with the slave power, with a pro-slavery government, with ecclesiastical bodies and national societies in complicity with slavery, but with a large body of ministers, editors, and churches, who themselves are slaveholders, and whose apologetics, mystifications, glosses, and misstatements, . . ."

Respectfully, yours,
LEWIS TAPPAN.

New York, Nov. 23, 1854.

From the London Anti-Slavery Advocate.

ROCHESTER ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

A few days since, a friend in Liverpool sent an article for our adoption and insertion in the present number of the 'Anti-Slavery Advocate'. As it was penned in the style of an editorial, and we should have been responsible for its contents, we are surprised that our friend, who is, we hope, a constant reader of the 'Advocate', could suppose we would so far stultify ourselves as to accept his offer. His article gives an account of the Rochester Anti-Slavery Bazaar, and contains an implied eulogy of the Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle, under whose auspices it is held, for the independent position they have chosen, and their determination to co-operate with all whose love for the Anti-Slavery cause rises superior to their connection with any particular party or sect of abolitionists.

Now, we wish that our position in this respect should be clearly understood. We welcome all earnest anti-slavery effort, and are glad of all that is done to promote the anti-slavery cause. But our love for the cause does not rise so far superior to our connexion with any particular party or sect of abolitionists, as to preclude a very decided opinion that there is a better way of doing everything, and that the anti-slavery cause is more likely to be successful in this country, if it were first aroused in our minds, seventeen years ago, by the eloquence of George Thompson and the pen of Harriet Martineau, we have been a reader of anti-slavery newspapers, and in constant communication with Abolitionists of great diversity of opinion. The result is that, amidst much change of views on many important subjects, we have seen no reason to change our opinion that in no way can the abolition of slavery be so well promoted as by an adhesion to the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society. They labor, by indefatigable, honest, and fearless appeals to the public conscience, through the medium of the press, the pulpit, and the platform, to reform the corrupt public opinion of the United States; they show that the halls of legislature, the seats of justice, the synods, the conferences, and yearly meetings, are polluted by the contact of slavery; they come out from pro-slavery sects; and abstain from the most cherished privilege of American citizens—that of participation in political privileges; and they stand for the abolition of slavery in its tenor and operation. Nothing can be more catholic than their organization; they admit of no religious tests, and every one is welcome to their platform who is willing to help them. So firmly are we convinced of the wisdom and honesty of their course, that they have our entire sympathy. We think it an honor to be counted as one of their fellow-laborers in ever so humble a way, and believe the welfare of the race to be identified with the attainment of the objects at which they aim.

At the same time, we are far from insisting on unity with the American Anti-Slavery Society as indispensable to our sympathy and good wishes. Some very good people are unwilling to draw in the same yoke with persons who differ widely from them in religious opinions. We respect their scruples, and are glad to see them trying to help the slave in their own way. There are others who place greater reliance than we do on the free-labor production movement; and to these we nevertheless give our good wishes.

But it is quite another matter when we are asked to assist a means of helping the anti-slavery cause, which, in our opinion, does more mischief to the slave by its hostility to its best friends, than it can counterbalance by its own direct labor in its behalf. The Rochester Anti-Slavery Sewing Society, which has held the Bazaar at our Liverpool friend wants us to commend to our readers, devotes we believe a large portion of its income to the support of Frederick Douglass's Paper. This paper, and the articles from it, are the only ones that do not defend anti-slavery instrumentally, which we esteem above all others, and those abolitionists whom we respect most highly for their works' sake. For the truth of this assertion, we need only refer to the letters of COMMUNISM which have lately appeared in its columns, and which in our opinion are disgraceful to the writer, and no credit to the paper or its editor.

In proof that we are animated by no narrow or exclusive spirit, we point to the reports of the anti-slavery lectures of the Rev. Edward Matthews, and of the articles from his pen, which have appeared in the 'Advocate' from the commencement of this paper. This gentleman does not belong to the American Anti-Slavery Society, nor has he, to our knowledge, any special sympathy with it. But as we believe him to be a zealous and devoted laborer in the anti-slavery cause, who has proved his faith by his works, and is determined to test the churches both in England and the United States, by their own declared principles, we are glad to co-operate with him by every means in our power.

We do not demand unity of views from any, but we do deprecate bigoted and malignant hostility; and we will not knowingly promote the objects of those who make it part of their business, as abolitionists, to assail the American Anti-Slavery Society, and to vilify some of the very best and truest friends of the slave.

THE CINCINNATI SLAVE CASE.

