





Emancipation, it will grow stronger every day, until at last the noble stream shall roll over the land, cleansing and fertilizing, sweeping away every vestige of domestic servitude, and glorifying the whole country on to happiness and glory. Then, my friends, the mighty influence of the country shall be seen. The heavy darkness of Despotism, which now rests over the Old World, shall fade away. We shall not need to go forth to propagate our political faith, to proselyte mankind. The freedom and happiness of our country shall tell their own story, and other nations shall come and join our great federation. Notwithstanding much to the contrary, there are many cheering signs pointing to this blessed result. Art and Commerce are weaving round the globe the ties that shall bind nation to nation. And able men are rising among us, in the political world, whose feet, indeed, are shackled by party and political connections, but whose faces are turned in the right direction, and are illuminated by the light of liberty. And there are devoted men and women, who have consecrated themselves to the help of the slave, who count it the service of God, and who will never let the country be misled. God in his merciful justice, will not permit the glory of his attributes break upon us, and make us faithful in our day and generation!

From the Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle.

COLORED MILITIA.

The Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts has under consideration the question of abolishing all distinction of color in the enrollment of the militia of the State. Several propositions were ineffectually made, the last of which, presented by Mr. Wilson, was as follows:

Resolved, That no distinction shall ever be made in the organization of the volunteer militia of the Commonwealth, on account of color or race.

Mr. Choate went into an argument to prove that the proposition was an unconstitutional one, if it was the design that the colored volunteers should form any part of the national army. The argument, in substance, was this: Congress by the Constitution has the power of organizing the militia. It has organized it, and distinctly defined that it should consist of "whites." Massachusetts could not legislate in conflict with this. Therefore, the proposition was an unconstitutional one. If a colored regiment were to be organized in existence, they would be recognized as a part of the national militia, and could be amenable to no military court. The power of organizing and training the militia was not exclusively with Congress. The States might act in support of congressional action, and in points where Congress had failed to act, but not in conflict with that action. If such a company were organized, the President could not recognize it as part of the militia of the United States.

To dodge the difficulty, at the suggestion of Mr. Sumner, Mr. Wilson suggested the word "militia," in its usual and proper sense, "military companies." At this proposition, which really looks to us like a miserable subterfuge,—the hunkers held up their hands, and in genuine astonishment inquired, "If 'military companies' did not mean 'militia,' pray what did it mean?" Finally, it was decided that Massachusetts did not need a colored military organization, either in companies or militia; and by a large vote the whole subject was laid upon the table.

This is a fair specimen of the dilemma into which the good intentions of men run them, when in a false position. General Wilson and Mr. Sumner are going to support the Constitution, believing it to be pro-slavery, and yet are also going to abolish slavery under it, and secure equal rights to all. Their fatal concession brings them up all standing at every point, and the best that even Mr. Sumner and Wilson combined can do, is to resort to some quirk or dodge like the one above. We hope that they may some time learn that the only way to succeed, it will take a more radical policy, than that marked by tricky or evasive to overwhelm the slave power, with the government at its control.

With regard to the objection of these Constitution makers, we suppose it is not to the help of the colored, in case there shall be any real fighting to be done—any Bunker Hill battles to win. They would doubtless be then willing enough to have them shot at or bayoneted. But the objection is to the training. The citizen soldiers do not like the idea of having negroes in their ranks, and of sporting plumes and red-tailed coats. This their dignity could never endure, and so the Federal Constitution is to be secure henceforth, the Massachusetts Constitution unaltered, and if the colored people shall sport their military finery and muskets for exhibition, the Governor or Sheriff may disperse them as a mob.

From the Syracuse Chronicle.

COLONIZATION MORALIZING.

The last Colonization Journal, edited by Rev. Mr. Pinney, speaking of the celebration of our national independence, like many other good people, falls into a vein of "profitable meditation." It says:

"Still, is there not something selfish in a great people, so eminently blessed by the gifts and selection of others, to manifest their gratitude in such methods, to neglect and manifest forgetfulness that a boon so priceless is scarcely heard of by—"

How our hearts leap at this exordium! Now, surely, we are going to have some genuine talk—and from a Colonizationist, too—on the great question of the age! We can anticipate the conclusion of the Secretary's sentence. "That a boon so priceless is scarcely heard of (certainly not enjoyed) by more than three millions of souls in our very midst, whose only freedom-anthem to-day, is the crack of the lash and clank of the chain—but, hold up, sanguine prey! Enough of your homilies we have heard already. Suppose you let the editor tell his own story. To return, then,—scarcely heard of by 'other nations, and nowhere enjoyed? If a thank-offering to God is appropriate for us, in behalf of what may it be, when we are the poor oppressed BARBARIANS and PAGANS OF AFRICA; and for them, in what more useful method than through the Colonization Society? (1)

Oh! this is the appropriate improvement of our great National Liberty Festival, is it! It is very selfish for us to rejoice in the priceless boon of Freedom, while there are so many deprived of it in—Africa! And it is very mean, too, for a rich man to revel in wealth, which has been wrested from the defenceless widows who starve around his door, while there are so many dear little boys without trousers in Timbuctoo.

It has been the custom at St. Mary's. (Catholic) College in Maryland, to invite clergymen, without distinction of sect, to open the exercises of Commencement Day, with prayer. On one occasion, this courtesy was extended to an aged orthodox minister, who had prayed but one undeviating prayer for forty years, in which, after disposing of Paganism, Mohammedanism and the Jews, he regularly lit on his holiness, by the most very complimentary title of "Beast!" Through all the phases of his unwritten liturgy, the old gentleman on this occasion successfully proceeded, until with a natural unconsciousness he stumbled upon the very sentence, which he had never before found reason to eliminate or qualify; when to his confusion he remembered the unwelcome company he was in, and the claims of common courtesy, and strove to make good his retreat. The style in which he accomplished this difficult maneuver was equalled by the instance of lively dodging, which has called up the story. It was as follows: "And, O Lord, be pleased in infinite mercy to break the power of the B—um! ah! to break the power of the B—um! and restoring!" The position was to the point and edifying, and so is the meditation of the Colonization organ, on Liberty Jubilee among a nation of slaveholders and slaves.

OUTRAGEOUS PERVERSION OF JUSTICE.

In view of an advertisement asking information in regard to a colored man incarcerated in Arkansas, suspected of being a runaway slave, it is dangerous of being sold unless he can establish the fact that he is a free man, the *Traveler* very properly asks—What law is that which compels a man to prove a negative—which arrests and imprisons a man as a criminal, and then sells him into eternal slavery, if he cannot furnish evidence of falsity of the charges made against him? It is that kind of law, which is an outrageous perversion of justice, visited by the strong upon the weak.

SLAVERY AND CHRISTIANITY.

Another valuable work on the subject of slavery, characterized by mastery of force of reasoning, has just come from the press, entitled "SLAVERY AND THE CHURCH," by WILLIAM HOSMER. The Author is a Methodist clergyman, and the editor of a religious journal in Western New York. Read the following extracts—

A Christian cannot be a pirate, because piracy is of the devil; and yet piracy is no worse than slavery. The laws of our country have long regarded the foreign slave-trade as piracy; but the foreign slave-trade is no worse than the domestic, and the trade in slaves, whether foreign or domestic, is no worse than the simple ownership of slaves. Moral purity justly abhors the whole traffic, counting every part of it equally guilty—the seller, and the buyer, and the owner, are all on the same level. Each and all consent to have and hold what honesty forbids—that is not their own, and cannot be, for the simple reason that eternal justice assigns it to the slave. The law of love will not allow the Christian to participate in this robbery; he may not even sanction it by his silence, much less by sharing, though it be ever so remotely, in the vile transaction. Rebuke, non-participation, is demanded; but not rebuke alone. It is not enough that the Christian reprobates the deed of darkness by words; he must have a heart-felt abhorrence of the abuse practised upon his fellow man—though that man be a slave. In a word, the Christian is so constituted that he must, of necessity, regard the slave as a brother man, and treat him as such. He cannot take advantage of a wicked law to oppress him, any more than he can murder him—he cannot perform any one of all the several acts which are enjoined by the slave code. To carry out such laws, demands another kind of being—one who feels himself under no obligation to treat man as man—no brother, for whose welfare even the sacrifice of life, if it were necessary, would be both a pleasure and a duty.

