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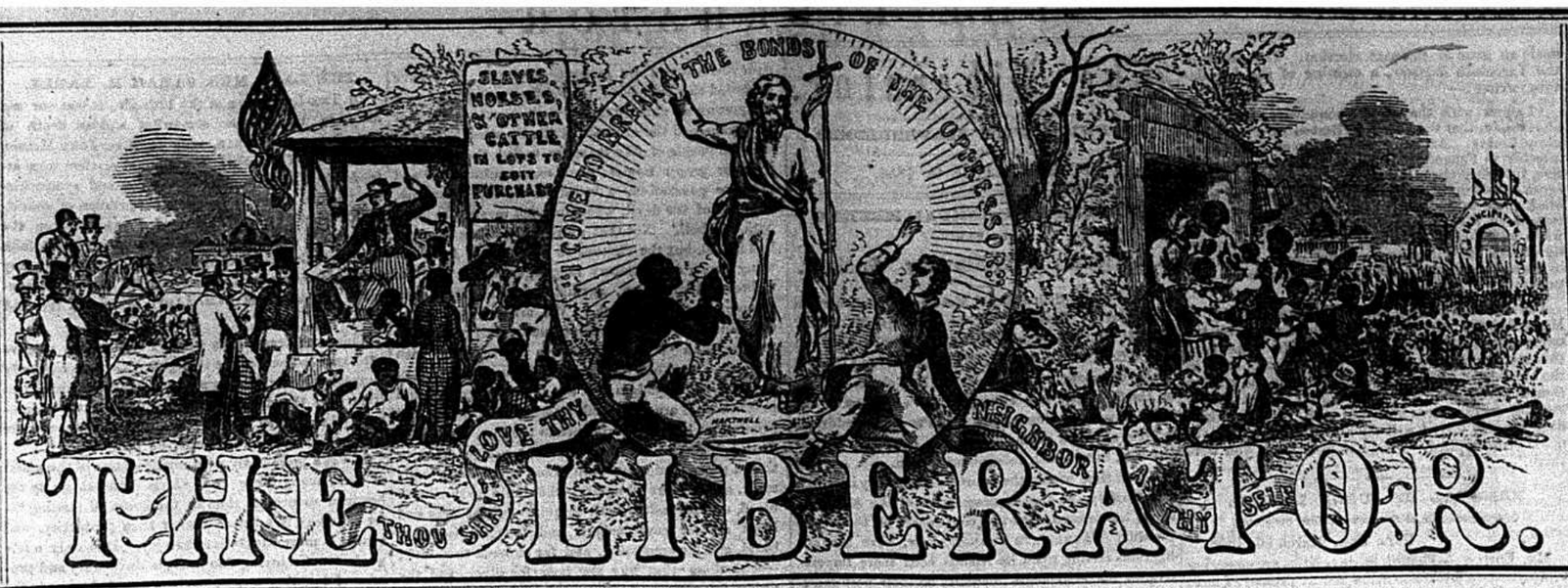

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

☞ 'The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but *they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.* On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and *must walk in it.* To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.' — WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

NORTHERN LABORERS SLAVES!!!

Extracts from a recent speech of Senator HAMMOND, of South Carolina, in the U. S. Senate:—

SLAVERY MAKES THE SOUTH STRONG.

But, sir, the greath strength of the South arises from the harmony of her political and social institutions. This harmony gives her a frame of society, the best in the world, and an extent of political freedom combined with entire security, and as no other people ever enjoyed upon the face of the earth. Society precedes government; creates it, and ought to control it; but as far as we can look back in historic times, we find the case different; for government is no sooner created than it becomes too strong for society, and shapes and molds, as well as controls it. In later centuries, the progress of civilization and intelligence has made the divergences so great as to produce civil wars and revolutions; and it is nothing now but the want of harmony between governments and societies which occasions all the uneasiness and trouble and terror that we see abroad. It was this that brought on the American Revolution. We threw off a government not adapted to our social system, and made one for ourselves. The question is, how far have we succeeded? The South, so far as that is concerned, is satisfied, content, happy, harmonious and prosperous.

LABORING MEN BUT MUD-SILLS.

In all social systems, there must be a class to do the mean duties, to perform the drudgery of life—that is, a class requiring but a low order of intellect and but little skill. Its requisites are vigor, docility, fidelity. Such a class you must have, or you would not have the other class which leads progress, refinement and civilization. It constitutes the very mud-sills of society and of political government; and you might as well attempt to build a house in the air as to build either the one or the other, except on the mud-sills. Fortunately for the South, she found a race adapted to that purpose to her hand. A race inferior to herself, but eminently qualified in temper, in vigor, in docility, in capacity, to stand the climate, to answer all her purposes. We use them for the purpose, and call them slaves. We are old-fashioned at the South yet; it is a word discarded now by ears polite; but I will not characterize that class at the North with that term; but you have it; it is there; it is everywhere; it is eternal.

NORTHERN LABORERS ARE BUT SLAVES.

The Senator from New York said yesterday that the whole world had abolished slavery. Ay, the name, but not the thing; and all the powers of the earth cannot abolish it. God only can do it when he repeals the *fiat*, 'The poor ye always have with you;' *for the man who lives by daily labor, and who has to put out his labor in the market, and take the best he can for it; in short, your whole class of manual laborers and operatives, as you call them, are slaves.* The difference between us is, that our slaves are hired for life, and well compensated; there is no starvation, no begging, no want of employment among our people, and not too much employment either. Yours are hired by the day, not cared for, and scantily compensated, which may be proved in the most deplorable manner, at any hour, in any street in any of your large towns. Why, sir, you meet more beggars in one day, in any single street of the city of New York, than you would meet in a lifetime in the whole South. Our slaves are black, of another, inferior race. The *status* in which we have placed them is an elevation. They are elevated from the condition in which God first created them, by being made our slaves. None of that race on the whole face of the globe can be compared with the slaves of the South, and they know it. They are happy, content, unaspiring, and utterly incapable from intellectual degradation ever to give us any trouble by their aspirations.

Your slaves are white, of your own race; you are brothers of one blood. They are your equals in natural endowment of intellect, and they feel galled by their degradation. Our slaves do not vote. We give them no political power. Yours do vote, and being the majority, they are the depositaries of all your political power. If they knew the tremendous secret, that the ballot-box is stronger than an army with bayonets, and could combine, where would you be? Your society would be reconstructed, your government reconstructed, your property divided, not as they have mistakenly attempted to initiate such proceedings by meeting in parks, with arms in their hands, but by the quiet process of the ballot-box. You have been making war upon us to our very hearth-stones. How would you like for us to send lecturers or agitators North, to teach these people this, to aid and assist in combining, and to lead them? [Mr. Wilson—Send them along!]

NORTHERN LABORERS ARE BEGGARS.

Mr. Hammond—You say, send them North.—There is no need of that. They are coming here. They are thundering at our doors for homesteads of one hundred and sixty acres of land for nothing, and Southern Senators are supporting it. Nay, they are assembling, as I have said, with arms in their hands, and demanding work at $1,000 a year and six hours a day. Have you heard that the ghost of Mendoza is stalking in the streets of your big cities? that the inquisition is at hand? There is afloat a fearful rumor that there have been consultations for vigilance committees. You know what that means already. Transient and temporary causes have thus far been your preservation. The great West has been open to your surplus population, and your hordes of semi-barbarian emigrants, who are crowding in year by year. They make a great movement, and you call it progress. Whither? It is progress, but it is progress towards vigilance committees.—The South have sustained you in a great measure. You are our factors. You bring and carry for us. $150,000,000 of our money passes annually through your hands. Much of it sticks; all of it assists to keep your machinery together and in motion. Suppose we were to discharge you; suppose we were to take our business out of your hands; we should consign you to anarchy and poverty.

SOUTHERN RULE GLORIOUS AND BENEFICENT.

You complain of the rule of the South: that has been another cause that has preserved you. We have kept the Government conservative to the great purposes of the Government. We have placed her and kept her upon the Constitution; and that has been the cause of your peace and prosperity. The Senator from New York says that that is about to be at an end; that you intend to take the Government from us; that it will pass from our hands. Perhaps what he says is true; it may be; but do not forget—it can never be forgotten, it is written on the brightest page of human history—that we, the slaveholders of the South, took our country in her infancy, and, after ruling her for sixty out of seventy years of her existence, we shall surrender her to you without a stain upon her honor, boundless in prosperity, incalculable in her strength, the wonder and the admiration of the world. Time will show what you will make of her, but no time can ever diminish our glory, or your responsibility.

LETTER FROM IRISH JOHN MITCHEL.

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., Feb. 13, 1858.

To J. J. Hooper, one of the Editors of the Montgomery Mail:

DEAR SIR:—In reading the speech of the Hon. F. S. Rice, delivered in Talladega, on September 6th, 1855, which you were so kind as to hand to me in Montgomery, I met with a passage on which I shall ask permission to make, through your columns, a few remarks. The passage reads thus:

'We also admit that out of the great mass of foreigners at the North, there are some few who are not willing to aid in abolishing slavery. But these few are exceptions to the general rule. I mention John Mitchel as a distinguished and honorable exception. He has the intelligence to comprehend, that there is a distinction which the Almighty has made between the white race and the black race, and that the institution of negro slavery is consistent with, and conservative of true republicanism. He has the independence to follow the convictions of his own judgment. He is both anti-Catholic and anti-Abolition. But his sound views are not the views of the masses of his own Irish brethren of recent immigration to the North. They hold fast to the abolition principles of Daniel O'Connell, whose abolitionism was so intense, that, in times of famine in Ireland, several years ago, he was opposed to receiving the bread for his own starving countrymen which had been generously contributed by the people of the slaveholding States. He considered such bread *contaminated by slave labor.*'

Very sensible of the courtesy of the speaker, and highly valuing his good opinion, I must, nevertheless, set him right on one or two points.

'I am 'anti-Abolition,' but not 'anti-Catholic.' Abolitionism, Freesoilism, or by whatever other name that mischievous and stupid cant may be called, is now, and always has been to me, altogether despicable. But I venerate the Catholic Church, at least as much as any other Church, and desire to see it maintained in safety and in honor. Of these two things, I would abate the one as a nuisance to human society—I would uphold the other as a rock and strong tower of conservatism, morality and good order. I would gladly convert an Abolitionist to common sense and honesty; but would strongly deprecate the attempt to convert (or pervert) a Catholic from his faith.

This, however, is not the only, nor the most serious mistake (seeing it is purely personal) in the above extract. The speaker says that the masses of my Irish brethren of recent immigration to the North hold fast to Abolition principles. Mr. Rice has not consulted the newspapers. There is no organ of Irish opinion in America that even tolerates Abolitionism or Freesoilism. The speech was spoken before the Presidential election, wherein the issue was, Freesoilism on one side, against the constitutional rights of the South on the other. Now, on that election, on which side were found 'the masses of my Irish brethren'? They voted, almost as one man, for Mr. Buchanan.

More than this—*without* these 'masses,' Mr. Fremont would now be President of half the Disunited States. I mean to say that Mr. Buchanan could not have been elected, if he had not carried certain Northern States; but in those States respectively his majorities were much less than the numbers of Irish-born citizens who voted for him in those States respectively. *Therefore*, if these Irish-born citizens had not been there, or had been disfranchised, the majorities would have been the other way. If the native citizens only of this republic had voted on that election—that is to say, if Americans ruled America, in the Know-Nothing sense—there would soon be no America to rule.

As to foreign influence, there is indeed a formidable foreign influence at work in this Republic, viz: English influence, and of that influence Abolitionism is the child and servant. The country, then, has been saved from foreign influence by the votes of its Irish-born citizens.

I am speaking generally; but admit that certain of my Irish brethren, namely, most of those who are of the various Protestant religions, did on that occasion vote for Mr. Fremont, and others for Mr. Fillmore—a circumstance which I mention not to their honor, but which is at variance with the views propounded by Mr. Rice at Talladega.

For the late Mr. O'Connell's *nonsense*, I have no apology to make, nor explanation to offer. Remark only that the Irish masses do not 'hold fast' to that nonsense.

A word more. It is not the first time that members of the 'American' party—at the South—have excepted *me*, and others whom they are pleased to term intelligent and independent, from their general denunciations of foreign immigration. I decline the distinction. I stand on the same footing, and stand or fall with the humblest of my countrymen—provided they be honest, which they have quite as good a chance to be as natives.

'Your door,' as Mr. Croaker says, 'must either be shut or it must be open;' and if open, you cannot make selections. Men of spirit will not come in *per specialem gratiam*, nor as exceptions, nor creep into the privileges of citizenship through a back door or a trap door. They will walk straight in with the crowd, or stop out.

Your obedient servant,
JOHN MITCHEL.

STRONG MINDED IN COUNCIL. The lusty negroes, the long-haired, cadaverous white men, the dried up ladies and 'cullud' sisters who form what is known as the Abolition and Women's Rights Society, are in session in this city to-day, at Van Vechten Hall.

At the morning session, the Rev. Samuel J. May was elected to preside. Miss Lydia Mott and Mr. A. M. Powell were chosen Vice Presidents, and Miss Elizabeth M. Powell and J. W. Peckham Secretaries. Thus the 'equal rights' doctrine was practically illustrated in the organization.

Business and Finance Committees of the Brethren and Sisterhood were formed, and Messrs. May and Powell addressed the Convention.

The customary blood and thunder resolutions were introduced, and will be debated this afternoon. To-night Wendell Phillips speaks.—*Albany Evening Statesman, 8th ult.*

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. This Convention continued its session yesterday. Wendell Phillips is the principal speaker. Mr. Phillips is a curiosity. He possesses more brains and less common sense than any man we have seen in six months. Mr. Phillips is full of facts, figures and eloquence; and yet these facts, figures and eloquence only serve to make him sublimely ridiculous. No man can listen to Phillips without admiring his oratory, and wondering at his absurdities. As a speaker, he is fully equal to Everett. As a leader, he is more impracticable than any gentleman outside of the lunatic asylum. Phillips is a great man—great in his eloquence, but still greater in his follies. Mr. Phillips is better calculated to create admiration than converts. He astonishes his audiences, but he never convinces them. He might talk a whole year, and yet he would not add fifty believers to the Anti-Slavery army. He is a good hand to 'drum up' recruits, but a bad man to enlist them. Mr. Phillips is a hybrid—produced by crossing Demosthenes with a maniac. Should he ever speak again in this city, we advise our readers to attend, and see how easily Mr. Phillips can prove that 'there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous.'—*Albany Knickerbocker, 10th ult.*

From the Boston Post.

FANATICISM IN THE ASCENDANT.

When will the people of this Commonwealth redeem themselves from the disgrace of elevating to high office every political quack, or scheming demagogue, who caters to the passion of the hour—men who have neither wisdom, or knowledge, or experience? In a new State, a new community, where men are compelled to spend all their time to provide food and shelter for themselves and families, where men of knowledge in public affairs could not be readily found, such things would be susceptible of explanation; but here in Massachusetts, where we make especial boast of our schools, our academies, our colleges, our men of culture, careful literary training, and statesmanlike acquirements, the state of things now apparent is humiliating. We do not plead for party, we plead for the honor of the Commonwealth, for the fair fame of her scholars, her orators, her statesmen. Look at our delegation in Congress! Who are they—what are they? Is there one among them who can discuss any question of public interest, and bring to it either wisdom or knowledge? Can they even discuss the Kansas question in respectable English? Why is all this? It is because the good people of Massachusetts are besotted, crazed by the prevailing negrophilism of the hour.

It is the sentimental, the emotional, the fanatical portion of the Republican party which controls that organization in Massachusetts, and thus holds the power and directs the destinies of the Commonwealth. The thoughtful, the practical, the conservative element of the Republican party in this State is driven from influence. The history of events during the session of the General Court, now drawing to a close, is conclusive on this point. At the commencement of the session, such gentlemen as Mr. Duncan, Mr. Vose and Mr. Hale gave direction to public affairs. Mr. Andrew was considered the representative man of the Theodore Parker and Wendell Phillips school, and so was looked on with suspicion. He introduced and vindicated the resolution granting the Hall of the House of Representatives to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. He carried that measure through. He defended the action of the Society in demanding the removal of Loring. He was the champion of the ultraists in denouncing the Supreme Court of the United States because it stood in the way of Parker, Phillips, Garrison & Co. Mr. Wells, of Springfield, essayed to speak a written piece to the House; but, by reason of his want of practical sense, he quickly subsided after his first declamatory exercise was concluded. Mr. Andrew ruled supreme, because he had not only some ability and knowledge, which Wells had not, but because he did not hesitate to keep step to the music of Garrison and Company. Duncan, Vose and Hale were submerged by the barbaric invasion of the modern Goths and Vandals, and thus we observe Mr. Andrew to be the only champion, upon the floor of the House, beside that brilliant and profound member whose only occupation is to bawl out 'Amen!' to this last crying outrage of the Banks party in the removal of Loring. Massachusetts is not only under the dominion of Republicanism, but is tied to the heels of that crazy, senseless, fanatical portion of the Republican party inspired by Garrison and Phillips, and led by Mr. Andrew in the House, which commands and directs the services of Gov. Banks. He has, in this case of the Loring removal, come down at the bidding of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

We do not dwell, in all this matter, upon the personal relations involved in the removal of Judge Loring. In such a crisis as the present, when the very foundations of justice are endangered, when bad men, like William H. Seward in Congress, and members of the Anti-Slavery Society in Massachusetts, are plotting to undermine the judicial tenure, and make it subservient to party and party ends, individuals and their interests are no more than chaff before the wind. Men are nothing; principles everything. We look alone to the substance, not the form.

