

whose moral character appears the greater by contrast with his errors of judgment, stands forth upon the verge of eternity, with the records just before him, and declares the ministers of religion who hold as their property men for whom Christ died, shall not come high his soul to speak to it of the Gospel; we feel that this is an excommunication more real and terrible than ever issued from the Vatican in the height of its power. This is not a hardened felon spouting the offices of religion; it is not a bigot railing a minister of apostate nations; it is not an unbeliever making light of sacred things; it is a soul so filled with the thought of God and the conviction of right, that it will not endure that the wrong against which it has waged battle, even unto death, should come nigh it in a calmly garbed with religious consolations! Rather have the "God bless you" of some poor slave-mother than all the priestly offices of one who buys and sells the image of God. Such souls as these rule the world. They give men ideas that grow into power. John Brown yet lives. — *New York Independent.*

The Liberator.

BOSTON, JULY 6, 1860.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS MEETINGS.

We have been waiting for an official report of the well-attended and highly successful meetings for the furtherance of Woman's rights and interests, held at the Melodeon, in this city, on Friday, June 1, and 2, by some oversight, none was made, we are obliged to avail ourselves, at this late day, of the brief sketches of the proceedings made for the Boston Journal, which we give below. The hall was crowded at both sessions, notwithstanding unpropitious circumstances. Those who have been in the habit of observing the audiences at such meetings, since 1855, could not fail to be struck with the character of those in attendance. The newspapers said the audience was 'fashionable'—but it was superlatively better than that.

The meetings in Boston are not conventions for free discussions, but anniversary meetings for the delivery of addresses, by speakers previously engaged. They differ from those previously held in other places, by confining their speakers to the three points of Education, Vocation, and Civil Position.

A preliminary meeting was held, at which the following Committee was chosen, to make preparations for another year:—Wendell Phillips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, John T. Sargent, Mrs. C. M. Severance, Mrs. C. H. Dall, Miss S. H. Southwick. Of this Committee, Mrs. Severance was elected President, and Miss S. H. Southwick, Secretary.

With the next meetings will begin, we trust, a new era for the cause.

The Woman's Rights Convention assembled at the new Melodeon yesterday afternoon. Mrs. Caroline M. Severance was called to preside over the body. She read a short speech, in which she alluded to the loss which the Society had sustained in the death of Rev. Theodore Parker. She also read several letters from friends of the cause, of the same tenor. One of the letters was accompanied by a resolution, expressive of the profound sense of their loss, which the women of America entertain.

Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, of Boston, was introduced. After alluding to the death of Mr. Parker, she proceeded to discuss the progress of the cause. In this connection, she alluded to various papers which had been published, and various efforts which had been made in England, in the way of enlarging the field of female labor. In conclusion, she argued that there was no better place for American girls than the kitchen. And the reason that many now abandoned it was not the influx of emigrants from England and Ireland, but because they, the higher women of Boston, did not consider household work so respectable as did their mothers and grandmothers. (Applause.)

Rev. Samuel J. May spoke next. He said he had no new truth to offer; the great principle truth of the equality of man and woman was not yet recognized as it should be. He would say that there was nothing that man had done that, under favorable circumstances, woman was not able to do, and there were some things which woman had done, which no man could do. He gave some account of his observations in Europe, and particularly referred to a prison for women, managed exclusively by women.

Mr. Richard J. Hinton was the next speaker. He gave a report of the state of the Woman's Rights movement in Kansas, saying that that Territory was far in advance of any State in legislation in behalf of the sex. He gave a history of the various attempts of the people of Kansas to establish a State Constitution, showing that they only failed by a neglect to accord to women all the rights which this Society claimed in their behalf.

A colored woman of the name of Moses, who herself a fugitive, has eight times returned to the slave States for the purpose of rescuing others from bondage, and who has met with extraordinary success in her efforts, was then introduced. She told the story of her adventures in a modest but quaint and amusing style, which won much applause.

Speeches were also made by Mr. William L. Garrison and others, after which the convention adjourned to the evening.

Evening Session.—The hall was well filled at the evening session.

Mrs. Dall continued her remarks, commenced at the afternoon meeting. She first spoke of conventions in New York and throughout that State, and the work done by the women during that last year. The speaker alluded to the labor of Mrs. Stanton before the Legislature at Albany, and commented on the report of her address as published in the newspapers. She then spoke of the act passed at the last session of the New York Legislature, granting further rights to women over their property and children. Our own Legislature came in for a share of condemnation for refusing to make an appropriation for the Female College Institute at Worcester.

Mrs. Dall paid beautiful tribute to the memory of the deceased friends of the Woman's Rights cause during the past year, by which Charles F. Hovey, of this city, Countess Van Heidenbach, Eliza Lee Follen, Lady Byron, Mrs. Jamieson, John W. Brown, of Boston, and Theodore Parker. Her remarks in relation to Mr. Parker were particularly touching, bringing tears into the eyes of a majority of the audience. She offered the following resolution, which was adopted by the whole assembly viz:—

Resolved, That the women of America cannot meet in Boston to-day, without placing a wreath of immortal honor on the grave of Theodore Parker.

Rev. James Freeman Clarke was then introduced by Mrs. Severance. He said he was an advocate of Woman's Rights, which he understood to mean Occupation, Education, Culture, and Equal Rights before the law. In relation to occupation, he said there were hundreds of kinds of employment which were now done solely by men, and which could be better done by women, although not perhaps by the same process. On the subject of education, he said he wanted to see women have the same advantages that men had. With reference to the equality of women before the law, he said that the only objection urged against allowing suffrage to women was that they were not deemed to share in the Government. To this he answered that it was so, then it would be the best plan to try the experiment, and allow them to vote; and if they were not deemed fit voters, it would be seen, and the will at once remedied.

Miss Powell, of New York, a young lady, read a well-prepared address on the rights of women, which was received with applause.