Christians cannot be slaveholders, because slavery depresses men. The Christian is bound to elevate all around him, as far as possible. No truth—no principle in religion, is plainer than this: that all men are to be cultivated and improved, as far as we have power to do it. It becomes imperative, therefore, for a religious man to aid, in every way, the progress of the human race. He views the African as his brother, and is compelled, by the consideration of duty, to educate and improve him to the utmost of his power. Hence he must accord to him all the rights which the God of nature gave, and all the tender regards which the gospel of Christ enjoins. It would be singular, indeed, if Christianity, after imposing the duty of culturing humanity—the humanity of all men—to the highest extent, had, nevertheless, excepted large classes, towards whom no tender regard was to be shown. Such an anomaly in religion is not. No portion of the human family is given up to ruin—none are predestinated to the crushing influence of slavery. Laws against education and liberty, against marriage and the rights of property, against conscience and manhood, are laws against God; they are a direct attack upon Christianity, and must inevitably be spurned by every believer in divine revelation. Before a Christian can be a slaveholder, the law of God must be repealed, in every particular affecting the relations of man to man. The obligation to treat man as man, in all parts of the law, must be utterly obliterated. When this is done, the work of desolation can go on, but not before. Until then, the obligations of the Gospel will make it impossible for any Christian to join in a conspiracy with civil government against the rights of any man.

But may not the Christian become the depository of the slave's rights, and thus guard for the slave's good, what the law had taken from him? Not at all. As to any guaranty of rights, it is impossible, in any case, impossible. No man can be the depository of what belongs to another's manhood. The slave must regain his rights before he can be a man. None can act for him in this matter. God has laid certain duties on the slave, as a man, and will hold him to his master—responsible for their performance. The master cannot answer for any but himself, in the day of judgment. Aside from the impossibility of this transfer of obligations, is the intrinsic guilt of the original transaction, in holding the slave as a slave, or consenting to hold the slave as a slave, or making power, and thus becomes as guilty as those who perpetrated the enactment. Can an honest man consent to be the depository of stolen goods? He might, perhaps, for the purpose of restoring them to the owner, but not for a moment for any other purpose. The goods are not his, and never can be his; to retain them, therefore, an instant, except for the sole purpose of returning them to their owner, is to be partner with the thief. We may render the case still plainer, by supposing the right in question to be, not that of personal freedom, but the right to life. Had the law, without cause, doomed the slave to death, could a Christian participate in the infliction? Could he become the depository and administrator of this cruel power? All will see at once, that to do so would be murder. The government should be left to execute its own wicked laws, if they must be executed, for no honest man can lend himself to such a work.

The plea that a Christian hold slaves to shield them from a worse fate, is altogether fallacious. No worse fate is possible. He that is a slave, has lost all he had to lose, except life, and that is his only in a very qualified sense. As an animal, he might suffer more in the hands of one master than in the hands of another. But his rights as a man are sacrificed to the same extent, whatever may be the character of his owner. The slave-owner who exceeds from the property principle, does not execute the law, and in so doing, counts him a law-breaker—as we contend he must do—the slave law is no longer in force, and he cannot be said to hold a slave. But if he does apply the law, and reduce the man to a chattel, what better is he than another—than the common run of slaveholders! It is no matter what hand does the deed, if it must be done. Robbery, committed by a pious man, is just as much robbery as if committed by a professional highwayman. The assassin's knife, plunged to the heart by the hand of a pious man, is no less fatal than if driven there by the hand of an enemy.

We must go one step further, however bold it may appear, and affirm that slavery and slaveholding are not only incompatible with religion, but with manhood itself. To be a slave, is to sink below the order of humanity into that of brutes. So that, religion aside, slavery is impossible to our nature—a man cannot be a slave, in any proper sense of the word, and a slaveholder, in any sense the same is true of the slaveholder. It depends not only below religion, but below all the more honorable principles of humanity. For instance, it is dishonorable, even among men who make no pretensions to religion, to injure the weak and the defenceless, or to take advantage of women and children, the sick and the lame. But here is a poor, weak, ignorant African race, whose misfortunes appeal for sympathy to every honorable feeling of man, and for whose protection, common sense would say nothing of need demands that we should peril our lives, if need be, and yet the slaveholder—we mean the bona fide slaveholder, makes these his prey! These he attacks with all the ferocity of a beast, and strips them of every right, merely because he can. Such a being outrages the feelings which are congenial to humanity, apart from the lofty maxims of Christianity.

So far, therefore, is it from being an act of temperance, or uncharitableness, to affirm that slaveholders cannot be Christians, that all consideration of their pretensions to religion is somewhat misplaced. It is a condescension even to bestow the slightest attention upon claims so evidently preposterous. The moral character of the slaveholder does not rise high enough to entitle it to such investigation. A being so fallen and depraved that all the nobler instincts of his nature have ceased to operate, cannot be ranked among Christians. He has been created anew, nor among civilized men is he to be considered as such. Such brutality as makes woman and children slaves for life, is repugnant not only to religion and the civil law, but to every manly sentiment, and necessarily fixes an ineffaceable stain upon its foul perpetrator. When such an one—forgetful how much more polluted he is than the common run of men—seeks to be considered a Christian, he is a laughing-stock to all who are in the least conversant with the nature of the crime. Slavery is, in fact, so gross an offence to humanity, that its removal is the province of civilization rather than of religion.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JULY 15, 1853.

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION!

CELEBRATION AT FRAMMINGHAM.

The Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society have great pleasure in announcing that they have engaged the beautiful Grove in Frammingham for a Mass Meeting, in celebration of the 19th Anniversary of the Abolition of Slavery in the British West Indies.

As the first of August will occur this year on Monday, an inconvenient day for a public meeting, the celebration will take place on TUESDAY, AUGUST 2d.

The Boston and Worcester Railroad Company will run Special Trains of Cars to the Grove, from Boston and Worcester, on said day, viz: Tuesday, August 2d. FARE—From Boston, or Worcester, or Milford, to the Grove and back, fifty cents. Trains will leave Boston and Worcester at 9 o'clock, A. M. Leave Milford at 10, A. M.

Further particulars hereafter.

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION AT ABINGTON, JULY FOURTH.

In the last number of THE LIBERATOR, we stated that the usual celebration of the FOURTH of JULY, in the beautiful Grove at Abington, by the friends of impartial liberty, and of immediate and universal emancipation, (under the direction of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society), was attended by a great and highly intelligent concourse, each person present feeling that it was A DAY WELL SPENT, and all experiencing the highest satisfaction; but we were not able to furnish any report of the speeches made on the occasion. For the following sketch, we are indebted to one of the Secretaries, A. J. GROVER, of Abington, who wishes us to apologise to the various speakers for the imperfect manner in which he has executed his task, (as he is not a short-hand reporter), but who really deserves much credit for what he has done. From his notes, we have been enabled to make a pretty full report of our own remarks, which otherwise would not have been recalled, as they were wholly unprepared. We regret that it is not in our power to do equal justice to the admirable speech of WENDELL PHILLIPS. All the other speeches were excellent, and received with much favor. It is not invidious to say, that the opening speech, by our young colored friend, WILLIAM J. WATKINS, of Boston, was listened to with special gratification, and both in manner and matter was highly creditable to him.

REMARKS OF WILLIAM J. WATKINS.

[The introductory remarks of Mr. WATKINS were not sketched, as the Secretary was not then on the stand.]

There is not one of us, sir, who would recognize this land of whips and chains as the ark of safety to Liberty in the world. We never, left to ourselves, should dream that this was the asylum of the oppressed and downtrodden of the earth. You have heard the story of the artist who painted a horse, and, lest it should be mistaken for something else, wrote under the picture, in large letters—"A Horse." Thus the Choates—the orators of the country—describe an ideal land of liberty, and say that it is the American Union. They will paint a beautiful picture of a magnificent city coming down out of heaven, with pearly gates, and all that, and underneath they will write—"This is the American Union." But poor colored people would not know the resemblance, if they were not told of it. And you, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, must pardon the obliquity of our vision and our want of taste. We look at the Declaration of Independence, and we remember that this is the anniversary of the day on which it was so gloriously put forth to the world. Gladly would we join in celebrating the day that gave birth to such principles. But what mean the fring of cannon, the ringing of bells, and the loud speeches, to be heard on every hill and in every valley throughout the land to-day? These, Mr. President, are in adulation and glorification of this Union, and not of the principles of the Declaration of Independence. And what is this Union? It is a structure cemented with the blood and tears of three million of slaves. I stand before you to-day, sir, a victim of American patriotism—a patriot that stands by the Union—a patriot that is truly American.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, this is a "glorious Union!" and I stand before you to-day ostracised—the victim of a spirit the most merciless and unrelenting—a spirit that would drive me from the land of my birth. Why is it that we colored people are thus treated? In the days of the Revolution, our fathers stood side by side with your fathers, and perilled alike their lives for a common liberty. Yet now, when we petition for the right to be enrolled in the military companies of the State of Massachusetts, we are told that our complexion is "unconstitutional!"

Sir, I do not believe that this state of things can always exist. I like to look upon the bright side of the picture. This always looking upon the dark side has a depressing influence. If my voice could be heard in the South, I would tell my countrymen to hope in the future. There is a better day coming. But our confidence is not in an arm of flesh. Still, we must

REMARKS OF REV. A. T. FOSS.