From the Boston Courier.

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

That our readers may appreciate the full enormity of this act, let us take a strictly parallel case. Suppose a Legislature, actuated by party spirit, or by personal hostility to a particular judge, should pass a declaratory law, to the effect that if any judge continued to wear a hat of a particular color, or to profess certain religious opinions, or to frequent certain company, such conduct should be deemed and taken to be incompatible with his judicial office, and should be cause for removal by address. If the Legislature can create one ground of incompatibility, after a Judge has received his commission, they can create another. If they can make one thing a cause for removal, not made so by the Constitution, they can make another. If they can say that the holding of another office shall be incompatible with the judgeship, and thus bring the Judge within the removal power, without any proof of neglect or incompetency as a Judge, they can make the wearing of a hat, or going to a particular church, or conversing with particular persons, in the same way incompatible, and so can bring him within the power of removal, by any declaration, when they can find an Executive pliant enough to their purpose.

It is plain that when such a Legislative declaration is launched against a Judge, he must do one of two things. He must either submit to have the color of his clothes, or his religious opinions, or his personal associations dictated by the Legislature, or he must stand upon his constitutional independence, and deny the right of the Legislature to create causes for removal that are not created or organized by the Constitution—the common master and superior of all the branches of government. This last was the course of Judge Loring; and for following it, he has been doomed and executed by a perfectly arbitrary power.

If Governor Banks had not of himself the discernment and virtue to see that he was about to assert a doctrine which would place every Judge in the State within the power of removal, for any cause which a corrupt Legislature might by statute declare to be a cause, it is marvellous that no one saw it for him. He is called by his friends and partizans a statesman; with what propriety, let this act determine. It is no matter what his opinions are respecting the desirableness or expediency of having an independent judiciary. He is the actual Executive of a State, whose Constitution, with extraordinary solemnity and force, declares that the Judges shall be as independent as the lot of humanity will admit, and which, in order to make them so, gives them their commissions during official good behavior. This Constitution the Governor has sworn to support and obey. He knows, if he has any knowledge adequate to his position, that the 'good behavior' of a Judge has the technical meaning of a faithful and pure discharge of official duty. He knows, that unless the incumbent has neglected his official duty, or has discharged it corruptly, or has become physically or mentally incapable of discharging it, his 'good behavior' continues;—and he also knows that when the people of the State gave him, in the Constitution, the *power* to remove a Judge, on the address of the Legislature, they never contemplated its exercise in any case save that of physical or mental incapacity. Yet he asserts by the removal of Judge Loring, that the Legislature may at any time create causes of removal by a declaration that this or that shall be incompatible with a continuance in office; and he thus brings the whole judiciary within the power of the legislative and executive branches of the government, to be exercised at any time, and for any reason. This he does, in a State whose Constitution is too plain for mistake, and whose people, whatever may be their faults or follies, have ever been jealous, in the extreme, for that judicial independence which their ancestors created and transmitted to them, as the great bulwark of public and individual rights. Yet this man is accounted a statesman, and his followers have the fool-hardiness to think, or to say, that he has strengthened himself by this act. Time will show. It will show whether the people of Massachusetts mean to recover their lost birth-right, or to abandon it; whether they mean to replace this inestimable jewel of their crown in the front of the diadem, to be seen and honored by all mankind, or whether they will permit it to be cast away. It will show whether aspiring politicians can continue to play upon the string of a false sentimentality about the colored race, until all that is valuable and dear in our civil polity is sacrificed to that sentiment, or whether there are some things to be left to us, too precious for that sacrifice.

From the Boston Courier.

The Daily *Advertiser* of yesterday, in an editorial article at once jesuitical and whining, holds to the same crooked course of argument which it has pursued since it became the chief Free-Soil journal, and advocates that crooked line of policy characteristic of the administration now temporarily exercising power, instead of doing justice at the State House. That newspaper has been publicly claimed by leading fanatics as their most peculiar organ in Boston; and the aid it has rendered and still renders to the abolitionists, both in a negative and a positive sense, fairly entitles it to a distinction in this respect, exceeding even the notorious claims of the *Liberator* itself. Under a guise of seeming fairness, it has all along promoted the worst designs and projects of that factious knot of impracticables,—made up, as it is, of the worst elements of society—disunionists, disorganizers, socialists, infidels, and radicals of every shade and degree. Upon false pretences, it still finds strange countenance from its former reputation, which was derived from a long course of management diametrically opposed to its present character. There are people in this world, who never open their eyes, but still follow the guides they have once engaged, never seeming to understand whether they are faithful or treacherous,—whether they lead them by the true path to their destination, or betray them to destruction,—until it is too late. In this way it is, that many who were conservatives while the *Advertiser* was conservative, veered with that paper as it took the Free-Soil breeze, until at length they are fairly landed in its company upon the African shore, while all the while they supposed themselves staying at home, and respectable citizens of the American Union.

It now openly admits, what we have charged upon the Republicans at the State House from the beginning—that they in the Legislature were willing, and that Gov. Banks desired, to evade the question of the removal of Judge Loring:—

'We know the most ardent, as well as the most moderate, supporters of the administration, would have been quite willing to suffer this matter to be passed by quietly, if the opposition had allowed.—Neither the Governor nor any of his adherents have courted the issue.'

Weakly enough, the *Advertiser*, conscious that the blame for this high-handed usurpation of unconstitutional power must rest somewhere, charges upon the opposition the responsibility of the deed.—They have been 'goaded,' forsooth, 'by the most ingenious taunts' into taking up and considering this question—while 'the Republican party, not only leaders but rank and file, were willing and desirous to let the question lie aside.' Worthy representatives of the people indeed they are! A worthy chief magistrate of a free community is this! They occupy the place of lawgivers and of administrators of law, upon the pretence of their fitness, by ability and integrity—and yet it has come to this, that the people of Massachusetts are told by the official organ of the State, that, like spoiled and petulant children, they have committed a flagrant act of violence, which it is admitted they hesitated about, and were even 'willing and desirous' to pass by; and all this, because their opponents irritated them with taunts and excited their passions, when they ought to have done their duty, neither more nor less, under the guidance and control of reason, and judgment, and public honor. What a spectacle and what an example is thus presented to the good people of the State! If this be not the very blindest of blind abolition fury, where, we would ask, are we to look for a stronger exemplification of it in the future?

To this complexion it has come at last. The Governor has been compelled to act, and has made his response obedient to the dictation of the abolitionists. He cunningly endeavors to soften this first blow at the independence of the judiciary, by recommending some modification of the Personal Liberty Act in other respects not affecting the judiciary.

From the Boston Courier.

The removal of Judge Loring forms, as it might be expected, the general subject of thought and conversation in the community; and all men who are not blinded by a mistaken fanaticism, nor the slaves of an unscrupulous faction, express themselves in fitting terms respecting the outrage which has been committed upon the independence of the judiciary, and the wound that has been inflicted upon the body of the Constitution. 'There is a soul of goodness in things evil,' as the poet says, and this event may, and we trust will, have the effect to alienate from the Republican party many worthy and amiable men, who, taking counsel of their feelings rather than their understandings, and indeed having more heart than head, have thus far acted with them, more or less, in the fond hope of thus accomplishing something for liberty and humanity. They will now be able to see where the ship in which they have taken passage is heading.

Some shrewd observers have expressed a good deal of surprise at the fact that so cautious and wary a politician as Governor Banks, who keeps so sharp a look-out ahead, should have taken so bold a step, and one which to common apprehension seems so damaging to his prospects of national advancement. We happen to know that his course was a subject both of surprise and of regret to many of his moderate supporters. But even herein the peculiar characteristic of the Governor,—his power of driving a tandem team, with interest in the shafts, to do all the work, and principle in front, to do the prancing and the capering,—finds an occasion for its exercise. The notable theory broached in the *Daily Advertiser* of Friday,—that the Republican party had been goaded into this step by the taunts of the opposition,—we have reason to suspect sprang from the fertile brain of the Chief Magistrate himself; and although our respectable cotemporary made the music, yet the bellows-blower, if sought for, would have been found somewhere in the vicinity of the Council Chamber.

Dogberry wished that somebody had written him down an ass, but we do not read that he wrote himself down such; and herein the Republican party of Massachusetts has clearly the advantage of the captain of the watch in Messina. That party claims to be pre-eminently a party of principle; they assert that they enjoy an absolute monopoly of the precious merchandize of conscience; they have it all, and nobody else has any. And yet this party consents to an act which they believe to be wrong, at the instigation and provocation of a party which they are ever branding as the incarnation of every thing that is base, heartless and selfish! We ask of the Republican party the cheap virtue of consistency, at least. Angels are not tempted by the devil, but men are; but when men confess that they have yielded to his subtle devices, they also acknowledge themselves to be of that weak and fallible nature which makes them obnoxious to his assaults. The justification proffered for this act would be entitled to some consideration, if it were coupled with a penitent profession of general sinfulness; but it is ludicrously inconsistent with that peacockish state of moral coxcombry—over contemplating the expanded train of its own radiant virtues—which is so characteristic of the Republican party of Massachusetts.

This defiance, too, is equally inconsistent with another uniform and characteristic trait. The Republican party is a swaggering and blustering party—it is ever vaunting its strength and magnifying its victories, and making the loudest proclamation of what it has done and is going to do. It is forever defiant, pugnacious, and belligerent; it has a chronic wolfishness about the head and shoulders; it is always asking some gentleman to have the kindness to tread on the tail of its coat. The speech of Mr. Andrew—one of the most amiable of men—from which we have quoted, is full of this spirit. He says, 'the day of reckoning is at hand'; that 'judgment will come'; that 'behind that party,' (meaning the party that is not his) 'stalks the headsman.' We, who do not believe in the Personal Liberty Bill, and are opposed to the removal of Judge Loring, are to be struck down—

'That 'our' heels may kick at heaven,
And that 'our' soul may be damned, and black
As hell, whereunto it goes.'

But can the party which is so fearfully strong, which is going about with the headsman's axe, to make universal mince-meat of everybody that will not trot in the Republican buggy, acknowledge itself to be so weak and cowardly as to have been bullied into an act contrary to its own convictions, by these contemptible opponents, against whom it fulminates such milk-souring denunciations? Such an excuse involves a pitiable confession of weakness; it is a faint and tremulous quaver, such as never before was blown through the Republican trumpet. To do them justice, their wind is excellent.

No—the advice is ingenious, but it will not do. Governor Banks has thus far dexterously contrived to bask in the sunshine of State popularity, and at the same time to draw from that vivifying ray the elements of national growth and popularity. But he has now made his election, and he must be content with such honor and advancement as his own State will give him. The vaulting ambition which aspired to a wider sphere will not be gratified. He has put the frigate MASSACHUSETTS on the nullifying tack, and he will never walk the windward side of the quarter-deck of that stately three-decker, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

SELECTIONS.

From the Boston Courier.

THE LIBERATOR.

Most of our readers have, we presume, heard of the Boston *Liberator*. Some of them have probably seen it occasionally; but few of them, we take it for granted, read it habitually. And yet it is a journal which a reflecting and observing person should not pass by on the other side without heeding, for it is the mouth-piece of a body of men and women remarkable for zeal, courage and enthusiasm, wielding no inconsiderable amount of intellectual power—who are fast ceasing to be contemptible, and beginning to be formidable. For its own sake, too, it is worthy of an occasional perusal. Its absurdities and extravagancies are sometimes so delicious as to make it a tolerable substitute for the London *Punch*. In one respect, it is worthy of study in a purely rhetorical point of view. Its vocabulary of vituperation is probably the richest and finest in the world. Whoever would learn in the highest perfection the art of cursing without swearing—whoever would fain measure the wealth of the English language in expressions of venom, brutality, and ferocity—should give his days and his nights to the columns of the Boston *Liberator*.

At this moment, too, the *Liberator* is fairly entitled to peculiar consideration, from its relation to the politics of the State. We know of no paper in the Commonwealth which is now more justly entitled to be taken as the organ of Gov. Banks. What the actual relations are between that journal and the Governor, we are not informed. We can only speak of what we know. Surely, friend and foe will alike admit that the distinctive act of Gov. Banks's administration is the removal of Judge Loring; that gives it its peculiar character, defines its position, and shapes its policy. And beyond all question or controversy, this removal is the work of the *Liberator*, and of those for whom it speaks. They set that ball in motion; they have pursued this object consistently and persistently; their agitation has brought the State to the necessary point of public feeling; the credit or discredit of the deed is fairly theirs. The exultation with which they hail this deed is an exultation to which they are justly entitled. They have a right to blow their trumpets and beat their drums, to twine their brows with victorious wreaths; for they have conquered, and their enemy is at their feet.

The above remarks are immediately suggested by the *Liberator* of March 26th, which is entitled to peculiar attention from its being the first number published after the removal of Judge Loring had been made known. Since the journal has now become a power in the State—since it has taken a decisive part in its administration and government—since it has compelled a Governor of Massachusetts to enforce its edicts,—an act which, considering the cool and calculating sagacity of that gentleman, is a very strong acknowledgment of its power,—we think that reflecting men should be led by some other motives than mere curiosity to inquire into its sentiments and language, and see where it stands.

This number of the *Liberator* has a long leader on the removal of Judge Loring, headed—

'THE CONTUMACIOUS JUDGE REMOVED—JUSTICE AND RIGHT TRIUMPHANT.'

It is written in the jubilant and triumphant strain which might be expected, and is perfectly justifiable, on their part, under the circumstances. The removal is spoken of as tending to 'increase the moral power of the State, to exalt its character, carry dismay into the ranks of the enemy, and indicate to the South that the rod of her power is broken.' The general tone and temper of the article, its spirit, and the rhetorical seasoning with which it is served up, may be gathered from the following paragraph:—

'"The deed is done.' And what a stirring up there is of all the pro-slavery serpents and wild beasts, both in and out of the Commonwealth! What spitting of venom, what shaking of rattles, what howlings of fury! They may rage, and foam, and menace, and attempt to strike with their poisonous fangs; they may "gnaw their tongues for pai ," and twist in agony like scorpions surrounded by fire; but they are safely caged and chained—the days of their power are gone for ever—"He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh," and THE PEOPLE SHALL HAVE THEM IN DERISION. Elsewhere we have copied some of the comments of the *Post*, (edited by a purchased, mercenary tool of the slave oligarchy, whose hand every decent man should refuse to touch,) the *Courier*, (conducted by a trio of malignant scribblers, whose contempt for principle is matched only by their measureless conceit,) and the *Journal*, (true to its calculating, sordid, hunkerish spirit,) showing into what spasms they have been thrown on seeing the laws of Massachusetts vindicated, the voice of the people obeyed, and a lawless judge made to know that it is not for him to put the Commonwealth under his feet with impunity. In a few days, we shall doubtless obtain the expressions of the Southern journals, together with those of the satanic democratic presses generally, in regard to this removal, and these will furnish a rich supply for that department of villany in our paper, the "Refuge of Oppression."'

Upon this juicy and high-flavored paragraph, we have a word or two to say. The reader will notice that it says it has copied some of the comments of the *Post*, the *Courier*, and the *Journal*; but on turning back to the 'Refuge of Oppression,' so called, we find four articles from the *Post*, two from the *Journal*, and one from the *Advertiser*; *but none from the Courier*. This is really an unkind blow; it wounds our 'measureless conceit'; it is hitting too hard.

The reader will also notice another thing. Though the article from the *Advertiser* is printed with the proper daggers and italics of horror, yet the paper is spared those vitriolic epithets which are showered so plentifully upon the heads of the rest of us. Thus the *Courier* is abused without being quoted from, and the *Advertiser* is quoted from without being abused. Why is this? Fair play is a jewel. When such sugar-plums are going round the company, why is not the plate handed to the *Advertiser*? Is this 'reticence' the result of the new relations between the *Liberator* and the Governor? Has the Governor intimated a wish that his 'men' should not quarrel and call each other names? If for no other reason, simply to estimate the *Liberator's* resources in epithets, we should like to know its judgment of our daily contemporary.

The rhetoric of the paragraph we have quoted is curious and characteristic. The invective of the *Liberator* is apt to run on all fours: in other words, to express itself in animal types or symbols. The human race, in their estimate, is divided into three classes: abolitionists, devils, and wild beasts. The paragraph in question we should imagine had been written by a man fresh from the recollections of a night-mare dream, after a late supper of hot pork steaks and pandowdy. Into such dreams, snakes and scorpions, and tigers, and 'such small deer,' are apt to intrude; and the mind of the writer appears to teem with recent memories thereof. His brain is turned into a kind of intellectual menagerie.

The harmony which usually reigns in our office has been somewhat disturbed by the few dustings which have been sprinkled over us from the *Liberator's* pepper-castors. The *Courier* is under the charge of one responsible editor, but there are more than three persons engaged in the preparation of it; and thus a controversy has arisen—which at one time threatened to be serious—as to the individuals composing the 'trio' above mentioned; there being, of course, a natural aspiration for the honor of being villipended by the *Liberator*. We are all scribblers; we all have a pretty good conceit of ourselves. Our self-esteem does not, indeed, soar to the sublime heights of the sages and statesmen of the *Liberator*, for though we expect to go to heaven, we do not expect to keep the gates, as they do—we look to be found among the elect, but do not aspire to be among the electors—and as to malignity and want of principle, we all 'confess the soft impeachment,' in the sense in which those words are interpreted in the *Liberator's* dictionary. But the sage counsels of the elder members of our fraternity, and their earnest disclaimers of any thing like a grasping or monopolizing spirit, have made matters all right again.

The reader will notice these two lines in the paragraph we have quoted:—

'"He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh"; and THE PEOPLE SHALL HAVE THEM IN DERISION.'