Wendell Phillips was then introduced, and was loudly cheered. He commenced by reading a fragment on Woman's Rights, written by the late J. W. Brown, Esq., in which the writer gives his opinion

that the platform of the Woman's Rights party should be occupied by women, and he closed by inviting Mrs. Dr. Jackson to address the meeting.

On the lady appearing, she was much cheered. She apologized for not having prepared herself, but she would say a few words. She considered that woman should legislate for herself in order to secure her own rights, and she asked whether it was to be supposed we could raise giant men if we divert our women, and by closing our halls of learning to our mothers and sisters, we expected to advance in learning. At the close of the remarks of Mrs. Jackson, Wendell Phillips again took the stand. He said this Woman's Rights movement ran side by side with the necessities of every day life, and he instance the law relating to deposits of married women in banks, and that allowing women to hold real estate in their own name.

Mr. Phillips alluded, in a humorous manner, to the matter of allowing women to vote, contending that in nine cases out of ten, a man's vote was controlled or dictated by a woman, so that if suffrage was granted woman, it would not make a great difference. He said the only objection to women voting was, that it was contrary to custom, and he insisted that this was not so in reality, and instance numerous illustrations in support of his theory. If woman is incapable of understanding law, then she cannot be punished.

Alluding to the injustice done to women in the matter of education, Mr. Phillips said that the day was close at hand when this injustice would be in a measure removed, and woman would show the world that she was at least the equal in capacity of man.

In closing, the speaker congratulated the audience on the success of the cause, as he said right by right had been granted women, and the ballot would come soon, and this would be in the day of many of the audience.

After a few remarks by Mrs. Dall, the proceedings closed.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

No. 1 of Anti-Slavery Tracts for the Times. The American Board of Missions and Slavery.

This tract of twenty pages (published in Leeds, England) is a reprint of a correspondence in the 'Nonconformist' newspaper, in which the falsehoods of Rev. Dr. Pomroy respecting the relation of the Board to American Slavery are ably exposed by Joseph A. Horner, Esq., of Wakefield, and others.

No greater service can be done, in Great Britain, either towards the abolition of slavery or the purification of religion, than such a publication as this, of the proofs establishing those facts of which unscrupulous denial is made by such men as Dr. Pomroy, Stow, Kirk and Murray. The state of the patient must be made known, and clearly understood, before the radical remedy for his disease can be fairly applied and steadily persevered in.

One of the facts, of proof of which is presented in this pamphlet, is the proposal made by one of the 'Corporate Members' of the Board (then a Pastor in the Presbyterian Church, Old School, in Richmond, Virginia), to burn alive such Abolitionists as could be caught there! Perhaps Englishmen take for granted that a clergyman, who could use such an expression and show such a spirit as this, would immediately lose credit and influence among all reputable men. Not at all! Slavery bears such way here, and holds such 'good and regular standing' in the Church, that such a proposal as this is not noticed to the discredit of its maker, except among Abolitionists! And the Rev. gentleman in question, W. S. Plummer, D. D., has, since that time, been chosen 'Professor of Didactic and Pastoral Theology' in the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, where he now resides. And, so far from the American Board rebuking him in this wickedness, he has virtually rebuked the Board by resigning his membership at the last Annual Meeting, (October, 1859,) probably because the Board had sneaked out of the support of slavery in the Choctaw Mission, instead of continuing to uphold it, as they still do in the Cherokee Mission.

But, since the American Tract Society has never made even so small a concession as this to the demands of Anti-Slavery, Dr. Plummer remains one of its 'Directors' (as he has been ever since 1835,) and made a speech at its last annual meeting, May 9th, 1860, in support of the following resolution, presented by another pro-slavery Divine, Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller of Baltimore, as follows:—

Resolved, That the national and catholic spirit of the American Tract Society, and its influence upon the literature of the land, ought to make it dear to every Christian and patriot.

Think of the wickedness compressed into this resolution! The national spirit of the American Tract Society, always taking a South-side view! Its catholic spirit, cutting out from its publications all rebuke of slavery! And its influence upon our literature, encouraging, arguing for, and insisting upon the toleration of slavery in the church! But these are the very characteristics which recommend the Society to Dr. Plummer and Fuller.

Just as in the case of Dr. Plummer, so in that of Dr. Nehemiah Adams, of Boston; far from losing any credit among his clerical brethren as a Christian minister by the publication of his 'South-side View of Slavery,' he has seemed to be more honored and praised since that time than ever before. A new edition of that infamous book has just been published, with numerous recommendations by clergymen and others; and its author is not only very frequently applied to, to assist in ordinations, installations, and ecclesiastical councils, by his Orthodox Congregational clerical brethren, but he has given, by request, numerous addresses at the anniversaries of college societies, 'Young Men's Christian Associations,' and other bodies of a religious or semi-religious character. His active pro-slavery is not reckoned, among churches and clergymen, as the slightest abatement of his Christian character.

It is to be hoped that other numbers will soon appear in a series so important, both for England and this country, as 'Anti-Slavery Tracts for the Times.' — C. X. W.

TRIBUTE TO THEODORE PARKER.—Comprising the Exercises at Music Hall, June 17, 1860. With the Proceedings of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, at the Melodeon, May 31, and the Resolutions of the Fraternity and the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society. Boston: Published by the Fraternity, and sold by A. Williams & Co., Booksellers, Publishers, &c., 100 Washington street.

The neat, cheap and popular form in which these eloquent and well-bestowed Tributes are here embodied must secure for them a wide circulation—the price of the pamphlet being only 12 cents. It contains the speeches of Charles M. Ellis, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips, (two), Rev. Samuel J. May, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, James Freeman Clarke, &c. Also, a Letter from David A. Wilson, which we have inserted in another column.

TRIBUTES TO THEODORE PARKER.—A Sermon preached in New York, June 10, 1860. By Rev. O. B. Frothingham. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington Street, 1860.