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel that it is a privilege to speak on this platform and to this audience. The occasion inspires me to say something. The prophet speaks of "bottles filled with smoke," and Jesus said that ye do not put new wine into old bottles, but into new bottles. The new and old bottles represent just the difference between those who live in the smoky theology of the past, and have become dried and shrivelled, and those who live in the sunlight of truth. I wish to speak of the anti-slavery cause (the new wine) as a test of the bottles—a developer of character.

At the Christian era, those that espoused Christianity knew that they espoused persecution. But the Pharisee was saying his prayers, admired by the multitude; and the great office of Christ was to distinguish between the two, to separate the wheat from the chaff, to draw a dividing line between the unprincipled and the righteous. Every true reform, in its early stages, does this, as effectually as did Christianity in its early history—it is a test of character. I am a Baptist. It was once a test of character to be baptised; but it is no longer so. The last baptism that I ever saw was in a river, but in a beautiful marble baptistry, of warm water, in the church porch, and the parties were all beautifully dressed in white. It was a beautiful sight; everybody seemed to admire it, and wish that they were actors in the spectacle, instead of merely lookers-on. It once cost something to

wear a Quaker hat; but now, Edward P. Little can be sworn into the United States Congress with his hat on. (Laughter and applause.) Latterly, the temperance cause has been a test whether men loved God better than man. And we have other tests; but the anti-slavery cause is the best of all. God comes to the people of this country, and asks whether they love him better than their lust, their cotton mills, and their ships. He asks of all, from the President down to the humblest citizen, whether they love their colored brethren. I don't know why God made some of us with colored skins, and left some of us white, unless it be true that some of us are not worth coloring. (Great laughter.)

It is said by some that we have put the abolition of slavery back by maddening the slaveholders, so that they want their slaves have their liberty now, although, twenty years ago, they were on the eve of emancipation. This is not true. We only developed them—showed them to themselves and to the world as they were and as they are. We all profess to hate slavery in the abstract, but we love cotton and commerce more in the concrete. The President, and all political office-seekers, hate slavery in the abstract, but they love the spoils of office in the concrete more. We complain of Austria, because she did not prevent Haynau from whipping a woman. He only whipped one woman. But what is done in this land? The same sun that looks down upon this grove to-day, looks down upon the bleeding backs of thousands of defenceless women at the South—and yet we have the effrontery to ask Austria to account!

O! this Union is a blood-cemented Union, and nothing can be found in the world to match the outrages committed in this country. And the worst of all, the so-called Church of Christ endorses all these outrages. I used to think that a man who wore a white neck-handkerchief and a long face must be a very good man. I remember, when a child, and these men came to my father's, how I venerated them, and how I longed to be as worthy of respect as I supposed them to be. The ministry now is as good as it used to be, but our eyes have been opened, and their true character has been developed by the tests of the times.

How unlike their master are the ministers of this country! They remember not their brother, the slave. Now, the anti-slavery cause has developed and laid bare before all men the character of the Church. Yet let me not be understood to be an enemy of the Church. I wish to redeem it; and I expect to do this by telling the truth, and not by meekly hiding its rottenness. Were Jesus and the apostles enemies of the Church, because they told it the truth? No! but they were its and the world's best friends. The Church of this country has repudiated God, and must be silent? When the great men of the nation said, "There is no higher law!" it was echoed by the Church throughout the land. You all know this. And, being a friend to the Church, I take the position that I do. I know of no other way of reforming the Church but by coming out from her. There never was a religious body reformed but by coming out of it. But 'you are a come-outer!' Well, what are you? You are a come-outer, if you belong to any of the Protestant sects. Are you a Baptist? Then you came out from the Presbyterians, or some body else. You are all come-outers, as well as we.

The anti-slavery cause has been the means of developing individuals as well as organizations. We did not know ourselves until we came out from the Church. Some of us may not now; for some in our ranks have shrunk away, and have withered up and are gone. The anti-slavery cause is a winnowing-mill. You know how they winnow wheat; and when it is winnowed, there is always a much larger heap of chaff than there is of wheat. But the size of the heap is no test of its value; you weigh the two, and you will find the wheat much the heavier. But, although the pro-slavery side have the majority, they do not respect themselves. I have no idea that Dr. Dewey can respect himself—a man who could send his own mother into slavery to save his mother, then he could respect himself.

REMARKS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Mr. Chairman,—I am always sorry, on these occasions, that I was not made capable of taking some fair share in such celebrations. The will is not wanting; something else is needed—a voice; and such as I have needs walls to fence it in. But it is not essential that we make speeches. We are Mordcais sitting at the King's gate. It is not recorded of him that he did any thing but sit. While he sat there, his silent rebuke was none the less effective. Now, as an anti-slavery celebration on the Fourth of July, it is not expected that there will be speeches; its banner is a speech—its existence is more eloquent than words. We make a party in this old country, by which men shall remember that anti-slavery is alive, that it is "without concealment and without compromise." There is a party, cousin-german to us, perhaps—at least, they claim the relationship—that make loud professions of their principles, after they get out of office. Like the Rev. Theodore Clapp, of New Orleans, who wrote a book against slavery, to be published after his death. He intended it as a virtue laid up against the judgment, I suppose. Some of our Free Soil friends never give us an exposure of their ideas of the Constitution, until after retiring to private life.

REMARKS OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. Chairman:—While we have been here, to-day, the sun has veiled its face, and the sky exhibited a stormy aspect. This is symbolic of our national condition. The sun of American freedom is in a state of eclipse, and 'clouds and darkness' are round about us, as a people. We are not assembled to celebrate the anniversary of American Independence, for it is yet to be won. Not until liberty is proclaimed throughout all the land, until all the inhabitants thereof, can we hold a national jubilee. While there are three millions and a half of slaves in chains on our soil, how can the true lover of liberty rejoice on a day like this? Nor are we met to pay a blind homage to 'the revolutionary fathers'; yet we would detract nothing from their just deserts. We shall aim to look at their conduct impartially, though liable to decide too favorably in their behalf, because we are their descendants. Let them have all the credit which belongs to them. If you should listen to the popular orators, to-day, throughout the land, you might conclude that our fathers were demi-gods. But it has been truly said of such declaimers, that they are Fourth of July men, and so their testimony is not to be received without large abatement. It is true, the men of '76 nobly struggled and suffered in the cause of liberty—but it was liberty for themselves, and for nobody else. It did not require an astonishing amount of virtue to refuse, themselves, to wear the yoke of bondage. They fought, bled, sacrificed, not counting any thing dear to them, that they might be free. What then? Those who are oppressed, why should they not struggle? A form will turn when trodden upon. 'But they put forth to the world the glorious Declaration of Independence, in which they affirmed it to be self-evident that 'ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty.' True—but how much credit do they deserve for this? At that time, and throughout the revolutionary struggle, they held half a million chattel slaves in their possession! In denouncing British usurpation, and throwing off the British government, they could justify their conduct only on universal principles; and to these they solemnly subscribed. But they really meant by them, as was subsequently demonstrated by their conduct, nothing beyond their own independence. Hence, they were not universal in their spirit; they were only not servile. After the revolution, what did they do to prove their sincerity? Did they establish a just and equal government for all? No—they compromised away, for an indefinite period, the rights and liberties of those then groaning in bondage, and their posterity! They agreed to ravage the African coast, and carry on

a piratical traffic, for many years, in concert, with absolute impunity, and protection during that period; and they stipulated that there should be no free will in any part of the country for a fugitive slave. These were deceitful and wicked acts—acts of tyranny and inhumanity—and should be so confessed, with shame and confusion of face.

But, it is pleaded, 'our fathers did the best they could, under the circumstances.' That is, they were disposed to do as much for the Lord as they would let them! They made the best bargain possible for the former without alienating the latter, whose operation was essential to the formation of 'our glorious Union!' What a defence!

But 'the framers of the Constitution supposed slavery would ere long disappear from the country.' What, if they did? The sequel has proved that they were grossly mistaken. Instead of slavery having expired, more than one half of our national territory created by the system. HONORABLE MEN contend that slavery has no longer a constitutional existence, having yielded up the ghost under the limitation of this supposition! At least, as it has survived twice as long as was supposed it would last, this fact is tantamount to an amendment of the Constitution, and so no fugitive slave ought hereafter to be given up to his proper owner. This is a paradox! But I have yet to see the evidence that such an opinion, as to the duration of slavery, generally proposed in the Southern States. It is true, in the course of the debates on the Constitution, in the Massachusetts Convention, Mr. Daves expressed the opinion, for himself, that 'although slavery is not written by an express, yet it has received a mortal wound, and will die of consumption'—referring to the abolition of the foreign slave trade in 1808; but it is also true that, in reply, Mr. Heath said, 'Whether those in the Southern States will be emancipated after the year 1808, I do not pretend to determine; I rather doubt it! All doubts on this subject are now removed. The Slave Power is now the destiny of the nation. The Constitution is now heretofore to be given up to his proper owner. This is a paradox! But I have yet to see the evidence that such an opinion, as to the duration of slavery, generally proposed in the Southern States. 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Well, then something be said in favor of the President? ... a paragraph which the public journals are ...

