

by the fullest examination. Therefore, he has opened his paper to such examination; thus showing a faith in God, in truth, and in man, which should shame his revilers.

'The head and front of his offending Hath this extent.'

But to those who write under his words of truth, or shrink from the light, this is enough to justify the outcry by which they would divert attention from their own guilt. Surely we need not say that no abolitionist should (even unwittingly) help their miserable shift, by giving currency to their epithets and reproaches. They should have the entire monopoly of this business.

If Mr. Garrison, or any one else, embraces dangerous error, show it to him, counteract it by truth; but these mad-dog cries of 'infidel,' 'anarchy,' 'Garrisonism,' enlighten no one, convert no one, and only appeal to prejudice and bigotry. This the 'Press' would not consciously do, and yet this it is doing when it seeks to frighten slaveholding Reverends and D. D.'s from their perversions of the Bible, by the vulgar of 'Garrisonism.' But the attempt will not be successful in preventing Biblical defenses of Slavery, War, Polygamy or Intemperance. So long as any of these practices are legal and popular, will those appeals to the Bible for sanctions to them continue. No representations of the consequences to the Bible or to Christianity will deter men, whose chief aim is, not justice, mercy, or purity, but popularity, influence, and commanding position, from the course which will win the prizes they seek.

MR. MANN AND MR. PHILLIPS.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard. The Argument.—The Correspondent at a loss—But findeth himself—He compares his satisfactions—Why he enjoys Mr. Phillips's drubbing—He inveighs against Dresden China—He exhorts himself, and why—He preaches Mr. Mann, the American and Commonwealth—And quotes Justice Shallow—He discriminates between Mr. Phillips and others—He vindicates the patriotism of the others—And shows their bravery—He laudeth the Free Soilers—And giveth them a monopoly of patriotism—The noble Army of Martyrs—The Correspondent displayeth his Learning—He woteth a Neologism—And citeth Tom Thumb the Great—He propoundeth two Questions—He earnestly desireth to be Converted—He hopeth all things from lawyers turned Abolitionists—He defendeth Mr. Mann from un-friendlies—And citeth Caesar and General Heath—Mr. Mann's Commentaries and his own—He philosophizeth and moralizeth—He maketh distinctions—He speculateth concerning the Devil, the Legislator and the Abolitionist—He is very censorious and parental—He expoundeth the Philosophy of Punition—And concludeth hopefully, &c. &c. &c.

NOTHING of any particular account has happened since I wrote to you last, and I hardly know how to fill up my appointed column. The thing that has given me the most contentment of late, (always excepting the objection of District Attorney Lunt and Marshal Devens from office) has been the drubbing Mr. Wendell Phillips has been getting at the hands of the Hon. Horace Mann. I like to see him getting his gruel, at last. He has, all along, been treated as if he were of better tempered clay than we delft vessels, and handled, even by the adversary, as if he were a Dresden teacup. While I, for instance, (having Mr. Mann's example before my eyes, I feel emboldened to recount my own sufferings,) while I have been lashed and buffeted and smitten, showers of thracks and thumps have lighted on my neck and head, that, as poor Sancho said, 'if it were to rain rain, ne'er a one would fit it'; all this time, I say, this Mr. Phillips has been skulking 'among the wagons in the rear,' out of reach of the cudgels, and enjoying my calamities with a truly Lucretian pleasure! I thank Mr. Mann for that descriptive phrase. I entirely agree with the Lowell American (I think it is) and the Boston Commonwealth, that it is a good phrase, and as Justice Shallow said, 'good phrases are, and ever were, very commendable.'

But while I have nothing to say in behalf of Mr. Phillips, but leave him to defend himself as best he may against his antagonist, I must entreat Mr. Mann not to put all Abolitionists 'refusing office, or refusing to vote,' into the same category with that individual. He, I will admit, prefers ignominiously hiding himself among the wagons in the rear, or, best, lessly drugging with the pick-axe and spade in the trenches of the war of spirit; but I can assure Mr. Mann, there are men among us who stand above these things, if we can only see the way clear before us. Some of us would not have the least objection to wear epaulettes and gold lace, and to ride a cock-horse,

'With our long sword, saddle, bridle, Whack, row de row!'

on the muster-field at Washington, instead of delving obscurely with the extinguishing tools among the pioneers—the sappers and miners—if he were only good enough to show us that our scruples are slight and inconsiderable. Nay, there are those of us who would be willing to suffer under the Martyrdom of Mileage; to endure, even the agony of 'Eight Dollars per diem, if our country called for it. Yea, and would it be Ten? We would boldly encounter such a danger, saying, as the Lord Mayor of London did, when he went a hunting, and was told there was a lion in the way, 'Come, a God's name! I'm not afraid of it!'

