may dare manner destroy of which ts, who therance

d enactcought to
cought to
cought to
cought to
cought to
so exas of the
to that,
to that,
to that,
to that,
to that,
to that,
to that
rai law;
they not
fraternal
val law;
the upcoriginal
rai power
rai power
carelit of
cerelit of
cerelit of
cerelit of
fraternal
find ourfind ourfind ourfind ourfind ourfind our-

repute as has been

n be con-

oes its po-

al of raw

iquity and ield. Is it

eakened at

t not evil,

life and for self-de-dominion , will look

om of his n question, of nominal if they see right im-f brotherly

of master-

es indebted Has it been

t least the

opment? O

ements?
ssume that
d executing

of crime

the well-

uption they

ale of strong

lealt with by

riessly chal-nder heaven

are perhaps of which hu-

berately au-r indirectly ake laws for

ent and law

and guard

least morali-

ened and su-

the more of

seir substance

of body and

avenge her-

tality enough herself of the ir cruel trade.

without the

them do thei

e. That only

Away with

f men? This

State, in the

an three mil

ten represen

r conduct,

for the most aised ten from the level

her than w

m only to th

tivation or

law. Chr

glorious are

raw mater

rious efficier

UNTER, JR.

OM THE SP

400

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.

EOBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT. Trans_Two dollars and fifty cents per annum,

Fire copies will be sent to one address for TES OULES, if payment be made in advance. [7 All remittances are to be made, and all letter misting to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are t

be directed, (rost PAID,) to the General Agent Advertisements making less than one square and three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00.

B The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, pensylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts d the paper, viz :- FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY

Figure Parities.
F in the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of ter question are impartially allowed a hearing.

Lause, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. VOL. XXIII. NO. 26.



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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 1, 1853.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

WHOLE NUMBER 1169.

No Union with Slaveholders!

ME U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding

lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—on engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'- John Quincy Adams.

THE LIBERATOR. REVIEW OF MR. MANN'S LETTER. PORTLAND, JUNE 4, 1853.

I wish to offer to your readers a few remarks on the Bon Houses Mann's letter of May 20th, published in for Linearon of June 3d. Mr. Mann wishes whoevwas write on the subject to give his name. The selic are welcome to know the name of the writer of shatever comes from my pen, so far as the name is of asy raine in strengthening or weakening an argument. Some readers, however, may and do decide the value d in argument solely upon the fact of authorship. If Mr. Mann had taken the ground that the Consti-

ation is anti-slavery, I had been silent, with whatever smess he might have argued it. This he has not done, he argues on the presumption and supposition that it apro-slavery; and if, in his next letter, he takes the ast-slavery interpretation, it will not affect the logic of

an excellent writer on Logic uses the following lan-

Mathematicians, in all their writings, follow this

ther terms each in its place, and make it an invariable with aver afterwards to use any term but in the sense which it is limited by their definition. 12 They say down the axioms which they will have

1. They add their postulata, (uncontradictable prop-shints,) which also they demand to be granted as evi-

senses, which also they demand to be granted as evident of themselves.

'i They then demonstrate their propositions, as far unay be, affirmatively; contenting themselves with his rule, that whatsoever they have to prove, they take are to prove it from some truths that have been grant-the proced before.'

This mathematics is made an exact logic, from whose écion there is no escape.

Mr. Mann starts fair with the first point. He says.

Then I speak of voting, I mean voting, office-holding, sh-taking, and all; and when I speak of government men both governments, State and National. This for the sake of brevity.' So far, so good. Mr. Mann class the term 'voting,' as to the object of the present scussion, and says it means outh-taking and all; and all that we have to do is to stick to it like mathemati-

I must pass over the first two columns of Mr. Mann's etter, for brevity's sake ; and before I begin to touch is argument, it is necessary to lay down an axiom indepensable in the present discussion; for Mr. Mann is suggested the case with non-voters, who hold the Constitation to which he swears by his vote to be pro-slavery ; which he must admit, in order to give the argumen my weight. Axiom: That whoever votes, takes an outh to support the Constitution under which he votes, tel in so doing, swears to support every part of the instrument, individually and collectively. When a man he will not deny that he swears that 'no person shall he deprived of life, liberty or property without due protes of law'; and he cannot logically deny that he also swears that ' no person held to service or labor in me State, under the laws thereof, escaping into anoths, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therea, be discharged from such service or labor ; but shall b delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such strice or labor may be due. Certainly, if he swears to the one, he swears to the other, and voting and oathtaking are the same.

Postulata : That by ' persons held to service or labor,' darm are meant and understood.

That it is right for the subject under foreign despoans to snatch and enjoy whatever privilege the ruler alwa-rights of trade, the mail, of the public coinage, the courts,' &c. &c.

We will now proceed to try the argument in accord and with the definition axioms and necessary infer-

Mr. Mann says, 'Now, it may be owing to my blindtes or obtuseness, but I was never able to see but one daitesimal of an argument why a man who thinks he on honeatly enjoy all the privileges which the wickedof governments may concede, should refuse to enjoy the highest of all privileges—the right of being a part of the government itself."

he I have always entertained a high respect and es ben for Mr. Mann, I must concede all the benefit that he ma derive from this self-depreciation, rather than realer it the effect of perverseness. The question is as whether the non-voter in conscientious, but whethtrle is logical; whether his conclusions result with ashenatical certainty from the admitted and acher algel premises. Had Mr. Mann assumed and preceded upon the fact that the Constitution is antialery, to all intents, purposes and constructions Platagerer,' I might yield the argument, without conading either blindness or obtuseness, but might subat by simply exclaiming-

Optics sharp it needs, I ween, To see what is not to be seen.

hen Mr. Mann speaks of its being innocent to enjoy the privileges which the wickedest government may and to the subject, I presume he means only such leges as are just and right, and not privileges to that crime and to do injustice. Unless he speaks this limitation, his inference is not true; and if he in, it is not sound. Cannot Mr. Mann see any reason by the subject, who thinks he may innocently enjoy the just privileges which a wicked government may hoose to him, should refuse to become that wicked branest, if the opportunity offered ; and if he can sente a good reason for such refusal, cannot he perby as equally good reason for his refusing to become At of that wicked government, if he must previousstear to do its wickedness in order to become a part And can he see no reason why he should refuse to seear, if in any case he does not mean to fulfil his

is appears to me that I might leave the whole subject our readers without another word; but I wish latice a few more of Mr.-Mann's illustrations, which, dout any intentional disrespect, I might more propy denominate obfuscations.

Mr. Mann puts forth a number of categories, as self-

that propositions, from which he arrives at the connin, as necessary inferences, that we may innocentar to support a Constitution which requires us to what he and we are predetermined we never will do.

can to abide by the oath-especially if they did nothey were guilty of 'a damnable sin.' But can any one how that they were obliged to do so? If they were, their case was parallel to ours. They were not so comsubjected to the ordeal of any such Procrustean-bedtead as the Constitution of the United States. They sould vote without an oath to do the thing they abhored and were resolved to overthrow. But before Mr. Mann or you can get the political power, and in the ery act of exercising that power, to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law and abolish the traffic, he or you must neglect or refuse to vote. I have nothing to do with claim of the party to whom such service or labor may

But let me drive this argument home with one blow sore.' If the slaves could obtain the right to vote, and some, though the materials are plentiful for a greatly all their other disabilities should remain, nothing but extended examination. blindness' or 'obtuseness' would justify one slave in voting to obtain all his other rights, if that vote was an oath that all the existing disabilities of slaves should remain for an indefinite period, and that he would support the instrument by which these disabilities' were lation in this interrogative, and so there is-to his own

But I cannot trespass on your columns, and your eaders' patience, by noticing in their order each one f Mr. Mann's simoon periods, which appear as if they were designed to blind, stifle and astonish the reader, ather than convince him. I can only notice one more of Mr. Mann's point of argument. It will be sufficient, owever, as it covers the whole ground.

But let us see where this moral partnership in our wicked government begins and ends. There is the ording by which the officers of government are elected; wicked government begins and chos. There elected; I voting by which the officers of government are elected; I the oath-taking by which thay are qualified for the duties of their office; and then the performance of those duties for the benefit of the people. How can these successive acts be philosophically or morally separated from each other? If nobody would buy public lands or accept a pension, the whole public land system and Pension Bureau would be swept away at once. These officers are appointed and their oaths administered for no other purpose but to issue land warrants and pay pensions. Can I take either warrant or pension from an igned by the devil, and so all right, (for without ocu-ar inspection of the devil's sign-manual, I would not imploy him, but leave him at once,) and then, having consummated the transaction, turn round and say I had nothing to do with voting for the appointment or he oath-taking of that functionary, but only with he money and the land! * * * * And I cannot see why, if it is wicked to elect a man to office, it is not as wicked to stand waiting impatiently till he is qualified by taking a heaven-defying oath, and then employ him. The truth is, the election, qualification and functions of raking a neaven-desying oath, and then employ him the truth is, the election, qualification and functions of a officer are part of the same whole. Politically making, I cannot separate the duties of an officer, estimaster, custom-house officer, or any other, from the sting that authorized the performance of the duties, and the oath-taking that qualified him to perform the same.

Here is Mr. Mann's strongest point, in meeting and isposing of which, we meet and dispose of his whole gument, from beginning to end.

This appears to me to be a confounding and amalgaing of all moral distinctions. It is admitted that the compeers and agents. Now, does a right thing become wrong because (from some known or unknown motive) the devil permits it? No. If the devil, having the supreme power, requires that I should worship him and not God, and exercises that power to inflict pains and penalties in case of disobedience, I must worship God, (as did Daniel,) and brave the penalty. But supnd demands, in the devil's name, that this worship shall stop, and says it is against the law. I answer, An act of toleration has been passed.' He denies it. draw the parchment from my pocket, and show him the devil's sign-manual,' and am permitted to continne worship without being punished. Now, can Mr. Mann see no difference between my

Now, can Mr. Mann see no difference between my thus enjoying my just privilege of performing my duty to God, and veting for the devil to be President of the United States, with an oath—that I do not mean to keep—to do the devil's bidding? To buy land, receive thy member from my earliest days) reads the last for it is mighty easy writing.—p. x.

"When King John summened his first Parliament," saks Mr. Mann, 'could a man vote then? When, less is se, whether the functions of the office are performed in England as they are now in Virginis, could a man vote then, in ordic to arrest the trailio." When the Staarts revived the old deciries of Divine Right, and came near enforcing it spon the people and Parliament, sould a man vote then, in ordic to arrest the trailio." When the Staarts revived the old deciries of Divine Right, and came near enforcing it spon the people and Parliament, sould a man vote or hold office then, to establish the throne of William of Orange? Or, to look at the other appet of the case, could Clarkon give a yote or William of Orange? Or, to look at the other appet of the case, could Clarkon give a yote or William of Orange? Or, to look at the other trade, and finally of abolishing that traffic itself—could they do this, I say, without dammable sin? And if they the see that they may be added they do this, I say, without dammable sin? And if they, then and there, why not we, here and now? 'Nothing is easier to be answered than this last question, and in such a manner as to put the whole advance copy of categories to instant flight.

If when King John's first Parliament assembled, they were first obliged to sweared than this last question, and in such a manner as to put the whole advance copy of categories to instant flight.

If when King John's first Parliament assembled, why were first obliged to swear that they would sustain the relation whether they meant to follif the oath or not, they were gould to be appointed, they were first obliged to swear that they would sustain the relation whether they meant to follif the oath or not, they were good the whole advance or provided the proposal of the provided the "When King John summoned his first Parliament, asks Mr. Mann, 'could a man vote then? When, less than a thousand years ago, slaves were bought and sold by saint or sinner, any more than buying and selling than a thousand years ago, slaves were bought and sold by saint or sinner, any more than buying and selling continue the piratical traffic in slaves, in order to terprise did in the reduction of postage. But their obtain power to abolish it, and did or did not intend to taking an oath to do a wrong thing, which is no part fulfil the oath, they committed 'a damnable sin'; and of their official duty, but a trick of the government to the Parliament were compelled, in order to establish the bind them to the Juggernaut of Slavery, no more iden-House of Orange, to swear in advance, and by their tifies me with their oath, because I employ them to do otes did swear, to support the claims of James II. and the right things of their office, than sending a letter to the divine right of kings, whether they did or did not my sister in New Orleans, by her husband, who is a slaveholder, makes me a partaker in the slave traffic.

Mr. Mann perceives that men have, from the state of serfs under absolute despotism, pushed their way to the attainment of their highest right of self-government selled. Their rote was no such oath. They were not by the ballot. How did they accomplish all this without voting, before that right was acquired? What men have done, men can do, especially when governed by high, intelligent, unyielding moral considerations. He would not sit as a magistrate under the Fugitive Slave Law to save his life '; and yet he thinks that would be an infinitely less offence before God and man than to wear that fugitive slaves shall be delivered up, on Mr. Mann's conscience, but only with his logic. He does not believe that men governed by the highest more due; and that, toa, with a predetermination never to al considerations could form a better government than the present, because without these moral considerations it never was done. I must close, lest I become weari-

'A ROWLAND FOR AN OLIVER.'

[Boston Correspondence of the Anti-Slavery Standard.] continued, though predetermined never to fulfil the anth. Mr. Mann appears to think that there is annihitation in this interrogative, and so there is—to his own side of the discussion.

But I cannot transfer by which these disabilities were the formulation of the discussion.

The Argument — The Correspondent magnifical the Twenty-First of June—And why—He proposeth a new Fast Day—He fearth the Courier—He boweth before Mr. Mann—He quoteth his P. S.—He treateth of the Natural History of Hyenas—He praiseth them—He showeth their analogy to Sigma—He speculateth as to Mr. Mann's demise—He describeth the effect of the P. S.—He giveth Mr. Mann eredit for Courage—He thinketh him hard to please—He commenteth on Mr. Mann's Letter, and wareth didactic and a trifle dull—He promisch to bestow some more tediousness on the readers, in a certain contingency, de. de. de.

Boston, June 21, 1853. 'The famous Twenty-first of June!' that 'Lord Byron sung of, once. Famous for being the longest day in the year, and foreyer glorious as the day of the month when the slaveholders, at Baltimore, gave Mr. Webster his reward for his treason of the 7th of March, 1850. Let it never be said that the from each other? If nobody would buy public lands or accept a pension, the whole public land system and Pension Bureau would be swept away at once. These officers are appointed and their oaths administered for no other purpose but to issue land warrants and pay pensions. Can I take either warrant or pension from an officer who would not have been in existence but for my sake and such as me? Can I require of him to show me his commission, in order to see that it is countersigned by the devil, and so all right, (for without ocupate by the devil, and so all right, (for without ocupate by the devil's sign-manual, I would not employ him, but leave him at once,) and then, having no wonder that he slunk, broken-hearted, to Marsh-field, and died. Turned out, rejected and ridiculed by the men, to conciliate whose favor he had made himself perdurably infamous, what better thing could be have done!

But I must take care, or the Boston Courier will call me 'a hyena' again. Indeed, I suppose I must be one, for the Hon. Horace Mann, in a P. S. to a letter he wrote last week to the Liberator, declares that this honorary title, thus bestowed, (not originthat this honorary title, thus bestowed, (not originally self-assumed, as he supposes—amended, only, on my motion, by inserting the word 'laughing' before the word 'hyena,') was unanimously confirmed by the whole Nation. Perhaps you would like to see what he says., Here it is. After disposing of other persons who have had the assurance to criticise his part of the controversy with Mr. Phillips, he goes on:— Phillips, he goes on :-

'D. Y., the correspondent of the Anti-Slavery Standard, intimated a less amiable excuse for himself, devil is at the head of the government, and that all the subordinate and coordinate parts are the devil's compeers and agents. Now, does a right thing become

Now, I have no fault to find with the place in assigned to me. Hyenas are animals that perform a useful purpose in the world, or they would not have Hyenas are animals that perform been made. They may not be generally popular. (differing from me in that particular, at least;) (differing from me in that particular, at least; but they are not without their uses. Mr. Mann, God. (as did Daniel.) and brave the penalty. But suppose the devil deems it expedient to exercise toleration, and grants a charter by which all persons may worship according to the dictates of their own consciences or their own interests. Shall I not therefore worship God, because the devil recognises interest and conscience as equals, or because the devil waives his power of inflicting the penalty? And is there no distinction between God-worship and devil-worship, because the devil permits it? But suppose some agent of the devil, dissatisfied with the act of toleration, who finds the worship of God to conflict with his own interest, comes forward. of God to conflict with his own interest, comes forward and also who killed him. And here he confesse the former under his own sign manual. Perhaps there may be a reasonable difference of opinion on there may be a reasonable difference of opinion on the last point. An impartial Coroner's Jury (de medictate, say half Whigs and half Democrats) might, perhaps, hesitate as to the verdict—whether it should be one of Mann-slaughter against Mr. Phillips, or of Felo de se against that unfortunate

on this latter point, though there may be a diversi-ty of opinion as to the first. I should advise him to apply his faculties in some other direction. He has, clearly, mistaken his mission. At any rate, however it may have been in the time past of his life, I think it highly probable that he will 'loathe controversy' for the time to come. He has certain-

right to take a place of power and profit, which I rean only get by swearing to do certain things, when I am fully resolved never to do them. It looks to me like obtaining goods on false pretences. Mr. Mann's history is not in the least in point. Liberator, this noble champion of freedom critically examines the several clauses in the Constitution of the United States, which have been relied upon by them; but there is no parallelism between the cases, ourse, they had no such opinion. oaths of Supremacy and Abjuration, for the sake of getting into Parliament, because they could do so much good there! They thought not. Mr. Mann, (Free Soil paper.) I suppose, must think they were wrong in refus-ing. Every man must be the judge of how much wrong he will do, on Mr. Mann's theory of po-litical morals, (knowing all the time that it is wrong, for that is our assumption,) in order to do

Mr. Mann seems incapable of perceiving any difference between submitting to laws and making and executing them, though he could understand t, if I am not mistaken, when he needed the it, if I am not mistaken, when he needed the distinction for his own use, as to the Fugitive slave law, in Congress. We think that taking part in a government, like ours, making laws under a written Constitution, is executing them, or der a written Constitution, is executing them, or agreeing to execute them when called on. Living under the government and submitting to lawe, because we can't help ourselves, we consider innocent. But Mr. Mann takes it for granted that livng under a government is the same thing as voting and taking office under it, and his argument rests, mainly, on this assumption. It is a fine specimen of arguing in a circle. And it is as perfect a justification of the Whigs and Democrats in their course as of the Free Soilers, if they think they can do more good by a pro-slavery than an anti-slavery course. They are the judges, and not Mr. Mann. We may condemn them, for we assume the inherent wickedness of slavery; accept the usual construction of the Constitution, that certain clauses relate to slavery; and then refuse to swear to sup-port it, by ourselves or our attorneys, simply be-cause we don't mean to support it, and do mean to break it, in these particulars, as often as we have a chance. This may not be great Statesmanship; but, I must say, it looks to me like common ship; but, I must say, it looks to me like common sense and common honesty. The consequences are none of our business. The slaves have no right to ask me to tell a falschood, or do a wrong act, to set them free to-morrow. And I hold returning fugitive slaves, or swearing to return them, or not to resist their return, to be very wicked things. to resist their return, to be very wicked things. And swearing to do these things, not intending to do them, after I have had the consideration, if not as wicked, is wicked enough, and much meaner. Our whole political morality lies in a nutshell. We do not mean to make promises which we do not mean to perform. I do not see anything in Mr. Mann's whole letter of June 3d that touches this scruple; and yet it is the only point in dishis scruple; and, yet, it is the only point in dis-

persuade abolition of slavery, and that their true work is to dissolve the political Union between the confederated States, will, we trust, give place to efforts, more wisely directed, urging to the exercise, by the people, of all the moral, religions and political power of the nation for the abolition of slavery

lovered it may have been in the time past of his life. I think it highly probable that he will I toathe controversy for the time to come. He has certainly had reason to.