This sermon is splendidly beautiful, discriminating, appreciative, just and eloquent. Nothing better has yet appeared in print. Of Mr. Parker's life he said—'This man only seems greater as we try to say how great he was. It will require a great many volumes to tell all the truth about one who was in himself a great many men. He who would only have the Beatitudes upon his grave shall have the benedictions of the pure in heart strewn over his memory.'

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PRINCETON CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:—I need not ask you, through the columns of the Liberator to answer a 'charged' note of misstatement in the recently-published report of the Centennial at Princeton, celebrated last autumn. In a note, appended to a brief response which I was called upon to make to a sentiment touching the question of human freedom, three of the Committee of Publication, Messrs. Chas. Russell, Wm. B. Goodnow, and E. B. Hartwood, (the minority being of an opposite opinion,) deem it but simple justice to state, that, in their judgment, the remarks of Mr. Heywood, in the particulars indicated by reference to this note, were untrue in point of fact; and, moreover, were unwarranted, though we charitably believe an unintentional trespass upon the proprieties of the occasion.

Have not the 'remarks' referred to, with the designating materials of the Committee? In 1841, Massachusetts, young, weak, destitute as an orphan girl, spread her arms to all who could fly to her from the tyranny and oppression of their persecutors, and pledged their protection and maintenance at the public cost. In 1859, rich, luxurious, powerful, studied all over with churches, schools and temples of justice, the legislature, refusing to shelter the hounded fugitive from oppression, deliberately votes that our soil, hallowed with heroes' graves, shall continue open ground for the slave-hunter. Also: 'I have told you how the early settlers of this town, rude, untought, scarcely able to wring a subsistence from this tough, unthankful soil, risked the ruin of their church by hurrying from their sacred desk a minister, on mere suspicion of indifference to the interests of freedom, and of sympathizing with a comparatively respectable despotism beyond the Atlantic. I would gladly forget to say, did truth and the solemn moans of this hour allow it, that lately there stood in this pulpit, with the consent of these pews, the great New England apologist of the most cruel and remorseless system of bondage in modern history.'

To correct the Committee's first correction, I will refer them to the Journal of the House of Representatives for 1858-9, page 624, which records that, March 30, Solon S. Hastings voted against the bill for the protection of fugitives from oppression, and hence for the legal continuance of slave-hunting in Massachusetts. To their second denial, I wish to say, that Dr. Adams, since the publication of his 'South-side View of Slavery,' and his strenuous and successful efforts to shield our great national crime from Christian rebuke in the Tract Society,—specimens of moral obliquity that will make the blackest infamy of the Jesuits respectable,—has repeatedly preached in the pulpit referred to—once when I was present, and once, at least, by invitation of the pastor and consent of the church, has broken bread at their communion-table. These facts, which the Worcester Spy of yesterday generally allowed me to express in its columns, will enable those interested to judge whether the truth is so very 'untrue,' as the majority of the Committee, with such unscrupulous scrupulosity, assert. This note—as Cecil said of commentaries upon the Bible, that they are very good, excepting on the hard passages—is only a bungling attempt to cover up unpleasant things with blundering falsification.

I may add, that the minority, (Messrs. J. T. Everett and A. C. Howe, who stood bravely for free speech and fair play, in the multiplied and stormy sessions of the Committee held to discuss this troublesome 'Tar-tar,') while disclaiming their right to sit as censors upon any of the speakers whom they were appointed to report, prepared a substitute to the above note, simply stating the notorious facts, that Mr. Hastings did vote against the Personal Liberty Bill, and that Dr. Adams had preached in Rev. Mr. Briggs' pulpit. But the nervous and gingerly majority, not denying the statements, declared the substitute worse than the speech itself! Thus, from their own mouth it falls that it was the truth which lied so awfully. The venerable chairman also conceded as much, when, blenching under the eye of history, officially and with an insolent threat of suppression, he requested me to eliminate the offending sentences, saying, 'If they go down to the future, posterity will think us pro-slavery.' But posterity and the 'fanatical' present happening to agree in that opinion, the facts, trusting that the suppression might speak louder than the insertion, would not budge.

As to 'trespassing' upon the 'proprieties of the occasion,' you know when one looks into a popular sin, the door is always slammed in his face.

No rogue e'er felt the halter draw With good opinion of the law! Certainly, a hap-hazard, after-dinner squib of a speech could not have been charged with lightning enough to strike so many dignitaries! It was only the fluttering in the dovecots of a conscience-stricken conservatism, that called attention to the allusions at all. And the mousing, industrious inquisition of the Committee, alone clothed what was merely a mild testimony with the dignity and emphasis of a scathing rebuke. Even rotten wood becomes luminous when smitten in the dark.

But it was scarcely to be expected, where the utmost liberty was allowed to glorify the 'Union,' the 'Constitution,' our 'great free country,' and all other respectable means of oppression; in the presence of a studied avoidance of the remotest allusion to the enslaved millions of this land, and in a church, which, for twenty years, has pursued, with the whip and scorpion of a remorseless persecution, all suspected of membership those in bonds as bound with them—on such an occasion it was not probable, or desirable, that an impartial life would be fashionable. As old Fuller had it, 'Unless some galled horse did wince, there would be no salt in the preaching.' In a community dying with pro-slavery 'proprieties,' and in a church solicitous for the good opinion of slaveholders, their abettors and apologists, and deaf to the cry of the victims of its cold-blooded complicity, one may well be thankful if 'the suffering and the dumb' are remembered, even by an iron tongue, in the absence of golden lips, encouraged by the fact, that in every age truth goes into Jerusalem riding upon an ass colt.

Yours for free speech, and the impartial use of it, E. H. HEYWOOD.

From the published proceedings of the Centennial Celebration at Princeton, October 20, 1859, we copy the timely, eloquent and courageous speech of Mr. E. B. Hartwood, to which a majority of the Committee of Publication appended their disclaimer, as spiritedly commented upon by Mr. H. in the foregoing letter:—

The next regular sentiment was read, as follows:—
The Second Centennial Celebration.—The heroic and successful resistance of our ancestors to British tyranny secured freedom to one race of one age. May it be the glad privilege of those who shall stand here to celebrate, one hundred years this day, that the noble patriotism and Auster self-sacrifices of the friends of unrestricted human rights in this century have bequeathed impartial liberty to every wife, of every race, forevermore.

Mr. E. B. Hartwood, of Worcester, called upon to respond, said

It may seem unfortunate that it should fall to me to give the improvement, as the old Puritans would say, of the sentiment just read, for I am with a class of persons who have the reputation of not being very economical of traits, who sometimes have a weakness for telling the whole truth, in dealing with the question of freedom. I appreciate the feelings of that slip of the clerical profession, who, caught holding forth in strait Puritan Order, without proper authority, was called to order by one who sat in Moses' seat. 'But don't the Bible say, we must preach the Gospel to every creature? asked the spirit. 'Ay,' replied the man in the divine; 'but it don't say that every creature must preach the Gospel.'

I find that, as early as 1763, the settlers of this

area passed resolutions, showing a clear-sighted, resolute and unswerving devotion to the principles of that inspired and immortal declaration, which, in 1776, leaped from the brain of Jefferson, followed for the revolutionary conflict. Subsequently, they disclaimed their minister, (Rev. Mr. Fuller,) for entertaining, as they arrogantly supposed, Tory proclivities; then, inaugurating 'a noble negro, when no possible harm, for the cause, had always aided the mission on his behalf. Then early did our fathers erise in faith in principle, and a spirit of self-sacrifice of every worldly interest, in adherence to the cause of freedom. They saw that human rights are antecedent to all human governments, and hence above the reach or refusal of all human laws. They made institutions for man. The political and ecclesiastical policy of the present day makes man for institutions. It circumvents the boundaries of human rights; it spells negro, when it ought to spell Jew, Gentile, and Turk. Our ancestors overleaped the fences of custom and tradition,—were the 'rebels,' the 'insurrectionists,' and 'madmen' of their day. Hence, their lesson to us is: Break with the hupstrating 'law and order' of your age; project your thoughts from behind institutions; build on ideas; trample under foot all compromising organizations; 'be governed by the laws of God, until you can make better.'

Some years later, Mr. Fuller returning—a prophet he rose in the country, for the million slaves are after that he was right on the question of freedom. In the State Convention, to ratify the Federal Constitution, he voted against that iniquitous instrument, on the ground of its pro-slavery clauses. I am proud that the representative of my native town took so noble a position in that crisis, so fatal to the black man,—pride that the first clergyman of this district bore so high a moral testimony to the politicians of his age. The test of principle is to disagree with our immediate contemporaries, when conscience bids. Mr. Fuller, doing that, proved his superiority. He was taller than his peers—a moral Washington, crowned by the light of opposite centuries. Let us thank God that this heroic minister of Christ had the moral courage to outface his compromising fellows, and repudiate a Constitution that consigned the black man to perpetual slavery. I do not wish to preach you an anti-slavery lecture, but I must say, I was saddened this morning, on looking around, to find not a single moral, significant or noble fact, that four million slaves are crushed under the political and ecclesiastical institutions of this country,—not one word to allviate the intolerable woe that weigh upon their hearts. Are not the sainted insurrectionists of '76 still on the side of the oppressed? Do not they yearn to-day, from their higher seats, towards these millions of 'suffering and dumb' victims of a bondage, 'one hour of which,' Jefferson being the judge, 'is fraught with more misery than whole ages of that which we rebel against to oppose.'

Elizabeth's the century, and how far we have strayed from that sublime ancestry, which began with Puritanism and the wilderness; from that martyr faith, which, hurling British tyranny across the Atlantic, sounded boldly out into the great deep of equal rights, the Columbus of a true popular sovereignty. In 1641, Massachusetts, young, weak, destitute as an orphan girl, spread her arms to all who could fly to her from the tyranny and oppression of their persecutors, and pledged their protection and maintenance at the public cost. In 1859, rich, luxurious, powerful, studied all over with churches, colleges, and temples of justice, the Legislature refusing to shelter the hounded fugitive from oppression, deliberately votes, (the representative of this town concurring,) that our soil, hallowed with heroes' graves, shall continue open ground for the slave-hunter! Thank God for Massachusetts! She was the first of civilized States in history to abolish slavery by law. It was done in 1780, and the glorious event should be distinguished by a restorer day in did French and Italy. But in 1789, she went into partnership with slave dealers, and the firm is yet undissolved. When Webster was grinding out his trousers upon the school benches at Salisbury, Washington wrote to New Hampshire for the return of a fugitive woman. But, said he, if the moral sentiment of the people is against it, let her go. In 1859, Massachusetts erects a statue to the man, who, beyond all others, has insulted the moral sentiment of New England, by the protection, and return of her 'New Englanders' in favor of liberty, and return of her 'bondage' with slavery! But why travel so far from home? I have told you how the early settlers of this town, rude, untought, scarcely able to wring a subsistence from this tough, unthankful soil, risked the ruin of their church, and the loss of educational advantages, by hurrying from their sacred desk a minister, on mere suspicion of indifference to the interests of freedom, and of sympathizing with a comparatively respectable despotism beyond the Atlantic. I would gladly forget to say, did truth and the solemn moans of this hour allow it, that lately there stood in this pulpit, with the consent of these pews, the great New England apologist of the most cruel and remorseless system of bondage in modern history.

We meet to celebrate the deeds of revolutionists, of traitors, of insurrectionists. To-day, with a chastened, reverent enthusiasm, we take into our hands the consecrated sword or musket, with which they slew oppression. We are next our very hearts to every brave word, whereby they planted the banner to sink the government, the church, and the world, rather than relinquish justice or liberty. We glory in that congregationalism which made every man a church; in that democracy which made every man a monarch. Those sainted farmers, play-fellows of these venerable hills, wherever they walked, society heaved with the volcano throes of revolt. We are sick children, the heirs apparent, of treason and rebellion. The ground we tread is the impending second American Revolution. This year, the battle of Bunker's Hill was fought at Harper's Ferry. The timid, faithless toriyism of to-day pales and trembles at the crack of insurgent rifles, whose echoes still linger among the Alleghanies and Shenandoahs. John Brown, braver than Warren, more self-sacrificing than Lafayette, with his Spartan score of followers, threw himself against a gigantic despotism, in defence of the principles of the fathers. From the sacred graves, on which we stretch ourselves to-day, they speak to us, and do likewise; be true to our memory; execute justice for the oppressed; launch upon equal inalienable rights, and let God take care of the consequences.

As Luther said, 'God never can do without brave men.' The age of brute force, the reign of bullets, is over. Ideas are gradually ascending to absolute power. It is our privilege to rely upon moral force, and upon the omnipotence of abstract principles. The sword is a dead arm of tougher sinew than the sword.' It is for us to do with the oppressed and down-trodden in the great moral Bunker's Hill and Solferino of human conflict, to make ourselves of no reputation, and suffer the loss of all things, if need be, in defence of Jesus in the 'little one.' Every crown of glory must first be a crown of thorns. As for me, I believe in the inalienable and absolute right of every man to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' I am for the immediate and complete emancipation of every slave of every race, climate, and condition. In the great conflict for the rights of black men, now shaking this country to its foundations, 'no union with slaveholders' is the highest moral ground, the only Christian position, the only Plaghat that overlooks the promised land of impartial liberty from this wilderness of compromise. Our fathers rest from their labors. The beloved sleep well. We, also, are before the world, who will judge us according to our works. To equal our predecessors, we must surpass them. To do as much, we must do more.

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth; They must upward sit and onward, who would keep abreast of truth. Lo, before us gleam her camps! We ourselves must Plungers be; Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea; Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusty key.

IDEAS AND INSURRECTIONS. The services at Music Hall, Sunday forenoon, (says the Atlas & Bee) were conducted by Mr. E. H. Heywood, a young man of very marked talent and promise, and a graduate, we believe, of Brown University. The subject of his discourse was 'Ideas and Institutions.' The central argument of the discourse was, Ideas have progressed in the world, not by the aid, but in spite of institutions; in other words, that in proportion as institutions had declined, civilization advanced. Mr. H. is destined to high position and an honored career, we cannot doubt.

THE NEXT DEMAND OF THE SLAVE POWER. The Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, for 1859, just published, says, speaking of the demand of the Slave Power for protection to slavery in the Territories, 'The next demand most likely will be, that the Federal Government shall protect slavery in every State into which any slaveholder may choose to carry it. As an entering wedge for that demand, it is now pressing its claim for such a decision of the well-known Lemmon case as will affirm the right to hold slaves in transit across any State, slave or free.'

The apprehensions of the writer of the report, Mr. Burleigh, are only too well founded, no one can doubt for a moment, who has observed the steady stride and the ever-increasing impudence of the demands and the attempts of the Slave Power, for a few years past. My object in referring to this subject just now, is, to present declarations which have come under my notice, going to substantiate the fears of the writer, and showing us what we must prepare to meet.

The Washington Union of 17th Nov., 1857, in an editorial article, held the following language:—
'The Constitution declares that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Every citizen of one State, coming into another State, has therefore a right to the protection of his person, and that property which is recognized as such by the Constitution of the United States, any law of a State to the contrary notwithstanding. So far from a State having a right to deprive him of his property, it is its bounden duty to protect him in its possession.

If these views are correct—and we believe it would be difficult to invalidate them—it follows that all State laws, whether organic or otherwise, which prohibit a citizen of one State from settling in another, and bringing his slave property with him, and most especially declaring it forfeited, are direct violations of the original intention of a Government which, as before stated, is the protection of person and property, and of the Constitution of the United States, which recognizes property in slaves, and declares that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," among the most essential of which is the protection of person and property.'

I do not propose to make a word of comment upon this exhibition of logical acumen and constitutional lore. This was three years ago. During this very session of Congress, the same doctrine has been boldly and clearly announced.

A Washington correspondent of the Daily Atlas and Bee sends to that paper a 'corrected' report of the remarks of Mr. Gooch, of Mass., in which he interrogated Mr. Reagan, of Texas. I subjoin the report of the colloquy. It will be seen that, according to Mr. Reagan's idea of the Constitution, for a free State to prohibit its own citizens from holding slaves is a revolutionary procedure! D'Issrael wrote a work called 'Curiosities of Literature.' Should some future D'Issrael compile a work bearing the title of 'Curiosities of Politics,' the insane antics of Reagan and his confederates will doubtless find a conspicuous place therein. — E. R. P.

Mr. Gooch—Do I understand the gentleman to say that the people of a Territory, when they adopt a State Constitution, have no right to exclude slavery?

SUMNER, ADAMS, AND FREEDOM.

Liberty first, and everything else afterwards, is only another way of saying what the great Teacher once said, 'Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.' Any one reading Sumner's, or Adams's, or Lovejoy's speech, would feel their moral superiority to the more politic productions of Seward and Wilson. Charles Sumner, in the Senate, has none to compare with him in the pulpit, for moral eloquence and Christ-like purity of heart. Had he come to Boston six weeks since, while fresh from that 4th of June oration, years of pride and of joy would have been his welcome home—the tributes always paid to moral excellence.

The question of parchment sinks into insignificance by the side of anti-slavery earnestness. Great souls have a shorter method with written Constitutions than Leslie's short Method with Deity.

It is a high and noble principle of jurisprudence, that immoral contracts and unrighteous laws are null and void. Anything in the Constitution of the United States, which contradicts the spirit of its preamble, is, in the sight of God and of good men, of no account at all. No matter whether our fathers swerved from the right or not, we are under no moral nor legal obligation to mind the pro-slavery parts of the Constitution. The question of their strength of character, or their weakness, is comparatively an unprofitable one. The main thing is for us to be Abolitionists, constitutionally or unconstitutionally. Mr. Sumner, with his large and clear sight of what the Constitution ought to be, can see no pro-slavery provisions in it—no fugitive slave clause—no three-fourths representation for slavery—and no sufferance of the slave trade for twenty years. Charles Francis Adams does see the three-fifths rule, and trembles at its application! But both are Abolitionists. Both think more of liberty than of the Union. Both are fearless and eloquent Anti-Slavery men. By position, they may be partakers with barbarians and adulterers, but not by character. They are uncompromising men. They are Garrisonian in spirit and truth, because they prize justice more highly than compromise.

I think the Constitution does recognize property in man, by recognizing other than 'free persons.' I think with John Quincy Adams and Channing, with Garrison and Phillips, that the parchment is an impure one, vitiated by sinful compromises; but I also agree with Sewall and Sumner, that no immoral provisions are worth noticing. One or two more speeches like Sumner's, or Lovejoy's, or Adams's, will make the compromises a dead letter. — W. G. B.

P. S. Speaking of pulpit eloquence, Charles Sumner's appropriate place would be Music Hall as successor to Theodore Parker.

THE NEXT DEMAND OF THE SLAVE POWER.

MR. GARRISON:—The Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, for 1859, just published, says, speaking of the demand of the Slave Power for protection to slavery in the Territories, 'The next demand most likely will be, that the Federal Government shall protect slavery in every State into which any slaveholder may choose to carry it. As an entering wedge for that demand, it is now pressing its claim for such a decision of the well-known Lemmon case as will affirm the right to hold slaves in transit across any State, slave or free.'

The apprehensions of the writer of the report, Mr. Burleigh, are only too well founded, no one can doubt for a moment, who has observed the steady stride and the ever-increasing impudence of the demands and the attempts of the Slave Power, for a few years past. My object in referring to this subject just now, is, to present declarations which have come under my notice, going to substantiate the fears of the writer, and showing us what we must prepare to meet.

The Washington Union of 17th Nov., 1857, in an editorial article, held the following language:—
'The Constitution declares that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Every citizen of one State, coming into another State, has therefore a right to the protection of his person, and that property which is recognized as such by the Constitution of the United States, any law of a State to the contrary notwithstanding. So far from a State having a right to deprive him of his property, it is its bounden duty to protect him in its possession.

If these views are correct—and we believe it would be difficult to invalidate them—it follows that all State laws, whether organic or otherwise, which prohibit a citizen of one State from settling in another, and bringing his slave property with him, and most especially declaring it forfeited, are direct violations of the original intention of a Government which, as before stated, is the protection of person and property, and of the Constitution of the United States, which recognizes property in slaves, and declares that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," among the most essential of which is the protection of person and property.'

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portion of it. They could not afford to give to their readers the light of such resplendent truths.

TRIBUTE TO THEODORE PARKER.

Extracts from a Sermon, preached June 10, by Rev. A. Battles, Bangor.

In Mr. Parker's death, New England has lost one of her greatest and noblest men, and one, too, in whom her richest culture blossomed.

In looking at Mr. Parker, the first thing which strikes our attention is his mighty intellectual power and intense intellectual activity.

In the second place, Mr. Parker's moral nature was as largely developed as his intellectual.

But the social sin which he oftenest and most vehemently denounced was American slavery.

After years, when he took up his abode in Boston, when he saw churches turning cold from the slave's appeal, when he saw ministers more willing to preach against than for Abolitionism, and ready to curse, as fanatics or infidels, the devoted friends of the oppressed, who were risking and perilling name, health, ease and life itself, in the holy cause, he gave it his warm support.

We see a further illustration of Mr. Parker's rich moral nature in the depth of his religiousness.

Let it be this man, whom the American Church for the last fifteen years has persisted in calling 'infidel,' 'atheist,' 'the arch heretic of the land!'

What is it? Taking the literal definition given by dictionaries, who can escape? According to them, Dr. Arnold, one of the brightest lights of the English church, and Mr. Robertson, one of the most gifted preachers who ever stood in an Episcopalian pulpit, were infidels.

I say I think Mr. Parker taught theological errors. It seems to me that he misinterpreted some portions of the Bible, and made it teach some things the writers never intended.

I have alluded to the treatment he received at the hands of the American Church. In that treatment, we have painful evidence of the apostasy of the Church from the spirit of charity.

Perhaps, with all the facts of ecclesiastical history before us, it is not surprising that the so-called evangelical church should have culminated Mr. Parker as it did; but had he laid aside the weapons with which he has been obliged to defend the right of private judgment against the assumption of ecclesiastical authority, and around whose head bigots still keep up the cry of 'Heresy!'

Less than a year ago, Horace Mann, full of vigor and power, whose large mind and larger heart were enthusiastically devoted to the welfare of his race, and who has put every boy and girl of America under obligation to him, was cut down.

Not only ages, but entire civilizations may pass, before another man shall arise, just so gifted and equipped as him whom we commemorate to-day.

It is not so much that his powers were rare in kind, though they were surely rare—very rare in degree; but his distinction is, that he combined in himself qualities, which commonly go to the making of a large number of men, and are considered incompatible; and, as oxygen and carbon in their chemical union make flame, and hydrogen and oxygen produce water, though in their separate accumulation the former are cold and the latter dry, so qualities and powers which separately would have made only a multitude of strong men, in their vital union produce that brand of the Lord, that Missouri of manhood, whom we remember as Theodore Parker.

Let it be this man, whom the American Church for the last fifteen years has persisted in calling 'infidel,' 'atheist,' 'the arch heretic of the land!'

indeed pulled down with power, but also with power and audacity he built up. He sapped the foundations of the old, and he raised up the new.

He was a rare learner, humble, docile, intense; a perpetual child at the text-book of Nature, constantly correcting himself, never ashamed to confess a mistake; yet he had pre-eminently the spirit and genius of a teacher—methodical, clear, positive, endlessly varying his statements, and never, by a hundred or a thousand repetitions of his cardinal facts and doctrines, wearying either himself or his hearers.

So self-respecting he was that he forgot not the rights of his manhood even in the most awed moment of his adoration—so humble that there was no hind, no idiot, to whom his high best not with equal love as a brother. He was capable of a mighty wrath, but it was born of his love, and never expended upon account of his private wrongs; he was angry and sinned not, for it was the anger of the prophet; indignation at wrongs done to humanity; a grand, a noble, a sacred passion. Treachery to truth, to justice, to equity, to God and man—this it was, and this alone, that flushed his brow.

THE WILL OF THEODORE PARKER. The Will of the late Theodore Parker was presented for probate a few days since. From it we learn that he gives to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts the two fire-arms formerly the property of his honored grandfather, Captain John Parker, late of Lexington, which were by him captured from the British, on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, in the battle of Lexington, and which is the first firearm taken from the enemy in the war for Independence; and also the smaller musket which was used by him in that battle, while fighting at the 'sacred cause of his country,' and which I desire that these relics of the Revolution may be placed in the Senate Chamber of this Commonwealth, and there sacredly kept in perpetuum rei memoriam.

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FUGITIVES FROM JUSTICE. The following is the correspondence between Gov. Denison of Ohio, and Gov. Harris of Tennessee, in relation to the rendition of negro-runners.

LETTER FROM D. A. WASSON. Not only ages, but entire civilizations may pass, before another man shall arise, just so gifted and equipped as him whom we commemorate to-day.

DEAR GARRISON:—The arrival of the steamer 'Great Eastern' from New York, on the 10th inst., has been a great event in the history of the anti-slavery cause in this country.

ARRIVAL OF THE GREAT EASTERN. The steamer 'Great Eastern' from New York, on the 10th inst., has been a great event in the history of the anti-slavery cause in this country.

THE SARBON KIDNAPING CASE AT CONCORD.—Indictment against the United States Authorities.—In the Superior Court for the Middlesex County, to-day, the following indictment was returned against James Sarbon, Geo. J. Colledge, Wm. B. Tarleton, and Watson Freeman, Jr., of Boston, for kidnaping Frank B. Sanborn, of Concord, April 3d. There are four counts, charging:—

RECEIPTS. Into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from June 1, to July 2, 1860.

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THE NEW SERIES OF ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS. The new series now consists of Six Tracts, to which we have again called the attention of our readers and of all friends of Anti-Slavery Reform, as just the publications which the times and the cause now require.

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HYGIENE ESTABLISHMENT. No. 62 and 64, CORNHILL STREET, BROOKLYN, L. I.

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THE LIGHT OF OUR HOME. A BEAUTIFUL picture of a beautiful female child, drawn from life by Thomas M. Johnson, and photographed by Black & Hatchelder. Price, One Dollar; but only fifty cents, if mailed with the artist D. AVIGNON, each of these for one dollar.

WEDDING AND VISITING CARDS. FASHIONABLY ENGRAVED BY E. A. TEULON, 149 1-2 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. Directly opposite the Old South Church.

HOT-AIR FURNACES. PARLOR GRATES in great variety, embracing more than sixty different patterns, varying in price from three to sixty-five dollars.

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POETRY.
For the Liberator.
A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THOMAS PAINE.
Great genius, on our bosom,
In the spirit of the Liberator,
In the spirit of the Liberator,
In the spirit of the Liberator.

THE LIBERATOR.
REVIEWS OF A LETTER FROM REV. JAS. S. TAYLOR, OF RICHMOND, VA.
In a communication inserted in the Western and Reflector of the 7th inst. [1] from an esteemed minister in the South, whose name they say has become a sort of synonym for kindness of spirit and wisdom of counsel, there are a few things to which, with your permission, I would call attention; of course, presuming that your columns are as freely and kindly thrown open to the Northern Christian Abolitionist as the above paper is to the large body of Southern Christians, whose representative stands forth in defense of Southern Christianity, clad in his double coat of mail, hurling defiance at the armies of the living God in the North, and throughout the world. There being no David in the Eastern churches that dares to venture a sling at him, allow me to bring a smooth stone from the midst of the islands seas and pine forests of the West, to see if I cannot find a soft place in his forehead, and scatter his false hopes and false trusts to the winds.

But to return from our digression; the above was not the crime for which Hesperia is to be stigmatized, the character defiled, his person ridden on a rail with the double horns of the ox and the feather of the peacock. It is because he says that Northern men shall go South as ministers, merchants and teachers, etc., for the purpose of freeing the slave, 'probably if they can, but forcibly if they must.' O, these Ward Beecher's holy rills! Horrible fellow that Hinton Rowan Helper! Wonder that the earth does not open him out.

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their gentle, dove-like spirit, which he seems to suppose will act like oil to cheer their heads, or flustering unclean to their souls, in the contemplation of the horrors this unnatural, fratricidal war, this irrepressible conflict, will bring on the country. Break up the slaveholding monopoly in the South—throw open its fertile regions to free labor—let countless multitudes of emigrants pour in—and how soon the landscape would be whitened with greater beauty, and be suffused with greater odor—while commerce would flourish in unexampled activity, and crowding every warehouse with the treasures of the earth and sea! But we must hold on, as from the horrors of such a consummation our Southern divine will wash his hands in innocence, and hide his head in some deep cave, until the calamities thereof are passed away! But if, perchance, the blood-stains of the Christian slaveholder, which filled the soul of the 'infidel' John Brown, with such pious horror, should be washed out, and the divine command should be embodied by the church in the South in behalf of the slave, 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,' why, then, this Southern magi would take to his heels for safety, and as he ran to escape the coming storm, would wring his hands, crying, 'This irrepressible conflict is one which the South have not sought! It has been forced upon them! The South did not desire it!' Yours, for the slave, J. R. BALME, Baptist Clergyman, June 18th, 1860.