The Cincinnati Gazette of Friday gave a long report of the proceedings before Judge Parker, who ordered that Rosetta, the alleged slave of the reverend Mr. Dennison, should be delivered up to her guardian, Mr. Van Slyke, a man of the name of P. Chase, distinguished himself by zeal and ability in behalf of the girl. On the other side appeared Hon. George E. Pugh, who is the successor of Mr. Chase in the United States Senate, elected by the Legislature a year ago, and since repudiated by a popular majority of 80,000, but who will misrepresent the State for six years. The Gazette gives an account of the events which took place after Judge Parker gave his decision:

"The Sheriff asked Mr. Van Slyke where he wanted the girl delivered to him, and was answered by Mr. Chase, 'at the Woodruff House.'"

On the Sheriff's part, leaving the court-room, to proceed to the Woodruff House with Rosetta, a large, ill-dressed, huge-fisted negro-man, named Chisholm, made pass at Thomas Higdon, Deputy Sheriff, who held the girl, when he was seized by Ben. Higdon, ex-Sheriff, who, with Mr. Garout, turnkey, who happened to be present, seized and bore the stout man to jail, where, on examination, he was found to have a heavily loaded six-shooter, revolvers, and a bow-knife.

The attendant officers, specially detailed, with an immense crowd, walked without interruption to the hotel, where the crowd was again immense. At the hotel, the Sheriff, on the arrival of Mr. Van Slyke, delivered up the girl to him, when Mr. H. Van Robinson, U. S. Marshal, presented himself, and demanded a warrant similar to the first one, demanding the girl to be taken, as a fugitive, before Commissioner Pendergry. Mr. Van Slyke protested against the demand, as she was placed in his custody by the Court.

The marshal then proceeded to the front of the building on the balcony, and addressed the assembled multitude, saying, 'In the name of the United States, I, as Marshal of the Southern District of Ohio, command the press and my protection.'

He then read aloud a long list of detailed facts, and declared that as step would be taken without authority.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, APRIL 6, 1855.

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

By the last European mail, the following communication from the Secretary of the Bristol and Clifton Anti-Slavery Society was received by the General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. The important and interesting character of its contents impels us to lay it before our readers without delay.

The American Board of Foreign Missions appears to be using every means, which a cautious diplomacy can suggest, to get the British churches and ministers committed to its support and advocacy. The religious papers of this country, with one consent, are shouting aloud the praises of the American Board, on account of their recent action in the case of the Choo-taw schools, as if that action would purge their pro-slavery sin, or hide the enormous fact of their religious connection, fellowship, and co-membership with men, who are themselves the owners of human beings, (often of members of the same church with themselves,) and who justify and defend slaveholding as right in itself, and in accordance with the Word and will of God. Even the New York Independent, as our readers have already learned with the deepest sorrow, is supporting and extolling the American Board, and denouncing PARKER PILLBURY for his frank, explicit, and manly exposure of the pro-slavery character of the Board, while its editor, (in the spirit which we have been accustomed to find in the New York Observer, and which occasions no surprise there,) refuses to allow Mr. Pillsbury an opportunity to defend himself, in the columns where he had attacked Mr. Pillsbury in a very gross manner! Does the advocacy of the American Board of Missions drag the Independent down to this? We earnestly trust that the British churches, at this advanced stage of the anti-slavery question, will not suffer themselves to be drawn into any alliance with the slaveholding religion of this country. Such an alliance the American churches are seeking now, as their only salvation. But we are keeping our readers from the Bristol letter—

BRISTOL, (Eng.) March 8, 1856.

I write to you by this mail on behalf of our Anti-Slavery Committee, to beg you will ascertain for us, with as little delay as possible, the correctness of a statement made last night in Bristol, by Rev. Cuthbert Young—which is, that 'Since the Hartford meeting of last year, Mrs. H. B. Stowe, and her brother Rev. H. Ward Beecher, have taken the American Board of Foreign Missions heartily by the hand.' Rev. C. Young is Secretary of the Society lately formed in London, termed the 'Western Asia Missions Aid Society,' (references to which have frequently appeared in recent American anti-slavery journals.) The above Society acts in concert with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and sends a large portion of the funds it collects to the officials of that Board.

At the close of Mr. Young's address to the Bristol meeting last night, a resolution was passed, responding to Mr. Young's appeal for aid. To this an amendment was proposed by Rev. George Armstrong, suggesting, that as the Western Asia Missions Aid Society was connected with the American Board of Foreign Missions,—an organization stained by the contributions and controlled by the influence of slaveholders,—British Christians should establish a separate agency for their missionary efforts in Turkey, or should cooperate with a Society in America entirely unconnected with slavery. Such (he learned) was the character of the American Missionary Association, of which Rev. H. Ward Beecher is understood to be a leading member.