I don't know how far Mr. Mann may consider these remarks as coming within the purview of these remarks as coming within the purview of the paragraph deprecating a Bejoinder—for that is the meaning of it, it strikes me, when done into English. But he is very hard to please, and I hardly know how to frame my remarks in a way to suit him. For instance, in his controversy with Mr. Phillips, he claimed the last words as his right; and yet when Mr. Phillips agave it to him, and return the field, leaving him to say what he liked hast, he constrose it into a flight and an acknowledgment of his victory! And he has n't consider the meaning of the strike out and the strike out and the field, leaving him to say what he liked hast, he constrose it into a flight and an acknowledgment of his victory! And he has n't consider the meaning of the strike out the hast with left, and have therefore, refused to vote under it. The unsoundness of their constant of the field, leaving him to say what he liked hast, he constrose it into a flight and an acknowledgment of his victory! And he has n't consider the meaning of the strike out and the strike out and the strike out under it. The unsoundness of their conclusions, and the filling of the property of the meaning that the constitution of the rocal color, and provided them, have been repeatedly exposed by which they are promptly rendering;

The greatest part of his letter is consumed in arguing points which we Garrisonians have never denied. Of course, human government is necessarily imperfect, and equally of course, all governments, even the worst, do many good things, our scrape like it is a strike out that the constitution of the United States metalans always as an integral part of itself, weart to support that the Constitution of the slavery when properly called upon to do it! I sit honest or right to swear to do w

their government inherently and fundamentally bad, and that they themselves were bound to do things terly exposition must admit the conclusiveness of wicked in themselves by taking part in it. Of his reasoning. He shows, that when these clauses course, they had no such opinion. I presume Mr.
Phillips would have no scruple about sitting in
Parliament, were he an Englishman, for Parliament is the Constitution. A more parallel case
framed, as well as those who adopted the Constitutions of the Catholics here. ment is the Constitution. A more parallel case framed, as well as those who adopted the Constitution, understood those equivocal provisions in the link the Duke of Norfolk and Daniel O'- instrument, as referring to a temporary institution Connell, as men of honor and honesty, take the whose early dissolution all, who took part in the

Horace Mann has concluded his defence of his position as a voter and office-holder under the Contitution, in two letters, each filling nearly a page wrong, for that is our assumption,) in order to do such and such good things. I do not see why Mr. Mann's argument is not quite broad enough to cover Mr. Webster and Commissioner Curtis. Why had they not a right to decide how much wrong they would do in order to save the Union! Mr. Mr. Mann has wasted a good deal of indignation, on one side or the other. troversy may have saved this fine word-castle from an examination, under which it would dissolve like frost-work under sun-light. The Liberator has shown a liberality in giving Mr. Mann, under the circumstances, so large a space in its columns, which we shall gladly see reciprocated by the Free Soil papers .- Pennsylvania Fre

> RUNAWAY KILLED. On Saturday last, a runaway segro was killed in the parish of East Baton Rouge, La., under the following circumstances :

Two citizens of Port Hudson, learning that a negro was at work on a flat-boat loading with sand just below that place, who was suspected of being a runaway, went down in a skiff for the purpose of arresting him. Having seized him and put him in the skiff, they started back, but had not proceeded far when the negro, who was at the oars, seized a batchet and assaulted one of them, wounding him very seriously. A scuffle ensued, during which both parties fell overboard. They were both rescued by the citizens pulling to them with a skiff. Finding him so unmanageable, the negro was put ashore, and the parties returned to Port Hudson for arms and a pack of negro dogs, and started again with Two citizens of Port Hudson, learning that

and the parties returned to Port Hudson for arms and a pack of negro dogs, and started again with the intention to capture him.

They soon got on his trail, and when found again, he was standing at bay upon the outer edge of a large raft of drift-wood, armed with a club and pistol. In this position, he bade defiance to men and dogs, knocking the latter into the water with his club, and threatening death to any man who approached him. Finding him obstinately determined not to surrender, one of his pursuers shot him. He fell at the third fire, and so determined was he not to be captured, that, when an effort was made to rescue him from drowning, he made battle with his club, and sunk waving his weapon in angry defiance at his pursuers. He refused to give the name of his owner.—Feliciana Whig. angry defiance at his pursuers. He refused give the name of his owner.—Feliciana Whig. This case of desperate heroism on the one hand

and of diabolical cruelty on the other, is circulating But I have taken up more than my share of coom without reaching Mr. Mann's last letter.

Perhaps I may something about it, next time—especially if the weather be as hot as it is to-day; a lawful deed in a professedly Christian land!

From the Boston Courier.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. STATE House, Wednesday, June 22, 1853.

The Convention went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. Schouler of Boston in the Chair, for the consideration of the report of the Committee on the Militia, on the petition of John P. Coburn and others, 'that the laws may be so modified that no able-bodied male citizen may be forbidden or prevented from serving, or holding office or commission in the militia on account of his color.' Upon the petition, the Committee reported—

'That, in the opinion of the Committee, this Conven That, in the opinion of the Committee, this Conven-tion caunot incorporate into the Constitution of Massa-chusetts, any provision which shall conflict with the laws of the United States, and cannot therefore act in accordance with the request of the petitioners. But, inasmuch as the present organization of the militia of the Commonwealth is founded upon a system of voluntary, and not of compulsory, service, a service not contem-plated by the laws of the United States, and as this sys-tem authorizes. plated by the laws of the United States, and as this system authorizes "the commander-in-chief, who may be authorized, the mayor and aldermen of any city, or the selectmen of any town in the Commonwealth, to grant petitions for raising companies at large, provided the whole number of these companies shall not exceed one hundred and twenty," [1840, sec. 12, and 1843, chap. 84, sec. 4,] and ds no reference is, in this provision of the law, mule to color, the committee believe the whole subject to be within the control and authority of the officers just named. They therefore advise that it is inexpedient to act thereon.

Mr. Whitney of Boylston moved to strike out the report, and insert instead a resolution, that in the future enrolment of the militia of this Com-

fect of our criminal law, in consequence of such organization, -if it meant the withdrawing these persons from the operation of that part of our criminal code which would subject them to prosecution for riot,—if it meant to organize a mero and strictly insulated local police, forming no part of the militia of the nation, not coming within their name, not entitled to serve in their ranks, not subjected to the code of law by which they are governed—but a mere insulated and discriminated local police—then there was no conflict at all, that he (Mr. Choate) could see. But if it was proposed to make an organization which shall form any part of the national army, who shall stand upon the parade under the stars and stripes on an equality with the citizen soldiery of the land—he meant, he said, an equality under the law—forming a part of that institution, bearing its name, and subject to its regulation and control and discipline,-the amendment proposed was a manifest violation, he thought, of the Constitution of the United States. He differed with the gentleman from Marshfield (Mr. Sumner) and others, in the opinions which they had expressed upon the comparative and rela-tive jurisdiction between the State of Massachu-setts and the United States, in regard to this matter of the militia. The grant of power to the general government was not exclusive; that was per-fectly well established; and although Congress may or may not have taken the matter in hand, yet, just so far as it left the ground uncovered, the States Unless, therefore, you can raise a direct conflict in regard to this particular subject matter of our legislation and the legislation of Congress, there is o conflict at all. But with regard to the motion submitted by the gentleman from Marshfield, last evening, he was prepared to show that it was un-warranted by the Constitution of the United

States.

It was perfectly competent for this Common-wealth, in its constitutional capacity, in its rela-tion to the Union, to make an organic law that tion to the Union, to make an organic law that shall re-enact every provision in the Constitution of the United States, and every provision in every law of the United States, upon the subject of the militia—from the beginning to the end—yes, we may re-enact it, we may legislate or ordain an auxiliary reference to it—we may do anything and everything till we come to the point of direct conflict, and no further. There is not a word in the case of Price as Pennsylvania,—which had been ase of Prigg vs. Pennsylvania,-which had been alluded to upon this point,—impugning this posi-tion. The Prigg case stood alone, and would stand alone till the end of our national time, an adjudication upon the Fugitive Slave Law, and nothin lse. He could not adopt the doctrine, that the legislation of the general government was exclu-sive in its nature until its acts. When it acts and overs the matter, we cannot avoid it. We may

go up to it, we may go round it, but we cannot go in conflict with a national law.

In regard to the inquiry, as to what would be the result of sending a colored commander-in-chief at the head of the Massachusetts militia in response to a national call for military, the Attorney General said he found no difficulty in the solution of that question. The federal laws had furnished an ant answer. The general government had been apt answer. The general government had legis-lated, and had covered the whole ground. It had legislated by definition—it had created a national militia—and had identified it and made it homomilitia—and had identified it and made it homogeneous; ascertained it particularly and practically in point of law, by prefixing the epithet 'white.' It has national legislation completely and exclusively of the entire subject matter, and hence it comes to be merely a question as to what you will do; it comes to be true by necessary consequence—perceived instantly by the gentleman from Natick, and not doubted even by the impassioned and eloquent gentleman from Abington, (Mr. Keyes)—it comes to be the concession of every one, that that is the fundamental and paramount and supreme law. If that be so, (said Mr. Choate,) whatsoever you desire it may be worth, you can raise no colored regiment or part of a regiment, that shall be of the militia of the United States—none whatever. It then becomes a question what such a company would be, and whether it was worth while to make any provision for its organization. He would tell the Convention what, in his judgment, the State Legislature could constitutionally do—though perhaps it might be said it was not necessary to interfere in the matter—and that was, that the Governor may authorize colored citizens to organize themselves with arms in their hands, to procure the flag of our country, and march with a band of music at their head, without violating the provisions of our criminal law in that respect. It may be ordained that such an organization, marching in our streets, shall not be taken and deemed to be a riot—that it is not such an organization as would produce terror in the minds of those peaceably disposed. But it is certain, that if they were to go upon parade and win Bunker Hills, yet they niver can be a part of the militia of the United States. No court martial can ever touch a hair of their head—no military court of the United States States. No court martial can ever touch a hair of their head—no military court of the United States can come near them—no military court can know them or recognize them in any way; and while the white volunteer, who stands side by side with the white volunteer, who stands side by side with the colored soldier, may look to one pension, and feel that he is subject to one administration of criminal law, none of these things can appertion to any person of color. That was the difficulty. Whether humanity and philanthropy would be promoted by adopting the proposition which had been offered, and what would be its effect upon the white volunteer, he did not pretend to predict. He was not a military man, either in taste or spirit; but however strange it might sound to hear him He was not a military man, either in taste or spirit; but however strange it might sound to hear him say so, he was a 'philanthropist and humane man'; but he.did not see his way clear on the point of utility. Nay more, he did not see how he could do any thing for this colored race, by putting them in one of the high places of the Commonwealth, with weapons in their hands, and althe pomp and parade and condition of war; the color cleaves to them there, and on parade is only the more comminguage. Gentlemen might differ the more conspicuous. Gentlemen might differ from him in the opinion he had expressed—on that point he had nothing to say. He rose merely for the purpose of attempting to clear the idea in re-gard to the relation of the Constitution and law of the United States to our laws, on this subject of the militia. He held that on that subject we do as much harm by giving to the general government too much power as too little. The true rule was the exact measure of right between both. He re-peated, that by the exposition of the law, Congress gets no such exclusive power, but that we may arm and train our militia just as we please; but he held, that when we come to legislate and cover a held, that when we come to legislate and cover a given ground, we cannot go beyond the Constitu-tion of the United States.

Mr. WILSON of Natick asked the Attorney Gen-eral, if, in his opinion, the law of the United States would forbid the Governor of this Commonwealth, the commander-in-chief of the voluntary militia of

noted Water Welniff el

this Commonwealth, to act as such, in calling them out to suppress a riot; and in connection with these same questions, he also asked whether a colored man may not be one of the volunteer militia.

Mr. Сполтк answered, that the President of the Mr. Chart answered, that the President of the United States had no power, perhaps not in any case, to prohibit the Governor from doing this or that. It was not the mode in which the general government exerted its jurisdiction on States, or on Governors of States. But the difficulty was this: Suppose the President cannot prohibit, and the government does call on such a company, what are they when called out! The militia, or a part of the militia of the United States! Certainly not, as he viewed the law in reference to it.

as he viewed the law in reference to it.

Mr. Sumer of Marshfield suggested, that if the gentleman from Natick would modify his amendment so as to insert instead of the word ' militia.

the words 'military companies,' the objections pre-sented by the Attorney General would be avoided, and our militia would be consistent with federal law.

Mr. Wilson modified his resolution in the man-

Mr. HALLETT of Wilbraham expressed astonishment at the views put forth by the member from Marshfield. If volunteer 'military companies' did not mean 'militia,' what did they mean! If they were not the militia of the United States, we had been improperly receiving, year after year, the sums of money payable in arms to the several States for military service.

Mr. Wilson asked the member from Wilbraham

what would be the consequence of sending a color-ed commander-in-chief, at the head of our State militia, to the service of the United States! It was competent for Massachusetts to elect a colored Governor, and he would like to know what the United States would do about it, if this State should send a colored chief officer to head her militia !

Mr. Hallerr thought that the Attorney General had already answered that question. If the gen-tleman from Natick was not satisfied with the reply of the learned Attorney General, he (Mr. Hallett) would say, that if Massachusetts should send a colored commander-in-chief at the head of her mi-litia, the United States would not recognize his au-thority, and would at once supersede him. There was law for this assertion-constitutional law-

clear and well-defined.

Mr. Bartlett of Boston thought the question under consideration a practical as well as a legal question. If it was desirable to have a colored or ganization distinct from the militia, but yet clothed with power to earry arms, and in all respects as similating to a military organization—that was a matter of State right. But what was meant by "volunteer military companies'! Did the gentle-man from Marshfield mean a new theory hitherto unknown in this Commonwealth! If he meant that, the proposition ought to be distinctly stated to the Convention. Our volunteer system was part of the militia of the United States, and it was not competent to do any act that was manifestly incon-

sistent with the national law.

Mr. Assort of Lowell, after saying that he had consulted with several gentlemen on the subject, and that they agreed with him to let this part of our fundamental law remain untouched, moved to lay the report upon the table.

And this metion was sustained without a divi-

In Convention, June 21. The resolves and articles of amendment on the subject of the militia were taken up—question on final passage.

Mr. Whitner, of Boylston, opposed the resolve.

ridiculing the volunteer militia, as men engaged in childish amustment. He expressed himself ap-prehensive of another war with Maxico, to be brought about by the evil influence of slavery: but he would meet any foreign invasion by a peace-ful proclamation, appealing to the common senti-ment of humanity. He believed the adoption o ment of humanity. He believed the adoption of these resolves would injure the Free Democratic party, by alienating those in favor of peace doc-Mr. KEYES, of Abington, considered the militie

as of some service in large towns, but was of opin ion that when brought into conflict with a foreign foe, they were sometimes prone to 'devour the tions, because the times required them, and be-cause the 'good time coming' had not yet come. Mr. Wilson, of Natick, denied that this was any boon granted to the militia. It was only carrying out what was already provided in the Constitution and laws of the United States. He repudiated the idea of gaining or losing votes from any action or this subject, believing that the militia, as such

this subject, believing that the militia, as such, would only obey orders, without discussing constitutional questions. He was in favor of peace measures, but would never abolish the militia till every tyrant on the earth should be put down, and the people should have their rights.

