

From the New York Independent. THE PURGING OPERATION OF JUDGE KANE'S ARGUMENT.

A more wriggling, pettifogging course can scarcely be conceived than that exhibited by Judge Kane's own documents and decisions. He has committed Mr. Williamson to prison for contempt of court, and in alleged punishment for such contempt; and his power to do so, and the supremacy of that power, above all interference by any other court, were argued by Judge Black, not on the ground that Mr. Williamson's imprisonment was necessary for the progress of the case, or to bring it to trial, but necessary for the protection of the power of the Court. But now Judge Kane shifts his ground, and professes to have imprisoned Mr. Williamson not for contempt of court, not as a punishment for that, but to remove obstructions in the way of a trial, to compel Mr. Williamson to do his duty! Judge Kane says, 'commitment for contempt is either punishment for an act of misconduct or to enforce the performance of a duty.' Here the new issue entirely. He denies that Mr. Williamson's imprisonment is a way of punishment for what he has done, but by way of stratagem to compel him to something which he is commanded to do! In the name of all law, justice, and common sense and common liberty, who ever heard before of a judge having power to imprison a man, in order to compel him to do an act, which no law has made it his duty to do, but which he has been arrested, no jury, no verdict, has ever indicted, or accused, or convicted him of refusing to do! Mr. Williamson has never refused to do his duty, but has done all that was commanded him by the writ of habeas corpus to do, making a full and lawful answer, and declaring that it was out of his power to do any thing more. And Kane punished him, not because he could not and did not produce the negroes, but because he would not and openly for contempt of court, and thereby he has been arrested, and is now confined, confessing that contempt is a continuance in law, and that Mr. Williamson shall stay in jail during that continuance. The commitment shall continue during the contempt.

But now take the other issue, as to a contrivance of compulsion for Mr. Williamson, to make him do what is well known to be beyond his power to do. As Judge Kane denies that Mr. Williamson's imprisonment is for punishment, and declares that there are only two classes of commitments, it must be to enforce performance of duty. But that duty is simply to appear in court, make a true and full return to the writ, telling all that he knows and all the facts as to his control over the negroes. This Mr. Williamson has already done, and is willing to do so again—may, he desires a full, fair, impartial trial. Kane will not let him out, but he may have a trial, or may perform his duty before Kane himself, continuing his victim in jail, during what he calls the continuance of contempt, is obstructing the process of justice, and keeping the facts from the light of a judicial investigation, compelling Mr. Williamson to continue in what Kane calls the act of contempt. And this atrocious tyranny has been publicly re-nacted, with denials equally of humanity, justice and law. Let us now quote the law of Contempt, as defining and limiting the power of the United States Courts to imprison or punish for contempt, and prescribing the only cases in which that power may lawfully be exercised. Judge Kane has not once dared to refer to that law, but he must be aware of its tenor, and cannot but know and be conscious that in imprisoning Mr. Williamson, he has openly violated it. The statute is as follows:—

'The power of the several courts of the United States to issue attachments and to indict summary punishments for contempt of court, shall not be construed to extend to any case, except the misbehavior of any person or persons in the presence of the court, or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice, the misbehavior of the officers of said court in their official transactions, and the disobedience or resistance by any officer, or person, to any lawful writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command of the said courts.'

Now by this statute it is clear as the noon that Judge Kane has violated the law of the United States Court that Court, and has been guilty of imprisoning a free and innocent citizen of this land for an offence which he has not committed, imprisoning him by an exercise of tyrannic power worthy of Scrooges and Jeffreys, in the teeth and against the very letter of a statute expressly designed and worded to prevent the exercise of such arbitrary and unjust power.

Just now, Judge Kane seems to be endeavoring to evade the application of this statute, by declaring that in imprisoning Mr. Williamson for contempt, he does not do it in the way of inflicting a summary punishment, does not do it as a punishment at all, but simply to compel Mr. Williamson to do his duty! His punishment of Mr. Williamson for contempt he avers is not for any past misconduct, but for future duty. He punishes the man beforehand, before he has had any trial as to what is his duty, before any claim of the law upon him has been adjudged by any evidence, any investigation, any trial, or verdict, he punishes him beforehand, to make him perform his duty! He relinquishes the charge of contempt of court, for which, and for which only, Judge Kane at first pretended to imprison him, and for which only Judge Black pretended to defend his power, and presents himself before the country as having imprisoned an innocent citizen in prison, not for any alleged misconduct, but simply and solely to compel him to obey the judge! to compel him to perform what the judge, not the law, and what the judge's dictum, and not the verdict of a jury, has affirmed to be his duty!

Judge Kane talks of Mr. Williamson purging himself from contempt. Every sober man must feel that the people have a right to see the purging of themselves and their country from the contempt and shame with which such judicial proceedings cover them. Who clothed Judge Kane with power to compel by an arbitrary imprisonment, without trial, jury, or verdict, Mr. Williamson or any other citizen to do his duty? Where is the statute investing him, or any other judge, with any power to compel any individual, but by due process of law? What is the necessity of the public conscience must issue, if such purging of the writ of liberty, and such pettifogging and injustice at dictating, evading and violating the laws of the land be sanctioned and sustained by judicial examples!—[Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER.]

From the New York Tribune. PASSMORE WILLIAMSON'S RELEASE.

One of the most memorable facts of judicial oppression, one of the most glaring instances of the wresting of the law to purposes of injustice and tyranny, was committed on Saturday by the release of Passmore Williamson on the order of the same judge who flung him into prison. If the incarceration of this innocent man, against all law and every shadow of justice, prove that even under a democratic system the private citizen is not secure against arbitrary power and violent malice on the part of magistrates, his release equally demonstrates that, under such a system, the force of public opinion is sure at last to right the utmost wrong, and to humble the most bold and reckless contumner of justice and official duty.

On the 19th of July, Passmore Williamson was brought before Judge Kane by virtue of a writ of habeas corpus, commanding him to produce the bodies of John Johnson and her two sons, alleged slaves of John H. Wheeler, freed by the act of their master, who taken from the latter's keeping by the will of Judge Kane, who had him as soon as she was informed by Mr. Williamson that she had the legal right to do so. To this writ, Mr. Williamson made return that the persons required were not in his custody, and that accordingly he could not produce them. For making this return, Mr. Williamson was shut up in Moyamensing prison on the 27th of July, on the ground that it was a false return, and as such contemptuous toward the court.

Since that time, Mr. Williamson and his friends have been incessantly engaged in endeavors to extricate him from this unjust and illegal confinement. As a matter of course, they first applied to the courts of Pennsylvania, who manifested a primary duty is to protect the liberty of her citizens against arbitrary arrests, and tyrannous violence, from whatsoever quarter. The chief justice pertinaciously refused to interfere; and then, with great expense and delay, they resorted to the full bench of justices, who again, after long waiting, gave their notorious decision in favor of Judge

Kane, and his right to shut up men in jail without either law or right.

Meanwhile the universal indignation of the country, expressed through every conceivable channel, had not only branded this unjust judge with a stain from which his reputation can never recover, but had been felt by him as a first-hand goad to be borne. Private suggestions were given that any reasonable pretext would be adopted for the release of Mr. Williamson; and accordingly Jane Johnson's petition was presented, but true as all its statements palpably were, and just as were all its demands, it was rather too strong to be allowed. At the same time, however, the court took occasion to open the door for a different arrangement. Other proceedings were had, till finally Judge Kane proposed that Mr. Williamson himself appear and take immediate steps for his liberation. Hereupon, willing to adopt every means that should not compromise the truth or surrender a principle, Mr. Williamson petitioned for leave to appear before the court, and purge himself of that contempt because of which he was imprisoned.

When this petition was presented, the district attorney contended that the word 'legally' should be inserted, so as to make Mr. Williamson admit that he was legally incarcerated, which, of course, he would never have done. But so desirous was Judge Kane of extricating himself from the detestable position in which he stood, that he overruled the proposal, and allowed the petition to pass as it was. Then Mr. Williamson was to answer why he had not produced the bodies of John Johnson and her children, as required by the original writ. To this interrogatory his reply now was simply, 'Because it was impossible.' Here again the district attorney sought to go further, and compel him to answer whether he would have produced them had it been possible, but this the judge also excluded, and upon this answer released the prisoner.

In a case then stands thus: Mr. Williamson was adjudged guilty of contempt of court, and was even declared by the judge to be guilty of perjury, because he had made oath that Jane Johnson and her sons were not in his custody, whereas he could not produce them. After being held in prison for such contempt for the period of three months and one week, he was allowed to amend his former answer by making oath simply that he did not produce those persons, 'because it was impossible to do so.'

With regard to the essential identity between these two answers, comment is needless. Had this evasive act of repentance and submission been sooner made, Judge Kane might have founded upon it some hope of regaining some portion of those relics of public esteem which may possibly have remained to him after his conduct in the Christiana affair; but now it comes too late, and is too evidently enforced by that supreme power of public opinion to which even the most obstinate and audacious offender must sooner or later bow. But the ill effect of this matter is not confined to Judge Kane alone. It has deeply shocked the public confidence in the administration of justice in general, and in the efficacy of our laws to secure to every citizen his rights. To be a judge was once a title of respect, but at this rate it must soon become the contrary. People talk sometimes of radicals and destructives who sap the foundations of society, and undermine the basis of public morals; but a Judge like Kane does more at a single blow to shake the social fabric, and retard the progress of a people, than the vices of private criminals in half a century.

In any other Northern city than Philadelphia, such an outrage as that of which, for more than the quarter of a year, Mr. Williamson has been the victim, would have provoked public disturbance. Certainly there was never an occasion in which a revolutionary remedy would have seemed more justifiable. But the result, as it now stands, puts those in the right who hold that violence should never be employed even for a right end.—[From the Maysville Eagle, Oct. 18th.]

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SLAVERY, OF THE KENTUCKY ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

Your Committee on Slavery beg leave to report as follows: Whereas, the subject of Slavery is being agitated in the Annual Conference of the Methodist E. Church, in view of some action in the next General Conference—

And whereas, any change in the Rule in the Book of Discipline, would materially injure the M. E. Church in Kentucky, and prove detrimental to the cause of God in our borders—

And whereas, the evil of Slavery is discussed in the family circle, on the stump, in the halls of legislation, and in the pulpit, we deem it right and proper to express our opinion. Therefore, Resolved, By the members of the Kentucky Annual Conference, in conference assembled, That we approve of the General Rule of the Discipline of our Church, as it is, and are not convinced that any change in said Rule could be made for the better.

Resolved, That we understand the Rule to prohibit the buying or selling of human beings for gain, and that we practise accordingly. Resolved, That we instruct our Delegates to the next General Conference, to favor the adoption of a paragraph, to the five very wholesome paragraphs on Slavery in Chapter 7 of the Discipline, making it an offence against the Discipline of the M. E. Church, for a Member of said Church to sander the marriage relation of Slaves.

Resolved, That the foregoing Preamble and Resolutions be published in the papers of this city, and in the Western Christian Advocate. Respectfully submitted, N. F. TOWER, W. H. BLACK.

The Report of the Committee was unanimously concurred in. J. M. GATCH, Sec. Maysville, Oct. 16th, 1855.

FAITHFUL RELIGIOUS TESTIMONY.

The Philadelphia Presbytery of the Reformed Congregational Church recently adopted, unanimously, the following excellent resolutions:—

Resolved 1. That the system of American Slavery, in its entire character, principles, claims, and issues, at war with the law of God, and utterly subversive of the dearest and most precious, and essential rights of an injured humanity. Resolved 2. That to hold or claim any human being as property—and consequently liable to all its incidents—as a thing to be bought, sold, and used for the owner's benefit, as slaveholders do, is a sin of the blackest hue, and should be regarded as a crime to be punished by the judges. Resolved 3. That slaveholding admits of no apology, and that those churches and ministers who give their countenance to this sin, by admitting slaveholders to membership, and by refusing to testify openly and constantly against their iniquity, are not only recreant to the benignant teachings and spirit of the Gospel and of its blessed Author, but also to the claims of our common humanity, and deserve the just condemnation of the Friends of Christ, of the Scriptures, and of man.

Resolved 4. That the developments of American Slavery in its character, committed pursuant to a determined purpose to overthrow all justice, and even consistency, in establishing its position, and to extend the laws of slavery over the Free States, by allowing the transit of slaveholders with their slaves, and the iniquitous consignment by a Federal Judge of Passmore Williamson to prison, where he still lies—for no crime either against God or man—show, as with the clearness of noon-day light, the slaveholding character of the nation—and confirm us in our determination to give no active support or conscientious submission to any legislation to the Constitution of the United States, which we hold to be a slaveholding instrument. Resolved 5. That this Presbytery expresses its deepest sympathy with Mr. Williamson in his severe trial, and its conviction that the enormous wrong which he is enduring will be made, in the opinion of our Heavenly Father, the King of nations, subservient at last in some way to the overthrow of the interests of truth and righteousness, and our desire and prayer that he may be sustained by a Divine hand in his to him, honorable prison-house. Contrast this outspoken testimony with the evasive action of the late Unitarian Annual Conference at Providence!

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 16, 1855.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES IN BOSTON.

The second annual Course of Anti-Slavery Lectures, in this city, is to commence at the Tremont Temple, on Thursday evening next, Nov. 22d, by a lecture from Hon. HORACE MANN, and a poem by JOHN G. WHITTIER—to be read, we understand, by Rev. THOMAS STUART KING. By referring to the list of lecturers, as given in the official notice in another column, it will be seen that it presents a strong array of talent; and we presume that all the tickets will be readily sold. As our name has been published in connection with that list, and in order to 'define our position,' we publish the following letter to the Lecturing Committee, asking for it a candid consideration and an impartial judgment.

BOSTON, Nov. 12, 1855. GENTLEMEN:—Your letter of October 1st, 1855, inviting me to deliver one of the lectures of the course on slavery, to be given at the Tremont Temple, was not received by me till to-day. I hasten to reply to it, and to give you my reasons for most respectfully declining your courteous invitation.

In the first place, you state that 'a larger number of gentlemen (alias men-stealers) from the South will be invited to favor (I) us with the views prevalent in their vicinity'; and I perceive on the list of pledged lecturers, the names of 'Hon. Henry W. Hilliard, of Alabama,' 'Hon. Robert Toombs, of Georgia,' and as probable substitutes, 'Hon. A. P. Butler, of South Carolina,' and 'Dr. William A. Smith, of Virginia.' I understand, moreover, that your invitation was also sent to that lawless ruffian, the leader of the Missouri-Kansas bandits, David R. Atchison—that desperate demagogue and scoundrel traitor to liberty, Stephen Arnold Douglas, of Illinois; that unmitigated blackguard and shameless bully, Henry A. Wise, of Virginia—and that monster in human form, John M. Mason, the infamous framer of the Fugitive Slave Law, also of Virginia. All these stand committed before the world as the most malignant enemies of the anti-slavery cause, the most bitter contemners of the North, (especially of Massachusetts), and the most ferocious defenders of the accursed slave system to the end of time—as well as actual slaveholders, whose souls are steeped in pollution, whose hands and garments are dripping with the blood of enslaved millions, and who, instead of being politely invited and handsomely paid by you to utter their blasphemous and godless views of freedom and the rights of man, deserve to be capitally executed, 'without benefit of clergy,' (if capital punishment be permissible in any case, which I do not believe), even under the law of Congress which they themselves endorse, making it a piratical act, worthy of death, to enslave any native-born African, by bringing him to this country for that purpose; for the crime consists solely in the act of enslavement, no matter on what pretence. That they are not to lecture is simply owing to their refusal; their consistent refusal, I will add, however unavailing may have been the language used by them, as in the case of Mr. Wise. You invited them in good faith, and in the same terms that you invited all the others. Gentlemen, you are an Anti-Slavery Committee. You profess to regard slavery as 'the sum of all villainies,' and seek its utter overthrow. Pardon me if I express my astonishment, that you should so far forget what is due to your self-respect, your moral consistency, the dignity of the cause you have espoused, and the common sense of mankind, as to extend to some of the most worthless as well as most seditious supporters of slavery, an offer to give them a liberal remuneration, if they will come to Boston, and do what in their lies to make this slavery-complacent yet more hostile to freedom, and therefore more zealous in the service of the Slave Power.

I took occasion, in my public reply to Gen. Houston last year, to enter the same protest against a similar invitation extended to him; and I sincerely cherished the hope, that we should be spared the repetition of an absurdity so glaring, and an act so offensive. Gentlemen, I will do full justice to your motives. You doubtless reasoned in this wise:—By inviting the most inveterate slaveholders of the South to defend their slave system before a Boston audience, additional inducement would be given to the course of lectures—a more wide-spread discussion of the subject will be the consequence—our cause has nothing to fear, but every thing to gain, from the closest scrutiny—it will be returning good for evil—we shall exhibit true magnanimity, and set an example that will put to shame the whole South for their barbarous treatment of the abolitionists. Gentlemen, it would mortify me to believe that there lives the man who goes beyond me in a profound appreciation of what justly pertains to a noble, fearless and magnanimous course of conduct—to free discussion—on an untrammelled platform. If there be a journal more free, independent and impartial than THE LIBERATOR, I know not of its existence. If there be an organization which has more consistently maintained freedom of speech for all who attend its meetings than the American Anti-Slavery Society, I have yet to learn its name. But, gentlemen, 'there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous.' Magnanimity, generosity, a good spirit, are all commendable virtues; but so are sound discretion, moral propriety, fidelity to principle. It is not required by the spirit of Christianity, it is not in accordance with the eternal fitness of things, to invite men guilty of 'the highest kind of theft' to come from a remote part of the country, and accept our proffered civilities, that they may show us the utility and excellence of robbing millions of our countrymen of their inalienable rights—of turning them into perishable property and articles of merchandise—of forcing them to live in a state of beastly uncleanness, by abolishing the sacred institution of marriage—of perpetrating upon their bodies and spirits all conceivable outrages; and then to remunerate them liberally, out of the anti-slavery treasury, for this inexcusable and horrible act of villainy! Why, gentlemen, this is to run charity and good will into the ground. It has no parallel among straight-forward and earnest men. It almost gives an air of caricature to your entire proceedings. It is not freedom of speech, but inconsiderateness; it is not generosity, but improvidence; it is not overcoming evil with good, but placing good and evil in the same category, making them equally deserving of public courtesy, and equally dubious as to which should prevail!

What is particularly surprising is, that you should have selected from among the slaveholders, and defenders of slavery, the most insolent, depraved, and desperate of them all—Atchison, Wise, Douglas, Mason, Toombs and Butler—the last men, even among slaveholders, (for there are grades among felons,) deserving of notice, much less of special consideration. I have already properly described all but the two last; and beg leave simply to remind you, that Toombs has insultingly boasted that he will marshal his slaves around Banker Hill Monument, and bid Massachusetts to liberate one of them at her peril. Mr. Butler is the incarnation of South Carolina overness, and represents the State which imprisons, and sells into interminable slavery, such colored citizens of Massachusetts as venture upon her soil, and which expelled from her limits our venerable and much-respected fellow-citizen, Hon. Samuel Hoar, though clothed with all the official authority of the Commonwealth to seek in a constitutional manner, and by due process of law, to save these victims of Southern perfidy from their horrible doom. If we must allow our politeness to run in that direction, let us at least select the most decent and candid, not the most abandoned and malignant, among the men-stealers of the South, to favor us with the views prevalent in their vicinity, on the subject of chattel slavery. With all possible respect for you, gentlemen, individually and collectively, I, for one, shall keep aloof

from any such mixture. Not even to find a tempting opportunity to plead for those in bondage will I consent to recognize the propriety of such a procedure. My aim is to stain the character and render infamous the conduct of the slaveholder, throughout the civilized world. I am for his immediate exclusion from the professedly Christian church, and from every honorable position in the State. As long as he is allowed to hold his head up in society—is deemed worthy of public consideration—is permitted to fill offices of trust and emolument—is recognized as a friend of his country, and animated by the spirit of true piety—and, especially, as long as those who claim to be the representatives and advocates of the slave treat him with marked attention—so long will he continue to rob and oppress the victims of his cupidity. He must be made to feel, as does the foreign slave-trader, the overwhelming power of public sentiment—that he is a 'sinner of the first rank,' utterly without excuse, and deserving of universal abhorrence. Is your invitation to him, gentlemen, at all calculated to produce any such feeling?

Gentlemen, an act wholly unnecessary is labor lost. The adage, that 'it is not worth while to carry coals to Newcastle,' thought true, is in this connection both pertinent and instructive. Is the Anti-Slavery cause, even in its mildest phase, so popular in Boston—are the apologists and defenders of Southern slavery so few and odious—that you deem it a meritorious act to import the leading slaveholders of Virginia, Georgia, Missouri, and South Carolina, to sustain their horrible slave system against such overwhelming odds? How much farther advanced, in principle, on this subject, is Boston than Charleston, Richmond, or Savannah? What of the pulpits and churches of this city? What is the animating spirit of the Daily Advertiser, the Courier, the Journal, the Traveller, the Chronicle, the Post, and other newspapers? While, therefore, the pulpit and press, the wealth, respectability, commercial strength, popular sentiment, and religious influence of Boston, are all actively combined to 'crush out' every vestige of anti-slavery feeling and action, is it judicious or wise for those who are the victims of this all-prevailing proslavery sentiment to put their hands into their pockets, and proffer a liberal pecuniary bribe and every civility to induce the human-flesh-mongers, south of Mason and Dixon's line, to add their diabolism to the general corruption among us? To ask to answer the question.

Gentlemen, what would be thought of the sanity of the American Board of Commissioners, if, instituting a course of lectures for the subversion of idolatry, they should invite some of the most subtle and malignant worshippers of Brahma to come over, and 'favor us with the views prevalent in their vicinity'—offering not only to give them enough to defray their expenses across the Atlantic, but to put a handsome sum into their pockets? All Christendom would resound with mingled cries of derision and shouts of laughter. When it shall be deemed proper to hire burglars, highwaymen, counterfeiters, and pirates, to show that honesty, justice, and mercy ought to be treated as fanaticism, madness and treason, then no objection can consistently be raised to securing the services of slaveholders in opposition to the sacred cause of human liberty.

How reads the Declaration of Independence? 'We hold these truths to be self-evident,—that all MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain UNALIENABLE RIGHTS; that among these are LIFE, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of HAPPINESS.' The right of a human being to his own body and soul, therefore, is not a debatable question. It is to be affirmed and maintained, not argued or proved. No slaveholder needs to be enlightened on that point. No man living is more conscious of his perpetual injustice to his victims. The blood-reeking slave code which he has enacted is the confession, if not the full measure, of his criminality. His guilt makes him a coward as well as a ruffian. Whatever may be his spirit or his manners, when his right to hold slaves is unquestioned, the moment that right is denied, it operates like the touch of lightning's spear, which caused the dissembling tool to assume his true shape, that of a devil. He is then transformed into a wolf or tiger. His passions are 'set on fire of hell.' He spurns all barriers, and defies all restraints. He is ready for imprisoning, tarring and feathering, hanging, assassinating, or lynching in any form, the daring Nathan who has accused him of violence and robbery. His resort is to gags, padlocks, scourges, bowie knives, revolvers, and other instruments of torture and death. His trained bloodhounds are the embodiment of his own spirit. It is not light that he needs, but a heart of flesh. He aspires, in the exercise of his tyrannical power over his slaves, to exalt himself 'above all that is called God,' and is filled with Satanic pride. While the South but one vast graveyard, in which lie buried all noble aspirations, all reverence for human rights, all freedom of speech, all respect for justice!

The planters of Columbia. Are gods beneath the skies! They stamp the slave into the grave. They feed on famine's sighs! They curse the land, the wind, the sea—Lord! have they conquered thee? With a fever looking down. They curse the land and sea.—They rival hell, they rebel heaven, But have not conquered thee!

There are many questions, about which men may honestly differ; but the inherent turpitude of slavery is not one of them. The love of liberty is instinctive in the human breast. Is the eloquent language of Lord Brougham:— 'There is a law above all enactments of human codes: it is the law written by the finger of God upon the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men desire fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man.'

This sentiment is confirmed by a distinguished Virginian, Judge James G. M'Dowell, when he says:— 'You may place the slave where you please—you may dry up to your utmost the fountain of his feelings, the springs of his thoughts—you may close upon his mind every avenue to knowledge, and cloud it over with artificial night—you may make him to labor as an ox which breath only to work, and sweat only to live—you may put him under any process, which, without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush him as a rational being—you may do this, and the idea that he is born free will survive it all. It is allied to his hopes of immortality—it is the ethereal part of his nature, which oppression cannot reach—it is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man.'

Slavery, therefore, is a heinous sin, not a debatable question. 'If a man should propose to me,' said DANIEL O'CONNOR on a certain occasion in Exeter Hall, 'a discussion on the propriety of picking pockets, I would turn him out of my study, for fear that he should carry his theory into practice.' But he who thinks he can vindicate the possession of one human being by another—the sale of soul and body—the separation of father and mother—the taking of the mother from the infant at her breast, and selling the one to one master, and the other to another, is a man whom I will not answer with words.—When an American comes into English society, let him be asked, 'Are you one of the thieves, or are you an honest man? If you are an honest man, then you have given liberty to your slaves. If you are among the thieves, the sooner you take the outside of the house, the better.'

I may be told, gentlemen, that in declining your courteous invitation, I display an intolerant spirit as Mason, Wise, Atchison and Douglas, and stand rebuffed with them by the readiness of Messrs. Toombs and Hilliard to take up the gauntlet flung down to them. My reply is, that the former act entirely consistent with their slaveholding theory; while the latter are clearly conceding it to be a matter of controversy, and therefore of uncertainty. Would they gravely discuss the question, whether there can be any property in merchandise, houses, ships, or other productions of human industry? And do they not declare that God and nature make property in man as sacred as any other property? Why then allow it to be an open question? 'If the Lord be God, serve him; if Baal, then serve him.'

I may be reminded, that none of the distinguished speakers, who are to appear in defence of freedom, have thought of objecting to the invitation to Southern slaveholders. Perhaps they have not thought at all about it, and may yet regret that they had not done so before committing themselves. 'To their own master, they stand or fall.' I condemn them not. It is for each one to be fully persuaded in his own mind, and to act accordingly. Far be it from me to dictate the course for others to pursue, under such circumstances—mine is clear, and I must be true to my convictions, even at the risk of giving offence, or being grossly misunderstood and misrepresented by the enemies of impartial liberty.

Not doubting your earnest desire to promote the cause of universal emancipation—believing you have acted from the best motives, though unwisely—thanking you for your kind overture—and convinced that the most effective lecture I can deliver is to record this frank and honest testimony, I remain, gentlemen, with high consideration,

Yours, for no union with slaveholders, WM. LLOYD GARRISON. DR. SAMUEL G. HOWE, and others, Committee.

MEMORIAL OF THE LATE MR. ESTLIN.

No. III.

In this and the following numbers of this Notice, it is my purpose to let Mr. Estlin, for the most part, speak for himself; for I truly desire that American Abolitionists may understand him, and cherish for him that personal respect and affection which the simplicity and uprightness of his nature were so well adapted to inspire; and the nearer they can come into contact with him, the better certainly will they know him. I propose to make quotations from a long and familiar private correspondence with him, mainly relating to the subject of slavery. Of course, as already said, eloquent passages and stately sentences are not to be looked for; and I would even believe that my selections will prove all the more acceptable on that account. The more easy, unpretending, and natural the language, the less does it hide from us the mind and heart of the speaker or writer—the central points to which we would have access. The correspondence, on his part, was ever of the most frank and open nature,—stating opinions, urging objections, criticizing or approving plans, and suggesting new ways and means of prosecuting the cause—the great, common cause of the Race. No part of it was designed, or probably ever imagined as likely, to be published. This should be borne in mind.

From a letter dated March 2, 1845, I make the following extracts:— 'I have it much in my mind, against the next Fair, (the annual Anti-Slavery Fair, or Bazaar, held at Boston at the season of Christmas,) to draw up a very concise statement of the purposes and efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society in Boston. You can hardly believe how few persons in this country have any correct idea of the case in any of its bearings. . . . Tens of thousands here believe that, in general, the American slave is very happy, and that Abolitionists must be officious meddlers. How reads the Declaration of Independence? 'We hold these truths to be self-evident,—that all MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain UNALIENABLE RIGHTS; that among these are LIFE, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of HAPPINESS.'

The right of a human being to his own body and soul, therefore, is not a debatable question. It is to be affirmed and maintained, not argued or proved. No slaveholder needs to be enlightened on that point. No man living is more conscious of his perpetual injustice to his victims. The blood-reeking slave code which he has enacted is the confession, if not the full measure, of his criminality. His guilt makes him a coward as well as a ruffian. Whatever may be his spirit or his manners, when his right to hold slaves is unquestioned, the moment that right is denied, it operates like the touch of lightning's spear, which caused the dissembling tool to assume his true shape, that of a devil. He is then transformed into a wolf or tiger. His passions are 'set on fire of hell.' He spurns all barriers, and defies all restraints. He is ready for imprisoning, tarring and feathering, hanging, assassinating, or lynching in any form, the daring Nathan who has accused him of violence and robbery. His resort is to gags, padlocks, scourges, bowie knives, revolvers, and other instruments of torture and death. His trained bloodhounds are the embodiment of his own spirit. It is not light that he needs, but a heart of flesh. He aspires, in the exercise of his tyrannical power over his slaves, to exalt himself 'above all that is called God,' and is filled with Satanic pride. While the South but one vast graveyard, in which lie buried all noble aspirations, all reverence for human rights, all freedom of speech, all respect for justice!

The planters of Columbia. Are gods beneath the skies! They stamp the slave into the grave. They feed on famine's sighs! They curse the land, the wind, the sea—Lord! have they conquered thee? With a fever looking down. They curse the land and sea.—They rival hell, they rebel heaven, But have not conquered thee!

There are many questions, about which men may honestly differ; but the inherent turpitude of slavery is not one of them. The love of liberty is instinctive in the human breast. Is the eloquent language of Lord Brougham:— 'There is a law above all enactments of human codes: it is the law written by the finger of God upon the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men desire fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man.'

This sentiment is confirmed by a distinguished Virginian, Judge James G. M'Dowell, when he says:— 'You may place the slave where you please—you may dry up to your utmost the fountain of his feelings, the springs of his thoughts—you may close upon his mind every avenue to knowledge, and cloud it over with artificial night—you may make him to labor as an ox which breath only to work, and sweat only to live—you may put him under any process, which, without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush him as a rational being—you may do this, and the idea that he is born free will survive it all. It is allied to his hopes of immortality—it is the ethereal part of his nature, which oppression cannot reach—it is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man.'

Slavery, therefore, is a heinous sin, not a debatable question. 'If a man should propose to me,' said DANIEL O'CONNOR on a certain occasion in Exeter Hall, 'a discussion on the propriety of picking pockets, I would turn him out of my study, for fear that he should carry his theory into practice.' But he who thinks he can vindicate the possession of one human being by another—the sale of soul and body—the separation of father and mother—the taking of the mother from the infant at her breast, and selling the one to one master, and the other to another, is a man whom I will not answer with words.—When an American comes into English society, let him be asked, 'Are you one of the thieves, or are you an honest man? If you are an honest man, then you have given liberty to your slaves. If you are among the thieves, the sooner you take the outside of the house, the better.'

I may be told, gentlemen, that in declining your courteous invitation, I display an intolerant spirit as Mason, Wise, Atchison and Douglas, and stand rebuffed with them by the readiness of Messrs. Toombs and Hilliard to take up the gauntlet flung down to them. My reply is, that the former act entirely consistent with their slaveholding theory; while the latter are clearly conceding it to be a matter of controversy, and therefore of uncertainty. Would they gravely discuss the question, whether there can be any property in merchandise, houses, ships, or other productions of human industry? And do they not declare that God and nature make property in man as sacred as any other property? Why then allow it to be an open question? 'If the Lord be God, serve him; if Baal, then serve him.'

thy, or open pro-slavery, of the American people, the result to which he came differed in no respect, from the view of the American Abolitionists generally, as will doubtless appear in the sequel. His early pamphlet, 'words which he often used as an expressive of his own decided judgment, that the American Churches are the bulwarks of American Slavery.'

In November, 1845, he wrote respecting the India emancipation—'Are you aware of the advances the West India Islands of the condition of the colored people? In St. Vincent, which I visited some years ago for my health, colored people now sit in the Assembly, as representatives of certain parts of the amount of £200 per annum. When it was there in 1838, before emancipation, they sat as journeying men, and marriages between white overtures and colored women were not uncommon. In the eyes of the West India merchants, and of many of the planters of our islands, emancipation has been a sad failure—the negro population, and in the eyes of those who pecuniary interests are not involved, and who value the welfare of the human race, it has proved a great blessing. That generally, and hitherto, property has deteriorated in value, there can be no doubt; but this is but a grain of dust in the balance.'

And again, in a subsequent letter—'I mentioned in my former letter an emancipated slave at St. Kitts, named Douglas. An estate in that island was retained after the slave system, and Douglas is one of those who have two or three sugar-fields to look after, half the having the other half. Last year, I sent to Bristol a couple of hogsheads of sugar to be sold for him, which was done. Inquiry was made of the captain of the vessel, who knows Douglas, if he was a 'respectable man.' The answer was, 'No, for he was not above stockings.' It seems, however, he has always been a most respectable character, industrious and saving as a slave, and prudent and wise since emancipation. He has a fine-line child, which brings him in something, and is anxious for the welfare of his wife and children. I ask, you observe, for a family Bible. I have the volume of Chambers' Miscellany, an Atlas, and some books for his children, and Mr. Ames sent me some papers.' In a subsequent letter he wrote—'I have long seen a captain from St. Vincent. He says the negroes are doing very well for themselves, but not the negro old masters. . . . The negroes, he says, are keeping ground, building, and becoming proprietors themselves.'

In February, 1846, he wrote—'I have ordered Chapman, "Stroud on the Slave Laws," which I have scarce. If you could help me in procuring this book, I should be obliged. I am reading "Slavery as it is"—what an exposure of sin and suffering!—W. C. Wright's "Dissolution of the Union" is a most valuable production. I am circulating many copies.'

Early in 1846, he writes of the interest he had in Frederick Douglass, who was then recently arrived in Ireland, and whom he had invited to visit Bristol, and be his guest. He caused one hundred and fifty copies of F. D.'s Narrative to be circulated in Bristol and vicinity, previous to Mr. D.'s visit to that city. Speaking at the same time (1846) of the contributions sent from Bristol to the Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar, he says—'It is satisfactory to us, as an equality, to be told that our sympathy and aid are not only encouraging, but useful. I have sometimes a tingling, good deal about American slavery,—in which subject I confess myself deeply interested,—I am contemplating an evil too vast and too distant for me to have the slightest power of remedying. Wishing to act up to the rule of not letting a day pass without doing some good to somebody, I sometimes ask myself how I expect to do any good in reference to the overwhelming evil of American slavery? In a subsequent part of the same letter, after alluding to the different anti-slavery societies, and the want of harmony among them who professed to be equally opposed to slavery, he is led—'For my own part, though I see room for improvement, there is quite enough of what is useful and good in "old organized" Abolitionists to make the feeble sympathy and aid that, living at the distance from you, I am able to afford; and in my small circle of influence, I am not inactive in the cause.'

In the spring of this year, not feeling quite satisfied with merely writing well to the Abolition cause in America, he sent a handsome donation to the funds of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Early in the summer of 1846 he writes—'It is Mr. Garrison is to be invited to England to visit a proposed Anti-S

POETRY.

From Zion's Herald.

DENNIS McPELLETT'S LETTER To Dissuade his Brother Patrick, in Ireland, from Emigrating to America.

DEAR PATRICK— An' so ye're for leaving cold Ireland; Just wait a bit, Patrick, sweet heart! I've a power o' the greatest news for ye, As soon as I get a fair start. An' first, there's the vrye ye'll be makin'; (It's crossing the drape is no play)— There was none of our lads, save Jim Lakin, But died several deaths by the way. The boxes, and tubs, and old kiddles, That Tim stowed so snugly aboard, Have never revived from the bating And exercise that they endured. Oh! I had ye seen Dermot's new breeches All drinched in the salt ocean breeze, An' his underbirts droppin' their stitches, Ye'd think immigration less fine. Arrah! nice it is, snug in yer shanty, To spake o' the mountains o' gold That wait to be had for the askin', An' niver were counted poor toold. But, faith, when ye get to those mountains, 'Tis nothing but valleys ye see, Where a hen house would live on starvation, So dry and so empty they be. I've got but one look at the dimonds, An' thin they were clare out o' sight; The praties are sunburnt and rotten, An' the sound ones are spilt with the blight. Thin our mate—O, Patrick, dear jewel! Each separate strand o' that same Is strong as an old gobbler's sinews, And the open-work steak is a shame! There's plenty of work, but its diggin' For the natives are slender as laths; If ye'll show me a railroad they've levelled, Or one o' these underground paths, That lead through the hearts o' the hill-tops, Where a native the credit deserves Of a tithe o' the huge botheation— I'll work that same job at the halves! Ye've come, bring yer shovel and pickaxe; For the whole land o' Erin, swate lads! Is less than the overgrown mountain That we now have got to unpile. Thrue for ye! An' thin the quare natives, W' legs like a starved mountain goat, W' n'er an ill drop in their bodies, Are frightened to death an' ye vote! It's a humbug—this same immigration! At home we are poor,—but ye see, In sarving this pert Yankee nation, The sarvants o' sarvants we be. As I live, I've declared, in vexation, That were I once dead, and in pace, I'd kill myself fraily, if killin' Could blot out our nation's disgrace! For why should a son or a daughter O' Ireland, the brave an' the bold, Draw wood, or be brewers o' water, To be paid more in kicks than in gold? Och! an' this is a mane land to die in! The sinners must shift as he may; For the praste, who would gladly anint him, Is of a lang journey away. To think o' these heretics singing And prayin' about ye, with dead! For one, I'm determined, while living, To die where the mass shall be said. O, Pat! it's yer soul ye'll be losin' (Ye'r gold is safe—lost yer ye start,) And yer clothes and yer flesh will be lavin' As soon as ye get her, swate heart! So, list to yer own brother's counsel, An' if ye've not started, go back; Or wait—I will burn the whole letter, And come home and help ye unpack. HARMONY. Stoughton, Mass.

GOING HOME.

We said that the days were evil, We felt that they might be few, For low was our fortune's level, And heavy the winter grew; But one who had no possession Looked up to the azure dome, And said, in his simple fashion, 'Dear friends, we are going home.' This world is the same full market That wearied its earliest age; The times to the wise are dark yet, But so hath been many an age; And rich grow the toiling nations, And red grow the battle spears, And dreary with desolations Roll onward the laden years. What need of the changeling story Which time hath so often told, The specter that follows glory, The canker that comes with gold,— That wisdom and strength and honor Must fade like the far sea foam, And death is the only winner? But, friends, we are going home! The homes we had hoped to rest in, Were open to sin and strife; The dreams that our youth was blest in, Were not for the near of life; For care can darken the cottage As well as the palace hearth, And brightlights are sold for potage, But never redeemed on earth. The springs have gone by in sorrow, The summers were grieved away, And ever we blamed to-day; In depths which the searcher sounded, On hills which the high heart clomb, Have trouble and toil abounded.— But, friends, we are going home! Our faith was the bravest builder, But found not a stone of trust; Our love was the fairest glider, But lavished its wealth on dust.— And time hath the fabric shaken, And fortune the clay hath shown, For much they have changed and taken, But nothing that was our own. The light that to us made bazer The paths which so many choose, The gifts there was found no place for, The robes we could not use; The heart that when life was wintry, Found summer in strain and tone, With these to our kin and country.— Dear friends, we are going home!

COURTSHIP.

Never give her o'er; For scorn, at first, makes after-love the more. If she do frown, 'tis not in hate of you, But rather to begot more love in you; If she do chide, 'tis not to have you gone; For why, the fools are mad if let alone.—SHAKS.

THE LIBERATOR.

ANTI-SLAVERY VS. SECTARIANISM.

For the following report of an admirable anti-slavery address, delivered by Rev. ROBERT HARRALL, of Mendon, at a donation meeting in aid of the Wesleyan church in Millville, on Saturday evening, Oct. 27th, we are indebted to Mr. DANIEL A. CONROCK, of that village, who has lately commenced doing a little at phonographic reporting, and who bids fair to take a high rank in that profession.—Ed. Lib.

The Anti-Slavery, like every other reform, has a direct tendency to lessen the influence of sectarianism. We have an illustration here to-night of this truth. Here in the same pulpit is a Baptist, a Methodist, and a Unitarian minister. On ordinary occasions, ministers of different denominations keep as much as possible aloof from each other; but, some how, these reform movements bring ministers of different persuasions together, thereby lessening the power of sectarianism, one of the greatest curses to religion, the church, and the world. It has a tendency to close the mind and heart to the sanctifying influence of truth. The Anti-Slavery movement appeals to the heart; it does not appeal to the head alone; it has no connection with mere doctrines. Hundreds of men have been drawn together to labor in these reforms, who, under other circumstances, would never have known each other. Take, for example, Chapin and Beecher of New York. What brings these men together? Each recognizes the other as brother, though they differ in doctrinal matters; Chapin is a Restorationist, and Beecher an Orthodox. Beecher would rather have Chapin build a dozen churches, if the pulpits could all be filled by such men as Chapin himself, than to have one built, to be occupied by one of your long-faced, Orthodox ministers. Why? Because Beecher knows that Chapin sympathizes with his fellow-man, that he would lift him up to his true position—the position God intended him to occupy, without any reference to creeds or catechisms; and Beecher himself entertains similar views. Both believe it to be better to raise up the downcast; than to stick a creed into his head, and make him believe it. I, for one, am willing to overlook a man's religious belief, if I know that he has a large heart—that he places the welfare of his brother mortals above his creed—if he is more anxious to set the slave free, and raise the drunkard from the gutter, than to promote the interests of his own sect or party. I have little sympathy for the man who is continually preaching about creed or doctrine. There are hundreds of ministers connected with the denomination I am identified with, whom I would scarcely own as brothers—indeed, am truly ashamed of them. I have far more sympathy for the man who believes the whole of the Westminster Catechism, if he is only right on these great questions of reform. The sectarian seldom feels interest enough in man to labor for his well-being. When a man becomes truly an abolitionist, he ceases to be a sectarian. The great object of the sectarian is to keep the church together, though the world go to ruin; all its parts must be firmly cemented. Sectarianism is in constant saying—'Oh, the church, the creed—there is danger of disunion—some brother is leaving us.' It is extremely fearful that some outward influence will so operate as to cause a separation. It teaches men that the creed, that faith, that forms and ceremonies, are of the first importance. Any man who does not believe the creed, no matter how self-denying he may be, or how earnestly he may labor for the welfare of his fellow-man, will be damned, and the world can only be saved by embracing some particular creed or faith. Men believing thus think little of humanity, and are little inclined to labor in any movement of reform. They would prefer to listen to the preaching of Nehemiah Adams, or of the slaveholder himself, in his hypocritical way, about God, Christ and salvation, if he is only sound in the faith, than the preaching of Jesus Christ, should he hesitate to adopt their creed. Take the sectarian Baptist, for instance,—and my brother will excuse me, for I speak of the mere sectarian. He would rather have the man who sells men, women and children, to preach the gospel to him, if that man only believes in baptism, than any man who rejects this doctrine, though he have a heart big enough to hold the world. Now I repeat, that when a man becomes a true reformer, he lays aside such nonsense; he buries his sectarianism just as soon as his heart gets big enough to embrace all mankind. So we may say that the Anti-Slavery movement has a direct tendency to promote one of the elements of true religion. True religion requires us to extend our thoughts beyond our own denomination. It requires that we place humanity above creed; indeed, that we place man high above the Bible, the Church, all laws, institutions, or organizations. For what purpose has the Divine Being given us an existence, created the sun and stars, spread the earth beneath our feet, and bestowed so many blessings upon us? It is for man, not, as some tell us, for the glory of God. Man was the great end God had in view at the creation. He who is in possession of true religion, places man first, and his creed last. While Anti-Slavery has a tendency to lessen the influence of sectarianism, slavery has a direct tendency to strengthen it. There is scarcely a religious denomination in the land, into which slavery has not found its way. Slavery is reverential—prays devoutly to talk to talk about the conversion of souls—likes to talk to the Church and Christianity. I heard a Unitarian minister, (Dr. Barnap,) a short time since, at a Convention in Providence, after I had presented a resolution on the subject of slavery, talk very eloquently in this way. He said, 'If men would only become Christians, all these reforms would follow. We should not try to bring about specific reform. Only cultivate whole-souled religion, and all true reform will grow out of it.' So it has always been said when an attempt is made to make a special application of Christianity. You must not say to the slaveholder, 'Let the slave go free'; nor to the warrior, 'Sheathe the sword; for slavery and war are incompatible with Christianity'; but you must be content to preach the gospel in its whole-souled simplicity. Slavery has placed its hand upon the Sunday School Union, and says, 'No book shall go forth which contains a sentence in condemnation of the slave system.' The Tract Society, supported by the principal evangelical denominations in the land, says that not a single leaf shall be issued from the office condemning slavery; but these organizations must preach Christianity in its whole-souled simplicity, and in a general way. The direct tendency, therefore, of slavery, is to promote sectarianism. Slavery has always been afraid of having questions of reform introduced into the different denominations, because it knows that in proportion as men feel an interest in the welfare of their fellow-mortals, they will lose their reverence for forms, ceremonies and creeds. The true anti-slavery man cares but little for these. Just as soon as he understands the relation which he sustains to his fellow-man, and feels it to be his duty to labor for their welfare, he will discard mere doctrine, to which so much importance has been attached, by the Church in past ages. Let me, my friends, call attention, for a few moments, to the debasing influence which slavery has always exerted upon the intellect, the conscience, the heart, and the religious nature. I wish to consider its influence, not upon the black, but upon the white population of this country. In doing this, we shall be more likely to open our eyes to the evil, and be ready to act with reference to its overthrow. Let us never believe that slavery bears on the black alone. The country has so lamented the existence of this system, because of its influence upon the white as well as the black. There are some white people in this country, to whom the institution of slavery is a greater curse than to many of the slave themselves. There are doubtless many slaves who are in far better circumstances than they would be if thrown exclusively upon their own resources. Do not understand me to say that I believe slaves, as a whole, are better off than they would be in a state of freedom—I mean, simply, that there are thousands of whites who

are made to feel the blighting influence of slavery in a greater degree than many of the slaves. There are thousands upon thousands of minds in the Southern States in the blindest and blindest ignorance, simply through the existence of slavery. In Virginia, for instance, there are no less than 22,000 white adults who can neither read nor write. In North Carolina, the state of things is worse than this, and, indeed, throughout the entire South may be seen the blighting influence of ignorance. The influence of slavery is, to a great extent, seen at the North. The mind of many a man preparing for the pulpit has been cramped and pressed down, because he dared not look beyond Mason and Dixon's line. How great must be the evil influence upon the mind of that minister, who is required to square his words to meet the views of his congregation! Slavery says to the press at the North, 'You shall not utter what you believe to be right';—to the Tract Society, 'You shall not issue this, that or the other book, because it contains sentiments in opposition to the system.'

The blighting influence of slavery is seen upon the conscience—one of the noblest elements of the mind, since it enables us to distinguish between right and wrong. There is nothing which has operated to weaken and blunt the conscience of men, both at the North and South, like this system of American slavery. Men must have light before conscience can be quickened into full life. So long as this state of things exists, we have little hope for humanity. Slavery is Popery to the mind. It declares that 'Thus far shall the light shine, and no further.' If it is for the interest of slavery to diffuse darkness rather than light. Many a conscience has slept through the debasing influence of that abominable system. Take, for instance, your neighbor here in Millville, whom you suppose to be possessed of a conscience. He attends a Convention at Worcester for nomination of State officers. He says to himself—'How shall I act? Shall I endorse every thing that is going to be done here? If Slavery requires me to go for Beech, shall I obey? I must keep in the traces. Slavery says that 'Frank Pierce has done perfectly right'; his proceedings are all constitutional, all promotive of the highest interest of humanity—Beech must be nominated and elected—Barn and Slavery must go into office.—and this man from Millville, what does he do? Slavery says, 'You must do this work, or not belong to the party.' Does the man say to conscience, 'Speak, and I will listen'? It begins to whisper, but he turns a deaf ear, and is silent. That man comes home, and at election, goes to the ballot-box, deposits his vote, and with it his conscience. This is only one instance. Slavery has the same connection with other political parties. It requires of the North its support, and the North succumbs. The manhood of millions at the North has been crushed to the dust, and millions have sacrificed their consciences by bowing at the dictation of the Slave Power. Yet we talk much about Christianity and religion. Till we have removed this millstone of slavery from our necks, we may as well stop preaching about God, Christ, salvation and immortality. We should first be reconciled to our brother, before we may expect any good result from mere preaching.

Let me say, before concluding, that the influence of slavery is seen upon the human heart, North as well as South. So far as mere external circumstances are concerned, there are doubtless slave families happy; yet if we could go South, and behold the scenes daily enacted there, our hearts would melt within us. If we could hear the lash of the cruel slave-driver, and the groans of his victim; if we could see the tears of the bereaved mother, and know the anguish of the child born from her mother's breast, our hearts would be moved to the deepest compassion. But the people there are taught not to feel. The very existence of slavery calls upon them to harden their hearts and dry their tears, and they are thus rendered indifferent to the scenes of horror which are daily transpiring. It will not do for them to look upon such scenes, and give way to their feelings. It is so to some extent here at the North. When we think, as we often do, of the millions of human beings in slavery, how can we speak and act in such a manner as to strengthen rather than weaken the system? How great was the influence of the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law upon the heart and conscience of the entire North! Daniel Webster, in using his influence in favor of the passage of that law, did more to degrade the heart and conscience of New England, than can be undone by all the ministers here for twenty years to come. Let us not forget that the curse falls not only on the black, but upon the white man. We are all called upon to use our best efforts for its entire removal.

Let us not forget the blighting effect which the system of American slavery has upon the religion of the North,—and I thank God there is a religion here; but let me ask, has not this system divested it of a heart, a soul, of inspiration, of breadth, depth and strength? The religion that can be satisfied with mere forms and ceremonies is worth but little. It must have a heart to feel for man, before it can manifest a true love for God. It is not worthy the name of religion, unless it embrace humanity as well as divinity. Slavery has taken the heart, and sacrificed it to mere forms and ceremonies. Let all make an effort to be free from this influence. We do not suppose how much we are influenced by the system. Slavery is a subtle enemy upon the heart, imperceptible, it may be, but not the less near. All are more or less influenced by it as existing in this country. Philosophers say that 'the tread of a child on the surface of the earth is felt by all the planets in the solar system. The movement of a single pebble being on this earth is felt by the sun. If we cast a pebble into the ocean, the effect reaches to all its parts.' This belief to be true. It is equally true that the system of American slavery at the South exerts its influence over the whole country, and, indeed, throughout the world. If we could analyze our feelings, we should find a great amount of evil that had its origin from the existence of this system. May God hasten the time when it will have an end!

MRS. CHAD'S NEW WORK ON THE PROGRESS OF RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

The following is Mrs. Chad's 'PREFACE' to her recent voluminous and admirably executed work, entitled 'PROGRESS OF RELIGIOUS IDEAS THROUGH SEVENTEEN CENTURIES':— I would candidly advise persons who are conscious of bigoted attachment to any creed or theory, not to purchase this book. Whether they are bigoted Christians or bigoted infidels, its tone will be likely to displease them.

My motive in writing has been a very simple one. I wished to show that *Theology is not religion*; with the hope that I might help to break down partition walls; to ameliorate what the eloquent Bushnell calls 'baptized hatreds of a human race.' In order to do this, I have endeavored to give a concise and comprehensive account of religions, in the liberal spirit of the motto upon my title page. The period embraced in my plan extends from the most ancient Hindoo records to the complete establishment of the Catholic church. While my mind was yet in its youth, I was offended by the manner in which Christian writers usually describe other religions; for I observed that they habitually covered apparent contradictions and absurdities, in Jewish or Christian writings, with a veil of allegories and mystical interpretations, while the records of all other religions were unscrupulously analyzed; or contemptuously described as 'childish fables,' or 'silly superstitions.' I was well aware that this was done unconsciously, under the influence of habitual reverence for early teaching; and I was still more displeased with the scoffing tone of skeptical writers, who regarded all religions as founded on imposture. Either way, the one-sidedness of the representation troubled my strong sense of justice. I recollect wishing, long ago, that I could become acquainted with some good, intelligent Brahmin, or Mohammedan, that I might learn, in some degree, how their religion appeared to

them. This feeling expanded within me, until it took form in this book. The facts it contains are very odd; the novelty it claims is the point of view from which those facts are seen and presented. I have treated all religions with reverence, and shown no more favor to the one than to another. I have exhibited each in the light of its own Sacred Books; and in giving quotations, I have aimed in every case to present impartially the beauties and the blemishes. I have honestly tried the beauties and the blemishes. I have never to exaggerate merits or conceal defects. I have never declared that any system was true, or that any one was false. I have even avoided the use of the word 'heaven'; for though harmless in its original significance, it is used in a way that implies condescension or contempt; and such a tone is inconsistent with the perfect impartiality I have wished to observe. I have tried to place each form of worship in its own light; that is, as it appeared to those who sincerely believed it to be of divine origin. But even this candid picture, must necessarily produce a very imperfect picture, drawn as it is by a modern mind, so foreign to ancient habits of thought, and separated from them by the lapse of ages. The process has been exceedingly interesting; for the history of the religious sentiment, struggling through theological mazes, furnishes the most curious chapter in the strange history of mankind.

I offer the results of my investigations with extreme timidity. Not because I am afraid of public opinion; for I have learned to place exceedingly little value on any thing the world can give or take away. But I have been oppressed with anxiety, lest I should not perform the important task in the right spirit and in the most judicious manner. I have conscientiously tried to do it with great care, fearless truthfulness, perfect candor, reverence toward God, and tenderness for human nature. I have sought out facts diligently, and stated them plainly; leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions freely, uninfluenced by suggestions from me. The inferences deduced from my statements will vary according to the predominance of the reverential or the rational element in character. I have contented myself with patiently digging out information from books old and new, and presenting it with all the clearness and all the honesty of which I am capable. To write with the unbiased justice at which I aimed, I was obliged to trample under my feet the theological underbrush, which always tangles and obstructs the path, when the soul strives to be guided only by the mild bright star of religious sentiment. It is never pleasant to walk directly through and over the opinions of the age in which one lives. I have not done it, so far as I am concerned; because such a course is not my feeling. I have done it in a straight-forward, quiet way, as if I were unconscious of their existence. I foresee that many good and conscientious people will consider it a great risk to treat religious history in that manner. If I could have avoided giving them pain, and at the same time have written with complete impartiality, I would most gladly have done so. For myself, I have firm faith that plain statements of truth can never eventually prove injurious, on any subject.

Milton has expressed this conviction with rare eloquence: 'Though all the winds of doctrine be let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously to doubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple. Who ever knew Truth put to the worse by a free and open encounter? Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle muing her mighty wing, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous flocking birds, with those also who love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their various gabble, would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.—' What would ye do then? Should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge, sprung up, and yet daily springing up? Should ye set an oligarchy of twenty engrossers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by their bushel? Believe it, they who counsel you to such suppressing, do as good as bid you suppress yourselves.'

If scholars should read this book, they may perchance smile at its extreme simplicity of style. But I have written for the popular mind, not for the learned. I have therefore aimed principally at conciseness and clearness. I have recorded dates, and explained phrases, supposed to be generally understood, because I know there are many intelligent readers not familiar with such dates and phrases, and who cannot conveniently refer to cyclopedias or lexicons. I am aware of having inserted very many things which are perfectly well known to every body. But this was unavoidable, in order to present a continuous whole, from the same point of view. Doubtless, a learned person could have performed the task far better, in many respects; but on some accounts, my want of learning is an advantage. Thoughts do not range so freely, when the store-room of the brain is overloaded with furniture. In the course of my investigations, I have frequently discovered that a great amount of erudition becomes a veil of thick clouds between the subject and the reader.—Moreover, learned men can rarely have such freedom from any sectarian bias, as the circumstances of my life have produced in me.

It is now more than eight years since I first began this task. Had I foreseen how far my little book would carry me out to sea, I certainly should not have undertaken the voyage. Unexpected impediments interrupted the labor during three years; but even then, my thoughts and my reading were continually directed toward it. I have been diligent and patient in procuring and comparing facts, from sources deemed perfectly authentic, and I have been scrupulously conscientious in the statement of them. I may have made mistakes; for it is not easy to arrive at the exact truth amid a mass of obscure and often contradictory statements. But I have done my best; and if there are errors, they have not proceeded from intention or from carelessness. I have not asked any person what I should say, or how I should say it. My natural love of freedom resisted such procedure; and, foreseeing that I might incur unpopularity, I was unwilling to implicate others. I have, therefore, merely stated to learned men and women, that I wished for information on specified subjects, and inquired of them what were the best books to be consulted. I have sometimes condensed quotations, for the sake of brevity, but I have never misquoted, or misrepresented.

I am not aware that any one, who truly revered Christianity, has ever before tried the experiment of placing it precisely on a level with other religions, so far as the manner of representation is concerned. Even wise and candid men, more or less unconsciously, adopt a system of withholding evidence on one side, and accumulating it on the other; as the most honest lawyers do, when pleading a cause. The followers of all religions practise self-deception of this kind. They forget that most human beings would seem great and holy, in comparison with others, if all the weaknesses were carefully concealed on one side, and protruded into prominence on the other; if all the excellencies were rendered conspicuous on one side, and kept out of sight on the other. I have tried to avoid this tendency. I have given beautiful extracts from Platonic philosophers and from Christian Fathers. I have portrayed the benevolence of bishops, without veiling their ambition or intolerance. I have not suggested any doctrine as true, or stigmatized any as false. I have simply said so it was argued, and thus it was decided. I knew of no other method by which complete impartiality could be attained. Some may consider the sketches of Apollonius, Philo, Origenes, Plotinus, and others, as irrelevant to the history of Christianity. But in order to trace the progress of religious ideas, it was necessary to describe the prominent characters and external influences which

modified their growth; for the surrounding spiritual atmosphere affects the formation of all opinions. I have therefore endeavored to show what degree of preparation there was, in the Jewish and Gentile world, for the coming of Christianity, and then what kind of resistance it met, internally and externally. I may have misunderstood some theological statements; for it is not easy to draw a continuous thread from the tangled skein of polemical controversy; which constantly reminds me of the Scotch definition of metaphysics: 'It is a use moon explaining to another what he himself understood himself.'

The perfect openness with which I have revealed many particulars generally kept in the background, will trouble some devoted people, whose feelings I would not willingly wound. But I place great reliance on sincerity, and have strong faith in the power of genuine Christianity to stand on its own internal merits, unaided by concealment. My own mind has long been desirous to ascertain the plain, unvarnished truth on all these subjects; and having sought it out, I felt prompted to impart it to those who were in a similar state. Those who wish to obtain candid information, without caring whether it does or does not sustain any favorite theory of their own, may perhaps thank me for saving them the trouble of searching through large and learned volumes for scattered items of information; and if they complain of want of profoundness, they may perchance be willing to accept simplicity and clearness in exchange for depth. In order to do justice to the book, if read at all, it ought not to be glanced at here and there, but read carefully from the beginning to the end, because the links of a continuous chain are preserved throughout.

Constant reference to authorities would have loaded the pages with notes, and unpleasantly interrupted the reading. I have therefore given, at the end of the volume, a list of the principal books I have used, which can be examined by any one who doubts the accuracy of my statements. Sustained by conscious integrity of purpose, and having executed my task faithfully, according to the best of my ability, I quietly leave the book to its fate, whether it be neglect, censure, or praise.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

THE MAN THAT PLAYED ON A HARP WITH A THOUSAND STRINGS—THE SPIRITS UV JUST MEN MADE PERFECT.

The numerous applications which have been made to us for copies of the following remarkable sermon which appeared in the *Evening Post* a month since, will, we hope, be deemed a sufficient excuse for republishing it. It is one of the funniest things in its way we have read since the appearance of 'Doesticks on a Bender.' It is delivered by a Reverend captain of a Mississippi flatboat.

I may say to you, my brethering, that I am not an educated man, an' I am not one o' them as believes that education is necessary for a gospel minister, fur I believe the Lord educates his preachers just as he wants 'em to be educated, and, altho' I say it that oughtn't to say it, yet in the State of Indiana, where I live, that's no man as gets a bigger congregation nor what I git.

That may be some here to-day, my brethering, as don't know what persuasion I am uv. Well, I may say to you, my brethering, that I'm a hard-shell Baptist. Your's some folks as don't like the hard-shell Baptists, but I'd rather hev a hardshell as no shell at all. You see me here, to-day, my brethering, dress up in fine cloze; you must think I was proud, but I am not proud, my brethering, and altho' I've been a preacher uv the Gospel for twenty years, and altho' I'm capin' uv that flatboat that lies at yure landing, I'm not proud, my brethering.

I'm not a gwine ter tell you *edacally* whar my tex may be found; suffice it to say, it is in the led of the Bible, and you'll find it somewhar 'ween the first chapter of the book of Generation and the last chapter of the book of Revolutions, and if you'll go and search the Scriptures, as if you'll search the Scriptures, you'll not only find my tex ther, but a great many other texts as will do you good to read, an' my tex, when you shall find it, you shall find it to read thus:

'He played on a harp uv a thousand strings—spirits uv just men made perfect.'

'My tex, brethering, leads to speak uv spirit. Now that's a great many kinds of spirits in the world.—In the first place, that's the spirits as some folks call ghosts; then that's the spirits uv turpen time, and then that's the spirits as some folks call liquor, and I've got as good an article of them kind uv spirits on my flatboat as ever was fetched down the Mississippi river, but that's a great many other kind uv spirits, for the tex says:—'He played on a harp uv a thousand strings—spirits uv just men made perfect.'

But I'll tell you the kind uv spirits as is ment in the tex; it's *fire*. That is the kind of spirits as is ment in the tex, my brethering. Now that's a great many kinds of fire in the world. In the first place, that's the common sort uv fire you life a cigar or pipe with, and then that's the camfire, fire before yure redly, and fall back, and many other kinds uv fire, for the tex says:—'He played on a harp uv a thousand strings—spirits uv just men made perfect.'

But I'll tell you the kind uv fire as is ment in the tex, my brethering—it's *hell fire*! an' that's the kind uv fire as a great many uv you'll come to, if you don't do better nor what you have bin doin'—for—'He played on a harp uv a thousand strings—spirits uv just men made perfect.'

Now, the different sorts uv fire in the world may be likened unto the different persuasions uv Christians in the world. In the first place, we have the Piscopallions, and they are a high sailin' and a high-falutin' set, and they may be likened unto a turkey buzzard that flies up into the air, and he goes up and up till he looks no bigger than your finger nail, and the foot thing you know, he cums down and down, and down and down, and is a fillin' himself on the hawking of a dead horse by the side of the road,—and he played on a harp uv a thousand strings—spirits uv just men made perfect.'

And then that's the Methodis, and they may be likened unto the squirrel, runnin' up into a tree; for the Methodis believes in gwine on from one degree uv grace to another, and finally on to perfection, and the squirrel goes up and up, and he jumps from lim' to lim', and branch to branch, and the last thing you know he falls, and down he cums to the ground, and that's the like of the Methodis, for they is allers fallin' from grace, ah!—And—'He played on a harp uv a thousand strings—spirits uv just men made perfect.'

And then, my brethering, that's the Baptist, ah! and they ber bin likened unto a possum on a 'sion tree, and the thunders may roll, and then the earth may quake, but that possum diggs ther still, ah!—And you may shake one foot loose, and the other's ther, and you may shake all feet loose, and he lays his tail around the lim', and he cings furver, for—'He played on a harp uv a thousand strings—spirits uv just men made perfect.'

Here the reporter could no longer contain himself, and his notes became entirely unintelligible.

ALL the members of the Kansas Legislature, except two, who have accepted office, have left the Missouri, and nearly all have departed homeward from Kansas.—*Cor. St. Louis Democrat.*

All the infamous laws passed by this body meet with the cordial approbation of Gov. Shannon, who will exert all his influence and authority to enforce them.

Tennyson's new poem is thus 'briefly and comprehensively' criticised:— 'Diabolically dull and dolefully dawdlin'.'—*Tennyson's* *Maud* should be Tennyson's *Maudlin*!'

'NORTHERN FANATICS.' The people of Boston have contributed \$6240 to relieve the sufferers at Norfolk, Va., in Virginia; \$600 was given by the tenants of Faneuil Hall market. Will the Virginia delegation in the next Congress remember this, while denouncing Massachusetts and the 'money-loving Yankees'?

Dr. HENRY L. BOWDITCH, of Boston, being about to set an antique sun-dial, sent to John G. Whittier a request for an appropriate inscription. He returned the following:—

With warning hand I mark time's rapid flight From life's glad morning to its solemn night; But through the dear God's love I also show There's light above me, by the shade below.

HOPEDALE JUVENILE AND COLLEGIATE HOME SCHOOL. HOPEDALE, MILFORD, MASS. DESIGNED FOR YOUTH OF BOTH SEXES. Sanctioned by the Authorities of the Hopedale Community.

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PHYSICAL HEALTH AND DEVELOPMENT, MENTAL DISCIPLINE, CULTURE OF THE AFFECTIONAL NATURE.

The first Winter Term, consisting of twenty-two weeks, will commence Thursday, Nov. 1, 1855.

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Instruction in Reading, Spelling, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Grammar, Analogy, Composition, History, Physiology, First Lessons in Natural Philosophy, Eloquence, Intellectual and Elementary Algebra, Elementary Drawing, Rudiments of Vocal Music; board, washing, mending, fuel, lights, use of books, access to the Library, use of religious, scientific or Gymnastic exercises, use of religious, scientific, musical, athletic, and other games, and other amusements, (per quarter of eleven weeks) \$4.00

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Ancient Languages, each.....1.00
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Instruction on Piano Forte, with use of Instrument.....10.00
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All books for instruction in Instrumental Music, extra.

Oil-Painting, Mono-Chromatic Drawing, and all other branches, taught in the Institution, at reasonable prices.

For other extra branches, see Circular.

ARTICLES NECESSARY TO BE FURNISHED BY THE PUPIL.

(And which, if not convenient to obtain, may be had at the Institution at the retail price.)

Hair-brush and comb, tooth-brush, and a pair of hair soap, four toilet towels, a pair of slippers of light shoes, umbrella, blacking-brush and blacking, Waller's School Dictionary, and a Pocket Bible.

All articles and wearing apparel must be properly marked.

All pupils must come provided with pieces of cloth corresponding to their clothes, as we cannot agree to piece their clothes unless this is done.

Each pupil must bring a complete list of articles brought by him, a duplicate of which will be required by the Principals.

A LIMITED NUMBER OF DAY PUPILS WILL BE RECEIVED. For terms, see Circular.

For Circulars, containing full information, please address the Principals.

March 30, 6m

An Appropriate Bridal Present.

THE TRUE WAY TO SECURE A HAPPY HOME AND HEALTHY CHILDREN.

MARRIAGE AND PARENTAGE, OR THE REPRODUCTIVE ELEMENT IN MAN, AS A MEANS TO HIS ELEVATION AND HAPPINESS.

BY HENRY C. WRIGHT. SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED.

Just published and for sale by BELA MARSH, 15 Franklin street. Price, \$1.00. July 20, 6m

DR. H. W. MASON, DENTIST. 49 TREMONT STREET. (OVER LEONARD & CO'S AUCTION ROOM.) BOSTON.

Dr. M. is a regular graduate in dental medicine and Surgery, and operates on the most reasonable terms.

Boston, Sept. 28, 1855 6m

CORA AND THE DOCTOR: OR REVELATIONS OF A PHYSICIAN'S WIFE.

A GREASILY to promise, we opened a new vein on the 18th of September, and 2000 lbs. of the richest ore were taken from it on the first day; and which time we have found it impossible to supply the demand.

CORA AND THE DOCTOR will be, as we promised, a book of many kinds. The fourth thousand is now ready. The reviewers are delighted with it. Read what they say:—

A story which displays great skill and good taste in the writer. [Daily Advertiser, Boston.]

It has rarely been our lot to peruse a more interesting and beautiful book than this.—[Wesleyan Journal.]

Our heart has been made to throb with its dramatic incidents, and our eyes to well up with the pathos of its heart-revelations.—[McMakin's Courier, Philadelphia.]

One of the most interesting volumes which has lately been issued from the American press.—[Boston Herald.]

A charmingly written volume, which will apply to pay persons.—[Daily British Whig, Canada.]

The fragrance it leaves behind is pure and refreshing.—[Christian Mirror, Portland.]

If our judgment is not greatly in fault, Cora and the Doctor will prove to be one of the most popular series of the season.—[N. E. Farmer.]

It is indeed a book of power, poetry, elegance, and Christian sentiment among thousands.—[Evening Transcript, Boston.]

PUBLISHED BY JOHN P. JEWETT & CO. 117 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON.

Oct. 12, 4w

Portrait of Andrew Jackson Davis. JUST published, a superior large size Lithograph of this great reformer, executed by Gravure, in the highest style of the art, and pronounced by the one of the best pictorial artists to be the best ever made. Persons at a distance can have them forwarded by mail in perfect order, by enclosing nine cents, or three postage stamps, in the order.

For sale by BELA MARSH, 15 Franklin street, and Dr. H. F. GARDNER, Fountain House, Boston.

PASSMORE WILLIAMSON IN MOYAMENING JAIL. JUST PUBLISHED. A FINE Portrait representing this Martyr in the cause of Freedom, Truth and Justice, (see the Liberator, 11th Nov. 1855) in the cell in which he was incarcerated by Judge Kane for alleged contempt of Court. Size of the Picture, 16 by 20. Price, Fifty Cents.

Those desiring early impressions of this interesting Picture can receive them by leaving their names with the Publisher, THOMAS CURTIS, 184 Arch street, Philadelphia, where all orders for the trade must be addressed. Philadelphia, Sept. 20, 1855.

REMOVAL. HAXTER & BROTHER, Opticians, (successors to John Peters,) have removed to 139 WASHINGTON STREET, Two doors south of School St. October 19.