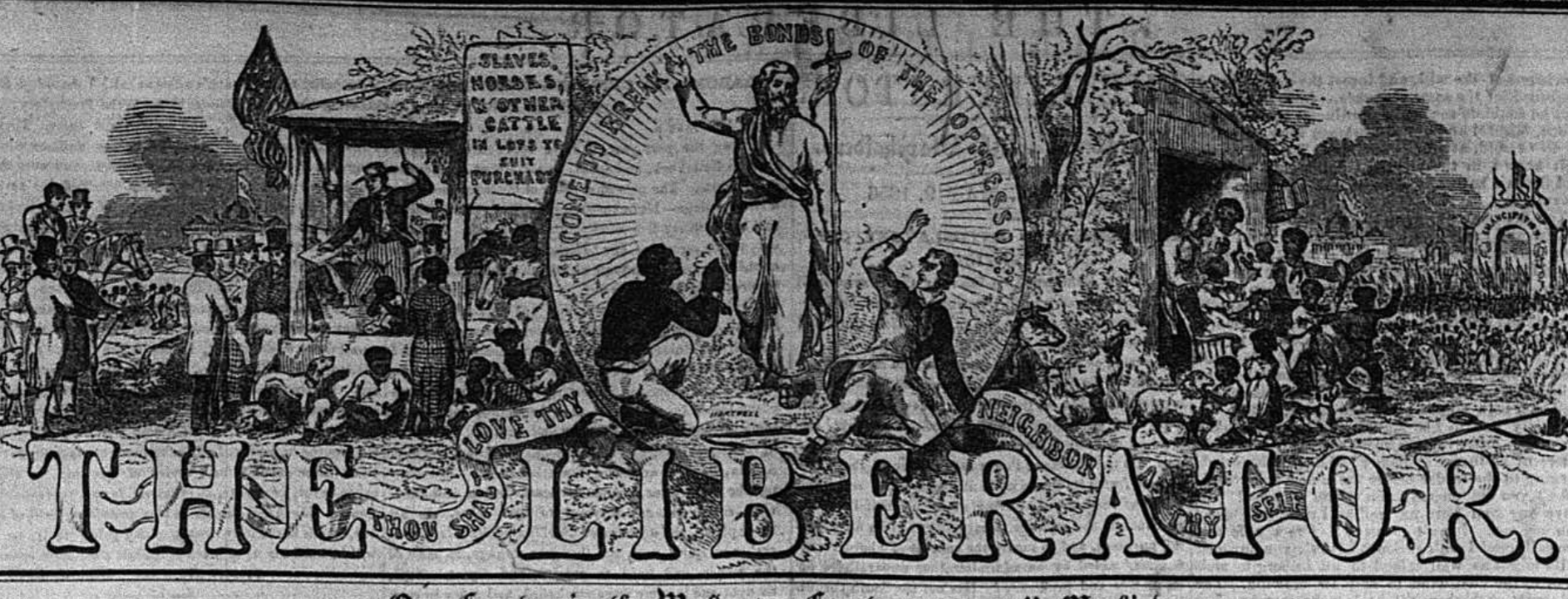


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serted three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1.00.
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,
Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-
thorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial
Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts
of the paper, viz.—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY
LOUIS, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PIERCE, and
WILLIAM PHILLIPS.
It is the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of
every question are impartially allowed a hearing.
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



No Union with Slaveholders!
THE 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—an
engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,
delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the extension, fatal
to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-
sentation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under
the name of persons. . . . In fact, the oppressor repre-
senting 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 PERPETU-
ATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT
OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—John Quincy Adams.
J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 19.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1856.

WHOLE NUMBER 1140.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Providence Daily Transcript.
THE R. I. ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.
Since our issue of yesterday, we have gathered
from various sources, quite an account of the dif-
ferences of opinion which have arisen in the
of the whole proceedings, as furnished by some of
our correspondents, is so rich in its developments,
that we cannot forbear giving some attention to
the business matter of the Convention, inasmuch
as our paper occupied so much of its time.
We heard, on Saturday evening, that our refusal
to admit the objectionable article offered to us for
insertion, and the holding of the meetings of
the Convention on the Sabbath, occupied much
of the time of the Convention on that day, and
were quite amusing to a body of men with such
deep sympathies for the condition of three million
of slaves in servitude should regard it so much
more important to turn aside from the ostensible
purpose for which they had come together, and
spend their time upon a question pertaining to the
publication of a rejected communication. But this
entirely commensurate with the previous character of
the Convention, and the men who are the lead-
ing spirits in sustaining them. Any one, familiar
with the whole course of this unjust fanaticism,
need not be told that it is their custom to call
their meetings in all the prominent cities of New
England, and hold their sessions on such days as
will embrace the Sabbath. They always find some
everywhere, who make of the same stripe with them-
selves, who make of the necessary arrangements for
their meetings, and who will give the leaders all the
information requisite as to persons or parties in
the place who may become good subjects for
their vituperative abuse. If it happens that an
editor in the place stands aloof from them, ex-
pressing his entire dissent from their proceedings,
he is immediately become the subject for their dis-
section. They pounce upon him like a pack of
wolves, and have a perfect jubilee over the feast.
The various heresies which are expressed in all
the billingsgate which is at their command, is fel-
icitous without mixture upon him, affording any
amount of amusement and interest to those in at-
tendance. This subject matter for their meetings
calls forth large audiences, and gives the great
to their meetings which is so essential to keep them
up. The question of slavery is made an incident
to their meetings; that may or may not come up for
special attention.
The great leader in these Conventions is Garri-
son. He is the high priest on almost every occa-
sion. He is the moving spirit, and his base and
infidel principles have become more and more in-
terwoven into all the principles of the party. Good
men, men who have respected the Church, and
cherished the Constitution of the country in their
hearts with a jealous solicitude for its preserva-
tion, have learned, under the guidance of their
leader, to trample under their feet everything
sacred and every principle of free institutions. We
do not believe that one in a hundred of the
thoughtful men in this city, will for a moment
condemne Garrison or his satellites in tramp-
ling beneath their feet the sacred day, or con-
spire with the party in any way. Persons at-
tend their meetings, not because they approve
of their proceedings, but to be amused at the wild
ravings of men who outstrip all the bounds of rea-
son and common sense. They furnish a kind of
material for mental food which affords amusement
to those who have no where to spend the Sabbath,
and who find the Convention as amusing as a play.
We are assured that the great body of our citizens
love the institutions of the Sabbath and the San-
ctuary—the working-man as well as the merchant
the man of letters—and when such men as
figure in the late Convention come among us to
despise their institutions and malign our press,
when they would break down all the pillars which
hold up our social fabric, and secure to those
messengers which we prize as dear as life, then we
can but believe that the abettors of such senti-
ments will meet such contempt as they deserve.
We have our own peculiar principles on the sub-
ject of religion, but these have nothing to do with
the editorial department of the Transcript. Our
paper is a religious issue, but a daily news-
paper, committed to the defence of right, and an
intercourse to no man, in whatever form it
exists. We yield to no man, or set of men in our
conviction of the blighting influence of slavery
upon all the national interests of the country; and
never, consider it, in itself, one of the greatest
evils which the Creator has conferred upon the
black man in common with the white. But we do
not believe that to trample on the Sabbath, to blot
out the Constitution of our country, and involve it
in civil war, to stigmatize the military as being
as league with slavery in its perpetration,
will do away with the great evil. No; it turns
men against the whole subject, where it con-
cerns one to the advocacy of the principles of free-
dom.
**FUTURE RELATIONS OF THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT TO SLAVERY.**
From the Charleston Mercury, April 12.
I have said we cannot overrate the importance
of the South of a triumph in Kansas. But, with
respectful deference to the Committee, I con-
clude that a Free Soil defeat in Kansas would
neither prostrate abolition at home, nor repel
political ambition from its falling fortunes.
I have shown that abolition seeks to accomplish
its destructive aims by the power of the Legisla-
ture, and, ultimately, of the chief Executive
authority of the Union. It has, therefore, not
only, up to the present time, progressed by the
exercise of the power of both the State and Federal
Governments, but, that it may do much more than
all of the other departments of the Federal Govern-
ment—Legislative, Executive and Judicial. Now,
what are its chances to accomplish this great aim?
Let us see. I have not a line of statistics before

me to refer to, of any kind. The facts stated in
these numbers are drawn from memory alone. I
assume, then, what I believe, on reference to the
record, will be found nearly true, that the census
taken in 1850 shows there are fifteen millions of
white population in the Northern States, and seven
millions of white population in the Southern States.
African slaves have no political rights; but, as
under the Constitution, a certain per-
centage of them enter into the basis of our representa-
tion, they add to the number of our representatives.
Still, the view I intended to present cannot be
rightly based on any portion of the population
of the United States save that class which consti-
tute the great body politic of the Union—for these
alone constitute the State.
Now, writers on political economy, as well as
the history of the Union, concur in establishing
the fact that a population that is well supplied
with wholesome food will increase to double its
numbers every twenty-five years—a little more or
less. With these data before us, we may, without
difficulty, see what an important feature in the
future of the Union it will be. In twenty-five
years from 1850, the North will have thirty mil-
lions of white population, and the South fourteen
millions at the end of the same decade. At the
end of the next decade, the North will have sixty
millions, and the South twenty-eight. We may
even include the Southern slaves in the calcula-
tion—and without adding a unit in favor of the
North for the vast tide of foreign emigrants that
increases their numbers every year, to which there
is no set off in the South; and, at the end of the
present decade, the white population of the North
will outnumber the population of the South, in-
cluding the free blacks, to the extent of about ten
millions of souls; at the end of the next decade,
the number of twenty millions—even the balance
against the South outnumbering the whole popula-
tion of England, Scotland and Wales—which
constitute the basis of the most powerful empire
in the world. The North, doubtless, outnumbers
us in population now, to the amount of perhaps
seven millions of white population or more. We
see their population already great, with an earnest-
ness and energy never, perhaps, equalled, acting
together, with an unprecedented unanimity, to the
one aim and design of sectionalizing their whole
country against us upon the abolition question.
They are shrewd calculators. They know the whole
power of the Federal Government will soon fall
into their hands, by the silent but sure operation
of the laws of nature; and the idea and intention
to outnumber and overwhelm us with their pre-
dominant millions enters as an element into the Free
Soil movement, for they have the extensive plains
of the territorial districts of the United States, in
which to aggregate their millions, by whose power
they intend to blot out our civilization from the
map of the world. The Union, the Federal Govern-
ment are not the elements which are leading on
the human race on this continent to its destiny.
That race progresses by laws which lie deeper,
and exert a power more potent and irresistible. So
far from controlling and shaping the fortunes and
destiny of the people of the Union, the people of
the Northern States alone will mould, shape and direct
the Government, as they please, and drive it before
them like chaff before the wind. Look now up in
the picture I have drawn, and is it not plain as noon-day
that the Federal Government of the Union will be
no more Southern forever? A few weeks since,
we saw a Speaker placed in the Chair in the House
of Representatives, without having received a single
vote from the South. This is one phase, but more
will follow that are more important still. Aboli-
tion will next grasp the Senate in its hand, then
the Executive power, then the Judiciary; for
abolition demands sectionalization, that, by the
power of the Government, it may abolish slavery;
political ambition demands sectionalization, for
the sake of the millions which enter into, and go
out of the public treasury. Countless millions
present and to come—passion—fanaticism—brutality—
abolition—political ambition—sentiment—re-
ligion—all these, but still sentiment—moral, re-
ligious and political—will demand sectional-
ization, that the North may rule, pocket the
spoils, and subjugate the South—for this is the
NORTHERN METHOD OF THOUGHT.
If Kansas was engulfed by an earthquake, and
struck out of the map of the Union, it would mat-
ter little to the North, for they have room and
landed resources enough now for an empire such
as the world itself has seldom seen; and its pres-
ent abundance of political ambition more inviting
and stimulating, far, than any other on the globe.
If Kansas be subjected to Southern rule, there is
Nebraska, already surrendered to the North with-
out let or hindrance, which is far more than an
equivalent.
The question simply is, whether the North shall
take all the fruits of the Kansas Nebraska bill
(which has been lauded as a great Southern tri-
umph) or only a part? With the North, it is a
question of not less. In the North, the tri-
umph in Kansas, will our Southern National De-
mocrats take back the songs they chanted in honor
of their victory over the North upon the Kansas
Nebraska bill? They like Washington better than
Kansas, perhaps.
We should, as we love our dearest liberties, our
hearth-stones and domestic altars, delude ourselves
with unfounded hopes no more. The Federal
GOVERNMENT—THE UNION—WILL PROTECT THE SOUTH
FROM NORTHERN AGGRESSION NO MORE FOREVER.
The Richmond Enquirer of April 15, the
dominant organ of the administration party, has
two articles on the subject. It thus declares that
not only the reign of the South, but the continued
existence of slavery, is involved in the struggle for
Kansas:
If Kansas is perverted into a free negro State,
Missouri will be dragged down with it. Emancipa-
tion on three sides by abolitionists, it will soon
and itself exhausted of the spirit and the ability
to defend its institutions. Arkansas and Ken-
tucky in turn will become border States, to sink
at last under the same system of annoyance and
plunder. The contagion will spread by contact, and
as sentinel after sentinel is driven in, the South
will find itself more and more exposed to assault
on the very heart of slavery. Thus the narrowing
circle of fire may compass the South to inflict upon
slavery the self-destruction of the tortured reptile.