Mr. Foster, of Charlemont, believed that it was only war that makes, and will continue to make tyrants, and that peace alone would put them down.

Mr. Sunner, of Marshfield, contended that there were too many of these resolutions, some conflicting with the power of the tieneral Government to organize and discipline the militia, and some entering into details which should be left to the Legislature. He moved to amost by substituting resolves providing, 1st. That the Governor shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the Ommonwealth, and of the militia thereof, except when these forces are actually in the service of the United States, and shall have power to call out the militia to execute the laws, suppress in-Mr. SURNER, of Marshfield, contended that ther out the militia to execute the laws, suppress in-

surrection, or repel invasion. 2d. The appoint ment of officers and the training of the militia shall be regulated in such manner as may hereaf-ter be deemed expedient by the Legislature; and all persons who from scruples of conscience may be averse to bearing arms shall be excused there-from, upon conditions prescribed by law.

REMARKS OF HON, CHARLES SUMNER, ON THE COLORED MILITIA

I have a suggestion to make to my friend opposite, [Mr. Wilson.] in regard to the form of his proposition, which, if he will accept it, will, as it seems to me, absolutely remove his proposition from the criticism of my most eloquent friend before me, [Mr. Choate,] and from the criticism of other gentlemen who have addressed the Convention. I suggest to him to strike out the word militia, and substitute therefor the words 'militia,' and substitute therefor the words 'militia,' so that his proposition will read

eonformity with the public sentiment of Massachusetts.

A brief inquiry will show that it is consistent with the Constitution of the United States, and in no respect interferes with the organization of the National Militia. That Constitution provides for organizing, arming and disciplining a militia, and gives Congress full power over the subject. To be more explicit, I will read the clause. It is found in the long list of enumerated powers of Congress, and is as follows:—' Congress shall have power to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and of governing such part of the massachusetts militia, and not in any way constrained by its organization, it is within our jurisdiction. We are free to declare the principles which shall govern it. We may declare that, whatever may be the existing law of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.' And then at the close of the section it is further declared that Congress shall make all lanes which shall be necessary and proper for carrying

own local law lates which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers.

In pursuance of this power, Congress have proceeded by various laws, 'to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be engaged in the service of the United States.' The earliest of these laws, which is still in force, is entitled, 'An enterpress offsetrally to provide for the national dethese laws, which is still in lorce, is entitled, 'An act more effectually to provide for the national defence, by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States.' [Act of May 8th, 1792, ch. 33.] This has been followed by several acts in addition thereto. Congress, then, have undertaken to exercise the power of 'organizing' the militia under the Constitution.

under the Constitution.

And here the question arises, to what extent, if any, this power, when already exercised by Congress, is exclusive in its character. Among the gress, is exclusive in its character. Among the powers delegated to Congress, there may be some which are not for the time being, exercised. For instance, there is the power 'to fix the standard of weights and measures.' Practically this has never been exercised by Congress; but it has been left to each State within its own jurisdiction. On the other hand, there is a power belonging to the same group, 'to establish uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States,' which, when exercised by Congress, has been held so far exclusive, as to avoid at once all the bankrupt and insolvent laws of the several States.

Sir, I might go over all the powers of Congress and find constant illustration of the subject. Fo instance, there is the power 'to establish an uniform rule of naturalization,' on which Chief Justice Mirshall once remarked:—'That the power of naturalization is exclusively in Congress, does not seem to be, and certainly ought not to be controls. A. M.: and Plymouth, at 64 and 10, A. M. Reverted.' There is the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several turning, leave the Grove for Boston, at 54, P. M.; for States,' which was early declared by the Supreme | Plymouth, about 6, P. M. Fare, Boston to Abington, Court to be exclusive, so as to prevent the exercise of any part of it by the States. There is the power over patents and copyrights, which has also been regarded as exclusive. So, also, is the power to define and punish piracies and felonies, comthete Grove; and there will be an ample supplied to the grove in the grove in the grove; and there will be an ample supplied to the grove in the gro mitted on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.' So; also, is still another power, viz.: 'to establish post-offices and post-roads.' All of these powers, as in the case of the power over the National Militia, have been season.

the National Militia, have been exercised by Congress, and even if not absolutely exclusive in their original character, have become so by the exercise.

Now, sir, upon what ground do gentlemen make any discrimination in the case of the power over the national militia! I know of no ground which seems to be tenable. It is natural that the States should desire to exercise this power, since it was so important to them before the Union; but I do not see how any discrimination can be maintained at the present time. Whatever may have been the original importance of the militia to each State, yet when the Constitution of the United States was formed, and Congress exercised the power delegated to it over this subject, the militia of the several States was absorbed into one uniform body, organized, armed, and disciplined as the National governing them when in the te. This is all. The distinct implied power of 'go service of the State.

to enact laws for this purpose.

The history of the adoption of the several parts of this clause in the Federal Convention reflects light upon its true meaning. The first part, in regard to organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, was passed by a vote of nine States against two; the next referring the appointment of officers to the States, after an ineffectual attempt to amend it by confining the appointment to officers under it by confining the appointment to officers under the rank of general officers, was passed without a division; and the last, reserving to the States the authority to train the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress, was passed by a vote of seven States against four. It seems, then, that there was a strong opposition in the Convention, even to the express reservation to the States of 'the authority of training the militia.' But this power is not reserved unqualifiedly. The States are to train the militia 'according to the discipline prescribed by Congress; 'not according to any discipline determined by the States, or by the States concurrently with the General Government; but absolutely according to the discipline prescribed by Congress; nor more, nor less; thus distinctly recognizing the exclusive character of the legislation

of Congress on this subject.

This interpretation derives confirmation from the manner in which the militia of England was constituted or organized at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. To the crown was given the 'sole right to govern and command them,' though they were 'officered' by the Lord Lieuten-ant of the county, the deputy Lieutenant, and other principal landholders of the county. The commentaries of Sir William Blackstone, from which this description is drawn, were familiar to the members of the Convention; and it is reason-State. After various attempts either to compromise or able to suppose that in the distribution of powers between the General Government and the States, on between the General Government and the States, on this subject, the peculiar arrangement which prevailed in the mother country was not disregarded.

If it should be said that the adoption of this conclusion would affect the character of many laws

Convention. It will be seen that while Messrs. Sumner enacted by States, and thus far recognize ancillary to the National Militia, it may be replied ancillary to the National Militia, it may be replied that the possibility of these consequences cannot justly influence our conclusions on a question which must be determined by acknowledged principles of constitutional law. In obedience to these same principles, the Supreme Court, in the case of Prigg vs. Pennsylvania, have pronounced an opinion, which has annulled a large number of statutes in different States. Mr. Justice Wayne in this case said: 'That the legislation by Congress upon the provision, as the supreme law of the land, excludes all State legislation on the same subject; and that no State can pass any law or regulation, or interpose such as may have been a law or regulation when the Constitution of the United States was ratified, to super-

Without the sanction of any express words in the Constitution, and chiefly, if not solely, in view of the importance of consulting 'unity of purpose or uniformity of operation' in the legislation with regard to fugitive slaves, they have excluded the States from all sovereignty in the premises.

Now if this rule be applicable to the power over fugitive slaves, it is also applicable to the power over the militia. Indeed, I know of no power which so absolutely requires what has been regarded as an important criterion, 'unity of purpose or uniformity of operation,' as that over the militian. No true military organization can spring from opposite or inharmonious systems; and all systems proceeding from different sources are liable to be opposite or inharmonious.

Now, sir, let us apply this reasoning in the matter in hand, that we may arrive at a just conclusion. In Massachusetts, there now exists, and has for a long time existed, an anamolous system, familiarly and loosely described as the Volunteer Militia, not composed absolutely of those enrolled under the laws of the United States, but a smaller, more select and peculiar body.' Now it cannot be doubted that the State, by virtue of its police powers within its own borders, would have power to constitute or organize a body of volunteers, to aid in enforcing its laws. But it does not follow that it will have power to constitute or organize a body of volunteers, who shall be regarded as a part of the Na-'militia,' and substitute therefor the words 'military companies,' so that his proposition will read 'that in the organization of the volunteer military companies of the Commonwealth, there shall be no distinction of color or race.'

Mr. Wilson. I accept the suggestion, and will a mend my proposition accordingly.

Mr. Sunner. Now that proposition, as amended, I submit, is absolutely consistent with the Constitution of the United States, and, I believe, in conformity with the public sentiment of Massachusetts.

THE LIBERATOR

No Union with Slaveholders,

BOSTON, JULY 1, 1853.

POURTH OF JULY! ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION.

The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will hold a Mass Meeting, in honor and for the promotion of the true principles of Liberty and Independence, at AB-INGTON, in the well-known Grove near the Centre of the town, on MONDAY, JULY 4th.

Eloquent Speaking, the Songs of Freedom, Social In tercourse, with pic-nic entertainments, together with the natural attractions of the place and its scenery, al combine to invite a large gathering of the friends of freedom on the approaching, as on former anniversa-

It is expected that WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WEN DELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, CHARLES L. REMOND Rev. CALEB STETSON, Rev. ANDREW T. FOSS, WILLIAM J. WATKINS, and several other speakers will attend. The Old Colony Railroad declining this year t 8, A. M.; and Plymouth, at 61 and 10, A. M. Reand back, \$1 16 ; Plymouth to Abington, and back,

EF Cold water in abundance will be furnished in the Grove; and there will be an ample supply of pro visions for sale.

If the weather is unfavorable, the meeting will held in the Town Hall, in the immediate vicinity.

FRANCIS JACKSON, BOURNE SPOONER, SAMUEL MAY, JR., Committee LEWIS FORD, THOMAS J. HUNT, BRIGGS ARNOLD, Arrange'is. SAMUEL DYER, ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE,

Is it necessary to ask any friend of the anti-slavery cause, who can do so without much sacrifice or great in convenience, to attend the Anti-Slavery Celebration o Tury 4th, on Monday next, in the beautiful Grove a Abington? We know of no other similar consecration of the day to the cause of the fettered millions in ou Militia. To the States respectively was left, according to the express language of the Constitution, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. To this we may add the prescribed by Congress. While their groans are ascending to Heaven, and their chains are clanking in the car of an astonished world pecification of certain powers, as reserved to the it is a horrible mockery, and the climax of effrontery tates, seems to exclude them from the exercise of all others, which are not specified or clearly implied. In other words, they are excluded from all power over the 'organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia,'—at least after Congress have undertaken as a people, pretend to worship at the shrine of Liber ty. Sackcloth and ashes, and humble confession of sir and carnest supplication for the mercy of God, are much more appropriate to our state. Though th FOURTH may be usefully observed in promoting man good enterprises, we think it ought to be specially ar very generally, if not exclusively, devoted to the over throw of the slave system, that liberty may be the birthright of every one who treads on American soil.

'Friends of your country, of your race,
Of Freedom, and of God,
Combine Oppression to efface,
And break th' oppressor's rod;
All traces of injustice sweep,
By moral power, away—
Then a glorious jubilee we'll keep
On Independence day!

COLORED MILITIA.

We have copied from the Courier, a sketch of bate which took place in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, a few days since, on the report of a mmittee on the petition of John P. Coburn and others, praying that the State Constitution may be so amended as to remove the disabilities of colored citizens from holding military commissions and serving in the militia. We also publish the remarks of Hon. Charles SUMMER on the same subject, as officially reported for the Commonwealth. Of course-believing that all war. and all preparations for war, are contrary to humanity -we feel no other interest in this subject than that State. After various attempts either to compromise of to dodge the question, it was laid on the table without a division, from which it will not probably be taken. So our colored citizens are still to remain proscribed, and and Wilson, of the Free Soil party, attempted (in vain) to get an acknowledgment of the right of our colored citizens to be formed into volunteer military companies neither of those gentlemen raised any objection whatever to their being ostracised by the laws of Congress per-taining to the militia of the United States, but submissively acquiesced without a murmur ! Under the Constitution of the United States, it was virtually admitted by them that the citizens of Massachusetts are not permitted to exercise equal rights nor to enjoy equal privileges—that a portion of them, in consequence of their complexion, are incapable of being recognised as a part of the militia of the United States—and that Massachustitution of the United States was ratified, to super-add to, control, qualify, or impede a remedy enact-ed by Congress for the delivery of fugitive slaves to the parties to whom their service or labor is due.' setts has no other alternative than to submit to this insult, in loyal servility of spirit! And this is as far as

Every one will read it for himself, and, we think, no anti-slavery man who reads it faithfully will be much inclined to adopt Mr. Garrison's view of the Constitution, and become a non-voter.—Commonwealth of Tuesthe Constitution of the United States, in regard to savery, imposes any obligations that did not exist before tion, and become a non-voter.—Commonwealth of Tuesthe fourth article, a slave is a person held to service or

dispose of Mr. Mann's letter, or evade its force.' Sup- such service or labor may be due ?" To this I answer pose we allow Mr. Mann to refute himself, and so save Yes. I have no doubt that slaves were included, and as all trouble on that score. Please, therefore, to 'read, tracts from a volume, entitled 'SLAVERY-LETTERS AND this but a direct and unequivocal admission that the Spreches, By Horace Mann, the First Secretary of the Constitution of the United States is a pro-slavery in-Massachusetts Board of Education,' published by B. B. strument? 'Supposing,' says J. P. B., 'the affirma-Mussey & Co., Boston, 1851 :--

abhorred word 'slave' is no where mentioned in the The Constitution is ashamed to utter such a name. The country, coming fresh from that baptism of fire,—the American Revolution,—would not profane its lips with this unhallowed word. Hence, circumlocution is resorted to. It seeks to escape a guilty confession. Like a culpril, in whom some love of character still surports to whom such service or labor may be due.' a culpril, in whom some love of character still surrives, it speaks of its offence without calling it by
ham. It uses the reputable and honorable word "pername. As the
Tyrian Queen, about to perpetrate a deed which would
tyrian Queen, about to perpetrate a deed which would
consign her character to infamy, called it by the sacred
lations to secure the 'blessings of liberty' to the black consign her character to infamy, called it be name of "morriage," and committed it,-Hoc prætexit nomine culpam ;"

so the Constitution, ABOUT TO RECOGNIZE THE MOST GUILITY AND CRUEL OF ALL RELATIONS BETWEEN MAN AND Pressly prohibits it, and makes special provision for MAN, sought to avert its eyes from the act, and to pacify the remonstrances of conscience against every par-ticipation in the crime, by hiding the deed under a rep-utable word.'—pp. 168-9.

'It will be seen from all this, that the word 'person' is used in the Constitution in the most comprehensive sense. It embraces Indians, if taxed; it embraces natives of 'Africa; it embraces apprentices AND SLAVES, or those held to service or labor; and it embraces every citizen, from the humblest to the highest, from the most true to the most treasonable. It embraces all, from THE SLAVE to the President of the United States.'-p. 172.

The Constitution proceeds upon this doctrine when IT PROVIDES FOR THE ENCAPTURE OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.'

* * An escaped slave could not be recovered before the adoption of the Constitution. The POWER TO SEIZE UPON ESCAPING SLAVES WAS ONE OF THE MOTIVES FOR ADOPTING IT.'-pp. 195-6.

. The Constitution of the United States, and the law of 1798, being at an end, the LAW OF NATURE RE-VIVES.' * * The States being separated, I would as soon return my own brother or sister into bondage, as I would return a fugitive slave.

'The day for the power and the triumph of those whom you hate as abolitionists will [then] have arrived. To guard twenty-five hundred miles of coast is impossible. If you declare war in order to avenge your losses, then that war makes your coast lawfully accessible both by day and by night, and multiplies a hundred fold the opportunities and facilities for this self-recovery of stolen goods.'—nn. 207.8

'In regard to instigating slaves to escape, I acknowledge there have been some instances of it; but they have been few. The perpetrators have been tried, and severely punished, and THE NORTH HAS ACQUIRSCED.

* * But will separation bring relief or security? No, sir; it will enhance the danger [of insurrection] a myriad fold. Thousands will start up, who will think it as much a duty and an bonor to assist the slaves in any contest with their masters, as to assist Greeks, or Poles, or Hungarians, in resisting their tyrants. Two appreciate,—the depth and intensity of our abhorrence for slavery, and that reverence for the law which keeps AND REFRESS OUR FEELINGS—destroy those compensa-tions which the world and which posterity would derive from a continuance of this Union, and well may you tremble for the result.'-pp. 212-13.

Even when our own Constitution was formed, is 1787, this dreadful traffic was not only sanctioned, but a solemn compact was entened into, by which all PROHIBITION OF IT WAS PROHIBITED FOR TWENTY YEARS.

'Eyen should the Supreme Court of the United States declare the [Fugitive Slave] law to be constitutional, then, though we must acknowledge their decision, as to the point decided, to be the LAW OF THE LAND, until it is set aside, yet, without any disrespect to that tribunal, we may still adhere to our former opinion.'—

'The relation of the government of the United States o slavery consists in this, and in this alone: that when to slavery consists in this, and in this alone: that when this government was created, slavery existed in a portion of the States; and, by certain provisions in the Constitution, the existence of this slavery was recognized, and certain RIGHTS and DUTIES in relation to it were respectively ACKNOWLEDGED and ASSUMED.

'The officers of the State governments being sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, the governments of the Constitution of the United States are implicated.

Hear his description of the constitutional return of a fugitive:—'If neither Congress nor the States are reernments of the free States are implicated INDIRECTLY in the matter of slavery, as the government of the United States is DIRECTLY, and not otherwise."—p. 416.