This is a small matter, but of some importance as a sign. These words are an improved version of the fourth verse of the second chapter of the Book of Psalms. The original reads thus: 'He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; THE LORD shall have them in derision.' A distinguished gentleman of the anti-slavery persuasion sometime since broached the idea of having an anti-slavery Bible and an anti-slavery God; we take it that the above recast of the verse of the Psalms is a specimen of the proposed anti-slavery Bible. It substitutes THE PEOPLE for THE LORD. This substitution is perfectly natural, and perfectly consistent with the Gospel according to St. Liberator. The people are a proper object of worship—they are as a god—provided always that they will remove Judge Loring; but the people of the United States, who have chosen Mr. Buchanan President, are no better than a devil.

The editor of the *Liberator*, perhaps out of compliment to the African race, has embraced a form of that religion which is called fetichism, and which is well known to prevail on the western coast of Africa. There every man makes his own god; he makes it out of wood, rags, feathers, bits of brass, and pieces of looking-glass; he sets it up in his hut, and so long as things go on well with him, he worships it; but when ill luck or mischance comes upon him, he sticks a skewer through his idol, and flings him into the fire. To our apprehension, the people is just about as proper an object of worship as an African Mumbo Jumbo; and the fact that the people, or a majority of them, hold a certain man, or a certain set of men, in derision, at any given moment, is to us no more of a divine impulse, or a decisive judgment, than was the Jewish multitude's preference for Barabbas eighteen centuries ago.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

WHAT THE REMOVAL HAS DONE.

By the rejection of Loring, Massachusetts has taught many an indirect lesson. It could not fail to be so; that thing is good for nothing that is not good for something else. Her Legislature has taught her Republicans how to prevent the extension of slavery—nor hers alone. Wherever Missouri Democrats, or Kentucky slaveholders, or Carolina non-slaveholders are awakening to the great work of the nineteenth century, they hear, beneath the voice of Massachusetts sovereignty, the whisper of Massachusetts sympathy; and over all swells the clear, *certain* sound of Massachusetts morals and religion; hearing which, every man knows how to gird himself for the anti-slavery battle. It says to the whole land, 'Meet slavery in every path and in every shape, and 'remove it.' It stands a Border Ruffian in Kansas—*remove* it. It sits a Chief Magistrate at Washington—*remove* it; a prejudiced pedagogue in the schools—*remove* it; in the Church, holding up 'fellowship' as a weapon to destroy brotherhood—REMOVE it; at Washington, muffled up in ermine—REMOVE it!

Since slaveholders and their creatures hear and thus interpret the great Massachusetts lesson of 1858, how much more shall the American Anti-Slavery Society, that has so long entertained (not unawares) that angel of Freedom,

> ——' Whose breath had lent
> A vigor to the instrument!'

One thing, too, the Legislature of Massachusetts has learned: all honor to its noble sense of what befits the functionary of a people so noble—whose legislators are its abolitionists, and its abolitionists its legislators! It has learned, as our American Anti-Slavery Society has done before it in these times, and as the fathers did in the past, to pay no heed to the voices of wealth, or place, or power. It has heeded, at this important crisis, only the voice of the fathers' blood, crying to it from the ground, 'Stain not the glory of your worthy ancestors.' It has been faithful to their adjuration, 'Be wise in your deliberations and determined in your exertions for the preservation of your liberties.' It has 'rejected the dictates of passion, and enlisted under the sacred banner of reason.' It has 'secured its rights, and prevented the curses of posterity from being heaped upon its memory.'

But more remains to be done; and the voice that, in 1772, evoked from the ground the blook of Vane and Hampden, still cries to it from the near sacred sod! 'If you, with united zeal and fortitude, oppose the torrent of oppression—if you feel the true fire of patriotism burning in your hearts—if you from your souls despise the most gaudy dress that slavery can wear' [*how much more the petty postmasterships, and overseerships, and tide-waiterships, and drivers'-berths!*]—' if you really prefer the lonely cottage, while blest with liberty, to gilded palaces surrounded with the ensigns of slavery, you may have the fullest assurance that slavery, with her whole accursed train, will hide her hideous head in confusion, shame and despair.'

If anything could add to the satisfaction of a deed which is at once a homage to the past, a safeguard to the present, and a pledge to the future, it would be the admirable grace and measure of the doing. The crowds from the city and the country round about, who, from time to time, composed the audience at those important sessions, were most deeply impressed by it. The public journals can give the words there uttered, but no report can do justice to the imposing effect. The Anti-Slavery feeling had previously done its appropriate work in the open field, without stint or measure. 'Thus it becometh us' in our primary meetings as Abolitionists. But in the Senate Chamber and in the House of Representatives' Hall, the Anti-Slavery feeling clothes itself in the proprieties of place, and sits in a legislative dignity of self-government that the world cannot match. This could not fail to be observed by every one who had felt the atmosphere of sleeping murder in the Senate, or seen the exhibition of drunken riot in the Representatives' Chamber at Washington; or who had saddened in the '*morne silence*' of the permitted assemblages of despotism; or rejoiced in the flattering exactitude of the French Republican Chamber of Deputies; or excruciated in the hesitating utterance of an English House of Commons, where each man is so reasonably afraid that his neighbor may know more than himself, and where, save for a few local and personal interests, all are generally so much in the hands of the smooth audacious talker with hereditary claims.

Freedom and Humanity forgot none of their advocates; but some may claim an especially honorable remembrance. The heart of every listener present will have thanked Mr. Pitman, of New Bedford, and will have felt that too much can hardly be said of the legal ability, the judicial discrimination, the argumentative closeness to the subject, flowing, with uncompromising moral rectitude, in perfect temper and constant courtesy, out of the easy fulness of a trained mind and a noble heart, which were brought by John A. Andrew, of Boston, to the service of the State on this occasion.

We hail it as the first of a new series of Legislative and Judicial triumphs, the last of which shall be the abolition of slavery.

From the New Bedford Republican Standard.

JUDGE LORING.

A most ridiculous and bombastic placard was posted in Boston immediately after the removal of Judge Loring, concluding with a call on the solid men of Boston to 'arise in their strength, and open the old Cradle of Liberty, the glorious Hall of your fathers, and proclaim, in tones of thunder, that you will be free! that fanaticism shall no longer reign—that white men are supreme—that Massachusetts shall be regenerated! Governor Banks once said, 'Let the Union slide!' What say you, citizens of Massachusetts?'

But, alas! no response has been made to this heart-rending appeal. In the very home of hunkerism, and of Judge Loring's friends, if he has any, where the *Post* and *Courier*, 'influential' papers, are daily denouncing the act of the Legislature and the Governor, shedding tears which it requires a forty horse power of simulated grief and indignation to pump from their desiccated eyes, not even a hundred names have yet been obtained to sign a call for opening the 'Cradle of Liberty' for an indignation meeting. And instead of the Judgeship or Treasurership which was to console the ex-official for the pains of martyrdom and the loss of $900 a year, the Washington *Union* only offers him the opportunity of running against Mr. Banks as a candidate for Governor next Fall. The least the Administration could have done would be to order the recapture of another fugitive slave from Boston, and to assign him the luxury of signing the papers for his return. The performance of this delightful and constitutional duty would be ample reward for all the disgrace occasioned by the action of the people of Massachusetts. Nothing would be more soothing to his wounded susceptibilities, for we cannot suppose him altogether devoid of insensibility, than to have some poor trembling fugitive, who has been earning an honest living under the shadow of the 'Cradle of Liberty,' but against whom some perjured villain had procured a warrant falsely charging him with crime, as the only means of securing his prey, arraigned before him. How pleasant it would be for this humane guardian of orphans, in some back room, to pronounce a hasty judgment, or if obliged by public indignation to grant the form of a trial, to violate all the rules of evidence, and to decide every point in favor of the claimant! With what cutting sarcasm could this impartial Judge, before issuing his decision from the bench, inform the prisoner's counsel that it was of no use to make any opposition to the fugitive being returned, as he probably would be! With what triumph would he sign the warrant consigning the poor victim—we should say the piece of property guaranteed by the Constitution—to be carried back, first to a Charleston whipping post, and then to be sold 'South,' and with what Pecksniffian humility would he refuse the fee the law allows him, alleging that this constitutional duty was not performed for lucre's sake, but from a disinterested desire to assist the owners of property that *will* run away, to recover their own, and also from merciful considerations of the best interests and happiness of the piece of property itself! Certainly, Judge Loring should be provided with a fugitive slave case at least once a month.

But, seriously speaking, there is no such indignation even in Boston, on that subject, as the *Post* and *Courier* would have us believe. Business is not suspended, the State House is not besieged by angry remonstrants, knots of excited men discussing the subject are not gathered at the corners of the streets, and Mr. Banks is as safe in life and limb, in going to and from his daily duties, as Gen. Cushing. Every body is glad that 'the deed is done,' and the subject can now be dropped, except by a few journals which indulge the vain hope that it can be made an issue in the next election. The editor of the Yarmouth *Register*, a member of the Legislature, writes:—

> 'I affirm with the utmost confidence, from daily observation, that the people of Boston care very little about Loring. An attempt to get up an indignation meeting in Faneuil Hall has, thus far, proved abortive, though perhaps the effort may yet succeed. The cause of this indifference is easily explained by a remark made to the writer by a prominent Democratic member of the House. He remarked that "Loring was a wrong-headed donkey, who ought to have resigned one office long ago, and not place his friends in the awkward position of sustaining him in his contumacy."'

The County of Suffolk, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the Union of the States, even the order of the universe, will survive for some time this attack on the judiciary. No unusual omens in the air foretell an impending catastrophe, no blazing comets portend the destruction of all things. A fly settling on the horns of a bull said, 'If my weight discommodes you, I will fly away.' To which the noble brute replied, 'I did not even know you were there.'

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

[Correspondence of the New Bedford Standard.]

Cape Cod, March 30, 1858.

Mr. Editor:—Though State politics are engaging comparatively little attention just at present, I have thought it might not be unacceptable to you to have some indication of the popular sentiment of Cape Cod as to that most important measure, the removal of Judge Loring. I really know of no word or set of words that will better define that sentiment, than the response of our faithful representative from Chatham, the Rev. Mr. Dodge, to the ill-fated and pompous announcement of the Hon. Caleb Cushing, that 'the deed is done,' &c. The loud 'Amen' of Mr. Dodge finds a cordial response in the hearts, consciences and judgments of all the supporters of Governor Banks, and of a very large portion of the late supporters of Mr. Gardner. Cape Cod is in favor of an actual, practical, personal liberty, something to be enjoyed, something to be protected and vindicated. Not a theoretical thing to be trotted out on the Fourth of July, occasionally treated to the company of 'Free Soil throughout God's heritage' resolutions, and the balance of the time laid at the feet of the slave-hunter. And when a judicial officer of Massachusetts, in open, conscientious and determined violation of a constitutional law, so admitted to be by all parties, persists in retaining functions conferred on him by another government, and through which a deadly blow may be struck at the personal liberty of citizens of Massachusetts; and when he is finally ejected from his office of honor and trust for his presumptuous folly, (to apply to his conduct no harsher term,) he will have but little more chance for sympathy from Cape Cod than Dives had for a drop of water on a certain occasion. Dealers in Caleb Cushing's speeches, in the shape of large yellow placards, may as well make a note of the above.

Yes, sir, the removal of Judge Loring is a popular measure with us, and the 'Little Iron Man,' by his prompt and fearless action, has not only increased and consolidated his own strength, but has also done much to consolidate the opposition to the National Africanized Democracy of Barnstable County.

SOUTHERN ASSAILANTS OF NORTHERN LABOR.

A correspondent of the New York *Post* gives the following reminiscences concerning Senator Hammond of South Carolina:

> 'I knew his father, who was a true Yankee from Massachusetts. He then resided in Lexington district, South Carolina, and was the owner and manager of a saw-mill. He had previously carried on the business of a butcher, at Columbia. His chief pride seemed to be centered in his son, James, whom he trained from childhood in oratorical exercises. The mother of James was, I think, the daughter of an Englishman, named Fox. So the aristocratic Senator is half Yankee, half Bull. His Yankee father grudged no sacrifice to make him an orator, and fit him for public life, not expecting that he would distinguish himself chiefly in efforts against the land of his fathers.'

On the Boston and Worcester Railroad, shortly after passing Westboro' station, may be seen an old fashioned square house, with a cupola upon the top, but otherwise of very unpretentious appearance. This house is occupied by two families—brothers. One is a wheelwright, a very worthy man, and much respected by his fellow-citizens. But he is a Northern laborer, one who gets an humble living by the sweat of his brow, and one of the class stigmatized by Senator Hammond as slaves. This worthy mechanic, however—this child of toil—this Northern slave, as he would be termed by the degenerate son of a New England sire—is the father of another Southern representative. In that old house, Mr. Maynard, the representative of the second district in Tennessee, was born. Here his father pursued his usual calling, and his mother and sisters braided straw, bound shoes, and taught school, to aid him through college. Here Mr. Maynard imbibed principles which should have governed his career through life, but which seem to have been lost sight of in pursuit of the glittering prizes of ambition. The son of a Massachusetts wheelwright—the 'Yankee school teacher,' for such Mr. Maynard was when he first went to the South—is one of the most zealous defenders of the peculiar institution, and one of those who haughtily spurn Northern labor, and who are ready at all times to strike it down, whether by a tariff which will encourage foreign manufacturers, or by a more direct blow at individual interests. It has been said, and perhaps truly, that Yankees make the hardest slave-drivers. So a New England man, who has fairly turned his back on the home of his childhood, and identified himself with Southern interests, is too often the most ready to attack the interests of the section to which he owes all that he is.—*Boston Journal.*

NORTHERN LABORERS SLAVES!!!

We publish to-day some remarks of Mr. Hammond, of South Carolina, in which he characterizes the working men of the North as 'white slaves,' 'the mud-sills of society.' We have another specimen of Southern courtesy of speech to record. Mr. Toombs, of Georgia—a pink of chivalry, too—made a speech at a Lecompton meeting in Baltimore, called by Custom House officers, in which he spoke of the Free State men in Kansas as 'some twenty-five hundred vagabonds in rebellion against the twenty-five millions of the people of these United States.' Expressions such as are quoted above, coming from the lips of prominent Southern men, in reference to the Northern people, have lately become quite frequent. And yet these gentlemen are always prating about the superiority of the South over the North in the courtesies of life, and the amenities of social intercourse!

We do not wish to comment at length upon the disgraceful declaration of Senator Hammond. We only desire to call the attention of our readers to it, that they may be apprised of the doctrines to which the modern Democracy are brought to subscribe. As we have said before, the declaration speaks for itself. It proves the inevitable effects of slavery to degrade free labor, and to create odious distinctive castes in society, hostile to the spirit of our republican institutions. It defames our fathers, the noble farmers and mechanics of the North, who left their farms and workshops to fight the battles of the Revolution, and who believed that 'all men are created free and equal.' It is a foul slander upon the working millions of our Northern free men and free women, the strength of whose hands, the intelligence of whose minds, and the virtue of whose hearts, are the highest glory of our country. None but a modern Lecompton Democrat could have given utterance to such a declaration; but it is worthy of such a Democrat from a State deemed suitable, by those who nominated James Buchanan, to be selected wherein to hold the next Democratic Presidential Convention.—*Independent Democrat.*

The Union upon the Removal of Judge Loring. The Washington correspondent of the New York *Post* writes:—

> 'The *Union* of this morning contains a funny article. It says the removal of Judge Loring, by Governor Banks, is the death-knell of Republicanism in Massachusetts, and "destroys his Presidential aspirations." "Governor Banks," it says, "may yet see his victims triumph by the votes of the State, and be compelled to yield to him the chair of State!" When Edward Greeley Loring carries a single school district in the Bay State, you may be prepared to see William Lloyd Garrison elected Governor of South Carolina.'

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, APRIL 9, 1858.

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
American Anti-Slavery Society.

The Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in MOZART HALL, No. 668 Broadway, (above Bleecker street,) on TUESDAY and WEDNESDAY, May 11th and 12th: commencing, as usual, at 10 o'clock, A. M., on the first day, and closing in the afternoon of the last. Arrangements will be made to secure addresses from eloquent champions of the cause, not only at the first, but at each subsequent session.

At no time within the quarter of a century in which this Society, as the representative of the American slave, has pressed upon the consciences of the people the duty of Immediate Emancipation, have the obligations resting upon its friends been more imperative, or the incitements to fidelity on their part greater than at the present hour; and never was it more important that they should come together, in large numbers, from every part of the land, to confer with one another upon the state of the cause, and, by an interchange of thought and sympathy, prepare for new labors and conflicts in its behalf.

The object of the Society is not *merely* to make 'Liberty national and Slavery sectional'—nor to prevent the acquisition of Cuba—nor to restore the Missouri Compromise—nor to repeal the Fugitive Slave bill—nor to make Kansas a free State—nor to resist the admission of any new slave State into the Union—nor to terminate slavery in the District of Columbia and in the National Territories—but it is, primarily, comprehensively, and uncompromisingly, to effect the immediate, total and eternal overthrow of Slavery, wherever it exists on American soil, and to expose and confront whatever party or sect seeks to purchase peace or success at the expense of human liberty. Living or dying, our motto is, 'No Union with Slaveholders, religiously or politically!'

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

S. H. Gay,
Wendell Phillips, } *Secretaries.*

THE BOSTON COURIER.

'Most of our readers have, we presume, heard of the Boston' *Courier*. 'Some of them have probably seen it occasionally; but few of them, we take it for granted, read it habitually.' For their instruction, therefore, as to its spirit and purpose, we occasionally make extracts from its editorial columns, and thus are enabled to enrich and to illustrate that department of our paper which is the special depository of the hunker malignity and pro-slavery villany of the times. In our present number, we lay before them some characteristic specimens from that fruitful source; holding in reserve many others, till a 'more convenient season.'

The article from the *Courier*, on The Liberator, may justify a few criticisms. Its flippancy and conceit, its attempts at wit, its rhetorical flourishes, as visibly indicate its paternity,—notwithstanding 'the *Courier* is under the charge of one responsible editor,' but has several others to blow at its bellows, incog,—as though the name of George S. Hillard were appended to it. Mr. H. was included, of course, in 'the trio' to whom we attributed the special editorial management of that paper, in a parenthetical reference to it recently—the other two being Mr. George Lunt and Prof. Felton, the last named expending his forces chiefly in assailing Spiritualism, very much as a mad dog snaps, and snarls, and attempts to bite whatever comes in his way. The most constant, ambitious and voluminous contributor to the *Courier*, we assume to be Mr. Hillard. It is refreshing to hear him say of The Liberator, 'Its vocabulary of vituperation is probably the richest and finest in the world,' seeing that of all our multitudinous exchanges, we know of none that equals the *Courier* in profusion of bitter, mean, contemptuous and defamatory epithets, as applied to all those who are not as hunkerish and pro-slavery as itself. Let us see what lessons it sets in avoidance of all uncharitable personalities,—to go no farther than the articles we have copied from it in our present number. It taunts the Daily *Advertiser* for its 'jesuitical and whining tone,' and its 'crooked line of policy,' and charges it with assuming 'a guise of seeming fairness to promote the worst designs and projects of a factious knot of impracticables,—made up, as it is, of the worst elements of society, (!)—*disunionists, disorganizers, socialists, infidels, and radicals of every shade and degree*'!! Gov. Banks is insultingly told that, in the removal of Judge Loring, 'he has been compelled to act, and has made his response obedient to the dictation of the Abolitionists,' and has been guilty of a 'high-handed usurpation of unconstitutional power.' In reference to that well-timed removal, the *Courier* impudently says that 'all men who are not blinded by a mistaken fanaticism, nor the slaves of an unscrupulous faction, express themselves in fitting terms.' The Republican party, which is ever indicating a spinal weakness, an utter lack of an aggressive spirit, and a disposition to compromise and retreat, is ludicrously branded as 'a swaggering and blustering party; ever defiant, pugnacious, belligerent; having a chronic wolfishness about the head and shoulders'!!—&c. &c. &c.

These are samples. Strike out the abusive, irrelevant and scandalous epithets with which the leading articles in the *Courier* are thickly inlaid, and it would be like pricking a bladder with a pin. Those articles derive their length, their strength, their inflation, from an extraordinary injection of hydrophobic poison commingled with personal spite. It is peculiarly cool, therefore, for such a paper to say—'Whoever would learn in the highest perfection the art of cursing without swearing—whoever would fain measure the wealth of the English language in expressions of venom, brutality and ferocity—should give his days and his nights to the columns of the Boston *Liberator*.' It is not the first time that he who has a huge beam in his own eye, has attempted to pull out the little mote in another's eye; or that he who can strain at a gnat, has shown himself capable of swallowing 'a whole caravan of camels.'

It is true that we are frequently compelled to use the language of severity; but there is a wide difference between the *Liberator* and the *Courier* in this respect. The epithets used by the *Liberator* are exactly descriptive, well-merited, and necessary to put to open shame those who, under the pretence of patriotism, or the guise of religion, are deceiving and misleading the people, enslaving or helping to enslave millions of wretched beings, assailing every reformatory movement, seeking to perpetuate the worst institutions, putting darkness for light, and light for darkness. We scrupulously call men and things by their right names, divested of all personal ill-will (1); finding our justification in the apology made by Luther for his own course. 'Almost all men,' said he, 'condemn the tartness of my expressions; but I am persuaded that God will have the deceits of men thus powerfully exposed. For I plainly perceive, that *those things which are softly dealt with give people but light concern, and are presently forgotten.* If I have exceeded the bounds of moderation, THE MONSTROUS TURPITUDE OF THE TIMES HAS TRANSPORTED ME. Nor do I transcend the example of Christ, who, having to do with people of like manners, called them sharply by their proper names; such as, an adulterous and perverse generation, a brood of vipers, hypocrites, children of the devil, who could not escape the damnation of hell.' Not that we regard Luther as a perfect model, but the defence is complete in itself for using strong denunciatory language, in the spirit of righteous indignation, against colossal crimes, and 'sinners of the first rank.' We are engaged in no complimentary work, no dainty undertaking, but contending with 'a sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, whose hands are full of blood;'—with 'judges that are ravening wolves, and prophets that are light and treacherous persons, and priests that have done violence to the law, the best of them being as a briar, and the most upright sharper than a thorn hedge';—with those 'that abhor judgment, and pervert all equity—that build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity—whose eyes and heart are for covetousness, and to shed innocent blood, and for oppression, and for violence to do it';—with those 'that buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a poor of shoes, and trade in slaves and the souls of men';—with those 'that bend their tongues like their bows for lies, and are not valiant for the truth upon the earth, for they proceed from evil to evil, and weary themselves to commit iniquity—they lay wait as he that setteth snares, they set a trap, THEY CATCH MEN';—with those 'that turn aside the needy from judgment, and take away the right from the poor, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless—that join house to house, and lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth';—with those that have made 'a covenant with death, and with hell are they at agreement,' making lies their refuge and under falsehood hiding themselves, and 'framing mischief by a law'—and that impudently declare, 'The Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it.' Under these circumstances, what else can we do than to declare that 'the Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land; by swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood. *Therefore shall the land mourn.*'

The *Courier* is also given to the use of strong language, but with what intent? It is dexterous in the multiplication of epithets, but to whom and to what are they applied? It constantly misrepresents, caricatures, defames, sneers at the anti-slavery men and women of the land, who, on the score of intelligence, moral worth, disinterested philanthropy, and love of impartial liberty, may not shrink from comparison with any of those who are chronicled among the martyrs, patriots and saints of other times—branding them as disorganizers and infidels, and holding them up to public ridicule, hatred and contempt. It takes the side of the oppressor against the oppressed; denounces the proposition to make Massachusetts free to all who tread its soil; is in favor of continuing the horrible practice of hunting slaves in this Commonwealth, and returning them to bondage; cannot tolerate a manly resistance even to the extension of slavery; anathematizes such men as Hale, Wilson and Banks, simply because they sometimes speak out and act for freedom; sustains the present iniquitous national administration, and encourages the Slave Power to go on in its tyrannical and lawless career; in short, it is against justice, humanity, and the law of God, and a moral nuisance and blighting curse in the community.

As a specimen of its contemptible conduct, take a single sentence of the article under review:—'We know of no paper in the Commonwealth which is now more justly entitled to be taken as *the organ of Gov. Banks* than the *Liberator*'!! This is a mixture of folly and knavery in equal proportion. The *Courier* knows, as well as any of our readers, that the *Liberator*—while it studiously aims to give credit to whom credit is due, and records with sincere gratification any act favorable to the struggling cause of freedom, no matter by whom performed—is constantly criticising, rebuking and repudiating the Republican party, because it is, like the Democratic party, the upholder of a blood-stained Constitution and Union, and without any fixed principles on the subject of slavery. The *Liberator* is neither the mouth-piece nor the eulogist of Gov. Banks, having frequently censured his course, though properly commending him for the removal of Judge Loring, in obedience to the will of the people and laws of the State.

We accept the compliment of the *Courier*, that that movement is primarily and mainly owing to the persistent efforts of the abolitionists, that 'their agitation brought THE STATE to the necessary point of public feeling,' and that 'the credit or discredit of the deed is fairly theirs.' This is neither the first nor the second time that they 'have done the State some service,' and helped to relight the expiring torch of liberty in the Commonwealth. For good or evil, the few control the many. Does the *Courier* forget that

> 'Tall oaks from little acorns grow—
> Large streams from little fountains flow'?

Nevertheless, the people responded to the appeal made to them, and 'the deed is done.' What does the *Courier* mean to do about it?

Having inadvertently forgotten to insert some of its vile articles in the 'Refuge of Oppression,' that we had selected for that purpose, the *Courier* makes a facetious point of the omission. In our present number, we have corrected the mistake, and supplied that revolting department of our paper with copious quotations of a suitable stamp from the *Courier*.

(1) The case of Judge Loring is in point. Though so long a resident of Boston, we do not know him by sight, have never entered into his court, and personally have no reason to make him an object of reprobation. It is his public conduct only that we have called in question, and plainly condemned. In carrying on the grandest struggle of the age for the liberation of mankind, we have no time to waste in the indulgence of private griefs, no disposition to deal in spiteful personalities.

☞ The *Liberator*, which was commenced, and has been carried on, in opposition to slavery, has often taken upon itself the collateral function of a Lie-berater, in its notices of the falsehoods of a pro-slavery daily press. The proper discharge of the latter duty requires us to notice the following paragraph from the *Journal of Commerce*:

> Political Degeneracy. The Boston *Courier* speaks of Garrison's Lie-berater, published in that city, as more than ever entitled to consideration on account of its peculiar relation to Massachusetts politics, and as the representative of a body of men beginning to be formidable; and yet something like three columns of its last issue are occupied with ridicule of 'revivals' and the 'dogmas of the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism.' Is it possible that Republicanism and rank Infidelity have become so closely identified in that part of the country?

In printing the falsehoods asserted and implied in the above paragraph, the *Journal of Commerce* has only followed its ordinary custom. The truth in relation to the matters there spoken of is as follows:

There is in the last *Liberator*— instead of 'ridicule' of revivals—a serious and determined expression of opposition to *such* revivals as strengthen the church in upholding slavery, and thus obstruct the progress of Christianity.

Instead of 'ridicule' of the dogmas of the Westminster Catechism, there is a serious statement of the evil influence of teaching to the children and youth of our land doctrines so calumnious to God and injurious to men as the dogmas alluded to—and of the fact that revivals are easily raised from a soil thus prepared, by labor so diligent as Mr. Finney and his associates have used for two years past in Boston.

As to 'Infidelity,' the *Liberator* has always been thoroughly and actively opposed to both the popular forms of it; namely, that which Mr. Giddings has well called 'American Infidelity'—a denial of the great religious truths of the Declaration of Independence—and the more comprehensive sort, chiefly found in the churches, by which God is claimed as the author, and approver, and defender of slavery.

C. K. W.

THE LATE MRS. SARAH H. EARLE.

In The Liberator of the 12th ult., it was our sad duty to record the somewhat sudden death of Mrs. Sarah H. Earle, wife of Hon. John Milton Earle, of Worcester. The funeral services were attended by a large number of relatives and sympathizing friends. After a religious exhortation of considerable length by Dr. Tobey, of Providence, on the importance of being prepared for death, of saving faith in the atoning blood of Christ, &c., &c., without any particular reference to the beautiful life and character of the deceased, Wm. Lloyd Garrison rose and said—

This is an occasion on which I feel moved to give utterance to some of the thoughts which are naturally suggested by it; finding my excuse for exercising this liberty in the deep veneration I feel for the memory of the beloved one, whose mortal remains we are about to convey to the sheltering tomb.

It was a profoundly wise saying of one of the wisest of men, many ages ago, 'It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting'—for adversity is a better teacher than prosperity, and sorrow is more suggestive than joy. It is only a few weeks since a loving daughter, in the beauty and promise of budding womanhood, was called away to the spirit-land; and scarcely have the tears which her premature exit called forth been wiped from moistened eyes, ere the fond mother, who watched over the sick bed of that dear sufferer with such sleepless anxiety and unwearied devotion, has in her turn been summoned to pass through the same great change; and now tears are flowing afresh, though what was mortal has put on immortality, and mother and daughter are doubtless clasped in each other's arms.

In all this, however, no strange thing has happened. What we call death is every where, ties are every where sundered, hearts are every where bleeding, and 'the mourners go about the streets.'

> 'Friend after friend departs:—
> Who hath not lost a friend?
> There is no union here of hearts,
> That finds not here an end,'

I, too, have had this cup of affliction repeatedly commended to my lips. I know, by sad experience, how to participate in the present bereavement. I have lost father, mother, brother, sisters, children, relatives, friends; and the record of loss is extending indefinitely.

There are two extremes of mind, to which the death of those who are near and dear is apt to give birth—stoical insensibility on the one hand, and morbid melancholy (sometimes running into despair) on the other. Neither of these is rational; both are to be sedulously avoided. Our hearts are not made of marble, but of flesh. Let the tears flow—let the heaving bosom find its natural outlet of relief—but let there be no darkness or gloom, through which no ray of light can penetrate.

> 'There is a tear for all who die,
> A mourner o'er the humblest grave.'

In the whole record of Him who was a 'man of sorrows and acquainted with grief,' I know of nothing more touching than this: 'Jesus wept.' His sympathies were powerfully excited, even while giving the assurance, 'He is not dead, but sleepeth.'

It is a grave error to speak of death, in any case, as 'a dark and mysterious dispensation of Divine Providence.' It is no more mysterious than the perishing of the opening rose-bud, or the falling of the autumnal leaf, or the night that succeeds the day. It is ever from natural causes, whether in violation of the laws of life, or in conformity thereto; and 'the hand of God' is not in it, in any supernatural sense. It is as indispensable as mortal birth, and to be accepted not only with resignation, but with thankfulness. In itself, it is no cause for lamentation or dread: nay, in nothing are divine wisdom and goodness more signally manifested than in this beneficent arrangement. In the language of a Russian poet, in his address to the Deity—

> 'Thy chains th' unmeasured universe surround,
> Upheld by thee—by thee inspired with breath:
> Thou the beginning with the end hast bound,
> *And beautifully mingled life and death.*'

Thanks be to God, then, for death!—rather for the life to come, through a wondrous translation! The endless procession is still marching on. Of the entire population of the globe, it is estimated that, during the past year, more than thirty-one millions have 'gone the way to dusky death'—a number exceeding the whole population of the United States. Is this to be deplored as a calamity, or looked upon as a mysterious dispensation? No! it is but the inauguration of a new destiny.

> 'Life is real, life is earnest,
> And the grave is not its goal;
> "Dust thou art, to dust returnest,"
> Was not spoken of the soul.'

What! the soul, with all its faculties and powers, extinguished through the operation of the natural laws of bodily decay! What! thought, feeling, affection, love, memory, immortal aspiration, at last only as the clods of the valley! Nay, it is not, it cannot be so.

> ''Tis Heaven itself that points out an hereafter,
> And intimates eternity to man....
> The soul, secure in her existence, smiles
> At the drawn dagger, and defies its point.'

Doubtless, the apprehension of death, which so widely is felt, may be attributed to three sources:—1. To a fear of prolonged bodily suffering. 2. To a false and gloomy theology, as pertaining to our eternal destiny; so that, as a matter of present security, life on any terms is made desirable. 3. To its suddenness. Familiar as we are with the fact that we are all mortal, and that we may no more expect to escape the loss of those most dear to us than others, still, when the event comes, we are seldom prepared for it. It jars and shocks us, even though the sickness may have been prolonged, and we forewarned that the 'inevitable hour' was near. We hope against hope; while life remains, we try to persuade ourselves that something yet may be done to save the beloved sufferer, we know not how; perhaps the case is not correctly understood; perhaps nature will ultimately rally, and throw off the disease; perhaps a balm may be found in Gilead, and a physician there. We remember cases of extreme prostration, where recovery seemed impossible, and yet the life was spared. And so, from day to day, from hour to hour, we refuse to entertain the thought that it is all over, and try to comfort ourselves with the delusions of abaseless hope: and so, we are at last taken by surprise, as though a mine had been sprung beneath our feet. This uncertainty of the time of our own death, or of that of our cherished ones, is forcibly described by Mrs. Hemans, in her memorable lines—

> 'Leaves have their time to fall,
> And flowers to wither at the North wind's breath,
> And stars to set—but all,
> Thou hast all seasons for thine own, oh Death!
>
> We know when moons shall wane,
> When summer birds from far shall cross the sea,
> When autumn's hue shall tinge the golden grain—
> But who shall teach us when to look for thee?
>
> Is it when Spring's first gale
> Comes forth to whisper where the violets lie?
> Is it when roses in our path grow pale?—
> They have one season, all are ours to die!'

Yes, our translation is possible at any and at all times; and therefore the advantage and supremacy of the soul over bird, and flower, and grain.

> 'The chain of being is complete in me;
> In me is matter's last gradation lost,
> And the next step is spirit!—Deity!
> I can command the lightning, yet am dust!'

While thus speaking on the general question of death, I should deem it unpardonable, on this occasion, if I did not allude, in direct and special terms, to the exalted character, the high personal worth of her, around whose remains we have gathered to pay our last tribute of affection and respect.

Such women as Dorothea Dix, Elizabeth Fry, and Florence Nightingale have, by their philanthropic and self-denying labors in behalf of the prisoner and the wounded soldier, placed themselves on lofty pedestals, and won lasting renown. Far be it from me to detract any thing from their merit, or to pluck a leaf from the laurels with which they are crowned. I tenderly and admiringly appreciate all that they have done. But I cannot forget that they have never brought themselves in conflict with what is strong, popular, satanic—with a spurious religion, a corrupt church, or a tyrannical government; that they have never contended with 'principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places'; that Miss Dix has had to contend chiefly with public indifference, or the niggardliness of the State; that Elizabeth Fry lost nothing of caste or position, but at once was flattered and honored, by her visits to Newgate and other prisons; and that Florence Nightingale went forth to the Crimea with the applause not only of all England, but of all Christendom. No blow was struck by them at national iniquity; no reform was projected that roused the fury of the mob, and the hatred of the proud and pharisaical; no testimony was borne against respectable wrong-doing, to the sacrifice of friends, reputation, and social intercourse. Theirs were acts of simple benevolence, which did not interfere with Church or State, but were conformed to them both—worthy of high praise, it is true, but belonging to the region of sentiment, rather than to that of uncompromising moral principle. But there is a much higher plane of action than they occupy—requiring different elements of character, greater heroism, stronger faith in God, and deeper feelings of humanity; and on that plane the noble woman, whose still and placid countenance I see before me, lying so meekly in death, lived, and moved, and acted. They have my respect and gratitude; she has my reverence and love. It is no disparagement to place her above them, famous as they are, and unknown to the world at large as she was, confined to the quiet circle of a home hallowed by her presence, and to a limited sphere of labor.

We are exhorted to love and to follow Christ. It is a great thing to do this intelligently—to know what it is to love and follow him. Our departed friend needed no instruction on that point. She saw her Savior, not in the popular and fashionable garb—not as a superstitiously revered historical personage—not as beheld by a corrupt and time-serving church, and as extolled by a hireling priesthood—but as still 'despised and rejected of men,' still accused of irreligion and blasphemy, still held to be more odious than Barabbas, still declared to be a corrupter of the people. Hers was a living, not a dead Christianity. She was among the earliest to espouse the hated Anti-Slavery cause, and nobly consecrated her life to its support and triumph. Of a meek and quiet spirit, she exhibited rare moral intrepidity, great self-reliance, unbending firmness, untiring persistency. She made the case of the slave her own, and was as uncompromising in his behalf as though the safety of her own household depended upon her fidelity. The trembling fugitive found food, raiment and shelter at her hands. Complexional prejudice she rebuked by a living example. She stood in no awe of public sentiment or of social proscription. True to her own pure instincts, to her clear convictions of duty, she faithfully performed her part, leaving the consequences to Him who sees the end from the beginning. Her intuition amounted almost to infallibility; her judgment was profound, her circumspection admirable, her vision unclouded. In the midst of trial and temptation, she was ever the same calm, serene spirit, exerting a magnetic influence upon all around her, and inspiring to high resolve and virtuous action. Her presence was ever a benediction. She was a model wife and mother; and for completeness of character, I think she had no superior. Her loss is a great one to this household, to a wide social circle, to the city at large, to the cause of humanity and progress in all its aspects; for her comprehensive mind was interested in whatever promised to reform society, alleviate human misery, uproot injustice, and advance the kingdom of righteousness and peace. Next to the cause of the oppressed bondman, the rights of her own sex claimed her attention, and she gave to the movement now going forward to secure those rights her warm approval and efficient aid.

These rooms are crowded with those who knew her worth, and are here to sympathize with a deeply afflicted family, in view of her departure. In imagination, I see a vast throng of mourners, in addition to those around me—the millions of slaves whom she remembered as bound with them. I see their falling tears—I hear their sobs—I catch their broken expressions of mingled sorrow and gratitude.

In contemplating a character so lovely and faultless, a spirit so pure and bright, I feel how great is the poverty of language, and find it impossible to do justice to my feelings. I will therefore conclude by reading the following lines, written for another occasion by John Greenleaf Whittier, as so appropriate and striking that it almost seems as if she had sat for the portrait:—

> 'Another hand is beckoning us,
> Another call is given;
> And glows once more with Angel-steps
> The path which reaches Heaven.
>
> The light of her pure life went down,
> As sinks behind the hill
> The glory of a setting star—
> Clear, suddenly, and still.
>
> As pure and sweet, her fair brow seemed—
> Eternal as the sky;
> And like the brook's low song, her voice—
> A sound which could not die.
>
> *And half we deemed she needed not*
> *The changing of her sphere,*
> *To give to Heaven a Shining One,*
> *Who walked an Angel here.*
>
> The blessing of her quiet life
> Fell on us like the dew;
> And good thoughts, where her footsteps pressed,
> Like fairy blossoms grew.
>
> Sweet promptings unto kindest deeds
> Were in her very look;
> We read her face, as one who reads
> A true and holy book:
>
> The measure of a blessed hymn,
> To which our hearts could move;
> The breathing of an inward psalm;
> A canticle of love.
>
> Alone unto our Father's will
> One thought hath reconciled;
> That He whose love exceedeth ours,
> Hath taken home His child.
>
> Fold her, oh Father! in thine arms,
> And let her henceforth be,
> A messenger of love between
> Our human hearts and Thee.
>
> Still let her mild rebuking stand
> Between us and the wrong,
> And her dear memory serve to make
> Our faith in Goodness strong.'

Death of Professor Hudson. The following extract from a private letter gives an account of the melancholy death of Prof. Hudson of Oberlin College:

> 'A mournful calamity has just occurred to us. Professor Hudson last night endeavored to get on an express train, while in motion, at Olmstead, a few miles this side of Cleveland. He was in some way thrown on to the track, and so disabled as to be unable to get off. The express train of the Toledo Road, which runs on the same track from Grafton to Cleveland, came up in ten minutes. Professor Hudson waved his hand to stop them. They applied the brakes, but too late. The train passed over him, severing his head, both arms and legs from his body. The body was carried on to Cleveland. It was so disfigured that none could recognize it. Mr. Brown of the *Farmer* knew by his shawl, carpet-bag, railroad pass, as assistant editor of the *Farmer*, and by some papers found in his bag, which he had given him but a few hours before, that it was the body of Professor Hudson. Mr. Brown sent to the friends here, and the Professors have just gone out after the remains. He was our Professor this year, and we had become much attached to him. It is a great blow to the institution.'

☞ At the request of a number of friends, who were present at the funeral services of that excellent woman, the lamented Mrs. SARAH H. EARLE, of Worcester, we give in another column the substance of the remarks made by us on that occasion. We have been hoping and expecting to receive, for insertion in THE LIBERATOR, some tribute to her memory from some one of the Anti-Slavery circle in Worcester, of which she was 'the bright, particular star.'

The *Anti-Slavery Standard* feelingly says—

'We place with tears, to-day, in the radiant roll of our departed, the honored name, beloved and blest, of SARAH H. EARLE, of Worcester, Massachusetts.—Death, so often the first to announce merit, has done nothing to increase the deep sense of *her* value in the minds of those who remain. We are favored with the following letter, copied on request by her daughter from the original among her papers. Written with no thought of publicity or coming bereavement, to accompany a little gift from the Twenty-Fourth Anti-Slavery Festival, it marks the depth of the impression her life made on hearts worthy of her own—an impression so profound and beautiful that it placed *her*, in their estimate, beyond the application of the general warning, to "call none happy while yet they live."

BOSTON, Dec. 25, 1857.

DEAR MRS. EARLE,—Will you allow us, your friends in various degrees of intimacy, though with but one degree of appreciation—the highest—of what is worthy of all appreciation, to entreat your acceptance of this little gift, in token of what we feel of admiration and reverence, affection and gratitude, to one whose unswerving fidelity and unequalled perseverance in the cause, from the time that its standard was first uplifted, have ever been our strength and our example?

ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
WENDELL PHILLIPS,
SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
EDMUND QUINCY,
CHARLES E. HODGES,
ABBY K. FOSTER,
MARY MAY,
CHARLES F. HOVEY,
SARAH RUSSELL MAY,
C. LENOX REMOND,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
FRANCIS JACKSON.

The Slave Power is not a distant evil, which comes not nigh us with its curses. Its hateful presence overshadows the whole land. It is steadily moving forward to one object, the absolute mastery of the entire country and continent, and the subjugation of all persons and interests to its will. Already it has subverted the national government. The national administration is merely its tool and agent. James Buchanan openly disowned his own individuality, and declared himself only the embodiment of the Cincinnati platform. The Democratic party is nothing but an appendage of slavery, and exists only to register the decrees and do the base hireling work of the Slaveholding Aristocracy. The Supreme Court has been thoroughly moulded to the same vile and despotic uses, and is lending its mighty force to the same great end of enslaving the entire people, insulting liberty in all her homes, and crushing out all that remains of manliness and honor in the land. Surely it is time for us to prepare for the death-grapple, and be ready to meet the cruel, and therefore cowardly foe, with a vigor and unity of purpose which will not be in vain.

As to the Dred Scott decision, we have never met with a document so full of falsehoods, sophistry, palpable absurdities, and contradiction of established historical facts, as the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in that case. We wonder that even those slaveholding judges were willing to allow their opinion to go out to the country and the world, side by side with the dissenting opinion of Judge Curtis, than which a more complete overthrow of nearly every position assumed by the Courts can hardly be imagined. M.

MERITED PRAISE. A correspondent of the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, 'H. W. G.' (probably HOWARD W. GILBERT,) writing from Schuylkill, Chester county, Pa., and alluding to the retirement of SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, ESQ. from the editorship of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, pays the following merited tribute:—

'You are aware that Mr. Sydney Howard Gay has resigned the post of editor of *The National Anti-Slavery Standard*. Though we cannot rightfully complain of Mr. Gay's resolution, which was rendered necessary by private considerations, we cannot help but regret that circumstances rendered such a course imperative. In clearness of vision with regard to the wants of the cause, and faithfulness to the very highest type of Anti-Slavery, he has few equals; and the delicacy of his humor and his exquisite literary qualifications (which would have given him a wide reputation, if he had been in the market, as most American writers are) have made *The Standard* almost as indispensable to us as bread and butter at breakfast. Nothing could reconcile us to the change, but the fact that Mr. Oliver Johnson, who came as near giving universal satisfaction in his capacity of editor as it ever falls to the lot of mortal to do, in Ohio, as editor of *The Bugle*, here, in Pennsylvania, as editor of *The Freeman*, will still continue at his post, aided by Mr. Edmund Quincy and Mr. Charles K. Whipple, the latter of whom, if not so widely famous as the former, must eventually secure that general admiration of his talents as a writer which is his due. You will not be surprised at our interest in this matter, when you reflect that we have not, as the Abolitionists in the West, an especial organ, our proximity to New York having made the merging of *The Freeman* in *The Standard* possible. One may sincerely congratulate Mr. Gay on having found a remunerative post where he can be even so untrammeled as in the office of *The Tribune*.'

LECTURES BY HENRY C. WRIGHT.

ELLSWORTH, (Maine,) April 1, 1858.

FRIEND GARRISON:

Allow me to chronicle a few passing events, which are now taking place in this town.

That friend of humanity, (Henry C. Wright,) is now delivering a series of lectures here, before large and attentive audiences, upon the great humanitarian questions of the day, viz., War, Slavery, Drunkenness, Woman's Rights, and the education and progress of the race, in their ante-natal, post-natal, and immortal states. Thus far, he has sown seed in all kinds of ground, from the *heterodox*, through the various grades of *nothingarians, limitarians*, up or down, to the modern Christian, which shall spring up and bear a crop just in proportion to the quality of the soil,—and such another medley of enquiries never before came off in our town. All are asking what this kind of doctrine or seed will produce. I divine that it will bring forth *manhood* and *womanhood*—a commodity extremely scarce in the Christian world.

Friend Wright came here on the 26th ult. Lectured that evening to a small audience that paid an admission fee. On the 27th, (evening,) lectured again to a small audience that paid an admission fee. On the 28th, (*Sunday*) gave three free lectures to a crowded hall, on the '*Supremacy of man over his incidents*,' in which he showed, as no other man can show, that *institutions* were made for *man*, and not *man* for *institutions*. Also, in the evening, contrasted the '*Christ of Calvary*' with the '*Christ of Christendom*'; showing conclusively that the American Church is destitute of the Christ of Calvary. Monday evening, free lecture in same hall, to crowded audience, before the 'Ladies' Temperance Society'—making a most affecting and masterly appeal to woman to never entail upon her children the *drunkard's appetite*—therefore never to marry the man who uses intoxicating liquors. On Tuesday evening, lectured in the same hall, to a crowded audience, on 'Woman's Rights.' On Wednesday evening, came into our temperance meeting, in which he answered the question, 'What shall we do with the *Rum-seller*,' and also what *he* would do with the *rum*. The former he would overcome with kindness; the latter he would attack with carnal weapons, and spill his blood. This evening, (Thursday,) he will lecture on '*The relation of man to woman and woman to man—parent to child, and child to parent*.' On Sunday, he will tell us *what we must do to be saved*.

Yours, G. W. MADOX.

☞ Several communications, designed for insertion in our present number, are in type, and will be given next week—among them one from Giles B. Stebbins; one from Emma W. Browne; and one from M. Leon Chautard, of Salem.

WHAT NEXT?

ELLSWORTH, Maine, March 31, 1858.

DEAR GARRISON:

'The deed is done!' Loring, the kidnapper, is cast out of the office of Judge. A kidnapper, a slave-hunter, having charge of the widows and orphans of Boston, and teaching the people of Boston what is just and right! He is removed. 'The deed is done.' Thank God! Let Northern judges take warning! In States where they are elected by the people, *as they should be every where*, the people will know how to dispose of slave-hunting judges, and where they are appointed by the Executive, for life, the people will learn, by Loring's case, how to dispose of them. The general government is a kidnapping, slave-hunting government. Kidnappers, slave-hunters, slave-drivers, and slave-traders, are the only persons duly qualified to administer *such* a government. But the people of Massachusetts wish for a government based on the principle that 'all men are born free, with a natural, essential, and inherent right to liberty'; and they have decided, or will soon decide, that none but honest and decent men and women shall administer their government. At least, they will decide that no kidnapper shall take part in such administration. That deed, for which the generations of the future will thank all who took part in it, is done.

What next? I read with joy your editorial in THE LIBERATOR of March 26th, headed, 'The next thing to be done.' Your answer is, 'to decree that no human being shall be put on trial in this State, BEFORE ANY TRIBUNAL, to determine whether he is the property of another.' 'No more slave-hunts'—'no more slave-commissioners'—no more kidnapping marshals, constables, sheriffs—no more slave-catching postmasters, collectors, judges, legislators and governors in Massachusetts. Let the soil of the old Commonwealth no longer be polluted by the kidnapper's tread, let her air no longer be tainted by his presence.

What a farce! 'All men are born free, with a natural, inherent, inalienable right to liberty.' This is the sole and single basis of the government of Massachusetts, and the State is most sacredly and solemnly pledged before God and the world to secure to all on her territory the enjoyment of this right. Then she allows men and women, residents on her soil and citizens, to be seized and tried on the issue—Were they born *slaves*? That *all* are born free is a self-evident truth; yet *some* must be seized and put on trial to see if they were not born slaves!

In *Boston*, the capital of the State, a Court is sitting. Loring is on the bench as judge. The witnesses and lawyers are around. The ministers, deacons, merchants and citizens are all looking on. In the criminal's box is a MAN, in fetters and chains. What has he done? Is he a thief? No. A robber? No. An incendiary, a burglar, a pickpocket? No. Is he a murderer? No. A pirate or assassin? No. He has wronged no man, no woman, no child. Why, then, is he there in chains? He claims to be a MAN, and not a beast, a chattel, and for this Massachusetts allows him to be seized and tried as a felon on her soil, and before her own citizens. Yes, she allows her own citizens to hunt down, seize and try a man as a felon in chains, because that man asserts that he was born free, and not a slave—that he is a MAN, and not a brute.

What next? People of Massachusetts! decree at once, and place your decree on your statute-book, that no man shall ever be put on trial again, in your State, on the issue, Is he a man or a chattel, a freeman or a slave? Decree, and write your decree on your statute-book, that no man shall be a citizen of Massachusetts, who, as principal or accessory, is guilty of this felony—'a deed to be resented with indignation, rejected with abhorrence, and regarded as blasphemy.' Disfranchise, as you do robbers, murderers and pirates, all who are guilty of slave-hunting and slave-catching. As a State, come forth and say to the slave, of every color and clime, 'Set your feet on our soil, and you are free. No slave-hunter shall pursue you here; no kidnapping marshal shall arrest you here; no kidnapping judge shall try you here; you are free in old Massachusetts till some one appears 'with a bill of sale from God Almighty,' to claim you as a slave.

People of Massachusetts! do this, and then might the State say, 'THE DEED IS DONE,' and all the people, in imitation of Dodge of Chatham, might shout, 'AMEN.' Do this, and you will have done all you can do to free your skirts from the blood of the slave. Till this is done, nothing is done. So long as you allow any person's right to freedom to be called in question by any Court or tribunal, on your territory; so long as you allow the '*self-evident* truth' on which your government rests to be called in question, on your soil, by your own officials, or by the officials of any other government; so long as you allow it to be an open question before any tribunal within your jurisdiction, whether a man is a *man* or a *chattel*, a *freeman* or a *slave*, you knock away the very corner-stone of your political fabric—the self-evident truth that 'all men are born free and equal'—and, by your own act, that fabric must, ere long, be dashed in pieces.

Dear friend, why not, at once, get up a petition to the next Legislature, and have it put in circulation for signers? I shall spend two or three months more in Massachusetts, and would gladly attend a Convention each day, and lecture every evening, to agitate this subject, and to get signatures to a petition to the next Legislature, asking for a law to protect every human being in the State, or that shall come into the State, against kidnapping marshals, judges and commissioners, and against all arrest and trial on the issue, Was he born a freeman or a slave—a man or a beast? Fifty thousand names might be attached to such a petition before next December. Here is a work that can be done, and must be done. Call County Conventions and State Conventions. Let every school district, from Cape Cod to Berkshire, be canvassed. Give every man and every woman a chance to say whether they believe 'all are born free and equal,' whether they are willing to have this *self-evident* truth an open question before any tribunal, and whether they are willing men and women shall be tried on the issue, Are they men or women, or brutes? Shall kidnappers, slave-hunters be citizens of Massachusetts, or shall they be regarded and treated as felons?