Rev. Mr. Young interrupted Mr. Armstrong more than once, at first endeavoring to prove the amendment out of order, and then maintaining that cooperation with the American Board had not the remotest tendency to sustain slavery; that when this idea was presented to his Committee in London, they 'quite laughed at it'; that the public must not think of listening to the reckless statements who the American Board made by Mr. Parker Pillsbury, who had attacked it in a most unjustifiable way at the recent Anti-Slavery Conference in London; that, instead of the Board bearing the character which was represented by parties in England, Mr. H. W. Beecher and Mr. Stowe, since the Hartford Convention, had taken it heartily by the hand. Mr. Young then quoted an article from the New York Independent of Feb. 16, which paper he said was edited by Rev. H. W. Beecher, and to which Mrs. Stowe was one of the chief contributors. The article (which Mr. Young led the meeting to infer was written, or at least endorsed, by Mr. Beecher) consisted of comments on the proceedings of the late London Anti-Slavery Conference; defending the Board of Foreign Missions from the charges brought against it by Rev. Edward Matthews, James Vincent, S. R. Ward, and Mr. Parker Pillsbury; speaking in terms of disparagement of the first two gentlemen, and being especially violent in its attacks upon Mr. Pillsbury, on whom it declared no reliance must be placed, and warned British Christians against taking that gentleman as a sample of the true friends of religion and humanity in the United States. If you, or the editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, have access to the New York Independent of Feb. 16, will you refer to it? Mr. Young did not read from it, but merely held it in his hand as he quoted its contents, and I only had an opportunity of glancing cursorily at it after the meeting. I may not have reported some passages which would make the fact of Mr. Beecher writing such an article, or consenting to give it his editorial seal, less unintelligible than it at this distance appears. Should Mr. Young succeed in proving to the Evangelical Christians of Great Britain, among whom he presses the claims of the American Board of Missions, that the authors of the Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, and her brother, are giving the weight of their unqualified sanction to this Board, it is all that they would require to commend the Board to their confidence and sympathy.

The subject of the support given to slaveholders by British cooperation with this Board, and of the relations it holds to the system, has been brought before the notice of the Western Asia Missions Aid Society, in an admirable tract lately published by the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society. This pamphlet, together with the reply made to the Secretary of that Society, with a copy of which we have favored, shall be forwarded to you by this mail. You will perceive that the minutes of the Western Mission Committee do not meet the views of the Western Mission pamphlet. But from questions raised in the Edinburgh pamphlet, and from pressing approval of all the agencies of the Board, hence Mr. Young's assertion, that Mrs. Stowe and Mr. H. W. Beecher 'take it cordially by the hand,' was the more startling, for no information has reached this country of any change having been made in the position of the Board, 'since the Hartford meeting,' which could explain how the authors of the Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, or the distinguished clergyman whose earnest exhortation in his recent lecture before the New York Anti-Slavery Society gave evidence of his unabated zeal for the cause, have been satisfied to give in their adhesion to the American Board of Missions! Yet we are, on the other hand, sure they would not consent to stultify their former testimony by countenancing the Board while it retains the character that has hitherto been ascribed to it, and continues to be deeply involved in the maintenance of slavery.

No one seconded Mr. Armstrong's amendment; but the article in question will be found in the Liberator of Feb. 23, in the 'Refuge of Oppression.' The editor of the Independent has been asked if he would allow Mr. Pillsbury to reply to it, in his columns, and he has refused.—Ed. Lib.

AN ACCEPTABLE MARRIAGE GIFT.

The following correspondence will be read with great interest and pleasure. It is a liberal benefaction to the anti-slavery cause, made in the most delicate and agreeable manner. In behalf of the noble cause it is designed to promote, our most grateful acknowledgments are proffered to all the parties concerned.

[CORRESPONDENCE.]

W. L. GARRISON, }
FRANCIS JACKSON, }
WENDELL PHILLIPS, }

GENTLEMEN.—I have the high honor and satisfaction of forwarding to you enclosed, the correspondence which authorizes your draft on our beloved friend, Mr. THOMAS STURGE, of London, for the sum of £100, (one hundred pounds). He mentions no particular name, among the 'friends' to whom he alludes; but I am sure I fulfill his intention in communicating with you—the originator and leader of the American anti-slavery movement, the President, Treasurer, and most liberal supporters of the American Anti-Slavery Society; the 'best persecuted' men in the country ever since my remembrance—the dearest friends of my family.

Most grateful for the privilege of thus subscribing myself, I am, gentlemen,

Your affectionate co-laborer in the cause,
E. B. CHAPMAN LAUGEL.
Paris, March 8, 21 Rue de Valenciennes.

CORRESPONDENCE.

No. I.