'In those provisions of the Constitution which weer DESIGNED for the temporary PROTECTION OF SLAVERY, a common regard for decency forbade the mention of its name.'—p. 474.

We in Massachusetts are a Union-loving and lawabiding people. Mr. Webster and his 'retainers' may spare their breath in exhorting us to abide by the Union. Such a work, in this Commonwealth, is a work of supercrogation. He knows, and they know, that the number of disunionists in this State can be counted on a man's fingers and toes. Whatever influence they exert must flow from their seal, their talents, and their the claimant, on the Constitution, without any law private character; for they derive none from numerical force. Were they all to settle in one of our small towns, they would be out-voted by its inhabitants.'—pp. 475—in full on this point. That is, no Fugitive Slave Law

mission to all laws enacted by the government, with ope single exception. The exception I mean, embraces those laws of men which are clearly contrary to the law of God.'—p. 477.

vided for the recapture of fugitive slaves'; it 'recog- he can do-with the power of urging the repeal of the man and man'; it 'here and there had an exception in constitutionality.' Now, I do not profess to be one knowledged and assumed certain rights (!) and du- do I pretend to be skilled in constitutional question its slaveholding obligations served to bind our convery; it enabled the South to keep their slaves securely in their chains, and make the danger of insurrection mparatively insignificant, -&c. &c. Either the Conago, or Mr. Mann has suddenly turned an extraordinary somerset. And thus it is we 'dispose of his letter.'

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

SIR,-I noticed in THE LIBERATOR of May 20th, tion headed 'U. S. Constitution,' and signe J. P. B., in which the writer, after having noticed the controversy between Mr. Mann and Mr. Phillips, refer

o a communication in THE LIBERATOR of April 22d taken from the Anti-Slavery Standard; and signe D. Y., and says, 'I trust you will not deem it intru sive in me to reply to the two questions in that commu nication, which seem to be addressed to the public a large. Now, Mr. Editor, I trust "J. P. B." will no deem it intrusive in me if I say a few words in regar to his reply, which appears to be addressed to the sar

He says, "The first of these questions is, "Wheth

the Constitution of the United States, in regard to sla-nuch very, imposes any obligations that did not exist before titu-it? Whether, for example, under the third clause of labor under the laws of a slave State ; and whether he The Commonwealth does not see how we can shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom were chiefly intended, to be described by such person as are held to service or labor.' What, Mr. Editor, tive of the above, the next question is, then are not the 'The debates in all the conventions for adopting the Constitution of the United States, proceed upon the ground that slavery depends upon positive law for its existence. 'If it did not,—if a man who has a legal right to a slave in Virginia, has a legal right to him any where—then the provision in the Constitution, and the act of 1793, for recapturing rugitive slaves, would have been unnecessary.'—p. 157. persons taking part in the government, either as con tution itself makes the necessary provisions for return-'In regard to this whole matter of slavery, the Coustitution touches the subject with an averted face. The abhorred word 'slave' is no where mentioned in it. The Coustitution is ashamed to utter such a pame. The party to whom such service or labor may be due. man and his 'posterity,' who may come to reside in it.

And why? The Constitution of the United States ex-

J. P. B. continues :- 'It does not (in this place) say by whom the delivery is to be made.' Indeed! What if it does not? In my opinion, it matters not by whom the delivery is made. It is sufficient for me to know that the Constitution makes special provision for taking a man in one State and carrying him into another, and making a chattel slave of him, and that no power in the United States can prevent it. This is a direct and palpable violation of the fundamental principle of the Declaration of American Independence, that all men are endowed by their Creator with the right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And yet, I suppose, by his subsequent remarks, that J. P. B. would have no scruples about swearing to support the Constitution. He proceeds-'It is perfectly clear, that Congress is not authorized to make any law on the subject,' and gives his reasons why, and then says, 'On this ground, many persons, and, indeed, most intelligent lawyers. consider that the State Governments are required, by the clause in question, to provide for the delivery of fugitives from service; but though the States have undoubtedly the right to make laws for such delivery, they are under no obligation to do so.' What have we here? A plain declaration that the States undoubtedly have the right to make laws for the enslaving of Man From whence, I ask, did the States obtain this right Will J. P. B. please inform us?

But how will J. P. B. defend himself from the charge of inconsistency? for, after saying, 'It is clear to me that the Convention which framed the United States Constitution were unwilling to impose on the free States any responsibility for the support of slavery,' he proceeds to give a description of the way in which that Poles, or Hungarians, in resisting their tyrants. Two part of the Constitution is to be executed which provides things exist at the North, which the South does not duly for the return of fugitives. Mind, he does not say the part of the Constitution is to be executed which provides for slavery, and that reverence for the law which keeps if in Check. (!) The latter counterpoises the former. (!) sponsibility for the support of slavery; but only, they if in Check. (!) The latter counterpoises the form our were unwilling to impose any such responsibility; and obligations—tear off from the bond, with your own then admits that that Convention did impose that rerandi of getting back fugitives constitutionally; thereby, admitting again, in the most direct and positive terms, that the Constitution is a pro-slavery instrument, or that it does actually provide for the support and continuance of slavery. If a slave gets to Canada, he is free; but at any point short of there, he may be hurled back into slavery. Why? Because he is within the clutches of this clause of the Constitution. Were it not for this, he would be free in the free States. But there is no safety, no protection, no freedom for him, on any portion of God's earth covered by the U. S. Constitution! Why? Because he is a person that was held to service or labor in one State, and has escaped into another; and the Constitution disputes his right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness at every step

quired to provide for the delivery of these fugitives, and the free States are unwilling to do it, how shall all the provisions of the Constitution be executed ? In answer to this question,' says' he, 'I turn back to the descrip tion of the judicial power, (Art. 8, sec. 2,) and I se that it extends to controversies between two or mor States, and between citizens of different States. This makes the matter plain at once. The slaveholder, finding his escaped slave in any free State, has only to is necessary; the Constitution itself makes every provision for the return of fugitives (by somebody)-We are not only Union-loving men, but, as I said before, we are law-abiding men. Had this not been so, not all the fleets and armies in the world could have carried Thomas Sims into bondage. * * This side of a just cause for revolution, they will yield subside of a just cause for revolution, they will yield subside of a just cause for revolution, they will yield subside of a just cause for revolution, they will yield subside of a just cause for revolution, they will yield subside of a just cause for revolution, they will yield subside of a just cause for revolution, they will yield subside of a just cause for revolution, they will yield subside of a just cause for revolution, they will yield subside of a just cause for revolution. the Constitution,' he breaks forth in the following aube sound, what becomes of the objections of D. Y. and others to any person's taking the oath to support the 'To leave metaphor for literal speech: The Constitu-tion of the United States gave the most comprehensive and fundamental guaranties in favor of freedom, with here and there only an exception in behalf of slavery.' a State, on the ground of this clause in the Constitution ? It is obvious, that in either case he will be un der no obligation to provide for the recovery of fugitive Has the Constitution been amended since 1851? At that slaves, as it is a subject with which the Constitution time, according to Mr. Mann-and his admissions are gives him no concern. On the contrary, by becomin as true now as they were then—the Constitution ' pro- a member of Congress, he arms himself in the only way nized the most guilty and cruel of all relations between infamous Fugitive Slave Law, on the ground of its un favor of slavery'; in certain of its provisions, 'it ac- those intelligent lawyers of whom J. P. B. speaks, nor ties (!) in relation to slavery'; 'the power to selze upon On the contrary, I belong to the laboring class, and feel escaping slaves was one of the motives for adopting it'; a deep interest in whatever vitally affects the liberty or slavery, the happiness or misery, of my fellow-man ciences and repress our feelings' on the subject of ala- But as I believe that the Constitution of the United States is a pro-slavery instrument, and one that no true friend of the rights of man can swear to suppor and carry out, without being guilty of the blood of the on is now wholly unlike what it was two years slave, I wish to ask J. P. B. the following questions :-1. When a man has shown plainly that the Constitution does actually provide for the return of fugitives,

must, and does, necessarily tolerate, uphold and up-port slavery—what does he do with his concessor when he swears to support that instrument, if he

not in favor of slavery? 2. When a man takes an oath under the Constitutes of the United States, according to the prescribed fara, does he swear to support the whole of that intronse

3. If he swears to support the whole of it, her does he get rid of supporting slavery?

4. If he swears to support but a part of it, what is. comes of his fidelity to the national compact?

5. How is it obvious, that in swearing to support the 5. How is it common will be under no obligation to provide for the carrying out of the different clauses of the Constitution, on the ground that they are subjects with which that instrument gives him no concern?

6. If, by becoming a member of Congress, a may arms himself, in the only way he can do, with the porer of urging the repeal of the Fugitive State Lar, on the ground of its unconstitutionality, does it felor, a a matter of course, that by swearing to report to Constitution, which provides for slavery, he place him self in the best possible position to attack and synthy the system of slavery?

After J. P. B. has answered these questions satisfa-After J. F. D. Has conscience, I wish him to give those at-torily to his conscience, I wish him to give those ar-swers to the 'public at large'; and perhaps they will be able to answer the question propounded by him, viz. What becomes of the objections of D. Y. and others to any person's taking the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, on the ground of this clause in that instrument?"

CHARACTER OF THE U. S. CONSTITUTION FRIEND GARRISON:

In the last number of THE LIBERATOR, (June 24,) I read a critical notice of 'The Unconstitutionality of Slavery,' by Lysander Stooner, which is a favorable one on the whole, but from which two extracts are taken, and commented on in a manner not satisfactory to me. As I presume many others view the subject in the same light Mr. Spooner and I do, as you profess to seek only the truth, and to open your columns freely to opposent as well as approvers, and as the points in question be tween you and him are evidently deemed important by you as they are by me-I trust you will cheerfully no ceive some strictures, made in a friendly spirit, on your

In the first extract you have quoted, I understand Mr. S. to take the ground that the constitutionality of slavery is not a 'historical,' but a 'legal' questie; and hence to infer that the people of the United States have nothing to do with the debates on the formation of the Constitution regarding this subject, or former decisions upon it, but are only legally bound by hir constructions of the words of the instrument itself. This appears to me sound doctrine, and I look to see

You reply by saying that ' the Constitution is a compact, and the constitutionality of slavery is, therefore, historical question, instead of a legal one.' The premise assumed here appears to be erroneous. The Cunstitution is not a compact, so far as the people are on-cerned. The formation of the Constitution was 'a compact' between the several States represented by their delegates, but when they had agreed on all the conditions, they put them into the shape of an organic law, to be presented to the people, the compact was falfilled and at an end, and the Constitution produced by it was a mere recommendation, having no force what ever until adopted by the people. The people adopted this Constitution, not as a compact, but as a fundament al law, by their own sole authority, and for the govern ment of themselves, and no others. A compact require two parties, and here was only one. The language the Preamble is- We, the people of the United States, in order to form,' &c., 'do ordain and establish the Constitution,' &c. The people do not give the least in timation, either in this introduction or throughout the instrument, that they contract with any other party whose concurrence is necessary. It may be said, that it is a compact by which the whole people contracts with each individual; but this is a plain absurdity; as other " whole people ' can be imagined, but what onsists of the aggregate of each individual.

But the provisions of the Constitution sometimes quire interpretation; and you will say that the truettent and meaning of its language—if not of its history -is expressed by the whole people of the United States,' through all their authorised meliums, julcial and political,' &c., and having in this case, 'the question is authoritatively settled by youd a reasonable doubt.' Now, I assert that there no such thing as a united opinion on this question will the 'whole people of the United States,' and that I there were, there is no 'medium' whatever which as thorised to express that opinion judicially. The julga of the United States Courts are only authorised to d press their own constructions of any law or the Constution; and this expression is not binding, either meally or legally, upon any of the people, except the juties in trial. No general question whatever is said Connected with this is another consideration, er

looked by you, as, indeed, by most persons. The Costitution of the United States does not authorize the judiciary to assume or exercise any legislative power. On referring to Art. 3d, where the extent of their je risdiction is stated, it will be seen that their 'judicia power' extends only to 'cases,' and not to principles and as all power not expressly granted to any brank of the United States government is reserved from it, this judicial power does not extend beyond the cases with respectively come before it, to other future cases, have er similar in principle. A judge is authorised to apply his construction of the Constitution, or a law of Co gress, to the case in hand ; but if his decises is to be an suthoritative guide to future decisions is similar cases, precluding reexamination of such applicable in future trials, then this decision ceases to be a me judgment, and becomes an explanatory amendment a the law, which is an act of legislation, not allevel by the Constitution.

If these reasonings are sound, it results that no questions are sound, it results that no questions are sound.

tion of law of the United States, not expressly determined by the words of the Constitution itself, is ren authoritatively settled, beyond a reasonable doubt.

Not wishing to occupy more space, I fortear to oment particularly on the second quotatics you have made from Mr. Spooner's work, except to express my surprise that an argument, designed only to shor at abstract truth or right, should be met only by a pr sentation of the difficulty of practical execution; 67 cially by a Disunion Abolitionist, who professes to guided by abstract right, in disregard of alleged in pasticability. How Mr. Spooner's interpretation of Constitution is either civil war on the one hand, or s dissolution of the Union on the other, I cannot see, and should be glad to have it shown to me. It seems is pa

that his views are calculated to prevent either. I repeat my deep sympathy with you in your gont anti-slavery views; but those you hold on the Condtution of the United States appear to me to be an extraction to your progress in that noble cause; and my desire for its promotion is my chief metire for discussion those views in this communication.

P. S. I do not believe there is any thing is the Com stitution of the United States, which, either in desgra or effect, tends to promote or perpetuate slaver; hence, that the most thoroughly anti-slavery man man conscientiously give his adherence to it :- and I as willing to discuss this proposition in THE LIBERATUS, I you desire it.

REPLY. "J. P. B." does not agree with us sad its whole nation in regarding the U.S. Constitution as one taining certain pro-slavery guaranties; and ve and the whole nation totally dissent from 'J. P. B. 'in his opinion, that it is, and was designed to be, exclusively anti-slavery instrument. 'The ayes have it.' PLENARY INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON. placed in Hartford, Ct., at the Bible Convention.

[SHONOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY A. 7. GRAHAM.]

This afternoon, I offered a series of recolutions, and wasted that perhaps, at some subsequent stage of our processor, I would endeavor to say a few words in

per defence. at down, (Mr. Storrs.) I have listened, in my time at the s. (Ar. arguments which I have deemed exsellingly fallacious and extraordinary; but I must say, aroun mind, more fallacious and extraordinary than and (Applause and hissing.) However, on this occa I waive any examination of what he has said waite any the attention of this great assem lage to what I conceive to be the real point at issue but friend (Mr. Storrs) has said, that the plenary inprinted of the Bible is not the question before us; not as he seem to regard it as of any importance.

Ber. Mr. Storms-I beg to correct the statement of despeaker. I do not think that the question is not as to de inspiration of the Scriptures, but I think that the selbility of the witnesses should be considered as esshifty of the withtess should be considered as escasedel with that inspiration.

Mr. Garrison-Our friend 'asked, who believed the every thing in the Bible was given by inspiration? The believes that all the books of the Old and New totament were dictated by God, and written under the best superintendence of his spirit? I answer, all rangelical Christendom professes to believe in the ple-ary inspiration of the Bible. Have you not been ages to believe it and that to doubt it, and especially and to believe it—and that to doubt it, and especially leng it, is nothing better than rank infidelity live not books and sermons been published, by theo lical professors and eminent divines, to prove that erry portion of the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation. sers the divine impress, and is to be implicitly receive of as the truth? Is not that volume styled ' the sacred Scriptures '- the holy Bible '-without exception or sermination, from beginning to end ? And is it not agnatically presented to us as the only rule of faith ud practice? Now, regarding this as the real question gissut, I propose to meet it at this time, and therefore ril read the resolutions which I offered this afternoon rith express reference to it :

(llaving read his resolutions, which were listened to rid great attention, and greeted with cheers and occa smal hisses, Mr. G. proceeded to remark :--]

Mr. Chairman-The object which has brought us to other is, undeniably, a very important one. The quesas before us should be discussed in sincerity of spirit not the utmost candor, and with that gravity which blogs to it. It is not that my hands are not full-it sutthat my mind is not pre-occupied with other matsmel great importance to the cause of Liberty and Bassafty-that I am with you on this occasion ; bu as mainly because your Convention, being called for a god and lawful object, is nevertheless an unpopular neting. (Cries of 'hear, hear.') God forbid that I sould be ascertaining for myself, where the popnerdere be safe as to my reputation! A popular but does not need my aid, and I shall not proffer any a that direction. A hunted, prescribed, outlawed rsth commends itself to my warmest support; and but by choice and by destiny, I feel that I am allied to i, now and for ever. (Cheers.)

Sr, I know well the cost of an appearance in a Con sestion of this kind. I anticipate all that will be said, raliciously and opprobriously, on both sides of the Atlatis, in regard to the resolutions which I have read in pir bearing, and to my participancy in your proceed ng. Already, I hear the outery of 'Infidel ! infidel ! numer. !' on the part of those occupants of the pulpit, vho, while they are strong in their 'coward's castle. seer dare to make their appearance on a free platform before the people. I know, moreover, it will be said that this is another evidence of the infidel character of the anti-slavery movement. I know that the American Anti-Slavery Society will, by the bigoted and pharisai al, by the designing and wicked, be held responsible be the sentiments I may utter on this occasion. Shall I, therefore, be dumb? . Will it indeed injure the cause dear to my heart, for me thoughts, conscientiously, about the Bible? I do not believe it. Have I any right to speak on any other subjet than American slavery?-or am I morally bound to gire it my undivided attention? Why, Sir, no freedom of speech or inquiry is conceded to me in this land. Am I not vehemently told, both at the North and at the South, that I have no right to meddle with the question of slavery? And my right to speak on any ther subject, in opposition to public opinion, is equalb denied to me-not, it is true, by the strong arm of pternment, but by the cowardly and tyrannical in pirit. Now, I stand here, not as an abelitionist, not to represent the anti-slavery cause, but simply as a man, attering my own thoughts, on my own responsibility and, therefore, whoever shall avail himself of my preere here, to make me odious as the advocate of the fare, or to subject any anti-slavery body to reproach on that account, will reveal himself in his true characbr-that of a bigot, a hypocrite, or a falsifier.