The White House.—A correspondent of the Christian ... makes the following statement ...

There is that to be matched for effrontery, cant and ... Hunting innocent men, ...

Mr. Garrison here read the address, which was ... with deep interest, and in the course of which ...

The anti-slavery movement is the only hope of our ... and is intimately connected with the destiny of ...

When we consider the peculiar condition and wants ... of the Russian people, we will conclude that they are ...

The god will of Russia towards the United States ... has manifested in other respects, (besides ...)

As proposing to conciliate the power and to secure ... the good will of the Russian government, we had ...

And this is what we are doing for the freedom of ... the world! Nicholas of Russia is our chosen ally, ...

At the South, no freedom whatever exists. There ... the Slave Power is exterminating in spirit and absolute ...

If the public rumors which attribute to Great Britain ... a design, in connection with Spain, to convert Cuba ...

Such also is the vigilance and such the insecurity ... of the South, in regard to slavery. But for our blood- ...

den Hungary? He hessed himself to the earth in the ... presence of the Slave Power, played the part of parasite ...

You will recollect that, some time ago, a very friendly ... and deeply religious address was made by a great ...

Mr. Garrison here read the address, which was ... with deep interest, and in the course of which ...

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no remote. Within a few days, a conspiracy has ... discovered in New Orleans, which was nearly consum- ...

Here is an illustration of the slave system, that should ... be read this day wherever the Declaration of Independ- ...

No particular breed of dogs is used for hunting ne- ... groes; blood-hounds, fox-hounds, bull-dogs, and curs ...

Friends and fellow-citizens, crisis like this, what ... is the duty we owe to our country, and the sacred ...

Peace, progress, knowledge, brotherhood, The ignorant ... man sneer, The bad deny, but we reply, To see their triumph near, No widow's groans shall loud our cause, No blood of brethren slain; We've won without such aid before, And so we shall again.

HENRY C. WRIGHT, being loudly called for, came forward, and made a brief but energetic speech. A good deal was said about conservatism; but he avowed himself to be a destructive, and had no apology to make for it. He went for the destruction of every thing in Church and State, in the various religious sects and political parties, in books and creeds, that could be destroyed; for Truth and Right were immortal, and only falsehood and error could be overthrown. By the destruction of what is bad, we establish what is good. The waster is the builder too. He spoke of the decease of Rev. Dr. Sharp, of Boston, as no loss to the cause of bleeding humanity, and as calling for no lamentation. He thanked God that the anti-slavery platform was free, and urged the duty of adhering to the cause of the slave with entire fidelity.

The President (C. F. REMOND) made some concluding remarks in a very effective manner, showing how unquenchable is the love of liberty in the breast of the black man, and how freely he had shed his blood in defence of the freedom of our country, from the days of ARKERS, the first who fell in the massacre in Boston in 1770, to the present time; and yet he was not permitted to enjoy the natural rights of a man. Whatever might be the infirmities or faults of its advocates, our cause was a glorious one, and must ultimately triumph. The whole company then joined in singing a stirring song of freedom, and the meeting adjourned.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURE BY DANIEL FOSTER. This gentleman lectured at Appleton Hall all day and evening on the last Sabbath, and made a most favorable impression on his audience. We attended his lecture during the evening, and were much pleased at the manner in which he handled the question of anti-slavery discussion, breathing quite a different spirit from that manifested by Messrs. Garrison, Pillsbury, Phillips and Co., who, in their war upon the Church, spend much of that time which might be devoted to this cause. He did not feel like ostracising the whole human family because they did not come up to his idea on this question, but felt free to accept and acknowledge the services of any body of men engaged in this reform. Neither was he for overthrowing government and churches because of the existence of slavery. Government was necessary to perpetuate what blessings we now enjoy. His idea was, that we must urge government of the sin of slavery, rather than in annihilating the one to destroy the other. The whole lecture was calculated more to persuade and convince, by argument, than to force, by denunciation, and we were glad to find such a general mark of approval from his listeners was displayed. Rev. Mr. Foster has, for a short time, been connected with the old Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and has now lectured on the subject of the Kingdom of God, in consequence of their refusal to allow him to circulate Goodell's 'History of the Anti-Slavery Struggle,' which happens to contain some rather severe strictures on the language and doctrines of the Garrisonians themselves. Mr. Foster said if they would show him that those strictures (made up mostly from extracts from their publications) were untrue, he would not circulate the book; otherwise, he must continue to do so. Not attempting to convince Mr. F. that the strictures were unjust, he declined according to their commands, and consequently they revoked his authority as Agent, and he has now lectured on the subject of the Kingdom of God, as one of its General Agents, but left it to Messrs. Garrison, Pillsbury, Phillips and Co., who, in their war upon the Church, spend much of that time which might be devoted to this cause. He did not feel like ostracising the whole human family because they did not come up to his idea on this question, but felt free to accept and acknowledge the services of any body of men engaged in this reform. Neither was he for overthrowing government and churches because of the existence of slavery. Government was necessary to perpetuate what blessings we now enjoy. His idea was, that we must urge government of the sin of slavery, rather than in annihilating the one to destroy the other. The whole lecture was calculated more to persuade and convince, by argument, than to force, by denunciation, and we were glad to find such a general mark of approval from his listeners was displayed. Rev. Mr. Foster has, for a short time, been connected with the old Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and has now lectured on the subject of the Kingdom of God, in consequence of their refusal to allow him to circulate Goodell's 'History of the Anti-Slavery Struggle,' which happens to contain some rather severe strictures on the language and doctrines of the Garrisonians themselves. Mr. Foster said if they would show him that those strictures (made up mostly from extracts from their publications) were untrue, he would not circulate the book; otherwise, he must continue to do so. Not attempting to convince Mr. F. that the strictures were unjust, he declined according to their commands, and consequently they revoked his authority as Agent, and he has now lectured on the subject of the Kingdom of God, as one of its General Agents, but left it to Messrs. Garrison, Pillsbury, Phillips and Co., who, in their war upon the Church, spend much of that time which might be devoted to this cause.

STATEMENT. The above paragraphs have been long enough before the public to receive correction and denial from Mr. Foster himself, if he designed to make them. As he keeps silent, I am bound to speak. The spirit of these paragraphs, and many of the statements therein contained, are sheer misrepresentations of fact, such as I can hardly believe to have come from Mr. Foster himself. What his motive could be for so misrepresenting the men and Society with whom he has acted, for more than a short time, I am wholly at a loss to imagine. The facts connected with Mr. Foster's leaving the office of a Lecturing Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society are briefly as follows:—

When Mr. Foster, in April, 1853, himself proposed to become a lecturing agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, it was for the purpose of delivering a series of written lectures, collecting funds for the Society, and getting subscribers to THE LIBERATOR. His offer was gladly received by the Society; nor did they ever wish or undertake to hold him strictly to the above terms of his own proposition. For an entire year he lectured for the Society, to very general acceptance, not confining himself to his written lectures. In the month of April, 1853, the Managers of the Society learned that Mr. Foster was offering for sale, in five different towns where he lectured as their agent, Wm.

Goodell's book entitled 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery.' As this professed history of the anti-slavery cause is exceedingly unfair in regard to the action of the American A. S. Society during the memorable years of 1833-40, and following,—as it attributes to that Society and its officers a course of conduct which, if true, would justly deprive them of the confidence of every true abolitionist and honorable man,—and as it expresses facts material to a just history and correct knowledge of that Society's doings, it was at once said by every member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, whom time would allow me to consult, that it would be most unjust, and utterly wanting in self-respect, for the Society to be instrumental in circulating, through its agents, these misrepresentations and calumnies. Accordingly, as General Agent of the Society, I addressed a letter to Mr. Foster, requesting him to cease from the sale of the book, for the general reason that, as a history of the American A. S. Society, it was untrue and untrustworthy. In his reply, (April 18), after stating his own impressions of the book, he says, 'If the Board of Managers forbid my selling this book, I shall not do so longer as an Agent of the Society. Till I hear from you, I shall not offer the book.' In reply to this letter, (April 22d.), I endeavored to show more fully the reasons which forbade the Massachusetts A. S. Society to give any countenance or currency to the book in question,—earnestly protesting against Mr. Foster's giving up his agency for such a cause, and suggesting to him an interview with certain members of the American and Massachusetts A. S. Societies, who, being personally and intimately acquainted with the action of the former Society at the time specified, could place the whole matter before him in a very different light from that in which Mr. Goodell has chosen to present it. This letter was written in the most entire confidence that Mr. Foster was, as he had always professed to be, entirely friendly and cordial to the Massachusetts A. S. Society, and that he would be glad to take all proper steps to remove causes of misunderstanding between himself and them. Mr. Foster, however, in his answer, (April 25), took no notice of the proposal for an interview; but said he inferred that he was required, as an Agent of the Society, to refrain from selling Goodell's 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery'; that he could not consent to this, and therefore must give up his agency.