To Mrs. H. G. CHAPMAN:

MY DEAR FRIEND—Through the kindness of your dear sister, Anne Warren Weston, I am in receipt of (by address. She seems to think that you will visit our land, on thy way to America, this summer. We shall be most glad to see thee, and hope thy daughter and thy new son will visit us also. My dear brother, when he heard of thy dear Elizabeth's marriage, said to me, 'I think M. W. C. would like her daughter to be the medium of a gift to our anti-slavery cause'; and he now commissions me to say, that either she or thyself may write to your friends in Boston, to draw on him in London for one hundred pounds, as soon as they please. He says now may be a good time, as the cloud of persecution seems as though it might burst, and law expenses arise in consequence. It is sad to think of a free country in such a case. I fear some great crisis may be at hand.

With much love to thee and all thine,
I am thy affectionate friend,
ESTHER STURGE.
Northfleet, near London, 2d mo. 26th, 1856.

No. II.

To THOMAS STURGE, Esq.:

DEAR MR. STURGE—Our beloved and honored Miss Sturge's welcome letter to my mother, so kindly and condescendingly making me the medium of your gift to our cause, was received by us with the deepest feelings of gratitude. Nothing indeed could so strongly call forth these feelings as such an act, at such a time. It is the highest distinction and satisfaction possible to me, that the honored fellow-laborer of Zachary Macaulay, and the first abolitionist, now departed, the friend and supporter of Garrison and his co-workers, the American abolitionists, among whom my family is numbered, should call and welcome me by name to this great work. You have not mistaken me. I have always loved it, and wrought for it as a child. May I never cease to be in all my thoughts till the end is accomplished!

My husband unites in all my gratitude for this most valued wedding gift. We both hope to be strengthened to serve the cause in France, as you and my parents have done in England and America,—knowing that what is done for justice in one country, goes to serve and save all others.

Ever, dear Mr. Sturge,
Yours, with most grateful and tender respect,
E. B. CHAPMAN LAUGEL.
March 2d, Paris, 21 Rue de Valenciennes.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

John P. Jewett & Co. have just published a very neat pocket volume, entitled 'The Daily Monitor; being a portion of Scripture, an Anecdote, and a verse of a Hymn, for every day in the year.' By Rev. John Allen. With an introduction by Rev. E. N. Kirk. From much of its peculiar terminology, we utterly dissent.

The same enterprising firm have also just published two more volumes from the prolific pen of the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D.D., F. R. S. E., Minister of the Scottish National Church, Crown Court, Covent Garden, London, and distinguished for his popular eloquence—the first entitled, 'THE DAILY LIFE; or Precepts and Prescriptions for Christian Living'—the second, 'SABBATH MORNING READINGS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT—Book of Leviticus.' These volumes are beautifully printed; and with much that will bear the test of analysis, they contain a good deal of interesting and instructive reading, conveyed in a flowing and an attractive style, and affluence in illustration. Dr. C. has a high public reputation in London, and is always one of a crowded auditory.

T. B. Peterson, 102 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, has just published, in a handsome volume of 860 pages, an Historical Novel, entitled 'KATE ATLEBORO, a Story of the Refugee,' by CHARLES J. PETERSON. This is declared to be no mere catch-penny fiction, but a true tale of the times that tried men's souls, a faithful picture of the manners of '76, and one of the most thrilling, powerful and absorbing stories ever penned. We have not had time to give it a careful perusal, but a cursory examination of it leads us to believe it is ably written, and abounds in highly effective passages. The Philadelphia papers notice it in very commendatory terms. It is for sale by Phillips, Sampson & Co., Winter Street, Boston.

Redding & Co. 8 State Street, have published a Letter addressed to the President of the United States on Slavery, considered in relation to the Constitutional Principles of Government in Great Britain and in the United States. By an American Citizen. It makes a pamphlet of 91 pages, and is written with ability, but is defective in principle—as when its author says, 'We do not recommend emancipation; nor do we assert that slavery had better be abolished than for a time continue to be managed under State law.' Then slavery is not a *malum in se*, and may, or may not, be expedient, according to circumstances. Then the Declaration of Independence is a lie. Then the Golden Rule is only a pious flourish. The writer adds—'We do maintain, and insist, that the General Government is charged by the people with the duty of preserving and defending the rights of personal freedom for all, whether white or black'—though 'it may far better, from reasons of seeming necessity, to abolish slavery, and, for a time, permit its continuance under the management of the Old States respectively within their own limits.' This is blowing hot and cold with the same breath. Such reasoning can neither enlighten the understanding nor impress the heart. Still, the pamphlet is valuable in several particulars.