Sr, let me illustrate our position, as a Convention, is regard to the authenticity and infallibility of the

If a meeting were to be called at St. Petersburgh, in Rasis, to inquire into the 'divine right' of Nicholas to rule autocratically over that empire, there would be ta intense excitement in that city, and the daring inditideals, assembling to take part in the proceedings wall be hurried off to prison, and perhaps capitally junished, for their 'treasonable 'conduct. You and !

If a meeting were to be called at Rome, in Italy, in uire into the infallibility of the Romish Church, vould excite popular indignation, and the individuals attending it would be in imminent danger of their less from the power of the Pope on one hand, and the hand fury of the populace on the other. You and I know the reason why.

If, in Mohammedan countries, a meeting should b alled to inquire into the sacredness of the Koran, speral excitement would follow, doubtless, and the ing man venturing to raise that issue would be ted down as an 'infidel,' unfit to live. You and I know the reason why.

So, let a meeting be called in Charleston, South Car tins, to inquire into the rightfulness of the slave sys en, and Lynch-law would be instantly applied to the has or men who should venture to come together to such any such inquiry. Such a meeting would not be birrated for a moment. You and I know the reason

Sr, the analogy is perfect, in my opinion. The holdas of this Convention, in evangelical Connecticut, subjects its members to scorn and contumely, if no a bodily peril ! In this case, too, you and I know the on why. Yet, sir, ours is a free meeting-free for as an anti-slavery meeting in Charleston would befree; as a meeting at Rome, to inquire into the inall billity of the Romish Church, would be free; as a betting at St. Petersburgh, to canvas the right of clas to exercise absolute power, would be freeis, if such could be held.

We are told, on the right hand and on the left, that be fact of the plenary inspiration of the Bible is as the noon-day sun. It is so well settled, that it abourd to think of disturbing it. There is all the dence that the human mind can desire to sustain the aration, that God did give this book to us to be the the rule of faith and practice. Well, if it be so, then ber who question the divinity of the Bible are the

men to dread an open encounter. In that very book, man should be king over us, Paul and Peter to the con we are assured that ' the righteous are as bold as a lion, we are assured that 'the righteous are as bold as a lion, trary notwithstanding. (Applause.) Is this to be but the wicked flee when no man pursueth.' (Ap-lieve the Bible, or to reject it? Which is the 'infidel

think that the quiet of the most thosoughly temperance town in America would be greatly disturbed, should a inence is sound, and invite all the teetotallers to come

themselves. They deprecate all agitation, and know man race? Then he interprets the Bible in accordan

alleged that this Convention has been called by heretics ' and ' infidels.' Be it so, for the argument's sake. The platform is, nevertheless, free for all, and each side s to be fairly and fully heard. It is, therefore, just the occasion that the professed believers in the holy origin and divine authority of the Bible should be glad to improve, to the discomfiture of those who would strip the book of at least no small portion of its sanctity. And so they would, instead of shrinking from the discussion, and exciting popular indignation, if they really had any intelligent and rational belief on the subject The book may be all that they affirm in its behalf, but by their conduct they show that they have no solid faith in its divinity; for, if they had, they would rejoice to stand here, (as abolitionists and tectotallers are glad to stand in the presence of the advocates of slavery and rum,) and give 'a reason for the faith that is

Sir, what is the question before us? It is not, whether the Bible, in many parts of it, is not an invaluable book. It is It is not, whether it does not contain many glo rious truths and precious promises. It does. It is not, whether it has not many righteous commands and excellent precepts, which ought to be obeyed. It has. It is not, whether it has not been of more good than harm to mankind, in spite of all its errors and perversions. I

. The question is,-Is the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, an inspired book, so that we are bound to receive every thing as true in its pages, without submitting it to the test of reason? If it be not wholly inspired, as our friend, Mr. Storns, admits it is not, then ow much of it is inspired?

REV. MR. STORRS. All that claims to be.

MR. GARRISON. How much claims to be inspired and how much not inspired-and who shall determin the question? I should like to see the man here-any where-to take that book, and, beginning at Genesis proceed through the entire volume, and put his finger upon what he considers as given by inspiration of God, and see how much he will leave of it, and what are his ideas of inspiration.

Now, the assertion, that every thing in the Bible is inspired, is the height of absurdity. To say, for example, that it required a revelation from beaven to record the fact that Samson went to sleep with his head in the lap of Delilah-or that he caught three hundred foxes, and tied their tails together, and put a fire-brand between them-is folly. When it is narrated that a viper came out of the fire and fastened itself upon Paul's hand, is this inspiration ? And so of ten thousand incidents chronicled in the Bible. What a man can see with his own eyes, it requires no supernatural aid to record. Hence, if only a part of the Bible is inspired, it is not wholly inspired ; if only a part of it is from above, it is not all from above; if only some portion of war must be wrong, and God never authorised it. If generally claimed for it is false, and whatever is false is injurious to the world. How is the quantity of inspiration to be authoritatively settled?

All Christendom professes to receive the Bible as the word of God, and what does it avail? What does all Christendom say as to the teachings of the book? Out of this 'inspired' volume comes Romanism; for Rome believes in the Bible. Out of it comes Mormonism ; for the Mormons believe in the Bible. Out of it come Episcopalianism, Swedenborgianism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, and all the other sects, whose name is legion All these claim a divine sanction from the Bible; and yet they are strongly arrayed against each other-rejecting each other's interpretation of the book, and each aiming to exterminate all the rest.

Now, certainly, the Bible does not go for Romanism

and against it; for Episcopalianism, and against it; for Presbyterianism, and against it; for Methodism and against it; for Universalism, and against it-&c. &c. &c. If it does, then it is a book full of glaring contradictions, and, of course, cannot have had a divine Who is it, I ask, that believes in the Bible? What

is it to believe in the Bible? A man tells me that he receives it all as the inspired word of God. What does that prove? Nothing. It gives me no knowledge of his mind or heart. He might just as well have remainthis inspired word teach and require? He begins to tell faith or practice. I have said that all Christendor so on, ad infinitum! What, then, have I ascertained? enjoins? No-but simply what he thinks is inspired he believes on this subject, is one thing; what the exble, is, ' In my judgment and my conscience, it teaches self-conceit and infallibility must cease. this or that doctrine, which I regard as heaven-de-rived '---but holding himself liable to be mistaken, and divine authenticity of the Bible evince the most uneasiready at all times to be corrected. We must have no ness whenever it is proposed to make an independent papal assumption in this discussion. Thank God for investigation of its claims. For example : this Conver the great doctrine of Protestantism-the right of private tion was fairly and impartially called, in language judgment as to the teachings of any book, as to what is wholly unexceptionable, and in a kind and magnan the truth,—even against all ecclesiastical edicts and mous spirit; and the elerical advocates of plenary in theological dogmas ever promulgated. 'So, then, every spiration were especially invited to attend. Where are one of us must give account of himself,' not to the Rothey? Will they say that the Convention is beneath mish Pope, not to the Presbyterian General Assembly, their notice? Is this the reason that they are absent but 'unto God.' Therefore, it is your prerogative and We have had, it is true, two of the clerical profession to mine, to take the Bible and examine it for ourselves—
accepting whatever of truth, and rejecting whatever of error we discover in its pages, though all the rest of George Storms, whom I have not seen for some time—a cred right, to be exercised without persecution or con-

eternal punishment for the wicked; another says, it theologically erratic. He can afford to stand here bet teaches no such doctrine, but just the reverse-univer- ter than he could to be an abolitionist, for it will cost sal and ultimate salvation. One says, it teaches that him nothing. And his friend and associate (Mr. Tun-God exists in a trinity; another says, it teaches express- xxx) is in the same category, as to his theological views ly the unity of God. In Russia, its religious expoun- None of us have any reputation to lose; and so we are ders say it sanctions autocracy as a rightful form of government. Nicholas himself believes in the Bible, only it is the Bible so interpreted as to go for Nicholas. Where are the teachers and masters in Israel? 'In-(Laughter.) In England, the Bible expositors say that it sanctions a limited monarchy, and enjoins this 'evangelical' clergy of our country felt that they could as a duty—'Honor the king.' In our country, they as-sert that the Bible goes for republicanism; and that no question before the people, they would not be slow to

party in this confusion of tongues? Again :- Does the Bible inculcate the doctrine of total depravity, and ye any anti-elavery town, (if you can find such an anomaly in the United States,) and let it be announced that tism, and then for sprinkling or for pouring? Does ly in the United States,) and let it be announced that the platform will be free to ail, and that the humanity of the anti-slavery movement will be the subject of investigation. I do not think that there would be any angry excitement on the part of the abolitionists. I do not believe that they would keep away from the meeting. I am sure they would keep away from the meeting. I am sure they would keep away from the meeting. I am sure they would keep away from the meeting. I am sure they would keep away from the meeting. I am sure they would say, 'That is just what we want! Our cause will gain new adherents by this investigation. We will not fail to be present.' Nor do I state? Of course it does, of the other side of the At-State? Of course it does, on the other side of the Atlantic ; but, on this side, it does no such thing. Does i body of rum-sellers and moderate drinkers call a meet-ing in it, to consider whether the doctrine of total-ab-

which is 'in spirit and in truth'? and participate in the discussion. I think the friends of temperance would say, 'It will be an excellent opportunity afforded us to do something more for our glofor the book. It is as plastic as clay in the hands of the rious cause. We shall be able to confront the very men potter, and moulded into any conceivable shape. Is who have hitherto stood aloof from us, and who need to man a warrior? He goes to the Bible with the war be reformed. We will gladly accept the invitation.' spirit, and, running over its pages, he picks out wha But, sir the opponents of abelitionism call no such he says justifies him in his military profession. Is it meeting, and make no such overtures. The fact is exactly the reverse of this. They are consciously in the examines the book with that intent, and all he finds in wrong. Rumsellers and moderate drinkers never invite tectotallers to stand upon the same platform with Does a man believe in enslaving a portion of the hu full well they have every thing to lose by an open en- with his theory, and proclaims the system to be divinely instituted. Is he an abolitionist? Then he does what i him lies to make it the ally of freedom.

So we have these various interpretations, and they are without end, whether relating to the existence and attributes of God, to the nature and mission of Jesus to religious rites and duties, to matters of faith and practice, to what belongs to the past or concerns the future, to time or to eternity. Now, which of these reliable, and who is to assume the robes of infallibility Who accepts or who rejects the Bible? Is it Trinitari an or Unitarian, Calvinist or Universalist, Monarchist or Republican, Slaveholder or Abolitionist?

Now let us come to something practical. Here is the juestion of slavery. Shall we go to the Bible to learn our duty in regard to it, or to determine its character We shall never settle it by any such reference. The Bible never yet settled any controversy. Every thing must be decided upon its own merits. We must judge of the tree by its fruit. Facts are more decisive than verbal declarations. Let us look at the slave system as it is in a legal and practical point of view. If it works well for our country, and scatters blessings wherever it goes, then I do not care what any book in the universe says I will go for it. But it is impossible to gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles.

Here is the question of capital punishment. How t to be settled? By appealing to the Bible? Never. You may find texts on one side, and texts on the other ; and all the time you are wrangling about what the Bible teaches, the necks of men will continue to be broken. Now, if it can be shown that the gallows prevents the shedding of human blood, restrains from the commission of crime, and benefits society, it needs no other defence. But this cannot be done, and the reverse of this is true; therefore, the gallows should be cast down, no matter what may be said in any book to the

So in regard to war. If its fruits are good-if it in roves the manners and morals of those who engage n it-if it is promotive of human happiness and free dom, then its justification is made out. But if, on the other hand, it militates against the progress of the human race, and against human liberty, then it was never justifiable, and ought never to be countenanced.

Have we an infinite God or a finite one ?- one who is he same from everlasting to everlasting, or one who has no fixed laws by which he governs the universe? Does God, in one age of the world, not only authorise out require his children to perpetrate deeds, which, in another age, are inherently cruel and morally wrong in his eyes? Are the laws of our being changeable? Are our relations to him, and to each other, evanescent or mutable, or are they not always the same, though often misunderstood and disregarded?

Now, remember, that moral distinctions are never terchangeable and never conflictive. Thus, 'war,' means all that belongs to war-' peace,' all that pertains to peace. If peace be right, and God requires it, authorised any man to tell a lie. If God commands a certain thing to be done, as in accordance with his own will, and because it is right, at one time, he never commands an opposite thing to be done at another period. He never can make wrong right, or right wrong-what is obelience to-day, sin to-morrow. Otherwise, we have a changeable, fickle, finite God, who rules capriciously in the universe, and knows not what a day may bring forth. But the Bible represents God in this dou-ble character; therefore, it is fallible, and not divinely

I have no doubt that the writers of the Old Testa nent, whoever they were, believed what they put down when they wrote, 'And the Lord said unto Moses,' 'unto Joshua," and to many others, ' Let this be done,' or See that ye do it not.' I do not accuse them of designng to palm off on the world a falsehood. I presum they wrote according to their highest conceptions of the character of God. Doubtless, they believed, -or, i you prefer, Moses himself believed, -that the Lord required all that is alleged by them. But this proves nothing, excepting that those writers, though honest were wofully mistaken as to the mind of God, as many have been since their day.

What is to be gained by getting the assent of the whole world to the doctrine of the plenary inspiration ed dumb. I therefore proceed to ask him, What does of the Bible? You do not thereby attain to unity of me; and I find he is either a Papist, a Mormon, a professes to receive the Bible as from God; yet al Swedenborgian, a Presbyterian, or a Universalist-and Christendom is full of strife in regard to what are the teachings of the book. What then is the conclusion o What divine inspiration is? What the Bible actually the whole matter? All that we can get from any one is, simply, what he believes the Bible teaches-nothin and what he interprets the Bible to mean. Now, what more. He may, or may not, correctly interpret its meaning; but his interpretation is not necessarily the act truth is, is quite another. The most any man can Bible, nor his notion of inspiration, inspiration itself say, with any degree of humility, in regard to the Bi- Each one must decide for himself, and all dogmatism

mankind dissent from our conclusions. This is not to be man who, in the darkest period of the anti-slavery strug granted to us as an indulgence, but conceded as a sa- gie, dared to look the Slave Power in the face, and stoor up like a man in defence of the down-trodden slave though branded as a fanatic and ultraist. He is here Sir, what does the Bible teach? One says, it teaches but unfrocked by the popular clergy, and regarded a

come here, carry off all the honors, and put the laurel

wreath around their brows. (Applause and hisses.)

One of my resolutions affirms unequivocally, that if public sentiment should demand of the American clergy that they cast the Bible into the flames, they would as that they cast the Bible into the flames, they would as readily do it to-morrow, as to-day they are loud and voluble in their endorsement of it, in accordance with public sentiment. Is this an unjust charge? Do not the facts of the case warrant it? Where, as a body, do they stand? Are they not always on the popular side—always going with the multitude, even if it be to do evil? When, or where, in any instance, have they dared to grapple with a corrupt public sentiment, and to run the risk of losing their salary and position in society? I tell you that the men who can see the image of God descerated, and three millions of their own countrymen trampled into the dust, and turned into goods and chattels, and sanction the awful deed, because public sentiment demands it at their hands, are the men who would just as readily throw the Bible—all the books in the universe—into the flames, if the same pressure was Is saved in our land. The greater includes the less; 'for whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifies the gift '—a MAN or a nook? The clergy of the country, with here and there an exceptional case, have no other God before them than public sentiment. Just as public sentiment changes, they change. They have no 'higher law.' They are facile trimmers and obsequious time-servers. And it is so in the nature of the case of the end of Robert Brown, Esq. in Storeley, a village about six miles from Baltimore, where he had gone hoping that a change of climate and scenery might be a henceft to his fast declining health. The deceased was 69 years of age on the 25th of December last. The remains reached Boston on Saturday, and were entombed on Tuesday.

The Average of Robert Brown, Esq. in Storeley, a village about six miles from Baltimore, where he had gone hoping that a change of climate and scenery might be a henceft to his fast declining health. The deceased was 69 years of age on the 25th of December last. The remains reached Boston on Saturday, and were entombed on Tuesday. case; for, by their very position, they must necessarily conform to the views of their employers, or they will not be employed; and so they are fearfully tempted, all the way through, to suppress their convictions of duty, where an unpopular truth is struggling upward, lest they shall be turned out of house and home, with their wives and little ones, not knowing where to lay their heads. It is a trying and terrible position; and the ronder is not that so many of them fall, but that any of them are able to preserve their integrity. But they are none the less guilty for being thus tempted; for they claim to be dead to the world, ambassadors of the despised Nazarene, 'watchmen upon the walls of Ziou,' and are therefore to be measured by their own standard, and condemned out of their own mouths.