On the 27th of April, the Board of Managers of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society unanimously passed the following resolution:— 'Resolved, That Mr. Daniel Foster be directed to cease from the sale of Goodell's 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery,' while acting as an Agent of this Society, in view of the falsifications of Anti-Slavery history; and the misstatements as to the action of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its members, contained in that work.' I communicated the above vote to Mr. Foster, April 29th,—suggesting that he should consider his resignation as not having been offered, and should confer again with the Society; and referred to his having taken no notice of my previous suggestion of an interview with the individuals above alluded to. To which letter Mr. Foster has never replied. But, soon after, being at the Society's office in Boston, Mr. Foster was again urged by me to have a conversation with one of the individuals previously named, or with other persons, who were then named, who could give him some light on the subject, which, it was confidently believed, he did not then possess. Mr. Foster's only reply to this renewed request, that he would consent to such an interview, was, 'It is not likely that I shall change my opinion about the book.' Neither at this time, nor at any other, did Mr. Foster express to me the faintest desire to meet the Board of Managers on this subject, although he has complained to others that he was not allowed such a meeting. Such a request on his part would have been most cheerfully acceded to. But his whole course indicated an entirely opposite feeling; he seemed to be reluctant to meet those members of the Society, whose long connection with the American Society made them especially competent to converse with him fully and satisfactorily. It is concluded, it may be affirmed, that never was agent treated more respectfully, courteously and generously than Mr. Foster has ever been treated by the Managers of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society. The low lying of the Spy, as to their 'playing the Pope,' is utterly without sense; and I am confident it would never have seen the light in that paper, had it come under the eye of the Senior Editor. The entire correspondence between Mr. Foster and myself, as above, with the exception of the first letter, (of which no copy was kept,) may be seen at the Anti-Slavery office by any one interested. It will be seen, therefore, that the statement of the Lowell American, that Mr. Goodell's book was objected to because containing 'severe strictures on the language and doctrines of the Garrisonians,' is untrue. The statement that Mr. Foster offered to cease from circulating the book, if convinced that such 'strictures were untrue,' is also wholly without foundation. The farther statements of the same paper, that we did not attempt to convince Mr. Foster, and that we revoked his authority as Agent, are also untrue. Whether the Lowell American has been deceived in this matter, or is actuated by a grudge of its own, I shall not undertake to decide. SAMUEL MAY, JR., General Agent Mass. A. S. Society. Boston, July 11, 1853.

THE STATEMENT OF MR. MAY should, as the simplest act of justice, be promptly copied by the Lowell American and the Worcester Spy. It is a complete refutation of the charges made by those papers against the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Board. Mr. Foster was not dismissed from his agency, nor requested to leave, but he impulsively threw up his commission, rather than cease selling a book which the Board, by their fidelity to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and their regard for the truth of history, could not sanction. The outcry raised in this case is simply ridiculous—reminding us of the Frenchman who took it in high dudgeon that another person obstinately refused to allow a red hot poker to be thrust down his back, and therefore insisted that his intended victim should pay him for heating the poker! For an association to employ a man to peddle a work which is calculated, if not expressly designed, to strike at its very existence, would be an act of sheer fatuity; and for any agent of the association to insist that he ought to be allowed to sell as many copies as possible of such a work, while officially occupying such a field, and that it is a tyrannous act to request him not to do so, is an idea of liberty and toleration which is utterly preposterous. We regret to lose the services of Mr. Foster, and must express our unforgotten surprise that he does not see that his requirement is unreasonable, and that to grant it would be consummate folly.—Ed. Lib.

NEW PUBLICATIONS. Among the books and pamphlets, on our table, recently from the press, (the receipt of which we can merely acknowledge, at present, without a critical notice,) are—

I. Father Gavazzi's Lectures in New York, reported in full by T. C. Leland, Photographer; also, the Life of Father Gavazzi, corrected and authorized by himself. Together with Reports of his Address in Italian, to his Countrymen in New York. Translated and revised by Madame Julie de Marguerites. New York: De Witt & Davenport, Publishers, 160 and 162 Nassau Street. 1853.

II. Heart; or, the Web and Woof of Life. By William G. Cambridge. Boston: Abel Tompkins and B. D. Mussey & Co. 1853.

III. Mapleton; or, more Work for the Maine Law. Boston: Jenks, Hickling & Swan. 1853.

IV. Letters to Country Girls. By Jane G. Swisshelm. New York: J. C. Biker, 129 Fulton Street. 1853.

V. The Selby Family, or the Effects of the Maine Liquor Law. Boston: Published by T. O. Walker, 69 Cornhill. 1853.

VI. The Life of Thomas Paine, Author of 'Common Sense,' 'Rights of Man,' 'Age of Reason,' &c. &c. With Critical and Explanatory Observations on his Writings. By G. V. Gale, Editor of 'The Citizen of the World.' New York: Published by the Author, No. 1 Bowery. 1853.

VII. The Diogenes; being a Discovery of the Origin, Evidences, and early History of Christianity, never before or elsewhere so fully and faithfully set forth. By the Rev. Robert Taylor, A. B. and M. R. C. S. Boston: Published by J. P. Mendum. 1853.

VIII. Rappo-Mania Overthrown: in Two Parts. Part First.—The Christian Religion Triumphant, or, the Scriptures, Reason, Philosophy, Common Sense and Religion vindicated against the Claims of the 'Spiritual Rappers.' By Henry Wickliffe, Author of various Reformatory Works. Boston: Fowlers & Wells & Co. 1853.

IX. The United States Illustrated, in Views of City and Country. With Descriptive and Historical Articles, edited by Charles A. Dana. Part I.—The West. New York: Herrmann J. Meyer. 1853.

X. Twenty-First Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, to the Corporation.

XI. The Illustrated Phrenological Almanac, 1854. By L. N. Fowler. New York: Fowlers & Wells, Publishers.

XII. The Illustrated Water Cure Almanac, for 1854. New York: Fowlers & Wells.

BOSTON DIRECTORY FOR 1853. This exceedingly useful volume makes its appearance this year with its usual promptitude, and gives evidence of untiring industry and patience, as well as great carefulness, on the part of its energetic publisher. The number of alterations, including names added, expanded and changed, is 38,256. The value of this work is too well understood to need any recommendation. Its place is on the desk of every business man. GEORGE ADAMS, Publisher, 91 Washington street. For sale by the booksellers generally.

POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN. In the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts, on Saturday last, the report of a committee was approved, of that it is inexpedient to legislate on the petition of Harriot K. Hunt, to be excused from taxation or else be allowed to vote; by W. Phillips, that women may speak before the Convention.

In the Convention, July 1, the Committee on Qualifications of Voters, to whom was referred the petition of Francis Jackson and others, that the word 'male' may be stricken from the Constitution; and also of Abby B. Alcott and other women of Massachusetts, that they may be allowed to vote on the amendments that may be made to the Constitution, reported that the petitioners have leave to withdraw.

On Wednesday, after some debate on the subject, (of which we shall give a sketch next week,) the Convention accepted the report of the Committee, by a large majority, that the various petitioners have leave to withdraw, and that it is inexpedient to grant their petition. Shabby business this for a Reform Convention!

A letter from Prof. W. G. ALLEN, now in England, is in type, but is unavoidably deferred until next week.

National Convention of Colored Men.—The National Convention of colored men assembled in Rochester, July 6. More than one hundred delegates were present, representing towns, cities and societies in several States. Among them are many of the most prominent and best known colored men in the country. The forenoon session was mostly consumed in settling the question as to those who are entitled to seats. Delegates regularly appointed, and the signers of the call for the Convention, were admitted.

In the afternoon, a formal organization was made.—The Rev. Dr. Pennington, of New York, being chosen President; with several vice Presidents. A Business Committee of nine, of which Dr. J. McComb Smith was Chairman, was appointed, and reported resolutions to the Convention.

Frederick Douglass, Chairman of the Committee on the Declaration of Sentiments, read a long and well-written address to the people of the United States. The Convention attracted considerable attention. Its deliberations were earnest, and occasionally tumultuous.

A letter from our esteemed friend, Wm. C. NELL, giving some further particulars of this important Convention, was received too late for our present number.]

Antlers of Meetings, &c. OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, ANNUAL MEETING. The nineteenth annual meeting of the Plymouth County (Old Colony) Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Town Hall at Scituate, on Sunday, July 17.

The excellent place for the meeting, and the occasion, we trust, will draw together a goodly number of our friends from all sections of the county. Rev. Amos T. Foss, N. H. WHITING, and other able speakers, will be present.

