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PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY,
Henry W. Williams, General Agent:
AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, No. 25 CORNHILL.

☞ To whom all remittances are to be made, and all letters addressed, relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper.
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☞ For a continuation of this list, see the last page, last column.]

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. J. BROWN YERRINTON, Printer.

VOL. XII.—NO. 9. BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 4, 1842. WHOLE NO. 582.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

South Carolina Legislature.

Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, on so much of the Governor's Message, and the accompanying Documents, as relates to the Controversy between New-York and Virginia, and the Bill on that subject, which were referred to that Committee.

The Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred so much of the message of his Excellency, the Governor, as relates to the controversy between the States of New-York and Virginia, with the accompanying documents, and a bill relative to the subject, beg leave to submit the following

REPORT:

The subject which has engaged the deliberations of your committee, involves a grave and delicate inquiry, as to the duties and rights of the States of this Confederacy, under their compact of union, and it has claimed their most earnest consideration. Their inquiry, and the bill which has been committed to them, are suggested by the controversy that has unhappily arisen between the authorities of New-York and of Virginia.

Three persons of color, having their domicile in New-York, and trading to Virginia, were, in 1829, charged with a violation of the criminal law of that State, in having feloniously abducted in their vessel, on its departure, the slave of one of her citizens.—These felons having returned to the State of New-York, were formally demanded by the Executive of Virginia, in pursuance of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The Executive of New-York, waiving exception to the regularity of the demand, as well as objection to the completeness of the evidence on which it was founded, declined to comply with the requisition, on the ground that the laws of New-York do not recognise the right of one man to hold property in another; and that stealing a slave in the commonwealth of Virginia, is not an offence within the intendment of the Constitution of the United States.

This unexpected and alarming determination of the Executive of New-York, and his views of the constitutional obligations of a Confederate State, were communicated by the Executive of Virginia to the General Assembly of that Commonwealth. That Department of the Government of Virginia, after mature and wise deliberation, pronounced, in solemn resolutions, the refusal of the Executive of New-York to comply with the requisition of the Executive of Virginia, a palpable and dangerous violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States.' It announced its well considered and earnest determination, not to acquiesce in the course of the Executive of New-York, and to enact such legislation as would suffice to protect the property and rights of the citizens of Virginia.

The General Assembly of Virginia requested the Executive to renew his correspondence with the Executive of New-York, call upon him respectfully, to publicly review the grounds of his refusal, and to present the subject to the Legislature of New-York, for its consideration. This duty was promptly and fidelitely performed by the Executive of Virginia. The request was made known to the Legislature of New-York, by the official organ of that State, and that body expressed that Virginia appealed to its sense of justice and of duty to a co-State. How was this appeal regarded in the response of New-York? The committee to whom the subject had been confided, expressed its concurrence in the views of the Executive Department, pronounced its construction of the Federal Constitution, the only exposition of that charter which consists with the sovereignty of that State, and the rights of her citizens, and was discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

Contemporaneous with this proceeding, was the enactment of a law, bearing the specious but delusive title, 'An act to extend the right of trial by jury,' an act which is the most alarming and dangerous form in which fanaticism or folly has made its assaults on our domestic institutions.

This statute provides, that in proceedings to recover a fugitive from service or labor, the claim to the service of such alleged fugitive, his identity, and the fact of his escape from another State, shall be determined by a jury; that the State shall provide counsel for the slave, witnesses attend in his behalf, and that the fees of officers for summoning the jury, and the fees of the jurors and court, shall, in all cases, be paid by the claimant. It provides also, that if any judge or other officer, shall issue a certificate for the removal from the State, of any fugitive from labor, except in the manner prescribed by this statute, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and be punished; and that an attempt to remove such fugitive, without the authority of law, shall incur a forfeiture of five hundred dollars to the party aggrieved; that it shall constitute the crime of kidnapping, punishable by imprisonment in the State prison for a term not exceeding ten years. It is a further provision of this statute, that the writ of *habeas corpus*, to arrest the fugitive from service, shall not be issued until delivery to the officer to whom the application shall be made, of a bond, with two sufficient sureties, inhabitants and freeholders of that State, with condition to pay the costs of the proceeding, and two dollars weekly, for the support of the captive, so long as he shall be detained by the proceedings on *habeas corpus*; and that if the verdict of the jury be against the claimant, he shall pay all the expenses of the proceeding, and shall pay to such captive one hundred dollars, and the damages he may have sustained. It is not the least obnoxious feature of this statute, that it seeks to confine the adjudication of these questions to juries, and to preclude the consideration of them by the judiciary of that State, as is evinced by the imposition of restrictions on the claimant's right of appeal, which greatly impair that right, if they do not render it utterly nugatory.

Whether this course of the Executive of New-York, or the legislation of its General Assembly, accords with the prescriptions of right, and the inflexible rules of duty, that the Constitution so explicitly declares, in regard to our slave property, let that charter, and the laws enacted in pursuance of it, decide.

The provision of the Constitution is, 'that no person held to service or labor in any one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim to the party to whom such service or labor shall be due.' By the act of Congress, the manner of any fugitive slave, his agent or attorney, is authorized to seize and take him before a Judge of the Circuit or District Court of the United States, or before any State Magistrate, who, on proof to his satisfaction, by oral testimony, or affidavit certified by a magistrate of any State or territory, that the person so seized, is the slave of the claimant, is authorized to give a certificate thereof, which shall be a sufficient warrant for removal of the slave to the State from which he fled; and impose a penalty on any one who shall hinder or obstruct such claimant in seizing or arresting such fugitive slave.

In this posture of the controversy, Virginia having exhausted the argument with New-York, and hopeless of the remedies which should be found in the constitutional obligations and duties of a co-State, appeals to her sister States of the South for counsel and co-operation. Standing on the outposts of southern institutions, that faithful sentinel announces the presence of danger; warns that a common foe is advancing, and calls those who have a similar policy, to their defence. Her claim—her right to lead in defence or maintenance of the rights of a confederate State, or of Southern policy, has been vindicated by the incidents of her past history.

An ancient domestic institution, cherished in the hearts of the people of the South, the eradication of which would demolish our whole system of policy domestic, social, and political, has been assailed by methods most likely to be successful. Is it a contest in which any southern State, without utter abandonment of honor and of right, of policy and duty, can assume a position of neutrality? Let other States do as they may, South Carolina has taken her stand in this great contest. Her gage of honor has been given to her countrymen, and she is not of those who know how to leave it unredeemed.

When the Federal Constitution was adopted by the States, slavery existed, with but few exceptions, in them all. The right of property in slaves, and the duty of all the confederate States to respect that right in the citizens of each State, are admitted and enforced by that Constitution. Congress, in discharge of its duty, has enacted laws providing safeguards, and inculcating duties in regard to this species of property. South Carolina, as Virginia, has not seen fit to change her policy, and abolish this species of property; and she will permit no State or authority to impair its value or security; and like Virginia, she here avows her unalterable purpose to protect and defend it from all invasion and attack, come from what source they may.

That the refusal of the Executive of New-York to comply with the demand of Virginia, is, in the language of that Commonwealth, 'a palpable and dangerous violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States,' is a proposition which admits no debate. The pretension of New York, that that State or any Department of her Government, may look into the statute book of another State, and pronounce upon the policy or the morality of its legislation, when called to the performance of a constitutional duty, plainly enjoined, is no less arrogant, than it is violative of her Federal obligations and plighted faith. The statute whose provisions have been recited, is no less plainly and directly in contradiction of the Constitution and laws of the United States, than is the refusal of the Executive Department.—It is not a distinct and unequivocal recognition of the right of the master to hold property in his slave, and the correlative duty of States into which he has fled, but a mere mockery of both. The impediments and hindrance which it imposes, on the right to recapture a fugitive slave within the jurisdiction of New York, amount to a virtual denial of the rights of the master and withholding his remedy. The laws of the United States define a proceeding ministerial, summary, and expeditious, which alone consists with the rights of the master. The statute of New York prescribes magisterial injury, and dilatory, doubtful, and vexatious litigation, the hazards of which are a denial of the remedy to the master, and impunity and protection to his slave. And the right of the master to seize and arrest his slave, as well as the duty of the magistrate to issue the certificate for removal, which are prescribed by the laws of the United States, are made high misdemeanors by the statute of New-York.

If in the final determination of the Executive of New York, and the delay which attended his communications, in his correspondence with the Executive of Virginia, a disregard of the obligations of the Constitution, and a spirit inimical to the slave property of the latter, be not apparent, they are manifest in every feature of the obnoxious statute, which has been reviewed.

Interest, duty, and honor, imperiously demand that South Carolina announce to the authorities of New-York, that so soon as that State shall break its solemn faith to Virginia, so soon shall be cancelled our constitutional obligations as to her. When a State shall have been disappointed of those rights and remedies, for which stipulation was made when the compact of Union was adopted, then will the painful but imperative duty of protecting her rights, in her own way, have been imposed upon her. This State having a common purpose, and common interest with Virginia to uphold the Federal Constitution, by exacting compliance with its obligations, is prepared to make common cause with that Commonwealth in the maintenance of her rights.

As the chief danger to our slave property arises directly from the commercial intercourse which is permitted the citizens of States like New York, having no similar interest, our enactments should be specifically directed against the means that have been resorted to, and are most likely to be embraced by those who assail it. The peculiar character of that property, its immense value, and the facility of abducting it, by those who trade to our ports, are considerations which should determine us to a course of decisive and effectual legislation. These views have suggested to your committee the expediency of imposing such restrictions and obligations upon those who would benefit by our commerce, as will enforce the simple duty of not molesting us in the enjoyment of our property. This species of legislation is commended by your committee, as not only free from well-founded constitutional objections, but as promising the greatest security to us, which is probably attainable.

If this species of legislation be supposed to contravene the Constitution or laws of the United States, your committee venture to believe that the competency of the State to make it, depends on principles neither of recent origin, nor questionable acceptance. The basis of the whole doctrine of State Rights is the assumption that the Constitution of the United States is a compact between sovereign States. From this postulate results the concession of that Constitution, that the powers not delegated to the United States, not prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people. If the power delegated to the United States be also prohibited to the States, or in its nature and essence exclusive, it is not pretended that it can be exercised by a State. But if the delegated power be not of this category, and be not expressly prohibited to the States, it is a power which may be concurrently exercised by the States and the United States. The ablest commentators, and the most distinguished jurists, concede that this is the just and accepted construction of powers that are, by the States, delegated to the United States. Of this latter class, is the power of the United States to regulate commerce.

If, then, the regulation of commerce be within the competency of the States, as well as of the United States, inquiry arises, whether there is any law of the latter regulating commerce, to which the bill proposed by your committee, would be repugnant. In determining whether there would be collision between the bill proposed, and a law of Congress affecting commerce, the question would be whether there is a constitutional repugnancy and incompatibility, as mere inconvenience cannot by implication, be permitted to divest a right of sovereignty. Occasional interference in the exercise of a concurrent jurisdiction, is not enough to infer constitutional contradiction, and the exclusion of State authority. The right of the States to enact regulations that affect commerce, and even impose restraints upon it, is illustrated by quarantine laws, port laws, inspection laws, and others of like nature. But your committee are not appriaed of any law of the United States, regulating commerce, with which the bill proposed would be found to conflict.

But the bill proposed by your committee, as they conceive, does not seek to regulate commerce, and cannot be said, with propriety, to affect it in any wise. It proposes a measure of mere municipal police—a regulation of that species which no one has denied to the States.

But although it may be conceded, that legislation proposed, does not contravene the power of Congress, legitimately to regulate commerce, yet it maybe supposed that it does not consist with the privileges and immunities that a regranted by the federal constitution, to the citizens of a State, in all other States of the Union. To this point, it will be permitted your committee to address a brief argument. Without such provision of the United States, as had here alluded to, it would have resulted from the sovereignty of the several States, that the citizens of each would bear to all the other States the relation of aliens, and be subject to the inconveniences and disabilities of that relation; and to confer upon them, not citizenship itself, but the rights of citizenship, was its purpose and object. But the privileges and immunities contemplated, are fundamental in their nature, and embrace, in the language of an eminent jurist, 'protection by the government, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the right to acquire and possess property of every kind, and to pursue and attain happiness and safety, subject to such restraints as the government may justly prescribe for the general good of the whole.'

But your committee presume the question is not whether the citizens of each State should enjoy in every other State the privileges and immunities that are conferred on its own citizens, but whether a State can make discriminations between its own citizens. If it be ascertained that a State may bestow on classes of its own citizens privileges and immunities that are not common to the mass, then its apprehended the point is made clear. The qualification of the elective franchise, which exists in some of the States, and once existed in this, the eligibility to office, charter laws, and the right to practice the learned professions, are examples of the power of a State to create distinctions amongst her citizens, and many others might be enumerated in the enumeration. The principle is, that a State cannot deprive the citizens of another State of the privileges and immunities of which it cannot divest its own citizens. But discriminations between citizens of a State and those of other States are of frequent occurrence in all the States, and the right to create them is of unquestionable validity.

But the bill proposed by your committee seeks merely to take from the citizens of other States the immunity which is not enjoyed by citizens of this State, and to impose upon them restrictions which are endured by its own citizens.

South Carolina has, however, declared, in the solemn form of legislative enactment, her views of these provisions of the Constitution, as well as of her police regulations; and as they have not yet been impugned, your committee take leave to decline further vindication of them. By the statute of one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, any vessel from another State or foreign port, having on board any free negroes or persons of color, as cooks, stewards, mariners, or in any other capacity is prohibited from entering any port or harbor of this State, under sanctions which have been found adequate to the suppression of the evil that was sought to be corrected. Let, then, those whom it may concern to know the policy of this State, and her interpretation of her rights as a member of these United States, consult her statute book, and if they are wise, they will not offend against her policy or her institutions.

In testimony of the high confidence which South Carolina reposes in the counsels of Virginia, and a manifestation of her determination to co-operate with that Commonwealth, and other States, in maintaining, by all proper methods, an institution in which she has a common interest, your committee beg leave to report a bill referred to them, which is a copy of the Virginia law.

1. Resolved, That this Legislature view with regret, the constructive meaning of the constitutional provision, respecting 'fugitives from justice,' and 'fugitives from service,' asserted by the Executive and Legislative authorities of the State of New York, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty.

2. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Legislature, the forced and dangerous construction put upon the 4th Article of the Constitution of the United States, and the pretension to control its operation by the State of New York, as indicated by the positions of her Executive, in the progress of the late controversy with Virginia, and the proceedings of her Legislature pending the same, should be repudiated and discountenanced by every State in the Union, as destructive of the faith pledged in the Constitution, and ultimately subversive of that State sovereignty upon which they profess to be founded.

3. Resolved, That the Governor be requested to communicate to the authorities of Virginia, the high sense entertained by this Legislature of their moderation and respectful forbearance in conducting the recent unhappy controversy with the State of New-York—of the justness of the position assumed by Virginia, and the assurance of the hearty co-operation of Sauth Carolina in all proper measures to vindicate her rights as a State, and to protect the property of her citizens.

4. Resolved, That copies of the report and resolutions adopted by the Legislature, together with a certified copy of the bill when passed, be furnished by the Governor of this State to the Governor of Virginia and the Governors of the several States of this Union; and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to be laid before that body.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Dec. 16, 1841.
Resolved, That the House do agree to the report.
Ordered, That it be sent to the Senate for concurrence.
By order: T. W. GLOVER, C. H. R.

IN THE SENATE, Dec. 17, 1841.
Resolved, That the Senate do concur in the report.
Ordered, That it be returned to the House of Representatives.
By order: W. E. MARTIN, C. S.

From the Boston Catholic Diary.

Slavery vs. Anti-Slavery.

This tortured question has got into vogue in certain quarters, but we have our views upon the subject. That slavery is unjust, we will not—we cannot deny; but, that those zealots who would madly attempt to eradicate the evil by the destruction of our federal union, and thus spread devastation and anarchy throughout the land, are infinitely more reprehensible than the most tyrannical slaveholders, we are equally confident.

We are far from solicitous to render our columns the medium of a 'wordy war' upon either one side or the other of the question, but our anti-slavery friends in this city are making a most bombastic vaunt of a certain abolition address which a colored gentleman imported from Ireland, and to which are affixed the names of Daniel O'Connell and Father Mathew. Now the illustrious Liberator or the Apostle of Temperance have an indisputable right to affix their signatures to any document which may appear to them equitable; but their autograph, or even an exhortation from the eloquent lips of either, implies no right to shackle the opinions of the Irishmen of America. We respect—we revere those men as the greatest benefactors of our native land, but as dictators over the reason and mind, we deny and repel the assumption of such authority. If this African gentleman drew up an address, and procured the autographs of O'Connell and Father Mathew, those distinguished men dreamed not that the abolitionists of Boston would pervert their noble views, by attempting to enchain the consciences of Irishmen, by a paltry address. We can tell the abolitionists that we acknowledge no dictation from a foreign source; that none are more capable than Irishmen of wise and just decision, and although we do possess the grateful hearts and warm feeling inherent in the breasts of Irishmen, we are also gifted with sufficient discrimination to distinguish modest praise from fulsome flattery. Why did not these very *eloquent* gentlemen who mingled among us at our last, *equal* meeting in Amory Hall, one of whom 'thought it was as reasonable to bring out his little candle and help the sun to give light, as to praise O'Connell,' why did not they give us *bullion* testimony of their sympathy for Ireland? Why, because they came there to flatter Irishmen into the phrenzy of abolitionism—to hold us up as the target for Southern pistols and the sheath for Southern bowie-knives! We are not those credulous beings which our abolition friends seemed to suppose, and though we can offer as pure a tribute at the shrine of freedom—aye, of *universal* freedom, as the most votive hearts that ever bowed before her altar, we can discern between the calm, yet determined spirit of liberty, and the turbulence and confusion of anarchy.

There is not in the universe a constitution so pure in its freedom, as that transmitted to us by the immortal Washington. Why, then, in a wild attempt to improve, will we risk its total annihilation? Time, and time alone, will modify its imperfections. Slavery in the Southern States will exist until the slaveholders themselves will dictate its abolition.

In Faneuil Hall, Irishmen were told not to vote for those who were not opposed to slavery. The speakers urged them to be vigilant at the polls.—We repeat the warning—we emphatically urge them to be vigilant. We now ask our countrymen, is a *Rev.* gentleman a fit candidate for gubernatorial honors? Is the *Rev. John Pierpont*, a *sectarian minister*, one in whom we could repose our confidence as the presiding officer of this Commonwealth? Let us beware that in our ardor for freedom, we do not crush *freedom of conscience*, and establish a religious ascendency in our State. Well might the Transcript append to the announcement of this gentleman, 'God save the Commonwealth.' We do not deny that our forebodings may be groundless; but who can appreciate the influence of such a man in such an office? Let Irishmen vote as they will, but we deem it our duty to lift the vizor and show the candidate for popular favor as he is. This done, we have performed our duty, and conclude with the Transcript's ominous exclamation,—'God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.'

LEGISLATIVE.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN SENATE, Feb. 22, 1842.

The Joint Special Committee, to whom was committed the petition of Francis Jackson and others, and sundry other petitioners, for a law securing to colored persons equal rights in railroad accommodation:—also the remonstrance of Joseph Nunn and sundry others, of Salem, respectfully submit the subjoined

REPORT:

The circumstances which give rise to these petitions, are matters of common notoriety throughout the State. While some of the rail-road corporations (as for example, the Western, Nashua, Boston and Portland, Norwich, Lowell and Worcester) make no distinction among the passengers, but permit every well-behaved person to purchase such ticket, whether of the second or first class, as they choose, and then to select the car and seat which suit them; others,—which are the Eastern Rail-road, Taunton and New-Bedford, and Providence,—while they in some cases demand of the colored man their highest price, place him either, as on the Salem road, in a decently furnished car by himself, or, as in other cases, in cars oftentimes neither decent nor comfortable, and, according to circumstances, exposed to the inclemencies of the season. The petitioners ask for some action on the part of the Legislature, by which the making of this distinction between colored and other citizens, shall be forbidden by law, and prevented by penalty. They base their request, not on the supposition that the colored man is not as well treated as his white fellow-citizen, but on the broad principle, that the Constitution allows no distinction in public privileges among the different classes of citizens of this Commonwealth.

That the distinction is made in the cases referred to, admits of no doubt. That it is a violation of his rights as a citizen, is equally undoubtable;—that it is a disability which should be an insult to any white man, and which the whole nation would be ready to vindicate, at the expense of her best blood and greatest treasure. It is inconsistent with that part of the first article of the declaration of rights in the Constitution of our State, which declares 'that all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned,' 'that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property;' and 'that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.' The delay and difficulty the colored man experiences in travelling in public conveyances, frequently interfere with his acquiring property, when he wishes to pass from place to place on business. It interferes with his happiness when he travels for pleasure, and he is deprived of the society of his friends, if they chance to be of a different complexion.

The only questions for consideration seem to be, whether this matter lies within the authority of the Legislature, and whether any interference on its part is called for.

That it is the duty, as well as the right of the Legislature, to secure to each citizen, not only his own strict rights, but also the greatest possible benefit, consistent with justice and the public good, is not to be questioned. These roads exist, and derive all their rights and privileges from the authority of the Legislature. They are certainly to be regarded, so far as the citizens are concerned, as public highways, to the equal use of which, on certain conditions, every citizen is alike entitled. Responsible to the Legislature for their proceedings, as appears by their being required to exhibit an annual report of their doings, they are to be regarded in some sense as public servants, and imperatively bound to use the powers intrusted to them as much for the public benefit as their own, in accordance with the spirit of our institutions and the laws of the Commonwealth. Any invidious distinction between different classes of citizens, in consequence of difference in opinion, sex, color, sect, or other rightful and innocent peculiarity, is manifestly opposed to the spirit of our institutions. If passengers were separated because of difference in religious belief; if, on the common highway, certain persons were not permitted to travel without appearing in a particular dress, it would be regarded as ridiculous, and an intolerable nuisance to be immediately abated. Is color any more legal or reasonable ground of such distinction than creed? Massachusetts, through her whole code, with one exception, makes no distinction on account of color among her citizens. Her schools, her jury-box, her official situations, are all open to all complexions. The word white, except in the militia, where she acknowledges the authority of the United States Constitution, and for instance just named, is not found in her statute book. Why should she allow corporations a power which she will not trust in her own courts? How shall the State be justified in allowing others to make differences in regard to her citizens, which she does not presume to make herself? If it should be objected, these by-laws are like the rules of social life, with which the law has nothing to do; we answer, these corporations are established by State authority, supported in some cases by State loans, protected always and specially by legislation, and their accommodations are a *right*, and not, like social enjoyments, a privilege; the *equal* right of all, not the peculiar privilege of any.

If it should be objected that the regulation is matter of taste, which the feelings of the majority of the community require, we answer, individual taste is no criterion of rights; and even if the majority do agree in this particular, our institutions were established for the very purpose of protecting minorities from the tastes of majorities. That no real reason even of this kind exists, is evident from the fact that the majority of the rail-roads, and those too the largest, make no such distinction, and experience no inconvenience from the absence of it. Besides, even where this distinction has been made on some roads, your Committee are informed that slaves have been permitted to ride with their masters unmolested, where a free colored person is refused a place. That, under certain circumstances, color can be dispensed with; and therefore that such exclusion is unreasonable and unnecessary.