This is something to do. May all the friends of freedom, of order, of justice and humanity, arise and do this work. Let meetings be appointed in all places. Let the people assemble in their school houses and churches and halls, and discuss this question—Shall Massachusetts allow the very corner-stone of her civil institutions to be taken away?

I am in Ellsworth—far down East. I have lectured here seven times, and am to lecture five times more. We are having a *revival*. The God of the slave is pouring down a great shower of Anti-Slavery grace on Ellsworth.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

☞ It is said that a worthy lady who took part in the very successful Fair recently held in the Music Hall, for the benefit of the poor of Boston, was desirous that the sale should continue during a portion of the succeeding week, and said—'Mr. Parker's people could easily find some small hall in which to hold their meeting for one Sunday.' She was not a little surprised to hear that no church in Boston has sitting and standing room sufficient to contain that congregation, and that they meet in the Music Hall because no other place in the city is large enough.

For example—upwards of three thousand persons were present at Music Hall, on Sunday last, to hear a sermon by Mr. Parker on 'A False and True Revival of Religion.' It has since been published in a neat pamphlet form by William L. Kent & Co. at the *Bee* office, as reported by Mr. Yerrinton, and is selling rapidly. Price 8 cents. Read it!

PROCLAMATION OF GOV. BANKS,

FOR A DAY OF

Public Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer.

It has been a custom of the people of this Commonwealth from an early period of their history, at this season of the year, to set apart from the cares and pleasures of life, a portion of time in which they might humbly acknowledge their dependence upon Almighty God, and together present their petitions before the Throne of Grace, for a continuance of His signal mercies.

In the belief that it is our duty at this time, as it has been heretofore done by our fathers, to acknowledge our dependence upon Him, to confess before Him our transgressions, and to make known to Him our supplications, I have appointed, and by advice and with consent of the Council, do hereby appoint THURSDAY, the 15th day of April next, as a day of Public Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer.

And I recommend to the people of this Commonwealth to assemble at their accustomed places of worship, on that day; to make confession of their delinquencies and sins; to make public declaration of their dependence upon the providence of God, and their recognition of His divine hand in the judgments that have fallen upon the human family:

That they may implore His divine blessing upon all laudable enterprises of States and of men:

That they may present their petitions for the universal diffusion of liberty: that peace and freedom may everywhere reign absolute: that the rich fruits of the earth and the varied blessings of the season may be vouchsafed to them:

That age may be rewarded with the tranquil and serene pleasures that attend the last hours of the righteous man, and that the youth of our land may be trained to walk in the steps of those who are fearless, wise and just:

That the blessings of education may be everywhere wisely and generously dispensed:

That the suffering and sorrows of the poor may be alleviated:

That we may be endowed with that wisdom which will enable us to pluck from the calamities that threaten to overpower us, the secret of human happiness—indifference to the vanities of life, and dependence upon the providence of Almighty God:

And above all, that the signal and solemn awakening of hearts that has surprised and gladdened our land may wash out all traces of sin, silence the contentions of sects, rebuke pride of opinion, and be sanctified to the good of the institutions and people of our ancient and beloved Commonwealth.

And to this end I invite the people, without distinction of sects or conditions, to abandon ordinary vocations and pleasures, and by following the wise and pious example of our fathers, to consecrate the day to penitence and prayer.

Given at the Council Chamber, this 31st day of March, A. D. 1858, and the 82d year of the Independence of the United States of America.

NATHANIEL P. BANKS.

By His Excellency the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council.

OLIVER WARNER, *Secretary.*

God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts!

ARREST OF ALLEGED KIDNAPPERS. A man named James B. Finley, alias Henry A. Howard, and his wife, were brought to New York last Wednesday morning, from Ellicott's Mills, Howard Co., Maryland, charged with having kidnapped Sarah Harrison, a colored girl, aged 14, in that city, and with having attempted to sell her to a slave-dealer in Washington. It is alleged that Finley and wife persuaded the parents of the girl to allow her to leave her home, and go with them to live in Newark on the 8th ult.; but, instead of taking her to Newark, they went directly to Washington, putting up at Willard's Hotel. It is also alleged, that the next morning, Finley attempted to sell her for $600 to a slave-dealer, but she understood his game, and exposed him. The man and his wife, upon this, immediately left Washington, abandoning the girl, and went to Baltimore. Mr. Willard, on hearing the girl's story, telegraphed to Mayor Tieman, who at once made inquiry about the matter. The mother of the girl was found, and made an affidavit setting forth the facts of the case. At the Mayor's request, the girl was detained at the hotel until the police could bring her to this city. Officers Barry and Lusk, of the 14th precinct, were detailed to investigate the affair, and, on the following day, they arrested Dr. F. C. Clay of this city, on suspicion of being connected with Finley in the kidnapping. It is said that he was not associated with Finnley in the perpetration of the crime, but knew him intimately, and accompanied him to the cars, when the party left for Washington. Dr. Clay was held to bail in the sum of $1000, as a witness. The officers went South, and, after a protracted search, ascertained that Finley was at Ellicott's Mills, Howard Co., Maryland. Officer Barry watched for him in disguise, and saw him go to the post office and inquire for a letter. The officer then followed him to a hotel, where the accused and his wife were arrested. The necessary requisition was obtained from the Governor of Maryland, and the prisoners were brought to New York without difficulty. The girl has also been brought back, and restored to her parents.

On being called up for examination, the Recorder said to the prisoners:

'I was under the impression your case was sent here for a preliminary examination by me, but, on looking at the papers, I find you have already been indicted at the last term of the General Sessions. It therefore only remains for me to fix the amount of bail, in default of which you must be imprisoned to answer at the General Sessions. It is ordered by the Court that you find bail in the sum of $5000 each.'

Finley, alias Howard, appears to be in the neighborhood of 26 or 27 years old, and said he had been in the United States but about three months. He is a Canadian by birth. The woman is apparently about 30 years of age.

After the amount of bail was fixed for the prisoners, the Recorder said, though he confessed it a peculiar hardship, he felt it his duty to order the witnesses in the case to give bail for their appearance on the trial, or be subjected to a temporary confinement. The witnesses being persons in quite humble circumstances as well as humble life, Mr. Tappan suggested to his Honor that he fix the bail in their case as light as possible, to the propriety of which the Recorder readily assented, and therefore fixed their bail at $100 each. Upon this, Lewis Tappan, Esq., and Dr. McCune Smith offered themselves as sureties for the appearance of the witnesses, and were accepted. During these proceedings, the room was uncomfortably crowded.

THE INSTITUTION. A letter from Lexington, Ky., says that there are three mulatto girls in the jail in that city, which a Cincinnati *gentleman* brought from Baltimore, and sold for $1000 a piece, though he pretended when he took them from Baltimore that he was taking them to Philadelphia to give them their freedom. They had been left to the Cincinnatian as a legacy by his deceased uncle; and one of the girls, who is very handsome, modest and intelligent, says he could easily have sold them in Baltimore, instead of getting praise by false pretences that he was going to make them free. She finally said that all she had to ask of him was to give her her certificate of church membership, which he had in his pocket.—*Exchange.*

And this is the system which the Bost *Post* defends, and which the *Courier* piously exults in. The mere fact that such a thing is possible, but quite legal in fifteen States of the Union, ought to make every American blush for his country. This selling 'handsome, modest and intelligent' girls at a thousand dollars apiece, is, it should be remembered, proper, and according to law under the system of slavery. No doubt the fact of their church membership added to the market value of these girls. Would it not be well to remember the case of these poor girls in some of our prayer meetings?—*Bee.*

VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE—RETALIATORY MEASURE. A retaliatory measure upon the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is pending in the Louisiana Legislature. The bill quotes several sections of the infamous Liberty Bill which passed the Massachusetts Legislature in 1855, and is still in force, and gives the despotic provision of the act in regard to the rendition of fugitive slaves. It provides that the assessors of each parish shall, at the regular assessment, demand of every merchant a statement, under oath, of the amount of goods, wares and merchandise, the manufacture or product of Massachusetts, sold by him during the previous year, and the assessor shall then levy a tax of fifty per cent. on the same, recoverable in the same manner as any other tax, and for the use of the State. The bill also provides that no debt due by a citizen of Massachusetts shall be recoverable in any Court of this State; and that the act shall not apply to any Massachusetts manufacture in the State at the time of its becoming a law, and that it shall not take effect until ninety days after its passage.

☞ The Petersburg (Va.) *Intelligencer* recommends all the Southern States to pass statutes of non-intercourse with Massachusetts, because her Legislature and people have removed Judge Loring from the bench as not fit for the position!

☞ The Connecticut State Election has resulted in the triumph of Republicanism by a large majority—securing the Governor, both branches of the Legislature, &c.

LECOMPTON IN THE HOUSE. Mr. Crittenden's amendment passed the House by a vote of 120 yeas to 112 nays. The following Northern Democrats voted for it, in connection with every Republican representative:—

Messrs. Adrian of N. J.; Clark and Haskin of N. Y.; Montgomery, Jones and Hickman of Pa.; Davis, English and Foley of Indiana; Cockerell, Cox, Groesbeck, Hall, Lawrence and Pendleton of Ohio; Harris, Morris, Marshall and Smith of Ill.; McKibben of California.

The names of the South Americans voting the same way are as follows:—

Davis, Harris and Ricaud of Md.; Gilmer of N. C.; Marshall and Underwood of Ky.

Twenty-nine Northern Democrats voted against the proposition to submit the solution of this difficulty to the people of Kansas, and may therefore be justly considered as having abandoned the doctrine of popular sovereignty. These Democrats were from the States of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana and California. The following statement gives their names, and the States which they represent:—

Connecticut—Arnold, Bishop.
New York—Searing, Taylor, Sickles, Kelley, Maclay, Cochrane, Ward, Russell, Hatch.
Pennsylvania—Florence, Landy, Phillips, J. G. Jones, Dewart, Leidy, Dimmick, Ahl, Reilly, Gillis.
New Jersey—Huyler, Wortendyke.
Ohio—Miller, Burns.
Indiana—Niblack, Hughes, Gregg.
California—Scott.

☞ This signal triumph over the Administration has diffused the liveliest joy throughout the entire North, though it will probably prove unavailing, as the Senate has refused to concur with the House amendment by a vote of 32 to 23.

SENATORIAL COURTESY. Mr. Green, of Missouri, seems to be determined to introduce Border-Ruffian manners into the debates of the United States Senate. On one occasion, he openly said to another Senator, 'You are a liar.' But here is a little passage between him and Mr. Seward:—

'The Vice President—The Senator from Missouri has stated his point of order. The Chair will hear the suggestion of the Senator from New York.

'Mr. Green, (to Mr. Seward)—Make your suggestion.

'Mr. Seward—I wish to know whether I must make my suggestions under the permission of the Chair, or by the command of the Senator from Missouri?

'Mr. Green—*Either is equally obligatory.*

The Vice President—The Senator from New York has the floor.'

A FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE. Mr. Wm. M. Connolly, reporter of the New York *Sun*, has been arrested on a charge of having assisted in the escape of two slaves belonging to Charles A. Withers, of Kentucky. Connolly states, that about a year ago, while residing in Cincinnati, a man came to him and told him that two colored persons, named Irvine Broadhus and Angeline Broadhus, needed shelter, and asked him to take care of them. He said they were not slaves. Connolly assented, and took them into his house. He kept them until they were claimed by Withers as his property, the man who placed them with him receiving the reward which had been offered for them. Subsequent to his departure from Cincinnati, Connolly was indicted in Kentucky for aiding and harboring fugitive slaves. Connolly denies any intent of violating the laws, and anticipates a prompt acquittal.

PRAYER NOT YET ANSWERED. By last accounts from Boston, Rev. Theodore Parker had neither been 'removed,' 'confounded,' nor 'killed,' by special divine interposition, in answer to the prayers put up for these objects; but he is still preaching and publishing. His last great anti-slavery speech has made its appearance in pamphlet form. It will be useful, in spite of prayers to the contrary. If these prayers are to be answered, Mr. Parker seems preparing for the great event by using his remaining time in a most excellent work—that of exhorting his Republican brethren to take higher ground than hitherto. He says: '*The whole policy of the Republican party must be changed.* We must attack slavery—slavery in the Territories, slavery in the District, and, above all, slavery *in the slave States*. Would you remove the shadow of a tree? Then down with the tree itself! There is no other way.'

This is well and opportunely said.—*Ohio A. S. Bugle.*

☞ The Washington *Union* is now going into personalities by wholesale. In a late issue, it speaks of Senator Douglas and Robert J. Walker as 'conspicuous instances of mind without soul, intellect without emotion, brains without heart.'

☞ Mr. Bruce stated in the Virginia Legislature, recently, that there had been, within the last three years, a decline in slaves, as an element of property, of seven per cent.

Capture of Another American Slaver. New York, March 31.—A letter from Havana, dated March 24, states that the British war steamer had brought into that port the schr. Panchita, seized as a slaver. The steamer sailed again immediately in pursuit of another slaver.

Connecticut Slaver Captured. A letter from on board the U. S. steamer Powhattan, at St. Helena, states that a Connecticut slaver had been captured by a British brig, having on board 600 slaves.

The Slave Trade.—The scheme for reviving the slave trade, introduced into the Louisiana Legislature, passed the House with little or no opposition, and was defeated in the Senate, after a stormy debate, only by a majority of *two*.

Slave Ransomed.—The Rev. J. E. Crawford, (colored) pastor of the Baptist church in Nantucket, has just returned from Wilmington, N. C., where he has been to purchase from slavery a niece of his wife. The price paid was $2000, of which £50 was contributed in England. While in Wilmington, Mr. Crawford was obliged to keep concealed, but accomplished his purpose and brought the ransomed slave, who is about twenty-one years old, back with him.

Virginia Patriotism.—The Virginia Senate has rejected the bill to aid in erecting a monument at Philadelphia in commemoration of the Declaration of Independence. Why should they pay such a mark of respect to a document which they openly scoff at as 'a self-evident lie'? The wonder is that they don't treat Washington's and Jefferson's remains as the English, after the Restoration, treated the remains of Cromwell.

Sudden and Melancholy Death of a State Senator.—Hon. Samuel Adams, of Townsend, (Middlesex co.) a member of the Massachusetts Senate, died Monday, 5th inst., at his residence, under melancholy circumstances. He was suffering from rheumatism, for which aconite had been prescribed, as a lotion, and of this he swallowed three tea spoonfuls, (misapprehending the directions,) which ended his life in two hours. He was 52, and an energetic and upright man.

☞ The celebrated African traveller, Dr. Livingstone, sailed recently from the Mersey, in the steamer Pearl, for the scene of his labors. Among the gentlemen who accompany Dr. Livingtone are a botanist, a geologist, and an artist, who goes out for the purpose of sketching the country, the people, animals and plants. The best wishes of the scientific and of the commercial world accompany this brave and indefatigable man.

Marriage of a Venerable Couple.—A couple were married in Athol, Thursday evening, the bride being 74, and the bridegroom 78 years old. The ceremonies were performed in a public hall. The officiating clergymen, Rev. Mr. Burt, has reached the venerable age of ninety-two years. It was generally known that the interesting ceremony was to take place, and many citizens were present, each paying ten cents for admission to the hall.

Steamboat Disaster—Twenty Lives Lost.—The steamer Sultan was burned to the water's edge, near St. Genevieve, Missouri, 150 miles below St. Louis, Friday morning of last week, and fifteen or twenty lives were lost. Among the lost were D. D. Moore, clerk of the boat; Henry Eli, pilot; Joseph Blackburn, watchman; the whole of the cabin crew, and the barkeeper, name unknown. Two lady and two gentlemen passengers are missing, and are supposed to be lost.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Collections by Sallie Holley:—

At Hinsdale, N. Y.,	$1 50
Randolph, "	5 44
Jamestown, "	7 51
Sugar Grove, Penn.,	14 00
Lottsville, "	2 10
Columbus, "	3 69
Beaver Dam, "	2 50
Riceville, "	3 47
Union, "	1 25
Donation.	
Friend in Boston, for special purpose,	400 00
Another friend in Boston, for do.,	100 00

FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treas.*

THE UNWELCOME CHILD; or, the Crime of an Undesired Maternity. By HENRY C. WRIGHT, author of 'Marriage and Parentage.' Boston: Bela Marsh, 14 Bromfield Street. 1858.

In this pamphlet of 120 pages, Mr. Wright has set forth in its true colors one of the most, if not *the* most, prevalent, prolific and damning evils with which Humanity is cursed. The revelations which it presents, of the sufferings and degradation of Woman, are of a kind which have not often reached the public ear, and which a false and foul morality has long sought to stifle. The lesson conveyed is one of the most serious and vital import to every man and woman—especially to every married couple, every philanthropist, and every reformer. To those who receive this lesson, it will go far to solve the mysteries of marital infelicity, decline of affection, changing 'affinities,' 'incompatibility,' etc., which have formed the chief ingredients in the 'free-love' ferment that has so widely prevailed. The style of the work is chaste but direct; its tone kindly but impressive and pungent. Its morality (while it may not cover the whole problem of sexual relations) is vastly higher than the popular teachers, either of church or state, have dreamed of inculcating or practising; and the circulation of the pamphlet will do more for the redemption of humanity, by saving them from the miseries of 'an evil generation,' than all the sermons about a mystical *re*-generation that were ever preached.—*Boston Spiritual Age.*

☞ We have only room, this week, to say 'ditto' to the *Spiritual Age*, in its commendatory notice of the new work just published by Mr. Wright, which treats upon a subject of transcendant importance to the welfare and regeneration of mankind, and which therefore deserves the widest circulation.

☞ A British officer, writing from Teheran, Persia, to the London *Times*, remarks: 'A Cathartic Pill, manufactured by 'an American chemist,' (Dr. J. C. Ayer, of Lowell, Mass.) has cured the Shah of a liver complaint that threatened his life. This simple fact, as might be expected, renders the Americans immensely popular here, while we English are overlooked. Doubtless our own scholars made the discoveries which he employs, and thus it is in every thing: we do the labor, then the mousing Americans put their mark on it, and take the reward. Dr. Ayer is idolized by the Court and its retainers here, which will doubtless be reflected to him on a gold snuff-box or diamond-hilted sword, while not the name even of Davy, Christoson or Brodie—the great lights by which he shines—is known.—*New York Sunday paper.*

☞ OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—A quarterly meeting of the *Old Colony A. S. Society* will be held on FAST DAY, Thursday, April 15th, at Plymouth, in Davis's Hall, which all the members and all persons interested in the great struggle between Freedom and Slavery are notified and invited to attend. An interesting and effective meeting is anticipated. Slavery, and pro-slavery Democracy, are yet in the field, but reeling under many mortal blows. Let none think of putting off the anti-slavery armor, but gird himself for fresh conflict and for certain victory.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON and CHARLES L. REMOND are expected to be present.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*
SAMUEL DYER, *Sec'y.*

☞ WORCESTER NORTH.—The annual meeting of the *Worcester County North Anti-Slavery Society* will be held at LEOMINSTER, in the Town Hall, on THURSDAY, (Fast Day,) April 15th. A general attendance of the members is requested, and all persons are invited to attend, and help in keeping the true and acceptable Fast.

☞ WENDELL PHILLIPS, JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, and other speakers, are expected to be present.

☞ WM. WELLS BROWN will deliver a lecture on Sunday evening next, April 11, in the Joy Street Baptist Church, on 'The Great Men of the St. Domingo Revolution.' Exercises to commence at half-past 7 o'clock.

☞ SITUATIONS WANTED.—Several young colored men want situations in stores and dwelling-houses. One who has learned the pegging shoe business is anxious to acquire a knowledge of sewing work.

Apply to WM. C. NELL.
April 9. 21 Cornhill.

DIED—In this city, March 27th, Mr. PETER PETERSON, aged 84; for many years Steward in the old line New York packets.

ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

THE following important and able works on Slavery are for sale at this office. The price of each, as well as that for which it will be forwarded by mail, is given below:—

	Price.	By mail.
The United States Constitution a Pro-Slavery Document. Compiled from the Madison Papers, &c. &c. By Wendell Phillips,	40	50
The same, paper covers,	30	36
The Legion of Liberty,	40	53
Liberty Bell, for 1858,	1.00	1.15
Writings of William Lloyd Garrison,	84	1.00
The Impending Crisis of Slavery. By Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina,	1.00	1.20
Autobiography of a Female Slave,	1.00	1.20
Theodore Parker's Speech on the Immediate Duty of the North,	17	18
Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin,	25	38
Colored Patriots of American Revolution,	1.00	1.00
Stroud's Sketch of the Slave Laws,	15	22
Despotism in America. By R. Hildreth,	75	90
White Slavery in the Barbary States. By Charles Sumner,	40	48
The Young Abolitionist,	25	30
State Disunion Convention at Worcester,	15	17
History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension, &c. By Horace Greeley,	20	28
Wendell Phillips's Speech on Disunion,	5	6
Manifest Destiny of the American Union,	10	10
Report of the Anti-Slavery Bazaar,	6	6
Whipple's Prize Tract on Slavery,	2	3
Anti-Slavery Pictures and Stories,	12	15
Anti-Slavery Society's Letter to Kossuth,	20	24
Twentieth Anniversary of American A. S. Society,	25	33
Twentieth Anniversary of Boston Pro-Slavery Mob,	20	22
Wendell Phillips's Review of Spooner,	15	18

☞ The Tracts of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY are furnished gratuitously.

For any of the above, apply to SAMUEL MAY, JR., or ROBERT F. WALLCUT, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

YOUTHFUL DREAMS—NOT IMPOSSIBLE.

BY BERNARD LEON.

Enthusiast! dreamer! fool!—so calls the world
That hopeful-hearted few, who see in all
The cravings, aspirations, and beliefs,
That go to form the beautiful creed of youth,
Great truths, that in their very being give
A prescience of the soul's capacities
And needs. The world! the stony-hearted world!
That never will endure within its reach
A better than itself; and when it fails
To bring the pure, bright spirit to the dust,
With cruel scorn and hatred drives it out,
To dwell a hermit in the wilderness,
Or sends it to its native skies again.
And is it so? Is Love an idle myth?
Justice impossible? Purity a dream?
Christ unapproachable? The voice that cries
Forever, Farther! higher! in our hearts,
Must it be stilled? Must we grow hard and cold,
And all the swelling aspirations of a soul
Hunger to death, or dwindle down to Greed?
Forbid it, Heaven! Let us, with watchfulness,
And timely prayer, and noble thoughts, that stand
As stood the angel at the Eden-gate,
With flaming sword that turned on either hand,
Cast out the devil of unholy thought,
And keep our spirits young, and fresh, and pure;
A sunny paradise, from whence shall rise
The fragrance of good deeds, whose grateful breath
Shall woo mankind to linger and to taste.

From the Missouri Democrat.

A DREAM.

BY MRS. F. D. G.

'Corrupting the air with noisome smells' is an actionable nuisance. See Blackstone, p. 217, vol. iii., chap. 12—'Trespass,' or 'Private Wrongs.'

Sitting in a rail car,
Flying on by steam,
Head against the casement,
Dreamed a curious dream;
Yet I could not think it
All a thing ideal,
For, though very monstrous,
It was very real.

First there came a gentle-
Man, in patent leather,
Collar, bosom, wristbands,
Raglan, for the weather;
In the height of fashion,
Watch-key, hat and glove,
And, with air profess'nal,
Spit upon the stove.

Near him sat a parson,
Telling how the Lord
Sent the great revivals,
Blessed the preached word;
But, my dream discovered
He was not above
'Honey-dew' or 'fine-cut,'
Spitting on the stove.

Next came in a trader,
Pockets full of cash,
Talked about the country
Going all to smash;
''Twas the *women's dressing*'
Did the thing, '*by Jove!*'
Sipped a little brandy,
Spit upon the stove.

Then a jolly farmer,
Bragging of his wheat,
Thought his hogs and horses
Nowhere could be beat;
'Like to sell his Durhams,
By the head or drove,'
Kept his jaws a wagging,
Spit upon the stove.

Paddy thought 'twas 'quare like
To be sitting still,
All the whilst a goin'
Over bog and hill;
''Twas a glorious counthry,
Sure,' as he could prove,
Equal to his betters,
Spitting on the stove.

Witless, perfumed dandy,
Putting on his airs,
Flourish'd diamond breastpin,
Smoked in forward car;
Talked about Lamoreaux,
'Such a perfect love,'
Twirl'd a carrot moustache,
Spit upon the stove.

Little boy in short coat
Wants to be a man,
Following example
As the surest plan;
Watches gent. and parson,
Copies every move,
And, with Pat and trader,
Spits upon the stove.

Soon the flying rail-car
Reeks with nauseous steam.
Ladies almost fainting,
Children in a scream;
Husband asking lady—
'What's the matter, love?
Have a glass of water!'
Spits upon the stove.

On we go, still flying,
Not a breath of air
Fit for Christian people,
In that crowded car;
Sickening, fainting, dying,
Ladies make a move,
Gent. throws up the window,
Spits upon the stove.

Now, perchance, this dreaming
Was not all a dream;
Think I've had a steaming,
Travelling by steam;
"Tis a public nuisance,
Any one can prove,
'All the air corrupting'—
Spitting on the stove.

Men call women angels—
Wonder if they think
Such obnoxious vapors
Angel's meat and drink!
Wonder if they 'spect to
Smoke and chew *above;*
Below 'twill be handier—
Spitting on the stove.

Talk of ladies' flounces,
Ribbons, jewels, flowers,
Crinolines and perfumes,
Gossip, idle hours;
Put all faults together,
Which men can't approve,
And they're not a match for—
Spitting on the stove.

St. Louis, Feb. 26.

KISSES vs. SMOKERS.

May never lady press his lips,
His proffered love returning,
Who makes a furnace of his mouth,
And keeps his chimney burning!
May each true woman shun his sight,
For fear his fumes may choke her;
And none but those who smoke themselves
Have kisses for a smoker!

The Liberator.

THE GREAT AWAKENING.

NO. II.

Our examination of this subject, in a previous article, led to the conclusion that—since the ordinary religious teaching in this country is suited to prepare the way for a revival, and since the special preliminary methods used, in connection with this general basis, are suited to produce one, and since it is inherently improbable that God would impress on men's minds, by a special act of His Spirit, those ideas dishonorable to himself which always prevail in a revival of the American religion—the hypothesis of a supernatural influence is unfounded.

But, to exercise all possible liberality, we will give the advocates of this hypothesis one more chance, and again appeal to *facts* to decide the question. We will look at the immediate results in which the present excitement agrees with former ones, and see how far, and in what manner, the persons influenced by it and them have been changed, and then look at the later and more permanent results of former revivals, with which those of the present one may fairly be expected to agree, and see if these correspond with the idea of special Divine interposition and influence. In other words, we wish to examine whether the results of revivals are *so* great, and *so* good, as clearly to show that they were wrought by God, and not merely by man.

First, of the *immediate* effects of revivals, as manifested in the lives (our only means of understanding the *hearts*) of the persons assumed to be 'converted' by them.

Of the persons with whom the revival has had its *first* success, (by inspiring them with intense fear of the wrath of an angry God,) a certain proportion gradually recover from their alarm without passing through the stage of 'conversion.' These we may now dismiss from our consideration, since they no longer illustrate the influence of a revival. They usually return to the same sort of life, good, bad or indifferent, which they previously led.

The remainder, after a continuance of hours, days or weeks, as the case may be, in the agonizing conviction that they are 'lost and ruined for eternity,' and after spending this period in piteous entreaties for mercy, succeed in attaining the conviction that they are pardoned, saved, regenerated; washed in atoning blood, whereby the wrath of the angry God is quenched in regard to *them*, though it remains the same to their parents and children, their relatives and friends, good, bad and indifferent, who have not been thus washed; and assured, from that moment, of a happy and glorious eternity, through their new relation to Jesus of Nazareth, and in consideration of the fact that he faithfully performed *his* duties, how much soever they may have failed of theirs.

A rapture of joy now succeeds the agony of fear. Thanksgiving and praise for a mercy obtained and secured now take the place of their former suspense, which sank almost to despair. This extacy of joy and love first flows forth to the *Author* of their salvation, the singing of whose praises then seems to them the fittest occupation for a whole eternity. But next to him, their gratitude and love turn towards the *instruments* of this salvation, the leaders of the revival, who aroused them from their 'dream of false security.' Under the influence of such emotions, the confidence which they before felt in these leaders is strengthened, and they proceed, with intense zeal, to co-operate in extending the revival, by the same means which were used in commencing it.

A certain proportion, even of the persons who thus suppose themselves to be converts, and who are supposed such by others, (giving, in fact, for a time, precisely the same evidence of 'a change of heart' that their associates give,) return, in a short time, to their former manner of thinking and living, good, bad or indifferent, and are called 'backsliders.'

After a prudential delay of so many weeks or months as are considered a reasonable security for the reality and permanence of the 'change,' the converts join some church of the same name with that which established the revival meetings, or of a kindred theological character, and according to the number of these, and their zeal, for the time, in the particulars hereafter to be mentioned, the revival is reputed to be 'great and glorious,' or merely moderate in character.

The great glory and triumph of a revival are found in the claim that a certain number of souls have been saved from an eternal hell, and that God's aspect towards *them* has been changed from wrath to complacency. Apart from this claim, (of which it is quite reasonable to ask more evidence than has yet been given,) let us see what particulars are stated by the 'religious' newspapers as affording evidence, and satisfactory evidence, as far as the first few months are concerned, of the reality, and the beneficial character, of the change in question.

We have already occupied too much space on this subject to allow the quotation at length, of the particulars. They may now be read in all the papers, secular as well as 'religious,' and they represent the converts as exhibiting these five new manifestations of character:—

1. A great delight in prayer, and the frequent and earnest use of it, in private and in public, abroad and at home, periodically in the family, and incidentally wherever the like-minded meet each other.

2. An intense spirit of proselytism, seeking to bring all around into the new relations and connections which the convert has himself attained.

3. A general seriousness of character, withdrawing its subject from trifling thoughts and conversation, and, generally, from amusements and recreations.

4. An abandonment of those vices and sins which are discountenanced by the respectable portion of the community generally, as well as by the church, such as gambling, intemperance, theft and fraud, licentiousness and profaneness.

5. An adoption, in all respects, of the manners and customs, the thought, speech and action of the church, in distinction from those of 'the world'; the establishment, in short, of conformity to the church, instead of 'conformity to the world.'

The leaders in a revival must necessarily arouse the *conscience* of their hearers, or they can get no hold upon them. The first effort is to produce 'conviction of sin,' a vivid sense of having failed in their duty to God. When this activity of conscience is aroused, whether in the church members who have lapsed into 'worldliness,' or the 'impenitent,' it is turned, with assiduous care, into the channels above indicated, and away from all that are deemed incompatible with these. To judge fairly, therefore, whether a revival, on the whole, does more good or more harm, we must look with some care at each of these particulars.

1. A zealous assiduity in the practice of Prayer, in all its forms, not excluding that which Jesus expressly prohibited to his disciples, namely, that which is offered *standing in public assemblies.*

The very first fruit of the 'revival' feeling is an immense multiplication of prayers and prayer-meetings. Under the new excitement of feeling, the voice is unconsciously raised, and the sound of individual private prayer is heard by those around in the most unaccustomed places. Men pray in their closets, in their bed-chambers, in their counting-rooms, in their solitary walks, morning, noon, evening and night. When two or three such accidentally meet together, they pray; they appoint small social prayer meetings; they attend the public daily prayer meetings; and they establish 'family prayer,' morning and evening, in their houses, besides attending, more diligently than ever, to the prayers offered by clergymen in the meeting-houses (or synagogues) on Sunday.

Is the habit thus formed good, or evil, or a mixture of both? To judge of this, we must examine to whom these prayers are addressed, what they ask, what they obtain, and what influence they exert upon the persons who pray.

The prayers of the *leaders* in a revival (which are very largely *alloyed* with preaching, designed to preoccupy the minds of their hearers with such a view of the character of God as shall answer their own purposes) are addressed, at the commencement of their operations, to a wrathful and jealous deity, the Jehovah of the Jews, whom they represent as sitting on the terrific Sinai of the Jews, still issuing, as his law, the ten commandments of the Jews, and ready to smite with his thunderbolt whoever shall disobey them, or any one of them, throughout his earthly existence.

Having dwelt upon the details of this picture until the apprehensions of their hearers are effectually aroused, they skilfully turn the medal, and present to the people a face as different from the above as light from darkness, namely, that of the Heavenly Father revealed to men by Jesus of Nazareth, a God of pity, mercy, tenderness and love. He is not willing that *any* should perish; He has made provision for the salvation of every one who will ask it; whosoever will, let him come, and take of the water of life freely.

The art of the leaders of a revival is shown in their assumption that these two contrary aspects belong to one God, the living and true God who made them and their hearers, and in alternately driving those hearers by one of these aspects and drawing them by the other, until they are secured in the net, and brought into alliance with the church.

It is to this two-faced God that the subjects of a revival pray. 'First, for mercy, to the wrathful face, and the clenched hand, uplifted for the stroke of vengeance. Next—when, after a longer or a shorter period of agonizing suspense, they assume their pardon to be granted, and their salvation secured—with raptures of gratitude and joy, to the loving face of the Heavenly Father, who is thenceforth, throughout eternity, to act the part of a *real* father to *them*, whatever horrible extremities of vengeance he may be executing, at the same moment, upon others, perhaps their parents, children or dearest friends. And their prayers are thenceforth alternately addressed to the God of love, (in gratitude for their own salvation,) and to the God of wrath, (in deprecation of the fiery doom with which they suppose him to threaten their friends, and the great majority of men, women and children now living.)

A 'revival' induces a certain number of persons, who prayed but little or not at all before, to pray in *such* a manner, and to *such* a Janus-faced being, through the rest of their earthly lives. Is this a gain or a loss, an advantage or a disadvantage, to the persons in question, and to the community?

Which is worse, not to pray at all, or to pray to the Devil? Our own opinion is, that both these extremes are bad, very bad. We do not consider any thing to be gained when the latter practice replaces the former. We should be glad to see both superseded, wherever they exist, by such a love of the true God, the Universal Father, as would lead men to seek, and permanently to maintain, communion of spirit with Him. But when a 'revival' sets the Park-Street prayer-meeting to praying that their God will 'send confusion and distraction' upon one of their fellow-men—when even their devotion is applied to the work of setting an angry God, as they would set an angry dog, to worry and destroy one of those whom the true God has made of the same blood with themselves—we feel sure that *that* revival has done *harm.*

2. A second result of a revival is the development of an intense spirit of proselytism in its converts. They bend all their energies to the work of co-operating with the leaders in bringing men into the prayer-meeting, as the half-way house whence they may be induced to go further, and join the church. As the good or the harm of this proceeding will depend upon the influence, beneficial or otherwise, exerted by the church, we will leave this matter until we have considered, under the fifth head, what that influence is.

3. A general *seriousness* of character and deportment is another of the early results apparent in the converts of a revival.

In persons of especial levity and thoughtlessness, this change will be an exceedingly beneficial one, unless it is perverted to bad ends. A serious uselessness is even worse than a gay and unthinking uselessness. The trifling girl who thinks of nothing at all, not even of the God who made her, nor of the duties which he has appointed for her to discharge, is in a bad way; but she will change for the worse, not for the better, if she adopts the form of seriousness which is manifested by going into a convent, and spending the rest of her days in saying *Aves* and *Paters*, in kneeling, and fasting, and scourging herself, for the salvation of her soul. Just so, we think, she will change for the worse, and not for the better, if she is scared from her thoughtlessness by fear of an angry God, and the hell which he is said to have established, and if, under the influence of this fear, she joins South-side Adams's pro-slavery church, and thenceforward applies herself to the work of entrapping little children into his Sunday school. To change from doing *nothing* in this world to doing *harm* in it, is not a satisfactory change.

The end to which this seriousness tends is the enlargement and multiplication of churches, and the strengthening of church influence. If this is good, the seriousness is good. If not, not.

It is so easy to be misunderstood in this matter, and the objections popularly urged to revivals proceed from a stand-point so widely different from ours, that we must dwell upon this aspect of them a moment longer.

That disposition of mind which seriously looks at the errors of one's past life, with the purpose of striving to avoid them in the future—that disposition which earnestly seeks to ascertain how one can, better than heretofore, accomplish the purposes of this mortal life, and make it most conducive to his own improvement in all that is noble and excellent, and to the welfare, physical, mental and spiritual, of his fellow-creatures—that disposition which, feeling well assured that God has placed us here for a useful purpose, strives to keep that purpose constantly in view, and to bend all its powers to the adequate fulfilment of it—is a disposition most worthy of sympathy, reverence, and active aid in the accomplishment of its purpose. Every person not utterly trifling and thoughtless must rejoice at seeing those around him, and especially those whom he loves, in such a state. It is a good omen for the whole human life of a person when he turns, with deliberate and determined purpose, to such thoughts, or even when, driven by some external impulse, he *finds himself* entertaining them.

It is the praise and glory of a 'revival,' that it excites such thoughts as these. It awakens the consciences of men, and sets them to thinking of their responsibilities and their duties. If it did this by legitimate means, (that is, by truth and not by falsehood,) and then either guided its subjects into a true religion and a pure morality, or left them to seek these in the natural methods, a revival would be an unspeakable blessing, and an unalloyed blessing, to the community in which it occurs. But when it excites this state by false pretences, (as Catholic priests, Protestant clergymen and Hindoo brahmins do,) and especially when it guides this newly awakened and legitimate interest into injurious channels, (as the three classes above-mentioned do,) the last state of that community *may* become worse than its first. To decide whether it *is*, on the whole, worse or better, we need carefully to examine the circumstances and the results.

We hold, therefore, that the persons who are aroused, in or out of a revival, to a sense of their need of closer conformity to the will of God, are worthy of our profoundest interest and sympathy, and entitled to all the aid we can bestow. And precisely in proportion as we see this feeling on their part to be real and earnest, do we feel indignant when, a crafty priesthood worm themselves into the confidence of these inquiring souls, turn them into the wrong path, fix upon them the stamp of superstition instead of that of Christian freedom, and thenceforth lead them captive in blind subserviency to their dictation.

4. An abandonment of those sins which, besides being gross, are unpopular, discountenanced by decent people outside the church as well as inside, is one marked feature of the success of a revival, and a really useful one. Where other influences failed to keep a man from swearing, stealing, murdering and getting drunk, if the influence of the church, thrown in, has accomplished that, it has done a very good thing indeed, and, so far, really benefitted the community. This is the *gross* gain, and it figures largely in the results of every revival. But we must look at the *net* gain, before the transaction can be proved, on the whole, a profitable one; and if it shall appear that the *popular* sins, which are by far the more dangerous, have been not only undisturbed, but fortified and intensified, by the change from worldliness to other-worldliness, the supposed benefit will certainly be diminished in amount, and may altogether disappear, and leave the balance on the other side.

For instance: if a man who has been leading what everybody allows to be a vicious life, on being 'converted,' and joining the church, leaves off those things which are commonly considered vices, that is a real advantage, to himself and the community. So far, all is well. But this is only a part of the transaction. Let us look a little deeper.

If you had formerly asked him how he justified his vices, he would very likely have said that he did *not* justify them; that he was quite indifferent whether they were right or wrong; and that he lived so because he chose to.

Now, all this is changed; he is no longer reckless, but careful, and he regulates his life according to the system followed by his minister, and his fellow church-members. Thus he no longer uses profane oaths; but he has no more scruple against using *serious* oaths, in the court-house, or custom-house, than if Jesus had never said to his disciples—'Swear *not at all!*' The church allows it, and he does it. He no longer kills men in passion, or for revenge; but, if officially instigated by the Governor of the State, he will strangle, and if officially commanded by his officer in the army or navy, he will shoot, whoever may be designated, without hesitation or remorse. He no longer steals poultry, or pocket-books; but he will steal the new-born child of the negro woman whom he compels to work for him without wages, and sell it before her face, after her careful nursing has made it valuable in the market; he will steal the time which the black husband of that woman ought to bestow upon her support and comfort, and upon the proper care of their children; and he will steal the right that both these have to use their labor for their own advantage, and to choose their own place of residence. The church allows these thefts, and he commits them. He no longer gets drunk; but he once a month leads himself into temptation, and renews the danger of a relapse into intemperance, by the smell and taste of an intoxicating liquor, which he takes because the minister and the deacon offer it to him. The church not only allows this, but requires it as a duty, and he does it. And when these acts are questioned or condemned, he defends them. The church has taught him to put evil for good, and wrong for right; and, under the influence of her instructions, he will quote the Bible to justify the plainest violations, and to evade the plainest duties, of Christianity.

The difference is, as far as this particular is concerned, that whereas he formerly practised one class of wrong things, heedless whether they were wrong or right, and influencing vulgar and disreputable people in the same direction, he now practises another class of wrong things, maintaining that they are right, and influencing pious and respectable people, and Sunday school children, in *that* direction. Is the gain a very great one? Are we sure it is a gain at all? Are we sure it is not a loss?

Slavery and war are practices which, all things considered, probably do as much harm in the world, and are as offensive to a God of justice and love, as profane swearing and Sabbath-breaking; especially as they both are direct promoters of profane swearing and Sabbath-breaking. Yet while the church is piously shocked at the wickedness of the latter, and takes great pains to denounce them, she zealously upholds and defends both the former.

Everybody who has looked at the evidence knows that the church is the bulwark of slavery. The following paragraphs, clipped from recent 'religious' papers, show her position in regard to war, the profession which deliberately studies and learns the most effective method of killing human beings, then chooses the business of killing them as an occupation for life, and then kills according to the order given, regardless whether the order be just or unjust, and whether the persons killed be innocent or guilty:—

'Havelock, the Christian Soldier, is receiving just eulogies from every quarter. An English writer says:

"He was, perhaps, the bravest man in his own army, and was never so chatty or agreeable as under fire. Like most of our India statesmen and soldiers, the Lawrences, Edwardses, Nicholson, Montgomery, and many others, he was a Christian of the old stamp—a strong God-fearing Puritan man, who taught often in Scriptural phrases, and deemed it no shame to teach his soldiers to pray. 'Turn out the saints,' said Lord Gough on one occasion, when he anticipated desperate work; 'Havelock never blunders, and his men are never drunk.' The loss has created a most painful impression in Calcutta."'

'General Havelock has left valuable papers, more or less autobiographical; papers descriptive of his feelings as a religious man engaged in war, of his mode of dealing with his troops, and of his relations to great officials. These papers are in good hands.

Rev. Mr. Brooks, a well-known clergyman of London, is preparing a life of the noble and gallant Gen. Havelock. The work will find many readers on both sides of the Atlantic.'

And these people pretend to be servants of the 'Prince of Peace'!—to be preëminently engaged in promoting his service, and desirous of the triumph of his kingdom! Is not this adding insult to injury? Is it not fitted to awaken intense indignation to see a priesthood, so corrupt as this, taking the direction of newly-awakened consciences, and turning them into the church, under the pretence that there they will most surely fulfil God's will, and promote his service?

5. The ultimate result, and the one *permanent* result of a revival, is, the increase of the number of just such church members as existed before.

It always seems, at first, as if it were to be otherwise; as if the zeal, the earnestness and energy of the new converts, their honest desires to find what God would have them to do, and their fortitude in 'taking up the cross' of new and trying duties, must improve and reform the church. But this expectation is always disappointed. In a year, more or less, they all sink to the old level.

The reason of this is, that the leaders of the revival, in whom the 'converts' have absolute and unlimited confidence, allow them to continue in the gross delusion which they have imbibed from their youth respecting the character of the church, its spirituality, its holiness, its adaptedness to encourage and promote a right way of living, its tendency in regard to the improvement or the deterioration of its members. There is no need for these leaders to tell any lie upon this subject, nor even to insinuate any unfounded pretensions in behalf of the church; nay, they may, and do, venture to tell half the truth, and to say how far the church is below the high and perfect standard to which she *ought* to aspire. This excites no suspicion, since the converts take for granted that, whatever room there may be for improvement in the church, she is higher and better than they are, and that admittance within her fold will be to them at once a great favor and a great advantage. The leaders, we say, wickedly leave them in this delusion, see them rush, blindfold, into the trap, and congratulate them when the spring has snapped behind them, as if they had reached a place of refuge, and not rather a place of temptation and danger—both more perilous because unsuspected. Thus these converts remain ignorant of the momentous fact that the church will certainly be a hindrance to them instead of a help; that her influence is more dangerous to them than the so much dreaded influence of 'the world, the flesh and the devil'; that the higher their standard of spirituality, of conscientiousness, of practical excellence is, on joining her, the more probable is its speedy decline; and that, whether that standard be high or low, the influence of the church will probably cause it to sink lower instead of rising higher.

They are told, on joining the church, that it is for life; a transaction binding through time and eternity. Their inexperienced credulity thinks—So much the better! *God* has given us this privilege; *God* has admitted us to this circle of defence and protection! It is not until years after, when the small minority of new members who have not sunk into the fatal slough of conformity find their souls' welfare perilled by continuance in the church, when they find themselves growing worse men and worse Christians under her influence, when they find popular sins, social evils, and pernicious superstitions directly upheld by her power, that the real meaning of this restriction flashes upon them. They have *agreed, consented*, to bind themselves to the church for life! When they find that they labored under a gross delusion in joining her, that instead of a place of improvement, she is a place of deterioration, and that their continued alliance with her adds the weight of their character and influence to the scale of evil instead of to the scale of good—they find themselves to be captives instead of inheritors of the liberty with which Christ makes free—the glorious liberty of the children of God. When they propose to 'come out and be separate' from an association which is doing harm to them and to the world, they find themselves claimed as life-members, made such by their own free will and act; and they are told that if they break this bond, (however made under false pretences on the part of the church, and however inconsistent with their present ideas of their duty to God,) they must bear the stigma of covenant-breakers, and be held up before the church and the world as 'excommunicated' persons! While the church has credit with the stupid world as really its 'light,' and 'salt,' and 'leaven,' preserving it from utter corruption, is it strange that few men, and especially that few women, venture to treat the preposterous claim above-mentioned with the contempt it merits, to expose the false pretences of the church, and to break her yoke from their necks? That so many continue to suffer under it, without resistance, shows the strength of this evil influence.

Such is our estimate of the character and influence of revivals of the popular American religion, and of the one now in progress, in which South-side Adams, and men of his stamp, are conspicuous, trusted and honored leaders, and the result of which will be the increase of just such churches as his, by the manufacture of just such members. Would it not be impiety and blasphemy to attribute *such* a work to the influence of the Spirit of God?

Would not the Slave Power rejoice, and shout for joy, if every man and woman in the North and West could be transformed, in a moment, into just such a person as South-side Adams? Would not this be their best possible security for the unmolested continuance of slavery through the two next generations? Do they not know assuredly that every new member that joins his church, or any church that recognizes him as a Christian, is one added to the pro-slavery side? Is the slightest alarm felt in the South, lest the immense extension of *that* kind of piety now going on should loosen, or in the slightest degree *tend* to loosen, their hold upon their victims? Will the admirers of South-side Adams's pious books, which the *Independent* praises with such hearty good will, ever give the least trouble to them, or the least help to their slaves, through that influence? Nay, verily! And they know it! The success of a revival is help to the slaveholder, but obstruction, postponement, and temporary defeat, to the cause of the slave! Our comfort is that Christianity will ultimately prevail, to the overthrow of the *American* religion.—C. K. W.

From the New York Independent.

THE REVIVAL.

BY MRS. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

The great turning of the public mind to religion forms so marked an event in our present times that even secular papers are noticing it. For the most part, too, their notices are not scoffing or disrespectful, but tentative, serious and suggestive. They seem to say, 'There is need enough among us of a revival of religion, Heaven knows—pray God only that it be *real*, and of the right kind.'

They say, 'We hope it will do some good to men in a political and business capacity—that it will make them honest, and true, and upright, and magnanimous.' 'No revival has ever done anything for Wall street, yet,' says one—'we hope *this* may.' 'We hope,' says another, 'that prayer for the slave may not be considered an intrusion in these frequent prayer-meetings, and that some penitence may be felt and expressed for the share which Northern churches have had in aiding and abetting a system of robbery and oppression.' So speaks the outside world as she looks gravely, sadly, not scoffingly, on the spectacle of thronging churches and opening prayer-meetings,—and her demand is just.

There is something in a right name. The term 'revival' seems by general consent to have been adopted into our language as expressive of these seasons; but we should much prefer a term formerly much employed among certain religious denominations—'reformation.' Instead of the *great revival of* 1858, we should be happy to read the *great reformation of* 1858.

Many wordly people, and some very Christian people, have a prejudice against anything like periodicity in religious impulse. They dislike revivals. Why should the Divine One, who is always love, say they, be considered as operating impulsively and periodically on the human soul, sometimes shining and sometimes withdrawing? It is urged furthermore, that the expectation of such seasons becomes in the end a motive for sloth and inaction, and a neglect of an even and constant culture of the religious nature.

All this may have some truth in it; but, nevertheless, it is a fact that religious impulses, like all impulses, have always come over the world in waves. To begin with the day of Pentecost, in which three thousand were converted in one day, we find all along the line of the History of the Church, that there were seasons when religious impulses were more than usually fervent, and religious labors successful.

There were revivals under the preaching of Augustine and Chrysostom; and the great force of the Reformation was not merely political or intellectual, but it was the deep upheaving of the religious element, bringing all other reforms in its train. *The Reformation was a revival of religion.* The revivals in England under the Wesleys and Whitfield inaugurated a new era there, which is felt to-day in the power of the dissenting element, and the improved state of things in the Established Church. The preaching of the Wesleys, the Fletchers, and of Whitfield, to the colliers and cottars of England, was the first movement for the general religious instruction of the masses, and led the way to the multiplied labors of that kind with which England now abounds. It is a noticeable fact in all these cases, that they were followed by the political and moral reforms; the work proved itself divine by its beneficent results. This is a fair test. 'He that is of God, doeth the works of God,' and by this test should every so-called revival be judged. Revivals which make men better, and bless society, have been and may be realities. But the rule is without exception, that every truly valuable thing has its counterfeit. When we read of great revivals, where the Christian converts claim as a sacred right the privilege of selling the members of Christ for money; where they defend the breaking of the marriage covenant at the will of the master, and take away from the colored member the right of testimony, and are so lost to all moral sense as to see no harm in any of these things, we hold that the revival has been spurious and counterfeit. So also as to Northern churches, which, for reasons of expediency, and to carry ends of ecclesiastical politics, have refused to testify against these sins, we hold that a revival of religion that brings no repentance and reformation is false and spurious.

We believe in no raptures, in no ecstacies, in no experiences that do not bring the soul into communion with Him who declared He came to set at liberty them that are bound and bruised. Revivals of religion have not been confined to Christian countries. Old heathenism had them. Popish Rome has them. Modern heathenism has them. One and all of these have had their turns of unusual fervor in their way. One and all have had their trances, illuminations, and mysterious ecstacies. But those only are Christian revivals which make men like Christ; or, if they do not make them like Him, at least set them on the road of trying to be like Him.

We say, therefore, to our friends, that the period of a great religious impulse has come; that there will be revivals all over the land, either false or true—either of a Christian or a heathen type; and by their fruits ye shall know them. We are glad to hear that some of the most effective revival preachers confine their attention very much to preaching to the church. We are glad to hear that. It is quite necessary that those who profess to be the exponents of religion before the community, should have some deeper and higher ideas of what religion is. So that when they go forth with the Apostolic message, 'Repent and be converted every one of you,' they need not be met with the scornful reply, 'Converted, sir, converted to what? Converted into a man who defends slavery—converted into one who dares not testify against a profitable wickedness—converted into a man whose religion never goes into his counting-house—converted into a man who has no conscience in his politics, and who scoffs at the higher law of God? No, sir; I desire no such conversion. Whatever your raptures may be, I desire no part with them.'

And let the solemn question go out to every Christian, to every parent, 'Do you want your neighbors, friends, and children converted into such Christians as you have been? If not, is there not a deeper conversion necessary for you?'