Mr. Mann must not suppose that patriotism is entirely confined to his own party and the other two 'healthy political organizations.' We freely confess to the amount of that virtue which inspires the Free Soilers as well as the Whigs and Democrats. We have looked on with admiration, I hope not with envy, and witnessed the swiftness of the self-devotion with which they were ready to sacrifice themselves on altars of any size, from the big one at Washington, on which Senators and Members of the House are offered up, to the little ones in the States, devoted to the incineration of Members of Assemblies and General Courts, Aldermen of cities and Selectmen of towns. But though we have stood aside from these auto da fes, while bolder Confessors were courting the Stake, it was not from want of patriotic zeal, but from a scruple (foolish, perhaps) which we are quite ready to have explained away. Let Mr. Mann but convert us from the errors of our ways, and he will find that there are some Garrison Abolitionists of different calibre from this Mr. Phillips—men who will be ready, at the call of their Country, to enlist in that Noble Army of Martyrs (two hundred and forty, or thereabouts, I forget the exact number) in the House of Representatives at Washington—every one of whom is there sorely against his will, to the great damage of his private business and inconvenience of his family affairs, every man of whom has taken his seat, as Beatrice took Beatrice, 'upon great persuasion,' and partly to save the lives of his constituents. Or, missing such conspicuous immolation, who would consent to suffer an obscure doom in the provincial Capitols. Men who, if not permitted to die in the Colosseum, would consent to suffer in the Amphitheatre at Nismes, rather than miss of the Crown of Martyrdom altogether.

Now, though we do not complain of Mr. Mann's treatment of Mr. Phillips, we think he has not paid that attention to the rest of us which our entire willingness to be converted deserves. It seems to me that Mr. Mann has devoted too much of his Rejoinder to what Plato and other Ancient Philosophers (I like to show a little learning, occasionally, as well as Mr. Webster) used to denigrate the Showman, or Shadow-lighting. That he condescend to show us the way to a better way, that Mr. Phillips had charged him with 'moral infidelity' (a vile neologism, by the way, and of evil example from a pedagogonist,

or scourger of School-masters!*) on the subject of Slavery. Like Tom Thumb the Great,

'He made the Giants first, and then he slew them!'

But he is not as clear as he thinks he is on the two questions which we long to have cleared up. First, 'Does the Constitution of the United States require the Rendition of Fugitive Slaves, on claim of the owner?' If not, then we have the chief, if not the only, objection removed out of our way. But if yea, then, Secondly, 'Is not a man who swears to support the Constitution bound to take measures for the execution of this provision, by himself or his representative, in Congress or State Legislature, according as the duty of executing it may lie with the one or the other?' If it be his duty to see that due provision is made for the execution of that clause—by providing for process, appointing officers, &c.—if follows, of course, that he is not to resist such process and such officers; not, contrariwise, to assist the one in executing the other, if lawfully called upon to do so. If he had nothing to do with providing the process and officers, by himself or his representative, but is at perfect liberty to proceed in the case of a fugitive slave as if the Constitution had never existed; then the alternative difficulty is removed out of the way of the Disunion Abolitionists, and he may go to the polls, or to Congress, or the White House, with a perfectly clear conscience. We can assure Mr. Mann that any objection removed out of our way that we are in error on either of these two points, and shall hold ourselves greatly indebted to him or to anybody else who will put us on the road to the American paradise of office.

So, again, I cannot but think that these Disunion Abolitionists, who, in the time past of their lives, (Heaven forgive them!) have been lawyers, who would be willing to perform their professional duty to men accused, like Drayton and Sayres, of assisting in the escape of Slaves, as in the case of the picturesquely described by Mr. Mann, when if threatened 'by men with bowie knives and pistols in their pockets,' especially after Mr. Mann's presidential escape. I do not mean that Mr. Phillips would, of course; but I hope there may be men in the Garrisonian ranks ready to do as faithfully (though not so ably) what was done by Messrs. Mann and Carlisle at that tumultuous crisis, if they could be cured of the scruple which prevents their practicing their profession. Some people have been disposed to give Mr. Mann the prize for the justice which he does in his Rejoinder to his own merits in the aforesaid case. Now, I like it. 'Is this a world to hide virtues in?' And he has worshippful precedent for it. Caesar did the same thing, and so did Major General Heath. To be sure, they wrote in the third person. The first named warrior would say, 'Caesar did this or that,'—the latter, 'this being the opinion of our General, he did so, &c.' But if Mr. Mann prefers writing his Commentaries in the first person singular, I, for one, have no objection to be the contrary. I like it. I intend to write mine in the same way.

I do not at all wonder that our Free Soil friends should be a little testy at the pertinacity of such fellows as this Phillips, in bringing them up to the ring-bolt—whatever that may be; or if they do not stand on equal ground. We can afford to keep our tempers in such a discussion, for we have everything to gain by it. We want them to convince us, and have a motive for keeping all our wits about us, that we may be convinced. I do not say that they are not in an equally candid frame of mind; but they are certainly not as free from disturbing influences as we are. If they come to us, they must give up all that seems to them 'to make ambition virtue'; if we go to them, we shall at least have our chance in the scramble of politics. We wish Mr. Mann to make plain to us the distinction he attempts to establish between the same man as Legislator and Abolitionist, so that we may feel sure that when the Devil comes to fetch Mr. Mann, the Abolitionist may go to the other direction. 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We do not doubt that Mr. Mann, and the Free Soil party, honestly believe that their Method of Political Action, inside the Constitution, is better than ours of Political Action, outside of it. But we are sure that they are wrong

...the Devil, signed, sealed, ac-
knowledged, and recorded. Mr. Phillips is too wary to
be a party to the original articles; but he has a way of
... Mr. Phillips's whole theory about the nature of the
... Mr. Phillips's whole theory about the nature of the
... Mr. Phillips's whole theory about the nature of the

there any wink or odor of such base ideas? And yet,
do not these ideas compose the whole substance of Mr.
Phillips's comment? A Jesuit plainly enough, but
which is he?
But again, this must suffice. As there were too many
individual facilities to be enumerated, so there are too
many classes to be classified. Indeed, I have looked
with amazement through this whole letter of Mr. Phil-
lips. There seems to be some fatality of aberration in
his mind, some refracting medium, so that nothing
ever comes out of it as it went in. When rays of truth
fall upon his sensorium, they are deflected from a right
line. As an optician would say, the angle of reflection
is never equal to the angle of incidence.

for we believe him incapable of denying what he
knows to be true. And, in such a case as this,
lack of memory may be taken as equivalent to a
lack of knowledge. We would not occupy so
much space with this matter, if that the Liberator
is decidedly mistaken when it represents that we
had said what was 'simply untrue and ridiculous.'
Yet, in our view, that question of the Liberator
was pertinent, and deserved an answer. Mr. Gar-
rison does not accept George Thompson's method
of carrying reforms, for he rejects the ballot-box,
and his principles binds him to reject every other
recognition of the National Constitution. If Mr.
Thompson had adopted this principle, we do not
know how he could have become a member of Par-
liament. As the matter stands, we think the
position of the Liberator, relative to that gentle-
man, is palpably inconsistent with its position
with respect to the Free Soilers in this country.

the sneering levity of Mr. MANK, 'a covenant with
death and an agreement with hell,'—by which that im-
mense population are kept securely in their chains,
which admits of an ever-increasing slave representation
on the floor of Congress, which makes the whole country
slave-holding ground, and which pledges the entire
physical force of the nation to prevent all insurrection-
ary movements. This issue is clear, distinct, and vital.
Where the 'dodging' is, we leave every candid and dis-
cerning mind to determine. Even Mr. MANK, as yet,
has not grappled with it. 'Ye that are under the law,
do ye not hear the law?' Cursed is every man that
continueth not in all things written in the book of the
law to do them. Know ye not, that to whom ye
yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to
whom ye obey?
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.
A few weeks since, the following note, enclosing
the sum specified therein, from an old but unknown
delinquent subscriber, was received through the Post
Office:—
'Enclosed are \$7.00, belonging to whoever was en-
titled to receive the subscription money for THE LIBERA-
TOR in March, 1840. The individual so entitled is pre-
sented to Mr. Pillsbury.'

Mr. PILLSBURY'S LECTURE OF THE FRENCH REVOLU-
TION OF 1789. Monday evening proved to be about as
unpropitious an evening for lectures and meetings of
every kind, as any one that could have been selected
during the whole year. It rained heavily, accompa-
nied with much thunder and lightning. Of course, the
audience gathered to hear Mr. PILLSBURY'S lecture was
small, though large enough to more than cover all the
expenses, and larger even than could have been rea-
sonably expected. The lecture itself was an able pre-
sentation of the cause and consequences of the French
Revolution in 1789—demonstrating that, for whatever
crimes or excesses that accompanied it, an atrociously
despotic government and a frightfully corrupt church
were to be held accountable, and that it was the natu-
ral outbreak of goaded humanity, long trampled upon
and outraged in every shape. He showed that a broad
distinction was to be made between the French people
and some of their leaders, at that period—between the
Revolution itself and its calamitous issue. The lecture
abounded with passages of great strength, beauty and
eloquence; and, in common with all who heard it, we
hope it will be repeated at an early period as may suit
the convenience of Mr. PILLSBURY.

NEW BOOKS,
OF RARE INTEREST AND VALUE.
JUST PUBLISHED BY
JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY,
BOSTON.
Owing to the unparalleled draft upon our resources,
during the past year, on account of the unex-
pected sale of Uncle Tom's Cabin, a large number
of most valuable manuscripts were obliged to lie un-
touched in our safe, waiting a favorable moment to appear
in print. We have availed ourselves of the earliest mo-
ment, and now offer them to the readers of good books.
Most of them are issued. Those still in press will be
published speedily.

POETRY.

In the volume from which is extracted the following poem, there are many others which equal it in worth; compositions of exceeding vigor, and of genius and touching beauty.

ADVANCE!

God bids the Sun, with golden steps sublime, Advance! He whispered in the listening ear of Time, Advance!

QUESTIONS.

What if the steepest buildings were thine own? What if the choicest fruits thy table crown?

FAREWELL TO DRUNKENNESS.

Farewell, landlords, farewell Jerrys, Farewell, brandy, wine and sherry;

THE LIBERATOR.

SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS.

Mr. GARRISON: DEAR SIR—I do not wish to add to the number of communications on 'extraneous' topics that appear in THE LIBERATOR; but as so much has been said in your columns, in favor of the so-called 'spiritual manifestations,' and hardly any thing in opposition to them, I trust you will not object to a few remarks on the 'other side' of this highly important question.

Let me remark in the outset, that I doubt the spiritual origin of these manifestations; but still, I do not consider them as 'humbug,' but, on the contrary, as 'vastly important phenomena, requiring the utmost skill for the solution of the mystery connected with them.'

Excuse me for disturbing the placidity of your readers' minds by my remarks. I have waited a long time for some more capable person to attack this new delusion, as I sincerely regard it. If you do not object, I should be happy to state a number of my other objections to this doctrine.

I have been a close observer of the temperance movement since the year 1825, and have heard a large number of the principal speakers in behalf of the cause; among them have been men of superior talents, and highly gifted with the powers of description; but I never yet heard one who could paint the evils of intemperance in their true colors.

It is the tendency of unphilosophical minds to attribute wonderful effects to still more wonderful causes, as we see in the case of religious revivals, where the same phenomena as the 'spiritual manifestations' are often witnessed, and attributed to the agency of God.

Object to this doctrine; first, because, if true, it supersedes the necessity of all intellectual cultivation. It says, 'Give yourself up to extraneous influences, and you shall be taught wonderful things.'

When their anxiety to destroy the foe sets aside common sense, lays waste all sense of shame, and turns men into robbers, it is time to pause, no matter if this is done under the sanction of law.

It is true, there may be some honest, weak-minded men, who find it difficult to govern their appetites, and would like to put the tempter out of their reach. Such men are to be pitied, and should be allowed to keep no spirits about their houses.

least, as important revelations. Now I would most respectfully ask all the 'radical' believers in the 'rappings,' if the Church ever required such a low obedience to its mandates as this? Is not every minister censured closely, on the eve of his admission to the Association, or Presbytery, as to his literary qualifications?

Now, if this is not paying deference to station, I know not what it is. I do not accuse our friends of receiving everything that proceeds from 'spirits' as authority, but I do charge them with denying the fundamental doctrines of 'radicalism,' in paying attention to these messages, because of their supposed origin.

AGAINST THE MAINE LIQUOR LAW.

I have been a close observer of the temperance movement since the year 1825, and have heard a large number of the principal speakers in behalf of the cause; among them have been men of superior talents, and highly gifted with the powers of description; but I never yet heard one who could paint the evils of intemperance in their true colors.

The advocates of the law seem to forget that a large portion of the people do not want to be deprived of the use of liquor. If nobody wanted to use it, the law would be unnecessary.

It is human nature to rebel against oppression, even at its own expense. Sectarians of old took up a notion, that their worship was Simon pure; and, having the power, they passed laws attempting to make every body conform to their whims.

It is true, there may be some honest, weak-minded men, who find it difficult to govern their appetites, and would like to put the tempter out of their reach. Such men are to be pitied, and should be allowed to keep no spirits about their houses.

A PIOUS DISCONTINUANCE.

It seems right for me to inform thee, that I do not think it best for me to longer continue taking THE LIBERATOR. It appears to me that thou hast dwelt too much upon the wrongs inflicted upon our poor colored brethren—

pleading for making chattels of men created in the image of God; and even many who profess to be ministers of the gospel doing all in their power to strengthen the bonds of the slave—that looking upon such fruits of religion, thou hast turned away almost in disgust, and been ready to say in thy heart, 'Deliver me from Christianity.'

Now, if this is not paying deference to station, I know not what it is. I do not accuse our friends of receiving everything that proceeds from 'spirits' as authority, but I do charge them with denying the fundamental doctrines of 'radicalism,' in paying attention to these messages, because of their supposed origin.

THE BIBLE.

I believe it is conceded on all hands, that THE LIBERATOR is the only paper in this country that practically holds the doctrine of free discussion, though many others make loud and long professions of attachment to that tyrant-bating doctrine.

It is human nature to rebel against oppression, even at its own expense. Sectarians of old took up a notion, that their worship was Simon pure; and, having the power, they passed laws attempting to make every body conform to their whims.

KEEP THE LIST FULL.

WILLIAMSTOWN, Feb. 1, 1853. FRIEND GARRISON,—I see THE LIBERATOR suffers occasionally, in consequence of its freedom.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREE DISCUSSION.

The touching 'Tribute of a Wife and Mother,' which appeared in THE LIBERATOR of January 21st, 1853, has, I doubt not, attracted the attention and aroused the sympathy of many of the readers of that inestimable paper.

THE SABBATH.

Sundry Orthodox ministers of New York city are preaching a series of evening sermons on 'The Sabbath, as a Divine Institution.' In the second of these, the Rev. Dr. Potts undertook to defend the following proposition:

'The Christian Sabbath inherits all the rights and imposes all the obligations of the Sabbath of Paradise, the Sabbath of the Patriarchs, and the Sabbath of the Decalogue.'

the spirit of love, joy, peace and purity. I have heard it said that he is 'not a Christian.' To my view, his deeds embody the very essence of Christianity, and thousands, yea millions of the oppressed, have reason to rejoice that he has not (as he was once near doing) become a CHRISTIAN MARTYR.

'On, on to victory!' If THE LIBERATOR had nothing else to commend it, the many examples it has set and sustained, beyond any other journal in the world, of free and impartial discussion, does commend it to general respect and approval.

My principal object in writing you at this time is to express my hearty sympathy with you, and the other steadfast friends of the slave around you, in the arduous task you have so long and ably labored at, and to join my hope with that of thousands on both sides of the Atlantic, that the same straight-forward, honest, impartial course which has characterized your public career hitherto, may, under the blessing of God, continue to characterize it.

It requires great moral courage and self-denial to occupy such a position; for although the progress of truth must always be really accelerated by free discussion, yet the partial suppression, or political management of a truth, might give greater present power, and redound more to the selfish interests of a party.

It is hard getting subscribers for THE LIBERATOR, on account of its price. Nonsense can be had cheap, and it is hard convincing people that sense is worth any money.

It is really amusing, to those who have progressed far enough to dare to investigate all subjects, to see how dreadfully frightened some of your patrons (?) are! How long will it take them to learn, that whatever cannot bear investigation must come down?

What a contrast between its course, and that of most of the miserable wishy-washy, time-serving journals of the day!

Enclosed, I send you five dollars, one-half of which you may place to my credit; the other to LIBERTY JERROLD, for which send him THE LIBERATOR, directed to Williamstown, Vt.

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RARITAN BAY UNION, THIS INDUSTRIAL AND EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

JOHN CURTIS, JR. & CO. TAILORS, NO. 6 ANN ST.

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