Your Committee are of opinion that the rail-road corporations would most cheerfully submit to any regulation in this matter that should be agreeable to the Legislature. The Eastern rail-road company forbid a white man to take a seat in the car devoted to the use of the colored people; we can see in this nothing but an unnecessary assumption of authority, which the people of this Commonwealth will not acquiesce in. If any shall object to taking action upon this subject because custom contrary to law will not be unnoticed by our courts of justice, and therefore an adequate remedy exists already for any person injured by these regulations; we would say, that in many cases where rights were clear at common law, the Legislature has still enacted special statutes to secure the observance of such rights, and protect them by penalties. As a case in point, we notice the protection of these very rail-roads from trespass by persons and cattle. Many criminal statutes are directed against cases which had long been known as offences at common law. Your Committee are informed that in one case at least before the Supreme Court of this Commonwealth, under circumstances of much hardship, the Judge permitted the prevalence of this custom of excluding colored men from the same accommodations with white passengers, to be given in evidence before the jury as defence against the party's claim for damages—the case of a Brazilian officer, whose invalid wife had been refused decent accommodations on board one of our steamboats, some few years since, because she was in part of African descent. The prevalence of this custom was pleaded by the company against his claim of damages, and that successfully. The irritation of feeling which such regulations produce, tending to constant breaches of the peace, is another reason for legislative action. We need only allude to the recent cases that have occurred in proof of this. Our courts recognize a limitation in the almost sacred freedom of the press, when it amounts to libel, because then it tends to breach of the peace,—certainly this instance of the same and still more imminent danger of that result, calls as loudly for the interference of the law. Certainly it cannot be out of the sphere of our duties to attempt such legislation as shall secure to all the inhabitants of the State the enjoyment of every right consistent with justice and the Constitution. The Committee unanimously report the accompanying bill.

Per order,
SETH SPRAGUE, Jr.

AN ACT

Relating to the rights of Rail-Road Passengers.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

Sec. 1. No rail-road corporation shall, by themselves, their directors, or others, make or establish any by-law or regulation, which shall make any distinction, or give a preference in accommodation to any one or more persons over others, on account of descent, sect, or color.

Sec. 2. Any officer or servant of any rail-road corporation, who shall assault any person for the purpose of depriving him of his right or privilege, in any car or other rail-road accommodation, on account of descent, sect, or color, or shall aid or abet any other person, in committing such assault, shall be punished by imprisonment in the county jail not less than six days, or by fine not less than ten dollars; and shall also be answerable to the person assaulted, to the full amount of his damage in an action of trespass.

IN SENATE, Feb. 22, 1842.

The same Joint Special Committee, to whom were committed the petitions of sundry persons praying for some action of the Legislature on the subject of the foreign slave trade, respectfully report the accompanying resolve.

Per order,
S. SPRAGUE, Jr. *Chairman.*

RESOLVE

Relating to the Foreign Slave Trade.

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives of Massachusetts in the Congress of the United States be severally requested to use every exertion in behalf of a system of measures which shall have for its object a more complete suppression of the slave trade upon the coast of Africa than has hitherto been effected, as well as the better protection of the American flag from the abuse of it practised on said coast by persons carrying on a a trade which the United States have solemnly declared to be piracy.

SENATE, Jan. 29, 1842.

Ordered, That the Joint Special Committee on the petition of Francis Jackson and others, inquire whether any measures are necessary to be taken by this Legislature to secure to the citizens of this State the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States, when in other States of the Union.

Sent down for concurrence.
CHAS. CALHOUN, *Clerk.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Jan. 29, 1842.
Concurred.
L. S. CUSHING, *Clerk.*

IN SENATE, Feb. 22, 1842.

The same Joint Special Committee to whom were committed an Order of January 19, and the petitions of sundry persons praying for some action of the Legislature on the subject of the imprisonment of citizens of this Commonwealth in other States where no crime is alleged, respectfully report the accompanying resolves.

Per order,
S. SPRAGUE, Jr. *Chairman.*

RESOLVE

Relating to the Imprisonment of Citizens of this Commonwealth in other States.

Resolved, That the imprisonment of any citizen of Massachusetts in the ports, harbors within the borders of other States of the Union, without the allegation of any crime committed by him, and solely on account of his color, constitutes a gross violation of the Federal Constitution, as well as of all the principles of rational liberty; and that his excellency the Governor, be hereby authorized, in any case of the kind that may occur, to cause the legality of such imprisonment to be tried before the courts of the United States.

SELECTIONS.

From the Quincy Patriot.

Abolition Meeting.

At a meeting of the friends of abolition, held in this town, on Monday evening last, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, It has become unsafe for a citizen of the North to travel in the southern States, he being liable to be seized and imprisoned, to be lynched, or have his pockets rifled, by the ministers of justice, (falsely so called,) for peaceably attending a public meeting; and whereas, it has been often reiterated by the southern members of Congress that they would divide, withdraw from, or nullify the Union by *violence*, while a simple petition from a few citizens of Massachusetts to divide the Union, *peaceably* has convulsed the whole slaveholding representation; and, whereas, the representative from our own Congressional District has been shamefully insulted and abused by southern members of Congress for exercising the right which is given him by the Constitution, viz: that of presenting petitions from his constituents; and, whereas, the Union of the northern and southern States exists in name only, the vital principle of liberty being assassinated when the twenty-first rule was adopted; therefore,

Resolved, That we deeply sympathise with the Rev. Charles T. Torrey, who has been wantonly incarcerated in Maryland by slaveholders, for simply attending a public meeting for the purpose of taking notes of their doings for publication.

Resolved, That we consider his arrest as an outrageous proceeding; which should call forth the frown and indignation of every friend of liberty and humanity.

Resolved, That the laws of the southern States, which uphold slavery, that 'abomination of the earth'; which chain and fetter the tongue, trammel the press, annihilate the privilege of petition, and violate the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects—directly inscribe *falsehood* and *hypocrisy* upon that part of the Declaration of American Independence, which declares that 'all men are born free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which, are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' and are a reproach and stigma upon our nation throughout the whole civilized world.

Resolved, That though we regret that our Representative in Congress, the Hon. John Q. Adams, does not openly contend for the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and plead for the liberation of the oppressed throughout the world; yet, we commend him for the noble course which he has taken in advocating *the right of petition*; in not suffering the South to gag the North quietly; in presenting the petition from Massachusetts, praying for a *peaceable* dissolution of the Union; and that we rejoice in the triumphant and victorious manner in which he has become conqueror over a nefarious conspiracy, formed for his destruction, as well as for the annihilation of the vital principle of American liberty. WM. ALLEN, *Moderator.*

ALBERT PRATT, *Secretary.*

Letter to Mr. Adams.

At the late annual meeting of the Maine Anti-Slavery Society, the following Letter was adopted, as expressing the sentiments of that association:

HON. AND VENERABLE SIR:

At a period like the present, when the leader in the efforts to secure to all the right of petition has been so violently assailed, though we are aware that he is strong in himself, and in the righteousness and importance of his course, still we feel that it is our privilege no less than our duty to rally around him, and, in the hour of conflict to extend to him our sympathy, with the assurance that we approve his course, and the spirit he has exhibited; and further to assure him that we feel our indebtedness to him for the perseverance and courage with which he has thrown himself into the breach to secure this palladium of our rights and liberties.

It is not, sir, as abolitionists, nor even as Americans, but as men, and in the name of humanity, that we extend to you our sympathies and our thanks.

When in future days the history of our House of Representatives shall be written, no period to posterity will be looked upon with deeper interest, than when, on the memorable twenty-fifth of January, eighteen hundred and forty-two, with the vigor of youth, but the veneableness of age, rising in your place, you at the same time vindicated yourself from the worst of charges, and defended unanswerably our dearest rights; which your accusers were covered with a dishonor which nothing but penitence and public confession can remove.

Nor will that occasion only be regarded with the deepest interest. Should our liberties again be in peril, some patriot, though single-handed, inspired by your example, will arise, and baring his bosom to the stroke, and pointing to what you have done, will call upon his countrymen, and will save his country from the tyrant's grasp.

Already in view of your situation have we publicly supplicated the throne of grace, that in the day of danger the Almighty would be your shield; and still will we commend you to Him who has said, 'No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgment, thou shalt condemn.'

SAM'L FESSENDEN, *President.*
SIMON PAGE, *Secretary.*
Hon. John Quincy Adams.

VOICE OF THE PRESS.

John Quincy Adams.

The Lancaster Union, in remarking upon the late persecution of this venerable patriot, and his defence against the attacks of southern members of Congress, says:—'The time occupied in the discussion has not been spent in vain. It has been conclusively shewn, that all the blustering of the South relative to the dissolution of the Union, was but idle wind, intended to frighten the citizens of the North into the abandonment of measures intended to secure the general prosperity of the nation. It has likewise been proved, that though the connexion is not absolutely necessary to ensure the welfare of the North, it is of the most vital importance to the South. Separated, the slave States could not preserve their independence a single year against the foe they cherish in their own bosom, aided by the forces of the civilized world. It is to the North, then, that the South must look for protection. Upon Northern valor, she must depend for her future security. Her own sons, in their speeches, have disclosed this fact to the nation at large. Henceforth, the threats made by the Gilmers, the Rhetts, and other *chivalrous* heroes of the South, will meet no more attention than they deserve. The North will no more be frightened from its propriety—the South dare not carry its threats into execution.

Those who heretofore have quaked with fear when the South bristled up, may now calm their apprehensions, and learn a few useful lessons from the events that have just transpired. From the debate on this subject, they may see how silly they have been in yielding up the right of petition, 'a right formidable to tyrants only,' in order to preserve the good opinion of southern politicians, and they may also learn that they can protect their own industry, if they please to do so, without endangering the fabric reared by our fathers. On the whole, we are of opinion, that Congress have not spent three weeks more profitably to the people during the last fifteen years, than the time consumed in the effort to destroy the only man in Congress who dared, in all things, to do that which he believed to be his duty.'

The Right of Petition.

A correspondent, says the Boston Atlas, expresses his opinion, 'that each of those forty champions for the right of petition, who voted for the reception of the Haverhill petition, should have his name enrolled, side by side, with the patriots of the revolution; and that, if we were to strike from the list all the former services rendered to his country by the Hon. John Quincy Adams, his fearless intrepidity in defending the right of petition would immortalize his name to all future time, as the undaunted defender of our liberties.'

At a large meeting in Rochester, Hon. Thomas Kemshall presiding, thanks were voted to John Quincy Adams, 'for his patriotic and persevering efforts in Congress, in defence of the right of petition.' It was also resolved, 'that the undignified and threatening language and conduct of certain members of Congress, in hostility to the right of petition, are highly derogatory to our national character and institutions, and deserves the severest reprehension.'

The people are everywhere else taking lead of New-England, although we notice a call for a meet-

THE LIBERATOR:
PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY,
Henry W. Williams, General Agent:
AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, No. 25 CORNHILL.

☞ To whom all remittances are to be made, and all letters addressed, relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper.

☞ TERMS.—$2 50 per annum, payable in advance; or $3 00 at the expiration of six months.

☞ Letters and communications must be POST PAID.

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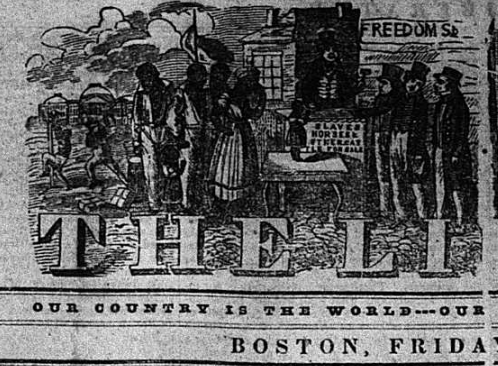

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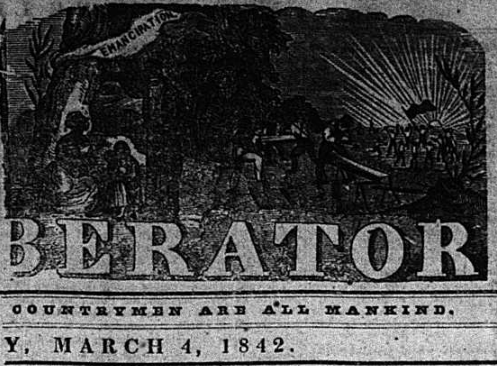

AGENTS.

MAINE.—A. Soule, *Bath.*
NEW-HAMPSHIRE.—N. P. Rogers, *Concord*;—William Wilbur, *Dover*;—Leonard Chase, *Milford.*
VERMONT.—John Bement, *Woodstock*;—Rowland T. Robinson, *North Ferrisburg.*
MASSACHUSETTS.—Moses Emery, *West Newbury*;—C. Whipple, *Newburyport*;—Isaac Stearns, *Norton*;—Luther Boutell, *Groton*;—W. S. Wilder, *Fitchburg*;—J. T. Everett, *Princeton*;—J. Church, *Springfield*;—Josiah Hayward, *Salem*;—Daniel G. Holmes, *Lowell*;—Josiah V. Marshall, *Dorchester and vicinity*;—Richard C. French, *Fall River*;—J. B. Sanderson, *New-Bedford*;—J. M. Wilder, *Hanover*;—Isaac Austin, *Nantucket*;—Elias Richards, *Weymouth*;—B. P. Rice, *Worcester*;—Wm. C. Stone, *Watertown*;—A. Bourne, *Centreville*;—Israel Perkins, *Lynn*;—E. Bird, *Taunton*;—B. Freeman, *Brewster*;—R. F. Wallcut, *Dennis*;—George O. Harmon, *Haverhill*;—Joseph Brown, *Andover*;—Joseph L. Noyes, *Georgetown*;—John Clement, *Townsend.*

☞ For a continuation of this list, see the last page, last column.]

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. | J. BROWN YERRINTON, Printer.

VOL. XII.—NO. 9. | BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 4, 1842. | WHOLE NO. 582.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

South Carolina Legislature.

Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, on so much of the Governor's Message, and the accompanying Documents, as relates to the Controversy between New-York and Virginia, and the Bill on that subject, which were referred to that Committee.

The Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred so much of the message of his Excellency, the Governor, as relates to the controversy between the States of New-York and Virginia, with the accompanying documents, and a bill relative to the subject, beg leave to submit the following

REPORT:

The subject which has engaged the deliberations of your committee, involves a grave and delicate inquiry, as to the duties and rights of the States of this Confederacy, under their compact of union, and it has claimed their most earnest consideration. Their inquiry, and the bill which has been committed to them, are suggested by the controversy that has unhappily arisen between the authorities of New-York and Virginia.

Three persons of color, having their domicile in New-York, and trading to Virginia, were, in 1839, charged with a violation of the criminal law of that State, in having feloniously abducted in their vessel on its departure, the slave of one of her citizens.—These felons having returned to the State of New-York, were formally demanded by the Executive of Virginia, in pursuance of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The Executive of New-York, waiving exception to the regularity of the demand, as well as objection to the completeness of the evidence on which it was founded, declined to comply with the requisition, on the ground that the laws of New-York do not recognize the right of one man to hold property in another; and that stealing a slave in the commonwealth of Virginia, is not an offence within the intendment of the Constitution of the United States.

This unexpected and alarming determination of the Executive of New-York, and his views of the constitutional obligations of a Confederate State, were communicated by the Executive of Virginia to the General Assembly of that Commonwealth. That department of the Government of Virginia, after mature and wise deliberation, pronounced, in solemn resolutions, the refusal of the Executive of New-York to comply with the requisition of the Executive of Virginia, a 'palpable and dangerous violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States.' It announced its well considered and earnest determination, not to acquiesce in the course of the Executive of New-York, and to enact such legislation as would suffice to protect the property and rights of the citizens of Virginia.

The General Assembly of Virginia requested the Executive to renew his correspondence with the Executive of New-York, call upon him respectfully, to reconsider, review the grounds of his refusal, and to present the subject to the Legislature of New-York, for its consideration. This duty was promptly and delicately performed by the Executive of Virginia. The request was made known to the Legislature of New-York, by the official organ of that State, and that body apprised that Virginia appealed to its sense of justice and of duty to a co-State. How was that appeal regarded in the response of New-York? The committee to whom the subject had been confided, expressed its concurrence in the views of the Executive Department, pronounced its construction of the Federal Constitution, the only exposition of that charter which consists with the sovereignty of that State, and the rights of her citizens, and was discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

Contemporaneous with this proceeding, was the enactment of a law, bearing the specious but delusive title, 'An act to extend the right of trial by jury,' an act which is the most alarming and dangerous form in which fanaticism or folly has made its assault on our domestic institutions.

This statute provides, that in proceedings to recapture a fugitive from service or labor, the claim to the service of such alleged fugitive, his identity, and the fact of his escape from another State, shall be determined by a jury; that the State shall provide counsel for the slave, witnesses attend in his behalf, and that the fees of officers for summoning the jury, and the fees of the jurors and court, shall, in all cases, be paid by the claimant. It provides also, that if any judge or other officer, shall issue a certificate for the removal from the State, of any fugitive from labor, except in the manner prescribed by this statute, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and be punished; and that an attempt to remove such fugitive, without the authority of law, shall incur a forfeiture of five hundred dollars to the party aggrieved; that it shall constitute the crime of kidnapping, punishable by imprisonment in the State prison, for a term not exceeding ten years. It is a further provision of this statute, that the writ of *habeas corpus*, to arrest the fugitive from service, shall not be issued until delivery to the officer to whom the application shall be made, of a bond, with two sufficient sureties, inhabitants and freeholders of that State, with condition to pay the costs of the proceeding, and two dollars weekly, for the support of the fugitive, so long as he shall be detained by the proceedings on *habeas corpus*; and that if the verdict of the jury be against the claimant, he shall pay all the expenses of the proceeding, and shall pay to such fugitive one hundred dollars, and the damages he may have sustained. It is not the least obnoxious feature of this statute, that it seeks to confine the adjudication of these questions to juries, and to preclude the consideration of them by the judiciary of that State, as is evinced by the imposition of restrictions on the claimant's right of appeal, which greatly impair that right, if they do not render it utterly nugatory.

Whether this course of the Executive of New-York, or the legislation of its General Assembly, comports with the prescription of right, and the injunction of duty, that the Constitution so explicitly enforces, in regard to our slave property, let that charter, and the laws enacted in pursuance of it, define.

The provision of the Constitution is, 'that no person held to service or labor in any one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim to the party to whom such service or labor shall be due.' By the act of Congress, the owner of any fugitive slave, his agent or attorney, is authorized to seize and take him before a Judge of the Circuit or District Court of the United States, or before any State Magistrate, who, on proof to his satisfaction, by oral testimony, or affidavit certified by the magistrate of any State or territory, that the person so seized, is the slave of the claimant, is authorized to give a certificate thereof, which shall be a sufficient warrant for removal of the slave to the State from which he fled; and impose a penalty on any one who shall hinder or obstruct such claimant in seizing or arresting such fugitive slave.

In the progress of the controversy, Virginia having reiterated the argument with New-York, and hopelessness of the remedies which should be found in the constitutional obligations and duties of a co-State, appeals to her sister States of the South for counsel and co-operation. Standing on the outposts of southern institutions, that faithful sentinel announces the existence of danger; warns that a common foe is advancing, and calls those who have a similar polity, to more defence. Her claim—her right to lend its aid for defence or maintenance of the rights of a confederate State, or of Southern policy, has been vindicated by the incidents of her past history.

An ancient domestic institution, cherished in the hearts of the people of the South, the eradication of which would demolish our whole system of policy—a domestic, social, and political, has been assailed by methods most likely to be successful. Is it a contest in which any southern State, without utter abandonment of honor and of right, of policy and duty, can assume a position of neutrality? Let other States do as they may, South Carolina has taken her stand in this great contest. Her gage of honor has been given to her countrymen, and she is not of those who know how to leave it unredeemed.

When the Federal Constitution was adopted by the States, slavery existed, with but few exceptions, in them all. The right of property in slaves, and the duty of all the confederate States to respect that right in the citizens of each State, are admitted and enforced by that Constitution. Congress, in discharge of its duty, has enacted laws providing safeguards, and inculcating duties in regard to this species of property. South Carolina, as Virginia, has not seen fit to change her policy, and abolish this species of property; and she will permit no State or authority to impair its value or security; and like Virginia, she here avows her unalterable purpose to protect and defend it from all invasion and attack, come from what source they may.

That the refusal of the Executive of New-York to comply with the demand of Virginia, is, in the language of that Commonwealth, 'a palpable and dangerous violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States,' is a proposition which admits no debate. The pretension of New York, that that State or any Department of her Government, may look into the statute book of another State, and pronounce upon the policy or the morality of its legislation, when called to the performance of a constitutional duty, plainly enjoined, is no less arrogant, than it is violative of her Federal obligations and plighted faith. The statute whose provisions have been recited, is no less plainly and directly in contradiction of the Constitution and laws of the United States, than is the refusal of the Executive Department.—It is not a distinct and unequivocal recognition of the right of the master to hold property in his slave, and the correlative duty of States into which he has fled, but a mere mockery of both. The impediments and hindrance which it imposes, on the right to recapture a fugitive slave within the jurisdiction of New York, amount to a virtual denial of the rights of the master and withholding his remedy. The laws of the United States define a proceeding ministerial, summary, and expeditious, which alone consists with the rights of the master. The statute of New York prescribes magisterial injury, and dilatory, doubtful, and vexatious litigation, the hazards of which are a denial of the remedy to the master, and impunity and protection to his slave. And the right of the master to seize and arrest his slave, as well as the duty of the magistrate to issue the certificate for removal, which are prescribed by the laws of the United States, are made high misdemeanors by the statute of New-York.

If in the final determination of the Executive of New York, and the delay which attended his communications, in his correspondence with the Executive of Virginia, a disregard of the obligations of the Constitution, and a spirit inimical to the slave property of the latter, be not apparent, they are manifest in every feature of the obnoxious statute, which has been reviewed.

Interest, duty, and honor, imperiously demand that South Carolina announce to the authorities of New York, that so soon as that State shall break its solemn faith to Virginia, so soon shall be cancelled our constitutional obligations as to her. When a State shall have been disappointed of those rights and remedies, for which stipulation was made when the compact of Union was adopted, then will the painful but imperative duty of protecting her rights, in her own way, have been imposed upon her. This State having a common purpose, and common interest with Virginia, to uphold the Federal Constitution, by exacting compliance with its obligations, is prepared to make common cause with that Commonwealth in the maintenance of her rights.

As the chief danger to our slave property arises directly from the commercial intercourse which is permitted the citizens of States like New York, having no similar interest, our enactments should be specifically directed against the means that have been resorted to, and are most likely to be embraced by those who assail it. The peculiar character of that property, its immense value, and the facility of abducting it, by those who trade to our ports, are considerations which should determine us to a course of decisive and effectual legislation. These views have suggested to your committee the expediency of imposing such restrictions and obligations upon those who would benefit by our commerce, as will enforce the simple duty of not molesting us in the enjoyment of our property. This species of legislation is commended by your committee, as not only free from well-founded constitutional objections, but as promising the greatest security to us, which is probably attainable.

If this species of legislation be supposed to contravene the Constitution or laws of the United States, your committee venture to believe that the competency of the State to make it, depends on principles neither of recent origin, nor questionable acceptance. The basis of the whole doctrine of State Rights is the assumption that the Constitution of the United States is a compact between sovereign States. From this postulate results the concession of that Constitution, that the powers not delegated to the United States, not prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people. If the power delegated to the United States be also prohibited to the States, or in its nature and essence exclusive, it is not pretended that it can be exercised by a State. But if the delegated power be not of this category, and be not expressly prohibited to the States, it is a power which may be concurrently exercised by the States and the United States. The ablest commentators, and the most distinguished jurists, concede that this is the just and accepted construction of powers that are, by the States, delegated to the United States. Of this latter class, is the power of the United States to regulate commerce.