Mr. Chairman, is it indeed true that the Bible i the word of God'? Is it 'able to make men wise unto salvation & Is its circulation essential to the redemption of the world? So we are told by the clergy and the church. Then look at this soul-harrowing fact. As a nation, we are overwhelmingly orthodox; yet what are we doing? An act of unbeard of monstrosi y! We have deliberately conspired, with Satanic maignity, to prevent one-sixth portion of our population from having the Bible, so that they may not know what it is that God requires so that they may have no chance for their souls' salvation-so that their eternal damnation may be made sure !! For is it not a fundadamnation may be made sure!! For is it not a fundamental doctrine in the orthodox creed, that those who die in their sins, unrepentant, shall be damned beyond recovery? And yet, this orthodox nation makes 'the word of God' a sealed book to three millions of people, who are groping in darkness, 'without God and without god and with contract of the sealed book to three millions of people, who are groping in darkness, 'without God and with contract of the sealed book to three millions of people, who are groping in darkness, 'without God and with contract of the sealed book to three millions of people, who are groping in darkness, 'without God and with contract of the sealed book to three millions of people, who are groping in darkness, 'without God and with contract of the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are grouped to the sealed book to three millions of people, who are

thought, that, believing it, they deliberately strike down the sacred institution of marriage, at a blow; make 'Sodom and Gomorrah' the condition of the whole Southern country; take away the Bible, and the means of learning the way of salvation; corrupt, debanch and imbrute, on a colossal scale; so as to make means of learning the way of salvation; corrupt, debanch and imbrute, on a colossal scale; so as to make the damnation of their victims inevitable, according to their ownered! No, sir—I choose not to credit what they say they believe in regard to those who die unrepentant; for, otherwise, it makes them monsters in the pentant; for, otherwise, it makes them monsters in the constitutional Convention.—Bost. Cour. and traditional; they believe what it is fashionable to believe, and are careful never to be found in conflict with public opinion. Their plety walks in silver slippers.

his word. In this way, they acquire power, and subserve their own selfish purposes. They care nothing for the Bible, aside from their professional calling. It is 'the means whereby they live,' and get reputation and influence. They belong to the class whom Jesus branded as 'blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel '- ' hypocrites, who shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves nor suffering them that are entering to go in '- ' for all their works they do to be seen of men.'

Yes, sir-' to be seen of men'! They must be deferentially recognised in their professional garb, or their piety will not operate. Let me give you an illustration. Formerly, it was customary in our anti-slavery meetings to call directly upon this or that clergynan present to offer vocal prayer; and there was never any backwardness on their part, so long as they were singled out, and it was officially announced from the platform that ' the Rev. Dr. - ' or ' the Rev. Prowould invoke the blessing of Heaven upon the object for which we had assembled. Afterwards, partly to give no offence to our Quaker associates, but mainly to abolish every distinction of this kind on the anti-slavery platform, this formality was dispensed with ; and while, as hitherto, an opportunity was granted for vocal prayer, it was left to the spontaneous prompting of the soul that might feel moved to offer it, without regard to station. What, sir, has been the result? Those reverend interceders have never since offered up a single supplication, though sometimes resent in great number! Yet they say it indicates sad lack of devotional feeling to open such meetings without prayer in the manner designated. Why, then, have they remained dumb? No matter what may be their reply-their professional pride has been wounded, or they 'love to be seen of men.'

So in regard to the Bible. Professionally, they will do it homage, so long as they can profit by it. They will interpret it only to the extent that public sentiment will bear. They have no vision for the future, but live n the past. They dare not be men, now. No reform atory movement receives any countenance from them; for they are among the wise and prudent, and, instead of being willing to be made of no reputation, like the Master whom they profess to follow, demonstrate by their lives that they love the praises of men more than he praise of God.

I shall reserve what I have to say, in further elucidation of this subject, for another oc

THE BIBLE CONVENTION AT HARTFORD We made two speeches at that Convention, the first f which we lay before our readers in the present num ber. All that we ask in regard to it, is, that it be read with as little prejudice and as much candor as possible If those religious journals, which have represented us as having uttered 'blasphemous' (!) sentiments on that occasion, would only copy what we said, in full, we would be content

BIRLE DISCUSSION. There is to be a public disc at Salem, Ohio, commencing on the 4th of July, and continuing four days, between Rev. Jonas Harteell, of Hopedale, Harrison Co., and Joseph Barken, of

tion met at Springfield, on Wednesday, last week, when Dr. Hitchcock, of Amberst, was chosen President; also, cloven Vice-Presidents, and four Secretaries.

Dr. Hitchcock, of Amherst, was chosen President; cleven Vice-Presidents, and four Secretaries.

A discussion arose as to the best manner to org; for the ensuing year; finally voted to appoint a Central Committee, as in years past, as follows-B. Spooner, B. W. Williams, Moses Mellen, Bos Edwin Thompson, Walpole; Charles Jewett, Millb

The Attempted regro Insurrection of Livest Orleans, &c.—A preliminary examination of Dyson, the man charged with inciting the late attempted in-surrection among the slaves, took place at New Orleans on the 22d instant. The evidence was sufficient to in-duce the Recorder to bind him and the slave Albert over for trial in the District Court.

Smash-up and Death on the Western Railroad.—The mail train from New York did not arrive in
Boston at the usual hour Friday evening, in consequence
of an accident at the East Brookfield depot. The
switchman had turned the switch the urong way, in
consequence of which the express train ran into a
freight train on the other line. The engine flew from
the track, the baggage car was broken in two, and the
middle portion of it crushed to pieces; the first of the
five passenger cars turned partly over, and was broken
in at the back and side. William Johnson, of Worcester, had his skull broken, and was taken up dead. The
others in this car, including deacon J. A. Palmer, Rev.
Mr. Clark of East Boston, Dr. Lyman Beecher, and
several reporters and delegates from the Temperance
Convention, had a narrow escape. The second, third
and fourth passenger cars were thrown from the track,
and damaged. The daughter of the Rev. Dr. Neale, of
this city, on her return from New York, was injured in
the shoulder, but was able to come to town in the ac-Smash-up and Death on the Western Rail the shoulder, but was able to come to town in the accommodation train, which brought down the mails an passengers. Mr. Russell, conductor of the express train, was badly injured. Others were seriously hurt —Boston Post.

Terrible Death on the Maine Railroad Mr. Winthrop Richardson, a retired tailor, and a man very well known in this city, met with a shocking death who are groping in darkness, 'without God and without hope,' and, by reducing them as near as possible to the brute creation, endeavors to force them down to hell, under the slave-driver's lash! Oh! if there be such a place as the hell described, and if there be in it one portion lower and hotter than another, surely, it must be reserved for those who are doing this work of damnation to those whom they enslave!

But I am not willing to take the American elergy and church at their word, though they claim to be transposed. They cannot believe in such a dectring.

They cannot believe in such a dectring. 'evangelical.' They cannot believe in such a doctrine, or in such a place of torment. It is too horrid a along the track for some distance. Not a limb escaped

Steamboat Explosion-Five Persons Killed. -On the morning of the 22d ult., the steam propeller Challenge, bound down from Chicago, exploded her boiler when 20 miles below Mackinaw, killing five The clergy generally teach that the Bible is from God, and we must not question its divinity or authority; and stern of the boat was entirely destroyed, and she sunk in five minutes. There were some fifteen passengers thus they attempt to stultify our reason. Then they claim that God has called them to be the expounders of on board, who were picked up by the schooner North

The ship Aurora, Capt. Cherry, bound from Hull to New York, foundered at sea, taking down with her 29 of the crew and passengers. The captain and twelve others were saved

Terrible Fatality .- No less than twenty-nine cases of sun-stroke, or sudden and dangerous illness from the effects of the heat, occurred in New York or Tuesday and Wednesday, of which the thy-four resulted fatally. The victims were principally laborers. Such a fatality from cholera would have spread consternation throughout the city.—Boston Journal.

Explosion.-The steamer Wayne burst he poiler in Newbern River, N. C., on Sunday, killing four nen and one woman, all negroes. The boat afterwards

Loss of Life.-The whaling ship Benjamin Rush, which sailed for a cruise on the 13th of October, 1852, returned to Warren, R. L., on the 17th inst., having lost Captain Munro and three of the crew, (one of them named William Betts, of New York,) by a whale on the night of the 24th February. Capt. M. belonged

Remarkable Escape.—The Montreal Gazette of the 1st inst., in a postscript, makes simple mention of a very remarkable escape of three hundred passengers from the consequences of a steamboat explosion. That number of persons had just landed from the steamer St. Pierre, when the boilers exploded, killing eight persons—all that remained on board of the boat. The destruction of the years were complete that destruction of the vessel was so complete, that very few of the three hundred could have escaped, if the explo-sion had occurred five minutes sooner.

A terrible riot occurred on the night o the 22d of June, at the house of Dr. George N. Wheeler in Seventh street, New York city, caused by the find ing of some human bones on the premises. A mob of three thousand collected, armed with clubs, axes and stones. Dr. Wheeler's store and dwelling were attack ed, and the inmates driven out, and the premises com pletely gutted. Nobody killed. Some of the polic

Escape of Slaves .- Night before last, ter Slaves belonging to citizens of Newport made their escape. No effort was made by the owners to capture them. The means by which, and the time when the river was crossed, are not known.—Cincianali Commercial, Tuesday

Slare Escaped .- A man named Geo. Slashe Stare Escaped.—A man named Geo. Slasher got on board the Telegraph No. 3, at Rising Sun, Indiana, on Friday night, with a negro slave, bound for Greenupsburg, Ky. He locked the negro in a state-room, and proceeded to enjoy himself. Just after returning from a visit to the saloous, be heard a splash in the water, and soon discovered that his slave was gone. The supposition is, that the fellow jumped overboard and swam ashore.

Dr. Maddox, of Louisiana, en route for the East, with his family, passed through Cincinnati on Friday last, and while there, gave freedom to three of his slaves, who were in company, one boy and two girls. He also gave them a liberal supply of money to provide for their wants until his return from the East, when he proposes to have their free papers regularly made out.

A negro man died in New York las week from eating strawberries. A wager had been laid that he could not eat ten baskets full. He accomplish-ed the feat, won the wager, and died almost immedi-

Destructive Fire in Boston .- A fire brok of Hopedale, Harrison Co., and Joseph Barris, of Salem, Columbiana Co., on the following proposition: The Jewish and Christian Scriptures contain a series of communications, supernaturally revealed and mirraculously attested: from the latter, man may acquire a perfect rule of life. The affirmative of the proposition will be maintained by Mr. Hartzell; the negative, by Mr. Barker.

Destructive Fire in Boston.—A fire broke out about 10 o'clock last Tuesday morning, in the granite stores Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 North Market street, owned by Albert Lawrence and occupied by H. Saford, chair painter; Marshall and Simonds, tailors; Eaton and Kilham, produce dealers, and Weld and Wellington, will probably reach \$15,000 to \$20,000 which is partially insured at the Merchant's and Fireman's offices in this city. Mutices of Meetings, &c.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture on the Reforms of the Age, at East Abington, on Sunday next, July 3d. 'Text-' What shall we do to be saved ?'

PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Mass.
Anti-Slavery Society, will speak as follows:
Hyannis.
Sunday...July 8.

TA public meeting, on the FOURTH OF JULY, will be held in the Unitarian meeting-house at NORTH DENNIS, at which PARKER PILISBURY will deliver a Lecture on the French Revolution.

OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. ANNUAL MEETING. The nineteenth annual meeting of the Plymouth County (Old Colony) Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Town Hall at Scituate, on

Sunday, July 17.

The excellent place for the meeting, and the occasion, we trust, will draw together a goodly number of our friends from all sections of the county. Names of speakers hereafter. BOURNE SPOONER, President.

H. H. BRIGHAM, Sec'ry.

PLYMOUTH COUNTY. A meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Bosworth's Hall, West Duxbury, on Sunday, July 10. Andrew T. Foss and others will address the meeting. In behalf of the Society.

LEWIS FORD.

MRS. ABBY H. PRICE, an Agent of the Worcester County (South) Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at SOUTH MILFORD, on Sunday, July 8d, in the

COLORED NATIONAL CONVENTION.

COLORED NATIONAL CONVENTION.

A Call for a National Convention of the People of Color, to meet at Rochester, N. Y., on the 6th of July, has been issued by prominent and well-known Colored men in New England and the Middle and Western States. The object is a free mutual conference upon their present condition, and the wisest means to be adopted for their welfare and improvement.

The Call is signed by Rev. Dr. Pennington, Dr. J. McCune Smith, Frederick Douglass, Wm. H. Topp, Geo. T. Downing, W. H. Day, Prof. C. L. Reason, C. L. Remond, and twenty-five or thirty leading colored men.

De Letters and papers for LUCY STONE must be addressed to her at West Brookfield, Mass., until further notice.

DIED-In this city, June 28, at his residence is Chambers street, ALLEN CROCKER SPOONER, Esq., ages 39. His remains were taken to Plymouth for interment

DR. JOHN V. DEGRASSE, M. D., OFFICE No. 40 POPLAR STREET, BOSTON.

'PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.'

THE Proceedings, in pamphlet form, of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, recently held at Old Kennett, embracing the Minutes, the Exposition of Sentiments, the Testimonies on Intemperance, Slavery, War, Tobacco, &c., and the Letters addressed to the body by William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, T. W. Higginson, Cassius M. Clay, and others, are for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Price, 10 cents single; \$1 per dozen.

hill. Price, 10 cents single; SI per dozen.

The avails will be expended in the gratuitous circulation of the 'Exposition of Sentiments,' which has been stereotyped for that purpose. Send in your orders before the edition is exhausted.

THE JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR, A semi-monthly Paper, expressly for Children.

T aims to attract the attention of children by simplicity and ity and beauty of style, with engravings illustra-tive of its contents. Its object has been, for eight years past, to infuse into the young mind appropriate senti-ments of respect for parents, sympathy for human suf-fering, and an abiding hatred of oppression in all its

forms.

The want of a Juvenile paper that shall give a proper direction to the youthful mind in these times of strife direction to the youthful mind in these times of strife directions. for the supremacy of slavery, is felt by thousands who know not of the existence of this periodical, And yet, within the last eight years, it has moulded the minds of thousands of children who have grown up to manhood and womanhood, thoroar hay imbued with the love of

and womanhood, therear bly imbued with the love of freedom for all men.

Price, 25 ets. per year, single copies; five copies to one address for \$1.00; or \$12.00 by the hundred, per year. Postage in New York State, six cents per year—elsewhere, 12 cents. But in packages of 24 or more, the postage, prepaid at the office of publication, is only four cents each per year.

Specimen number, free of charge, sent on application at the office of publication.

LUCIUS C. MATLACK.

60 South st., Syracuse. June 24 3m

WORCESTER WATER CURE INSTITUTION. NO. 1 GLEN STREET.

THIS Institution is well arranged for the treatment of This institution is well arranged by the year.

Thinks, usually, for full board and treatment, from 7 to \$9 per week. For out of door treatment, \$3 per week.

S. ROGERS, M. D. June 24, 1858. 1y

NEW BOOKS. OP RARE INTEREST AND VALUE JUST PUBLISHED BY

JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY, ROSTON

OWING to the unparalleled draft upon our resources, during the past year, on account of the unexampled sale of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a large number of most valuable manuscripts were obliged to lie untouched in our safe, waiting a favorable moment to appear in print. We have availed ourselves of the earliest moment, and now offer them to the readers of good books. Most of them are issued. Those still in press will be published excelling. published speedily.

THE SHADY SIDE OR LIFE IN A COUNTRY PARSONAGE. BY A PASTOR'S WIFE.

This volume is designed, in a measure, as a contrast to that charming little book, Sunny Side, and we doubt not that it will meet with quite as favorable a reception as that work. It is written in an admirable style, and he who commences its perusal will hardly be able to stop until he has gone through. Price 75 cts.

Count Struenzee the Skeptic, and THE CHRISTIAN. TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY MRS. WILSON

This most interesting work contains the history of the last days of this distinguished man, and the account of his numerous interviews and conversations with his pastor, Muntor, through whose instrumentality he was led to abandon his skepticism, and embrace the religion of Jesus. Price 62 1-2 cts.

THE TRIAL BY JURY, BY LYSANDER SPOONER.

We need not inform the public that any work from Mr. Spooner's pen would be one of great research and learning—his logical acutences as a writer is too well known. This, his last, and perhaps his greatest effort, on the Trial by Jury, is destined to create a commotion in the world. Jurymen will learn their rights and duties from it, and also learn to what an alarming extent their rights and decision of the property of the prop their rights have been encroached upon. We bespeak for this able treatise a candid perusal. Price—\$1.25 in cloth; \$1.50 in law sheep.

White Slavery in the Barbary States BY HON. CHARLES SUMNER, U. S. S. Rlustrated with 50 superb designs by Billings, engraved by Baker, Smith & Andrews, Price, 50 cts.

by Baker, Smilk of Madreies, Price, 60 cfs.

This superb volume in its typography and illustrations, and elegant in its composition, being one of the finest productions of its accomplished author, is offered o the public in this most attractive form, with the hope that thousands may peruse its glowing pages, and from them receive fresh stimulus in their efforts to elevate humanity from degradation and wrong. They will learn from it that in years past, While Men as well as Blacks have felt the galling yoke of slavery.

The above valuable works are published by JOHN P. JEWETT & Co., BOSTON, And for sale by Booksellers generally.

pply Con-to be nilar bility mere ent of sd by oom-have a my w an pre-to be prac-f the or a and to me

be-re is with a if

auiges
exnstimorparttled
verconitis
rers
juicial
ides;
hich

eneral lensti-m ob-nd my

ussing B. e Con-design ; and n may I am roz. if

POETRY.