SARGENT'S STANDARD SERIES—No. 4. 'The Standard Fourth Reader for Public and Private Schools,' containing a thorough course of Preliminary Exercises in Articulation, Pronunciation, Accent, &c.; numerous exercises in Reading; a new system of References; and a copious Explanatory Index. By E. SARGENT. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. pp. 682.

Mr. Sargent is a gentleman of fine literary taste and scholastic acumen; and in the various works prepared by him for our public schools, he has won for himself high commendations from those who verdict in such matters may be considered as absolute. This fourth volume of his series indicates a very elaborate preparation; so that, as Mr. S. remarks in his Preface, 'Should

it not be found to meet the wants of teachers, it will not be through the failure, on the part of the author, of a very thorough inquiry into those wants, or of a patient examination of all the works, throwing light upon his labors, which both the Old World and the New have produced.'

LETTERS ON SLAVERY, addressed to the Pro-Slavery Men of America; showing its illegality in all Ages and Nations; its destructive war upon Society and Government, Morals and Religion. By O. S. (Ora) FRENCH. Boston: Bela Marsh, 15 Franklin Street.

This is a neatly printed pamphlet of 108 pages, in which are embodied such historical illustrations of the subject of slavery, a strong array of authorities upon the folly and wickedness of attempting to legislate and compact to nullify the 'higher law,' and a lucid argument to show that the 'pro-slavery spirit of the day is identical with ancient tyrannies, and its essential assumptions, its method of reasoning, and its denial of human equality. It indicates laborious research and a diligent examination of the whole subject. We commend it to the attention of all.

UP TO THE CHRISTIAN STANDARD.

The following religious action on the subject of slavery makes thorough work of it on the score of non-fellowship, and is worthy of the highest approval and universal imitation. It will yet be the religious verdict of the entire North, in 'a good time coming.'

Resolutions of the Church and Society of the North Parish in Marlboro'—Rev. Mr. Alger.

The Committee chosen July 2d, to prepare an explanatory system of the feelings of this church against the slave power of American slavery, ask leave to present the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas, Slavery, as it exists in this country, is wholly at war with every principle of justice and humanity; a direct violation of the precepts and doctrine of Jesus Christ, and a heinous sin in the sight of God;—and whereas, upon a fair examination, we are convinced that the American church, as at present constituted, is its greatest safeguard and defense, without whose support it must inevitably fall to pieces and disappear from our land;—and whereas, a continuance of union and fellowship with the individual churches of our country without discrimination, involves us in the guilt of being participants in this national wrong;—Therefore,

Resolved, That we deem it the imperative duty of Christians, both as individuals and in their churches, to bear their decided and emphatic testimony against, and in all justifiable and Christian ways to exert their influence for its destruction.

Resolved, That we do not recognize as a Christian, the slaveholder, or the apologist or defender of the institution of slavery, as it exists in our land; and we decidedly protest against the admission of any one to our pulpit, excepting those who at all times maintain a life above human enactments, and who have a voice to lift up loudly in behalf of universal freedom, peace and temperance, as well as the other moral and religious interests of man.

Resolved, That we decline all such connection with other churches calling themselves Christians as shall implicate us in any degree or in any way in the guilt of upholding and perpetrating slavery.

A. W. RICE, } Committee of the
S. R. PHILLIPS, } Church in Marlboro'
DENNIS WITMER, } Parish, Marlboro'.

The above preamble and resolutions were adopted by the church last summer, and on last Monday, at the annual parish meeting, by the entire parish.

MARLBORO', March 27, 1855.

EQUAL SCHOOL RIGHTS.

The Boston Evening Telegraph, of Tuesday, contains the following cheering report of the proceeding in the House of Representatives on this vital question on that day:

"The bill 'in amendment of an act concerning public schools, passed March 24, 1845,' (abolishing all distinctions on account of color, race or religious opinion in the admission or membership of pupils), came up in order—the question being on its passage to a third reading.

Mr. SLACK, of Boston, said he did not wish to debate the House in arguing or pleading for this bill. He thought its merits would commend themselves to the propriety, justice and humanity of the House without argument. He was pleased to say, as he had authority for doing, that if the bill could go into effect and after the 1st of September next, the Superintendent of Schools in Boston would do all in his power to carry out its provisions.

That period was the re-commencement of the school sessions for the year, and there being a six weeks' interval previous to that time, arrangements could be fully made by which all the children, without regard to color, race, religious opinions, social position, or other circumstance, could be accommodated. As this bill applied solely to Boston, he was willing to recognize this suggestion; and he did it with pleasure in view of the anticipated aid of the Superintendent. He would therefore move to amend by inserting a section in the going into operation of the bill on the 1st of September next, and in adopting that, he thought this House would be willing to pass the bill.