If, then, the regulation of commerce be within the competency of the States, as well as of the United States, inquiry arises, whether there is any law of the latter regulating commerce, to which the bill proposed by your committee, would be repugnant. In determining whether there would be collision between the bill proposed, and a law of Congress affecting commerce, the question would be whether there is a constitutional repugnancy and incompatibility, as mere inconvenience cannot by implication, be permitted to divest a right of sovereignty. Occasional interference in the exercise of a concurrent jurisdiction, is not enough to infer constitutional contradiction, and the exclusion of State authority. The right of the States to enact regulations that affect commerce, and even impose restraints upon it, is illustrated by quarantine laws, port laws, inspection laws, and others of like nature. But your committee are not apprised of any law of the United States, regulating commerce, with which the bill proposed would be found to conflict.

But the bill proposed by your committee, as they conceive, does not seek to regulate commerce, and cannot be said, with propriety, to affect it in any wise. It proposes a measure of mere municipal police—a regulation of that species which no one has denied to the States.

But although it may be conceded, that legislation proposed, does not contravene the power of Congress, legitimately to regulate commerce, yet it may be supposed that it does not consist with the privileges and immunities that are granted by the federal constitution, to the citizens of a State, in all other States of the Union. To this point, it will be permitted your committee to address a brief argument. Without such provision of the United States, as that here alluded to, it would have resulted from the sovereignty of the several States, that the citizens of each would bear to all the other States the relation of aliens, and be subject to the inconveniences and disabilities of that relation; and to confer upon them, not citizenship itself, but the rights of citizenship, was its purpose and object. But the privileges and immunities contemplated, are fundamental in their nature, and embrace, in the language of an eminent jurist, 'protection by the government, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the right to acquire and possess property of every kind, and to pursue and attain happiness and safety, subject to such restraints as the government may justly prescribe for the general good of the whole.'

But your committee presume the question is not whether the citizens of each State should enjoy in every other State the privileges and immunities that are conferred on its own citizens, but whether a State can make discriminations between its own citizens. If it be ascertained that a State may bestow on classes of its own citizens privileges and immunities that are not common to the mass, then it is apprehended the point is made clear. The qualification of the elective franchise, which exists in some of the States, and once existed in this, the eligibility to office, charter laws, and the right to practice the learned professions, are examples of the power of a State to create distinctions amongst her citizens, and many others might be embraced in the enumeration. The principle is, that a State cannot deprive the citizens of another State of the privileges and immunities of which it cannot divest its own citizens. But discriminations between citizens of a State and those of other States are of frequent occurrence in all the States, and the right to create them is of unquestionable validity.

But the bill proposed by your committee seeks merely to take from the citizens of other States the immunity which is not enjoyed by citizens of this State, and to impose upon them restrictions which are endured by its own citizens.

South Carolina has, however, declared, in the solemn form of legislative enactment, her views of these provisions of the Constitution, as well as of her police regulations; and as they have not yet been impugned, your committee take leave to decline further vindication of them. By the statute of one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, any vessel from another State or foreign port, having on board any free negroes or persons of color, as cooks, stewards, mariners, or in any other capacity is prohibited from entering any port or harbor of this State under sanctions which have been found adequate to the suppression of the evil that was sought to be corrected. Let, then, those whom it may concern to know the policy of this State, and her interpretation of her rights as a member of these United States, consult her statute book, and if they are wise, they will not offend against her policy or her institutions.

In testimony of the high confidence which South Carolina reposes in the counsels of Virginia, and a manifestation of her determination to co-operate with that Commonwealth, and other States, in maintaining, by all proper methods, an institution in which she has a common interest, your committee beg leave to report a bill referred to them, which is a copy of the Virginia law.

1. Resolved, That this Legislature view with regret, the constructive meaning of the constitutional provision, respecting 'fugitives from justice,' and 'fugitives from service,' asserted by the Executive and Legislative authorities of the State of New York, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty.

2. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Legislature, the forced and dangerous construction put upon the 4th Article of the Constitution of the United States, and the pretension to control its operation by the State of New York, as indicated by the positions of her Executive, in the progress of the late controversy with Virginia, and the proceedings of her Legislature pending the same, should be repudiated and discountenanced by every State in the Union, as destructive of the faith pledged in the Constitution, and ultimately subversive of that State sovereignty upon which they profess to be founded.

3. Resolved, That the Governor be requested to communicate to the authorities of Virginia, the high sense entertained by this Legislature of their moderation and respectful forbearance in conducting the recent unhappy controversy with the State of New-York—of the justness of the position assumed by Virginia, and the assurance of the hearty co-operation of South Carolina in all proper measures to vindicate her rights as a State, and to protect the property of her citizens.

4. Resolved, That copies of the report and resolutions adopted by the Legislature, together with a certified copy of the bill when passed, be furnished by the Governor of this State to the Governor of Virginia and the Governors of the several States of this Union; and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to be laid before that body.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Dec. 16, 1841.

Resolved, That the House do agree to the report.

Ordered, That it be sent to the Senate for concurrence.

By order: T. W. GLOVER, C. H. R.

IN THE SENATE, Dec. 17, 1841.

Resolved, That the Senate do concur in the report.

Ordered, That it be returned to the House of Representatives.

By order: W. E. MARTIN, C. S.

From the Boston Catholic Diary.

Slavery vs. Anti-Slavery.

This tortured question has got into vogue in certain quarters, but we have our views upon the subject. That slavery is unjust, we will not—we cannot deny; but, that those zealots who would madly attempt to eradicate the evil by the destruction of our federal union, and thus spread devastation and anarchy throughout the land, are infinitely more reprehensible than the most tyrannical slaveholders, we are equally confident.

We are far from solicitous to render our columns the medium of a 'wordy war' upon either one side or the other of the question, but our anti-slavery friends in this city are making a most bombastic vaunt of a certain abolition address which a colored gentleman imported from Ireland, and to which are affixed the names of Daniel O'Connell and Father Mathew. Now the illustrious Liberator or the Apostle of Temperance have an indisputable right to affix their signatures to any document which may appear to them equitable; but their autograph, or even an exhortation from the eloquent lips of either, implies no right to shackle the opinions of the Irishmen of America. We respect—we revere those men as the greatest benefactors of our native land, but as dictators over the reason and mind, we deny and repel the assumption of such authority. If this African gentleman drew up an address, and procured the autographs of O'Connell and Father Mathew, those distinguished men dreamed not that the abolitionists of Boston would pervert their noble views, by attempting to enchain the consciences of Irishmen, by a paltry address. We can tell the abolitionists that we acknowledge no dictation from a foreign source; that none are more capable than Irishmen of wise and just decision, and although we do possess the grateful hearts and warm feeling inherent in the breasts of Irishmen, we are also gifted with sufficient discrimination to distinguish modest praise from fulsome flattery. Why did not these very *eloquent* gentlemen who mingled among us at our last repeal meeting in Amory Hall, one of whom 'thought it was as reasonable to bring out his little candle and help the sun to give light, as to praise O'Connell,' why did not they give us *bullion* testimony of their sympathy for Ireland? Why, because they came there to flatter Irishmen into the phrenzy of abolitionism—to hold us up as the target for Southern pistols and the sheath for Southern bowie-knives! We are not those credulous beings which our abolition friends seemed to suppose, and though we can offer as pure a tribute at the shrine of freedom—aye, of *universal* freedom, as the most votive hearts that ever bowed before her altar, we can discern between the calm, yet determined spirit of liberty, and the turbulence and confusion of anarchy.

There is not in the universe a constitution so pure in its freedom, as that transmitted to us by the immortal Washington. Why, then, in a wild attempt to improve, will we risk its total annihilation? Time, and time alone, will modify its imperfections. Slavery in the Southern States will exist until the slaveholders themselves will dictate its abolition.

In Faneuil Hall, Irishmen were told not to vote for those who were not opposed to slavery. The speakers urged them to be vigilant at the polls.—We repeat the warning—we emphatically urge them to be vigilant. We now ask our countrymen, is a *Rev.* gentleman a fit candidate for gubernatorial honors? Is the *Rev. John Pierpont*, a *sectarian minister*, one in whom we could repose our confidence as the presiding officer of this Commonwealth? Let us beware that in our ardor for freedom, we do not crush *freedom of conscience*, and establish a religious ascendency in our State. Well might the Transcript append to the announcement of this gentleman, 'God save the Commonwealth.' We do not deny that our forebodings may be groundless; but who can appreciate the influence of such a man in such an office? Let Irishmen vote as they will, but we deem it our duty to lift the vizor and show the candidate for popular favor as he is. This done, we have performed our duty, and conclude with the Transcript's ominous exclamation,—'God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.'

LEGISLATIVE.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN SENATE, Feb. 22, 1842.

The Joint Special Committee, to whom was committed the petition of Francis Jackson and others, and sundry other petitioners, for a law securing to colored persons equal rights in railroad accommodation:—also the remonstrance of Joseph Nunn and sundry others, of Salem, respectfully submit the subjoined

REPORT:

The circumstances which give rise to these petitions, are matters of common notoriety throughout the State. While some of the rail-road corporations (as for example, the Western, Nashua, Boston and Portland, Norwich, Lowell and Worcester) make no distinction among the passengers, but permit every well-behaved person to purchase such ticket, whether of the second or first class, as they choose, and then to select the car and seat which suit them; others,—which are the Eastern Rail-road, Taunton and New-Bedford, and Providence,—while they in some cases demand of the colored man their highest price, place him either, as on the Salem road, in a decently furnished car by himself, or, as in other cases, in cars pretentious neither decent nor comfortable, and, according to circumstances, exposed to the inclemencies of the season. The petitioners ask for some action on the part of the Legislature, by which the making of this distinction between colored and other citizens, shall be forbidden by law, and prevented by penalty. They base their request, not on the supposition that the colored man is not as well treated as his white fellow-citizen, but on the broad principle, that the Constitution allows no distinction in public privileges among the different classes of citizens of this Commonwealth.

That the distinction is made in the cases referred to, admits of no doubt. That it is a violation of his rights as a citizen, is equally undeniable:—that it is a disability which would be an insult to any white man, and which the whole nation would be ready to vindicate, at the expense of her best blood and greatest treasure. It is inconsistent with that part of the first article of the declaration of rights in the Constitution of our State, which declares 'that all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned,' 'that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property;' and 'that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.' The delay and difficulty the colored man experiences in travelling in public conveyances, frequently interfere with his acquiring property, when he wishes to pass from place to place on business. It interferes with his happiness when he travels for pleasure, and he is deprived of the society of his friends, if they chance to be of a different complexion.

The only questions for consideration seem to be, whether this matter lies within the authority of the Legislature, and whether any interference on its part is called for.

That it is the duty, as well as the right of the Legislature, to secure to each citizen, not only his own strict rights, but also the greatest possible benefit, consistent with justice and the public good, is not to be questioned. These roads exist, and derive all their rights and privileges from the authority of the Legislature. They are certainly to be regarded, so far as the citizens are concerned, as public highways, to the equal use of which, on certain conditions, every citizen is alike entitled. Responsible to the Legislature for their proceedings, as appears by their being required to exhibit an annual report of their doings, they are to be regarded in some sense as public servants, and imperatively bound to use the powers intrusted to them as much for the public benefit as their own, in accordance with the spirit of our institutions and the laws of the Commonwealth. Any invidious distinction between different classes of citizens, in consequence of difference in opinion, sex, color, sect, or other rightful and innocent peculiarity, is manifestly opposed to the spirit of our institutions. If passengers were separated because of difference in religious belief; if, on the common highway, certain persons were not permitted to travel without appearing in a particular dress, it would be regarded as ridiculous, and an intolerable nuisance to be immediately abated. Is color any more legal or reasonable ground of such distinction than creed? Massachusetts, through her whole code, with one exception, makes no distinction on account of color among her citizens. Her schools, her jury-box, her official situations, are all open to all complexions. The word white, except in the militia, where she acknowledges the authority of the United States Constitution, and the instance just named, is not found in her statute book. Why should she allow corporations a power which she will not trust in her own courts? How shall the State be justified in allowing others to make differences in regard to her citizens, which she does not presume to make herself? If it should be objected, these by-laws are like the rules of social life, with which the law has nothing to do; we answer, these corporations are established by State authority, supported in some cases by State loans, protected always and specially by legislation, and their accommodations are a *right*, and not, like social enjoyments, a privilege: the *equal* right of all, not the peculiar privilege of any.

If it should be objected that the regulation is matter of taste, which the feelings of the majority of the community require,—we answer, individual taste is no criterion of rights; and even if the majority do agree in this particular, our institutions were established for the very purpose of protecting minorities from the tastes of majorities. That no real reason even of this kind exists, is evident from the fact that the majority of the rail-roads, and those too the largest, make no such distinction, and experience no inconvenience from the absence of it. Besides, even where this distinction has been made on some roads, your Committee are informed that slaves have been permitted to ride with their masters unmolested, where a free colored person is refused a place. That, under certain circumstances, color can be dispensed with; and therefore that such exclusion is unreasonable and unnecessary.

Your Committee are of opinion that the rail-road corporations would most cheerfully submit to any regulation in this matter that should be agreeable to the Legislature. The Eastern rail-road company forbid a white man to take a seat in the car devoted to the use of the colored people; we can see in this nothing but an unnecessary assumption of authority, which the people of this Commonwealth will not acquiesce in. If any shall object to taking action upon this subject because custom contrary to law will not be unnoticed by our courts of justice, and therefore an adequate remedy exists already for any person injured by these regulations; we would say, that in many cases where rights were clear at common law, the Legislature has still enacted special statutes to secure the observance of such rights, and protect them by penalties. As a case in point, we notice the protection of these very rail-roads from trespass by persons and cattle. Many criminal statutes are directed against cases which had long been known as offences at common law. Your Committee are informed that in one case at least before the Supreme Court of this Commonwealth, under circumstances of much hardship, the Judge permitted the prevalence of this custom of excluding colored men from the same accommodations with white passengers, to be given in evidence before the jury as defence against the party's claim for damages—the case of a Brazilian officer, whose invalid wife had been refused decent accommodations on board one of our steamboats, some few years since, because she was in part of African descent. The prevalence of this custom was pleaded by the company against his claim of damages, and that successfully. The irritation of feeling which such regulations produce, tending to constant breaches of the peace, is another reason for legislative action. We need only allude to the recent cases that have occurred in proof of this. Our courts recognize a limitation in the almost sacred freedom of the press, when it amounts to libel, because then it tends to breach of the peace,—certainly this instance of the same and still more imminent danger of that result, calls as loudly for the interference of the law. Certainly it cannot be out of the sphere of our duties to attempt such legislation as shall secure to all the inhabitants of the State the enjoyment of every right consistent with justice and the Constitution. The Committee unanimously report the accompanying bill.

Per order,
SETH SPRAGUE, Jr.

AN ACT

Relating to the rights of Rail-Road Passengers.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

Sec. 1. No rail-road corporation shall, by themselves, their directors, or others, make or establish any by-law or regulation, which shall make any distinction, or give a preference in accommodation to any one or more persons over others, on account of descent, sect, or color.

Sec. 2. Any officer or servant of any rail-road corporation, who shall assault any person for the purpose of depriving him of his right or privilege, in any car or other rail-road accommodation, on account of descent, sect, or color, or shall aid or abet any other person, in committing such assault, shall be punished by imprisonment in the county jail not less than six days, or by fine not less than ten dollars; and shall also be answerable to the person assaulted, to the full amount of his damage in an action of trespass.

IN SENATE, Feb. 22, 1842.

The same Joint Special Committee, to whom were committed the petitions of sundry persons praying for some action of the Legislature on the subject of the foreign slave trade, respectfully report the accompanying resolve.

Per order,
S. SPRAGUE, Jr. *Chairman.*

RESOLVE

Relating to the Foreign Slave Trade.

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives of Massachusetts in the Congress of the United States be severally requested to use every exertion in behalf of a system of measures which shall have for its object a more complete suppression of the slave trade upon the coast of Africa than has hitherto been effected, as well as the better protection of the American flag from the abuse of it practised on said coast by persons carrying on a a trade which the United States have solemnly declared to be piracy.

SENATE, Jan. 29, 1842.

Ordered, That the Joint Special Committee on the petition of Francis Jackson and others, inquire whether any measures are necessary to be taken by this Legislature to secure to the citizens of this State the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States, when in other States of the Union.

Sent down for concurrence.
CHAS. CALHOUN, *Clerk.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Jan. 29, 1842.

Concurred.

L. S. CUSHING, *Clerk.*

IN SENATE, Feb. 22, 1842.

The same Joint Special Committee to whom were committed an Order of January 19, and the petitions of sundry persons praying for some action of the Legislature on the subject of the imprisonment of citizens of this Commonwealth in other States where no crime is alleged, respectfully report the accompanying resolves.

Per order,
S. SPRAGUE, Jr. *Chairman.*

RESOLVE

Relating to the Imprisonment of Citizens of this Commonwealth in other States.

Resolved, That the imprisonment of any citizen of Massachusetts in the ports, harbors within the borders of other States of the Union, without the allegation of any crime committed by him, and solely on account of his color, constitutes a gross violation of the Federal Constitution, as well as of all the principles of rational liberty; and that his excellency the Governor, be hereby authorized, in any case of the kind that may occur, to cause the legality of such imprisonment to be tried before the courts of the United States.

SELECTIONS.

From the Quincy Patriot.

Abolition Meeting.

At a meeting of the friends of abolition, held in this town, on Monday evening last, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, It has become unsafe for a citizen of the North to travel in the southern States, he being liable to be seized and imprisoned, to be lynched, or have his pockets rifled, by the ministers of justice, (falsely so called,) for peacably attending a public meeting; and whereas, it has been often reiterated by the southern members of Congress that they would divide, withdraw from, or nullify the Union by *violence*, while a simple petition from a few citizens of Massachusetts to divide the Union *peacably* has convulsed the whole slaveholding representation; and, whereas, the representative from our own Congressional District has been shamefully insulted and abused by southern members of Congress for exercising the right which is given him by the Constitution, viz: that of presenting petitions from his constituents; and, whereas, the Union of the northern and southern States exists in name only, the vital principle of liberty being assassinated when the twenty-first rule was adopted; therefore,

Resolved, That we deeply sympathise with the Rev. Charles T. Torrey, who has been wantonly incarcerated in Maryland by slaveholders, for simply attending a public meeting for the purpose of taking notes of their doings for publication.

Resolved, That we consider his arrest as an outrageous proceeding; which should call forth the frown and indignation of every friend of liberty and humanity.

Resolved, That the laws of the southern States, which uphold slavery, that 'abomination of the earth'; which chain and fetter the tongue, trammel the press, annihilate the privilege of petition, and violate the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects—directly inscribe *falsehood* and *hypocrisy* upon that part of the Declaration of American Independence, which declares that 'all men are born free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which, are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' and are a reproach and stigma upon our nation throughout the whole civilized world.

Resolved, That though we regret that our Representative in Congress, the Hon. John Q. Adams, does not openly contend for the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and plead for the liberation of the oppressed throughout the world; yet, we commend him for the noble course which he has taken in advocating *the right of petition*; in not suffering the South to gag the North *quietly*; in presenting the petition from Massachusetts, praying for a *peaceable* dissolution of the Union; and that we rejoice in the triumphant and victorious manner in which he has become conqueror over a nefarious conspiracy, formed for his destruction, as well as for the annihilation of the vital principle of American liberty. WM. ALLEN, *Moderator.*

ALBERT PRATT, *Secretary.*

Letter to Mr. Adams.

At the late annual meeting of the Maine Anti-Slavery Society, the following Letter was adopted, as expressing the sentiments of that association:

HON. AND VENERABLE SIR:

At a period like the present, when the leader in the efforts to secure to all the right of petition has been so violently assailed, though we are aware that he is strong in himself, and in the righteousness and importance of his course, still we feel that it is our privilege no less than our duty to rally around him, and, in the hour of conflict to extend to him our sympathy, with the assurance that we approve his course, and the spirit he has exhibited; and further to assure him that we feel our indebtedness to him for the perseverance and courage with which he has thrown himself into the breach to secure this palladium of our rights and liberties.

It is not, sir, as abolitionists, nor even as Americans, but as men, and in the name of humanity, that we extend to you our sympathies and our thanks.

When in future days the history of our House of Representatives shall be written, no period to posterity will be looked upon with deeper interest, than when, on the memorable twenty-fifth of January, eighteen hundred and forty-two, with the vigor of youth, but the venerableness of age, rising in your place, you at the same time vindicated yourself from the worst of charges, and defended unanswerably our dearest rights; whilst your accusers were covered with a dishonor which nothing but penitence and public confession can remove.

Nor will that occasion only be regarded with the deepest interest. Should our liberties again be in peril, some patriot, though single-handed, inspired by your example, will arise, and baring his bosom to the stroke, and pointing to what you have done, will call upon his countrymen, and will save his country from the tyrant's grasp.

Already in view of your situation have we publicly supplicated the throne of grace, that in the day of danger the Almighty would be your shield; and still will we commend you to Him who has said, 'No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgment, thou shalt condemn.'

SAM'L FESSENDEN, *President.*

SIMON PAGE, *Secretary.*

Hon. John Quincy Adams.

VOICE OF THE PRESS.

John Quincy Adams.

The Lancaster Union, in remarking upon the late persecution of this venerable patriot, and his defence against the attacks of southern members of Congress, says:—'The time occupied in the discussion has not been spent in vain. It has been conclusively shown, that all the blustering of the South relative to the dissolution of the Union, was but idle wind, intended to frighten the citizens of the North into the abandonment of measures intended to secure the general prosperity of the nation. It has likewise been proved, that though the connexion is not absolutely necessary to ensure the welfare of the North, it is of the most vital importance to the South. Separated, the slave States could not preserve their independence a single year against the foe they cherish in their own bosom, aided by the forces of the civilized world. It is to the North, then, that the South must look for protection. Upon Northern valor, she must depend for her future security. Her own sons, in their speeches, have disclosed this fact to the nation at large. Henceforth, the threats made by the Gilmers, the Rhetts, and other *chivalrous* heroes of the South, will meet no more attention than they deserve. The North will no more be frightened from its propriety—the South dare not carry its threats into execution.

Those who heretofore have quaked with fear when the South bristled up, may now calm their apprehensions, and learn a few useful lessons from the events that have just transpired. From the debate on this subject, they may see how silly they have been in yielding to the right of petition, 'a right formidable to tyrants only,' in order to preserve the good opinion of southern politicians, and they may also learn that they can protect their own industry, if they please to do so, without endangering the fabric reared by our fathers. On the whole, we are of opinion, that Congress have not spent three weeks more profitably to the people during the last fifteen years, than the time consumed in the effort to destroy the only man in Congress who dared, in all things, to do that which he believed to be his duty.'

The Right of Petition.

A correspondent, says the Boston Atlas, expresses his opinion, 'that each of those forty champions for the right of petition, who voted for the reception of the Haverhill petition, should have his name enrolled, side by side, with the patriots of the revolution; and that, if we were to strike from the list all the former services rendered to his country by the Hon. John Quincy Adams, his fearless intrepidity in defending the right of petition would immortalize his name to all future time, as the undaunted defender of our liberties.'

At a large meeting in Rochester, Hon. Thomas Kemshall presiding, thanks were voted to John Quincy Adams, 'for his patriotic and persevering efforts in Congress, in defence of the right of petition.' It was also resolved, 'that the undignified and threatening language and conduct of certain members of Congress, in hostility to the right of petition, are highly derogatory to our national character and institutions, and deserves the severest reprehension.'

The people are everywhere else taking lead of New-England, although we notice a call for a meet-

ng expressive of the same object at Plymouth, in the last Memorial. That is the manifestation of the proper spirit. It will cheer the heart of the old patriot, to hear the notes of commendation and gratitude from his own constituency, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant.' The whole North should speak out on the subject.

The Sage of Quincy.

The Newburyport Herald says:—

When the fiery Southrons conspired to put down his administration of the government, (merely, we have always thought, because it was a northern one,) they little dreamed that 'the old man eloquent' would live long enough to inflict such terrible retribution upon them. The commotion of the elements, although often inflicting temporary evil, no doubt is, in the order of Providence, necessary to carry out great designs of good. Our southern brethren must learn, before they can dwell together in harmony, that the rights and the interests of the north must be protected as well as those of the south.

The New-York Express says:

Mr. Adams is a full match for all Congress,—all sides of it. Mr. Wise, who amuses himself often in making mince meat of others, now at Bladensburg, and anon on the floor of the House, seems to have got enough of it from the old man's tongue, to have fled the field. Mr. Marshall, too, is hauling off. Mr. Gilmer keeps up a Guerilla fire, but stands out of the reach of any but long shots. The fact is, Mr. Adams's heavy artillery is too much of a match for all the boys in the House. The lion uncaged could not make more havoc among a menagerie of monkeys, than he is doing there.

And we do not regret it. The House needs excoriating and scarifying. If beat into a jelly, it would be good for it. Let the lion roar then. He is all right in the abstract, if all wrong in the way he works his abstractions out. Hardly does he waste the time of the House. Its time is not worth any thing. The necessity of its having eight dollars a day, must make a large portion of its members stay there till a July sun scorches them off—and the country is much more amused by Mr. Adams's performances, than it would be by any thing else that could be got up. The House of Representatives is the great CORPS THEATRICAL of the country. Tickets free in the galleries.

☞ The following articles on that most 'delicate' of all subjects, (excepting that of *slavery!*) the American Union, are pregnant with deep meaning, and deserving the very serious consideration of the blustering South. Let her look well to her movements!

From the Hartford Observer.

The Union.

The late scene in the lower house of Congress, on the presentation of a petition praying that body to take measures for the peaceable dissolution of the Union, has awakened throughout our country a deep interest in all the influences that bear on the permanency of our national confederacy.

There are undoubtedly some things which have operated and still operate to weaken the attachment both of the free and of the slave States to the Union; and it is between these two great divisions of the country, that the line of separation will run, if a dissolution of the Union should take place during the existence of slavery. On the one hand, the slave States have been chafed into a bitter hostility to their sister States, by the anti-slavery agitation, and the legislative proceedings in favor of fugitives, that have grown out of it. We do not regard the frequent threats of disunion that have fallen from Southern members of Congress as *mere bullyism*, but as the natural expression of indignant feeling too strong and impetuous to regard a sober calculation of the value of the Union. What their views are in moments of reflection cannot be mistaken, certainly not since the recent violent attack on Mr. Adams for presenting the Haverhill petition. They know well the value of a national government that begrudges not $50,000,000 and thousands of lives to break up the Florida rendezvous of fugitive slaves, that supports a standing army for the suppression of servile insurrections, and gives three-fourths of all her honors and emoluments to the same great interest. Their attachment to the Union is based on such a just estimate of its value to them, and not on any attachment to Bunker Hill or the Plains of Lexington, or to the sons of the Puritans. They are convinced by a glance at the map, and at the tables of population, that their peculiar institution can live only under the shield of the General Government; and hence in spite of strong antipathies to Northern men, we may reasonably expect that a movement for a dissolution of the Union will not come from that quarter, unless it comes in the heat of passion, to which unhappily they are too apt to be brought into captivity. We have therefore but faint fears of a rupture of our national bonds, unless the free States should sever them. The attachment of the North to the Union has suffered some severe shocks, if it has not been weakened, within the last few years. The conviction is very general that the commercial distress, and wide spread bankruptcies of individuals and corporations, that have cast such a gloom over the country, and impaired our credit in Europe, is the fruit of Southern institutions; and the feeling prevails, to some extent, that those institutions cannot be made to harmonize with the free labor system of the North; that a course of national legislation which should satisfy one, cannot but operate disadvantageously to the other. In addition to these causes of alienation, are others equally operative. The North has not seen her rights cloven down in Congress by the 21st rule, and throughout the South, by a bold infraction of that article of the Federal Constitution which guarantees to the citizens of each State, whether white or black, the rights of a citizen in ALL the States, without being driven thereby to a little Yankee calculation on the value of the Union. And what have they discovered? They see plainly the South is deeply interested in its preservation. They see that all the States are interested in union as a safeguard against the wars that would be likely to arise, if they were not united, and as the basis of free trade. But they also see that they can do without the South; that she has the chief benefits of the Union, and they the chief burdens; and were it not for a strong love of country, a patriotism which warms on every recollection of the Southern fields where the battles of the Revolution were fought, and of the Southern men who fought those battles, we verily believe that some among us would feel quite willing to let nullification have its way. But as the fact is, we believe there are none who would not strenuously oppose a dissolution of the Union. The people of the North who place the lowest estimate on the benefits of the Union as the Federal Government has been administered, and who expect but little benefit from it while slavery exists as a *paramount* interest of the country, are yet warmly attached to the Union, both by sympathy with the past, and by their anticipations of a better day to come. They clearly foresee that the existence of two or more independent nations on this soil could with difficulty be kept at peace; and they hope also that the causes of disunion, the peculiar institutions of the South, will soon melt away before the rising sun of the 19th century. We make these desultory remarks in answer to a call of the times, to a smothered feeling that this Union of States is not destined to a long existence. In the face of causes of alienation that may well create some uneasiness, we hope for union—a union of centuries—a union replete with reciprocal benefits—and with no unequal burdens.

From the New-York American.

The Union.

We do not know how others may be affected by the scenes of the last few days at Washington, but, we confess, they affect us with profound melancholy.

It must be obvious to the most careless observer, that the horror which used to thrill through all sound hearts at the bare mention of disunion can no longer be excited. We have heard so much and so often from the South—upon the slightest occasions—of threats of separation, of calculating the value of the Union, and of the South's ability to exist by herself and for herself—that the North has been forced, as it were, to reflect upon what would be the issue of such a breaking up of our republic; and, sooth to say, reflection has brought the conviction to very, very many minds, that if calculation of sectional pride and power must determine this great political and social problem—the North—the free States—the horticultural, manufacturing and commercial States, would gain power, wealth, and importance by cutting loose from the weaker and dependant South, now admitted to an equality with them.

This conviction of reason, moreover, is, in some ardent minds, exasperated almost into a passionate desire, by the insolence and intolerance of the slave representatives in Congress.

It is to feelings of this sort that we are to ascribe in part the petition presented by Mr. Adams, which has occasioned the violent debate in the House, asking for a dissolution of the Union, rather than longer submission to unequal, oppressive, overbearing legislation, dictated by Southern interest, and carried by the cohesion of the common bond of slavery.

And what was thus formally embodied by these petitioners, is floating loosely and largely among the elements that go to make up public opinion in the North. Repulsed at first because of the loyalty to the Union, which enters into the education and hopes, as it were, of every Northern man—it comes again and again, at such successive manifestations of Southern intolerance, to force an entrance, and at each attempt finds resistance more and more feeble.

It is this consideration—that at both extremities of the Union, attachment to the bond that makes us one people is daily undermining—which saddens our heart.

We love the Union—and would stand by it at every risk, but that of being insulted and betrayed in its name—and therefore it is we now say to the South, *Beware—you have taught us to calculate the value of the Union*, AND WE HAVE CALCULATED IT—*push us not to the conclusion.*

From the Cincinnati Philanthropist.

Dissolution of the Union.

A word about the *Union*. Is it to be viewed as a *means* or an *end*? As a *means*—a means 'to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.' Supposes it should fail of securing these ends, he would be a fool, that should advocate it a moment longer. Should the Union become destructive of personal rights, the man that should strive to perpetuate it, would be a traitor to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It is nonsense to tell free-born American citizens, that they are not to calculate the value of the Union. To neglect to calculate the value of any or every institution among them, is an offence against reason and common sense. Calculate the value of the Union, and if it is all is said to be, you will revere it, not as the devotee who, in the excess of his idolatry, throws himself under the wheels of Juggernaut, but with the profound regard of a man, who never bows his manhood to public opinion or tradition, who scorns to take any thing on trust, who never yields his affection, till his own reason has convinced him that the object is worthy. Idolatry under any form whatever, is a degradation of the Deity in man.

For one, we love the Union, but we love liberty more; and should the time ever arrive when the former should become destructive of the latter, we should as certainly seek its overthrow, as, believing that liberty is now best to secured by the Union, we are zealous in its support.

No class of men is more attached to the Union than abolitionists, and yet none has had more reason to be alienated. Of what special benefit is the Union to that citizen of a free State, whose opinions on the subject of slavery would cause him to be lynched, should he travel into a slave State? What protection did it afford to C. T. Torrey, a free citizen of the United States, cast into jail for attempting to report the proceedings of a Slaveholders' Convention? What power is there in the Union, when it cannot save certain of the citizens of Massachusetts from being sold as slaves under the laws of Alabama?

And yet we love the Union; it is our defence against foreign aggression—it is our security against domestic wars—it affords protection to our citizens generally, and it will be a blessing and an honor to all, when that element of mischief, that perverter of right, that curse of curses, *slavery*, shall cease to exist among us.

From the Madison County Abolitionist.

Congress and the Union.

J. Q. Adams presented a petition from 46 inhabitants of Haverhill, Massachusetts. The list was headed by Nathan Webster, a gentleman whose acquaintance we have the honor to enjoy; a leading LOCO FOCO of that town, and who ran as a candidate for the State Senate. Mr. W. is a very fine man, a highly respectable citizen, and known for his probity and worth. Our opinion, knowing the man as we do, is, that he and his co-signers were serious in all they said. They, like thousands of the voters of the free States, think that to be linked to such a rotten carcass as slavery, is far more injurious to the free North, than a *dissolution of the Union*. For one, we say it, and say it boldly; DISSOLVE THE UNION, IF IT IS THE ONLY WAY TO KILL SLAVERY! Better, far better is freedom without the Union, than freedom with slavery. No man but one who is blinded by interested considerations can doubt *our ability* to take care of ourselves. We ask no aid from slavery. That we should like the *Union*, if liberty presided over it, if true and constitutional freedom had within its pale a home, we are not disposed to deny; but when murder, adultery, robbery, concubinage bear sway, when duelling, street brawls, taking human life in broad day light, are every day occurrences; when CHILDREN ARE SOLD BY THEIR OWN PARENTS, and professing christians commit prostitution with their slaves, that they may make money by the sale of the offspring of such shameless adultery; where first principles—principles of fundamental morality—are buried up; there we say is no advantage that compensates for the loss consequent upon such a co-partnership. What can pay the North for the base stab that her DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES have received at the hands of slavery? What can satisfy a STRUGGLING WORLD for the dead weight which slavery has thrown into the scale, against its enfranchisement? What can pay us for the loss of our *good name?* for the deep and settled sneer which gathers over the face of all Europe, at our inconsistencies? What has this Union that can recompense the slave for his scarred back, lost time, broken heart, uncultivated intellect? We ask, and if we wait till slavery answers, we shall wait till the crack of doom. Slavery! it is an unmitigated curse. It is a curse to the master, a curse to the slave; it is a curse to the North, a blight to the South; a stench in God's nostrils, and a pestilence to man. But, thank heaven, its spirit of liberty, it has had its hour. Its day of supremacy is fast passing away. A little while, and its death throes are upon it. No more shall northern manhood kiss its feet. No more shall northern hearts yield up their sympathies at its bidding. No more shall pulpit and press, tongue and lip be spell-bound by its enchantments; but the whole, aye, the whole shall utter *truths* that shall strike it dead. There are a few reflections that crowd into our mind as we think of the late struggle in the House of Representatives between liberty and slavery.

What cause for joy at the noble stand taken by a portion of the *northern press* in regard to this matter. To be sure, as usual, the democratic (?) portion has truckled to the slave power, and found the acme of its ambition in bowing its back, like an eastern slave, as a footstool for its mistress slavery. From the whole (falsely, so called) democratic press, we have not a note of remonstrance against this encroachment of the slave power, but on the other hand evident 'chuckling' and glee at witnessing the attempt at crucifying freedom on her own altar. On the other hand, we are highly gratified at the manliness shown by the whig journals throughout the whole North. They have spoken *bravely*, and they have our humble thanks. Honor be unto them for it! At the head of the list, we place the New-York American.

From the National A. S. Standard.

The Union.

A friend writing from Boston, says: 'We launch, this campaign, the great question of repeal of the Union, and mean to carry it through the Commonwealth. Massachusetts must no longer be compromised. We cannot conscientiously keep the compact our fathers made; and therefore we must ask for its peaceable repeal.'

Our friend seems to think that this communication will take us by surprise; but it is more than two years since we came to the conclusion, that there was no other way for the free States to clear themselves of being accomplices in tremendous guilt. Moreover, the proceedings of the South, trampling on the right of petition, demanding of New-York the relinquishment of trial by jury, endeavoring to intimidate John Quincy Adams in the conscientious discharge of his duty, increasing the liability of wanton demands which they deem necessary to sustain their iniquitous system, and their secret but determined efforts to annex Texas, all show plainly enough that the very existence of our civil liberty is endangered by the continuance of slavery. If the South is determined, at all hazards, to sustain her guilty system, and implicate the free States therein, what can the North do to satisfy her own conscience, and secure her own freedom, unless it be to take measures for a peaceable separation?

But though these have long been our deliberate convictions, we trust petitions of this kind will be most carefully worded; not for the sake of policy, or disguise; but that our real views and wishes may be distinctly understood. With the institutions or customs of the southern States, we have no right to interfere, except with those weapons of argument and wit, in use by all the world. South Carolina has a legal right to continue slavery in her own dominions until it ruins her utterly; and it would be small wisdom, on our part, to force her to change her own laws, against her will, even if we had the power. But it is quite another question, whether Massachusetts, New-York, &c. shall continue *partners* in what they honestly consider crime.

The runaway slave comes among us, and we give him trial by jury; (though the South vociferously demands that even this shall be refused; but if the poor, trembling victim is *proved* to be a slave, we have no power to shield him, though heart and conscience both plead loudly in his behalf. Ought the free States to consent to this? Or should they earnestly seek for some peaceful remedy? The Constitution requires us to help to put down slave insurrections at the South. Now God forbid that we should excite an insurrection, or rejoice in one; but who, that has a freeman's heart, could fight *against* the struggling victims of tyranny, or even give his money for such a purpose? What, then, can we do, but insist upon such changes in the Constitution, as will relieve us of all *partnership* in this nefarious business? And if this is refused, what remedy is there but a peaceable separation, for conscience' sake?

Gladly would we see such a crisis avoided; though we believe it would in no wise do injury to the interests of the North. The true wisdom would be *for the South to cease her encroachments on northern liberty, for the support of her peculiar institution*, to put away prejudice and self-will, and candidly investigate how this great evil, which is sapping our national prosperity, and destroying our free institutions, can be removed. If this were done, with mutual, friendly endeavor, then might there be a union in reality, as there now is in name. The British West Indies lie before us, like a book opened and marked for our instruction by the hand of God. We appeal to you, candid men of the South, whether it would not be well for your own interests to study thoughtfully the lesson it contains.

From the Journal of Commerce.

The Creole Case.

In the Senate on Monday, a message was received from the President, transmitting a report from the Secretary of State in relation to the Creole case; which report comprised a copy of the following letter from the Secretary of State to our Minister at London.

Mr. Webster to Mr. Everett.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Jan. 29th, 1842.

EDWARD EVERETT, Esq. &c. &c.

Sir,—I regret to be obliged to acquaint you with a very serious occurrence, which recently took place in a port of one of the Bahama Islands.

It appears that the brig 'Creole,' of Richmond, Virginia, Inson, master, bound to New Orleans, sailed from Hampton Roads on the 27th of October last, with a cargo of merchandize, principally tobacco, and slaves, (about 135 in number;) that on the evening of the 7th of November, some of the slaves rose upon the crew of the vessel, murdered a passenger, named Hewell, who owned some of the negroes, wounded the captain dangerously, and the first mate and two of the crew severely; that the slaves soon obtained complete possession of the brig, which under their direction was taken into the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence, where she arrived on the morning of the 9th of the same month; that at the request of the American Consul in that place, the Governor ordered a guard on board, to prevent the escape of the mutineers, and with a view to an investigation of the circumstances of the case; that such investigation was accordingly made by two British magistrates, and that an examination also took place by the Consul; that on the report of the magistrates, nineteen of the slaves were imprisoned by the local authorities as having been concerned in the mutiny and murder, and their surrender to the Consul, to be sent to the United States for trial for these crimes, was refused, on the ground that the Governor wished first to communicate with the Government in England, on the subject; that through the interference of the colonial authorities, and even before the military guard was removed, the greater number of the remaining slaves were liberated, and encouraged to go beyond the power of the master of the vessel, or the American Consul, by proceedings which neither of them could control. This is the substance of the case, as stated in two protests, one made at Nassau, and one at New Orleans, and the Consul's letters, together with sundry depositions taken by him, copies of which papers are herewith transmitted.

The British Government cannot but see that this case, as presented in these papers, is one calling loudly for redress. The 'Creole' was passing from one port of the United States to another, in a voyage perfectly lawful, with merchandize on board, and also with slaves, or persons bound to service, natives of America, and belonging to American citizens, and which are recognized as property by the Constitution of the United States in those States in which slavery exists. In the course of the voyage, some of the slaves rose upon the master and crew, subdued them, murdered one man, and caused the vessel to be carried into Nassau. The vessel was thus taken to a British port, not voluntarily, by those who had the lawful authority over her, but forcibly and violently, against the master's will, and with the consent of nobody but the mutineers and murderers; for there is no evidence that these outrages were committed with the concurrence of any of the slaves, except those actually engaged in them. Under these circumstances, it would seem to have been the plain and obvious duty of the authorities at Nassau, the port of a friendly power, to assist the American Consul in putting an end to the captivity of the master and crew, restoring to them the control of the vessel, and enabling them to resume their voyage, and to take the mutineers and murderers to their own country to answer for their crimes before the proper tribunal. One cannot conceive how any other course could justly be adopted, or how the duties imposed by that part of the code regulating the intercourse of friendly States, which is generally called the comity of Nations, could otherwise be fulfilled.—Here was no violation of British law attempted or intended on the part of the master of the 'Creole,' nor any infringement of the principles of the law of nations.

The vessel was lawfully engaged in passing from port to port, in the United States. By violence and crime she was carried against the master's will, out of her course, into the port of a friendly power. All was the result of force. Certainly, ordinary comity and hospitality entitled him to such assistance from the authorities of the place as should enable him to resume and prosecute his voyage, and bring the offenders to justice. But instead of this, if the facts be as represented in these papers, not only did the authorities give no aid for any such purpose, but they did actually interfere to set free the slaves, and to enable them to disperse themselves beyond the reach of the master of the vessel or their owners. A proceeding like this cannot but cause deep feeling in the United States. It has been my purpose to write you at length upon this subject, in order that you might lay before the government of Her Majesty fully, and without reserve, the views entertained upon it by that of the United States, and the grounds on which those views are taken. But the early return of the packet precludes the opportunity of going thus into the case in this despatch; and as Lord Ashburton may shortly be expected here, it may be better to enter fully into it with him, if his powers shall be broad enough to embrace it. Some knowledge of the case will have reached England before his departure, and very probably his government may have given him instructions. But I request, nevertheless, that you lose no time in calling Lord Aberdeen's attention to it in a general manner, and giving him a narrative of the transaction, such as may be framed from the papers now communicated, with a distinct declaration that if the facts turn out as stated, this government thinks it a clear case for indemnification.

You will see that in his letter of the 7th of Jan. 1837, to Mr. Stevenson, respecting the claim for compensation in the cases of the 'Comet,' 'Encomium,' and 'Enterprise,' Lord Palmerston says that 'Her Majesty's Government is of opinion that the rule by which these claims should be decided is, that those claimants must be considered entitled to compensation who were lawfully in possession of their slaves within the British territory, and who were disturbed in their legal possession of those slaves by functionaries of the British Government.' This admission is broad enough to cover the case of the Creole, if its circumstances are correctly stated. But it does not extend to what we consider the true doctrine, according to the laws and usages of nations; and, therefore, cannot be acquiesced in, as the exactly correct general rule. It appears to this Government that not only is no unfriendly intercourse by the local authorities to be allowed, but that aid and succor should be extended in these, as in other cases which may arise, affecting the interests of citizens of friendly States.

We know no ground on which it is just to say that these colored people had come within, and were within, British territory, in such sense as that the laws of England affecting and regulating the condition of persons could properly act upon them. As has been already said, they were not there voluntarily; no human being belonging to the vessel was within British territory of his own accord, except the mutineers. There being no importation, nor intent of importation, what right had the British authorities to enquire into the cargo of the vessel, or the condition of persons on board? These persons might be slaves for life; they might be slaves for a term of years, under a system of apprenticeship; they might be bound to service by their own voluntary act; they might be in confinement for crimes committed; they might be prisoners of war; or they might be free. How could the British authorities look into and decide any of these questions? Or, indeed, what duty or power, according to the principles of national intercourse, had they to inquire at all? If, indeed, without unfriendly interference, and notwithstanding all their duties of comity and assistance, by these authorities, the master of the vessel could not retain the persons, nor prevent their escape, then it would be a different question altogether, whether resort could be had to British tribunals, or the power of the government in any of its branches, to compel their apprehension and restoration.—No one complains that English law shall decide the condition of all persons actually incorporated with British population, unless there be treaty stipulation making other provision for special cases. But in the case of the 'Creole,' the colored persons were still on board an American vessel, that vessel having been forcibly put out of the course of her voyage by mutiny; the master desiring still to proceed it, and calling upon the Consul of his government, resident at the place, and upon the local authorities to enable him so to do, by freeing him from the imprisonment to which mutiny and murder had subjected him, and furnishing him with such necessary aid and assistance as are usual in ordinary cases of disaster at sea. These persons, then, cannot be regarded as being mixed with the British people, or as having changed their character at all, either in regard to country or personal condition. It was no more than just to consider the vessel as still on her voyage, and entitled to the succor due to other cases of distress, whether arising from accident or outrage.—And that no other view of the subject can be true is evident from the very awkward position in which the local authorities have placed their government in respect to the mutineers still held in imprisonment. What is to be done with them? How are they to be punished? The English government will probably not undertake their trial or punishment; and of what use would it be to send them to the United States, separated from their ship, and at a period so late as that, if they should be sent, before proceedings could be instituted against them, the witnesses might be scattered over half the globe. One of the highest offences known to human law is thus likely to go altogether unpunished.

In the note of Lord Palmerston to Mr. Stevenson, above referred to, his Lordship said 'that slavery being now abolished throughout the British empire, there can be no well founded claim for compensation in respect of slaves who, under any circumstances, may come into the British colonies, any more than there would be with respect to slaves who might be brought into the kingdom.' I have only remark upon this, that the government of the United States sees no ground for any distinction founded on an alteration of British law in the colonies. We do not consider that the question depends at all on the state of British law. It is not that in such cases the active agency of British law is invoked and refused; it is, that unfriendly interference is deprecated, and those good offices and friendly assistances expected which a government usually affords to citizens of a friendly power when instances occur of disaster and distress. All that the United States require, in these cases, they would expect in the ports of England, as well as in those of her colonies. Surely, the influence of local law cannot affect the relations of nations in any such matter as this. Suppose an American vessel, with slaves lawfully on board, were to be captured by a British cruiser, as belonging to some belligerent, while the United States were at peace; suppose such prize carried into England, and the neutrality of the vessel fully made out in the proceedings in Admiralty, and a restoration consequently decreed—in such case, must not the slaves be restored exactly in the condition in which they were when the capture was made? Would any one contend that the fact of their having been carried into England by force set them free?

No alteration of her own local laws can either increase or diminish, or any way affect, the duty of the English government and its colonial authorities in such cases, as such duty exists according to the law, the comity, and the usages of nations. The persons on board the 'Creole' could only have been regarded as Americans passing from one part of the United States to another, within the reach of British authority only for the moment, and this only by force and violence. To seek to give either to persons or property thus brought within reach an English character, or to impart to either English privileges, or to subject either to English burdens or liabilities, cannot, in the opinion of the government of the United States, be justified. Suppose that by the law of England, all blacks were slaves, and incapable of any other condition; if persons of that color, free in the United States, should, in attempting to pass from one port to another in their own country, be thrown by stress of whether within British jurisdiction, and there detained for an hour or a day, would it be reasonable that British authority should be made to act upon their condition, and to make them slaves? Or suppose that an article of merchandize, opium for instance, should be declared by the laws of the United States to be a nuisance, a poison, a thing in which no property could lawfully exist or be asserted; and suppose that an English ship with such a cargo on board, bound from one English port to another, should be driven by stress of weather, or by mutiny of the crew, into the ports of the United States, would it be held just and reasonable that such cargo should receive its character from American law, and be thrown overboard and destroyed by the American authorities? It is in vain that any attempt is made to answer these suggestions by appealing to general principles of humanity. This is a point in regard to which the nations must be permitted to act upon different views, if they entertain different views, under their actually existing condition, and yet hold commercial intercourse with one another, or not hold any such intercourse at all. It may be added, that all attempts by the government of one nation to force the influence of its own laws on those of another, for any object whatever, generally defeat their own purposes, by producing dissatisfaction, resentment, and exasperation. Better is it, far better in all respects, that each nation should be left without interference or annoyance, direct or indirect, to its undoubted right of exercising its own judgment in regard to all things belonging to its domestic interests and domestic duties.

There are two general considerations, of the highest practical importance, to which you will, in the proper manner, invite the attention of Her Majesty's government.

The first is, that, as civilization has made progress in the world, the intercourse of nations has become more and more independent of different forms of government, and different systems of law and religion. It is not now as it was in ancient times, that every foreigner is considered as therefore an enemy; and that, as soon as he comes into the country, he may be lawfully treated as a slave; nor is the modern intercourse of States carried on mainly, or at all, for the purpose of imposing, by one nation on another, new forms of civil government, new rules of property, or new modes of domestic regulation. The great communities of the world are regarded as wholly independent, each entitled to maintain its own system of law and government, while all, in their mutual intercourse, are understood to submit to the established rules and principles governing such intercourse. And the perfecting of this system of communication among nations requires the strictest application of the doctrine of non-intervention of any with the domestic concerns of others.

The other is, that the United States and England, now by far the two greatest commercial nations in the world, touch each other both by sea and land at almost innumerable points, and with systems of general jurisprudence essentially alike, yet differing in the forms of their government and their laws respecting personal servitude; and that so widely does this last mentioned difference extend its influence, that without the exercise to the fullest extent of the doctrines of non-interference and mutual abstinence from any thing affecting each other's domestic regulations, the peace of the two countries, and therefore the peace of the world, always will be in danger.

The Bahamas (British possessions) push themselves near to the shores of the United States, and thus lie almost directly in the track of that great part of their coastwise traffic, which, doubling the Cape of Florida, connects the cities of the Atlantic with the ports and harbors on the Gulf of Mexico, and the great commercial emporium on the Mississippi. The seas in which these British possessions are situated, are seas of shallow water, full of reefs and bars, subject to violent action of the winds, and to the agitations caused by the Gulf Stream. They must always, therefore, be of dangerous navigation, and accidents must be expected frequently to occur, such as will cause American vessels to be wrecked on British islands, or compel them to seek shelter in British ports. It is quite essential that the manner in which such vessels, their crews and cargoes, in whatever such cargoes consist, are to be treated, in these cases of misfortune and distress, should be fully known.

You are acquainted with the correspondence which took place a few years ago, between the American and English governments, respecting the cases of the Enterprise, the Comet, and the Encomium. I call your attention to the Journal of the Senate of the United States, containing resolutions unanimously adopted by that body respecting those cases. These resolutions, I believe, have already been brought to the notice of Her Majesty's government, but it may be well that both the resolutions themselves and the debates upon them should be again adverted to. You will find the resolutions, of course, among the documents regularly transmitted to the Legation, and the debates in the newspapers with which it has been supplied from this Department.

You will avail yourself of an early opportunity of communicating to Lord Aberdeen, in the manner which you may deem most expedient, the substance of this despatch; and you will receive farther instructions respecting the case of the Créole, unless it shall become the subject of discussion at Washington.

In all your communications with her Majesty's government, you will seek to impress it with a full conviction of the dangerous importance to the peace of the two countries of occurrences of this kind, and the delicate nature of the questions to which they give rise.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21, 1842.

In the Senate this morning, a message was received from the President of the United States, enclosing a communication from the Secretary of State, in reply to the resolution of the Senate, adopted on the 18th instant, at the instance of Mr. Walker, calling for information in relation to the action taken by this government in the Creole case.

Mr. Walker requested that the communication should be read, which was done.

Mr. Walker expressed his gratification that so satisfactory a communication had resulted from his resolution. It would be admitted by all who had listened to the reading of the document now before the Senate, that the arguments which it contains are drawn up with great ability, and, what is still better, with great force of truth, and just principles. He considered it as confirmatory of the doctrines before urged by the Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Calhoun] in his resolutions, unanimously adopted by the Senate on a former occasion. He hoped sincerely Lord Aberdeen would be found more reasonable than Lord Palmerston, and that the present administration of Great Britain would do ample justice to this country, finding that Lord Palmerston's doctrines are untenable, and that on every principle of national justice, the grounds he assumed should be abandoned. The new administration in England came into power by a majority so large that it must feel itself strong enough to adopt principles founded on an enlarged and enlightened basis of policy. He moved that the communication be printed and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Calhoun seconded the motion, and took the occasion to say that he had heard the document read with great pleasure. He considered it covered the whole ground, and trusted it would be the means of putting an end to the dangerous doctrines which had been maintained on this subject. That doctrine, coming from any other quarter, could not have equal effect; but coming from the source it did, it was calculated to produce the best results. His object in rising was to second the motion of the Senator from Mississippi, and to move that a thousand additional copies be printed.

The question was first put on the printing of the communication, which was agreed to.

[Reported for the Liberator.]

Remarks of Ellis Gray Loring,

Before the Legislative Committee, on the powers of Rail-Road Corporations.

Justice has been so far done already, Mr. Chairman, to this subject by those who have preceded me, that I shall confine myself mainly to the strict legal bearings of the question.

One previous remark, however. It has been argued, and truly, that the accommodations afforded to men of color, by the rail-road companies, are inferior to those they are entitled to. Let me add, sir, that it is immaterial in my view, whether they are inferior or not. To give inferior accommodations might be an injury; but to make any distinction whatever is an *insult*; one which men of color will suffer more from, than from an injury, if their feelings are what they ought to be; for, surely, to a rightly constituted mind, the latter infliction is the worst. If, in England, a distinction of this kind were made between the peer and the people, would it not be insulting the people to propitiate the peer? And so it is in all similar cases. Distinctions made between parties that are socially held to be unequal, are always an insult to the reputedly inferior party. If the peer's daughter be forbidden to marry the peasant's son, common sense tells us that the peasant is the insulted party, however plausibly it may be argued that the prohibition touches both alike.

These corporations have assumed the duties of common carriers; and, like other common carriers, have the right to make any regulations for the management of their business, which are not inconsistent with the public good. The question then is, are the practice and regulations, of which we complain, consistent with the public good? We contend that they are not; and we invoke the Legislature to declare authoritatively that the good of the whole does not call for the infliction of injury and insult upon a part.

In the present state of things, a man's rights are left dependant on the floating notions of public good which may be entertained by any one of our 700 justices of the peace. Go before any one of these justices, and you will very likely hear him argue that these are mere matters of taste—that, in questions of taste, the majority ought to rule—that riding with colored men is disagreeable to the majority, and, therefore, a separate car should be provided. But, sir, this is not a fair statement of the general course of argument taken upon these subjects. But, sir, we should look more seriously and conscientiously to these points. I affirm that nothing is a matter of taste, merely, which affects the rights and happiness of our fellow-creatures. This is a matter involving moral and legal principle; and no man has a right to indulge his taste in any such thing.

The base and cruel prejudice, which is dignified with the name of taste, is the source of continual wrong to the people of color. I have known it banish a worthy man from the inside to the top of a stage-coach, in a night when I would not let a dog go shelterless. I have known it keep a poor sick woman on the rainy deck of a steamboat, and I know that her life paid the forfeit of the cruel exposure. These things are no sport, sir, to those who suffer from them. We may cannot colored people apprenticed to lucrative and respectable trades, or find the opportunities of education in every school? It is because *public taste* is opposed to their rising; and, sir, I pray that in legislating on questions of public concernment, this Commonwealth may rebuke it.

But the *majority*, it is said, must regulate these things. Are all our rights, then, at the mercy of a majority? Our Constitution and our laws are framed mainly to protect the rights of the *minority*, and to say to the majority, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.' You allow no taste to regulate, and no uncertainty to overhang questions relating to your property. You would not allow your property to be confiscated, because it was the taste of the majority to take it from you; if not, why are your other rights to be left at the mercy of every man's taste? Surely there are rights as valuable as money!

If such a pretension is inadmissible when set up by a common carrier, still more preposterous is it when put forth by those who owe their very existence to the Legislature;—a Legislature sworn to support a Constitution which declares all men equal. The directors of these companies are in the exercise of public officers. They have a public, and not were, political existence, through your act. The State, by incorporating these companies, and in said to be, in fact, the carrier, and is bound to be no violation of fundamental principles on the part of the servants, whom they have entrusted with peculiar duties towards the public. We claim that the rules and practise of some of our rail-roads, in relation to their colored passengers, are grossly inconsistent with 'the public good,' as tried by the standard of the Bill of Rights of this Commonwealth. A justice of peace may decide, that the white man's *taste* is put to inconvenience, and his good taste consulted, when a man of color takes his place beside him. It is sufficient to reply to this objection, that let the white man stay out of the train, if he is dissatisfied.' There is no compulsion. I affirm it: the Constitution of Massachusetts has stated that all men are born free and equal, as the foundation on which all our laws and institutions are built. Men are equally tall, or handsome, or dark, or white complexioned; but *equal in the eye of the law*, which knows none of these distinctions. If there is a proposition well-settled, it is this—all men here are equal before the law. The application of this principle is direct, that I am ashamed to argue it before this Committee.

This being the statement of the Constitution, and this the fundamental law, it is on this ground that we solemnly ask the action of the Legislature. We ask that the charters of the rail-road corporations should not be construed to protect them against the law we claim, defining the rights of rail-road passengers, would not amount to an alteration of the charters of the companies. I suppose the charter in question might be legally altered in any way which should not reduce their profits below a certain point, or limit their duration, but no alteration of charter is necessary. You can legislate for the corporations as a class, just as you can tax insurance offices, or call for monthly reports from banks. If you would not do it for the Suffolk bank alone, you would not do it for one rail-road only; but on *all* banks and all rail-roads your jurisdiction is unquestionable.

I do not, however, view this question as involving corporate rights. It is rather matter of police. We want a law to prevent or punish the servants of rail-road companies, who shall undertake to insult or assault any class of passengers, on account of a difference of color. Surely you have not surrendered the right to control petty tyranny, when anarchy is the result of its exercise; and this necessary control should be effectually put forth by a declaratory law, defining and protecting the rights of the public, and enacting that the servants or agent transgressing them, should be punished by fine or imprisonment. We do not ask that a heavy penalty should be imposed. What is wanted is the sense of the Legislature upon the subject. It would probably be never transgressed.

The Legislature has a perfect right to do this. All carriers alike owe duties to the public, which may be legally enforced, but the obligation is still stronger in the case of rail-roads. The Legislature has granted them a *monopoly*. We cannot run another rail-road to Salem, as another carrier could put upon a road.

As to the fact that these illegal and unconstitutional distinctions have been made, there is no doubt. I could summon a cloud of witnesses. I can one at this instant in this hall. This is a case in is radically wrong, and we ask the Legislature to rectify it. They have done much to expunge the stain of slavery from the State, and this is a remnant of it which ought to be immediately removed. I have letters from the superintendents of all these roads, by which the Committee will see that the oppressive course of which we complain is followed by no rail-roads in this State, except upon the Eastern and Providence, and their tributaries.

If the Committee should attend to my suggestion, I submit, also, a draft of a law, imposing a penalty upon any servant or officer of any rail-road company, who shall commit or aid or abet others in committing an assault upon any person, for the purpose of depriving such person (on the ground of a difference in color, race or descent) of an equal right with others to use any of the cars of such company.

Question from the Committee.—How far are the directors responsible for the conduct of the conductors?

MR. LORING. The abuses complained of are in fact done under the sanction of the directors. The by-law, by which the conductors are required to regulate the train, is printed and posted in the rail-road depots. As the framers of the Constitution of the United States were ashamed of the word slave and wrote that instrument without it, veiling the meaning under an ambiguous phrase, so I suppose the directors to have been ashamed to specify the meaning in so many words.

Their regulation is that 'all *persons* shall take seats as may be assigned them by the conductor.' They blush to publish their wrong in plainer terms.

It may be said, that, if the regulation in question is contrary to the bill of rights, it will be so decided by the courts, and that the rail-road officers will be, consequently, amenable to the suit of the party injured, without special legislation.

I answer, first, that this proposition is nearly the same thing as saying, that the conduct of the officers of the rail-roads is an offence at common law. Now every lawyer is aware, that the Legislature in innumerable instances, defines and punishes by statute, offences which are also punishable at common law. We ask nothing unprecedented or unusual.

I answer, secondly, that, as this is a matter involving on a consideration of 'the public good,' it is as much a question for the Judiciary, as for the Legislature. The judges, under the influence of prejudice, may declare that, to insult and proscribe a man for his color, is not contrary to public good. We ask the Legislature to pronounce otherwise. It is our right and their duty to do so.

Such, Mr. Chairman, are the legal bearings of the question, which I have aimed to present in as brief and dry a manner, as my deep interest in the subject would permit.

From the Lynn Record.

To our Patrons.

This number will bring the Lynn Record, as of course, the humble labors of the editor, to a close, to unexpected to him till just before going to press, and to many of the readers. This will account

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON:

FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 4, 1842.

Great Meeting in favor of Mr. Adams.

Agreeably to previous notice, a meeting of the citizens of Plymouth and vicinity was held at the Town House, on the 27th ult., at 10 o'clock. The house was filled to overflowing, and many citizens from other towns of Mr. Adams's district were present. The meeting was called to order by Col. John B. Thomas, of Plymouth.

Hon. Isaac L. Hedge, of Plymouth, Hon. Gershom Weston, of Duxbury, and Mr. Eleazer Sherman, of Carver, were appointed a committee to report a list of officers for the meeting. The committee reported as follows:

For President—Hon. SETH SPRAGUE, of Duxbury.

Vice Presidents—Dr. JAMES THACHER, of Plymouth; JOHN THOMAS, of Kingston; Dr. AMARIAH PRESTON, of Plymouth.

Secretaries—Col. WILLIAM DAVIS, of Plymouth; JOSEPH PRATT, Esq. of Carver.

It was then voted, that a committee of five be appointed by the Chair to report Resolutions for the consideration of the meeting—and Hon. G. B. Weston, of Duxbury, Col. Wm. Davis, of Plymouth, Wm. [illegible], Esq. of Scituate, Dr. Winslow Warren, of Plymouth, and Amasa Holmes, Esq. of Plymouth, were appointed. This committee subsequently reported by Col. Davis, the following:

Whereas, the right of petitioning Government for a redress of grievances is expressly guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, and is one which should ever be held sacred and inviolate by a free people; and whereas it is declared in the Declaration of Independence, that, whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of the great ends for which it was instituted, 'it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new Government;' and whereas it is provided in the Constitution of the United States, that Congress shall have the power of proposing amendments to the Constitution:

Resolved, Therefore, that the people have a right to ask Congress to dissolve the Union of these States, and that our venerable Representative, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in presenting to Congress a petition for that purpose, from Haverhill, in this State, has proved his unyielding devotion to one of the fundamental principles of our Government—the right of the people to be heard by their Representatives—and that his able, noble and triumphant defence of that right, amid insult, abuse and obloquy, has given him new claims to the gratitude and support of his constituents.

Resolved, That fierce denunciations of Mr. Adams, for presenting the petition from Haverhill, come with ill grace from those who have repeatedly and habitually threatened the dissolution of the Union; and that there is no reason why it should be treason at the North, and not at the South, 'to calculate its value.'

Resolved, That the successive rules adopted by Congress, denying the Right of Petition, commonly called Gag Laws, are palpable violations of the Constitution, and most dangerous in their tendency; and that the thanks of the people are due to Mr. Adams, for the earnestness and vigor with which he has uniformly protested against these outrages upon their inalienable rights.

Resolved, That we are ardently and devotedly attached to the Union; and that, in our deliberate opinion, the unwise course pursued by the South in denying the Right of Petition, suppressing the liberty of speech and the press, violating the privileges of the Post Office, illegally seizing and imprisoning Northern citizens, and in other aggressions of a similar nature, has done more to alienate the different sections of the country, to strengthen the ranks of Abolitionism, and excite the fears of the North as to the influences of their peculiar institutions, than all other causes combined.

Resolved, That we have no disposition to interfere with Southern institutions, but seek only to be protected in the enjoyment of the privileges of the Union, and of our rights under the Constitution; and that experience fully shows, that the security of every citizen in these rights and privileges is the only course that can preserve the quiet and harmony of the country.

Resolved, That the North has nothing to hope from continued concessions to the demands of the South; that we heartily approve the stand taken in Congress by Mr. Adams in defence of Northern interests and rights, and that, in all Constitutional efforts which he may make to protect those rights and interests, we pledge him here, on the Rock of Plymouth, our sympathy and support.

An animated and interesting debate upon the Resolutions ensued, in which many participated. At one o'clock, the Convention adjourned, to meet again at 2, P. M. at the First Church, where the debate was resumed. It was then voted that the question upon the adoption of the Resolutions be taken separately upon each Resolution—and they were UNANIMOUSLY adopted.

Voted, That the Officers of this Convention be a committee to take measures, if they deem it expedient, for calling another meeting in a different portion of the District.

Voted, That the thanks of the Convention be presented to the Officers for the prompt and obliging manner in which they have discharged their duties.

Voted, That the thanks of the Convention be presented to the proprietors of the First Church for the use of their house on this occasion.

Voted, That these proceedings be transmitted to Mr. Adams, and the other members of the Massachusetts delegation in Congress, and be offered for publication in the papers of the District.

SETH SPRAGUE, President.
JAMES THACHER, JOHN THOMAS, A. PRESTON, } V. Presidents.
WILLIAM DAVIS, JOSEPH PRATT, } Secretaries.

☞ The Plymouth Memorial, in giving publicity to the foregoing proceedings, adds the following

NOTE.

The venerable appearance of the President and Vice Presidents added much to the interest of the occasion. The President, whose head is silvered with the frosts of more than eighty winters, is a veteran public servant, whose voice is ever heard with respect. Of the Vice Presidents, Dr. Thacher has just completed his 88th year, and both he and Dr. Preston were in active service in the Revolutionary War. Mr. Thomas, of Kingston, is a son of the Gen. Thomas who figured so largely in the fortification of Dorchester Heights—and in the early part of our Revolution, Gen. T. died in Canada. The selection of these veterans was peculiarly appropriate on the occasion of sustaining their venerable Representative.

Vacancies filled at Last.

Committee on *Foreign Affairs*.—This Committee has been re-organized for the third time, and is now composed of the following members:

John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts.
Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts.
Horace Everett, of Vermont.
Francis Granger, of New-York.
Edward D. White, of Louisiana.
Augustine H. Shepperd, of North Carolina.
R. L. Caruthers, of Tennessee.
A. H. H. Stuart, of Virginia, and
J. A. Meriwether, of Georgia.

Referring to those southern soul-drivers who have refused to act with Mr. Adams, the Globe says it is 'only not surprised that 'those *gentlemen*' should have declined serving on the committee over which he presides, but it will be surprised if any 'gentlemen' in Congress consent to take their places, and serve under him! The impulse, instinctively, in every honorable mind, is to avoid such a man'!!—For 'gentlemen,' read men stealers, and for 'honorable,' read [illegible]able.

A Specimen of Clerical Decency.

The following *respectful* Note, from the 'Editors of the Puritan,' in this city, was sent to us a few days since:

W. L. GARRISON, Esq:

Sir—The enclosed communication we have received from *a respected correspondent* at Andover, and as we think it not entirely appropriate to the *general character* of our paper, we take the liberty to transmit it to you, with the *respectful request* that you will give it an insertion in the columns of your widely circulated journal.

Yours, very respectfully,
EDITORS N. E PURITAN.

Boston, Feb. 25, 1842.

REMARKS.

In order to illustrate the nature and spirit of the opposition which is waged against our righteous enterprise, we have sometimes inserted in our columns low and disgusting articles, emanating from slaveholding and pro-slavery sources; but the communication which has been sent to us for publication, by the Editors of the Puritan, is so stocked with blackguardism and indecency, from the beginning to the end, that our readers would not readily pardon us, if we should allow it to appear entire in our columns, even for the laudable purpose of exhibiting the depraved and scurrilous minds of the clerical conductors of the Puritan. In sending such a dirty paper to us, with their 'respectful' request that we would publish it, and vouching for the 'respectability' of their correspondent, they have clearly revealed their own baseness, and offered a deliberate insult to us and the enterprise in which we are enlisted. If they dare to pronounce these representations untrue, we challenge them to publish in the Puritan—in self-defence, and in order to subject us to public reproof—the communication under animadversion.

The 'respected correspondent' of the Puritan undertakes to give an account of the late overwhelming meeting of the Essex County Society at Andover—the largest and choicest gathering which has ever been held in Old Essex for the abolition of slavery. Instead of examining, in a decent and candid manner, the principles and sentiments which were advocated on that occasion by such minds as distinguish Wendell Phillips, George Bradburn, and Abby Kelley, he fills his paper with witless, coarse, vulgar personalities, and attempts to draw 'a portraiture' of the various speakers. He begins by *wittely* saying that he could not fathom the meaning of the words, 'Great *Mass* Meeting,' but concluded that the true idea was evolved by certain students, (of whom he was, doubtless, one,) who mutilated one of the handbills by obliterating the letter *M* in the word *Mass*. One of the speakers he describes as having his 'pants' so short that they 'seemed to have much ado to extend their jurisdiction below the tops of the boots.' Another individual, as 'a stunt, concise being, whose head and features looked not unlike an adroit mouse-catcher.' Another, as 'the dancing-bear of the company, though a little mongrel in blood.' Another, as having 'a nose with a graceful curve upward, not unlike a Kamscatka sled-shoe.' Another, as in appearance being evidently 'a remote descendant of John Falstaff.' Another, as 'a long, lean man, with a sort of pamphlet face—looking in general like a *boot-tree*, after which it is possible, he was originally modelled.' Another, as 'a short, gnarled, hard-faced hero, with a most exquisite dare-devil air about him'—and, in the opinion of the writer, had he lived in Henry VIII's Court, there had been no need of sending to Calais for *a nerve and heart hard enough to cut off the head of Anne Boylen*'! He appeared as though 'he had got his trade of some of Satan's journeymen, and had but half learned it, he imitated the infernals so abominably.' Another is described as 'wearing an extensive leer, with an expression very like fuller's soap.' Another, as 'a kind of scape grace appearing man,—a sort of Methodist blunderbuss.' Further—'The oyster-men and stable-boys crowded around, at touching distance, *that strange mockery of human decency*, Abby Kelley.' Finally, this 'respected correspondent' feelingly declares that it makes him 'sick at heart to see such a prostitution of all modesty and decency (!)—it is fit for Chardon street Chapel, *that is consecrate to ignominy*.'

These are specimens of this filthy manuscript, which occupies nearly ten pages. Now, we ask our readers once more to peruse the note of the 'Editors of the Puritan,' to look at their endorsement of the character of their correspondent, and to mark, in particular, their 'respectful request' that we would give publicity to such a mass of scurrility—and then decide, whether we have used too strong terms in describing their impudence and indecency.

We will merely add, that the Andover scribbler is shocked at 'the desperate thrusts' which he says were made 'at colonization, the church, and the ministry,' at the meeting aforesaid. Certainly, he is a very suitable champion of those institutions, in their present condition.

The Nantucket Inquirer.

The Inquirer is a paper, which, for some cause or other, has never seen fit to exchange with us; and, consequently, it has only been by accident that we have ever seen a copy of it. In replying, a short time since, to an editorial article which appeared in the Inquirer, respecting Mr Bradburn and the Whig party, we spoke of the paper as charging Mr. B. with dealing too often in harsh and denunciatory language, and we remarked that the charge came with a bad grace from the Inquirer, which had been conspicuous from its origin for its sarcasm and severity toward opponents. It seems that the Inquirer has passed out of the hands of Mr. Jenks, and is now edited by H. B. Dennis, who, we are assured, is a most amiable man, and of a different spirit from his pro-slavery predecessor. This being the case, we most cheerfully say, that we intended our retort to bear upon Mr. Jenks, and not upon Mr. Dennis, of whose course as an editor we have no other knowledge than we obtained from his strictures upon Mr. Bradburn's Letter. He declares, we understand, that his panegyric upon Nathaniel Barney was honestly bestowed, and for no invidious purpose; and he is fairly entitled to the benefit of such a declaration. We can only say, that we sincerely thought we discovered *prima facie* evidence in his article, of a desire to injure Mr. Bradburn, by the personal contrast which he draws between that gentleman and our estimable friend Barney. If it be true that he disclaims any such intention, we are bound to accept his disclaimer, in all charity. Probably, a better acquaintance with the Inquirer, under its new editor, by an exchange of papers, will cause us to think better of it, in relation to the great cause of humanity, than we did when it was in other hands. We proffer that exchange.

An Open Foe.

We see it stated, that a weekly paper has been commenced in Cincinnati, called the Cincinnati Post and *Anti Abolitionist*. The following declaration is made in the first number:

'For ourselves, we look upon the abolition of slavery in the South, as one of the greatest *curses* that could fall upon us as a nation, and to them in particular; and so far from its being an evil, we look upon it as having done more towards happifying a *degraded* race, than all the missionaries that philanthropy and religion have ever sent forth.'

This is a million times preferable to *common* pro-slavery, because it is divested of all cant and hypocrisy. It is frank, plain-spoken villany, which is no ordinary praise in this age of double-dealing and imposture. It is more consistent, more honest, more *pious*, than the lucubrations of the New-York Observer, the Boston Recorder, and other kindred prints, on the subject of slavery. Certainly, the slaves have been put into a very 'happifying' condition by their masters!

☞ The General Agent of the State Society has recently visited Nantucket, and delivered several lectures in that little republic. A correspondent writes—'Collins has done a good work here.'

Eastern Rail-Road.

The Salem Register says—'We are authorized and desired to say, that the report that Stephen A. Chase, Esq. has resigned his office as Superintendent of the Eastern Rail Road, is incorrect: he has not resigned.' No, not he! He seems to be too willing to perform the ruffianism that is perpetrated, by order of his employers, upon our colored fellow-citizens travelling in the cars on that road, to relinquish his *honorable* and lucrative situation. If he had one atom of self-respect, one grain of manhood, one spark of humanity, he would infinitely prefer starvation in the streets of Lynn or Salem, to acting in the capacity of the Bull-dog of Prejudice and the Tool of Despotism. Let him not attempt to stifle the monitions of conscience, nor to drown the cries of outraged humanity. Let him not 'lay the flattering unction to his soul,' that he is not responsible for the brutality which is inflicted on those who are forcibly ejected from the cars, on account of their complexion; for though the guilt belongs primarily to the Stockholders and Directors, yet as he allows himself to be the agent to do this shameful work, and manifests a spirit that is as obdurate as granite, he deserves severe retribution. 'For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, SAITH THE LORD: I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.' Does Stephen A. Chase believe that declaration, and not tremble? It is a shame that he should wear the broad brim and the drab coat of the Quaker; it is a greater shame that he should be a member in regular and high standing of the Society of Friends. If that Society had not lost its vitality, and become recreant to its high professions, it would consider the conduct of such a man worthy of its severest discipline—namely, expulsion from the privileges of membership.

What shall be said of the Stockholders and Directors of the Eastern Rail-Road? The latter are the representatives, agents, and official servants of the former. They are all involved in the villany of the transactions that have taken place on that route, injurious to the persons and hostile to the rights alike of white and colored travellers—all of them, we mean, (and they amount to a majority, of course,) who have sanctioned these transactions, whether by that silence which gives consent, or by a direct vote. It is scarcely to be supposed that they are perfectly united in this grievous, yet paltry work of persecution; yet, for aught that appears, there is not a dissenting voice! If there be a minority, however small, who lament the high-handed course pursued by the majority, why do they not enter their public protest? If there be a single stockholder, or director, who abhors this trampling upon human rights, let him speak out! There is no excuse for this corporation—none whatever. Even the base plea, that the public taste and feeling will not tolerate the enjoyment of equal rights by colored travellers, is utterly groundless; for wherever the experiment has been made, it has been perfectly successful. [Witness the various rail-roads in this Commonwealth, on which complexional distinctions have ceased.] We come, then, calmly and intelligently, but undoubtingly and firmly to the conclusion, that every member of the Eastern Rail-Road Corporation, who approves of driving men and women into the 'Jim Crow Car,' on account of the complexion which it has pleased the Creator to confer upon them, is at once in spirit A COWARD and A RUFFIAN—and that so is every other person who sanctions the brutal deed.

Pro-Slavery Ignorance and Delusion.

It seems to be a somewhat difficult matter to make southern slaveholders understand, (owing, measurably, to the caricatures and misrepresentations which appear in the northern journals opposed to the anti-slavery enterprise,) who are the abolitionists, or the motives by which they are actuated, or the sure mode to put down 'the abolition excitement.' They have been led to form a most contemptuous opinion of those who insist upon the immediate abolition of their slave system, and to lavish upon them every hateful epithet. They have yet to learn, (and they cannot much longer remain in ignorance of the fact,) that the abolitionists, as a class, are as far removed from a wild enthusiasm, or a fanatical frame of mind, as the heavens are from the earth; that they are sober, substantial, intelligent citizens; that they are foremost in every humane, moral and christian reform; that they are animated by the most benevolent motives, and the strongest desires for the safety and prosperity of the slaveholding States; that, while they regard slavery as a curse and disgrace to the republic, and diametrically opposed alike to the will of God and the instincts of mankind, they cherish no animosity toward the holders of slaves; and that they deeply deplore the *cause* of that 'excitement' which creates so much uneasiness throughout the slaveholding regions.

In the 'Independent,' a new paper published in Washington city, is an editorial article on the right of petition, which contains some sensible thoughts, but which displays great ignorance in regard to the vitality of the anti-slavery enterprise. Among other things, it says—

'We believe, deeply, solemnly, fervently believe, that all this agitation of the country on the subject of abolition, dissolution of the Union, and all such kindred topics, is the result of the mistaken position of the South, in regard to the reception of anti-slavery petitions. We as much think, as that we are doomed to die, that had Congress determined to receive, refer, and act upon the petitions on the subject of abolition, the perpetual agitation of the country on this subject would have long since ceased. There would be no mixing up, as is now constantly the case, of abolition with every subject of public policy. There would be no more such mortifying scenes as we now witness in the House of Representatives. Abolition would cease to be, what it is now, a stalking horse for the aspiring demagogues of the country.'

The opinion thus gravely put forth by the editor of the Independent, will excite a smile among abolitionists. It is true, the long-continued denial of the right of petition, by Congress, has naturally increased the flame of indignation which is burning so intensely against slavery, and deepened the agitation of the public mind; but if that lost right should be recovered, and the petitions of the people received and treated in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, the friends of the slave would still be active and uncompromising in their efforts for his deliverance out of the hand of the spoiler. The rock which has been cast into the bed of the anti-slavery river, by Congress, does indeed somewhat obstruct its course, and disturb its otherwise regular flow; but, if that rock were taken out of the way, is Mr. Pleasants—is any man south of the Potomac—so demented as really to believe that that river would immediately disappear, as an effect is destroyed by the removal of its cause? Is that rock the fountain of that river? What an absurdity! No—its sources are to be traced to the mountains of justice, mercy and righteousness, which are, like their great Author, 'from everlasting to everlasting.' When the South shall be turned to repentance for her bloody crimes, and her manacled laborers transformed to freemen, then, and not till then, will all agitation on the subject of slavery become extinct.

Hear! Hear!

The Boston Post most sagaciously and disinterestedly says—'Had it not been for the fanatical conduct of the northern abolitionists,' in ranking the southern slaves among the 'all men who are created equal, and endowed with the same inalienable right to liberty,' and demanding for them equal and exact justice, 'we believe that measures would have been in progress for the extinction of slavery in nearly every State where it exists.' The shell is yet on the head of the author of that opinion; but what can be expected of a *Post* that is *rotten to the core*, and whose pretensions to democracy are all a sham?

MAINE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. The annual meeting of this society was held at Augusta on the 3d inst. The meeting was well attended, and the proceedings were of a high-toned character, and of the right spirit. So says an exchange paper.

Southern Chivalry.

The Washington Globe is glad to see in the South indications of preparation for defence. 'If we are to have war with England, all know that *the South is first to be assailed*, and with the most horrid species of warfare. All that the genius of chivalry (!) which pervades that region, wants to make it invincible, is military skill.' Here we have two important admissions. In case of a war, 'the South is first to be assailed.' No doubt of it—but why? Because she has two millions and a half of deadly enemies in her midst, who are panting for the first opportunity to avenge their wrongs, and recover their freedom. Again, should war ensue, the South is to be assailed 'with the most horrid species of warfare.' What does that mean? It means that it will only be necessary for a British army to hoist the banner of emancipation at the South, and there will be a servile insurrection of the slaves added to the horrors of a foreign invasion. Thus does the Globe unwittingly give the lie to its own assertions, and the frequent declarations of southern men, that the slaves are contented and happy, and so attached to their masters, that they would cheerfully lay down their lives in their defence. 'Murder will out.' But let the South take courage—she is safe! A Mr. Herbert has established a military school in South Carolina, and the Globe compliments him as a thoroughly educated soldier, a man of talent and patriotism. Now, then, let Great Britain take good care not to get into a war with this country, and, especially, not to invade the southern States!

Texas.

The following is from the Boston correspondent of the Salem Observer:

BOSTON, FEB. 24, 1842.

In the course of the day yesterday, the Governor made two communications to the House. The first covered certain resolutions from the States of Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, touching the admission of Texas into the Union, the distinction act, etc. Alabama, it seems, approves the conception of a union of Texas with the United States, for reasons, I presume, satisfactory to the friends of a peculiar 'domestic institution' at the South, but which can never satisfy any *thinking* mind north of Mason and Dixon's line. We have territory enough, and bad morals enough, and public debt enough, and slavery enough, without adding thereunto by such a union. If Texas cannot take care of herself, let her re-unite her fortunes with Mexico, from whom she untimely separated, and to whom she properly belongs, but let us not be so unwise as to hang such a millstone on the neck of our national prosperity. The same communication also covered certain transactions of the city of Alexandria, manifesting a desire on the part of its inhabitants to be re-united to the State of Virginia—a 'straw,' I suppose, indicating the direction of Southern breezes.

The Marriage Bill Defeated.

The bill for the repeal of that portion of the Marriage Law of this State, which determines a man's right to marry by the color of the skin, was rejected in the House of Representatives on Tuesday last, by a vote of 140 to 136, on its passage to be engrossed. It had passed the Senate by an overwhelming majority. We shall endeavor to publish the ayes and noes in our next number. This is a shameful result, and will excite great surprise and indignation throughout the Commonwealth.

We regret to state that the bill, (see our first page,) securing equal rights to our colored citizens in travelling, has been postponed in the Senate by a vote of 18 to 13. Humanity and Liberty have yet a mighty work to accomplish in Massachusetts.

ABSURD REASONING. The friends of the Sabbath, as a holy day, often render themselves ridiculous, and injure their own cause, by the manner in which they attempt to reason on that subject. Here is a case in point. The St. Louis Republican throws out a 'Caution to Sabbath breakers,' as follows:—It states that a young gentleman of that city, who had been on a riding excursion 'on Sunday afternoon,' was thrown from his buggy, and one of his thighs so badly hurt that amputation will be necessary. Now, this is gravely stated as a direct interposition of Heaven to punish the guilty transgressor of a moral law, (?) and, consequently, as a warning to all others! This might seem plausible, if no such event were known to take place on any other day of the week; but as persons are thrown from vehicles on every day alike, 'be their intents wicked or charitable,' it follows, either that the 'caution' of the Republican is a mere piece of superstition, or else that all days are alike holy, and no man may venture to ride at any time, except at the peril of his legs or his life!

A NEW WORK FOR FEMALES. Dr. Alcott states, in the last number of the Library of Health, that a work for females, by Mrs. Grove,—long since announced by the public press,—will very soon appear; and he expresses the opinion, that it will doubtless be found an important accession to the cause of physiological science and physiological reform.

MEMORANDUM. The Lowell abolitionists will remember that it was Mr. TYLER, of that place, from the Committee of Public Buildings, who reported *leave to withdraw* on the petition of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for the use of the Representatives' Hall, during its recent anniversary.

AGE *versus* TIME. The Boston correspondent of the Quincy Patriot puts us down at 'some forty-five years' of age. He must deduct nine years from that amount. The ravager, Time, having long since lost his own hair, has revenged himself by plucking ours out by the roots, not leaving us even a forelock! This serves to mislead those who guess at our age. Our head is bald, 'but not with years.'

☞ Charles C. Burleigh's Post Office address will be on the 7th inst. No. 25, Cornhill, Boston; on the 8th, Sudbury; on the 12th, Oxford; thence to the 20th, Plainfield, Conn.

Miserable Business.—A poor wretch, named Farmer, convicted of murder, was publicly executed a few days ago at St. Martinsville, Miss. In describing the execution, the St. Martinsville Gazette says, that the executioner, in the first place, who was not very expert at the business, took a tremendous time to fasten the rope to the gallows. It seemed as if he wished to prolong the agony of the unhappy being who was consigned to his hands; then, when the cart was withdrawn, the noose slipped, the criminal's feet touched the ground, and finally, in order to allow the rope to perform its office, '*Jack Ketch*' was compelled to raise him by the legs, and hold them until life was extinct! What a horrible commentary this, upon the system of public executions!

Triumph of J. Q. Adams.—The New-York Evangelist says:—'Massachusetts ought to welcome this gentleman to his home when the present Session of Congress closes, with some public demonstration of hearty confidence and applause, for the effectual manner in which he has silenced the miserable croaking of violent men at the South, respecting the dissolution of the Union. The time is past when that threat of the South will have any other effect at the North, than to create ridicule and contempt.'

Death of Dr. Vaughan.—A letter received in Richmond, says the Star, states that Dr. Vaughan, who shot young Pleasants at the Columbian Hotel, some three years ago, was killed recently at Texas. Dr. Vaughan went to cowhide a young carpenter, formerly of Richmond, for some expressions that were used at a public meeting; and as Vaughan collared him, the young man seized a hatchet and cleft his skull to the brain, killing him on the spot. Thus doth the life of the violent close in violence.—*Petersburg Intelligencer.*

How Fallen!—Sumner L. Fairfield, the poet, has advertised his wife for having left his 'bed and board.' Poor creature! she has supported him through all his misery and degradation for many years, and now no longer able to suffer the inhumanity of the man, she leaves him and suffers anew from his ungenerousness. Rum! rum! rum!—*Daily Mail.*

Resistance to Tyrants.

DEAR BRO. GARRISON:

I have this moment read your comments on the 'Address to the Slaves.' You have misapprehended the intended meaning of the following sentence:

'But the great majority of abolitionists justify our forefathers' bloody resistance to oppression; and can, therefore, dissuade you from such resistance, to a ten thousand fold greater oppression, not on the high ground of absolute morality, but on the comparatively low one of expediency.'

The writer of the Address, and, doubtless, the whole Convention also, that adopted it, meant by this sentence that, inasmuch as 'the great majority of abolitionists' think our forefathers' bloody resistance morally right, they were not at liberty to call such resistance on the part of the slaves morally wrong: or, in other words, that as they approve of it in the one case on moral principle, they can condemn it in the other, only as inexpedient.

You say that the Address declares, that 'absolute morality does not allow the use of carnal weapons, even in self-defence.' If you will give the Address a second and careful reading, you will see that it does not declare what are the sentiments, on that point, of the body that adopted it. It refers, though neither approvingly nor disapprovingly, to the sentiments on that point of 'the great majority of abolitionists;' and under such a reading as I commend to you, you will see that it does not imply that, in the judgment of this great majority, 'absolute morality does not allow,' but (just the reverse,) that it does allow 'the use of carnal weapons.' Whether the fact be creditable or discreditable to 'the great majority of abolitionists,' so it is that they do, in the judgment of the Convention that adopted the Address, defend 'bloody resistance to oppression on the high ground of absolute morality.'

Fraternally yours,
GERRIT SMITH.

☞ We cheerfully correct our error, but still think that the language of the Address, in this particular, is exceedingly ambiguous, to say the least.—ED.

Liberty Party Convention.

MR. GARRISON:

DEAR SIR—Your correspondent 'W.' whose communication appeared in the last Liberator, imposed upon your good nature with a string of misstatements, probably to injure the credibility of the paper, as the fictions were too stupid to do any other injury.

The person, however, showed some ingenuity in crowding his misrepresentations so thickly together. The first three or four paragraphs contain at least half a dozen—e. g. 1st. That 'Rev. Mr. Dennison moved the announcement of the Liberty Party nominations with three times three.' 2d. That Rev. Mr. Colver made a *whining* address. 3d. Proposed a prayer as most appropriate. 4th. That prayer was generally performed by vote. 5th. That an effort was made to find a suitable chaplain. 6th. That Mr. Merrill was called from a distant corner to the desk. 7th. That much exertion was made to induce the Hon. William Jackson to remain in the chair, &c. &c. to the end. These are all absolute and unqualified misrepresentations. They are, indeed, too foolish, and of too little consequence, to deserve attention, but my motive for alluding to them is, since you have shown a willingness to give an account of the proceedings of the Liberty Party Convention, to offer to furnish you a *true* account of its proceedings, which will, doubtless, give your readers much pleasure, and encourage them to go on in the good work of *doing*, as well as saying, until the dreadful moral and political evil of slavery, upheld by moral and political power, shall, by moral and political means, be overthrown. Yours, D. M.

☞ Our correspondent W. is incapable of making a wilful misstatement. He did not say that Mr Dennison made the proposal attributed to him, but that he was so informed as he entered the meeting. Whether Mr. Colver spoke in a whining tone is a mere matter of opinion. W. was informed 'that prayer was generally performed by vote.' As to the other denials of D. M. they are nothing better than sheer quibbling.—ED. LIB.

A Hint to Travellers.

MR. GARRISON:

Having occasion, two or three days since, to travel on the Andover and Haverhill Rail Road, I was agreeably surprised to find the accommodations for passengers much superior to those on the Eastern road; and I take this opportunity to urge all persons, who may be intending to travel eastward, to take this, in preference to the eastern route, via Portsmouth, as, in addition to the fact that on this road no distinction is made among passengers on account of complexion, they will find the cars more commodious and lofty, the conductors gentlemanly, and the motion of the cars much easier and less noisy.

I trust the first named reason will be sufficient to induce all friends of equal rights to bestow their patronage where it is deserved, as, if they would take pains to do so, the *interest* of the Directors of the eastern road would soon compel them to change their policy. W.

Honor to whom Honor.

MR. EDITOR:

If I am correctly informed, the statement in your last paper, in the report on the action of the clergy of Essex County, does not give Mr. Taylor, of Manchester, his due. He is not 'pro-slavery by position,' if 'remembering those in bonds as bound with them' in his prayers and sermons on the Sabbath,—in refusing to fellowship slaveholders, by excluding them from his church and pulpit, and it faithfulness to the slave in ecclesiastical bodies—is any evidence of anti-slavery position. I have good authority for making the above statement.

Yours for the slave,
JOHN ALLEN.

The Wounded Bird Flutters.

MR. GARRISON:

Never was an arrow from your quiver sent with truer aim, than the one directed at a city contemporary in your last paper, as may be seen by his paper of the next day. GREEN-eyed malignity may basely *Post* and belie you, in a half-serious, half-ironical paragraph, written while writhing under the pain of your rankling arrow, which it strives in vain to dislodge; but this is a poor vindication of that kind of 'democracy' which you so justly held up to public abhorrence. TRUTH.

THE CHARTER OAK. The following account of the disaster which befell this steamer during the late violent gale, was put in type for our last number, but unavoidably omitted for want of room. She has since been got off, and carried in to New-London.

The steamer Charter Oak from New-York for Norwich ran ashore on Fisher's Island, in Long Island Sound. She left New-York on Wednesday afternoon, as usual. The Daily Advertiser says—the weather through the evening was good, and her passage was uninterrupted till about midnight, when the storm struck her, off Faulkner's Island. For a short time she weathered it successfully; but her rudder chains soon gave way under the force of the waves—and, for five hours she was entirely unmanageable. During this time she was driven through the narrow passage between Faulkner's and Gull Island, called the Race, known as an extremely difficult channel, yet she passed it in perfect safety, although entirely at the mercy of the wind, and ran southeast before the gale, directly into the open sea. About 5 o'clock in the morning, no one on board knowing where she was, she struck on the *sea side* of Fisher's Island, her engine bringing her up under the lee of the land, and nothing remaining between her and the open sea. The boat lay here till daylight, and at about 11 o'clock, the passengers and crew all landed in safety, through the surf, the water being about breast high. They were very kindly treated by the inhabitants, and as soon as the storm had subsided, they crossed to the main land, some to Stonington and some to New-London, the latter arriving in Boston late on Friday evening, by an extra ain from Norwich.

THE CALEDONIA. This steam-ship, which was to have sailed from Liverpool on the 4th ult. has not yet arrived at Boston, and we have little doubt that she has shared the fate of the ill starred President. The Captain of the ship Hibernia, which arrived at New-York from Liverpool on the evening of the 27th ult., says that he encountered a terrible gale, which lasted from the 3d to the 15th—the wind blowing nearly all the time a perfect hurricane. *He expresses his decided conviction that the Caledonia never could have weathered it, and that she is lost.*

In consequence of the failure of the Caledodia, the steam-ship Unicorn was sent on to Boston from Halifax to take her place, and she probably sailed yesterday, with the passengers and freight destined for Liverpool. On her arrival at Halifax, if the Caledonia has arrived at that place, a mutual exchange of passengers and freight will take place, and the Unicorn will return to Boston, and the Caledonia to Liverpool, but, if the Caledonia shall not be at Halifax, the Unicorn will proceed direct to Liverpool.—*Worcester Spy.*

Hon. Lewis Williams, of North Carolina, died suddenly in Washington, on Wednesday, after an illness of thirty-six hours, having been attacked by his malady, (a billious pleurisy,) after attending to his duties on Monday. Though but 56 years old, he was 'The Father of the House,' having been a member for twenty-six years without intermission.

Treasurer's Account

of Collections from 14th to 28th Feb. 1842.

By J. A. Collins.

From Nantucket—	
Judith Gibbs 50c. Emeline Paddock $1,	$1 50
Persa Gibbs 50c. Isaac Austin 5,	5 50
Geo. C. Gardner 1, Alfred Folger 1, Wm. Randall 12c.	2 12
Chas C. Macy 25c. Oliver Marshall 1,	1 25
Frederick Hoeg 50c. Wm Bunker 50c.	1 00
Wm. Robinson 10c. Peter Macy 5,	5 10
Susan F. Parker 1, Susan Pool 50c.	1 50
Mary B Macy 1, Maria S Morse 25c.	1 25
Nancy Plaskett 1, Wm. M. Morris 50c.	1 50
Martha S. Coffin 25c. Pamela Chase 50c.	75
Peggy Coffin 75c. Eunice Marshall 25c.	1 00
Mary S. Macy 50c. Susan B. Colman 1,	1 50
Mary B. Macy 2d 1, Geo. Closby 1 50,	2 50
John B. Nicholson 2, Absolem F. Boston 1,	3 00
John Codd 25c. Reuben B. Coffin 25c.	50
Arnold Morse 20c. Charles Colman 50c.	70
Charlotte Austin 1, A. H. Easton 1,	2 00
E. G. Austin 1, J. C. Ray 1, W. P. Crocker 50c.	2 50
Susan Paddock 1, Sarah Paddock 25c.	1 25
Eunice C. Macy 50c. Cash 2,	2 50
Nath'l. Barney 40 77, collections at meeting 20 31,	61 08
Nantucket W. T. A. Society, by G. G. F.	10 00
Cash 10, cash 3, E. N. 1,	14 00
	$124 00
Proceeds Dedham A. S Fair,	50 00
E. G Ford " w. con.	1 75
	$175 75

Collections by Frederick Douglas, as follows:—

In Leicester, 1 85, Barre, 37c.	$2 22	
Princeton, 10 17, Westminster 7 27	17 44	
Hubbardston, 4; Gardner, 12,05;	16 05	
Templeton, 5,65; Fitchburg, 9,81;	15 46	
Leominster, 8,25; Barre 7;	15 25	
Hubbardston,	10 64	—77 06

In the above, F. D. omitted the names of the individual subscribers—and they cannot be given. He will, doubtless, be more particular in future.

In Worcester—	
C. Wood 1, J. B. Jewett 37 1-2c. A. Rice 37 1-2c.	1 75
J. M. Russell 50c. L. Wood 1, G. Rockwood 25c.	1 75
Wm. Winchester 25c. Sarah Winchester 25c.	50
S. Spring 25c. A Stone 2, R. Fay 25c.	2 25
A. Wood 1, F. Harrington 25c. E. Earle 1,	2 25
A. Chase 1, S Bellows 1, P. Talman 50c.	2 50
J. Washburn 3, A. Allen 25c. J. Hawes 25c	3 50
E. Mitchell 25c. A. Bellows 25c. H. Lamb 25c.	75
C. Davis 50c. Mechanic 1,	1 50
	17 00
In Holden—	
J. Hubbard 12c. J. Miner 12c. R. Howard 25c.	49
C Stearns 25c. C. Bryant 25c. W. Warren 1,	1 50
M Holbrook 1, J E Cheney 1, F. Parker 50c.	2 50
A Eastabrook 25c. J Abbot 12c. G Flagg 25c.	62
D Pierce 13c. Bigelow 25c. S. Hubbard 25c.	93
S Statton 50c. Mrs. Robbins 25c. Mrs Crosby 40c.	1 15
Mrs Flagg 25c. Mrs Howard 25c. Mrs Newton 25c.	75
F Howe 25c. S Hubbard 25c. J Murry 50c.	1 00
E Kendall 25c. Chas. White 1, S. E. White 1,	2 25
Mrs C White 1, Geo F White 1, F A White 1,	3 00
J Frost 50c. Sundry persons 5 81,	6 31
J D Fuller, J C Bowen, M Lincoln, and D Wheeler,	3 00
	23 20
Total,	$293 01

S PHILBRICK, *Treasurer.*

Brookline, March 1, 1842.

ERRATA. In the Report of the Treasurer, last week, $5 paid by Henrietta Sargent, should have been included. For J. N. Himes, read J. V. Himes. Catharine Sargent was erroneously located in Lynn, instead of Boston.

Erratum.

In the minutes of the late meeting of the Essex Co. A. S. Society, held at Andover, as published in the Liberator of February 25th, the vote passed during the last session, relative to the amendment of the preamble of the resolutions, referring to the 'Dissolution of the Union,' should read thus—Voted to amend the third clause of the preamble to the above named resolutions, by striking out the phrase, 'with southern oppressors,' and substituting the phrase, 'for the support of slavery,' and by substituting the word 'it' for 'slavery,' where it occurs in the same clause; so that the clause, as amended, would read thus—And whereas, in the adoption of the American Constitution, and in the formation of the Federal Government, a guilty and fatal compromise was made by the people of the North for the support of slavery, by which it has been nourished, protected and enlarged, up to the present hour, to the impoverishment and disgrace of the nation.

DIED—At Tyngsboro', 12th ult. Hon. DANIEL RICHARDSON, Counsellor at Law, 59, one of the oldest members of the Middlesex Bar. He was a member of the General Court for several years, both in the House and Senate.

At Northfield, 8th ult. Hon. SAMUEL CLESSON ALLEN, 70. He was for several years a member of the House of Representatives, of the Senate, and Executive Council of the Commonwealth, and for several years in succession he represented the District of Franklin in Congress.

In Millbury, on the 14th inst, Diana Kelley, relict of the late Wing Kelly, in the 68th year of her age. With meek and quiet resignation she bore up under years of accumulated disease and suffering, always with a serene spirit, desiring the call from her Father to a home in His mansion above. [This excellent woman was the mother of Abby Kelley.]

In Coventry, R. I. on the 7th inst, Jabez Anthony, in the 62d year of his age. His disease (congestive lung fever) was of one week's duration. He attended the monthly meeting of Friends, of which he was a member, on the 2d day of the week, in his usual health. The next 2d day, he was a corpse. In the death of this most esteemed friend, society has lost a consistent example of christian piety, and a numerous mourning family a kind, indulgent, and affectionate husband and father. In the character of the deceased, we have had a rare illustration of practical Christianity. He was ever ready in every good word and work. The cause of temperance, anti-slavery and peace, found in him a practical and consistent advocate—the orphan and the outcast, a friend and protector. The friend and advocate of the slave found in the bosom of his numerous family sympathy and uncompromising co-operation—and it is the desire of the writer, that they may be sustained under this very trying and afflicting dispensation of Divine Providence. ☞

The Anti-Slavery Standard will please copy.

ESSEX COUNTY AWAKE!

The regular quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Methodist Church, Ipswich, on Wednesday, March 23d, commencing at 9 o'clock, A. M.

Various important resolutions, relating to the Church, the State, the American Union, &c. which were laid upon the table for further discussion at the last meeting, will come up for consideration.

Several friends from abroad will be present, and it is hoped the anti-slavery men and women of 'old Essex' will make a *grand rally.*

JAMES D. BLACK, *Sec.*

Danvers, March 1, 1842.

REV. HENRY GILES will lecture at the Masonic Temple, on Monday evening, March 7, on some conditions and influences of Irish Life.

Monday, March 14, on Peculiarities of Irish Character.

Lectures to commence at 7 1-2 o'clock.

Tickets, 50 cents for the course, at the bookstores of James Munroe & Co., W. D. Ticknor, and W. Crosby & Co.

POETRY.

☞ The following commendation of the youthful poet, by John Neal, we heartily endorse.

From the Portland Tribune.

The following scrap of poetry, which was written by an uneducated farmer's boy, a long way down-east, I have begged of the author for you, under a promise to bring the public acquainted with him through the Brother Jonathan. I am no friend to scribblers or scribbling, as you know—and still less to the manufacturing of poetry per order, instead of digging for an honest livelihood. But when I see a lump of the true ore like this, and find it in the possession of a poor fellow who cannot work, and must either play or die, I can't, for the life of me, bring myself to pass by on the other side, and leave him to perish. J. N.

From the Brother Jonathan.

TO THE NORTHERN LIGHTS.

Ye gorgeous visions of the northern sky,
Mysterious and sublime!
Who lit your brilliant lights on high?
Stream ye alone in idle revelry,
Above our cloudy clime,
Without an aim, or nature, more
Than mortal vision can explore?

Or have ye some high, unknown ministry?
Whence sprang ye into birth?
In distant realms unseen?
Or claim ye sisterhood with earth?
And will your strange, ethereal sheen
Fade with her fading green?

Man's wisdom has not told—
Ye are a mystery,
Which time perhaps shall ne'er unfold;
Philosophy, whose eagle pinion bold
Has conquered space, and brought the planets near
To her inspecting eye,
Has sought in vain to fathom you,
Or tell the office that ye do.

Ye are of later date—
Say—are ye for a sign,
Lit by the hand divine,
Whence earth should read her coming fate?
Signs shall be set in heaven,
And wonders meet the eye,
And flaming prodigies be given
Within the upper sky.

Ye may be such—yet man would be
Most backward thus to interpret ye,
Who glides in blind security,
Down Time's exhausting tide;
Puts far away the evil day,
Or dreams that he shall dwell for aye,
In all his lust and pride.

Whate'er ye are, ye have an aim,
For He has lit your wondrous flame,
Who fashions not a flower in vain,
And howe'er fruitlessly we pry
Into your inward mystery,
One feature still is plain—
Like as in all his works, sublime or fair,
We trace the glories of the Godhead there!

ISAAC GRAY BLANCHARD.

From the Knickerbocker, for February.

THE ANTIQUITY OF FREEDOM.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

Here are old trees, tall oaks and gnarled pines,
That stream with gray, green mosses; here the ground
Was never trenched by spade, and flowers spring up
Unsown, and die ungathered. It is sweet
To linger here, among the flitting birds,
And leaping squirrels, wandering brooks, and winds
That shake the leaves, and scatter, as they pass,
A fragrance from the cedars thickly set
With pale blue berries. In these peaceful shades—
Peaceful, unpruned, immeasurably old—
My thoughts go up the long dim path of years,
Back to the earliest days of Liberty.

Oh Freedom! thou art not, as poets dream,
A fair young girl, with light and delicate limbs,
And wavy tresses gushing from the cap,
With which the Roman master crowned his slave,
When he took off the gyves. A bearded man,
Armed to the teeth, art thou; one mailed hand
Grasps the broad shield, and one the sword; thy brow,
Glorious in beauty though it be, is scarred
With tokens of old wars; thy massive limbs
Are strong with struggling. Power at thee has launched
His bolts, and with his lightnings smitten thee:
They could not quench the life thou hast from heaven.
Merciless Power has dug thy dungeon deep,
And his swart armorers, by a thousand fires,
Have forged thy chain; yet, while he deems thee bound,
The links are shivered, and the prison walls
Fall outward: terribly thou springest forth,
As springs the flame above a burning pile,
And shoutest to the nations, who return
Thy shoutings, while the pale oppressor flies.

Thy birthright was not given by human hands;
Thou wert twin-born with man. In pleasant fields,
While yet our race was few, thou sat'st with him,
To tend the quiet flock, and watch the stars,
And teach the reed to utter simple airs.
Thou by his side, amid the tangled wood,
Didst war upon the panther and the wolf,
Your only foes; and thou with him didst draw
The earliest furrows on the mountain side,
Soft with the Deluge. Tyranny himself,
Thy enemy, although of reverend look,
Hoary with many years, and far obeyed,
Is later born than thou; and as he meets
The grave defiance of thine elder eye,
The usurper trembles in his fastnesses.

Thou shalt wax stronger with the lapse of years,
But he shall fade into a feebler age:
Feebler, yet subtler; he shall weave his snares,
And spring them on thy careless steps, and clap
His withered hands, and from their ambush call
His hordes to fall upon thee. He shall send
Quaint makers, forms of fair and gallant mien,
To catch thy gaze, and, uttering graceful words,
To charm thy ear; while his sly imps, by stealth,
Twine round thee threads of steel, light thread on thread,
That grow to fetters; or bind down thy arms
With chains concealed in chaplets. Oh! not yet
May'st thou unbrace thy corslet, or lay by
Thy sword: nor yet, O Freedom! close thy lids
In slumber: for thine enemy never sleeps,
And thou must watch and combat, till the day
Of the new earth and heaven. But would'st thou rest
Awhile from tumult and the frauds of men,
These old and friendly solitudes invite
Thy visit. They, while yet the forest trees
Were young upon the unviolated earth,
And yet the moss-stains on the rock were new,
Beheld thy glorious childhood, and rejoiced.

A FREE COUNTRY.

Oh! blest the land, and happy is the race,
Though rough the soil, and pent in narrow space,
Where a brave people, true to all their rights,
Whom luxury charms not, nor oppression blights,
By love united in one common cause,
Uphold their sacred liberty and laws:
Nor foes without, nor enemies within,
Can wrest from freedom, or from virtue win;
Triumphant kings their dynasties may found,
And with their conquests make the world resound;
Confusion on their Babel-structure waits,
And Ruin thunders at their temple gates;
But the fair edifice that Freedom rears,
Gains strength and beauty with increasing years,
For its foundations like the mountains rise,
Part of the soil, although they pierce the skies.

NON-RESISTANCE.

Spirit of the Religious Press.

The New-York Evangelist has published, with high exultation, fourteen sonnets recently written by the poet Wordsworth, in favor of capital punishment. That paper is delighted with 'their admirable philosophy and clear reasoning,' and thinks 'nothing which Mr. Wordsworth has ever written in this form is superior to these.' Will not the Governor of New-York, whenever a vacancy shall happen, appoint the editor of the Evangelist to fill the office of common hangman? He will, doubtless, be glad of an opportunity to show how human beings may be strangled, *for Christ's sake*—especially as he is a priest.

The Boston Recorder notices the fact, that a strong effort is making in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, as also in New-York, to abolish the punishment of death, and adds—'A well prepared memorial, in opposition to so *fanatical* a measure, is on foot, among the friends of the Bible, (!) and of man, and we trust will be widely circulated and signed. As well sweep away all law and all government at once. Universal anarchy and violence are the inevitable result of legislation so preposterous as that now proposed. It must be resisted strenuously, by every man who claims to be a patriot, a philanthropist, or a Christian.' (!)

This thirst for blood, on the part of the professed ministers of Christ, (they know him not,) is truly shocking. How terrifying is the progress of reform to a corrupt and time-serving priesthood!

N. B. The Christian Intelligencer and Christian Reflector copy approvingly the article from the Recorder into their columns!

From the Non-Resistant.

Godlikeness.

To resemble his Deity is the aim of every true believer in any form of religion. According as the idea which has been formed of the Supreme Being is low or lofty, is the standard of his worshippers noble or unworthy. Every advance in true civilization has been marked by the attainment of an higher conception of the Divine character, and consequently of an higher ideal of human perfection. The Jewish idea was as much in advance of that of Egypt from whence they came forth, and that of the nations into the midst of which they went, as the Christian idea is before that of Jewry. As the Christian idea has emerged from the mists and clouds of Paganism, of the gross despotism of the middle ages, of selfish passions, into the clear sunlight of truth, the true objects of human pursuit have been more plainly discerned, and more rationally followed. As the mind's eye becomes purged of its earthly distemperatures, and perceives more and more singly the great object of human contemplation—the Divine Being—it will serve more and more surely as a lamp to the feet in the devious maze of life. When the mind is penetrated with the true sense of the Divine nature will all its manifestations be more and more in accordance with its perfect standard. No man is better than his God. Rather, perhaps, he will ever insist upon making his God no better than himself.

No stronger evidence of this truth can be urged than the example of the American people. They profess to be an eminently Christian people. They disfigure their faces, and make long prayers for a pretence, and turn up their eyes at Sunday steamboats and mails, and groan in spirit at the spiritual destitution of Heathenism, and then they wipe their mouths and commit all manner of oppression, and robbery, and uncleanness, and murder, and deny the very knowledge which they believe essential to salvation, to millions of their neighbors, and then give all the glory to God and to His Christ. They profess to believe that it is their duty to forgive and love their enemies, to return good for evil, and blessing for cursing, and then they go and equip navies and enlist armies, and build penitentiaries, and erect gibbets, for the purpose of revenging themselves upon those that have injured them, or of destroying those that are likely to do them hurt; and the whole praise thereof is given in annual State Messages and Proclamations, and in Thanksgiving and Election Sermons, and in religious newspapers, to the Lord God Almighty. He is supposed to smile upon our extermination of the Seminoles, by shooting and hanging them in detail; and in case we should have to go to war with England in defence of our missionary operations on the coast of Africa, it is firmly expected that he will buckle on his armor and fight on our side, in so holy a cause. The manifestoes which will publish our bloody intentions will be issued in his name, the bulletins, which will lie on our side, will make honorable mention of him amongst the gallant officers that may have distinguished themselves in the battle, and the holy men who minister at his altar will uplift their consecrated hands in sacred thanksgiving for the slaughter he has helped to execute upon his children and their brethren.

Such is the amount of the Christianity of America. If it were the fashion of this age and country to give a visible shape to the popular mythology, what would be the presentment given of the god of the American Church and nation? He would be represented as a grim, ruthless, frowning monster, besmeared with gore, seated upon a throne of human skulls and broken hearts, holding in one hand a bloody sword, and in the other a slave-whip, snuffing up the reeking steams of murder, and lust, and oppression, which are continually ascending from his altars. At times, like the gods of the nations round about, he descends to take a part in the transactions of his creatures. Then he gives vent to his hatred towards a certain portion of his children upon whose brows he has imprinted an indelible mark of inferiority, and delivers them over to their brethren—his favorite sons—to do with them as they will. By virtue of his commission, they rob, and torture, and defile them, provide separate styes for them in his holy temples, (lest his more immediate presence should be insulted by their contiguity,) refuse to travel with them, or to eat with them, and make them, in compliance with his revealed commandments, as Samaritans and as lepers unto them. Then he stands by and gloats upon the miseries of those of his children who are thrust into the dungeons, or hanged upon the gibbets which he has ordained and sanctified. Again he mingles in the rapture of the strife where one portion of his family are arrayed against another, maiming and destroying each other by every contrivance of devilish enginery which the ingenuity of man can devise. Here it is observable that both parties claim him as of their side; but, however this may be, he is always in the end found with the stronger party, without respect to the rights of the quarrel. Now he is seen fighting the battles of freedom with Washington against George III., and again siding with the slave-masters in their crusade against Nat. Turner. Now he serves on board the British fleet when Admiral Codrington '*went it*'* against the Turkish navy at Navarino, thus establishing the independence of Greece; and anon he joins with the Grand Duke Constantine to restore the reign of order in Warsaw. In short, the God of the American people is one of like passions with themselves, only differing from his worshippers in boundless power to gratify his propensities. This is the Divinity which the State, and the Church, and the Priesthood have set up, and which they command all mankind to fall down and worship, in pain of everlasting torments. It is to such a Being as this that the steeple-crowned edifices which are sprinkled with a liberal hand over the land, are upreared. It is to perform his due liturgy and solemn ceremonial service, that the numerous order of men are set apart, by separate education and the laying on of holy hands, the influence of which we see on every side of us. Whatever may be their diversities of opinion—fatal to the eternal happiness of the unbeliever—as to the constitution of the Godhead, the mode of applying the waters of baptism, the qualification for the mysterious rites of religion, the damnation of infants, or the final perseverance of the saints,—still, in these important and practical views of the Divine character, and of the duty of conformity unto it, they are (with a few obscure exceptions) all of one heart and one mind. Those who deny that their Divinity is the True God, they denounce as infidels. If any of their ecclesiastical folds assert that they are but idolaters, worshipping they know not what, and, denying them the Christian character which they claim, go forth from amongst them, shaking off the dust of their feet as a testimony against them, they gnash upon them with their teeth, and hurl after them their impotent fulminations of excommunication and excision from the body of Christ.

* Alluding to the then magic words said to have been written by the late King, then D. of Clarence and Lord High Admiral, to Sir Edward Codrington, in reply to his application for instructions touching the Turkish fleet, '*go it, Ned*,' which produced the battle of Navarino, and the final deliverance of Greece from the Turks.

Such being the popular theology of the land, we cannot be surprised that it makes men like unto itself, or rather that it is the true reflection of what is in the hearts of wicked men. The religion of the land is the utterance of what is in the heart of the people of the land; and it is only to be amended by the regeneration of that heart. And this is only to be done by the continual application to it of Divine Truth—by the continual preaching of the Unknown God in the ears of the people. This preaching, to be effectual, must be shown forth in the lives of those who profess to be the true worshippers. It is in the creature that the Creator is glassed, that men may discern him. To overthrow the superstition which is destroying this people, it is necessary that a gospel should be preached every day, by every true believer, giving utterance to the ideal of the Divine character which has formed itself in the soul. The false God can only be displaced by the True God. The Demon of War, and Slavery, and Tyranny, and Revenge, can only be dethroned by the God of Peace, and Freedom, and Mercy, and Forgiveness. The gospel of such a Deity can only be preached by those who show forth their allegiance by their resemblance to him. This is the method of reform which Jesus taught, when he said, 'Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect.' The history of the world proves that this is the only way in which men can be made happier. The opposite way of attempting to improve upon and amend the Divine method has been tried in every shape ever since the creation, and without effect. The true reformer will endeavor, not to make his idea of the Divinity to conform to his own passions and infirmities, but to approach himself, as nearly as he may, to the highest conceptions of the Divine Being that he can attain. He should strive to look upon all the evil and the evil-doers in the world, as those eyes that are too pure to behold iniquity, look upon them, and to pursue the same mode of exterminating the one and of regenerating the other. When he sees the patience and long-suffering with which the Father sees his erring children learning wisdom by long and bitter experience, he is also willing to wait the appointed time. When the laws of the Governor of the Universe are violated, he does not sweep the offender out of existence, or inflict upon him an arbitrary punishment as an example to others; but he leaves him to the correction of those penalties inseparably annexed, in the very nature of things, to every infringement of law, and which penalties Omnipotence itself could not remit. He erects no court but that of conscience, appoints no executioners but the guilty passions of the offender, and annexes no punishments to crime, but their necessary consequences, which do their work of pain in love alone, having no purpose but the reformation and happiness of the erring party. The Divine Being has no selfish ends to gain in his administration of government. He seeks his own happiness only in promoting the happiness of others. He has no coward fears, no false dignity, no selfish purposes to consult. In his dispensation of the necessary blessings of life, he shows no partiality even in the favor of the good. His rain descends, and his sun shines, as well upon the evil as upon the good. He seeks to win the erring back to obedience and happiness by offices of love and kindness. Though He does not attempt to compel a forced obedience, resting on base fears from his children, neither does He rest in a state of Epicurean quietism, not troubling Himself about their welfare. He is ever speaking to them in the recesses of their inmost souls, if they will but cease from the noisy business or tumultuous pleasures of life, and listen to His voice. All nature, which is but His sign and visible manifestation, is never silent, but ever proclaims His wisdom and goodness, and exhorts the prodigal of earth to return to obedience and happiness. All the Divine words which have come down through the ages, spoken by bard or sage or prophet or apostle, speak of Him and of his love. In proportion as men have become like Him, have their words been words of power, and their actions deeds of might. It was this Divinity of nature that made the misunderstood, despised, hated, crucified Nazarene the Teacher of the race. Men have seen in him the signs that he had been with God—for he was God-like. Thence derived he his power over the universal human heart in every age and under every sky. Though the governing few hated and at last killed him, yet the common people heard him gladly, and his words have sunk deep into the bosoms of mankind, for they were a seed suited to the soil, and will ever spring up more and more abundantly, as the ages roll away. They who would share with him in the blessed work of blessing others, must do as he did, and seek for Truth at the Fountain-head of Truth, and dispense it in a Godlike spirit. They must make themselves like the Father, before they can be fitted to be the dispensers of His highest blessings to their brethren. In proportion to their Godlikeness will be their success and their happiness.—E. Q.

☞ No other comment on the following articles is needed than the remark that they are copied from the editorial columns of the New-England Puritan. They are certainly instructive!

Hypocrisy of Wicked Men.

The visible church is far from having a monopoly of hypocrisy. Most of the mischief which is done in the world, is done under some specious pretence of good. The conspiracy formed by the Illuminati of France and Germany, for the annihilation of all religion and law, professed to be a scheme of broad and comprehensive philanthropy. The spirit of infidelity which begat the reign of Terror in France, and deluged the streets of Paris with the noblest blood of the kingdom, claimed to be a reforming and benevolent spirit. The Bolingbrokes, Humes, and Gibbons of the father land, professed to be laboring for the freedom and happiness of the race. And if his own pretensions were to be received, Tom Paine was a greater philanthropist than Howard.

Now, with these and similar facts before us, we are not to be surprised, if we find the schemes of wicked men in these days, put forth with the same boastful pretensions to philanthropy. When the trancendentalist offers to take away the God of the Bible, and give us the god of the Pantheist—when the Parkerite offers to take away the inspiration of the Scriptures, and give us the inspiration of every one—when the non-resistant offers to remove from us all the protection of law, and reduce society to chaos—when the Garrisonite tenders his aid to disband all churches, and silence the voice of their ministry—each in his way is only carrying forward '*the benevolent enterprises of the age.*' If we call in question the benevolence of the scheme, we are set down upon the list of slanderers.

Now, as to the fathers of these several schemes, we would desire to express ourselves in all the charity the case admits of, and believe them to be honest in their purpose; i. e., the real dupes of their own hypocrisy: and yet the hypocrisy in the case is none the less real. Their really believing infidelity to be christianity, and malignity to be benevolence, does not make it so. Their schemes themselves are based on a false pretence; and the peace of society never can have rest on a durable basis, till the mass of the people consent to dispense with a share of their credulity and gullibility, and to apply a simple rule given by Christ, to test all pretensions of reformers and professed philanthropists. By their fruits ye shall know them.

The Christian world, after all its severe experience, is slow to obey the injunction of Christ. Beware of men. Though so often told that wolves may be expected to wear the dress of sheep, thousands are ready to listen to every destroyer, merely because *he says* that he is doing a great and good work. The fruits of past experience are cast under feet. The fact that a thousand and one predecessors have came in the same way, and been found to be false, goes for nothing. The old proverb, a burnt child dreads the fire, is belied. There are many who seem by habit to have acquired a liking for being imposed upon; and to such an extent has this deceivableness prevailed, that if all the Garrisonites, Mormonites, Millerites and what not, should be taken out of the way, the wants of the people would soon replace them with others of the like stamp.

A Type of the Times.

We did not expect to see the plain principles of the Bible denounced as DRACONIAN in such a paper as the Mercantile Journal—a paper extensively patronized by the friends of religion and morality. A late number of that paper contains the following:

'The philanthropists will rejoice to learn that attempts are making in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, to abolish capital punishment in that State. It is time It is time that the Draconian code should be abolished throughout the country.'

The philanthropy exhibited in the existing efforts to abolish capital punishment, belongs to a species quite common in this day—a philanthropy based on infidel principles. This philanthropy had its origin in the idea that all punishment, under both human and divine government, must be reformatory, and seek the good of the offender. Consequently Infidels, Unitarians and Universalists, are foremost in pleading for the abolition of capital punishment. For they have a great interest to undermine the Bible, and secure the adoption of a cardinal principle of their system in the legislation of the country. The truth is, this is a religious question. And though it must necessarily have a discussion in legislatures, on the same basis with questions of a purely political nature, no friend of the Bible can consistently give his influence against the principle, that—'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' Much less can one stigmatize this principle given from the mouth of God as Draconian, and be guiltless before God.

After writing the above, our eye fell upon the following, from another number of the same paper, to which we cordially subscribe:

'Our Constitution and laws are placed upon the all-wise and immutable laws of God, as made known to us in his Holy Word, and the nearer our conduct corresponds to his precepts, the more fully shall we sustain and carry out the true democratic principle,—"Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you."'

☞ Look at the assertion again—'Our constitution and laws are placed upon the all-wise and immutable laws of God'!!—&c. &c.

MISCELLANY.

From the Christian Reflector.

Four Thousand Dollars Lost.

A lady belonging to the Baptist church, and who resided in the vicinity of New Hampton in this State, had made her will, giving all her property to the Baptist Board for Foreign Missions, but finding that Board so wedded to slavery, she made another, and gave it to the Freewill Baptist Board for Foreign Missions; with directions to expend what part thereof they might think best in the cause of Abolition. The lady recently died, and her executor is now collecting her debts, which amount to about four thousand dollars, and has notified the legatees of the bequest. Within a few days, they have had a meeting in this village, and contemplate expending one half the money in supporting Anti-Slavery lecturers in New Hampshire and Maine. Here is a dead loss of $4000 to the Baptist Foreign Mission Society; and for what? For the good reason that the Board of Managers of said society lend the whole weight of their influence to crush the poor slave; lend their influence to support the tyrant monsters in sundering the nearest and dearest ties of our common nature; lend their influence to make thousands of heathen at home, and send them to hell from this land of gospel light, for the bare hope of evangelizing one heathen in foreign lands. How many such four thousands will it take to balance the ten thousand which last spring was promised from Alabama, if the Triennial Convention would expel the abolitionists from the Missionary Board? And here I would ask, where is that $10,000, which was said to be locked up, but ready to be paid over to the Board upon the aforesaid terms? The terms were complied with; but where is the money? I have been looking into the Magazine every month since the meeting of the Convention, to see if the promise has been fulfilled, till I am satisfied that they never had it to pay over; it was one of the pious men-stealer's boasting promises, made to be broken. How many more $2,000 and $4,000 the Board will lose by their subserviency to the slaveholding portion of the Baptist church, time alone will show.

JOHN B. WOOD.

Great Falls, N. H. Feb. 16th, 1842.

Lord Morpeth.

The Richmond Enquirer of Tuesday last, speaks thus of Lord Morpeth:—

Lord Morpeth arrived in Richmond on Saturday evening, and left it, on last evening, in the cars for the South. He is proceeding to Charleston, and further South, and perhaps to some of the West India Islands. He may return to Virginia in the course of the summer, and visit our springs, and view our mountain scenery. But as he is spoken of as a candidate for Dublin in the House of Commons, his sojourn in the United States may be cut short by the necessity of his returning home. Lord M. is one of the most liberal statesmen, and popular and rising politicians in the British Empire. He has a strong partiality for the Americans, and expresses the sincerest desire to preserve the harmony between the two countries. He is struck with the great scale on which every thing is constructed in America—with the immense extent of our country—the extraordinary volume of our rivers, &c. He pronounces the Potomac to be the noblest river he has ever seen—and he has visited a great part of Europe, France, Russia, &c. &c.

He is travelling in the United States on our railroads and steamboats, in the simplest style—without equipage, without any species of state, without even a servant. In his manners, he is equally unassuming. He affects no airs; and appears only like a plain, unpretending but polished gentleman, of good sense—taking a deep interest in all that he sees, speaking of our country with great liberality, and never boasting of his own.

His Lordship arrived at Charleston on Wednesday last.

☞ The Enquirer forgot to add that Lord Morpeth is an abolitionist!

Charles Dickens.

If CHARLES DICKINS, when he has returned to his home, does not give the Americans a regular blowing up, it will be an instance of forbearance worthy of all honorable mention, and which finds no parallel in the annals of the Halls, the Trollopes, and the Maryatts who have visited our shores. Whatever cause might have been given *them* for *their* remarks upon us, we will not now stop to inquire, but it is certain that sufficient has been given *him*, for the most severe and caustic animadversion. It is really humiliating, to witness the fawning, the sycophancy, the gross adulation, and the toadeyism, to which his arrival amongst us has given birth, and which must be as nauseous and unpalatable to him, as it is unworthy of us. We do not mean to say that such has been the universal or even the general bearing of the people towards him, but it has been so with numbers, sufficiently so, and especially among some who have thrown themselves most prominently in his way, to produce an impression, if any thing could do it, extremely unfavorable to our national character.

Some, who are not obnoxious to the charge of sycophancy, have, nevertheless, seemed to consider him as some strange animal, some nondescript, some monstrosity, some raree show, to be stared at, commented upon, and criticised. One of this class informed the public that he had called upon Boz, and, as if it was something unexpected, that he found him quite *civil* and *polite*, and not at all *puffed up* or *distant* in his manners, and that his lady, too, was quite amiable and pretty. Others have not contented themselves with such general remarks, but have indulged in the most minute descriptions of his person, figure, dress, and address, sometimes with the apparent intention of placing him in a ludicrous point of view before the public.

It appears to us that this is all wrong, and evinces a want both of judgment and self-respect. Dickins comes among us, simply as a private gentleman—with an enviable literary reputation, it is true—desirous of seeing the people and the country in their native aspects and it is wrong to inflict persecutions upon him. He has a right, from his character and his own gentlemanly deportment, to be treated as a gentleman—to be treated as we, ourselves, would wish to be, were we placed, like him, among strangers in a foreign land. The gross adulation, the slavering, the daubing with untempered mortar, to which he has been subjected, are embarrassing and disgusting to him, and degrading to us. Offensive personal remarks respecting him are clownish and insulting, and evince a want of that courtesy which the rules of common good breeding require.—*Worcester Spy.*

MOBILE, Feb. 1842.

The Mayor yet refuses to order all the black men out of the vessels in the bay, (25 miles distant,) and as the district judge has resigned, no compulsory process can be had, until the Governor appoints a successor, whose duty, it is said, will be to require the Mayor to execute the law or resign.

Found Guilty.—George W. Danley and Thomas Bryan, who were some time since sent from Philadelphia on the requisition of the Governor of Louisiana, charged with assisting, aiding and abetting the escape of a slave, have been tried in New-Orleans, and convicted. Their sentence will be from two to twenty years in the Penitentiary.

'*No Human Government.*'—The New-Haven Herald says, a Mrs. Tuttle, of Prospect, was committed to jail on Saturday, by the Supreme Court at New-Haven, 'for refusing to testify, on the ground of conscientious scruples, she denying the jurisdiction of the Court and all human laws. She still remains in jail, and thinks the accommodations pretty good for a *martyr*.'

Sheriff's Officers Abducted.—The steamboat Bristol, which had been detained in Pittsburg by the sheriff, under claims for upwards of $5,000, cleared out on Friday morning, with two of the sheriff officers on board of her. The sheriff had placed officers on board for several days, and the boat is supposed to have left while the men were asleep. The Pittsburg American says the Sheriff has sent out to New-Orleans in pursuit.

Judge Upsher has replied to Mr. Botts on the subject in controversy between them. It has now become a matter of inferences and qualifications. Mr. U. does not deny that he has been in favor of disunion under certain anticipated circumstances. He only contends that he was not so without qualification.

The Washington correspondent of the New-York Commercial, applies to Mr. Adams the following lines, descriptive of the stout old warrior, Minotti, in the siege of Corinth:

'Though aged, he is so iron of limb,
Few of our youth can cope with him;
And the foemen whom, singly, he keeps at bay,
Outnumber his thin hairs of silver grey.'

Perhaps the comparison might be carried further, and Mr. Adams, like the old Venetian commander, be made to blow up the whole Congress, just as Minotti blew up the church at Corinth.

It is not surprising that Messrs. Wise, Rhett & Co. should be opposed to a dissolution of the Union. Such an event would deprive those gentlemen and their party of the services of their white slaves at the North—which equal, or perhaps out number the whole of their black ones at the South.

At the great and splendid levee given by the President of the United States on the occasion of his daughter's marriage, not a drop of wine or other alcoholic drinks were to be obtained, and nothing but cold water. This is an example for the whole country.

Baron Rothschild has been seized with sudden and dangerous illness. The operations on the Bourse were seriously affected by this.

The King of Prussia, with a retinue of distinguished persons, is about to visit England and Scotland.

Gen. James Appleton of Portland, has been nominated as the candidate of the liberty party for Governor of Maine.

The New Genesee Farmer, AND GARDENER'S JOURNAL.

VOLUME THREE—FOR 1842.

THE Cheapest Agricultural Paper in the Union: 6 Large Pages Monthly, (with engravings,) only 20 Cents per year!!

HENRY COLMAN, EDITOR.

(*Late Agricultural Commissioner of the State of Massachusetts, and Editor of the N. England Farmer.*)

Grateful for the extensive patronage which the New Genesee Farmer has received during the past year, the proprietor now has the satisfaction of announcing that he has made such arrangements for the coming year as cannot fail to be highly gratifying to the readers of the paper, and secure for it a still more extensive circulation.

Desiring to make it the most useful and widely circulating paper in the Union, the proprietor has engaged the services of the celebrated and eminent agricultural writer and orator, HENRY COLMAN, well known as the late Agricultural Commissioner of the State of Massachusetts, and formerly editor of the New-England Farmer. Depending on the co-operation and support of the friends of agriculture in the Empire State and the Great West, Mr. Colman has consented to leave the field where he has labored with so much honor and success, and locate at Rochester, where, through the medium of the Genesee Farmer, he expects to find a more extensive field of usefulness.

Post Masters and their Assistants are authorized, and respectfully solicited to act as Agents, and remit subscriptions for the Farmer. The low price at which it is published will not allow of much pecuniary compensation to Agents, but it is believed they will find a reward in the benefits which result from the circulation of such periodicals in their neighborhoods.

☞ Persons ordering papers are requested to *strictly observe the* TERMS, and be careful to write *plainly* the names of subscribers, their Post-Office, County, and State; and in all cases to send the money with the order, so that the perplexity of keeping accounts may be avoided.

M. B. BATEHAM, *Proprietor.*

TERMS.—If current money is sent, (such as New-York or New-England bills,) commission will be allowed as follows:—

Seven copies for $3 00; twelve copies for $5 00; twenty-five copies for $10 00; payment always to be made in advance.

No commission will be allowed, if *uncurrent* money is sent.

Address BATEHAM & COLMAN, *Rochester, New-York.*
January 28

BOSTON ALMANAC FOR 1842.

Just published by SAMUEL N. DICKINSON, 52 *Washington street, and for sale by* THOMAS GROOM & Co. 82, *State-street, and by the Booksellers generally.*

THIS number contains 8 pages more than any previous number. The Memoranda of Events throughout the past year are uncommonly full, and the work generally much more full and complete than heretofore. There are nearly 50 pages of the Business Directory for Boston, and which give the names of the persons, and the places at which they keep, of all engaged in professions or business. This department of the Almanac has been found by the business community both useful and convenient, and has received throughout the country the general approbation of all, as also the universal commendation of the Public Press. The Table of Occupations in Boston will, on reference to the Almanac, show an aggregate of about 6000 persons engaged in business in the city; and this department of the Almanac will be found a complete Directory to the store, counting-room or shop of each.

In addition, the Almanac contains the following matters, all of which will be found of general interest, and useful for daily reference:

CONTENTS—ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED.

Banks; Calender pages, etc.; Census, 1840; City Government of Boston, Lowell and Salem; Counting Room Almanac; Courts in Mass.; Custom House; Eclipses, etc.; Events in Boston; Fire Department; Fires in Boston; General Events; Gold and Silver Coin; Indexes; Insurance Offices; Mayors of Boston; Militia Force of United States; Newspapers in Boston; Omnibuses; Packets, stations, etc.; Post Office; Preface; Public Buildings; Public Offices; Rates of Pilotage; Sheriffs; Societies; State Government; Stages, routes, etc.; Streets and Avenues; Tides; United States Government; Wards; Ward Rooms; Wharves; Worcester, Public Men and Institutions of. jan 17

For Sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 25, Cornhill,

A FEW Medals of FATHER MATHEW.
Jan. 11th.

Improvements on a Valuable and Imp[ortant] Discovery.

Mr. T. JINNINGS, Jr., Surgeon De[ntist]

INFORMS the public that he has complete[d a se]ries of laborious and expensive experiment[s in im]proving the celebrated LITHODEOS, and in pr[esenting] it to their notice, is happy to state that his [success in] being thus enabled to relieve much of the suff[ering re]sulting from a neglect of those highly impo[rtant or]gans, (the teeth,) has exceeded his most sang[uine an]ticipations, and that the

IMPROVED LITHODEON

is destined to become one of the most popular and [use]ful teeth preservatives ever discovered, there [is not] the smallest shadow of doubt. The superior [advan]tages to be realized by the use of this article, [where] teeth are too far decayed or too tender to plug [with] gold, silver, or any other substance, are man[y,] among which the following are most promi[nent: In] the first place, being introduced into the [cavity of] teeth in a soft state, it causes neither pain or in[jury.] 2d. When a tooth is more than two-thirds [decayed,] while the roots remain firm and sound, it [may be] moulded so as to restore its original shape. [In] less than two hours, it assumes a texture as hard [as the] enamel of the tooth itself, thereby forming a [dura]ting surface harder than gold, silver, or platina. It effectually resists the most powerful [agents] which the filling of teeth is subjected, without [injury.] tion.

Nothing more need be said in favor of this [article] than that over TWO THOUSAND TEETH have be[en re]stored to perfect usefulness thereby, for which [no oth]er remedy seemed possible, except extraction.

Specimens of teeth filled with the above m[aterial] will be kept on hand, and the public are invi[ted to] call and examine them. Mineral teeth manufa[ctured] and set in so perfect a manner as to baffle dete[ction.] Teeth filled with gold; also, cleansed and ex[tracted] in the most faithful manner.

Every operation warranted to give perfect [satisfac]tion. Office 22 School-street, at HARDING'S G[allery.]

The following recommendation from Dr. M[ann, a] member of the Boston Medical Association, is re[spect]fully submitted to public consideration:—

'Mr. Thomas Jinnings, Jr. having been in m[y em]ploy between two and three years, in various [depart]ments of dentistry, and especially in manufa[cturing] and preparing artificial teeth, it gives me pleas[ure to] bear witness to his ability and fidelity, and to [recom]mend him to the public as a competent and [skilful] dentist.

DANIEL MANN, M. D.
Surgeon Dentist, 16 Summer-st[reet.]
Boston, Jan. 1842.'

DR. WATSON.

MR. EDITOR:—Though you seem to sp[eak] louder than your neighbors, your utterance i[s heard] a great way: therefore I wish to make use of [your] powers to communicate sundry remarks to the p[ublic,] before whom an individual stands accused, w[ho has] superior medical skill, with the blessing of [God;] I certainly owe my life and good health; and [not my]self alone, but two of my daughters

About two years since I was confined to my [bed,] and had been for several months, with a scro[fulous] affection, which wholly deprived me of the use [of my] arms and lower limbs. After being told, by my [fami]ly physician and others, that they knew of no[thing] they could prescribe which would be likely to be[nefit] me, a neighbor of mine, who had been cured b[y Dr.] Watson of a like complaint, advised me to app[ly to] him, which I did, and he cured me. Since [which] time I have spent several months in Europe, an[d been] variously exposed, without a return of the com[plaint.]

Here I would say, that it is but charitable in [me to] believe that my family physician did his be[st, and] was sincere in his remarks. This being the ca[se, it is] easy to decide who has the skill. Furthermore, [mine] appears to be but one cure of this formidable [disease] among many more that have been cured by h[im,] which entitles him to some credit, while his [enemies] would give him none. And why has he [been ...] I answer that there is nothing more easily und[erstood,] that it is in consequence of his effecting cure[s where] others of the profession fail. Yet other prete[nces are] set forth, and by whom? It will soon be mad[e to ap]pear, I trust.

Of my daughters, they both had the small p[ox] in the most loathsome manner. I did not m[uch] thought that they could be cured, for a while, a[nd] and when I did, it seemed that life would scarc[ely be] worth having, as they would be so disfigured by [what] is generally called pits. But Dr. Watson told m[e] as, said he, the way I manage the like cases, th[ey are] cured, and no pits are made. This I could not [believe] until the result obliged me to, which was a[...] me. They are both well, and no apparent inj[ury re]mains in consequence of the sickness.

The Doctor's deportment to me and to my f[amily] has been wholly agreeable.

Here, readers, judge for yourselves.
Feb. 2nd, 1842. JOSEPH BARROWSC[ALE.]

It appears to be the *candid* opinion of people [gener]ally, who have received Dr. Watson's treatment, [(and] *many there are*,) that it has made more p[erfect] cures, and resulted in more good, than any o[ther in] the same space of time. Hence arises his e[xtensive] business from the influence of its many friends.
February 11th.

Now is the Time.

The Finest Head of Hair produced [by] Wyeth's Cream of Lillies.

ALL who have used it, acknowledge its supe[riority] for the embellishment and growth of the ha[ir. It] gradually changes the color of red, gray, or light [hair] to a beautiful dark. Nothing can surpass this [article] for dressing the hair; it not only promotes its g[rowth,] but preserves its falling off, or turning grey; a[nd] those wearing curls, either real or false, is qu[ite] will be manifest by the first trial; nor do they p[ermit] of curling in damp weather, or after dancing

Also Wyeth's Curling Cream, Milk of Roses, [Ex]tract of Roses, Bloom of Roses for the skin, [Rose] Water, Florida Water, Cologne Wate, &c &c.

For sale only by the appointed agent, A. S. J[OR]DAN, No. 2, Milk-street, second door from Wa[shing]ton-street.

Boston, Jan. 28, 1842.

Valuable Register for 1842.

JAMES LORING, 132 Washington St. has pu[b]lished the Mass. Register, for 1842, cont[aining] the Bankrupt Law, the New Tariff of U. S. w[ith the] Tariff Law of 1841, the State Legislature, the Congress, the Army and Navy Officers, Co[unty] Militia Officers, City Officers of Boston, Sal[em,] Lowell, Ministers, Colleges, Charitable So[cieties,] Bank and Insurance Companies, Post Masters, [Attor]ces, Lawyers, Census of U. S. and of Towns in [Mass.] and a List of Members of the Mass. Medical So[ciety,] &c. &c.

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