H. H. BROTHMAN, Sec'y. PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will lecture as follows:— Essex, Mass. .... Sunday, July 17. New Ipswich, N. H. .... " " 24.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in PLYMOUTH, on Sunday, the 17th. Subject—The Progress of Individuals, of Nations, and of the Race. GILES B. STEBBINS will lecture on the subject of Slavery, in Rev. Mr. Slade's Church, Foxboro', on Sunday next, July 17.

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

THE SHADY SIDE, OR, LIFE IN A COUNTRY PARSONAGE, BY A PASTOR'S WIFE. This volume is designed, in a measure, as a contrast to that charming little book, Sunny Side, and we doubt not that it will meet with quite as favorable a reception as that work. It is written in an admirable style, and he who commences its perusal will hardly be able to stop until he has gone through. Price 75 cts.

COUNT STRUZZESE THE SKEPTIC, AND THE CHRISTIAN. TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY MRS. WILSON. This most interesting work contains the history of the last days of this distinguished man, and the account of his numerous interviews and conversations with his pastor, Munster, through whose instrumentality he was led to abandon his skepticism, and embrace the religion of Jesus. Price 62 1/2 cts.

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

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GERMAN UNCLE TOM, TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR HUTTON. In one volume octavo. Price 50 cts. The English language has been exhausted in praise of this unrivaled tale, and this translation into the German language we believe will be as popular among the large German population in this country.

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WRITINGS OF PROF. BELA B. EDWARDS, D. D., BY REV. PROF. PARK, D. D. WITH A MEMOIR, BY DR. PARK. This work, which has been unavoidably delayed, will be issued in two volumes, 12 mo., about the 1st of April. The numerous admirers of Dr. Edwards will hail with pleasure this announcement. The collected writings of such a man are an invaluable contribution to our literature, more particularly when compiled by so ripe a scholar as Dr. Park. The Memoir glows with all the fervid enthusiasm of the Editor.

Complete Encyclopedia of Music, BY JOHN W. MOORE, and assisted by JOHN S. DWIGHT, Esq., the learned and accomplished Editor of the Journal of Music. This work will occupy an unoccupied field, no such work ever having been compiled before, either in this country or in England. It will be a complete Dictionary of all Musical Terms, a History of the Science of Music, from the earliest times to the present; a Treatise on Harmony and Thorough Bass; a Description of all known Musical Instruments, and a complete Musical Glossary, containing a succinct memoir of more than 5000 of the most distinguished Musical celebrities and composers who have ever lived. To be completed in one large royal 8vo. volume, of about 1000 pages, double columns. To be published during the summer.

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MANUEL PEREIRA, OR, THE SOVEREIGN RULE OF SOUTH CAROLINA. WITH VIEWS OF SOUTHERN LAWS, LIFE AND HOSPITALITY. Written in Charleston, S. C., by F. C. ADAMS. The above work forms a beautiful 12mo volume of over 300 pages, small price. Price, in paper, 50 cents; in cloth, 75 cents. The above work is a delineation of the scenes and incidents connected with the imprisonment, in 1852, of Manuel Pereira, steward of the British ship Janzon, in the jail of Charleston, S. C.

The above is the title of a work founded upon that infamous statute of South Carolina, by which her citizens claim a right to imprison colored seamen, of all nations, and even those cast upon her shores in distress. We have perused the book, and find that it gives a life-like picture of Pereira, the vessel in which he sailed, the storms she encountered, and her wrecked condition when brought into the port of Charleston, S. C.; together with the imprisonment of Pereira, several seamen belonging to the New England States, and two French seamen; the prison regimen, the character of the Charleston police, and the mendacity of certain officials, who make the law a medium of penalization. The work is replete with incidents of Southern life and character, pointing Southerners to the things that call for correction at their own hands with a force that cannot be mistaken. The work is written by one who has taken a prominent part in the affairs of the South, and cannot fail to interest alike the general reader, commercial man, and philanthropist.—National Era.

For sale by JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., 17 and 19 Cornhill, Boston. PORTRAIT OF MRS. STOWE. JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., 17 & 19 CORNHILL, BOSTON. HAVE just received, from London, a beautiful line of Engraving, on Steel, of Mrs. HARRIET BECHER'S STOWE. Price, 25 cents. July 15



POETRY.

For the Liberator.

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

Hark! the merry bells are ringing—hear their sweet tones in the dell, Listen to the booming cannon—what's the tale their echoes tell? This is our proud nation's birth-day, when young Freedom's rising star O'er the dreary wide Atlantic in the West was seen afar. Beaming on the lowly cabin, lighting up the forest dim, Blending its pure rays so gently with the martyred patriot's hymn, Soothing every groan of anguish, nerving woman's fainting heart, Shedding round a holy halo when from loved ones doomed to part. On the sunny plains of Concord first was seen its hallo light, And New England's rocky hill-sides in its glory first beamed bright; On the fair green heights of Bunker long it rested in its pride, Bathing in its radiant beauty the sweet Charles and Myrtle's tide. Then far South, beyond the Santee, where the tall magnolia waves, And brave Marion's dauntless heroes rest within their forest graves; Northward, where the blue Ontario in its summer beauty smiles, And the wild romantic Haron sparkles 'mid its emerald isles. And the eyes that watched its rising deemed its bright rays were divine, And that o'er Columbia's children evermore its light would shine; With what rapturous joy they hailed it, as it rose to zenith power! Bought with many a precious life-blood was our fair and priceless dower. Have we guarded well our treasure?—have we kept it free to all? O'er its bright and beaming glory does no darkening shadow fall? And to-day, when pealing anthems float on the soft summer air, And from church and fire-side altar rise the hallowed tones of prayer— In the heart's lone chambers whispering comes there not a still, small voice?— Where is now thy dark-browed brother?—does he in thy light rejoice? When his fettered hands unpearing, he implored of thee to save, Christian brother, didst thou aid him? didst thou shield the helpless slave? Proudly waves thy starry banner, but a cloud its brightness dims; When it floated o'er the 'Acorn,' did it save and shelter Sims? Vainly to the shrine of Heaven ye rich gifts and offerings bring, While sweet Mercy's gentle angel wounded droops with trembling wing. Love and pity kneel beside ye—did ye heed their earnest plea? Did ye break the yoke of bondage, did ye set the captive free? Oh! darkly from the past rises, the history of that day, When by the shore where sleeps our Warren, a slave ship anchored in the bay. When Power usurped the sword of Justice, and hushed the earnest voice of Right, And Law, to do the tyrant's bidding, quenched on Truth's altar-fires the light; When in the mart a MAN was sold, that wealth and trade might prosper still, God's image in the market-place, lest cotton fall within the mill.— Wake! heroes of the olden time—to Plymouth's rock come back once more; Oh! come again, and teach thy sons the lessons learned in days of yore; Teach them that still Jehovah reigns, that he will still avenge all wrong, And for the oppressed and sorrowing once a brighter, better day shall dawn. CARRIE.

TRADE AND SPADE.

By CHARLES MACKAY.

Between two friends, in days of old, A bitter strife began, And Father Spade with Brother Trade Disputed, man to man. 'You're vain, ungodly and proud,' Said Spade, with flashing eyes, 'You earn your thousands while I starve; You mock my children's cries. You ride in state with lordly looks; You dwell in bowers and halls; You speak of me reproachfully, And prosper on my fall. So from this hour, in shine or shower, We'll learn to live apart; I ruled the earth ere you were born— I cast you from my heart.' And Trade lost temper in his pride; He uttered words of scorn; 'You do not know the ways of men, Amid your sheep and corn. You dose away the busy day, Nor think how minutes run; Go, put your shoulder to your work, And do as I have done. You've all the earth to yield your wealth— Both corn and pasture land; I only ask a counting-house, And room whereon to stand; And from this hour, in shine or shower, I'll learn to live alone; I'll do without you well enough— The world shall be my own!' And thus they wrangled night and day, Unfair like any men, Till things went wrong between them both, And would not right again. But growing wiser in distress, Each grasp'd the other's hand; 'Twas wrong,' said Spade, 'to rail at Trade; He loves me in the land.' And Trade as freely owned his fault: 'I've been unjust,' he said, 'To quarrel with the good old man, Who grows my daily bread. Long may we flourish, Trade and Spade, In city and in plain! The people starve while we dispute— We must not part again.' And all the people sang for joy, To see their good accord, While Spade assembled all his sons, And piled his plentiful board. He fed them on the best of fars, Untas'd the foaming ale, And prayed on England's happy shore That Trade might never fail. And busy Trade sent fleets of ships To every sea and strand, And built his mills and factories O'er all the prosperous land. And so we'll sing God save the Queen! And long may Brother Spade, For sake of both the rich and poor, Unite with Brother Trade.

THE LIBERATOR.

JUSTICE AND LOVE VERSUS MERCY.

In THE LIBERATOR of June 24th, an article appeared, over the initials, 'C. K. W.', headed 'Justice and Love versus Mercy,' upon which, by your permission, I wish to offer a few thoughts. I agree with the writer, that 'no one part of infinite perfection can possibly ever interfere or conflict with another'; and also, that 'mercy is favor to one who deserves punishment'; and yet, is it not possible for justice and mercy to harmonize? May not a criminal deserve punishment with impenitence, and mercy when penitent? If justice demands rendering to a man according to his works, then, surely, justice must demand, not only the penalty upon the impenitent, but forgiveness or remission of said penalty of the penitent. Paul represents the justifying of the sinner who exercises faith in Christ as an act demanded by justice. See Romans 3:26; also 2:6-11. If such be the fact, then mercy is but a form of expression, in those cases where penalty is remitted, as demanded by justice. At the top of column second, the writer says:—'It is quite safe to assume that the moral and spiritual worlds are governed by laws as exact and constant as those which control material nature.'—'No violation of the natural, moral and spiritual laws ever did or ever will fail of its appropriate retribution.'—'Admitting this to be true, must it not follow, that if mercy obtains at all, it obtains as an act which justice in the case demanded? And yet, C. K. W. says, 'There is actually no place for it under a just and righteous government.' The writer says, 'The appropriate retribution for an offence is the suffering or privation which naturally follows it, and thus deters from the repetition of it.' From this and other portions of his article, C. K. W. concludes that the final salvation of all men from sin will certainly follow; and yet he says, 'Man is free, and can sin as long through the ages of eternity as he chooses to endure the continuous and cumulative suffering which necessarily attends sin; but, extending equally into eternity, with good superior to his evil, with patience outlasting his perversity, with tenderness conquered by his provocations, the resources of infinite power, wisdom and love surround him every moment, set upon him through every channel, persevere through every obstruction and delay, and last, as surely as infinite exceeds the finite, sooner or later gain the victory.'—'God grant that C. K. W.'s conclusion may be true. No one would rejoice more than myself; and yet, both a priori and a posteriori arguments have as yet failed to convince me that such would be the fact. Six thousand years' experience of the race seems not to warrant such a conclusion. Delirium tremens have scathed men as with the lightning of heaven, and yet they repent not of their evil deeds.' And I have yet to learn that even appropriate retribution will in all cases insure repentance, reformation or salvation. Let the experience of the past guide us. (1) C. K. W. will excuse this very brief notice of his article. I did not aim at a general review of it. S. S. GRISWOLD. (2) Having chanced to see the above friendly criticism before it was printed, I take this opportunity to say to its author, with my thanks, that at this sentence is the very point of our division of sentiment. I do not find 'experience of the past,' by itself, a sufficient guide. The history of the world so far—with devastating wars, bloody persecutions, public and domestic calamities of every sort, disappointed hopes, bitter separations, disease in a thousand forms, and unspeakable cruelties inflicted by man upon the innocent animal creation—alternating and mingled with the numerous pleasures and blessings of life—does not, of itself, suffice to prove the superintendence of an infinitely beneficent power. We need, in addition to experience and history, the exercise of Faith, first in the existence of a perfect God, and next in the idea that his plan of government, necessarily perfect in character, infinite in resources and eternal in duration, will surely set right all that seems wrong to our limited comprehension, in this early and incomplete stage of his magnificent work. We need to believe in the future as well as speculate on the past. The sum of the matter is this. If God can save all mankind, consistently with his justice and his freedom, it will be a great deal better than to damn them. Because I believe in his infinite perfection, I believe that he can and will save them. C. K. W. TRANSGRESSION AND ITS PENALTY. The readers of THE LIBERATOR can scarcely fail to be edified and improved by the occasional contributions of C. K. W., and especially will his essay on 'Justice and Love versus Mercy,' in the number of June 24th, require an attentive perusal. It distinctly recognises the truth, that retribution sooner or later follows every infraction of the laws of God, in contradiction to that fallacy of a speculative and manufactured theology, which teaches of a future and everlasting punishment, which may only be escaped from by the vicarious assumption of it by another. No intelligent mind, in this age of the world, with its attention directed to the subject, can avoid perceiving that, in his physical nature, man has been subjected to the operation of certain laws, obedience to which ensures him the enjoyment appropriate to the function exercised, and a violation of which necessarily involves suffering. It matters little what we call this suffering—whether a penalty for violated law, or a benefaction to guide us back into obedience and enjoyment. The effect itself is what now claims our attention. It is probable, too, that no such mind doubts the existence of mental and spiritual laws, demanding as exact obedience from their subject, man, operating as invariably in controlling his destiny, and occasioning diverse consequences as immediately and inevitably, when they have been obeyed or violated; although these may have been less carefully observed and accurately described in human teachings. The sin and its consequence, punishment, bear the invariable relation of cause and effect. The attempt to paint the attributes of God, and to deduce from them certain consequences to man, is interesting as exhibiting the mental characteristics of the thinker himself, who universally derives a portion of the colors in which he essays to delineate Deity from the hues which tinge his own soul. It is valuable when, as in the sketch before us, it is calculated to undermine the errors of a false theology. But the most truly profitable exercise is that of investigation which discovers, or that argument which demonstrates, WHAT IS, among the various facts and phenomena crowding the existence and shaping the destiny of man. His experience being an invariable sequence of effect to cause, the soul, through necessity, being the parent of the future, his only need in rendering that future permanently secure is to understand and fulfill the relations to other existences by which he is surrounded at the present. We are permitted a glance at those relations, by the writer alluded to, in his unequivocal recognition of those natural laws, physical and moral, which yield present enjoyment or retribution to man as they are obeyed or violated. But in his desire to overthrow the errors of a false theology,—which, nevertheless, like most popular and wide-spread delusions, contains, probably, a germ of truth,—he appears to take but a limited view of consequences. He asks, 'Finally, what will become of the past sin you did I committed?' And answers, 'It is past and gone.' The Orthodox theologian teaches that sin, when not shifted from the actor by an ingenious process, and afterwards borne and atoned for by an innocent, though willing mediator, must be endured, in its consequences, in an eternal state of torment. May not the truth be found between these two extremes? In appropriating a few moments to the examination of this question, let us go with C. K. W. to the physical system for analogies.

To prevent the sudden and unavoidable destruction of the human body, a certain degree of reenerative energy has been imparted to it, by which, if the injury received by violation of physical laws be not excessive, a restorative process is set up, which in many cases apparently obliterates the injury. I say apparently, for so imperfect are our powers of observation, that we may not say positively that it is real. In all cases, for any thing we can determine, there may be a cicatrix, an imperfection, too minute to be cognizable by our senses, and yet eternal in its consequences. In very many cases, this scar is visible and highly appreciable, in extent less or more, in proportion to the primary amount of injury, and weakening the function of the affected member. No man can demonstrate that, in a single case, the restoration is complete, whilst any man can prove that, in a very large number of cases, it is not. The inference is a fair one, that no link is ever dropped out of the chain of causation, and that every violation of natural laws, physically, leaves an indelible impression, however minute. Let us apply this illustration now, in our consideration of the violations of moral law. Here we find a precisely parallel condition of things. In venial transgressions, so far as we can perceive, the recuperative energies of the soul overcome the injury, and rise above it. But this, too, may only be because of the imperfection of our power of observing. In repeated and atrocious violations, we witness the mental scars as visibly imprinted upon the human spirit as ever knife or sabre made its mark upon the body. And the deduction is natural and inevitable, that every soul exists throughout eternity less bright, and glorious, and happy, in consequence of each violation of its natural relations. Whatever the progress it may make, however high its ulterior destiny, this progress is less rapid, and this destiny less exalted, in consequence of its former frailty. Is not this doctrine profitable to the soul, as well as rational? To the gross, and sensual, and unjust, how paralyzing to the little of conscience they may possess, the thought that their sin, like their hunger, shall pass away without leaving a soil behind! And what more effectual in nerving the tempted to resist, than the knowledge that the consequences of their sin must inevitably be eternal? Is it not reconcilable, too, equally with love, justice and mercy in God, and free will in man? A. BROOKE. OAKLAND, O., June 30th, 1853. THE U. S. CONSTITUTION. TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: I have never desired to participate in the controversy between the Disunion Abolitionists and the Free Democracy on the nature of the United States Constitution, as an original writer; but when important questions are urged upon the public, in apparent sincerity, and are not at all or not properly answered, and I fancy that I have the light which enables me to give a satisfactory reply, I have deemed it incumbent on me to do so, in honor and courtesy, and to show that those whom they are addressed do not shrink from them as unanswerable. In this spirit, I sent you a reply to two questions in an article from the A. S. Standard, in the Liberator of April 22d, which appeared in the number for May 20th; and I now find in that of July 1st another communication, over the signature of W. S. F., commenting on that reply. I should not have felt the necessity or the disposition to make any further reply to that communication, had it been in the form of arguments only; but as several questions are asked in it, and especially as they are addressed particularly to me, I feel it again a duty to encroach on your usual liberality, and as W. S. F. wishes me to give my 'answers to the public at large,' by which I presume he means publication in THE LIBERATOR, I trust you will give them insertion in your paper. It will be inferred from the above, that I do not purpose to answer the supposed arguments, but only the questions of W. S. F., and I am happily exempted from the first course, as he discusses an entirely different question from that of D. Y., to which I replied, and one with which, at present, I have nothing to do. My answer to D. Y. was merely to show that any anti-slavery person, chosen member of Congress, could conscientiously take the oath to support the Constitution, as this oath imposed on him no duty to sustain slavery, respecting which that Constitution allows him no agency. W. S. F. does not answer this, but employs all the argument in the whole of the first column of his communication in inferences from my language, which he calls 'admissions'—that the Constitution is a 'pro-slavery instrument'; about which unmeaning proposition I expressed no opinion. Whenever, by any question, the duty is imposed on me to discuss the pro-slavery tendency of the Constitution, I can easily show that the whole of the inferences of W. S. F. are wrong premises. The first question W. S. F. asks is in the body of his argument. Speaking of the right of the States 'to make laws for the enslaving of man,' he asks, 'From whence did the States obtain this right? Will J. P. B. please inform us?' I do not assert that the States have any such 'right,' in the sense which W. S. F. now assumes for this word. Every candid man, on reading the paragraph, will see that it was not real, moral right that I was speaking of, but only legal authority, which in law and common parlance is often called 'right.' Let me be understood in this sense, as I expected to be, and I can easily answer the question. The political right of the States is derived from their sovereignty, which is considered as authorizing them to pass all laws they may deem for the public good, not at variance with the Constitution and laws of the United States. I deny the moral right, as well as W. S. F., but with this I had no concern in my argument. I now proceed to notice the questions at the close of the communication of W. S. F., in their order. 1. 'When a man has shown plainly that the Constitution does actually provide for the return of fugitives, and that he does so understand it—that it therefore must and does necessarily tolerate and support slavery, what does he do with his conscience, when he swears to support that instrument, if he be not in favor of slavery?' Answer. On this question, with all the conditions assumed in it, I should think that no conscientious anti-slavery man could swear to support the instrument, although I should not undertake to judge of his conscience, and condemn him accordingly. But if any person did not believe that the provision 'for the return of fugitives' was a necessary toleration and support of slavery, he might then, I think, swear to support the Constitution, and have nothing to do with his conscience which would trouble him. 2. 'When a man takes an oath under the Constitution of the United States, according to the prescribed form, does he swear to support the whole of that instrument or only a part of it?' Answer. When a man takes the oath to support the Constitution, he is only understood to swear to support that part of it which belongs to his office to support, or which he may ever be called upon or allowed to support. This is the settled understanding of the swearers, the Government, and the people, (excepting only Disunion Abolitionists,) as is evinced by the declared sentiments of his constituents at public meetings, and the platform on which he chooses. 3. 'If he swears to support the whole of it, how does he get rid of supporting slavery?' Answer. An answer to this question is rendered unnecessary by the answer to the second question; but if a man does swear to support the whole of it, he may do so conscientiously, if he does not think that, on the whole, it supports slavery. 4. 'If he swears to support but a part of it, what becomes of his fidelity to the national compact?' Answer. There is no such thing as a 'national compact,' and no man in America ever agreed that, when elected to office, he would swear to support the Constitution. The imposition of the oath, as a condi-

tion of office, is an anti-Christian and consequently criminal usurpation of power, and is submitted to, only because a citizen is not otherwise allowed to take the place assigned to him by the suffrage of an authority superior to the Constitution, which he is more bound to respect. The oath is totally involuntary on his part, and hence, according to the best casuists, invalid. I cannot concur in that notion of conscience which induces a man to disregard supreme authority, decline duty, and permit injustice, in reverence to a vicious political formula. 5. 'How is it obvious, that in swearing to support the Constitution, a man will be under no obligation to provide for the carrying out of the different clauses of the Constitution, on the ground that they are subjects with which that instrument gives him no concern?' Answer. I thought my proposition on this point was so 'obvious' that it did not require or admit any proof. It now seems W. S. F. does not see it. If he and I were to enter into a commercial partnership, and I were to reside in England while he remained in Boston, and the articles of partnership pointed out distinctly the respective duties of each, in our respective situations, and closed with a pledge that we would do all in our power to sustain our firm and promote its interests, I think no sane man would imagine that I had pledged myself, while in London, to do his business in Boston, or that he had agreed, while in Boston, to do my business in London. Still more, if, under cover of some ill-considered phrase in our agreement, I should proceed to unjust and fraudulent modes of transacting our business, abhorrent to him, would any person urge upon him that he had pledged himself to concur with and sustain me in these practices? Now, the Constitution of the United States separates the departments of government as much as if they were divided by an ocean, and I cannot understand the character of that man's mind who conceives that an oath to support that instrument, on entering one department, is a pledge to sustain the doings of another department, over which he has no control. 6. 'If, by becoming a member of Congress, a man arms himself, in the only way he can do, with the power of urging the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, on the ground of its unconstitutionality, does it follow, as a consequence, that by swearing to support the Constitution, which provides for slavery, he places himself in the best possible position to attack and overthrow the system of slavery?' Answer. There is an erroneous assumption in the conditions of this question, which renders it doubtful in my mind whether to answer yes or no—as it stands. If we do out the expression, 'I should then say, yes,'—which I consider the error,—I should then say, that whether the member of Congress is placed 'in the best possible position to attack and overthrow the system of slavery' or not,—which requires further consideration,—he certainly places himself in a position, and a very effective one, for that purpose; and the 'best possible one' for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. I have now answered the questions of W. S. F., I think, fully and directly, certainly sincerely, though I do not expect satisfactorily to him. I am well aware that Disunion Abolitionists, with all their acuteness of argumentative power, the high tone of their philanthropic principles, and their incomparable zeal and self-devotion in one of the noblest of causes, have yet suffered their minds to be drawn into a hard knot on the subject of political obligation, which an angel's reasoning could not untie. I regret, on your account, that I have been obliged to take so large a space in this reply; but I did not see how I could fully and fairly answer W. S. F. in smaller compass, and I trust the importance of the question, to yourself, as well as to me, will excuse the amplification. Allow me to take this opportunity to correct an error in a brief 'Reply' to my communication on the 'Character of the U. S. Constitution,' in the same paper. In this reply it is stated, as my opinion, that that instrument 'is, and was designed to be, exclusively an anti-slavery instrument.' I expressed no such opinion, and do not believe that it is so. My position was, that it neither, 'in design or effect, tends to promote or perpetuate slavery.' That an instrument does not support an institution, and that it acts anti, or against it, are two propositions, in my mind. J. P. B. From the New York Tribune of June 14. THE BIBLE DISCUSSION. HOW IT WAS BROKEN UP. Six.—Whatever may be the views entertained by yourself and our friends of Free Discussion concerning the opinions and objects of those who were the participants in the Bible Convention which has just closed its session in Hartford, the fact that their discussions were interrupted, their persons threatened and their meetings broken up by a mob, will awaken your indignation, and call forth unqualified and general condemnation of those who perpetrated this gross outrage upon the Freedom of Speech. The Convention had been in peaceful session, with only an occasional exhibition of disapprobation, by the audience, until the afternoon of Saturday, the third day. The exercises of Trinity College being suspended on this day, the gallery was occupied by many of the students, who, with a few other persons, persisted, from the time the meeting was called to order to its close, in hissing every anti-Bible speaker, and applauding every pro-Bible speaker at every pause, much to the annoyance of both parties. But little notice, however, was taken of this, and the meeting adjourned without interruption. In reopening the same demonstrations were renewed. The house was densely crowded, as had been the previous evening meetings. The noise in the galleries gradually increased until Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose was announced. She was almost immediately hailed with hisses. The Chairman and one of the clergymen present retreated and appealed to their gallantry. The lady pleaded her ill health and weak voice. She then tried pliancy until the mob broke open the enclosure containing the speaker and stopped the flow of gas, leaving the audience in almost total darkness. Those in the body of the house kept their seats, and were mostly calm, until the relighting of the gas; but during the fifteen minutes of darkness, the galleries kept up a continued outcry. Order, however, being partially restored, Mrs. Rose attempted to continue her speech. The galleries, however, seemed determined not to hear, and at last, in utter becomingly weaker and noisier, increasing so that no one in the house could hear her, she ceased. The meeting carried a motion for adjournment, but the noise of the crowd about the doors and in the galleries only grew louder. 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