Is there any virtue in Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer?
READ THE FOLLOWING, AND JUDGE FOR YOURSELF.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:—My hair is sixty-one years old, my hair was very gray, and has been gradually falling out, until, on the 1st of March, it had become quite thin. About the last of March, of the present year, I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer, according to the directions, and have continued to apply a slight dressing of the same every three or four weeks, on retiring to bed. My hair is now almost restored to its original color, and my head appears to be permanent. I AM SATISFIED THAT THE PREPARATION IS NOTHING LIKE A DYE, BUT OPERATES UPON THE SECRECTIONS. My hair ceases to fall, which is certainly an advantage to one who is in danger of becoming bald. Rev. M. THAYER, Bridgewater, Oneida Co., N. Y., Nov. 22, 1860. President J. J. Eaton, LL. D., Union University, Marysville, Tennessee.

A KINDLY WORD.
There's many a soul in sadness,
A kindly word might give
From dark, despairing madness,
Or an ultimately grave.

[1] See 'Refuge of Oppression,' 1st page.

But, above all, and beyond all, you must bid your presses roll their thunders and flash their lightnings against that head-headed Abolitionist, that fiery fanatic, called Spurgeon—the English clergyman, who, on the one hand, clasps the sainted martyr, called the 'infidel traitor and murderer,' John Brown, to his heart, and enshrines him in the innermost circle of the affections thereof—the illustrious, ever memorable, immortal John Brown, who lived and died in the faith of a Christian, as a member of a Congregational church, looking for pardon, acceptance and salvation through the infinite mercy, grace and love of Christ! Yes, this is the man whom he considers worthy of an enduring place in his esteem, although his dead lips be stuffed with blasphemous sentiments put into his mouth by this Simon Pure of the South—this 'synonym of kindness of spirit and wisdom of counsel'—who makes him say that 'Christ was a pretty good teacher—plenty of others like him—I don't believe in him as a Savior—I do not want any body else to bear my sins—I am not such an extra sinner,' etc. But, O heavens! be horrified! he can take that venerable, slaveholding Christian clergyman, with the other—the great Richard Fuller, who extends his benign influence over his slaves in the South, and casts the dew of his blessing round him at the dedication of new sanctuaries in Newark and West Philadelphia, etc., and is acknowledged a star of the first magnitude, a gem of the highest order, in our Northern churches—yes, Spurgeon can approach this man, says this Southern lord in God's heritage, with feelings of 'vindictiveness approaching to malignity,' exclaiming, 'But Richard Fuller were to appear in his neighborhood, he would get a mark which he would carry to his grave, if it did not carry him there!' Wonder that the earth does not open her mouth, and swallow up Spurgeon for such sublime audacity! Pity that that cord from the South is not applied to his eloquent throat!

In this remarkable letter from the South, there is another thing I wish you to consider: it is its advantage in the South over their pious coadjutors, their dearly beloved brethren, the dough-faces of the North—the men who have turned one face to the North, and another to the South, as Dr. Wayland did in 1844. And here, mark well the language of the writer in the chaunticles which he inflicts on the men in the Northern churches who refused to keep step to the music of the Union between the Northern and Southern churches. The North, says he, was the first to break the compact—the first to commence the war religiously—the first to break up the glorious Union between Southern slaveholders and their Northern apologists! And how was this done? Why, the North insisted that the South should not occupy the same ground of equality! But what was the inequality? Why, the Board of the Triennial Convention, an Institution well known in Boston—employed a slaveholder as a missionary—a Mr. Bushyhead—who took up his residence (as John Mitchell wanted to do) in a fine dwelling amongst the Cherokees, surrounded by a fine plantation, which he stocked with 'chattels personal.' This gave great offense to the North—not that Bushyhead was a slaveholder, but that he took his slaves with him to the Cherokee nation! How was this vexatious and embarrassing difficulty to be removed by the Board, so as to appease the North, and satisfy the South? An ingenious device was hit upon to get Bushyhead to give up his commission with the Board, which was not done officially, but by a process of tergiversation, or skillful secret manoeuvre, which, when accomplished, caused the managers of the Board to roar out in ecstasy, clasping their hands with exultant delight, quite frantic with joy at the success of their trick—'The breach is healed, the obstacle to co-operation has been removed.' And, like sucking-doves, they turned to the South, saying, 'As we have ever treated you, so we are willing to treat you now!' The South, not satisfied with their double-dealings and sham pretensions in the North, withdrew—as the writer in the letter before us says, 'probably withdrew, to attend to their own work in their own way.' But what did the Northern Board do? In the absence, which they put on record that they had never called in question the 'Christianity' of the slaveholder, and also that they placed slaveholders and non-slaveholders on grounds of perfect moral equality! And what has occurred to the Baptist, says this great luminary of the South, 'is a history with respect to our denunciations.' 'Till it is not in Geth! Publish it not in the streets of Babylon! Such is their position now. Such is the position of the Methodists, and Bishop Morris says, 'So may it ever continue, world without end, Amen!'

At a recent sale of autograph letters in London, a letter of George Washington, the first President of the United States, written when a subaltern in the service of the Colonial Government, to the Governor of Virginia, sold for \$77.

Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Correspondent, Board of Education, H. D. Church, 337 Broadway, N. Y. New-Baltimore, Greene county, N. Y.