The amendment was adopted without opposition.

Mr. NEAL, of Boston, said his sympathies were in favor of the bill, but he was bound to say, that with many of his constituents, and among them all the colored population, were in favor of the bill, another party were strongly opposed to the proposed change.

Mr. BALDWIN, of Boston, argued that matters were well enough now in relation to School privileges in Boston. He moved the indefinite postponement of the bill.

Mr. PRINCE, of Essex, ably and honorably supported the bill, saying among other things he thought that Boston should be elevated and placed on a par with the country.

Mr. KIMBALL, of Salem, in a brief but pertinent speech, supported the bill, alluding to the practice in Salem, where colored children sat side by side with white. He said the objection to the bill could only arise from an unfounded and indefensible prejudice, which would not exist; there was no slavery of negroes in this country. In contrast, he referred, beautifully and effectively, to the absence of this prejudice in France and England.

Mr. LINCOLN, of Deerfield, thought it was a great honor to belong to the present Legislature, in view of the many excellent measures that would come before it, but he deemed the credit would be nullified if such a beneficent measure as this should fail.

Mr. DENNIS, of North Chiles, wanted to know of colored children had not been wrongfully excluded that they needed in the Boston schools.

Mr. SWIFT, of Boston, eloquently replied, that if the bill were in East Boston, and going to Belmont street, and in all weather, and at the trouble of a long step into the nearest school-house to their homes, and white children, the dirtiest Irish included, would step into the nearest school-house to their homes, and 'every accommodation,' then they did have their bill continued in a brief but earnest appeal for the bill to the establishment of a great principle.

Messrs. SMITH, of Milford, and RICE, of Newbury, moved briefly but ably for the bill.

The previous question was then ordered, the motion to indefinitely postpone rejected by an overwhelming vote, and the bill ordered to a third reading with an affirmative motion, not more than half a dozen votes audibly in opposition.

We doubt not that the Senate will ratify the bill of the House on this subject with equal alacrity, and thus establish equal school rights for all children in the Commonwealth, whatever their complexion or origin.

For want of room, we are reluctantly obliged to defer the remainder of the proceedings of the New York and Non-Resistance Conventions till next week.

For the Liberator.
BONNET.
 TO THE MEMORY OF CYRUS M. BURLINGHAM.
 To the memory of earth, not dead—
 About, not lost, but in a higher sphere—
 Whence thou art, when incarnate here,
 Where'er thou art, when incarnate here,
 If light is struggling 'gainst a hostile throng,
 If justice needs a champion bold and true,
 Then will be foremost to redress the wrong,
 And all the powers of darkness to subdue.
 Thy early life, by noble words and deeds,
 Was long-extended—heart, and voice, and hand,
 Thou gavest to Freedom in her direst needs.
 Oh, for thy soul to free the fettered slave,
 Forever hallowed be thy lowly grave!
 Boston, April 2, 1855. W. L. G.

DECEASE OF C. M. BURLINGHAM.
 We find the following interesting letter, in relation to the illness and death of our much lamented friend and coadjutor, **CYRUS M. BURLINGHAM**, in the last number of the *Ohio Anti-Slavery Eagle*. It bears the initials of **W. L. G.**

PHILADELPHIA, March 10, 1855.
 DEAR M.: To-day I have committed to the earth all that was mortal of that true friend of Freedom, **CYRUS M. BURLINGHAM**, one of the brothers in that glorious family, whose name has become inseparably connected with the Anti-Slavery cause in America, and therefore with the life of the free world.

Mr. Burlingham's health had been impaired for some time past, and in January he left the city for the quiet home of dear friends in the country, about thirty miles distant, hoping much from repose. But his disease being pulmonary, a succession of hemorrhages diminished his remaining strength, and after several and protracted attempts to arrest the disease, he died on the 7th inst., in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

Mr. Burlingham was attracted to the Anti-Slavery movement early in life, and about 1839 began his first public labor in New England. In 1845 he came to Philadelphia, and one year afterwards accepted the call of the Executive Committee to the editorial care of the *Free Press*, where he continued, with occasional exceptions, and a few interruptions, until he fell ill to resign his duties in March, 1854.

An editor of the *Freeman*, he was also a member of the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, and for many years he was actively engaged in the cause. During a lecture, whenever his editorial labors permitted, making extensive excursions into parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, where Anti-Slavery was unknown, with rare success, and in the most judicious and judicious manner, toiling on patiently and unflinchingly, in the slow but sure process to that martyrdom which at last befell him.