From the National Era. THE EMANCIPATOR.

"And that ye break every yoke." The loud notes are echoing o'er land-and o'er sea : 'Tis the march of the nineteenth century_ The quickstep of struggling humanity ;

Unbind!

There are millions of hearts now keeping time To that clarion voice ; for its notes sublime Are rousing the slumberers of every clime ; Unbind-unbind!

Unbind !

The slave hears the sound in the cane-fields afar : He is dreaming of freedom-he will follow her star; There are some who the wanderer's way will unbar: Unbind-unbind !

Unbind!

What though the monarch still sport with his crown, And the vaunting false priest wear the surplice and

The people are mighty, and power must bow down : Unbind-unbind!

Unbind!

The bridle of Custom is fast on us still-Her bit in our teeth-and she guides us at will ; Poor fools ! how she drives us o'er many a hill : Unbind-unbind!

Unbind! The world leads us captive; but we forge our ow

And wear it in spite of the gall and the pain ; Still we hoist up our banner, and strive to sustain : Unbind-unbind! Unbind!

The loud notes are echoing o'er land and o'er sea ; "Tis the march of the nineteenth century-The death-song of wrinkled Tyranny : Unbind-unbind! JANE GAY.

Scotland, Connecticut.

From the Olive Branch. PAITH AND DUTY. BY NEALE BERNARD.

Something ever doth impress us With a sense of right or wrong; Something waiteth still to bless us, As we journey life along ; Something viewless whispers to us Words of hope and promise sure : Voices speak prophetic through us, Of a life that shall endure ! There's a silent, voiceless teacher,

Striving with the human will; Unto each weak, earth-born creature Wisdom's lessons doth instil: Heed them, better grow and wiser, They will soften life's hot fray; Duty make your stern adviser. Aim to reach the perfect day.

Trust the high hopes that impel us, And inspire our firm belief,-They alone can well foretell us Human works how frail and brief: Trust the Gop that reigns above us, Faithful to his precepts be, He will guide, and guard, and love us, Through a blest eternity.

Heed the heavenly aspirations That imbue with hope the soul; Mark the glorious life-creations Flowing in without control : See in all things truth and beauty, Love o'erflowing from the skies, Exercising Faith and Duty, Earth would be a radise. Trov. N. Y., May, 1863

PERSEVERE. BY D. N. PINE.

Young man, toiling on obscurely, Struggling 'gainst an adverse tide. With a high and honest purpose, Which the mocking world deride Faint not, fear not, brave the current,

Face the storm, however rude, Truth will triumph, thou wilt conquer God will ne'er forsake the good.

Do the proud deride thy calling, Mock thy efforts at the start, With the scoffing coldness galling To thy proud and honest heart? Persevere! attain a station With the gifted and the great;

Those who now scorn thy vocation, Yet will gladly kiss thy feet Has the venom'd breath of slander On thy lonely fame been blown,

From the serpent-soul of envy, That would keep the worthy down? Persevere! with manly patience, Time will heal the wound you feel, From thy name such taint may vanish, As thy breath from burning steel.

For encouraging example, Scan the names on history's page, Those who most their race have honored, Giving glory to their age; Names of Newton and of Franklin, And a thousand more as bright, Names that gain increasing glory

With the world's increasing light.

Persevere! unccasing effort, Humble though and weak it be, May o'ercome whate'er opposes, And work miracles for thee; Be assured reward will follow, God will come to him who delves, Honest industry must prosper—
God helps those who help themselves.'

ON A SLAVE.

BY JOHN K. HOLMES. Who wants to wear the bondman's chain, The cankering links that bind the slave? Who wants to sweat through years of pain, And sink dishonored in the grave? Because thy limbs are not made straight, Because thy face is not made fair, Must it be thy inglorious fate To sink unpitied in despair?

If we are freemen, let us show That we have souls that still can feel ! If we are strong, then let us grow More lenient when the weak appeal They are the grand alone, who take Their suffering fellows by the hand; They are the brave alone, who break The shackles that have cursed the land.

From many a rice swamp swells a prayer, God of my fathers ! unto Thee ! In many a cabin's tainted air Tears fall like rain where none will see When the loud trump of Justice shakes This nation to its mighty heart. Then shall the sword that vengeance takes Make the last lank oppressor start.

BLANDER. A slanderer felt a serpent bite his side ; What followed from the bite? The serpent died. THE LIBERATOR

THE NEW PAITH-THE AMERICAN UNION. Panus, March 25, 1858.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON Sin,-God has placed in the hands of men a sacre book, admirable in its infinite extent, and eternal in its invariable laws; by the study of which they may learn His will and their own duty ;- the great Bible of Na.

France has long sought to take the initiative in studying, in arranging and publishing the vast pages that nce has already decyphered, till it may now be said that the researches of de la Place, of Geoffroy St. Hilaire, of Cabanis, of Gall, of de la Marer, of Bertrand de Rennes, and of the natural philosophers and chemists, their followers, form the basis of a creed, revealed by research, which is every day still further developed and propagated, in the enlightened part of the nation. I, too, sir, who have the honor of addressing you, be-

long to this new faith, which takes physiology for the basis of its studies and its convictions; and I am still engaged in a work, the object of which is to collect the scattered opinions of science, and to connect the social moral, historical and philosophical phenomens, till now isolated, by referring them to general laws. I desire PROGRESSIVE PRIENDS-A NEW RELIGthus to complete, by uniting them, the labors of those who have been my instructors in knowledge, and many of them my kindest personal friends, hoping finally to succeed in presenting Science to our own times unde her religious aspect, as she has been, to the last centu ry, under her philosophical one. And well may it be deemed a religion—that science

which elevates and consoles the human soul ;-which is the bond of union between enlightened men of all countries ;-which binds them to the magnificent nature they explore-to the universe of God ;- a religior which, in its complete development, will be recognized as the fruit of that tree of humanity of which Christian

This being our point of tiew, my friends and my self-and, I may add, some young and generous disciples also-are filled with sympathy for your great enterprise, and most cordially applaud your efforts.

Every where does Nature, by those laws which, i the eloquent words of the Cardinal Bossuet, are the word of God or God himself, pronounce the condemn tion of slavery, as it has long since been discovered she has done that of cannibalism. The study of human intelligence, and of the various races of men, and their geological connection with the soil on which they are born ; the study of their divers aptitudes, their special qualities, and the results of their intermixture : the study of the successive religions which have enlightened and civilized them, -all leads us to think that our planet has been, so to say, farmed out to human in ture ; and that human unity, or humanity, that result of the peaceful association of nations, will be brought communications evince, is cheering to us. While about by a general fusion, and by the education of races the writers may differ in sentiment from us upon

weighty mission and responsibility. In the first place, and with all speed, to become strong and powerful to heretofore been separated by the superstitious arsave and to cherish the slumbering liberties of the old rangements of sectarian order. world. Can she become so, while in her own bosom rests an element to which the passions of Europe can constantly appeal?

It is the right, it is the duty of the American Union to constitute, immediately, in one federative republic, the people of the American continent. This the American Union can never do but by abolishing slavery. In a religious, a social, a political point of view, emancipa tion is a necessity.

But here, sir, an immense difficulty presents itself, of which your manifesto takes no account. I consult history, and I find that the serfs of the middle ages bought themselves out of slavery; that it was with solid ready money that the communes paid for their liberties. And why this double fact? Because, in past times, the material aspect of society so greatly preponderated over its social and moral ones. In our day, Mens, agitat moonly over religion. But here, sir, an immense difficulty presents itself, of social and moral ones. In our day, Mens agitat mo-only one religion.

Stind entates and animates the masses; but it

Of this the Jew has some, the Hindoo, Moham rance and material tendency which still exist-the heritage of the past.

it under three forms :

upon the elder races the duty of emancipating the brethren of the younger ones.

Second ; the educational form-the elevation of th man of color to civilization by means of instruction. Third; the political form, which shall strive every where, by continual action [transactions*], to undermine and extinguish slavery.

I am about to leave Paris and return to Nantes, m home for twenty-three years. On the road and after my return, your manifesto will be the occasion of serious discussion and the liveliest sympathy among our most enlightened men. We love the United States with all our souls. We desire their greatness and their glory. It may be that we shall one day seel there an asylum. As philosophers, who have studied it, we hate slavery, under whatever form it presents itself. We rejoice in the invention of machines—those slaves of wood, iron and steam; the only ones that man ought to work, to the point of using them up.

THEODORE PARKER.

Receive, sir, the assurance of our approbation in cause so eminently grand and just. Your most obedient servant

A. GUEPIN. Ex-Professor of the School of Medicine at Nantes, and Commissary under the Republic.

* Pecuniary, as well as legislative and judicial, is

The following communication was written for the New York Tribune, but was meanly refused an in-

NEWARK, June 9, 1853.

while every attempt to deprive men of this 'consolation,' by exposing its fallacy, is by him denounced as 'the most diabolical of crimes,' and he evangelically hopes that there may be a hell to engulph all who shake the popular belief in the so-called sacred writings. If J. S. P. had for a moment calmly reflected upon this common cause—the world's redemption—to landing the same should be comforted,—that they should look coldly upon one another, distrust one another, and allow the common cause—the world's redemption—to landing the same should be rectaimed, injured men redements. J. S. P. had for a moment calmly reflected upon this subject, he could not have failed to perceive that the gospel offers very little of that 'consolation' which he so greatly prizes, for we read therein that the road to salvation is narrow, while the road to damnatan is hroad; also, that many shall be called to eternal joy, but few will be chosen—which is not very consoling for the mass of mankind. But if the moribund be rich, his chance is indeed hopeless, as the little story about the camel and the eye of a needle shows us. It is also evitates a fellow-man from our very midst into the hell camel and the eye of a needle shows us. It is also evident that God will not eternally damn those whom he loves; that it is our duty to hate those hated by God; therefore, since the great mass of mankind is to be damned, it must be hated by God, and consequently by us-which benevolent sentiments, the churchmen seem in all ages to have fully carried out. We also read that in all ages to have fully carried out. We also read that the few chosen were inscribed in the book of life before the foundation of the world, and that good works cannot save those whose names are not written. Those, therefore, who die with a smile on their lips, cannot the book of individual life. therefore, who die with a smile on their lips, canno therefore, who die with a smile on their lips, cannot know much about the Bible, or, knowing, cannot be-lieve—in either of which cases, they must be (biblically) damned.

If J. S. P. so highly esteems 'consolation,' he should in the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the in-lived of the blood of individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the individual life.

Now, I bold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the individual life.

Now individual life.

denounce the Protestants, and pray that they be sent to hell for depriving so many of the 'consolation' which the Popish priests administer in the shap to the dying sinner. These holy men abs ter in the shape of a wafer einner, which is indeed a 'consolation'; and if that will not make him smile, what will !--particularly if he has a very long score thus finally and satisfactoril cancelled. Deprived of this great 'consolation' of the doubts and misgivings, whether he will be one of th 8. P. would send us to hell for using the right of pri vate judgment, which is the foundation-stone of Pro antism. He would oblige us to think as he does, which is as bad as the Papists, without enjoying the poor advantage of their 'consolation'? Therefore, he had better speedily adopt their creed, and return to the boson of the Holy Catholic Church.

Other opponents of the Hartford Convention assume that Scripture is the great support of morality; but l have not been able to find one moral passage therein which is not to be found in other works on religion whereas war, slavery, polygamy and despotism are de fended on the authority of the Bible.

Faithfully yours, CONSOLATION

IOUS ORGANIZATION.

In conformity with the following Call, a large number of persons assembled in Old Kennett (Friends') meeting-house, Chester county, Pa., on the 22d of 5th month, 1853. The house was full in every part, many stood in the doors and passages, and a considerable number went away because they could find no room within the walls.

The Call referred to was published at the tim in THE LIBERATOR. T

After a deeply instructive religious opportunity, in which opening remarks were made by Joseph A. Dugdale, rocal prayer offered by Jonathan Lam.

Dugdale, vocal prayer offered by Jonathan Lamborn, and a testimony borne in favor of practical holiness by Thomas M'Clintoek, William Barnard briefly stated the objects of the meeting, and nominated Joseph A. Dugdale to act as one of the Clerks, pro tem. Hannah M. Darlington proposed Sidney Peirce for the same duty. Both propositions were accepted by the Conference. .Communications, of an instructive and interest

ing character, were read from the following Associations and individuals, viz. : The Western Quarterly Meeting held at Kennet

Square, Pa.; Salem Quarterly Meeting of Progressive Friends, Ohio; Hopedale Association, Massachusetts; Theodore Parker, Massachusetts; John G. Forman, do; Gerrit Smith, New York; Samuel J. May, do; Edward Hull, do; Cassius M. Clay, Kentucky; James Belange, Illinois; Daniel Ricketson, Massachusetts; Drayton M. Curtis Ohio; Wm. L. Garrison, Massachusetts; Thomas W. Higginson, do.

The beautiful trust in the Truth, which thes

still in the inferiority of infancy, under the direction of their elders—that is, of those who have been the first to enjoy the privileges of civilization.

In this point of view, sir, the American Union has a label of their elders—that is, of those who have been the first to enjoy the privileges of civilization.

Speculative theology, we are gratified in recognizing them as co-laborers in the practical work of love and charity. We welcome their paper messengers. We rejoice that we are in circumstances this day to receive, read and consider the views and

[We give below some of the Letters received and rea at the Kennett meeting.]-ED. LIB.

> FROM THEODORE PARKER. Boston, 2d May, 1853.

DEAR FRIEND: I rejoice in your movement for real religion. It seems strange that men make such a mystery of religion, when itself is so simple. There is only one religion in the world; it consists of two elements, namely, Piery, the Love of God,

does not yet so prependerate as to absolve us from tak-ing seriously and practically into our account the igno-

The great error of all the Christian sects at the while, then, so highly honoring your cause, we view it under three forms:

First; the scientific, or religious form, which imposes a tyrant, and made the world from a mean motive. notion that this imperfect God has made a miracu lous revelation of Himself in time, (and that revela tion is contained in the Church, as the Catholic say, or in the Bible, as the Protestants say,) which is to bind all the human race forever, and is the ultimate standard of appeal in all matters of re-

ligion (and philosophy, some say.)
Then out of these two notions they construct scheme of theology, which is at variance with the best principles of human nature, and teach it in name of God and religion.

If I understand it, the Progressive Friends will start with the idea of the Infinite Perfection of God-that He is perfect in Power, in Wisdom, in Justice, in Love, and in Holiness. Then they wil take the Bible for what it is worth, and develo religion in a natural way out of their own souls.

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, for the Committee.

FROM SAMUEL J. MAY.

SYRACUSE, May 17, 1853. DEAR FRIENDS:—To no meeting have I ever been invited, in the object of which I feel a deeper interest, than the one you will be holding in Old Kennett, on the 22d. It has long been a matter of sore lamentation with me, that so many, who real ly love God and man, should be alienated from on another, and refuse to cooperate, because they ar not agreed upon questions of doubtful disputation sertion in that paper, though Mr. Greeley had previously published a series of scurrilous and malignant letters respecting the Bible Convention at Hartford.]—Ed. Lib.

HARTFORD BIBLE CONVENTION.

That mere sectarians, those whose pride, passions and personal importance, if not livelihood, are pledged to or dependent on the maintenance of certain theological dogmas, by which they are distinguished—that they should keep apart, is not to ndered at, nor indeed is it much to be regret NEWARK, June 9, 1853.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

Sin,—In your paper of last Monday, I read a letter signed J. S. P., in which your correspondent blames the action of the Hartford Bible Convention, 'because mankind needs the consolation of a supernatural religion,' while every attempt to deprive men of this 'consolation' be reclaimed, injured men redressed, and sorrowing men be comforted—that

plore can be overcome, I am less prepared to show than I am to show up the evil thing itself.

and aid the growth and development of the individ-ual mind and heart. Whenever united men (let the object of their union be what it may) overbear, oppress, discourage the individual man, they be-

come an evil, and are to be resisted.

No other organization, therefore, of those who may enlist in this Christian Union effort, will be needed, or would be good, than such organization of meetings as is found convenient for the transaction of business while together. All that it now seems to me we can do to attain the object, to which your meeting of the 22d calls the public attention, is, to keep on exposing the evil of division among those who love God and man, and the unspeakable good that would flow from greater union—all the good that would flow from greater union—all the while availing ourselves of every opportunity that may offer, to cooperate heartly for truth and righteousness with those who are most shy of us to detrinal or ceremonial matters, that they may be made to know the pleasure and advantage of 2. The development of such various forces of a simple Natural Policies, which strongthened by uch cooperation.

I well remember that, in the first years of the

Anti-Slavery movement, those who became so much interested in the cause of the enslaved as to be theretofore been used to.

It is necessary, more than all, that we show the people that true religion does not abide in a form of words, however ingeniously devised and logically bound together, but in that spirit in man which

always prefers what is true to what is false, what and the Society of Friends throughout the country, is right to what is wrong, the law of God to the law of man. It is necessary men should be brought to see and own that a theoretical infidel, who is a good man, just, merciful and humble, (however far adhesion to the letter which killeth; and then is right to what is wrong, the law of God to the law of man. It is necessary men should be brought to see and own that a theoretical infidel, who is a good man, just, merciful and humble, (however far off he may be.) is very much nearer the kingdom of Heaven, than a theoretical Christian (exact though he be in all external observances) who is oppressive, uncharitable or proud. He is most of a Christian who most nearly resembles Christian a Christian who most nearly resembles Christ in his character—not he who cries Lord, Lord, never so devoutly, but he who habitually strives to do the will of the Father in Heaven. Yours, affectionately,

SAMUEL J. MAY.