SELECTIONS.

THE IRISH IN AMERICA.
Coming events cast their shadows before.
35 DUBLIN STREET, March, 1856.
To the Editor of the (Edinb.) Freeman:
Dear Sir: Without assuming to myself any
credit for peculiar foresight, I may be pardoned
for recalling to the recollection of the readers of
the Freeman's Journal the fact that many years
have now elapsed since I directed their attention
to circumstances which I then considered as indica-
tive of the dislike with which Irishmen, at no dis-
tant day, would be viewed by the native Americans.
And I have, since then, occasionally repeated my
fears and my warnings to my countrymen, both at
home and abroad, through the medium of your
columns. The realization of my prophecies has
been accomplished. Irishmen in America are al-
ready looked upon as unwelcome intruders, or they
are held in contempt in that land which has been
covered with railways and otherwise enriched by
their labor. Long since, I foresaw this decline of
influence, and this deterioration of respectability;
and I pointed out the certainty that such clouds
would rest upon and tarnish the fair fame of my
countrymen in the land of the stranger. I raised
my warning voice, not alone in the ears of the lead-
ers of the people, but also in the hearing of the
people themselves. I told them all, that if they
sacrificed principle, they would reap contempt,
they would be held in dishonor, and that their dis-
grace would be deserved. I repeated my warnings
in letters to the press—which you and other edit-
ors kindly published—and in addresses from the
platform, which I refer to with pain, because my
warnings were neglected, and my apprehensions
have been all realized. The leaders are scattered—
many of them covered with dishonor, because of
their open dereliction from principle—few of them
holding the standard so as to reflect any honor on
Ireland. Mr. Smith O'Brien, Charles Gavan Duffy,
and I believe, John Martin, are the only undisciplined
names I can just now call to mind; and the multi-
tude of those men who draw the breath of life in
this land, but who have transferred their almost
sole allegiance to the earth in the far
West, are nearly universally found in the ranks of
the oppressors.
While the great O'Connell lived, the open sham-
lessness of Irishmen in America, in regard to the
free system of slavery which disgraces the people
of the United States, was in some measure kept in
check by his manly and eloquent denunciations of
their miserable complicity with that vile system.
I have but recently read over again some of his
noble speeches on this soul-stirring topic, and I
felt prouder than ever that Ireland had given birth
to a man who, while his popularity stood in the
scale, declared that, even to save Ireland from
holding the standard so as to reflect any honor on
Ireland, he would not be unfaithful to his own
convictions of right and duty; he would denounce
the American slaveholder. If every Irishman held
the same straight-forward course, took the same
noble stand on principle, and with equal manliness
maintained the right, very different, indeed, would
be the position held by the Irish emigrant and the
naturalized Irishman in America. Deserved
contempt now follows us everywhere, because we
have been unfaithful to our own convictions of
duty. At home, we prated loudly about our desire
for freedom; we complained that English rule was
a chain too heavy to be borne; we fled from it by
hundreds of thousands that we might breathe a
freer atmosphere, and enjoy a greater degree of
liberty, but, in our religious, in another region;
yet our foot is scarcely placed on her soil, when we
take the whip of the slave-driver in our hands, and
stain it with the blood of our brother; we seize the
chain, and place it on his limbs, and wickedly con-
demn him to a slavery, one hour of which is more
galling than a lifetime of the oppression from which
we fled. I but repeat the expression of Jefferson,
the American, who penned the noble words of their
Declaration of Independence, and who, although a
slaveholder himself, would despise the Irishman
who was not for the free system.
Other reasons than those I have indicated are as-
signed for the dislike entertained towards Irishmen
in America; but I do not believe any of them are
of equal force.
We may dislike those who differ with us in poli-
tics, or religion, but our contempt is reserved for
the mean and the base, for those who lie to their
own professions, and who write themselves down
scoundrels in heart and soul. These things Irish-
men have done and are doing daily in America, so
that no faith can be placed in their manliness and
honor. They have almost invariably—there are
but few honorable exceptions—taken part with the
slaveholder and against the colored man. They
have belied their own consciences, and dishonored
their country and their religion, by proclaiming
with their voice, and by their practices or their sil-
ence, that their love of liberty was an empty sound,
and they proved that the Christianity they profes-
sed was but mere profession, as that no tendency
to make them upright and honorable men. It is
alleged that the Americans hate Irishmen because
they are Roman Catholics. I do not believe that
this is the case. The real ground of dislike may
be traced to the fact that Irishmen have disgraced
themselves; they have made themselves the tools
of the oppressor, and are ever to be found doing the
dirty work of the oppressor, and hunting the oppressed
to death. This is the real and all-sufficient cause
of the present unpopularity of Irishmen in the
United States.
I do not aver that if Irishmen had pursued a dif-
ferent course in America—that if they had always
placed themselves on the side of freedom and jus-
tice, they would now be a powerful and honored
section of the American people, politically speak-
ing; yet, I see no reason to doubt that such would
be their position; but I do maintain that they
would have saved themselves from the infamy which
now attaches to them, and from the foul name they
bear. I hold that they have brought dishonor, not
alone on their country, but on their religion; and
if I were a Roman Catholic, I should feel deeply
that a disgrace had been brought on my profession
by the criminal conduct of so many who held it.
The real facts of the case can hardly be compre-
hended in Ireland. It is known that our country-
men in America attach themselves to the Demo-
cratic party, but it is not known, and it scarcely
can be believed, that that party are the most de-
adly enemies of the colored people. To their own
dishonor, and to the disgrace of their country,
Irishmen are among the bitterest foes of the African
race, whether bond or free.
If the view I have taken of this matter be cor-
rect—if Irishmen in America are despised, because
their mean and disgraceful conduct has covered
them with dishonor—it follows that, to redeem
their national character, they must adopt a course
directly the reverse of that which they have hitherto
pursued. They must stand up in the dignity of
man's nature, and declare, in the face of men and
angels, that, come what, come woo, they are the

friends of the oppressed, and the enemies of the
oppressor; that, with their consent, the colored
people shall no longer be reviled or held in bondage.
The moment Irishmen in America take this noble
stand, and not one moment sooner, they will com-
mand the respect of the American people; for at
that moment they will occupy a proud position, and
command the admiration of even those who pursue
a different policy.
The slaveholder is a man, and he cannot but de-
spise the crawling wretch who comes from another
country, with high professions on his lips, but a
dastardly and tyrannical spirit in his heart. The
hypocrite is ever despised.
There is but one way for the Irishman to secure
respect in America—that is, to deserve it.
JAMES HAUGHTON.
P. S. In addition to the Irishman's ill-treat-
ment of the colored man, he is frequently found, in
the American cities, a keeper of some low grog-
shop, and the direct encourager of the vile drink-
ing customs which lead to drunkenness, and which
are held in such abhorrence there by all good citi-
zens.
I hope this letter will be copied by the editors of
many American newspapers.
**FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY PROCEEDINGS
IN EDINBURGH.**
To the Editor of the SCOTCH PRESS.
Sir,—The appearance of a circular dated 27th
March, 1856, signed 'Clara V. Reid,' and 'Helen
Arthur,' requesting a meeting 'for the purpose of
forming in Edinburgh a Ladies' Society, based on
Christian principles, to aid in the abolition of
slavery in the United States of America,' followed
by an advertisement, announcing that the object
contemplated had been duly accomplished, by the
formation of the 'Edinburgh Ladies' New As-
sociation for the Abolition of Slavery,' has sug-
gested the few following remarks, which are re-
spectfully submitted to all who feel an interest in
the subject, and especially to the ladies of Edin-
burgh, who have been solicited to withdraw or
withhold their offerings to the anti-slavery cause
from a Society which had done good service in that
department of Christian philanthropy, and entered
them to a new Society, whose fidelity to anti-
slavery principles and practice remains to be tested
in the field of conflict.
It is well known to all amongst us, who have
taken any interest in anti-slavery proceedings, that
the 'Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society' is
the only body to whom belongs the honor of having
borne aloft the anti-slavery banner in our northern
metropolis for many years past; and, without fear
of contradiction, it is maintained that the ladies
who have had the direction of its affairs, and es-
pecially its excellent Secretary, Miss Wigham,
have labored with unflinching devotedness in pro-
moting the end of its organization.
In answer to the charge, by implication, con-
tained in the circular referred to, viz., that it is
not based on Christian principles, it is deemed
sufficient to draw attention to the constitution of
the Society printed on the second page of its last
annual report, and to the character and stand-
ing of the ladies who have the direction of its
movements, to show the utter groundlessness of
the impeachment.
This organic law of the 'Edinburgh Ladies'
Emancipation Society, it will be admitted, is quite
as careful about 'Christian principles,' as the con-
stitution of the 'Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society,'
formed on the 20th of June, 1854. For while the
former is silent about creeds, the gentlemen's
society, among other things, solemnly declares
the following, as the third section of its constitution:
'That this Society shall consist of all persons, with-
out distinction of creeds, country, or complexion,
who shall agree in the principles above set forth,
and subscribe to its funds.' Here is a platform,
to use an Americanism, sufficiently broad for 'all
parties and sects of abolitionists.' However, con-
sidering the character and standing of the gen-
tlemen who took part in the proceedings at the for-
mation of the Society, among whom were the Rev. J.
R. Campbell, and Dr. Candlish, a sense of propriety
forbids our charging it as not based on Chris-
tian principles. And it is respectfully submitted,
that the character and standing of the office-
bearers and managers of the 'Edinburgh Ladies'
Emancipation Society, ought equally to have pro-
tected the Society over which they preside from
such a foolish, because unfounded charge.
Some of the associates of the ladies who pub-
lished the circular, with a zeal worthy of a better
cause, have been going about working up the fears
of the timid, and the prejudices of the ignorant,
telling them that the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipa-
tion Society co-operates with infidel abolitionists.
To dismiss this charge, it might be enough to meet
it with an unqualified denial, and to remind those
who prefer it, that 'Christian principles' forbid
the bearing false witness against our neighbor.
However, instead of so acting, the following re-
marks are offered, touching the fact, which, it is
alleged, justifies the charge. The fact referred to
is, that the Society aided in defraying the expenses
incurred for gas, &c., on a recent occasion of an
American gentleman, who, it is supposed, is ec-
clesiastically a Unitarian, delivering an address in
South College Street Church, on the pro-slavery
doings of the 'American Board of Commissioners
for Foreign Missions.' Well, it is admitted that
it did so. But do the ladies who have got up the
'new association' mean to insist that a man is
not competent to testify to a matter of fact, unless
he avows his belief in the 'Thirty-nine Articles,' or
some other orthodox standard? We 'guess' not, neither
do we believe, that the intelligent Christianity of
Scotland will endorse such a rantful folly. There
is probably no man in America who has more
thorough knowledge of the acts of slavery in the
State and in the Church, than the gentleman refer-
red to. And in it then a betrayal of 'Christian
principles,' or a sign against orthodox, to listen to
him while he testifies, or even to furnish him with
an opportunity to testify, regarding that which he
knows of the horrors of American slavery? But
whoever maintains the affirmative, it is submitted
that the 'Edinburgh Ladies' New Association for
the Abolition of Slavery,' ought to be the last
party to take up such a position, viz., that it is
'new association' mean to insist that a man is
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I disobeyed the law of God revealed in the Bible. I read in Paul, (1 Cor. 6: 21) — But if thou wast bound to use it rather. I read in Moses, (Deut. 23: 15, 16). "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place which he shall choose in any one of thy gates, whither it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him." This implies my right to flee if I feel myself oppressed, and debar a man from delivering me again to my professed master.

I said I was stolen. God's word declares, "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." (Ex. 21: 16.) Why did you not execute God's law on the man who stole me from my mother's arms? How is it that you trample down God's law against the oppressor, and wrest it to condemn me, the innocent and oppressed? Have you forgotten that the New Testament classes 'men-stealers' with 'murderers of fathers' and 'murderers of mothers,' with 'man-slayers and whoremongers'! (1 Tim. 1: 9, 10.)

The advice you volunteered to send me along with the sentence of excommunication, exhorts me, when I shall come to preach like Paul, to send every runaway home to his master, as he did Onesimus to Philemon. You would have me send back as he did, I should love to send them back as he did, — now as a servant, but above a servant — a brother — a brother beloved — both in the flesh and in the Lord; — both a brother-man and a brother-Christian. Such a relation would be delightful — to be put on a level, in position, with Paul himself. "If thou count me, therefore, a partner, receive him as myself." I would to God that every fugitive had the privilege of returning to such a condition — to the embrace of such a Christianity — not now as a servant, but now as a servant — a partner, even as Paul himself was to Philemon!

You charge me with disobeying the laws of men. I utterly deny that those things which outrage all right are laws. To be real laws, they must be founded in equity.

You have thrust me out of your church-fellowship. You cannot exclude me from heaven; you cannot hinder my daily fellowship with God.

You have used your liberty of speech freely in exhorting and rebuking me. You are aware that I too am now where I may think for myself, and can use great freedom of speech too, if I please. I shall therefore be only returning the favor of your exhortation if I exhort you to study carefully the golden rule which reads, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." Would you like to be stolen? and then sold? and then worked without wages? and forbidden to read the Bible? and to turn from your wife and children? and then, if you were able to make your self free, and should be sold, as Paul said, "use it rather, would you think it quite right to be cast out of the church for this? If it were done, so wickedly, would you be afraid God would endorse it? Suppose you were to put your soul in my soul's stead; how would you read the law of love?

ANTHONY BURNS.

A SLAVEHOLDING COLPORTEUR.

The Administration of the Tract Society, in their various defences, lay much stress upon the plea that they have not in any way sanctioned or aided the system of slavery. They are especially pained to satisfy the public that they have no direct connection with the system.

We do not suppose — no one has ever charged it upon the Committee — that they have published it, directly or indirectly, in defence of slavery. But while they refuse to publish any thing against the crimes inherent in that system as it exists at the South, they do also give it their sanction by employing slaveholders as colporteurs.

On p. 85 of the Report of the Tract Society for 1855, in the list of colporteurs in North Carolina, we find the name of J. M. Straight. This gentleman, in his correspondence with parties at the North, who contribute to his support as colporteur of the Tract Society, admits that he is the owner of two slaves, and justifies himself in that relation. Now, we have not one word of reproach for the Rev. Mr. M. as a slaveholder. It may be that he received his slaves by inheritance, and holds them only by constraint of law, seeking to fulfil toward them the law of Christ, and referring to them as his "children in the Lord." We do not call in question his character as a minister of Christ. But the expediency of employing a slaveholder as a colporteur of a national catholic institution is quite another question.

The relation of a slaveholder is at best one of doubtful morality. Did this colporteur buy his slaves? Does he hold them as property? If he should become embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs, are they liable to be sold as part of his estate? Does he purpose to hold them in perpetual bondage? At his death, will they fall to his heirs, whatever their character, or be sold away from kindred and friends and home? Are they ruled by love or by fear? Are they treated as equals before God, or as chattels by law established? The servant of a national religious society should not be a man who needs to define and defend his connection with a great public wrong, and to prove that his case is an exception to a general law. Hence the American Home Missionary Society never employs as a missionary or agent one who is personally connected with the institution of slavery.

Fellow-Christians at the North, who give your money to the Tract Society to do good at the South, consider well these facts. Your Committee publish freely against the immoralities of dancing, wine-drinking, novel-reading, smoking and chewing tobacco, and sleeping in church; but when asked to utter some earnest Christian word against the desolating of families by sale, the violation of woman's chastity and of the sanctity of marriage by brute force or pretence, or when they are asked to do anything to stop such a traffic, they are silent. They would not be 'calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians,' including their own slaveholding colporteurs at the South. If a colporteur should smoke cigars on the public street how long would they employ him? If he should drink wine at dinner daily, how long could he hold his commission? If he should go to a village dance or send his children to dancing-school, how long would he be sustained in the service? If he should visit New York, how long would it be before he would be called to account at the Tract House? If he should read Harper's yellow-covered novels, how long would he be employed to circulate an evangelical literature? If he should habitually go to sleep in church, how long would his name stand on the list of colporteurs? Yet the fact that he owns slaves is no bar to his employment as a colporteur of the Tract Society. Is this 'calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians?' Or are such calumnies made only for Christians south of Mason and Dixon's line? — Independent.

EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS?

The officers of the American Tract Society refuse to print any thing on the duty of teaching servants to read the Word of God, or on the wickedness of separating and desolating families by the sale of their members, because 'Evangelical Christians at the South will not bear it!' In common with multitudes of others who have contributed to the funds of the Society, we are asked to give our assent to a course of conduct which we are asked to manage WHO ARE those Evangelical Christians at the South who are so thoroughly and basely subservient to the world that they will not allow the plainest principles of religion, the very axioms of morality, to be printed and circulated among them, provided they address their consciences, or interfere with their profits? Perhaps the following fact, which we lately received from the lips of a respected and well-known clergyman of the Presbyterian church in New York, born in a slave State, though exercising his ministry at the North, may help us to an answer: —

Not many years since, a member of an 'Evangelical Church' in one of the northern tier of slave States, at his death left three slaves to as many feeble churches, located in his vicinity; providing by his will, that the slaves (all of them men) should be hired out year by year, and the avails of the labor of each of them be devoted to the support of the Gospel of the church to which they were assigned. For several years after his death, his arrangements were carried out; but at length, the executor of his estate, finding that the annual letting of the men was attended with difficulties, and gave rise to certain disagreeable disputes, applied to a lawyer, to ascertain if he could not sell the men, under the

provisions of the will, and invest the proceeds for the benefit of the same churches. He was advised that he could do so; and accordingly, these industrious, faithful and useful workmen were advertised to be sold, at public auction. They were all well known in the vicinity, and highly valued, and the sale naturally drew together a large concourse.

The first man put upon the auction-stand was a skillful and intelligent mechanic, whom many persons were desirous of purchasing, and the competition for whom among the bidders was, therefore, active. Twelve hundred, fourteen, sixteen, eighteen hundred, two thousand dollars were rapidly offered, and still the auctioneer waited for more.

At that point, a well-known slave-trader of the neighborhood struck in with his bid; and the moment his voice was heard, the man who was being sold, who, until then, had borne himself as well as a man might while the last insult to his humanity and to his Maker was being wreaked upon him, broke into an agony of supplication and a torrent of tears. "Master! Master!" he cried, turning to the trader before the assembled crowd, "don't you bid on me! don't you buy me! I'll save my man here as well as I can; but don't you buy me! I can't go away! I've a wife and five children! I can't go away! Don't you buy me!" His night as well as his day, he begged to melt it, or to the East wind to stop its blowing. The bids went on higher, till at last he was knocked down — the faithful, industrious and affectionate man — for twenty-six hundred dollars to the remorseless slaveholder. Body and brains, the man, the husband, the father, the Christian — all the more valuable on the auction block, because of the facilities and the qualities in him that made him dear to the heart of God — sold, to go with the man who proceeded to be paid over by the pirate who bought him, and invested for the support of an Evangelical church! The terrible anguish of the man, his looks and tones of unutterable despair, so moved the soul of our informant, then a youth, that he hurried from the spot, unable to witness the two similar scenes that were presented to follow. And the emotion with which he rehearsed those, a few days since, showed that the intervening years had not erased or dimmed his remembrance of it.

Are these 'Evangelical Christians' whom the officers of the Tract Society dare not offend? These men, who sell their brother-believers, because they are poor, to 'support the Gospel' for themselves and their children — who make the family a farce, and build their churches by such horrible co-partnership with the dealers in human souls — are they the ones whose resistance is to still the voice of American Christians on these questions of our times? Are they the ones whose more despotic and more than any other? Is it the men whose hands are dripping with this bloody sweat, wrung from the anguished souls whom God created in his own image, and whom the Savior died to redeem, whose anticipated remembrance is more powerful at the Tract House than all the impulses of Humanity and Religion? Fellow-Christians at the North — Fellow-Christians at the South, if there are those there, as we believe, to whom such horrible wickedness as this is just as abhorrent as it is to us — shall these things be without dissent, and be for ever? Then there is one inspired utterance of the great and fervent Apostle to the Gentiles which flashes into the memory like a very bolt of light from the mind of God himself: "YE CANNOT DRINK THE CUP OF THE LORD, AND THE CUP OF DEVILS!" — Ibid.

NORTHERN PRINCIPLES AND SOUTHERN TRADE.

John Joliffe, who so nobly advocated the cause of the poor fugitives who escaped to Cincinnati, was recently rewarded by a handsome and valuable gift from the citizens of that place. The present was accompanied by a manly letter, approving of his course, &c. This letter was signed, among others, by S. Straight, of the firm of Straight, Deming & Co. Some contemptible lickspittle of a merchant, who thought to benefit himself by crawling before the cotton Lords of the South, obtained copies of a paper containing this letter, and enclosed them to some of the principal merchants South, who had been dealing with the firm of Straight, &c. Not only so, but the papers were enclosed in envelopes marked S. D. & Co., and the name Straight underscored, as if Straight himself had sent the papers, and meant to insult his patrons. A number of merchants in Nashville, Tenn., wrote to the firm, and wished to know if the Straight, who signed the letter to John Joliffe, was of the firm of Straight, Deming & Co.

Mr. Straight wrote a very manly letter in reply, vindicating his course, and acknowledging an sympathy for the fugitives, and his approval of Mr. Joliffe's course. Though disposed to keep his weather with his customers, he was not willing to degrade himself by renouncing his principles in favor of liberty. The Southern Lords, however, assured him that they could not patronize any man who opposed their most cherished institution, &c.

The impudence of this attempt to trammel free speech in the North by stuffing cotton into the mouths of Northern merchants, without a word on their part in the doing of the Black Power. Thus are our merchants silenced in our great cities, and compelled to become the watch-dogs of American slavery; and these merchants reflect their servility upon the press, and the press exerts its polluting influence upon the farmers and other classes, until the whole North is but a hunting-ground for slaveholders, and the people but bloodhounds to run and bark and bite at the command of their masters.

It is shameful. Why, the North could buy the South a dozen times over, and yet, we are to be cottonized until our souls are but the wool and web of that fibrous plant. Yet we feed more grass to our cattle every year than all the cotton crop of the South is worth. The North is the great workshop; here we manufacture clothing, implements, &c., for our Southern Lords, who in turn periodically become bankrupt, and cheat us out of our dues; but we, God-naturedly, you stupidly, work on, satisfied if we but gain the chance to send one of his boys from the men whom we please to recognize as our patrons, but who in reality are our puppets. We send them teachers, engineers, &c., we manufacture their garments, and they in return make us run down their niggers, and crawl on our faces and eat Southern dirt.

THE FINAL TEST.

In the Eve of April 10th, we pointed out the successive steps by which the so-called Democratic Party had been degraded to the uses of Slavery; and said that the next step would be to give to the People of a Territory of the right to prohibit Slavery. Already it had repudiated intervention by Congress — but the ultimate aim of the Slave Power was, to repudiate intervention by the Territorial Legislature. Since then, the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer has come out with a long editorial, denouncing in decided terms the dogma of 'Squatter Sovereignty,' claiming for the Federal Government absolute power over the Territories, insisting upon its duty to set aside any Territorial legislation against Slavery, and assuring that Congress has the right to reject the application of a Territory for admission as a State, for due cause. And it thus gives law to the Cincinnati Convention, to meet in June:

"We must, in the Cincinnati platform, repudiate Squatter Sovereignty, and expressly assert State equality. We must declare that it is the duty of the General Government to see that no injurious or injurious distinctions are made between the people or the property of different sections in the Territories. We do not mean to dictate. It may be the assertion in the platform of the abstract proposition of State equality may suffice to carry along with it the consequences which we desire. But it is often charged that the Kansas Nebraska bill contains the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty, and that Squatter Sovereignty is the most efficient agent of Free-Soilism. Some [all] Northern Democrats have maintained this ground. Now, this can never be spoken. It must appear from our platform that we maintain practical State equality, and repudiate that construction of the Kansas Nebraska law which would defeat it. The South only demands equality of right. The more clearly it appears that the Northern Democracy is ready to concede it to her, the more certain is our candidate of success."

Now, let us see whether the so-called Democracy is ready for its final leap into perdition.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, MAY 9, 1856.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will hold its anniversary in the Melrose, Boston, on THURSDAY, WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 27th, 28th and 29th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Cheering as has been the growth of the Anti-Slavery movement, the time has not yet come for repose, or relaxation of effort; on the contrary, never has there been more need of tireless vigilance, zealous exertion, unyielding determination, and pecuniary liberality, than now. Is not the Slave Power still master of the whole country, with its grasp upon all the leading sects and religious institutions, having at its command all the revenues of the republic to carry forward its filibustering purposes, and to insure the success of 'border ruffianism,' aided by an administration unparalleled for its perjury and profligacy? Has not the South thrown away her old pretence, that negroes are to be held in slavery because they are an inferior race, and doomed to servitude as the descendants of Canaan; and does she not now daringly assert, that THE LABORING CLASSES ought to be made to wear the yoke of bondage, whatever may be the color of their skin? — that free institutions are a failure, and must be superseded by the institution of chattel slavery universally!

Let there be an attendance of the friends of freedom at this Convention, proportionate to the solemnity and importance of the present crisis.

Among the veteran and eloquent advocates of the slave, who will participate in the discussions, may confidently be expected our long absent and highly esteemed coadjutor, PARKER PILBURY.

In behalf of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

ROBERT F. WALLACE, Secretary.

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

It will be seen that the following petition differs somewhat from the one we published last week, and it is desirable that this should be signed and forwarded:

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of this Commonwealth, respectfully represent that His Excellency, Governor Gardner, in his Message of May 10, 1855, in which he declined acceding to the Address of the Legislature for the removal of Judge Loring from the office of Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk, made use of the following language: —

"That removal should take place in a way unquestionably constitutional; in such a manner, that while the obnoxious individual is removed from his public post, no precedent is established pregnant with evil to those who may come after him, and so that punishment shall follow only a plain violation of law. Such a course is open for the Legislature to adopt. In both branches, an attempt was made to render the holding of the office of Judge of Probate incompatible with that of the Commissioner, under which Judge Loring's action was deemed obnoxious and objectionable."

The undersigned respectfully call the attention of the Legislature to the fact, that the attempt to which the Governor alludes was successful, and that by a law passed May 21, 1855, and under which the Governor has acted by appointing the officers required, it is enacted, section 14th —

"Any person holding any judicial office under the Constitution or laws of this Commonwealth, who shall continue, for ten days after the passage of this act, to hold the office of United States Commissioner, or any office under the laws of the United States, which qualifies him to issue a warrant or other process, or grant any certificate, under the acts of Congress named in the ninth section of this act, shall be deemed to have violated good behavior, to have given reason for loss of public confidence, and furnished sufficient ground for his impeachment or removal by address."

Your petitioners further represent, that the said Edward Greeley Loring does still, now, after the expiration of more than ten days aforesaid, in defiance of said Law of this Commonwealth, continue to hold the office of United States Commissioner, an office which does qualify him to issue warrants and grant the certificates specified in the above quoted section, and also the office of Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk.

Wherefore, your petitioners respectfully call, that you will take measures, by an Address to His Excellency, or by such other method as to your Honorable Body may seem best, for the removal of said Loring from his office as Judge aforesaid.

JEFFERSON ALL RIGHT. A correspondent in a letter on our last page, undertakes to show that 'non-resistance is not true,' and that the Jesuitical doctrine 'the end justifies the means,' is 'the only true doctrine'!

But he is not exactly correct in his reasoning. In one breath, he believes we are to have no COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY OR WRONG anywhere in God's universe; and in the next, he denies that there are any absolute, inflexible rules of human action applicable to all cases at all times; and maintains that while 'law and liberty are among the most SACRED OF HUMAN RIGHTS,' yet 'they are not absolute, because 'happiness is the great aim and end of life' — as if to annihilate 'the most sacred rights,' and to destroy 'life and liberty,' can ever be logical or 'happiness'! Our correspondent is neither logical nor analogical, and will find that, in playing fast and loose with principle, and in attempting to determine all the possible consequences of a given act before performing it, he has 'a hard road to travel.' He says that 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number, for the greatest length of time, is the great right and law of our being' — but where is his proof? We go for the greatest happiness of each and all, and believe this to be 'the law of our being' — loving our neighbors as ourselves. The community which sacrifices or impairs the rights of a single human being, to increase its own happiness, because it is made up of 'the greatest number,' shall ever be foiled in its selfish purpose.

UNMASKED. The Reverend hypocrite who edits the Providence Transcript has made a fresh exhibition of himself since the Anti-Slavery Convention was held in that city. [See 'Refuge of Oppression.'] We have no ammunition to waste in that direction. He is not the first wolf in sheep's clothing whom we have been instrumental in unmasking. In view of the fact, that he grossly, wantonly and wickedly assailed the Convention, attempted to keep people from it, and foully assailed the character of the prominent advocates of the law attending it, his outcry about 'the abuse and opprobrium which was [were] cast' upon him 'by the leaders in the Convention,' is alike despicable and audacious. Of course, we expect him to be with the murderers of Jesus in his affected zeal for the Sabbath.

THE IRISH IN AMERICA. We have copied from the Dublin Freeman, a most timely and faithful letter from that excellent and untiring philanthropist, JAMES HAUGHTON, Esq., of Dublin, respecting the recent conduct of the Irish in America, in regard to the anti-slavery struggle. He is more than justified in all that he says about them. They are greatly to be blamed, and as deeply to be pitied. We hope they will feel rebuke, and atone for it. 'Faithful are the wounds of a friend' — and Ireland and Irishmen have never yet had a better friend than JAMES HAUGHTON. DANIEL O'CONNELL held him in the highest respect. In the case of Temperance, he is ever at work, and doing what in him lies, with his voice and his pen, to consummate the reformation which FATHER MATHEW so auspiciously began.

LABORS IN CENTRAL NEW YORK.

HOPEDALE, April 27, 1856.

DEAR MR. MAY:

During the past year, I have made three visits to Central New York, and spent, in all, about six months in the State. The principal place of my labors has been a small village — McLEAN — lying in Tompkins county, and about thirty-five miles south of Syracuse. I went out as an agent of our Hopedale Quarterly Conference, and confined myself chiefly to the promulgation, by preaching and lecturing, of the general doctrines and principles which distinguish our Community — on Sunday occupying the pulpit — which was made free to me of the Universalist Society of McLean. But as I devoted some of my time to Anti-Slavery proper, as an agent of the American Society, perhaps a brief account of my labors in that cause may be appropriate and of some interest.

In the summer and autumn, I lectured in Ganonsville, Seneca Falls, Ovid, Chittenango Falls, Apulia, Dryden, and some few other places; but during the past winter, only in McLean, Groton, and Peruville, small villages adjacent to each other. In all these places, the doctrine of 'No Union with Slaveholders' was quite new, and therefore strange, to most of the people, and hard to receive and digest. Still, thought and inquiry were awakened, and a few in each place visited responded quite heartily to the uncompromising truth. Perhaps the seed sown will spring up and furnish a harvest for the reapers of the future. I will hope so, at least. At any rate, I did what I could to awaken the slumbering humanity of those whom I addressed, and to turn it in the right direction. Several places that I went to knew little of Mr. Garrison or Mr. Phillips — little of their character, position, or labors — and I endeavored, therefore, to give correct views of them, as representatives of the only uncompromising anti-slavery movement in the country, thinking this an effective pioneer work. Great and good men are the mightiest facts and forces in the world, and the people are therefore specially interested in them, and are quite inclined to judge of a new cause by its leaders. Abolitionists, therefore, have reason to bless God that he has raised up to them such leaders as he has — leaders who will command themselves, and therefore their cause, to the heart and head of humanity wherever they are truly made known.

Theodore Parker's occasional sermons on 'the peculiar institution' I found to be very effective instrumentalities in interesting all unprejudiced and thinking minds in the great cause of Human Freedom. I wish they might be scattered broadcast through the land. Their learning and eloquence first attract, and then their irresistible truth convinces. These sermons, with the few tracts I had to circulate, are, I am sure, doing great good, where I have circulated them.

But I will try not to be too lengthy, and speak particularly of my winter's labors, almost just closed, at McLean and the immediate vicinity. Of course, my Sunday preaching has been uncompromisingly anti-slavery, and I have been unexpectedly responded to and sustained in it. This, I believe, has been greatly owing to my preaching against all despotism and all aggressions upon human rights. LIBERTY — universal liberty — liberty for all races and all classes, and for men and women equally — liberty rightly to exercise all one's God-given rights and prerogatives is a divine duty, which commands itself to what is true and best in every man; and by boldly proclaiming such liberty, as the inalienable right of every creature of God, I have secured the respect of some for our anti-slavery movement, whom I could not have reached at all with a mere political 'Republican' compromising anti-slavery — which is, in innumerable instances, no anti-slavery at all. Some 'Republicans' that I have met with have seemed to me very true lovers of liberty, only needing light to be 'Garrisonians'; but many of them have been far less anti-slavery than some of the 'old hunkers' I have met with. Some of these 'old hunkers' have said to me, Why, Mr. A. or Mr. B. — professed 'Republicans' — is no more of an anti-slavery man than I am; and I have had to admit it. Had I, therefore, have labored to build up a Republican party — narrow and compromising as that party is — I should only have seemed to have a political end in view, and awakened political hostility and prejudices. But going, as I did, against all despotism, whether over one race or another, or over body or soul, and in favor of universal Human Rights, the inalienable rights of every man and of every woman, I have been enabled, sometimes, at least, to break through political prejudices, and to call forth responses from the hearts of those long undecided, and willing to be considered pro-slavery. And, as I go about the world, I am more and more satisfied with the position of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies. There would be little or no 'Republicanism' in the land, low as that is, but for those Societies. Wherever I go, I tell the people that an uncompromising movement, like 'Garrisonianism,' is just as essential to the progress of Freedom, as an engine is to a train of cars, and multitudes confess it, though it is hard for them to join such a movement. It costs too much; too many idols have to be laid upon the altar, pecuniary, political, religious, and social.

At Peruville, a small village four miles distant from McLean, we had, during the month of March, five or six free meetings for the discussion of our general views of the anti-slavery question, and much interest was elicited. The meetings were held in the Methodist Church, and various classes of religionists, and others, took an active part in them. The chief point discussed was the doctrine of 'No Union with Slaveholders' — or, the comparative advantages of *slavism* and *compromise*, as philosophies of reform. I had but one friend fully on my side — Mr. Edward Larned, an intelligent and excellent man, who has just become thoroughly converted to the doctrine of 'No Union,' &c. He did our side essential service both by what he said and by occupying the position on the question which he does. The leading Episcopal Methodist in the debate, frankly admitted the pro-slavery character of his church, but expressed his determination to stay in it to reform it; while the Wesleyan Methodists contended that it is a duty to come out of the church, but not out of the U. S. Government! The latter, however, contended that they could stay in the Government, because its Constitution is anti-slavery! They took Gerrit Smith's position; and this, I assured them, I had no objection to their taking, if they could only make it practicable, and would stick to carrying out their view uncompromisingly. But they wanted the privilege to vote for men who do not believe the Constitution is anti-slavery — for such men as Wm. H. Seward and Charles Sumner — Republicans, when they could not get Gerrit Smith men! So their arguing amounted to nothing, and only served them as a sort of opiate to their consciences. I found, too, that almost all in Central New York, who contend for Gerrit Smith's views of the Constitution, practice the same inconsistency — vote for men who believe it pro-slavery. Mr. Smith himself, I believe, does not do it — would not vote for Charles Sumner, were he in Massachusetts; but his followers — they are not followers — the mass of them seem only to profess with him, but go on perpetually choosing between 'the least of two evils.' So there is hardly a baker's dozen of uncompromising political abolitionists to be found anywhere. Mr. Smith and Mr. Goodell have got a great work to do to induce their Constitutional disciples to act consistently.

The leading Presbyterian in our debate was a 'Republican'; but the Presbytery and his church were evidently his number one. He neither admitted nor denied the pro-slavery character of Presbyterianism, but he declared that he meant to stick to it, be it what it might. I thought it appeared to me, but little difference with him whether it led him right or wrong — He was determined to follow it whithersoever he heard its voice. He was a deacon; but he was a strong advocate of Sharp's rifles, and quoted Henry Ward Beecher in his vindication. He thought I treated Doctors of Divinity as though I thought they were worse than slaveholders; and I assured him that I did — that I believed them to be the chief slaveholders, and that if I

were going to use Sharp's rifles at all, I should go for shooting those Doctors — go down to the Presbytery, in their annual Assembly, and shoot them there. They, I insisted, had helped make the border ruffians what they are, by their abominable teachings, and were the more guilty class of the two. This shocked his reverence for the priesthood and church, of course, and so he considered me a disturber of the peace of the neighborhood, and was averse to continuing the meetings. But thought was awakened, and good done, I trust. The ball was put in motion there, and I hope to be able to do something hereafter to keep it in motion.

But I must not add more, though, if time and circumstances would admit, I should like to give a fuller account of our discussion, noticing some other speakers. On the whole, the meetings were pleasant, though somewhat exciting; and as I think of returning to that region about the first of June, with my family, to spend six months or a year, I shall endeavor to make preparations in the autumn for a series of meetings, by some other agent, or agents, in various towns thereabout. Central New York I think to be a promising field of labor, which is the only reason of my going to it, as it will be hard for us to leave Hopedale even for a season.

FRATERNALLY, WM. H. FISH.

COLORPHOBIA IN THE CHARLESTOWN SCHOOL COMMITTEE.

The Telegraph informs us that, among the candidates for admission into the Charlestown High School, at the recent examination, 'were two very respectable colored young ladies from the Warren School. The teacher, Mr. Swan, one of the best school teachers in the State, knew that they were among the best scholars in his first class, and in advance of several of the class who were candidates for the High School. He therefore had no doubt of their passing examination, although they were the first children of color that ever applied for admission. But he was astonished and mortified on receiving notice that all of his pupils who were candidates had passed examination except the two colored young ladies in question. The hearts of their schoolmates at once rebelled against it, and several of them generously offered to give them their tickets of admission to go to the High School instead of themselves. This is highly creditable to these generous girls, and shows the esteem in which they hold their schoolmates "guilty of a skin not colored like their own."

The affair has called out the following correspondence: —

CHARLESTOWN SCHOOL COMMITTEE.

To the Editor of the Telegraph:

DEAR SIR: — The first article in your paper on Saturday, April 20th, which attracted my attention, was headed, 'Colorphobia in the Charlestown School Committee.' Truth and justice demand that I should notice it, being one of the Board, one of the Sub-Committee of the Warren School, and one anxious that the two colored pupils should succeed and gain admittance to the High School.

These two candidates were excluded with eighteen others, simply because they had not answered correctly the required number of questions. It was not known at the time of fixing the standard for admission, that there were any colored applicants, except by two or three members of the Board, who were in favor of their entrance.

After the decision of the Board on the next day, the papers of these unsuccessful candidates were re-examined with great care, to see if possibly any error had been made by the Examining Committee. I have myself examined these papers, and must say, that in my judgment, they have received a fair attention and obtained their full credit. I regret exceedingly the misfortune of these pupils.

But it is one of those cases where strict integrity causes a temporary suffering even to the meritorious. In the competition they failed, where others, less deserving, succeeded. It was truly generous in their associates to be willing to yield their privileges, and in this generosity, they were disappointed. They will find much to cheer and induce them to make another effort, 'to try again.'

So far as the School Committee are concerned, I believe they have acted honorably and justly, without favor, without prejudice.

Respectfully yours, O. C. EVERETT.

Charlestown, April 26, 1856.

THE CHARLESTOWN SCHOOL COMMITTEE.

To the Editor of the Telegraph:

Your article in last Saturday's Telegraph, in relation to the exclusion of the two colored pupils from the High School, and also the communication of Mr. Everett in Monday's paper, relative to the same subject, have attracted a good deal of attention in this city. It certainly appears remarkable, to say the least, that the two colored scholars were the only ones of Mr. Swan's pupils, among the eleven who were candidates, that were not admitted to the High School; and this too in the face of the notorious fact that these two girls were better scholars than several of their schoolmates who were admitted. However free Mr. Everett may be from any prejudice, or from any colorphobia, it is not to be wondered at, that he should be so confident of the public that he would not be party to any unjust decision in a matter of this kind, he cannot answer for all his colleagues of the committee. While public opinion may acquit Mr. Everett, it is not satisfied that there is not 'something wrong' about this subject. Indeed Mr. Everett himself says of these colored pupils, in his communication, that 'in the competition they failed, where others less deserving succeeded.' Does not this show very clearly that the rule by which the committee determined the qualifications for admission to the High School, was an improper one?

It is rumored that one of these pupils failed, by one only, of giving the requisite number of correct answers to the questions. It is also said that one of the questions which she failed to answer to the satisfaction of the Committee, was a sum in arithmetic, which she worked out correctly and produced the right answer, but omitted or misstated the decimal point. Upon being asked to do the same sum the next day, she worked it out correctly and placed the point correctly. It is also said that the Committee, or some of them, are very tender upon the matter of the pointing of this sum, and are desirous that nothing more be said about it. No body supposes that Mr. Everett would think of such a thing as altering the pointing of such an answer of an of the candidate pupils. But unfortunately for the Committee, the public have not the same degree of confidence in all of them as they have in Mr. Everett; and it does not increase the public confidence in the Committee in relation to this matter, that one of their number is chosen to be the examiner of 'the two darkies' from the High School. Nor is the confidence of the public in the School Committee strengthened by their recent action in filling the vacancy occasioned by the death of the first assistant teacher of the Warren School. In this case the sub-committee for this school engaged an old and favorite teacher who had formerly occupied the same position, to the universal satisfaction of the parents of the children attending the Warren School. But to the sore disappointment of both pupils and parents, the School Committee overruled the engagements and recommendations of the sub-committee, and elected another person.

Upon the whole, the School Committee are attracting more of the attention than confidence of the public. Charlestown, May 2, 1856. SPECTATOR.

So it seems — disguise the facts as certain parties may — these candidates were excluded, not for their educational deficiencies. So much for the American crime of color; and this, too, under the shade of Banker Hill, where, in the times that tried our revolutionary fathers' souls, colored Americans shed their blood, in common with others, for the rights now denied their descendants. Indeed, the tide of that battle — so says Sweet, the historian — was turned by a colored soldier — PETER SALEM, who shot Major Pitcairn, and was complimented by General Washington; and a contribution was raised for him by his fellow-soldiers, for the gallant feat.

The man who, in his civic, official or social position, would lay any embargo upon a colored youth's progress, would volunteer to assist Senator Toombs in calling the roll of his slaves on Banker Hill.

Boston, May, 1856. W. C. N.

SLAVERY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

The Gerrit Smith and William Goodell Abolitionists are laboring very industriously to disseminate their view of the constitutional question in the community; and although sophistical, fallacious and false, many who have once assailed the Constitution, as being the basis of a Union that was the bond of the slave, yet longing after the flesh-pots of Egypt, satisfy their consciences therewith, and become voters again; more, who have been Free Soilers, finding that they are in an inconsistent and false position, flee for safety to this quib-

ble, and feel, or affect to feel, that they are consistent Abolitionists, still voting under that wicked constitution of Mr. Granger's speech in Congress, in last week's LIBERATOR, very clearly and comprehensively shows the position of men taking the anti-slavery view of the Constitution, and sweeps from them the refuge of the law in which they entrench themselves. So able and able a tractant form, and if Mr. Garrison were to present such such enlargements as may add to it general circulation for publication

For the Liberator. BARBER AND SHANNON.

Ohio's name in Kansas!—two sons Whose names are linked so terribly together Upon the bloody record of that land— That fair green land, so late assured to Freedom, But, through the horrid Slaves-Flood's envious hate, Become her last, most desolate battle-ground— Where shall the Muse find language to portray The mighty moral gulf that separates them?

The one, a yeoman of Ohio's best, Drank freedom from her maternal bosom; Of her men, in manhood's pride he went, With the true spirit of a pioneer, To seek a home in that new land of hope. A wife and kindred bore him company, Happy to share his lot, his love and pride; Content, they proved its trying times together— The separation from old cherished friends— Cheered by the opening buds of promise 'round them. There, void of guile, and giving none offence, He lived, and hoped to live, to serve his God And country, as an honest freeman should: Hope just, well-founded, but, alas! how vain!

The other,—he who shames Ohio's name, No true-born son of hers!—goes to that land, Called as the tool of Slavery's greater tool, To wreak the monster's will of hate and blood On Freedom's non-offending victims there. Oh, vilest of all missions! most accursed! Bearing its fruits; for soon this miscreant Feigns civil war, begun by Freedom's sons, And calls on Slavery's myriads to aid— The hell-bound 'Border Ruffians' of Missouri. They come—all hot for blood—besieging close The unoffending people; coward-like, Mardering defenceless individuals, Till he who called them trembled at their bay, And was right glad to see them bounding home— Pretending, precious wretch! they had deceived him.

Meantime, the deed is done: cold BARBER lies Stained with his own heart's blood! And SHANNON stands Bearing the brand of Cain upon his brow: Else the eternal law, that the effect Follows the cause, is only merest fancy! Rise, proud Ohio! and pronounce between Thy sons! O, rise, and vindicate the Right! With tens and hundreds fill the victim's place, And teach them never, never to forget 'The deep damnation of his taking off!' Thy sisters, Indiana, Illinois, Young Iowa, and all the old North-West, Will join the terrible East in marshalling (Such is our cherished hope, our earnest prayer) Such hosts of freemen on fair Kansas' plains, As shall forever make and keep her free, Despite the powers combined of earth and hell. Hail to the day! swift may its advent be: O, might we hear a free-born People's voice Proclaim it, in defiance of the threats Of the poor, God-forsaken, prying thing, Whose baseness and whose infamy profane, Pollute the place once filled by WASHINGTON!

ISAAC H. JULIAN. Wayne county, Indiana.

*At the time of the conference between Gov. Shannon and the Missouri leaders, and the people of Lawrence during the troubles in Kansas, in December, 1855, a correspondent of the New York Tribune says: 'The dead body of Barber, which had been brought in, was stretched upon one of the floors. I wonder if the Governor's eye fell on that relic of cold morality, who yesterday was a valuable citizen, esteemed and beloved, and to-day a martyr to the cause of Freedom. If he did look, did no accusing Nathan whisper to his startled conscience, "Thou art the man!"' Another, writing to the Liberator, says: 'I have seen the body of the murdered man. His wife, mother and sister have just arrived, and their remains can be viewed at some distance. I helped place the body in the coffin, and saw the striking side and mother imprint the burning kiss of parting love upon the brave man's bloodless lips. Could the Northern people have witnessed that sight, and looked upon the garments of the hero stained with blood, they would be ready to swear eternal hostility to slavery and its infernal allies.'

For the Liberator. MY BOWER OF PRAYER.

SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 27. The grass is springing fresh and green, And vernal songs float on the air; The whirring pines seem beckoning me To my little bower of prayer. My heart responds to Nature's call; With willing feet I tread the sod, And, kneeling on a grassy knoll, I breathe my prayer out to my God. Father in heaven! O, God of love! Where fragrant pines their branches wave, We kneel, imploring thee to bless The poor, the friendless, homeless slave! Two innocents beside me stand, With heaven-blue eyes and auburn hair; And, oh! I strive to teach their hearts To love this little bower of prayer. And here upon the mossy ground, While o'er their heads the branches wave, They clasp their tiny hands, and cry, 'Our heavenly Father, free the slave!' Yon sounding bell, that calls the throng Together on this pleasant morn, When will it toll the last death-knell To Slavery's dark and hideous form? My fragrant temple! here may I Offer to God the homage due; And here, mild birds, and flowers, and trees, Oh! bleeding lava, I'll pray for you! America! bow down thy head! Oh! never Heaven's blessing crave, Till liberty, throughout the land, Be given to every tierced slave!

For the Liberator. TO LILLY.

By the light of those beautiful eyes, Lilly! There are joyful thoughts within: 'Tis a glorious light, And forever as bright It will flash unclouded by sin. And I know by that radiant smile, Lilly! The winning freshness of youth Is yet in thy heart; And, oh! never part With that brilliant bloom of truth! By the rich, sweet tones of that voice, Lilly! I know that all hearts are thine:— Oh! keep it as clear, And thy spirit as near The fountain of life Divine! The years of time will roll on, Lilly! Teaching the knowledge of life:— In its perfect laws, We discover the cause Of its sin and sorrow and strife. God made us a beautiful world, Lilly! With wonderful powers to unfold; But, close our eyes, And breathe only sighs, Our hearts will grow withered and old. Keep the freshness of youth in thy soul, Lilly! Seek ever the true and the right; And thy thoughts will rise, And those beautiful eyes Will flash with a deeper light.

THE LIBERATOR.

NON-RESISTANCE NOT TRUE—THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS.

FRIEDRICH GARRISON:

I have read the articles in your paper relating to Peace, Sharp's Rifles, &c., by Parker, Beecher, and yourself, with great interest. On the platform that is almost universally admitted to be true throughout Christendom, it is evident you have completely demolished your opponents. You consistently and heroically adhere to your principles under the most trying circumstances, while they evidently would condemn lying, stealing and enslaving to attain a great good; would commend and advocate killing. How inconsistent! I deny that there are any absolute, inflexible rules of human action applicable to all cases at all times. Life and liberty are among the most sacred of human rights, but are not absolute. Happiness is the great aim and end of life. If it were not for happiness, life and liberty would not be desirable. Hence, happiness, the greatest happiness, of the greatest number, for the greatest length of time, is the great grand right and law of our being. All other rights are but means to this end. Our lives and liberty, every faculty, every power of our being, should be devoted, and sacrificed, if need be, to attain this great end. You admit by advocating self-sacrifice and martyrdom. If these premises are correct, it follows as an inevitable consequence, that most of the laws and rules of action that have been considered absolute, are but relative, having reference to an end; that the words holiness and sin, right and wrong, good and bad, pure and impure, as applied to human actions, are not positive, but relative terms, meaning only wise and foolish. The moral quality of a doctrine, or an act, is to be determined, not by its squaring with some received dogma, however ancient or venerated, but by the aggregate effect it has upon the well or woe of man. If the legitimate effect of an act or doctrine, in its aggregate, be to bless or make mankind happy, then it is right or wise; if the reverse, then it is wrong or foolish. The correctness or incorrectness of the great doctrines of truth, liberty and peace, in fact, all doctrines of human interest, must be decided by this rule. To me, it is perfectly plain. The doctrine that the end sanctifies the means, is the only true doctrine. I ask, what does sanctify the means, or determine the rightfulness of an act, if it is not the good that most legitimately and inevitably results therefrom? The wise man always uses his reason, and acts with reference to results. It is only the fool who acts regardless of consequences. I am surprised that you should discard so plain a principle of human action. Must the quality of our acts be determined by some ancient or popular dogma? Must we lay aside our own sense and reason, and rush blindly on, with nothing but a popular creed or dogma for our guide? For instance: should the people of Kansas refuse to set a row of Sharp's rifles around their houses, and give out to the border ruffians, that if they attempt to invade them, they will certainly be shot; because, forsooth, they have received the doctrine that all men had a right to life, and that they had no right to kill, or do evil, that good may come? The principle is the same, whether the rifles are discharged by machinery, or by human hands. If these ruffians attempt an invasion under these circumstances, and are shot, are they not their own murderers? Or, if you please, are they not martyrs to their own mad zeal for slavery? You say, respecting Parker's position, 'If war is sometimes right and a necessity, so is lying, so is slavery. If the end sanctifies the means in one case, so it does in the other. If it is lawful to kill in defence of a good object, it is equally so to lie or to enslave. Defensive war is no better than defensive lying, or holding men in bondage for their good.' These conclusions are self-evident, and cannot be avoided. But it does not follow that life cannot be taken to effect a greater good, or that an individual life may not be taken to save the life of a multitude. On the same principle that a limb can be amputated to save the life of one person, can the life of one person be taken to save the lives of many. For, as I have shown, the great law of happiness is paramount to life, liberty, or truthfulness, which are only conditions having reference to the attainment of this great end. Every person in the use of his reason would admit the right and duty of a father confining a ruffian, if possible, who is about to intrude his hands in the blood of his innocent family, sufficiently long to enable them to escape beyond his reach: certainly, if it could be done without physical injury. If this be right, then slavery is justified in this instance. If it is right to hold by force or to enslave a man ten minutes, to effect the salvation of a family, then it is right to enslave him ten days or ten months, if it is necessary for their escape. If this be admitted, then, by your own showing, it may be right to take life to effect a corresponding good, and vice versa. If a surgeon can amputate a limb in love for the individual, or if any one can perform a painful duty to effect a future good, then the people of Kansas can take the lives of their invaders, in love of the lives, liberty and rights of the innocent inhabitants of Kansas, for the present and future.

You say the American people are precluded by their Declaration of Independence from taking away that life or that liberty with which the Creator has endowed every human being. I think this is not true from the fact, that if any suffering or death results from the defence of God-given rights, the responsibility must rest with the invader, and not with the defender. The defender of rights can no more be charged with the death or enslavement of the invader, than God can be charged with the murder of a man who invades the laws of his own life by throwing himself into the fire, or by taking poison. The fact that we live and have rights warrants us in the defence of our life and rights. To say a nation has no right to use sufficiently effective means to protect herself in the exercise of her rights, is equivalent to saying she has no rights, while there is a power in the universe to take or deprive her of them. God has proclaimed to man through his senses, that he has no right to live in water, and he has made it just as plain that he has no right to take from his fellow-man his natural or God-given rights. If any one, regardless of the laws of his own life, declares he will live in water, and is drowned in consequence of making the attempt, who is responsible for his death, himself or God? If a man is shot in making the attempt to rob his neighbor of his rights, is it not equally plain that he is his own murderer? It is said we cannot kill a man in love, or for his good. I ask, have we no one to love but the destroyer of all our rights? Must we love the tyrant more than all the rest of mankind? Must we love the life and liberty of the tyrant more than the life and liberty of the rest of mankind? If he is allowed to live and exercise his tyranny, then the rest must die or be his slaves, at his option. Would not the greatest love for the greatest number require his life to be taken, if necessary to preserve the lives of all others? These questions need only be asked, to be answered.

The greatest happiness of the greatest number, or the doctrine that the end justifies the means, is the great criterion by which all questions of right and wrong must be tried. The end, or the results, must be weighed in this balance. The mind must be free to follow its own highest light, instead of being governed by any supposed authoritative, inflexible rules. Just in proportion as it is governed by any authority or rules but its own light, it is enslaved—it ceases to exercise the prerogatives of manhood. Let us now look a little at the philosophy of the doctrine of overlooking evil with good. The first question to settle is, what is good, or a good act? This can be determined only by the results. It is evident that any means that are necessary, or that can overcome evil, are a good, and that which will overcome evil with the least harm, is the greatest good, to talk about overlooking evil with evil, certainly is ab-

surd. It would be an impossibility, from the fact that evil overcome would prove the act good. If the legitimate effects or results of a means be evil, it is evident the means themselves are evil; and if good, they are good. It is also evident that circumstances affect the results. The means that would result in good, and consequently be good, under some circumstances, would be bad in others. To cut off a person's leg when well, would be a great wrong; but amputation when mortified, would be an act of mercy, and a great good. To enslave a man an hour, when his liberty is the only means of saving his sleeping family from the burning flames, would be a great evil; but to enslave him when about to murder an innocent family on equal length of time, if necessary for their escape, would be an act of mercy to both parties, and consequently a good. To kill a man whose life is absolutely necessary for the welfare of a community would be a great evil, but to kill a man whose life would prove the destruction of a whole community, would be a great good. To hang a man who is safely secured from committing crime, is unphilosophical, inhuman, and devilish; but to hang him when nothing else could prevent his destroying the lives of others, would be right, and an act of love and wisdom.

If weekly to submit, by the innocent and good, to have all their dearest rights taken from them, to be completely enslaved, body and soul, or to be killed, at the option of the enslaver, would cure all men of their selfishness, intolerance and cruelty, and secure peace and equal rights, then non-resistance is justifiable. But if it would result in the enslavement of the non-resisting, then it is wrong. The greatest love and the highest wisdom would cause a man to do that, or to use those means which would result in the greatest good to the greatest number. Hence resistance, or non-resistance, can either be used in love, according to the judgment of the actor. It is ignorance, superstition and unwise selfishness that cause all slavery and war. These must be supplanted by knowledge, truth, and true wisdom, before there will be peace and liberty on the earth. If non-resistance will tend to accomplish this elevation and enlightenment, then I hail it with joy, and adopt it. But while I believe we are to have no compromise with slavery or wrong, any where in God's universe, my love for humanity will prompt me to use non-resistance, and every other means that commend themselves to my judgment, in order to destroy them. Yours, for political, religious and affectional freedom, freedom for every person to follow his own highest light, with only this limit, that he shall not infringe upon the equal rights of any other person.

EUGENE HUTCHINSON. Milford, N. H., April 27, 1856.

WITHDRAWAL OF MEMBERSHIP.

To the Clerk of the First Parish in Pepperell, Mass.: Sir,—We the undersigned, members of the First Parish in Pepperell, improve the opportunity to accompany our certificates of withdrawal with a brief presentation of the causes that induced to this course. And here we would distinctly say, that no distrust in the practicality of the Christianity of Christ, or disrespect towards your pastor, has had the slightest influence in our decision. Of your pastor's espousal of the cause of universal liberty, even to the black man, we have a thousand proofs. We appreciate and admire his high-toned liberality and truly Christian toleration. We know he abhors a partisan or sectarian pulpit as deeply as he does the zeal which 'cateth out the spirit of God, which is liberty.'

Neither do we complain of the profession of liberal Christianity that has secured to the First Parish in Pepperell a name among the sects in the land. On this point we are agreed to act as well as profess. We are not of the dainty few who are 'nauseated and disgusted' at the mention of 'liberality,' because your pastor has grown so prodigal of that commodity. The world-to-day groans in bondage for lack of such prodigality on the part of those who, from their position, give tone and emphasis to public sentiment. We are sorry only that the Unitarians in Pepperell have never vitalized their professions by a more liberal policy. The Parish are assured that we take no offence on account of their too earnest espousal of the stirring questions of reform that to-day so agitate the public conscience,—such as peace and war, liberty and slavery, abstinence or indulgence, land monopoly, usury and extortion. On these questions, we have had no cause to complain of their going too far, or running too fast. They are not, in our judgment, getting in the least factitious on these subjects. But we are offended on account of their intolerance—their bigoted opposition to those who have given the flower of their manhood, the strength of their thought, to redeem their fellows from suffering and wrong. We are offended at their persistent opposition to those who have sacrificed reputation, and the quiet of professional life, by their heroic struggles against the broad and lowering sin of this nation, which holds in its embrace all the lesser sins of the land. We are ashamed to be identified with a society of men who commit daily the same things for which they justly reproach their Orthodox neighbors. We have for years deplored and despised the cowardly and proscriptive character of the evangelical society in this town. We wish we could avoid the conclusion, that the professed 'liberality' of the Unitarians was any thing more than a stroke of policy, to make capital out of 'Orthodox bigotry and superstition,' to be abandoned whenever their prejudices or political preferences demanded. We believed, when we joined the society, that death had thinned out many of the more incorrigible conservatives, that many more had softened down their rigid feelings towards the advocates of reform, and that the lights which have illumined almost every parish in New England had not been totally lost upon this. But we will confess our mistake. What we took to be a steady growth in liberal sentiments, turns out to be neither more nor less than a cowardly assent, extorted from them, some time since, by their pastor. No honest observer can, it seems to us, arrive at any other conclusion; for, while the pulpit is free, by vote of the parish, for all or any whom Mr. Babbidge may see fit to admit, the vestry, which is beyond the control of the minister, and managed by the Parish Committee, has twice been closed against our most popular anti-slavery lecturers, whom Mr. Babbidge has cheerfully admitted into the desk. If this fact alone does not convict them of exceeding-narrow-mindedness, and a superabundance of cowardice, it would, we think, be difficult to find a combination of circumstances which would. We say cowardice, because they are afraid the truth will 'break up and divide the parish.'

We know they rent their hall for every purpose under heaven, except to expose the awful sin of this nation in chattelizing one-sixth of its population, and making kidnappers of all the rest, and to expose such scoundrelism as fosters in the national plague-spot at Washington. These subjects, with all they involve, are forbidden matters with the rulers of the Unitarian synagogue. Should the parish complain of our harsh words, we point them to the record for a full and triumphant vindication. No one will deny that the Standing Committee refused the hall for the use of Mr. Foss and his friends for an evening lecture, after he had occupied the pulpit all day. We waited patiently until after the annual meeting, to see what action the parish would take; and at their annual meeting, as if with special design to show their approbation of that mean act, they thrust Mr. Latham of the Committee, and filled the vacancy thus made by electing in his stead the very incarnation of conservatism, the quintessence of Unitarian bigotry.

Under such a government of affairs, what have anti-slavery men and women to expect? Free speech is closed down in her boasted temple; just so far as this transcript of deposits are able; and the Parish, with its Clerk, says 'Amen.' Under these circumstances, we have this alternative: to remain quiet, pay our taxes, bear the taunts of eve-

ry intelligent man in town, confounding all sense of distinction between right and wrong, or be what we profess to be, Protestants. We deny the legitimacy of the Pope of the Papal Church, and we will not install a trinity of Popes in the persons of a Parish Committee; for our motto is, 'No union with a slaveholding government, a bigoted priesthood, or a parish despotism.' A parish in league, wholly or in part, with such 'damnable heresies,' is no fold for Protestants. But an additional necessity why we should abrogate existing relations springs from the duty we owe to the wronged, imbruted, dehumanized men, women and children of our country, and the just rebuke we owe the wicked, God-defying administration of public affairs, with the entire brood of demagogues and politicians which aid and abet. To plead the cause of the poor and needy is a higher sacrament than the emblem of the crucifix; and not to part fellowship with the First Parish would be an irreligious act, besides countenancing the lowest type of intolerance and bigotry. The Papist claims intolerance as his right. The Partisanist, too, with weapons pilfered from the Papal arsenal, works for and with his God most lustily. But for 'liberal Christians,' Unitarians, who have no vindictive God to threaten, no hell for heretics, and no devil to torment either, no piously inspired book of canons, no creed to try men's beliefs and unbeliefs, putting on airs of prescription, and sending up bastard usages, denying freedom of speech, is ridiculous in the last degree. If what we have encountered as friends of freedom and free speech be the result of twenty years' hard fighting with the Orthodox, with an outlay of many thousand dollars, we think the game hardly worth the ammunition; for the Orthodox, in their worst mood, only exclude that which they cannot refute or gainsay.

With the deepest conviction of the justness of our cause and the divine principles upon which our course of action is founded, we are inexcusable in maintaining provincial relations when every practical bond of reciprocity has become extinct. We cannot consent to bury our humanity, our faith in progress, our love of truth, in the shell of religion or the husk of Christianity. In conclusion, we say, that while we hold the Parish strictly accountable for all the acts of its officers, as such, we have not overlooked the fact, that in the affiliated organism, there are some good men and women who keep in remembrance those in bonds as bound with them. But these are not those who give character and tone to Unitarian or Trinitarian parishes. These are the 'salt of the earth,' and not of the churches. These are the noble few whose faith is much stronger than fear, and who earnestly strive for the inauguration of freedom. These never call others 'infidels and scoundrels,' because they cannot refute their testimony. In withdrawing from the Parish, we do not thereby part company with such. We can afford to be called infidels or scoundrels, or any thing else that convicts the estimate in which we are held by the world; but there is one thing we cannot afford,—we cannot afford to live a perpetual lie. We cannot and will not take to our fraternal embrace the seven devils that revel in the bosom of the American Church and American Government.

We therefore give notice of our wish to discontinue our present relation with the First Parish in Pepperell, and hereby certify that our connection with said Parish is from this date annulled. A. H. WOOD, C. A. HUTSON, JOSIAH A. BABCOM. THOMAS STEVENS, Esq., Clerk of First Parish, Pepperell, Mass. April 26th, 1856.

RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN WISCONSIN.

Minority Report of C. L. Sholes, from the Committee on Expiration and Re-Enactment of Laws, to whom were referred sundry Petitions, praying that steps should be taken to confer upon Women the Right of Suffrage in Wisconsin.

The minority of the committee on expiration and re-enactment of laws, to whom were referred sundry petitions, praying that steps should be taken to confer upon women the right of suffrage, beg leave to report:—The theory of our government, proclaimed some eighty years since, these petitions ask may be reduced to the simple and plain, as model, and as a practical one. The undersigned is aware that the opinion has been announced from a high place in the State, that this theory is, in the main, a mere fiction, which contains a mere rhetorical flourish, admirable till it falls a sentence and round a period, but otherwise useless and meaningless; that so far from all mankind being born free and equal, it is those only who have rights that are entitled to them; those yet out of the pale of that fortunate condition being intended by Providence always to be and remain there. But, notwithstanding this opinion has the weight of high authority, and notwithstanding the fact that the American people has thus far been in strict accordance with such opinion, the undersigned believes the theory proclaimed is not simply a rhetorical flourish, nor meaningless, but that it meant just what it says; that it is true, and being true, is susceptible of an application as broad as the truth proclaimed. All human kind, says the theory, are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. Other governments proclaim the divine right of Kings, and assume that man is the mere creature of the government, deriving all his rights from its conditions, and forever subject to its dispositions, while this government (or at least its theory) elevates all men to an equality with Kings, bringing every man face to face with the author of his being and the arbiter of his destiny, deriving his rights from that source alone; and makes government his creature instead of his master, instituted by him solely for the better protection and application of his God-given rights. It is important to keep in mind this theory of our government and its difference with the theory of all other governments. Endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, it says, because those rights are necessary to correct relations between each individual of humanity and his Creator. Herein is the whole merit of the American theory of government, and of its practice too, so far as that practice has gone. It is a grand theory, opening as it does to every man being the boundless plains of progress which stretch out to the foot of the eternal throne, and simply by the desire of such noble powers in humanity, and such noble conditions, and uses, they have powers. Its effect upon those who have enjoyed the benefit of its application has been in harmony with its own exalted character. Though but a day old, as it were, in the history of nations, the United States, in a great many respects, outstrip all other nations of the earth, and are inferior in few or no particulars to any. The mass of her people are conceded to be the most intelligent people of the world, and manifest, individually and collectively, the fruits of superior intelligence. It will not be denied that our theory of government, in viewing as it does every man as a sovereign, opening up to every man all the distinctions, all the honors, and all the wealth, which man is capable of desiring, appreciating, or grasping, exercises a powerful, indeed a controlling influence in making our people what they are, and our nation what it is.

These petitions ask only that these rights, enjoyed by one portion of the American people, may be extended to embrace the whole, not less for the abstract but all-sufficient reason, that they have been given to the whole by the Creator, than that by their application to the whole, the more general will be the benefits experienced; and the deeper, broader, more prevailing and more enduring will become those benefits. Manifestly such must be the case: for as these rights belong to humanity, and produce their exalted and beneficial fruits by their application to and upon humanity, it follows that wherever humanity is, there they belong, and there they will work out their beneficial results. To exclude woman from the possession of equal political rights with man, it should be shown that she is essentially a different being; that the Creator of man is not her Creator; that she has not the same will to shun, the same heaven to gain,—in short, the same grand, immortal destiny which is supposed to invite to high uses the capacity of man, does not pertain to nor invite her. We say this cannot, then it follows that to withhold these rights,

no beneficial to one portion, is to work an immediate and fearful injury to those from whom they are withheld, and, although a more indirect, not a less certain injury to all. Man-masculine is not endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights because he is male, but because he is human; and when, in virtue of our strong and superior physical capacity, we deny to Man-feminine the rights which are ours only in virtue of our humanity, we exercise the same indefensible tyranny against which we felt justified in taking up arms, and perilling life and fortune. The argument against conceding these rights all are familiar with. They are precisely the same which have been in the mouths of tyrants from the beginning of time, and have been urged against any and every demand for popular liberty. A want of capacity for self-government—freedom will be only licentiousness—and out of the possession of rights will grow only the practice of follies and wrongs. This is the argument, in brief, applied to every step of gradual emancipation which has been proposed, and now by him applied to the female struggling to reach the common platform. Should the American male, in the van of human progress, as the result of this theory of a capacity for self-government, turn round and ignore this divinity, this capacity in another branch of the human family? The theory has worked only good in its application thus far, and it is a most unreasonable, a most unwarrantable distrust to expect it to produce mischief when applied to others in all respects mentally and morally the equals of those to whom it is denied. It is not possible that it will do so; but, necessarily, the broader and more universal its application, the broader and more universal its benefits.

The possession of political rights by woman does not necessarily imply that she must or will enter into the practical conduct of all the institutions, proper and improper, now established and maintained by the male portion of the race. These institutions may be right and necessary, or they may be wrong, and need to be reformed, or may be in harmony with them. It is not proposed to enact a law compelling woman to do certain things, but it is proposed simply to place her side by side with man on a common platform of rights, confident that, in that position, she will not outrage the 'higher law' of her nature by descending to a participation in faults, follies, or crimes, for which she has no constitutional predispositions. The association of woman with man, in the various relations of life in which such association is permitted, from the first unfolding of his eyes in the infancy of infancy, till the close finally of his career on earth, is conceded to be highly beneficial. Indeed, we think it will be found, on scrutiny, that it is only those institutions of society in which woman has no part, and from which they are entirely excluded, which are radically wrong, and need either thorough renovation or entire abrogation. And if we have any duties so essentially degrading, or any institution so essentially impure, as to be beyond the renovating influence which woman is wont to exert on them, beyond question they should be renounced with the same promptness as woman's connection with them would speedily bring about.

Who dares say, then, that such association would not be equally beneficial, if in every sphere of activity opened to man, woman could enter with him and be at his side? Are our politics, in their practice, so exalted, so dignified, so pure, that we need no new associations, no purer and healthier influences, than now connected with them? Is our government just what we would have it? Are our rulers just what we would have them? In short, have we arrived at that happy state of perfection in all these respects is found? Not so. On the contrary, there is an universal reform, throughout the length and breadth of the land, for reform in these respects; and where, let us ask, could we reasonably look for a more powerful agent to effect this reform, than in the renovating influences of woman? That which has done so much for the fire-side and social life generally, neither can nor will lose its potent beneficial effect when brought to bear upon other relations of life. To talk of confining her proper sphere by legal disabilities, is an insult to the divinity of her nature, implying, as it does, the absence of instinctive virtue, modesty and sense on her part. It makes her the creature of law—of our law—from which she is assumed to derive her ability to keep the path of rectitude, and the withdrawal of which would leave her to sink to the depths of folly and vice. Do we really think so badly of our mothers, wives, sisters, daughters? Is it really only of the race who are instinctively and innately good, so good, so modest, so virtuous, as to be qualified not only to take care of ourselves, but to dispose all these exalted qualities to the weaker, and as we assume inferior half of the race. If it be so, it may be doubted whether Heaven's last gift was its best. Kings, emperors and dictators confine their subjects, by the interposition of law, to what they consider their proper spheres; and there is certainly as much propriety in it as in the dictation, by one sex, of the sphere of a different sex. In the assumption of our strength, we say woman must not have equal rights with us, because she has a different nature. If by what we would call her duty we understand that different nature, we are to understand that different nature, and that she is to be meted and bounded by its wants and spheres? Fair play is a Yankee characteristic; and we submit, if but one half of the race can have rights at its own choice, because of their different nature, whether it is not about time the proscribed half had its chance in, to assume the reins of government, and dictate our sphere. It is no great compliment to that part of the race to say that it is to be governed as it now is, and our sphere would be bounded with quite as much liberality as now is theirs.

Let every human being occupy a common platform of political rights, and all will irresistibly gravitate exactly to their proper place and sphere, without discord, and with none but the most beneficial results. In this way, human energy and capacity will be fully economized and expended for the highest interest of all humanity; and this result is only to be obtained by opening to all, without restriction, common spheres of activity. Woman has all the interests on earth that man has—she has all the interest in the future of her nation. Man has rights only in virtue of his relations to earth and heaven; and woman, whose relations are the same, has the same rights. The possession of her rights, on the part of woman, will interfere no more with the duties of life, than their possession by man interferes with his duties; and man is presumed to become a better man in all respects by the possession of his rights, such must be the inevitable effect of their possession upon woman.

The history of the race, thus far, has been a history of tyranny by the strong over the weak. Might, not right, has been as yet the fundamental principle of all governments; and under this order of things, woman—physically weak—from a slave, beaten, bought, and sold in the market, has but become, in the more civilized and favored portions of the earth, the toy of wealth and the drudge of poverty. But we now have at least a new and different theory of government; and as the aspiration of one age is sure to be the code of the next, and practice is sure at some time to overtake theory, we have reason to expect that principle will take the place of mere brute force, and the truth will be fully realized.

That men and women have no glory and no shame; Every thing that's done inhuman injures all of us the same. Never, till woman stands side by side with man, his equal in the eye of the law as well as the Creator, will the high destiny of the race be accomplished. She is the mother of the race, and every stain of littleness or inferiority cast upon her by our institutions will soil the offspring she sends into the world, and clip and curtail to that extent his fair proportions. If we would abrogate that littleness of her character which finds a delight in the gawgaws of fashion, and an enjoyment in the narrow sphere of gossiping, needle life, tea-table scandal—so long the ridicule of our sex—open to her new and more ennobling fields of activity and thought—fields, the exploration of which has filled the American males with great thoughts, and made them the foremost people of the world, and which will place the American females on their level, and make them truly help-meet for them. When we can add to the men of America, a race of women educated side by side with them, and enjoying equal advantages with them in all respects, we may expect an offspring of a more noble constitution and application of the great truths which involve human rights and human happiness.

These petitions ask that the necessary steps may be taken to strike from the constitution the legal distinction of sex. Your committee is in favor of the prayer of the petitioners, but, under the most favorable circumstances, that is a result which could not be attained in less than two years, and all probability, it will not be longer than that before the constitution will be amended so as to provide for the favorable time to press the question, and all of which is respectfully submitted. C. L. SHOLES.

Round Hill Water-Cure AND MOTORPATHIC INSTITUTE AT NORTHEAMPTON, MASS. IN all the local advantages which render it famous for others, seeking relaxation and pleasure, it is alone and unrivalled. It is surrounded by a wooded shade during the hot months, and protected by the winds in winter. The water is supplied in great abundance from living mountain springs, and is of the softness and purity. The best facilities have just been wholly remodelled and greatly improved. It now embraces every modern improvement for the medical application of water, which is used in a liberal and scientific manner. One of Vary's Electro-Chlorine Baths for extracting metallic substances, whether taken as medicine or otherwise abused, has also been obtained, and is in successful operation. Dr. H. HALSTED, the proprietor, formerly of Boston, N. Y., continues to pay particular attention to WOMAN'S diseases and weakness. The success which has attended his method of treating such complaints by his system of Motorpathic has given him a most extended practice. He discards the usual medical treatment of the day, and makes no use of artificial stimulants, but by its permanent cures are effected with an ease and certainty heretofore unattainable by any system of therapeutics. He also devotes himself to the cure of all the various kinds of Chronic Diseases. Having been for twenty years at the head of a Hydropathic Institution, and by its permanent cures are effected with an ease and certainty heretofore unattainable by any system of therapeutics. There is a Gymnasium, Billiard Room and Reading Room for the use of guests and patients. Gymnastic and Calisthenic exercises are of the utmost importance for the expansion, development and healthy action of the lungs and system, and their attainment and practice are indispensable. Many exercises are used to excite the organs and action, and thus to equalize the circulation, and to aid the secretory vessels with their proper beneficial reactions of force and power. Circulars sent free to any address on application. 'Exposition of Motorpathic,' postage free, in the receipt of ten letter stamps; and 'Motor-Pathic,' in the receipt of six. Address H. HALSTED, M. D., Northampton, Mass., March 28, 1856.

NOTICE. HOPEDALE JUVENILE AND COLLEGIATE HOME SCHOOL. OUR friends, patrons, and the public are hereby notified, that we have this day disposed of our school building and lot, and apparatuses therein, to W. L. HAYWOOD, and ABIE B. HAYWOOD. Having been acquainted with the said premises and individuals acting in a private capacity, and without any evidence of their competency to conduct a Home school, we prefer to speak neither favorably nor unfavorably of them. As regards Hopedale, we unhesitatingly declare our conviction that no other village in New England surpasses it in the morality and high-toned character of its inhabitants. For further information concerning this change of our future plans, please see our Circular Letter, which will soon be issued. Those wishing to correspond with us in reference to a business or educational matter, or to obtain testimonials for the present, at Hopedale, Milford, Mass. MORGAN L. BLOOM, SOPHIA LOUISA BLOOM. Hopedale, Mass., April 15, 1856.

Hopedale Home School: FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH OF BOTH SEXES. WILLIAM S. HAYWOOD, Principal. ABIE B. HAYWOOD, Teacher. This School, established in 1854 by M. L. and S. L. Bloom, under whose superintendence it has been conducted the present time, will hereafter be conducted by the undersigned, who, by their attainments and past experience as Teachers, to prove themselves worthy of the confidence and patronage of their friends and the public generally. It is located in the pleasant and quiet village of Hopedale, Milford, Mass., within two hours' ride of Boston, Worcester and Providence. The design of this School is to educate in the highest and best sense of the term, and thereby so far to do for those who may attend it for any useful and truly honorable calling among men, as its purpose and facilities will allow. Particular attention will be given to the social, moral and religious influence exerted at all times upon the pupils, who may avail themselves of the privileges kindly offered them. Physical health and comfort, so often neglected in Educational Institutions, will receive proper attention. The Discipline of the School is intended to be strict and impartial, but kind and parental. No pupils taken under seven years of age. Parents and Guardians desirous of finding a pleasant and comfortable HOME for their children or youth while prosecuting their studies, where they will be well cared for, and kindly treated,—where they will be removed from the evils and temptations of constant travel, and from the corrupting power of prevailing vices,—where they will be nurtured in virtue, honesty and pure religion, will find here an unusually favorable opportunity of realizing their wishes.

EXPENSES. (PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.) For Tuition in common English branches, board and care, including washing, mending, &c. per Quarter of ten weeks. For Tuition in higher English and Select Branches, Languages, Painting, Music, &c., an extra but reasonable charge will be made. Text Books, References Books and Stationery, supplied for the School, furnished without additional cost. A Normal Department, for those proposing to teach, is contemplated. The next (Summer) Term will commence on the Third Thursday (16th) of May. For further information and particulars, see large Circular—to be obtained by addressing either of the Principals, Milford, Mass. WILLIAM S. HAYWOOD, ABIE B. HAYWOOD. April 15, 1856.

Worcester Hydropathic Institution, On Arch and Fountain Streets, WORCESTER, MASS. THE Proprietors of this Institution aim to make it a comfortable home for invalids at all seasons. The location is elevated and healthy, and easy of access from all parts of the city. The medical department is conducted by Dr. S. B. Rogers, and has never been limited to the exclusive use of any one system, but has been so conducted as to require water in those cases which seemed to require water treatment. There has recently been erected a first-class Gymnasium upon the grounds belonging to this Institution, which is under the charge of an experienced teacher. For term, &c., address E. F. ROGERS, Superintendent. P. M. Worcester, Jan. 25.

BRAMHALL, BONNELL & RICHMOND, IMPORTERS AND JOBBERS OF Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods. No. 186 Fulton, opposite Church St. NEW YORK. CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, JOSEPH A. BONNELL, CHARLES RICHMOND, JR.