He was a man of admirable intellect, and of an excellent spirit, the former furnished by judicious industry, the latter quickened by the same industry. An eloquent speaker, a forcible writer, a acute and comprehensive observer of events, with an intelligent appreciation of the reforms which characterize our time, but regarding Anti-Slavery as his first care, he was ready for whatever service the occasion demanded, performing the duties of the cause, with the same thoroughgoing intelligence and devotion with which he proclaimed its principles, or enjoyed its highest privileges.

Such clearness in his perceptions of duty, and such eagerness of purpose in its performance, the doubts that impeded some, and the fears that misled others, were unknown to him, and if occasionally there might appear somewhat of severity in his moral judgments of persons and events, it was but the result of his habitual reference of all things to principles, rather than to persons, the steady effort to bring light to the test of the absolute and the universal.

Few among us succeed better than he to remember the end of the soul that suffers, to feel and speak as the slave would do of his wrongs. Brave and just by nature and from principle, he could neither comprehend nor tolerate cowardice or meanness, although no man was more merciful to the erring, or more sympathetic with the suffering, than he. Simple and singularly pure in his tastes and habits, affectionate and loyal in his relations, he was respected and beloved. To how many hearts-strings will the tidings of his death bring a shadow.

Who will supply his place in the great work before us? Lo! the fields are ripe unto harvest, but the laborers are few, and of the few, how many have fallen!

If a religious life consists in the forgetfulness of self in the service of others, in the consecration of all that a man has and all that he is to his highest appropriation of duty, then Mr. Burlingham was eminently a religious man.

He is dead. But the cause of Freedom which he remembered in his weakness and defeat, will not forget him in its strength and triumph. Truth and Justice await the fitting period to vindicate their defenders. Time is charged with the sacred mission of preserving their memories, and presenting them to the future, as a relief against the darkness of the ages that denied them.

When the American Anti-Slavery movement shall have passed into history, as the moral crusade of these three times, second only in importance to the advent of Christianity, or the Reformation, man will begin to realize their indebtedness to its early advocates, who, with simple reliance on the power of Truth, went forth to labor and the sacrifice. Proceeding with rare intelligence and unflinching zeal to the re-annunciation of principles, fallen into disfavor among those who had been professing to believe, patiently submitting to practical persecution, and patiently enduring privation, obloquy and outrage, awaiting, in the serenity of faith, the hour of the Truth's triumph, and of their own historic justification,—to share to come as day and night, seed-time and harvest, summer and winter.

In this unfolding revelation of the moral universe, this inflexible justice of humanity, we committed the name and character of our friend and brother, whom we shall miss from the places that knew him, more and more.

WE make the following extracts from a letter received from our esteemed friend, **MARY GREW**, of Philadelphia.

"It was my privilege to attend, for several days, at the dying bed of our friend **CYRUS BURLINGHAM**, and to hear many of the last words of one who had most faithfully devoted his life, from early youth, to the cause of the enslaved. One day, as I sat by his bedside, he said to me, 'Give my love to **WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON** and **WENDELL PHILLIPS**, and tell them that I love and honor them for their fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause, and other reforms of the present time; that it is a great comfort to me, now, as I am departing, to know that such men as they are living in this world; that I earnestly pray God's blessing on them; that I know He will bless them; that I have a warm love for them, personally, but I have them far more for their devotion to the cause of Reform.'

He spoke these words slowly and faintly, but with a full heart. Until within a few weeks of his death, he cherished the hope of partial recovery and protracted life. He earnestly desired to live, for he felt that he had not finished the work of life. But when he saw that death was inevitable, he lost his wish to live; and, during his last days, he desired, earnestly, to depart.

His mind was unclouded to the last, and he frequently and fervently expressed his unabated confidence in the principles and measures of the enterprise to which he had devoted his life, and his firm belief in its ultimate triumph.

In his death, the Pennsylvania Society has lost a most valuable agent, and the American Abolitionists a true-hearted and faithful coadjutor. It seems as though we could not well spare the faithful ones of our small band, but we know that 'all is of God,' and that 'He doeth all things well.'

BEZELIAH S. JONES, in a note to the *Anti-Slavery Eagle*, respecting Mr. Burlingham's demise, says:—
 "A few days before his death, a friend had been reading him a portion of the prayer of Jesus, in the 17th chapter of John, and when he ceased, he said faintly and slowly, 'What a glorious satisfaction it must be to me, to be able to say, 'I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.' This satisfaction was unquestionably his. Though gentle and unassuming, yet he possessed the stern integrity of truth; and in his devotion to the Right, ever manifested the unflinching spirit of the martyr. Kindness of heart and the gentleness of his disposition pervaded his entire

life. By his works of goodness, by his labors of benevolence, by his deeds of righteousness, "he being dead yet speaketh," and may we who remain behind be his voice.

CYRUS M. BURLINGHAM. This earnest, efficient and tried friend of the Slave is no more of earth. His death has been noticed at length, in several of our exchanges. His noble memory, however, will be honored, he was united by marriage to **MARGARET JONES**.
 So they fall, one by one, these men of the American Martyr Age. Let no one's hand be slack while he can do. The night of life's busy day comes on apace. Each one should now act well his part.

TRIBUTE TO O. M. BURLINGHAM.
 At a meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, held March 8th, 1855, the following resolutions were passed, and directed to be sent to the *Standard* for publication:

Resolved, That, by the death of **CYRUS M. BURLINGHAM**, the American Abolitionists have lost a most valuable and faithful fellow-laborer, whose earnest and self-sacrificing devotedness to the Anti-Slavery cause, for many years, has strengthened their hands in their arduous work.

Resolved, That, in the consecration of youth and manhood to an holy but unpopular Reform, and in the fidelity with which he redeemed his early pledge of fealty to it, he has left a noble example to his coadjutors, who deeply deplore the loss which they have sustained in his death.

Resolved, That, in the preservation of the purity and integrity of the cause, and in the maintenance of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* for publication.

Resolved, That in the death of **CYRUS M. BURLINGHAM**, this Executive Committee has lost a valued member, and the members of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society a most earnest and faithful coadjutor, who, in the various offices which he was called to fill, labored with untiring devotedness to the cause of Human Freedom.

Resolved, That, in the unwavering fidelity, the self-sacrificing zeal, the unflinching faith of our beloved brother, we have an example which should incite us to renewed diligence in our efforts in behalf of the slave's redemption.

JAMES MOTT, Chairman.
MARY GREW, Secretary.

From the Boston Evening Telegraph of Friday.
MR. SUMNER'S LECTURE.
 There was a crowded audience last night at the Tremont Temple to hear **CHARLES SUMNER** lecture on 'The Necessity, the Practicality, and the Dignity of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise.' The Governor of the Commonwealth, and many other distinguished gentlemen occupied the platform, and the lecture-room was filled with an audience of about 1,000 persons.

Mr. Sumner began by describing the famous Boston mob of 1835, which broke up the meeting of the Female Anti-Slavery Society, and dragged Garrison through the street with a halter round his neck. He contrasted the forceful repression of that period with the tolerance or rather the favor with which Anti-Slavery was now viewed, even in Boston, to show that the twenty years of struggle had been also twenty years of progress.

He then gave a concise and powerful delineation of slavery as it is essentially—quoting the Scriptures as authority, and showing that it reduced men into chattels, persons into things. That was sufficient to condemn it. No matter for details or exceptions. An institution which by its very nature did that, needed no argument to prove its self-evident wickedness. Slavery being evidently wrong and wicked, there was an equally evident necessity for the Anti-Slavery Enterprise.

The scriptural defenses of slavery were then examined, beginning with the curse pronounced upon Canaan, dooming him to be the servant of Shem and Japheth. To sustain this defence, Mr. Sumner said it would be necessary to prove that the slaves were all descended from Canaan, and that the curse was intended to apply only to him but to all of his descendants, that every descendant of Shem and Japheth is entitled to hold them as slaves, and lastly, that every slaveholder is a descendant of Shem or Japheth.

Mr. Sumner then read Paul's epistle to Philemon to show that Onesimus was sent back to his master as a free man, not as his slave, and that Paul expressly charged Philemon to receive him as he would Paul himself. Fugitive slaves from the South, Mr. Sumner remarked, with a significant look at **ANTHONY BURNS**, were not sent back in that manner, and he envied neither the understanding nor the piety of the man who could find in the Scriptures justification for sending a human being into the den of American Slavery.

To the charge that the Anti-Slavery enterprise had injured rather than benefited the slaves, Mr. Sumner forcibly replied that it had already greatly ameliorated their condition. Conscious of the observation of the whole world, they were beginning to be treated as human beings, and no longer as property. To allow them many comforts and privileges which had hitherto been denied. Already in many States the question had lately been raised of establishing and guaranteeing the marriage relation, the parental relation, and the opportunity of education, which would only be the beginning of the end of the institution.

To the plea that emancipation would be dangerous to the slaveholder, that the slaves, if free, would cut their former masters' throats, Mr. Sumner replied that it was a monstrous paradox to maintain that when the whites should be free to treat the blacks justly, to give peace, cheerfully enduring privation, obloquy and outrage, awaiting, in the serenity of faith, the hour of the Truth's triumph, and of their own historic justification,—to share to come as day and night, seed-time and harvest, summer and winter.

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