FROM WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. Boston, May 19th, 1853.

BELOVED FRIEND:—Nothing keeps me from your gathering of free and truth-loving spirits, to assem-ble at Old Kennett on the 22d instant, but the close proximity of the New England Anti-Slavery Con-

I regard your meeting as one of deep interest and universal importance. Its object, as set forth in the Call, commends itself to my understanding and my heart. It is to form a model religious organization, in which unity shall be attained with organization, in which unity shall be attained with-out constraint,—the spirit of progress recognized as without limitation,—the claims of humanity made paramount to all other considerations,—and free speech and free inquiry conceded as the right of every soul, essential to growth 'in knowledge and in grace,' and the best preservative against

and in grace, and the best preservative against heresy, whether real or imaginary.

Whether your movement be successful or not, it is worthy of commendation,—a sign of the times equally cheering and prophetic. I see no insuperable difficulty in the way of success, provided the truly catholic spirit evinced in the Call brood over pervade your deliberations. Of course, every religious association will be what its members ar collectively; if they are upright, fearless, honest, and progressive, so will it be. The greater includes the less; the stream cannot rise higher than the fountain.

the fountain.

The questions naturally arise,—How shall this new association be organized, and what shall be its claim? Of whom shall it be composed? What shall be its distinctive object? To what extent shall conformity be required? What is implied by connection therewith? And what shall be its creed and distributed? and discipline!

In attempting to answer these questions very briefly, (for I write in haste, being straitened as to time, and would not infringe upon that of your meeting,) I do so in no spirit of dogmatism, but with all deference to the opinion of others, and simply as an expression of my own sentiments.

1. How shall this new association be organized, and what shall be its claim ! '

I answer-It must be purely voluntary, withranswer—It must be purely voluntary, with-drawal from which, at any time, without reproach, shall be the right of every member. It must lay claim to no special divinity. It must not indulge the idle dream of perpetuating itself from age to age, and hence make its safety and growth the chief object of its solicitude; for, in the nature of things, all human agreements, compacts, alliances and organizations, are mutable, and tend to decay. Israel who are of Israel.'

It must not assume to be the one true, infallible and impeccable Church, or even a branch of it, which it is a religious duty to join, and out of the pale of which, there are none but heretics. It must not go back to the past—not even to apostolic times and usages—to determine what shall be its form or order; for what in one age may be truly serviceable, in another may prove positively detri-

2. 'Of whom shall it be composed ?' It must recognize no distinction as to complexion or sex. 'Whosever will, let him come.'

3. 'What shall be its distinctive object?' Practi cal righteousness; the discovery of truth, and its application ('without partiality and without hypocrisy') to individuals and communities, to customs and institutions, to sects and parties; the acknowledgment of the Fatherhood of God and the

4. 'To what extent shall conformity be required!' Not in matters of the state of th ed!' Not in matters of taste and amusement not in a distinctive outward garb or mode of speech not in theological opinions; not in regard to re-ligious rites or ceremonies; but only an approval of the object, in the promotion of which every hu-

man being has an everlasting interest.

5. 'What is implied by connection therewith?'

A friendly and leving spirit, but not necessarily an endorsement of the religious character or opinions of any member; for as the association is to be without sectarian exclusiveness, so it is not to exercise sectarian discipline; and, therefore, it must leave with its members, in their individual capacity, the responsibility for their course. 'So, then, every one of us must give account of himself unto God.' 6. 'What shall be its creed and discipline !' No

other creed is needed, no better one can be devised than that which Jesus gave in his day :— Tho shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself '—' Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' No discipline will work so effectively, or keep the association so pure and vital, as untrammelled speech and the largest liberty of discussion; for these are incompatible with superstition, tyranny, corruption, ambition, phariseeism, worldliness, and crime. Where these are really enjoyed, as well as conceded in the abstract, no bull of excommunication will ever be found necessary. 'The wicked flee when no man pursueth, but the righteous are as bold as a lion.' True, such liberty may be abused, and in some instances will be abused; true, it may subject us to hearing some sentiments distasteful, offensive, and even highly reprehensible; true, some may attempt to run before they are sent, and essay to speak when they ought to be silent; but the evil is only incidental, and will prove efficacious in enabling us all to 'possess our souls in patience.' No discipline will work so effectively, or keep the

souls in patience.'
Such, briefly, are the suggestions which occur to me at this moment, and which I deferentially submit for the consideration of your meeting. I shall be with you in spirit; I regret that I cannot be so in bodily shape and presence. 'Grace, mercy and peace be with you all.' Yours, for the world's redemption,

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, of the Committee. FROM THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

lament the languor of its own organization, and the increasing indifference of its members. And every sun that rises sees a more hearty sympathy smong good men of all denominations. Every day brings together new thousands, who, ten years ago, thought themselves hopelessly separated from religious communion with each other.

I know of no illustration strong enough to ex-press the rapidity with which the way seems to me preparing for a renovation of all our Church organizations.

Two principal influences seem to me to be producing this effect:

1. The practical philanthropy of the age and nation; since no healthy-minded man can co-operate with men of different creeds and connections in

2. The development of such various forces of a simple Natural Religion, which, strengthened by the experience of many centuries, and especially by that of Jesus and his friends, is at length prepared to abandon some of the technicalities and all of the assumed infallibilities which have been useful as a temporary statement. Anti-Slavery movement, in the cause of the enslaved as to be willing to bear the reproach of abolitionists, seemed to forget that they belonged to different sects. I used to be invited (though a Unitarian) to preach in Orthodox pulpits, and to commune with Orthodox pulpits, and to commune with Orthodox Churches—and I received from several brethren of 'the straitest sect' some precious confessions of the joy of a larger fellowship than they had theretofore been used to.

It is necessary, more than all, that we show the lit is necessary, more than all, that we show the terpretation of the wild legends of a narrow, fierce terpretation of the wild legends of a narrow, fierce and imaginative ancient nation. It has been pecuwhen occasion offered, taking up the work of kill-ing with their own hands, and attempting to nur-der the reputation of those who early made consis-tent application of the principles which were origi-

I am thoroughly convinced by the experience of the 'Free Church' in this city, that we have no adequate conception of the number who are prepared, or preparing, to abandon their present sectarian connection whenever a favorable opportunity shall be given. I am acquainted with no religious meeting so absolutely free from all sectarian bias meeting so absolutely free from all sectarian bias or connection as our own, except the Society to which Theodore Parker ministers in Boston, and the remarkable prosperity of these two, in their respective spheres, is a proof to me that such movements in our large towns have now become not desirable only, but altogether practicable. With cordial sympathy, I am your friend, THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

To J. A. DUGDALE, of the Committee,

FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO', N. Y., April 9th, 1853. My DEAR FRIEND :- I have this moment read your letter, and also the circular which accomanied it. I thank you for both.

I know that I should be greatly instructed, could panied it.

attend the meeting to which you invite me. But I cannot attend it. So excessive is my prirate business, that I never could attend a large share of the meetings which I wished to attend. Now however, I can attend none, or nearly none, for am working very busily to get my business into such a shape that I can leave it next December the time when I have to take my seat in Congress.

I hope that Heavenly wisdom may guide your

I believe in a Christian Church, but not in the ordinary sense of the word. Wherever there is company of Christians, there is a Christian Church. My doctrine is, that the Christians of the place are the Church of the place, and equally so, whether they are Baptists, or Quakers, or Presby-terians, or Roman Catholics, or Methodists, or Universalists, and equally so, too, whether they de or do not believe in water baptism, or the Lord's supper, or the Sabbath. Sectarianism is the great-est curse of the world. In haste, your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

To JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, of the Committee.

LUCY STONE BEFORE THE MASSACHUSETTS CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

Extract of a Letter from CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, pub ished in the Pennsylvania Freeman :-The Convention to amend the Constitution of

Massachusetts is now in session at the State House in Boston. A petition, asking that when the amendments are submitted to the people, womer may vote on the question of their adoption, had been referred to a Committee; which had consente and organizations, are mutable, and tend to decay.

It must be regarded simply as a means to an end—
and that end the personal liberty and religious improvement of every human being. It must not
predicate any thing of piety or philanthropy upon
the mere fact of membership; for 'all are not
level who are of level'. who belong to the first rank of Boston society, all evidently agreeing in one thing—an eager desire to hear the advocates of the petition.

Lucy Stone spoke first, and for half an hour en chained and delighted the audience with an exceed ingly beautiful and impressive address, simple and clear as daylight, strong in its array of pertinent facts and plain, forcible exposition and application of principles, apt in illustrations, and at times melting the hearts and moistening the eyes of her melting the hearts and moistening the eyes of her hearers by passages of touching pathos, made all the more effective by the plaintive modulation of her soft, gentle voice, sweetly in harmony with the thoughts it uttered. The scene was fit for a painter, and none but a master of his art would have been fit to attempt its delineation. There, in the centre of the hall, stood the slight form of tha noble little woman, small in stature but large of soul, and grand in the magnitude of a lofty pur-pose; her bearing modest and dignified, her face soul, and grand in the magnitude of a loty pur-pose; her bearing modest and dignified, her face radiant with feeling, and speaking all over, as it were, in eloquent accord with her earnest voice. Before her, on his raised seat of official distinction, sat the Chairman of the Committee, grave in demeanor, and trying occasionally, almost in vain, to preserve, during the recital of some moving tale of woman's wrongs and sufferings, that fixed com-posure of countenance which his station is sup-posed to require. Around him, the other members of the Committee, and the miscellaneous congregation filling the whole chamber, were listening in the attitudes of close attention, and answering with changing countenances—with smiles, or grave fixed looks, with shaded brows and starting tears to the changing tone and tenor of the speaker's and worthily transferred to canvas, it would mak grand historical picture, not unworthy to rank with those which illustrate and commemorate the great events of the past; the forward steps of humanity in its onward and upward march. The time may come when the world will be glad to have —if it can but get—a faithful picture of the first appearance of a woman before the framers of the fundamental law of the State, to demand for her sex that equality with men in political rights, which is the inevitable logical inference from the

which is the inevitable logical inference from the political theories of our nation.

But to return from this digression. After Lucy had resumed her seat, Wendell Phillips rose, and presented an argument of about an hour's length, of which it is praise enough to say that it was every way worthy of his reputation, and was listened to with the lively interest and pleasure which his speeches are wont to awaken and impart. At the close of his remarks, the Committee rose and the audience dispersed. I am told that it is hoped the audience dispersed. I am told that it is hoped there will be another hearing, when Lucy will probably appear again before the Committee, with other able and distinguished speakers, who had not an opportunity of addressing it at this time. I know also that there are men in the Convention how many I am not aware, but, I think, a very respectable minority—who are in favor of grant-ing what the petition asks for. At all events, a beginning in a great work has now been fairly made.

MISS LUCY STONE.

The New York Independent appropriately speaks of Lucy Stone as stating the case of a slave mother with 'terrible distinctness.' In substance she said:

FROM THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

WORKSTER, May 20th, 1853.

DEAR SIR:—It seems to me that no thoughtful and religious person can help seeing that we stand at the beginning of a new religious dispensation. There is not a sect in the land which does not whistle past her, yet on she presses. One bullet

strikes the head of the dear child, and the War

strikes the head of the dear child, and the Most and brains are dashed out on the face and base of the mother—yes, the mother! She quickly have and throws her expiring babe on the parents from their fiendish grasp, to a land of freeds?

Mothers, when your children die, what do yo to have the parents of the p

Those readers will most appreciate the territ Those readers will most appreciate the tends distinctness,' who have heard Lucy, as they all can know the deep and subduing pather of her voice, and the irresistible eloquence of he child like manner. The beauty of the whole is that he was a support in the least conscious. like manner. The beauty of the whole is, dat the did not appear in the least conscious that the had produced any marked effect. She had electibe her audience; she had scattered Baltimer Parties Slave Franciscon. her audience; sne mu scattered Baltimes Pat-forms, Fugitive Slare Enactments, Usin Saley Committees, and Lower Law Doctors of Dirints to the winds—and she looked as quiet and land to the winds—and she looked as quiet and land like as if nothing had happened. 0h, that shame! to ever talk of excluding from the World Temperance Convention, that gifted angel of nerry, —LUCY STONE.

PEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION. HE next course of Lectures in this Institution will

L commence on Saturday, Oct. 1st, 1853, and continue five months, (21 weeks,) closing on the 25th of February, 1854. FACULTY.

DAVID J. JOHNSON, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology.

ELLWOOD HARVEY, M. D., Professor of the Principle ELLWOOD HARVEY OF Medicine.

and Practice of Medicine.

HILBERN DARLINGTON, M. D., Professor of Surgery. ANN PRESTON, M. D., Professor of Physiology,
EDWIN FUSSELL; M. D., Professor of Anatomy,
MARK G. KERR, M. D., Professor of Materia Molica sei

General Therapeutics.

Marria H. Mown, M. D., Professor of Obstetric sel Diseases of Women and Children.

ALMIRA L. FOWLER, M. D., Demonstrator of Ana

and Chemistry.

Persons wishing further information as to term, me ulations, &c., or desirous of receiving copies of the Asnouncement, will please apply, personally or by letter, to the Dean of the Faculty.

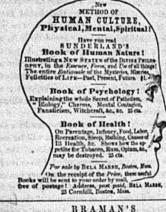
DAVID J. JOHNSON, M. D., 229, Arch st., Philadelpha.

THE BIBLE AS A BOOL

A S it is at the Present Day; its Inspiration, Logs, &c. ALFRED W. HOAR, Medium. Price, 20 cess.

Just published by BELA MARSH, No. 25 Cornlill.

A NEW ANTI-SLAVERY WORK FROM THE SPIR-it WORLD; being twelve Discourses on Gover-fment, by THOMAS JEFFERSON, through John M. Sper, Spirit Medium, with a preface, by ADIX BALLOV. For sale by BELA MARSH, No. 25 Cernbill, Seen Price, single, 124 cents; or ten copies for \$1.00.



SWIMMING BATHS, (Established in 1823,)

AT THE POOT OF CHESNUT STREET HAVE been completely fitted and put is ories This establishment now comprises upward of Two HUNDRED AND TWENTY-Five Rooms, being to largest in the United States, with pure Sait Water, at unequalled facilities for outside Bathing.

THE MILL DAM BATHS have been said to the Ladies' Department, which has been for less very much crowded. Connected with ent are also

WARM OR COLD, FRESH OR SALT WE TER TUB BATHS. Single Baths, 124 cents; or 10 for a dellar. THE TREMONT BATHS, entrance from Tenns Court, have been refitted, and are now open from ser-rise till 10 o'clock, P. M.

JARVIS D. BRAMAN

Boston, June 17, 1853.

WEST BOSTON CLOTHING HOUSE LEWIS HAYDEN would respectfully call the sites tion of his former customers and the pakis generally, to his ample stock of

CLOTHING, PURNISHING GOODS, EAT AND CAPS.

Being connected with one of the very largest Carling Houses in Boston, he is prepared to furnish ever ins of garment. He would also inform his francistial will get up every kind of custom garment at he sort est notice. He hopes the friends of freedom, especial; will favor him with a call, as he has see some last service in slavery. One and all are invited to all where they will always be treated fairly, and with got

121 CAMBRIDGE STREET, BOSTON. Boston, April 20, 1853.

SERVICES OF COLORED AMERICAN

IN THE WARS OF 1776 AND 1812. BY WILLIAM C. NELL.

SECOND edition, with an introduction by Wester John G. Whittier, and Parker Pillsbury; tribute if Lafayette, Kosciusko and Washington; with first gleaned from authentic military records, fire-side on yersations, confirmed by oral and written testimate. gleaned from authentic military records, freede obversations, confirmed by oral and written testimate of the late Judge Story, Hon. Robert C. Windrop, isa. Anson Burlingame, Rev. J. W. C. Penniagton, Jah. Hancock, Gov. Eustis, Gen. Jackson, Hon. Trista brgess, Hon. Calvin Goddard, Hon Charles Pinchner, ed. The first edition was favorably noticed by the New York Tribune, Rochester Daily American, Libertst, Commonwealth, Boston Bee, Zion's Herald, Christia Watchman, Impartial Citizen, Essex Freeman, Free erick Douglass's Paper, and Salem Gazette.

Conv.-right secured according to law. Copy-right secured according to law.

For sale at 21 Cornhill. Price 16 cents, single.

JUST PUBLISHED, AND FOR SALE AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 2] COL

THE Speech of WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., delivered at the last annual meeting of the Massachusetts A. Society, in vindication of the Anti-Slavery Morenes.

Price 6 cents. Also,
Also, the Twenty-First Annual Report of the Basi
of Managers of the Massachusetts A. S. Sciety, from
the pen of EDNUND QUINCY, Esq. Price 874 cents
A Discourse occasioned by the death of DANIH WisA Discourse occasioned by the death of DANIH WisA Discourse occasioned by the death of DANIH WisA Discourse occasioned by the John Standay, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, preached at the Melodeon on Sanday, Oct 41
STER, prea 374 cents.

PUBLIC PUNCTION OF WOMAN. TUST published, and for sale by ROBERT F. WALLTOSS OF WOMAN, Preached at the Music Hall, Mark
THOSS By THEODORE PARKES, Minister of the
Twenty-Righth Congregational Society. Phonographic cally reported by J. M. W. Yerrington and Rufal
Peighton. Lrice 6 cents single—50 cents per does.

WRITINGS OF W. L. GARRISON. SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS AND STREETS
OUT. Price—In cloth, \$1.00; extra gilt, \$1.25.
For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill