THE LIBERATOR,
PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY,
AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21, CORNHILL.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

☞ All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (*post paid,*) to the General Agent.

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

☞ Single copies will be sent to one address for five dollars, if payment be received in advance.

☞ ADVERTISEMENTS making less than one square, inserted three times for 75 cts., one square for $1 00.

Financial Committee—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILLIPS, WENDELL PHILLIPS. [This committee is responsible only for the financial economy of the paper.]

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XVII.—NO. 40.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION

From the New York Observer.

FACTS RESPECTING SLAVERY AT THE SOUTH.

NEW ORLEANS, March 20, 1847.

MESSRS. EDITORS—Did you peruse, through the columns of your paper, to address a few lines to your numerous friends at the North, on one of the most delicate and exciting questions of the day? Why! I have to say it shall be said kindly.

Its a question of such magnitude as *slavery*—involving as it does the interests of millions, and in fact, the destiny of two continents, I should not presume to lift a pen, were it not that my opinions are of a personal and intimate acquaintance with the subject have been somewhat matured.

Being a native of New England, and imbibing it (did I an early age, an utter abhorrence of the system—exalting *slavery*—inveighing frequently and earnestly in every State in the Union, where slavery exists—addressing large and popular assemblies of both colors—acting in the promotion of Sabath Schools and Bible classes among the blacks—conversing freely with master and slave, supposing the relation they sustain to each other, and the feelings of mutual dependence and attachment between them—together with seven years' residence abroad, listening to the most exciting debates on the subject, in Exeter Hall, London, and elsewhere—and now a resident of New York, where every variety of opinion is freely discussed—and, though last not least, never having had any pecuniary interests whatever involved in the question, may, perhaps, entitle my remarks to as much consideration as those of many others who have been travelled south of Mason's and Dixon's line.

The object of this letter is simply to correct some erroneous impressions, as to the real character of slavery in this country.

The prevailing impression at the North is, that the cruel treatment of the slave, and his consequent sufferings, are such as to demand his immediate emancipation. This is one of the most cogent reasons urged, why we should take no time to consult the future and interests, either of master or the slave. And to deepen the impression, the most frightful pictures of sufferings and cruelty have been drawn, and held up, to the nostrils, till the heart has become sick, and the very name of *slave* is associated in the mind with all the horrors of the middle passage, and the racks and torture of the inquisition. Now, with all due respect to the *opinions* of others, I do hope that such impressions are not in accordance with facts.

On this subject the Southern character is either not understood, or grossly, though I would hope unintentionally, misrepresented. Kind and civilized as a Southern man in contrast with his equals, nothing is more despicable in his eyes than a petty tyrant, who exhibits his authority in addressing menial orders, in a harsh, overbearing and unprotected. Naturally high-minded, noble and generous in feelings and sentiment, he is broad magnanimous and kind in spirit towards his dependants.

As a general fact, I doubt whether there can be found a class of people so entirely free from selfishness, mentally or physically, than the common population of the South. None, who have fewer cares and troubles; who are more strangers to fierce passions and mercy—and who sing louder and sweeter than they. For the truth of this, I appeal to every man who has visited the South, and examined the subject for himself, in an unprejudiced and an impartial mind. Exceptions I know there are, but these no more prove the general truth than the exception, when do the convicts in the penitentiaries of New England prove that all the old Puritans of that land of steady habits are grinding in the prison-house. Hence, when a Northern man enters the Southern States for the first time, and witnesses the familiarity and kindness between master and servant, he exclaims with wonder, 'Where are the long whips, the scourges, the groans and tears, of which I have heard so much?' And often have I seen the tear start in the stranger's eye, at witnessing the ecstasy of joy with which these dependants gather round their master, on his return from a long absence, seizing his hand, and seeming to be with each other in manifesting their love and attachment to him. And while writing the preceding sentence, I have had to lay aside my pen, to listen to a touching incident, that illustrates the strength of this attachment, and has drawn tears from my own eyes.

An old colored mammy, the mother of *seventeen children*, on learning that my wife was expecting that I was a warm friend to the colored people, came to see me, and wished to know, 'if I had not born in her *old master's house*, more than twenty years ago?' On reminding me who he was, I answered in the affirmative, and then inquired of his health and that of her mistress. She burst into tears, and after struggling with her feelings for some time, she replied, 'My dear old master and mistress are both in heaven, and it is only about three months since my poor mistress died—and oh! I shall never forget the day she was buried; when I returned from the grave, I thought my heart would break—,' said she, 'for more than thirty years, we had bowed the knee together in prayer every day, but we shall pray no more together on earth—but think the Lord, I am a christian! I shall meet them in heaven!' On inquiring who her present mistress was, 'Oh, I live with my young mistress now, and dear creature, she is like one of my own children,' added she, 'for I have nursed her from an infant, and bless God she is a Christian.'

'Yes,' continued she, 'the Lord be praised, I think all my own children are Christians, and one of my sons is a preacher, and we are all trying to follow the good advice of our dear old master and mistress, when they were living, that we might be in order to test the strength of her attachment to the family, I asked her, if she would not like to be free? 'No free! free! I am,' said she, 'it is my mistress' pleasure to please me, and my pleasure to please her—I stay with her in the city in the winter, and go out to the plantation, and stay with my children in the summer—and I hear my son preach, and do as I please—and what more can I wish in this world?' When this old Christian mother left us, she kissed and pressed my wife with a kindness to tear her away from all her attachments and early associations, and run her off to Canada to die in poverty and misery! Could she be taken idea that the enjoyment of *unrestrained liberty* would be ample compensation for all the food and raiment, the care and affectionate kindness of her boys, and in which she is so perfectly contented and happy? And whatever may be the opinions of others, I was satisfied in giving to her Paul's advice, 'obey your master in the Lord, for that is right; persevere in well doing; pray for your children, that God may prepare them for still richer blessings, which I believe he has in store for your union and your people.'

Another erroneous impression at the North is, that the Southern slaves are *yoked*, and *driven*, and over-worked; but the truth is, that no white laborer at the North performs more labor than any of the slaves at the South. And this accounts for the fact, that runaway slaves are never known to enter the field, and work shoulder to shoulder with the white man. He knows full well that the amount of labor that satisfied his Southern master, will never satisfy the close, calculating man of the North. Hence, the shoals of these idlers that swarm about the outskirts of our Northern Cities. A few of whom become loafers, barbers, hackdrivers and the like, while the majority plunge into the deepest dens of pollution and vice, become vagrants, and live and die a burden to themselves and society. The purlieus of New York, and Southwark of Philadelphia furnish ample testimony to this fact, and the whole community, on the subject in question, that the slaves of the South, as a class, are better provided for, enjoy more comforts, are more temperate and virtuous, come more in contact with religious truth, and are more susceptible of its influences, and more contented and happy, than the free colored population in any part of our country. And many instances have come to me, of runaway slaves writing and begging permission of their master to return home, declaring they have been decoyed, and in some cases, where their seducers have left them to utter destitution and wretchedness, their masters, rather than receive them back, send them money to supply their wants. Now, this by no means proves slavery to be right, it only proves that immediate, indiscriminate, and unconditional emancipation, without any regard to the future good of the slave, is radically wrong—it is an injustice to the slave. But, if in sympathizing with the suffering slave, our minds can find any relief by contrast, we challenge a comparison of his condition in this land of ease and plenty, with that of the ignorant, vicious, famishing millions of the lower classes all over the papal world, and in every point of view, whether we regard their temporal comforts, their religious instruction, or the standard of morality among them—our slaves will bear off their superiority. And if we go still farther, and draw a comparison between the African here, though slaves, and their brethren in their native land, in their cruel barbarism and beastly degradation, we see almost an infinite advance in their character and condition, and to the eye of faith, it is the harbinger of still richer blessings.

In a word, the history of the world does not furnish an instance of a people that have emerged from a state of perfect barbarism into that of comparative civilization, more steadily and rapidly, than have the African slaves that have been transported to this country; and their present condition, whether it relates to the comforts of this life, or to the hopes of that which is to come, is infinitely better, more tolerable, and more desirable than that of three-fourths of the population of the globe. But what does all this prove?—that slavery is right? Not at all—it only proves that many a tender heart has been made to bleed over miseries that have had no existence—they have been weeping in despair, while they should rejoice in hope. They have been ready to cease from toil and die, when they should bless Him, and live, trust in Him, and pray. It proves, that in this wretched world, there is misery enough without the most careful sympathies without the aid of the imagination, and that the true friend of the slave is he, who regards his future good, and by patient perseverance is engaged in preparing him for freedom, and prepare him a place to enjoy it. In farther confirmation of this, we shall furnish a few facts in our next.

Yours, &c.,
E. N. SAWTELL.

ALARM FOR THE CHERISHED INSTITUTION.

Thus speaks the Southern Baptist:

'The fact is most glaringly palpable, that a crisis in the history of the Southern Baptists is at hand, which renders it the imperious duty of all Southern Christian patriots to meet promptly and energetically. All the indications of the times go to show that when Christians at the South must assume higher responsibilities. There is not published, beyond the limits of the South, a religious paper, review, magazine, work, periodical, or newspaper, whether religious, political or commercial, which is not tinged more or less, if it be possible to touch on the subject, something bearing directly or remotely against the Southern Social System. The poisonous influence of such insidious infusion of principles, antagonistic to our institutions, into the popular mind, and especially if instilled into the mind of the rising generation, will eventually be felt. The principles of our institutions have been demonstrated most ably to be scriptural and politically constitutional; but there is a more powerful influence exerted upon the sentimentality of a people, which undermines our institutions, almost imperceptibly, but not less certainly, the foundations of public opinion. We feel too secure. We are not adequately sensible of our danger. Dangers there are—it must not be disguised; and it behoves Southern Christians not only ecclesiastically and religiously to prepare themselves for self-defence, but politically to maintain that balance of power which is now, more than ever, in our political history, dangerously jeopardized. We are no alarmists, and yet a sense of alarm cannot be too soon or too loudly sounded throughout the whole slave-holding territory. Enemies are in our midst—they belong to all denominations and moreover, no trifle. Some are fanatical, some are political, some religious, some infidel, some unprincipled, but a more dangerous and more numerous class are learned, conscientious, and most politic and ingenious, and are doing the mischief. Let us prepare for the worst.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH IN CHARLESTON.—This church has secured the pastoral services of our brother, Rev. Timothy G. Freeman, as a *supply* until next autumn. Brother F. comes to us from Massachusetts, the old Bay State, professing to adopt *ex animo*, in the fullest sense, without equivocation or mental reservation, the principles on the subject of southern slavery so ably defended and triumphantly maintained by Rev. R. Fuller, D. D., in his discussion with Richard Furman, D. D. So far, his labors have been highly appreciated by the ministers and members of both the Baptist churches in this city, and we feel confident of his ability, a systematic and energetic, and, we trust, a true and faithful performance of the duties of a *pro tempore*, in this important and most important class are learned, conscientious, and most politic and ingenious, and are doing the mischief. Let us prepare for the worst.

'No little fuss has been made down East,' because two slaves, taken on execution of the United States, were recently sold in Washington and yet in every one of the New England States white men and women may be and are sold or leased at auction. It is a very common thing in New England to bring *paupers* into the shambles and knock them off under the hammer.'

The above was clipped out of some paper, name not recollected. The hit is a good one. Despicable as was the act of the U. S. Government, the custom of New England, which mentioned, is scarcely less so. These infernal practices speak loudly for National Reform.—*Young America.*

From the Yarmouth Register.

TE SABBATH—SHALL IT BE MADE VOID?

It is well known that we have a party or sect among us, who renounce the sacredness of the Sabbath. This party during the last week held in Harwich a meeting which was notified through the public papers, and called an 'Anti-Slavery Convention.' This meeting was continued through the Sabbath, and brought together hosts of people of all ages and sexes, but mostly of the young and thoughtless. The day was spent in all respects as a public holiday, in riding in every direction, from morning to night, together with other amusements. Tents were erected for selling all kinds of articles which are usually sold at places of merriment, not excepting *spirituous liquors*. No pretence was set up of its being a religious meeting, but merely for discussion of *Garrisonian principles*. The harangues by their leading men, Stephen S. Foster, Moody, &c., were scandalous and abusive, dressed out in low, mean blackguardism.

The Christian community are called upon to express their views upon this subject—to decide whether such violations of the sacred Sabbath, against the laws of God and man, shall pass by unrebuked, and such a pernicious example be set for the rising generation.

A FRIEND OF THE SABBATH.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN HARWICH. We learn that the speeches made at this Convention were of a most violent and abusive character. A rampiole abolitionist, by the name of Pillsbury, made himself peculiarly conspicuous by the most outrageous attacks on public men, the clergy, the government, and in fact every body and everything wiser and better than himself. According to his theory, what little virtue and morality there is in the country is monopolized by himself and his confederates. If these men suppose that by calling hard names and indulging in low, dirty blackguardism, they are lending the cause of abolitionism or morality, they greatly mistake the character and intelligence of our citizens.—*Yarmouth Register.*

GEORGE THOMPSON, the ranting abolitionist, has been elected to the House of Commons. The capital he employed to get a seat in Parliament will carry any man there, viz: an intense hatred towards, and calumnious abuse of, the people of the United States.—*Olive Branch.*

THE LIBERATOR.

LETTERS FROM SCOTLAND.

KIRKCALDY, Aug. 15, 1847.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR FRIEND—By this post I have sent you a Non-Conformist newspaper, in which you will see an account of one of the most remarkable triumphs of the principles of anti-slavery, peace, &c., that has been achieved for many years, viz., the election of our friend George Thompson for the Tower Hamlets. This is amongst the largest constituencies in England, there being upwards of 16,000 electors; and considering the manner in which the late members were strong supporters of government, and therefore would have their influence and support, besides keeping in view that George Thompson created many enemies to himself by his stern advocacy of the rights of man, and by the bold and uncompromising manner in which he opposed the Free Church party for their late disgraceful conduct; and indeed the manner which he takes to expose every party who do not act consistently, the tremendous majority which he obtained above his opponent in the poll, (being upwards of 4000,) points out the election of George Tower Hamlets to be the greatest triumph for sound principles that has been achieved throughout the country. It will carry with it a moral weight that will strike terror into the enemies of our principles, and will be a powerful means of advancing the principles of universal liberty, peace, &c. They tell us that Thompson will prove a bright star in the next Parliament, and we expect on the sides of the oppressors. All honor to the Tower Hamlets; the enemies must now tremble at Brother Hamlets, and of the world; they will no doubt get the universal thanks of the poor slaves throughout the world, but especially those of America.

There are at present two men from Virginia, U. S., lecturing throughout Scotland on 'Christian Union' and 'Primitive Christian Union.' Advocates of Campbell and J. Henshall, who might have done much good here, had their 'Christian Union' principles been sound; but it has been discovered that they hold principles on the question of slavery directly the reverse of those held by the great majority of the people of Scotland, and therefore active measures are being used to undeceive the people as to the principles of these men. The friends in Edinburgh were the first to find out their real principles, and they immediately issued placards warning the public against them. Campbell and Henshall assert that slavery is sanctioned both in the Old and New Testament Scriptures, and that Jesus Christ and his apostles admitted the right of man to hold property in his fellow-man. They moreover admit, that in their churches the negro *pew* system is carried out in all its baseness. I enclose some of these assertions and admissions, of which they appeared quite confident, and were willing to take up any man upon their accuracy, our friend James Robertson, Secretary of the Scottish Anti-Slavery Society, challenged Campbell (he being considered the most able) to deny the following, which I enclose in the following terms—viz:—

'The opinions you hold in America as the leader of a sect—the opinions which you have published in reference to slaveholding—the fact that you have been a slaveholder yourself, and did not relinquish it because of its sinfulness, but for other reasons—and the fact that you hold religious fellowship with slaveholders, appear to me to render it necessary that you shall not be permitted to quit the capital of Scotland without receiving a *public challenge* to vindicate, in the city of Edinburgh, and before a Scottish audience, the position which you occupy in regard to American slavery.

'That challenge I hereby beg respectfully to present to you, and declare that I am prepared to maintain that your position and opinions, on the question of American slavery, and slaveholding, are at once *ungodly, unchristian, and inhuman.*'

Campbell held a meeting in Edinburgh last Friday evening, to explain his views on the subject of slavery; and of this meeting the Edinburgh Post thus speaks:

'We are glad that this person will, however, not remain in our city, to take advantage of the real state of public feeling on the question of negro slavery. The Rev. James Robertson of Portsburgh chapel, has challenged him to a public discussion upon the subject, but with more prudence than courage he has declined to meet an antagonist on the arena of a public meeting, and proposes to make the controversy a 'paper war.' Last night Mr. Campbell gave a lecture on American Slavery in the Waterloo Rooms, which were crowded to hear him. On this occasion he confined himself to the reading of extracts from periodicals in support of his views. At the close of the lecture, the Rev. Mr. Robertson stood forward, and requested leave to question him. This, however, he declined to allow. The meeting throughout his lecture expressed their disapprobation of the doctrines and opinions brought forward; and at the close they gave marks of respect to the lecturer, and three cheers for Mr. Robertson. On the point of excluding the negro from the communion table, Mr. Campbell gave as its justification, the intolerable odor of the negro in hot weather.'

Both of these persons have been lecturing in Kirkcaldy, and the friends here, as soon as they knew their opinions upon the question of slavery issued a placard, of which the following is a copy:—

PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND,
BEWARE!

MR. A. CAMPBELL, and his colleague MR. J. HENSHALL, from Virginia, U. S., are at present lecturing throughout Scotland on *Christian Union*; and, as the people of this country ought to be very cautious in entering into Christian Union with persons whose general principles are unknown to them, they are hereby warned against holding Christian fellowship with these gentlemen, until they have ascertained from them their views upon the all-important question of SLAVERY!

Mr. CAMPBELL asserts that Slavery, considered in itself, is not sinful—that it is not opposed to the principles and spirit of Christianity—and that the Saviour and his Apostles sanctioned the practice of man holding property in man; and he admits that he is in religious fellowship with Slaveholders—that the Churches with which he is connected in America receive many some of these INHUMAN TYRANTS into Communion—and further, that in these Churches the Black and White Members do not sit together—that, in fact, the NEGRO PEW System is rigidly adhered to.

AGAIN,

Here is one of the laws of Virginia, the State from which these gentlemen come:—

'All meetings of Slaves at any meeting-house, or at any other place, SHALL BE DEEMED AND READ or *write, in the day or night*, shall be deemed an unlawful meeting.'—*Virginia Code of 1819.*

What have these men come to get these infinitous laws abolished? What have they done to loose the bands of wickedness—to undo the heavy burdens—to let the oppressed go free?

For the sake of suffering humanity—for the sake of the THREE MILLIONS OF YOUR FELLOW-CREATURES groaning under the cruel bondage of American Slavery—*People of Scotland*, see that you do not in any way countenance that abominable system; beware lest you, in any degree, sacrifice your well-known Anti-Slavery principles, by apparently assenting to the absurd opinion of these men on this matter. Protest against their pro-slavery views—tell them that you can have no connection with them, until they go home and urge upon their Slaveholding brethren *to cease to do evil, to learn to do well, to seek judgment, and to* EMANCIPATE ALL THEIR SLAVES!

Kirkcaldy, August 13, 1847.

What an insult to the people of Scotland for men to cross the Atlantic to teach them christianity, and yet so very ignorant of the first principles of it, viz., 'Do unto others as ye would wish others to do unto you!' Let them go back to Virginia, and unite with the abolitionists of the North in endeavoring to strike the fetters from the poor downtrodden slave, and then they will be in a position to lecture upon 'christian union,' but not till then. They very much mistake the character of the people of Scotland, if they think that they will be guilty of such sophistry into their views upon American slavery. The people of this country are a fine-living free-thinking people; and Campbell & Co. may rest assured that no cant, no sophistical reasoning, no Jesuitical humbugging, will deter them from their purpose, or alter in the slightest degree their well-founded views upon slavery.

They tell the people of this country that slavery is a sin—all human beings, or holds one against his will, is a man-thief, and guilty of the sin of man-stealing—that it is impossible to commit, and therefore unworthy of any countenance, support or Christian fellowship.

Yours, faithfully, in the cause of the slave, L.

LETTER FROM RICHARD THURROW.

EDINBURGH, (Scotland,) Aug. 17th, 1847.

DEAR FRIEND:

Scotland has arisen in its anti-slavery might; the Rev. Alexander Campbell, of Virginia, U. S., has landed on our shores to indoctrinate us with his peculiar theological views. Unluckily for him, but luckily for the cause of freedom, he made Edinburgh the place of his first preaching in Scotland.

Hardly had he made his presence known, when the following placard was posted up over the whole city:

'CITIZENS OF EDINBURGH—BEWARE!

The Rev. Alexander Campbell, Virginia, U. S. America, has been a *slaveholder, himself*, and is still the *defender of man-stealing!!*

The following is an extract from the 'Millennial Harbinger' for April, 1845, of which Mr. Campbell acknowledges himself the author:

'Is the simple relation of master and slave necessarily and essentially immoral and unchristian—as we have always affirmed, against all the sophists of Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian—to suppose that the relationship of master and slave was in its very nature and being a sin against both God and man.'

In May of the same year, he declares further, 'There is not one verse in the Bible inhibiting it, but many regulating it. It is not, then, we conclude, *immoral*.'

These were followed by other quotations from Mr. Campbell's works, strongly pro-slavery in their tone, which in sheet would but needlessly trespass on your space.

In the evening of the day the above appeared, Campbell held one of his *devotional* meetings, and, during his discourse, told the audience, that the placard was a tissue of falsehoods. Now it so happens that, before the placard was printed, James Robertson, the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, along with two friends, called on A. Campbell, and read over to him the extracts that were afterwards printed. The *American Divine* frankly admitted the sentiments to be his.

James Robertson, immediately, on being informed of Campbell's charge of falsehood, issued another placard, exposing the lying cunning of Dr. Campbell, along with a challenge to him, to defend his position with regard to slavery. The vaunted conqueror of Robert Owen quailed before the anti-slavery power of Edinburgh. He did not meet Robertson, but delivered a lecture on slavery, defending it from the Bible. The audience listened impatiently to his blasphemy, for upwards of two hours, and he made his exit amid groans of abhorrence and disgust.

The Anti-Slavery Society has been informed of his intended route through Scotland, and has sent forward the 'Beware' placard to the towns and villages which he is to visit. He is sure of a warm reception. He will return to America, and tell his brother divines that Scotland loathes the apologist for slavery, and regards him as a moral nuisance.

The Commission of the Free Church (a church Court having equal authority with the General Assembly) has just risen. Not one word has been said about slavery, not a single allusion made to the letter from America; but oh! how eloquent, how moving, were the speeches that denounced travelling on Sunday! Oh! how the Commission rejoiced, when informed that two Railway Companies had resolved not to carry out the pale mechanic and the pining seamstress from the smoky city, to look for once in every week upon the blue sky, the heavens, and on the flowers with which He hath begemmed the fields. Much they cared for the violation of a formal observance; *nothing* for the imbruting of their million sisters and brothers.

Cunningham has been created Principal of the Free Church College, and Candlish joint Professor of Theology! What a pair of D. D.'s!! The Theology of the former is, that '*Anti-Slavery is of the Devil*'! of the latter, that, '*God has placed men in such circumstances where it would be a sin to emancipate their slaves!*'

Before this letter reaches you, Henry C. Wright will be on his homeward voyage. Calm seas and prosperous gales be with him, and a happy meeting with his beloved friends.

Yours for oppressed Humanity,
RICHARD THURROW.

SELECTIONS

THE SUFFERERS, OR THE SAND-HILLERS.

We find in the Winyan Intelligencer, published at Georgetown, South Carolina, the following notice:

'The poor laborers on Black River, and in the neighborhood, are in a state of starvation, many of them being without corn or meal, and none of them having meat. The occasion calls for the aid of the charitable, and efforts will be made to obtain relief for them.'

Who are these 'poor laborers?'

There is a class of poor whites in the Carolinas, and most of the Southern States, peculiar in character, and unknown generally to the country. They are called *Sand-hillers*. They are so called because they cluster together in the poorest regions, and there live by hunting, fishing, raising a little stock, making tar and charcoal, and attending to poultry. They are generally poor. Not one out of fifty can read or write; and what is worse, they change not, as time winnows down the old and supplies their places with the young. As is the sire, so is the son.

And these Sand-hillers are as peculiar in dress and look, as they are in character. You know them wherever you see them. They are *marked* in any crowd. Dressed always in the plainest homespun, homemade, and widely cut, often without shoes, but when using them wearing the coarsest kind, with slouched hats of cheapest texture, having no blood in their cheeks, their eyes black, and their hair lank, they are as distinct a race as the Indian, in some respects they are not unlike them. They love to roam the woods, and be free there; to get together for frolic or fun; to fish and hunt; to chase wild cattle; but here the similarity ends; for they are wanting in personal daring, and in that energy of character that makes a man. We do not know one of them who ever gained station in society, or became distinguished by his deeds. And it is this class to whom the Georgetown Intelligencer alludes, when it speaks of the 'poor laborers' on Black River, and neighborhood.

How came they in their present condition?

Their history is quickly told. It is a sad one, and we can never forget it without danger.

In the early settlement of the Carolinas, every body pressed upon the water-courses. Poor as well as rich made lodgment upon, or near, the banks. There were first, very few negroes; consequently the latter needed the labor of the former to house their crops and clear their lands. All got along well, then. But the slave-trade, with its accursed ills, began soon after, and, by and by, planters had their places stocked with slaves. As these slaves increased, the poor began to feel their dependence. A bitter feeling grew up between these classes. It led often to open violence. The larger planters, in consequence, began to buy up the smaller farms, and the poor were, in turn, became anxious to sell. And they did so. But where were they to go? South of Carolina was a wilderness; the good lands in the water-courses, then, were in possession of rich planters. They had no alternative left, as they thought, but to herd together on the Sand-hills, where they and theirs still live.

Their choice of place is significant enough of their feeling, and of the cause of their removal. In the middle of a country in neighborhood where neither large nor small planters could molest them. They got where they could live without being disturbed, or worried by the combined light of slavery. Go into any town where you will find a few of the more debased sort gathered close by towns; but generally they are some ten, or fifteen, or twenty miles back. What is the spell which they call their own—for often they 'squat,' as the phrase is, on the State's or other's property—it is difficult to say. But the best of it on average would be, a ten ten bushels of corn to the acre; the most of it not five. They grow sweet potatoes, melons, a little cotton for home use, and now and then a bag and a bag for market. But things are where they are, and as they are, because slavery, with its biting social evils, beat them away from the richer soil, and keeps them in hopelessness down and debased on the barren hills.

What are their peculiarities of mind?

The fact that they left the neighborhood of large plantations, and sought a sort of wild-wood liberty shows that they have some notions of personal freedom. They have. But they very crude. The peculiar condition which induced us to think first on the subject of slavery, and we endeavored in conjunction with the lamented Grimke, to form some plan by which we could improve this. We sought them out in their hovel-homes. We endeavored to win their regard, and secure their attention by kindness and gifts. We failed, not wholly, in every effort to induce them to change their mode of life. The ruling idea uppermost in their minds seemed, to be the dignity of labor, that they could not stoop to it. We expressed to them our opinion, that it degraded them, because it put them on an equality with the slaves. An anecdote will illustrate this feeling.

We met with a young man, of a fine, intelligent boy. He was one that would have attracted notice in any boyhood gathering. We proposed to his father that he should be educated. 'Let him go with us to town,' said we, 'and we will send him to school and see what can be done with him.' And he continued, 'I asked the young man, if he thought that something wrong was to follow. 'Why,' we continued, 'when he has been educated, we can send him to the carriage maker.' Mr. G., and he will learn a trade. 'Never!' he quickly, almost fiercely, rejoined, with a harsh oath. 'My son shall never work by the side of young negroes, and I'm known a gentleman.' (calling certain planters' names whose slaves were being taught the trade) and he ordered about by Mr. C. as he ordered them about.' He was fixed. No argument, entreaty, appeal to interest could move him. The idea uppermost in his mind was the idea of his class—that labor was degrading; and he would rather his son should be free to starve, if ignorant, than debased in the city, though educated, by a menial task.

What hope is there for them?

We see none. Nothing, certainly, but the removal of slavery can induce them to change their present condition. They will not labor in the field while they think it degrading; nor become artizans or mechanics while slaves are such. As for educating them, scattered as they are, the effort seems almost hopeless. Up and down, river where these 'poor laborers,' that the Carolinas paper talks of, live, and all around Georgetown, there are large and rich plantations. Many of the owners of them are very wealthy; a majority rich. Yet there is no sort of connection, or sympathy between these planters and the Sand-hillers! They are as far apart as two races well can be. We speak now of social separation; for we are here the immediate by heard the 'poor laborers' were starving, instead of that which that was necessary, and more, to relieve their wants. But, we fear coming time will find them as they are now ignorance, ignorant, degraded; the victims of a blighting curse!

The condition of these Sand-hillers illustrates the effect of slavery, when it comes to be confined to its farthest limit. Take one town, near the centre of South Carolina, and make a line for ten miles south; or it along the river on one side, looking three miles back, and we question whether you will find over ten planters! They have each from one hundred to two, three, four or five hundred slaves! Many of them have no white neighbors! Necessarily, therefore, the towns wane, the poorer classes emigrate, as well as the young and enterprising; and the remaining, or Sand-hill class, escape to the barrens for freedom! according to their notion of it.

So much for the 'poor laborers' of Black River and its neighborhood! for the unfortunate Sand-hillers of the Carolinas!

From the Salem Register, 13th.

EMANCIPATION IN FRENCH GUIANA.

We learn from Capt. Clark, of the brig Romp, arrived at this port on Thursday, from Cayenne, July 5, that great excitement prevailed there when he left, in reference to the abolition of slavery.—The facts appear to be as follows, according to documents furnished to us by Capt. Clark:

It is known that, since the Revolution of 1830, the French Colonies have a Representative Assembly, called the Colonial Council, which is elected for five years. The Colonial Council votes the expenses, and expresses opinions upon all questions which concern the Colony and upon those matters which can only be determined by the home government.

For some years the great question of the abolition of slavery has strongly agitated the inhabitants of Guiana, which is a small, weak Colony, although possessing a vast and fertile territory and all the resources which must, one day, make it a flourishing country.

The most intelligent of the planters are persuaded that it is necessary to effect a transformation of the social condition of their laborers by relying upon the government, so that the end which the mother power desires (the freedom of the slaves) may be attained with the least possible agitation and difficulty.

Some others of the planters, fewer in number, but whose violence of action compensates for their weakness, are striving to persuade all idea of an agreement between the past and the future, and to maintain as long as possible slavery on its ruins.

The Colonial Council, which is composed of sixteen members, reckons a minority of four supporters of the opinion, and in all the discussions for the Colony, these last claimed away, vociferous and violent, while the majority was for them and not for the majority of the country.

By means of memorials and protests, sent to the French Ministry, they have succeeded in under the putting into execution of a law which appropriated 50,000 francs for elementary instruction in Guiana, necessary to commence, with the concession of the planters, the measures of a reform impossible to prevent hereafter.

In the meantime, the French Chambers and the Government have passed a law, which, greatly modify the ancient servitude—the duties of the master are heavily augmented, and the obligations of the slaves considerably reduced. Some of the planters who were in favor of slave laboring under an illusion have been enlightened, and the general elections to renew the Council, which took place the 6th and 7th of July, 1847, have given a brilliant manifestation of the sentiment of the country.

All the opposition members have failed before the electors, and the Commission of the Colonial Council undertake for us any farther than we undertake for ourselves. His work is done; ours alone remains to be done.

The work is not complete in the moral and intellectual elements of creation as it is in the physical works of creation, and we have as much right to expect that God will make the corn to grow and give us an abundant harvest, without effort on our part, as to expect that we shall be a free and happy people, without effort on our part. It would be one thing in our people which I abominate more than another, it is their everlasting praying for blessings which they are unwilling to labor for. I remember, when a slave, I used to pray that the Lord would give me freedom. I prayed thus three years, and was as far from getting my freedom in that way the third time I prayed as the first; and I might have prayed in slavery until this time, had I not 'prayed with my heels.' Our works must be consistent with our prayers, or our prayers are an abomination before God. We shall redeem the slave at the South, and obtain equal rights at the North, just as soon as we have intelligence and virtue sufficient which God and Nature have placed within our reach, and not before. The days of miracles have passed. Truth, Love and Justice are the instruments of salvation, and he only is free whom the Truth makes free.' The Almighty will not make the ignorant intelligent, the degraded respectable, the drunken sober, nor the indolent industrious. In these respects man is to work out his own salvation, and God will bless him in the effort.

'Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.'

Yours, F. D.

FREEDOM'S JOURNAL

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1847.

J. BROWN YERRINTON, PRINTER.

WHOLE NO. 873.

From an Edinburgh paper.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

A very numerous and respectable meeting of the citizens of Edinburgh was held on Monday evening, in Brighton Street Church, called by the Anti-Slavery Society, for the purpose of reviewing a speech delivered by Alexander Campbell, of Virginia, at a public meeting in the Waterloo Rooms, Edinburgh, on the evening of Friday last, and also to pass several resolutions in connection with that gentleman.

Counsellor Stott was called to the chair, and, having made a few introductory remarks, introduced the Rev. James Robertson, the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. Robertson said—The object which I have in view in appearing before you is to state the true positions and opinions of the Rev. Alexander Campbell of America, in so far as these opinions and that position refer to the question of slaveholding. The gentleman whose position and opinions are to be reviewed is by many years my senior. This I shall try not to forget, either in the manner or the matter of my statements. Be it known, then, that Mr. Campbell is the founder and the acknowledged leader of a sect of professing Christians. The adherents of this party, called, I believe, Campbellites or disciples, are most numerous in the South and Western States of the Republic. There are a few of them in Great Britain, and in Ireland, and some of them I believe in Edinburgh. Mr. Campbell, speaking in the name of his brethren, declares that they take the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, as their guide in faith and practice. This party, I believe, are termed essential Baptists; that is, they hold that a person must be immersed in water in order to obtain the pardon and forgiveness of their God. (Disapprobation.) Mr. Campbell declares that none can enjoy the peace of God, or the hope of forgiveness, but those who are born of water, or immersed for the remission of their sins. A quote from the *Biblical Repository* of 1839, and I believe this is one of the peculiarities of the sect of which Mr. Campbell is the leader. He is come over to Britain for the purpose of promulgating his view-upon theological, ecclesiastical, and ritual matters; he had a right, and is at perfect liberty to do so, and I shall not say I have any interest with him in the propagation of his views? My answer is, that he was once a slaveholder, and is at present the ally and friend of menstealers. I deem it right that the people of Britain should be fully aware of this gentleman in regard to the important question of American slavery. I took such steps as would compel Mr. Campbell to state his opinions before any community, as they were contained in the word of God. He further stated that, were he to take up the same ground as the Anti-Slavery Society, and declare that slavery was condemned in the Bible, and that slaveholders ought not to be admitted to the communion of the church, the whole south would be against him, for they were all of the opinion that the Bible sanctioned the relation of slaveholder and slave. Mr. Robertson then stated that he asked Mr. Campbell how it came to pass that they were so very anxious to prevent the slaves from getting hold of the Bible, for, if they were taught to read and understand the Bible, they would certainly submit humbly and peaceably to slavery, if the Bible sanctioned the relation. Mr. Campbell answered for himself that he was in favor of abolition on certain terms and in certain conditions. Mr. R. then read the following extract from an article on slavery, written by the President of the sect to which Mr. Campbell belongs, and published in a work entitled *The Church as it is*, published in Boston in 1847:—"The Jewish Jehovah gave his approbation of domestic slavery by incorporating it with the Jewish religion, the only religion on earth that had the Divine sanction." Mr. R. then read several extracts from the writings of Mr. Campbell, in which he endeavored to point out the necessary relation between the slaveholder and the slave; he then referred to the challenge which had been given to Mr. Campbell, and to the sneaking, shuffling manner in which he had met it. Mr. R. stated that he was willing to discuss the subject publicly, and not by writing, as he was afraid to do so, for he had recourse to a despicable shuffle to alter the words of the letter which was sent him. Mr. R. then read an extract from a letter received from a friend of Mr. Campbell's, Baptist, concerning Mr. Campbell's views on the negro pew system. This letter stated that Mr. C. was in the negro pew. He stated on the morning of Tuesday last, that he would not on any account sit at meat with a colored man. Mr. R. said, I want this fact to be known throughout Scotland, England, and Ireland. I have no doubt that certain gentlemen in Dublin will not forget it, and I feel quite sure that my friend Isaac Nelson, of Belfast, will take care of him in the north; Ireland will do her duty. I ask this meeting to say whether Mr. Campbell has been misrepresented, or whether anything has been said in his quarter which has not been fairly placed—his own writings being the judge. I wish slaveholding ministers and slaveholding apologists to know that if they shall come to this country to enlighten the public upon any subject, that they shall be challenged and brought to the bar of public opinion to answer to charges which they are permitted to instruct us upon anything else. (Great applause.)

Dr. Barby then proposed the first resolution. (*See advertisement for resolutions.*)

Mr. Hunter then proposed the resolution, regretting that Mr. Campbell refused to accept the challenge, as the cause of truth and humanity would thereby have been forwarded.

Mr. Russell, a young gentleman, said to be a student, came forward, and with much *sang froid* defended the system of slaveholding. He read various passages from the Bible to substantiate his conclusion. Mr. Robertson supplied him with the following one, which he seemed not to have fallen in with:—"He that stealeth a man and selleth him, if he be found in his hands, he shall surely be put to death." Mr. Russell concluded by a long exposition amidst great disapprobation, arising chiefly from the fact of his reading from a version of the Bible sufficiently full and explicit. This avowal of his belief *meant something* in those days; the name was a test whereby men's souls were tried. There was a time, also, when the name of *Christian* was a test of character, and the life of him who bore it was its true definition. When the assumption of his name was made to the subject of Roman and Jewish persecution, when, with fire and with sword, with the rack, the stake, the cross—when it mustered to him the scorn of those whom he had respected, and the hate of those he loved—then, indeed, it might be safely said, "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God." Such a confession, then proved a sincere and strong attachment to the principles of Christianity. Who will pretend that it is of any importance to us as a test of character. He is a bold man who would contend, that Christendom openly to deny this fact, the confession of which was once so fraught with peril. A very few centuries, perhaps not more than a few, are the Church found that she needed other tests than this to determine who were worthy to be baptized in the name of God and unto eternal life; age has been furnished, in its peculiar development, with new and needed tests of Christian character.

Then it been with the name of abolitionist, since the commencement of our enterprise. At first, an anti-slavery profession so marked a man for woman as outlaw to commonwealth. To profess was little danger of its being assumed by any, save those whose souls were inspired with ardent love for the slave, and with unquenchable "Zeal for Right." If any others, moved by the beauty of its theme, or the loftiness of its practice did assume it, they soon fainted under the heat and burden of that day of labor and peril, and, quietly, they 'went out from us.' But as years rolled by, the enterprise gained respect and renown, even among its enemies, and the name of abolitionist lost much of its odium, until, at last, it has come to be honored, by the masses, and secretly coveted by many in the Church and the State, who have not yet sufficient moral courage to wear it over on their brows. Hated, as it was, it did not long remain so long; opposition it still meets in many a form, but how different is that opposition from that which first assailed it, they can tell who faithfully served in the earlier campaigns.

To be an abolitionist, now is, as it always was, to be a slavery and to love freedom so sincerely and so heartily, that we shall give no countenance to the one, and seek the promotion of the other; and to be a Christian, now, is, as it always was, to be like Christ; to love the Lord our God with all the heart, and our neighbor as ourselves, but the evidences requisite to prove that we are one or the other are very different now from what they once were. It is not by the adoption of the anti-slavery name, nor by membership in an anti-slavery society, nor by loud professions of love to the slave, that we are to determine who is a faithful abolitionist. It is by a life of toil and self-denial for the sake of the slave, by our daily deeds that we prove this, if we shall. He is reviled not only by the eloquent and earnest appeal to an assembled multitude, who hang with delight on the lips of the orator of Freedom, but, in the parlor, where unpopular truths are fearlessly and plainly uttered; by the obscure fireside, where schemes of economy and self-denial are planned and executed in order to increase the pecuniary means of a slavery treasury; and by the sacrifice of love of party, love of sect, so deeply inwrought in many a soul, that they are often the last offerings laid on the altar of Humanity. It is best proved by diligent toil, which secures not, and failers not, though uncheered by sympathy; by rebuke and reproach, by long-continued inconvenience, reputation, cheerfully borne for the slave's sake. They who are giving these evidences of the true abolitionist, are the Christian Freemen, are, indeed, worthy of the high name of abolitionist. And when the governing motive of such a life is love to God, and love to man, the source of which is true love to God, then are its deeds acceptable to Him who said, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'

It is no light thing to be a faithful abolitionist. We may account it a joy and an honor that any thing, even the least, we may do, hearts are occupied and hands, for such it is, but well does it become us to see to it that no lukewarmness, no selfishness, no unfaithfulness of ours, brings dishonor and reproach upon the enterprise which thus honors and blesses us.

'THE CRISIS.'—A friend recently put into our hands the prospectus of an Anti-Slavery paper with the above name, to be published in Moundsville, Marshall Co., Virginia, under the editorial care of a very distinguished lady, with the above corresponding editors. It will be issued weekly at $2.00 a year. From information derived from another source, we understand that the direct aim of this enterprise is to procure the passage of a law authorizing each county to vote on the abolition of slavery within its own borders. The movement is encouraging as indicative of the progress of anti-slavery truth upon the south; and however it may be received, whether with favor or opposition, it cannot but, if wisely conducted, make a good impression upon the southern mind, and do much to disseminate anti-slavery principles among that people. That it will be received thus, and find abundant success, is our sincere wish.—*Ibid.*

From the Christian World.

NARRATIVE OF WM. W. BROWN, A Fugitive Slave. Written by Himself, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 21 Cornhill, 1847.

The recommendation which accompanies this book is sufficient evidence of the correctness of Mr. Brown's statements. The style, the tone and manner almost as winning as that of De Foe's books, and it obtains a peculiar hold on the feelings of an American, from the vividness of the scenes which are narrated.

It may be reiterated, until language shall be worn out, that we have no Slavery to contend with, to do with Slavery; but still there remains the word of God to condemn all such justification. There is not a slave in the South but what is there by our permission. We have the power, if exercised under the broad shield of a parchment, which has been a wrong from the first, and despise the teachings of the Prince of Peace, to overthrow it. The time is coming when the perfect rectitude of God shall scatter the weak pretences and excuses of men, and present the naked hideousness of slavery, to the thousands and tens of thousands, to their utter amazement and condemnation.

Mr. Brown's book cannot fail to wish that NO THING may possess him, and to this end we should be glad to have it introduced into our parish libraries.

NARRATIVE OF WM. W. BROWN, a Fugitive Slave: written by himself. Boston: published at the Anti-Slavery office, 21 Cornhill. 1847.

Mr. Brown is an Agent of the Garrisonian Anti-Slavery Society. He is a native, and a fugitive slave, and has furnished a highly graphic and interesting sketch of his personal experience of the horrors and wrongs of Slavery. This, his narrative is preceded by a commendatory letter from Edmund Quincy and a preface by J. C. Hathaway. The book contains something over 120 pages, is handsomely printed, and bound with an accurate likeness of the author. We hope it may be widely circulated.—*Herkimer Freeman.*

From the Christian Citizen.

A NARRATIVE OF WM. W. BROWN, a fugitive slave, written by himself, is upon our table. It is a work of thrilling interest, and believing as we do, that every publication of the kind, is a blow upon public opinion, and tends to hasten the time when the slave shall be free from his bonds, we commend it to the broad sympathy of our readers. Mr. Brown is an able, earnest advocate of the rights of his fellow-brothers, and is making, we are glad to know, a good use of his Freedom, to which he is indebted not so much to the 'genius of our institutions,' as to the swiftness of his heels.

EQUALITY!—The Rev. M. M. Clark, a colored gentleman, minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, arrived in this city, from Britain one year, and has received the most friendly attention. Just as he turned his face towards 'the land of the free,' he was congregated a cabin passage in the ship Constitution, and he informed by the captain of that vessel that the owners would not tolerate such a passenger in the first cabin. Mr. Clark is a native citizen of the United States.—*Liverpool Albion.*

☞ The Liberty Party convention held in this town on Wednesday, re-nominated S. E. Sewall and J. M. Brewster as their candidates for Governor and Lieut. Governor, the resolution recommendatory to John P. Hale and closing with an indirect nomination of him for the presidency, caused an excited and almost acrimonious debate. The latter part was finally stricken out, and the balance of the resolution then passed. The division of the convention into two factions, the one under the call of Leavitt, Cornish, Cleveland, and others, instead of the supporters of Gerritt Smith and the Lockport convention, was very apparent. One of the speakers, in the course of his remarks, that Leavitt convention men were the worst enemies the Liberty party had to contend with. They were worse than the out and out Garrisonians.—*Worcester Spy.*

☞ The Anti-Slavery Convention in Harwich has been made the theme of abuse by the editors of the Register and Patriot, and by a correspondent of the former respectable journal. We were present throughout the Convention, and have no intention of taking up the pen in defence. But in conversation with an esteemed woman who was present, the most remarks which went far to relieve that Convention of any imputations which have been cast upon it. She says, that the proceedings were fully as proper there on the Sabbath day, as on any other occasion; and that Mr. Pillsbury estimated that there were about seven thousand persons on the ground on Sunday, that there was not any sale of ardent spirits or refreshments, and she is not aware that any liquor was to be had in it; and if liquor was sold by some unprincipled persons, the honest folks were not to blame for it. She says there was some very good speaking at the meetings. Wm. W. Brown, the fugitive slave from Missouri, spoke in address of a manner that were there few dry eyes in the audience. She acknowledges that Mr. Pillsbury spoke with unwonted severity even for him.—A. S. P.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

LETTER FROM MR. BUCHANAN ON THE WILMOT PROVISO.

WASHINGTON, 25th August, 1847.

GENTLEMEN:—I have been honored by the receipt of your kind invitation to unite with the Democracy of Old Berks in their Harvest Home Celebration, to be held at Reading, on Saturday, the 28th instant.—I should esteem it both a pleasure and a privilege to be present on that interesting occasion; I, therefore, with regret that I have to inform you, that my public duties during the present week will render this impossible.

I rejoice to observe that the glorious Democracy of 'Old Berks' are buckling on their armor, and preparing for the approaching contest. It is long since any State election has involved such important consequences to the Democratic party in Union, as the approaching election for Governor of Pennsylvania. On its result may probably depend the secretaryship of the Treasury of the Union for years to come. Hence, our Democratic brethren of other States are witnessing the contest with intense anxiety. The field is a fair one; our candidate well tried, and his principles sound, and he has been regularly nominated by the party. Should he be defeated, the attempt will be vain to explain the decision of the Democracy in any other manner than by admitting that the Whigs have the majority. Our candidate for Canal Commissioner is, also, a gentleman of the highest talents, personal and politically, and is eminently qualified for the duties of that important office. If, under such circumstances, the Democratic Keystone should give way, there is great danger that the Union may tumble to pieces. In this contest, emphatically, he that is not for us is against us. I do not apprehend defeat, unless some of our friends should fire in our security by making no extraordinary public efforts; and then, at the eleventh hour, quietly steal a march upon us, as they did in Ohio, and succeed in sleeping with the Democracy of this State.—Our vigilance ought to be constantly on the alert, until the moment of victory.

The question of Slavery in one of its ancient aspects, has been repeatedly revived, and threatens to convulse the country. The Democratic party of the Union ought to prepare themselves in time for the approaching storm. Their best security for the hour of danger, is to cling fast to their time-honored principles. A sacred regard for the Federal Constitution, and for the rights of the several States, is the immovable basis on which the party can alone safely rest. This has saved us from the inroads of abolition. Northern Democrats are not expected to appear every in the slavery question; but they owe it to themselves, as they value the Union, and all the political blessings which bountifully flow from it, to stand by the compromises of the Constitution, and leave the question, where that instrument has left it, to the State wherein slavery exists. Our fathers have made this agreement with their brethren of the South, and it is not for the descendants of either party, in the present generation, to cancel this solemn compact. The Abolitionists have made efforts to annul it, and perverted the natural progress of emancipation, and done great injury to the slaves themselves.

After Louisiana was acquired from France by Mr. Jefferson, and when the State of Missouri, which constituted a part of it, was about to be admitted into the Union, the Missouri question arose, and in its progress it threatened the dissolution of the Union.—This was settled by the men of the last generation, as other important and dangerous questions have been settled, in a spirit of mutual concession. Under the Missouri compromise, slavery was 'forever prohibited' north of 36 deg. 30 min.; and south of this parallel the question was left to be decided by the people. Congress, in the admission of Texas, following in the footsteps of their predecessors, adopted the same rule; and, in my opinion, the honor of the Union, its peace and even the security of the Union itself, require that the line of the Missouri compromise should be extended to any new territory which we may acquire from Mexico.

I should entertain the same opinion, even if it were certain that this would become a serious practical question; but that it cannot be fairly considered, must be evident to all who have attentively examined the subject.

Neither the soil nor climate, nor the productions of that portion of California south of 36 deg. 30 min. nor indeed of any portion of it. North or South, is adapted to slave labor. Besides, no profitable would be there afforded to the slave to escape from his master. Such property would be utterly insecure in any part of California. It is morally impossible, therefore, that the property of the emigrants to that portion of the territory south of 36 deg. 30 min. which will be chiefly composed of our fellow-citizens from the Southern Slavery within its limits. In regard to New-Mexico, west of the Rio Grande, the question has been already settled by the admission of Texas into the Union.

Should we acquire Mexico, south of the Rio Grande, and east of the Rocky Mountains, it is still more improbable that a majority of the people of that region would consent to establish slavery. They are themselves, in a large proportion, a colored population; and among them the negro does not socially belong to a degraded race.

The question, therefore, is a mere one of practical importance. Its opinion, however honestly intended, can produce no effect but to alienate the people of different portions of the Union from each other; to excite sectional divisions and jealousies; and to distract and possibly destroy the Democratic party, on the ascendancy of whose principles and measures depends, in my humble opinion, the success of our grand experiment of self-government.

Such have been my individual opinions, openly and freely expressed for years past, in the discharge of the present unfortunate agitation; and of all places in the world, I prefer to put them on record before the Democracy of Old Berks.—I, therefore, beg leave to offer you the following sentiment:

The Missouri Compromise.—Its adoption in 1820 saved the Union from dissolution and convulsion. Its extension in 1848 to any new territory which we may acquire, will secure the like happy result.

Yours, very respectfully,
JAMES BUCHANAN.

Charles Kessler, Esq. President, and Geo. F. Spayd, and Jacob Livengood, Esqs. Secretaries, &c. &c.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

WHAT IS AN ABOLITIONIST?

There was a time when the adoption of the anti-slavery name was a proof worthy of it. When its definition, as given by our early apostles, was, 'a believer in the inherent sinfulness of slavery, and the duty of immediate emancipation,' very few centuries, perhaps not more than a few, are the Church found that she needed other tests than this to determine who were worthy to be baptized in the name of God and unto eternal life; age has been furnished, in its peculiar development, with new and needed tests of Christian character.

Then it been with the name of abolitionist, since the commencement of our enterprise. At first, an anti-slavery profession so marked a man for woman as outlaw to commonwealth. To profess was little danger of its being assumed by any, save those whose souls were inspired with ardent love for the slave, and with unquenchable "Zeal for Right." If any others, moved by the beauty of its theme, or the loftiness of its practice did assume it, they soon fainted under the heat and burden of that day of labor and peril, and, quietly, they 'went out from us.' But as years rolled by, the enterprise gained respect and renown, even among its enemies, and the name of abolitionist lost much of its odium, until, at last, it has come to be honored, by the masses, and secretly coveted by many in the Church and the State, who have not yet sufficient moral courage to wear it over on their brows. Hated, as it was, it did not long remain so long; opposition it still meets in many a form, but how different is that opposition from that which first assailed it, they can tell who faithfully served in the earlier campaigns.

To be an abolitionist, now is, as it always was, to be a slavery and to love freedom so sincerely and so heartily, that we shall give no countenance to the one, and seek the promotion of the other; and to be a Christian, now, is, as it always was, to be like Christ; to love the Lord our God with all the heart, and our neighbor as ourselves, but the evidences requisite to prove that we are one or the other are very different now from what they once were. It is not by the adoption of the anti-slavery name, nor by membership in an anti-slavery society, nor by loud professions of love to the slave, that we are to determine who is a faithful abolitionist. It is by a life of toil and self-denial for the sake of the slave, by our daily deeds that we prove this, if we shall. He is reviled not only by the eloquent and earnest appeal to an assembled multitude, who hang with delight on the lips of the orator of Freedom, but, in the parlor, where unpopular truths are fearlessly and plainly uttered; by the obscure fireside, where schemes of economy and self-denial are planned and executed in order to increase the pecuniary means of a slavery treasury; and by the sacrifice of love of party, love of sect, so deeply inwrought in many a soul, that they are often the last offerings laid on the altar of Humanity. It is best proved by diligent toil, which secures not, and failers not, though uncheered by sympathy; rebuke and reproach, long-continued inconvenience, reputation, cheerfully borne for the slave's sake. They who are giving these evidences of the true abolitionist, are the Christian Freemen, are, indeed, worthy of the high name of abolitionist. And when the governing motive of such a life is love to God, and love to man, the source of which is true love to God, then are its deeds acceptable to Him who said, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'

It is no light thing to be a faithful abolitionist. We may account it a joy and an honor that any thing, even the least, we may do, hearts are occupied and hands, for such it is, but well does it become us to see to it that no lukewarmness, no selfishness, no unfaithfulness of ours, brings dishonor and reproach upon the enterprise which thus honors and blesses us.

'THE CRISIS.'—A friend recently put into our hands the prospectus of an Anti-Slavery paper with the above name, to be published in Moundsville, Marshall Co., Virginia, under the editorial care of a very distinguished lady, with the above corresponding editors. It will be issued weekly at $2.00 a year. From information derived from another source, we understand that the direct aim of this enterprise is to procure the passage of a law authorizing each county to vote on the abolition of slavery within its own borders. The movement is encouraging as indicative of the progress of anti-slavery truth upon the south; and however it may be received, whether with favor or opposition, it cannot but, if wisely conducted, make a good impression upon the southern mind, and do much to disseminate anti-slavery principles among that people. That it will be received thus, and find abundant success, is our sincere wish.—*Ibid.*

From the Christian World.

NARRATIVE OF WM. W. BROWN, A Fugitive Slave. Written by Himself, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 21 Cornhill, 1847.

The recommendation which accompanies this book is sufficient evidence of the correctness of Mr. Brown's statements. The style, the tone and manner almost as winning as that of De Foe's books, and it obtains a peculiar hold on the feelings of an American, from the vividness of the scenes which are narrated.

It may be reiterated, until language shall be worn out, that we have no Slavery to contend with, to do with Slavery; but still there remains the word of God to condemn all such justification. There is not a slave in the South but what is there by our permission. We have the power, if exercised under the broad shield of a parchment, which has been a wrong from the first, and despise the teachings of the Prince of Peace, to overthrow it. The time is coming when the perfect rectitude of God shall scatter the weak pretences and excuses of men, and present the naked hideousness of slavery, to the thousands and tens of thousands, to their utter amazement and condemnation.

Mr. Brown's book cannot fail to wish that NOTHING may possess him, and to this end we should be glad to have it introduced into our parish libraries.

NARRATIVE OF WM. W. BROWN, a Fugitive Slave: written by himself. Boston: published at the Anti-Slavery office, 21 Cornhill. 1847.

Mr. Brown is an Agent of the Garrisonian Anti-Slavery Society. He is a native, and a fugitive slave, and has furnished a highly graphic and interesting sketch of his personal experience of the horrors and wrongs of Slavery. This, his narrative is preceded by a commendatory letter from Edmund Quincy and a preface by J. C. Hathaway. The book contains something over 120 pages, is handsomely printed, and bound with an accurate likeness of the author. We hope it may be widely circulated.—*Herkimer Freeman.*

From the Christian Citizen.

A NARRATIVE OF WM. W. BROWN, a fugitive slave, written by himself, is upon our table. It is a work of thrilling interest, and believing as we do, that every publication of the kind, is a blow upon public opinion, and tends to hasten the time when the slave shall be free from his bonds, we commend it to the broad sympathy of our readers. Mr. Brown is an able, earnest advocate of the rights of his fellow-brothers, and is making, we are glad to know, a good use of his Freedom, to which he is indebted not so much to the 'genius of our institutions,' as to the swiftness of his heels.

EQUALITY!—The Rev. M. M. Clark, a colored gentleman, minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, arrived in this city, from Britain one year, and has received the most friendly attention. Just as he turned his face towards 'the land of the free,' he was congregated a cabin passage in the ship Constitution, and he informed by the captain of that vessel that the owners would not tolerate such a passenger in the first cabin. Mr. Clark is a native citizen of the United States.—*Liverpool Albion.*

☞ The Liberty Party convention held in this town on Wednesday, re-nominated S. E. Sewall and J. M. Brewster as their candidates for Governor and Lieut. Governor, the resolution recommendatory to John P. Hale and closing with an indirect nomination of him for the presidency, caused an excited and almost acrimonious debate. The latter part was finally stricken out, and the balance of the resolution then passed. The division of the convention into two factions, the one under the call of Leavitt, Cornish, Cleveland, and others, instead of the supporters of Gerritt Smith and the Lockport convention, was very apparent. One of the speakers, in the course of his remarks, that Leavitt convention men were the worst enemies the Liberty party had to contend with. They were worse than the out and out Garrisonians.—*Worcester Spy.*

☞ The Anti-Slavery Convention in Harwich has been made the theme of abuse by the editors of the Register and Patriot, and by a correspondent of the former respectable journal. We were present throughout the Convention, and have no intention of taking up the pen in defence. But in conversation with an esteemed woman who was present, the most remarks which went far to relieve that Convention of any imputations which have been cast upon it. She says, that the proceedings were fully as proper there on the Sabbath day, as on any other occasion; and that Mr. Pillsbury estimated that there were about seven thousand persons on the ground on Sunday, that there was not any sale of ardent spirits or refreshments, and she is not aware that any liquor was to be had in it; and if liquor was sold by some unprincipled persons, the honest folks were not to blame for it. She says there was some very good speaking at the meetings. Wm. W. Brown, the fugitive slave from Missouri, spoke in address of a manner that were there few dry eyes in the audience. She acknowledges that Mr. Pillsbury spoke with unwonted severity even for him.—A. S. P.

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 1, 1847.

CHATTEL SLAVERY AND WAGES SLAVERY.

'Of all the cants that are canted in this canting world,' (and their name is Legion,) there are few worse, and none more disgusting, than that which places the Chattel Slave and the Free Laborer for wages in the same category of wrong and of misery. In the last number of 'Young America,' the organ of the National Reformers, the editor speaks of 'the dwarfish idea of changing the Chattel Slave, with a sort of home, and a master to stripe his back, into a wages slave with no home at all, compelled to scour the country (at the risk of being farmed out as a vagrant) in search of a landlord and a master to stripe his belly!' One hardly knows whether it was the spirit of a Slave or of an Overseer that gave this expression to this thought, or whether it was a happy mixture of the two. An acute feeling must he that penned it have of the value of personal liberty, and a nice perception of moral distinctions! And, yet, he is a Reformer, forsooth! Yea, verily, and a National Reformer! And of the party of which he is the oracle, Mr. GERRIT SMITH is the Candidate! For this very article is written to persuade the Third Party to make Mr. Smith theirs! Truly, as we believe we have said once before in this same connection, 'Truth is strange, Mr. Mirror, stranger than fiction!' Truly, we have seen strange bed-fellows!

We should not have thought it important to draw attention to this particular exposition of the Anti-Slavery idea, had we not sometimes heard something to the same effect, from men as incapable, we believe, of such a sentiment as this, and who, if they are of the vulgar brutality of its expression; men, the very warmth of whose zeal against all wrong and oppression has led them to confound things very distinct from one another, to see Slavery in Poverty, and the 'Sum of all Villanies' in the least of its details, or rather mistake some of these are to be found. There seems to be no particular sympathy between Associationism and Land Reform in certain essential, each thinking its own fulfilment the necessary antecedent of the other; but we believe they both agree in vastly exaggerating the evils inseparable from the life of a laborer, while they strangely undervalue those that crush the minds as well as the bodies of the chattel Slaves. This we do not wonder at in those who look at these things from the point of their own selfish interests; but, we confess we are surprised that men who have ever stood upon the Mount of Vision, and seen Anti-Slavery has attained, should suffer from such a confusion of images.

Wherein does the resemblance consist between the laborer for wages and the laborer for stripes? They each produce materials for human consumption, or work them up into a *consumable* shape, and there the likeness ends. The analogy would seem to be as well grounded on the fact that both breathe, live by bread and breath. What is it to be a Slave? It is, to be deprived of all control over life and conduct. It is, to be at the absolute disposal of another. To eat and drink and work and go and come, at the responsible bidding of a master. To hold 'all the charities of father, son and husband, the endearing relations of wife and child, at the beck of the caprice, the passion or the interest of a natural enemy. It is to be a passive tool, instead of a free agent, without the rights of locomotion, of choice of labor, of the acquisition of property, of improvement in condition, of cultivation of mind, without even a nominal political or civil existence. In short, to be the property, the belongings of another, and reduced, as far as man can accomplish it, to the condition of a domestic animal, of 'a beast that lacks discourse of reason.'

What is there in the condition of the most degraded and dependent free laborer compared with this? May he not choose his employer? May he not contract for his wages? May he not change his occupation, whenever he can improve his condition, or, at least, gratify his caprice? May he not, by his talent or opportunity, rise to a higher social position? Is he chained to the soil? Are his movements dependant on the will and pleasure of another? Has he not freedom, if he have will and opportunity, to cultivate his mind, to the light of religious and secular knowledge quite as much as the Slave Laws of Statutes? Can any power take from him his wife and his children? Does he not own himself? Is he not 'lord of his presence,' at least, though he may be lord 'of no land beside'? If it be affirmed that, though nominally possessed of these rights, and thus distinguished from the Slave, yet, in point of fact, the stern necessity of living makes him as subject a dependant on his master, as permanently degraded in his social position, as little master of his movements, as irretievably doomed to ignorance as the Slave, we meet the assertion with a simple and a flat denial.

The laborer is indeed dependant, in a sort, on the employer; but not more so than the employer is dependant on the laborer. Capital and labor are the complements of each other. Each is necessary to each. This is true in a Slave Country, too; only, there, Capital owns Labor, whereas in a Free Country Labor owns itself, and sells, or lets, or bargains it can with Capital. This is proved by the constant fluctuations in wages, according to the state of the labor-market. And it will hardly be denied that, in point of fact, laborers are accustomed to change their employers and their employments, when they can gain by it, and, in the course of annual emigration to this country is evidence enough that the most abject laborers have, and exercise, the right of locomotion. Is their social *status* and their opportunities of improving their condition or their minds as good and as accessible as that of the slave? Let Arkwright, and Burns, and Clifford, and Cobbett, and the multitudes besides from the ranks of labor, who have acquired wealth, social distinction, political influence and immortal fame, answer! Let the many names in the history of England, monarchical, aristocratic, priest-ridden England, that have risen from the abyss of poverty to office, government, her peerage, her hierarchy, reply! Let the men who insult the free laborer by placing him by the side of the slave, in social position, point us out a single instance of a slave rising to social, political or intellectual eminence, or even to the possession of a single instance of a man on whose brow rests the shadow of slavery rests, obtaining the highest official and social rank in a Free State,—and we will acknowledge that there is a conceivable analogy between the two classes.

We have defended our position, thus far, by comparing the condition of the American laborer with that of the English operative, because the greater hardship of his condition, and the mightier obstacles he has to surmount in reaching a higher one, make his case a stronger one on the other side, than that of the white American laborer. But when we come to examine the state of this last, in the light of this theory, its absurdity becomes even indiscursively apparent. The very paper, which has furnished the text for this Discourse, is established for the purpose of arousing these very *wages-slaves* to redress their wrongs, and establish a better state of things by POLITICAL ACTION! *Slaves* revolting in the cotton fields, and altering the laws of the land by the ballots! It is strange, if these gentlemen can pass one another in the street without laughing in each other's faces, like the Roman Augurs, at the recollection of the humbug they are practising, or attempting to practise, upon the people. If the white laboring men in America are *slaves*, whose fault is it? They are Slaves that hold the sceptre of Sovereignty in their own hands. Why do they not use it for their own emancipation? They have nobody to blame but themselves. The fault

Is in themselves, and in their stars.

But in *themselves*, that they are underlings!

Is is so with the chattel Slaves?

It is, undoubtedly, true, that the relation of laborer and employer may be the occasion of an undue influence of the latter over the former. This influence need be used to impair the freedom of thought and action of the operative. It is, unquestionably, a hard thing, as the world counts hard, for a man to put his bread in jeopardy for his principles. But this is a state of things by no means confined to the manual laborer. Ministers and lawyers and physicians and editors and professors and teachers and authors are all proportionably dependant upon those whose wants they supply. And persons of all these classes have been called to as severe trials to maintain their integrity, against the influence of those on whose favor they depend for bread, as any operative in a manufactory.

We apprehend that the world knows pretty well by this time that the abolitionists are anything but men of one idea. It is their notion that Anti-Slavery, instead of being 'fragmentary,' is all-comprehensive, and includes the cure of all the evils of humanity, beginning with giving their vision to the black slaves of the South they see that in attacking chattel slavery, the insolent foe of labor, they are assaulting all its minor wrongs. The abolitionists reverence labor, which those upon whose language we are animadverting insult and degrade, and they feel that they are the friends of the laborer, they believe, can never be duly honored as long as Slavery exists. Therefore, they feel that they are honoring and helping the one most effectually in giving themselves to the destruction of the other. They perceive that the abyss that yawns between the laborer and the slave is as great as that which separates him from an Astor or a Van Rensselaer,—nay, infinitely greater, for the one is impassable, while the other is not—and they refuse to class them together, while they strive for the practical recognition of the great principles in which the brotherhood of both is involved.

Besides what we have just suggested as why we repudiate the doctrine of the substantial identity of *wages-slavery* and chattel slavery, we have two other reasons which fortify us in our rejection of it. And the first is, that we never knew a white laborer, however degraded or ignorant, but sought for the relief of chattel slavery from his suffering, although it has always been open to him, being entirely superior to the prejudice of color; and we never knew an intelligent one that did not look upon the assertion of the identity or similarity of the two conditions, in the light of a personal insult. Does Young America think that among the many millions of Irish peasantry and English operatives, he could persuade one to exchange his wretched condition for that of the 'fattest and sleekest' of the slaves of Henry Clay? Should he ever seriously make the proposal, we imagine nothing but the bodily weakness of the party addressed, would save him from a personal chastisement for the affront. Our other ancillary reason is, that of the many, once abolitionists, who have received this doctrine, with one or two signal exceptions, such as William H. Channing and John A. Collins, not one has retained any practical interest in the movement, but all almost have become its enemies. Judging the tree then by all these its fruits, we pronounce it to be evil and only evil, and one that cannot too speedily be hewn down and cast into the fire.—Q.

MR. BUCHANAN'S LETTER.

In another part of this paper will be found the letter of Mr. Secretary Buchanan on the Wilmot Proviso. It well deserves the epithet of Statesmanlike, which has been freely bestowed upon it, in the sense in which the word is understood in this country, of an ingenious concession to the Slavery of all it wants, under the appearance of granting something to the North. It is the way of excuse which Democrats have opened to the Democrats, like that which Mr. Webster made for the Whigs, who may have been indiscreet enough to have become entangled in the meshes of the Wilmot Proviso.

Mr. Wilmot suggested the condition, which has made his name celebrated, that Slavery should not be permitted in any Territory hereafter to be acquired, and he being a Democrat, and the opposition to the Slave-extension party being chiefly Democrats ranked by the new idea as one that might check the indefinite extension of Slavery. The Whigs, almost unanimously, went in its favor, at first; and they have not as yet, made any very general repudiation of it. This was a demonstration which the South felt it necessary to put down in an emphatic manner. It was an attempt at intimidation on the part of their vassals which was of evil example, To be sure, it could never have been carried, as was proved, even in the enthusiasm of its first novelty; but it was not even to be agitated, extensively, by any large portion of either of the political parties

Accordingly Mr. Berrien opens the Scripture to the Whigs, and suggests the wider and less 'fragmentary' issue of NO MORE TERRITORY, instead of 'NO MORE SLAVE TERRITORY!' This, he intimates, will unite the Southern and Northern Divisions of the Whig party, and, consequently, the Whigs, the dupe-goons snap at the hook which the angler for their souls has scarcely thought it worth his while to conceal with even the pretence of a bait. They do not see that before such a condition, if conceded, could be of any avail, it must be first decided, *how much Territory we have got*; and that, without violating the agreement of no more Territory, Slavery may help herself to what she wants, as already here! Or rather, whether they see it or not, they care nothing about it, so the Slaveholders will help them to a Whig President. And this will be proved by the Whig Convention, in a few months.

A little later Mr. Buchanan takes the Democrats in hand, and kindly helps them out of their quandary. 'Northern Democrats are not to be expected to approve of Slavery in the abstract,' it seems! This is a great, and rather a startling concession! Then, he proceeds to explain the compromises, Compacts and all the rest of it, make it plain that they are expected to approve of all Slavery does in the concrete. Mr. Buchanan, of course, cannot be opposed to the acquisition of Territory, nor even of Slave Territory. But he is not in favor of nothing but Slave-extension! No, no! This is the applying the Missouri Compromise to whatever we have to acquire, and excluding Slavery from all north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes! Or, in plain terms, he would prohibit Slavery wherever it is physically impossible that it should exist! And the Northern Democrats are to be satisfied with one conclusion, and all their perplexities are at an end!

This whole business has been a striking illustration of the way in which Slavery governs the country. She proceeds regularly on towards her purposes, sure of compassing them in her own good time. What Northern Democrat, or Whig, or Abolitionist, is not Slavery's dupe? Who is the highest in power, and influence, and popularity, in the North, in its relations to Slavery? Who is the most popular Northern Democrat? Who is the highest in power, and excluding Slavery from all north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes! Or, in plain terms, he would prohibit Slavery wherever it is physically impossible that it should exist! And the Northern Democrats are to be satisfied

HEALTH OF MR. GARRISON. A whole week had elapsed, during which no tidings of Mr. Garrison were received, and his family and friends were of course not a little anxious; when, on Tuesday evening, letters came from Samuel Brooke, at Cleveland, giving us information as favorable perhaps as could be looked for. Mr. Garrison had been very much reduced by fever; but the fever had apparently left him, and, in the words of Mr. Brooke, 'he is decidedly better, and all the symptoms much more favorable,' than previously. The most careful attention and watching are given him; and, so soon as he may be able to travel, a good friend will accompany him home. God alone knows whether his work is, or is not, done. But we will trust that a life so free, so great, so faithful and so dear, is not yet to be ended on earth.—W.

SANCTIFICATION OF ART.

To the question, Why has art so rarely enlisted on the side of truth, and wrought for the service of humanity?—there has hitherto appeared an obvious answer, namely, Man cannot live on art alone; and though virtue is its own reward, and a rich one, it is a reward not easily convertible into bread. The young artist who, destitute of means to cultivate his talent, is aided by his neighbors to visit the treasures of painting and sculpture in the old world, finds himself sufficiently removed from those friends by the elevated taste, and the heightened perception of external beauty and proportion which this tuition has given him without widening the breach by taking the popular side in their disputed points. The painting or the statue which has cost him years of toil remains unpurchased in his studio, because in idea and execution it is far above the standard of American taste; and he can ill afford to give it the additional offense of being an eloquent dean ociation of American slavery.

A better day, however, we hope, is coming. Its dawn already appears in the obviously enlarging circle of the literature of humanity. The noblest powers of eloquence, the highest range of literary talent, have long been exercised in the Anti-Slavery cause; but having been exercised by free men in most cases by obscure persons, against an immense disparity of numbers and an overwhelming weight of political, social and theological influence, the progress they made was long unseen, and their labors, like those of Noah, were derided by the prejudiced or unthinking multitude. Now the seed they planted amidst bitter discouragement in stony places is springing up, and fruit, thirty-fold, sixty-fold, a hundred-fold, begins to appear from it. As the visible product of this labor gives hope, new laborers also appear, and not in the Anti-Slavery department only, but in various other districts of the broad field of humanity, many are speaking, writing, striving by wit, sarcasm, pathos, argument, persuasion of every sort, to advance the great cause of human improvement. Peace, temperance, the elevation of the ignorant, the reformation of the prisoner and the discharged convict, and improvement in the condition of the poor, were never made the objects of such active exertion as at present.

There is therefore encouragement for art, which should ever be the handmaid of truth, to take her share in this great work. The Greek slave, a representation of the past, has commanded the attention and moved the sympathies of hundreds of thousands. When shall painting and sculpture do what they ought for the *American* slave, whose chains now clank in our ears, whose blood moistens our soil, whose groaning and sighs ascends to heaven for deliverance? The pictorial representation of slavery, however faithful in delineating its moral aspect, have hitherto failed of such artistic merit as would create a demand for them, and attract the attention of persons of cultivated taste through the form to the heart. But why should not this subject now receive the attention of artists who are able worthily to illustrate it? No department of human life could furnish subjects of more thrilling interest, or situations more fertile in all the varieties of action and passion. Then what a portrait might be made, by one who can faithfully copy from nature, of the sale of a family of human bodies and souls, in lots to suit pure buyers! Can such a transaction need accessory circumstances to heighten its interest? You have them. The scene is the capital of republican America, whose stars and stripes, proudly floating over her Senate-House, in full view of this foulest and meanest act of tyranny exercised by the strong over the weak, impudently declare this country to be the land of the *free* and the home of Total abstinence, including Graham or Physiological Reform. 7th, Water Cure, Magnetism and Phrenology. 8th, The Rights of Woman, including Marriage, &c. 9th, The Old Testament, and 'the New to some extent.' 10th, The Christian Religion. And 11th, 'An attack on the Church and Ministry of the present day,' after the manner of our 'Great Exemplar Jesus.' Any person desirous of knowing Mr. Stearns's views on these, and other, topics can leave their names with the Publishing Agent, Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

S. H. Our fair friend, for such we judge her to be from her chirography, is thanked for the interest she takes in our spiritual welfare. As to the question she proposes, how many years it will be before we shall cease to mention the Transfer of the Emancipator?' it is one to which we cannot give a categorical answer. We would say, however, by way of approximation, that we are in excellent health, of which we take the best of care, with an eye to this very matter; and that we have some of our long-lived families, eighty being a usual age on our father's side, and very few on our mother's ever thinking it worth their while to die much before a hundred. We think, therefore, we shall not be much out of the day, if we should say in reply to her interrogatory,—*Fifty Years!*

As to the other subject of her letter, we can assure her that she is entirely mistaken. Our course in the matter to which she alludes has met with the warm and unanimous approbation, of all whose approbation we think worth having. Indeed, we have never heard or seen a word lisped against it, excepting by those who were themselves condemned by what we said.

G. W. McC., of Nottingham, Eng. This cordial letter shall have a speedy insertion. We cannot doubt that Mr. Garrison will be most happy of his occasional communications.

J. B., of Fairhaven. We are much pleased to have such good accounts of his town. We hope that Mr. Brown's labors will be actively followed up.

M. E. C., Salem. The invitation to Mr. Garrison to lecture before the S. F. A. S. Society, is received, and will be found by him on his return.

H. C. W. His letter is received and appreciated.

'Down East.' Our Correspondent under this signature will perceive that we have taken the liberty to change it, for one of the letters of his name. We hope he will excuse it.

NOTICE TO READERS. The paragraph in last week's paper, relative to the Hollis Street Society, and their late minister, was written for the paper of the week before. This will account for its incorrect announcement of the Farewell discourses. We much regret the occurrence of any such mistake.

We regret also various typographical errors in the last paper. In the article, headed Postage Stamps, for *wide* system, read *wise* system. Others, more likely to be corrected by readers, need not be mentioned.

The spirited article on the Barnstable County convention was from the pen of our faithful friend LORENZO MOGGY, at present, Financial Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

THE TREE WILL BAPTIST PROTEST.

We cheerfully insert the following communication, relative to the Anti-Slavery character of one of the signers of the above protest. The author has sent it with his name, which we withhold, as we do from one caring to know it. The Clergyman, to whom he refers, is the Rev. Joseph Gowin. If he does him any injustice in the statement he makes, we shall be most happy to make the *amends honorable*. But gentlemen must not expect to escape from their characters by joining themselves to a body of Anti-Slavery Protestants. A Protest against Slavery is of no virtue unless it is the expression of an Anti-Slavery *Life*. A mere name to an Anti-Slavery document, if it do not stand for an Anti-Slavery man, is only so much ink wasted and paper spoiled. *Sed nominis umbra.* It is but the shadow even of a name.—q.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

On reading the list of names appended to the above protest, I see some that look oddly enough to me, in such a connection. One in particular is the name of a man who resided on Cornelius K. Polk; who upholds and defends him in his every act and deed; who goes for a vigorous prosecution of the war with Mexico, as just and right; a man who has said that the 'Morning Star,' the Free Will Baptist paper, at Dover, ought to be put down, on account of its publishing sentiments against the Mexican war and Slavery! The fact is well known. The ministers in his 'Quarterly Meeting' understand it perfectly well. I must confess it looks a little like humbug to me, for such a man can say he 'refuses to support Slavery, its principles, or its abettors;' I am at a loss to conceive. Such Protests will do no good, if they are to be upheld by the names of men who are notorious for their pro-slavery sentiments.

Yours, &c., P.

Lowell, Me., Aug., 1847.

☞ COOL. We copy the following from the Standard of the 16th.

A MISTAKE.—The Liberty Press advertises a meeting to be held in Scandaigus on the 20th instant, at which 'nominations will be made for delegates for the State and National Conventions will be made one day forenoon. In the afternoon and evening, addresses will be made by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and others. It will be seen by reference to the Liberty column, that Garrison and Douglass are to be at Canandaigua on the day above specified, but we are quite sure that their meeting can have nothing to do with the one which is to make Liberty party nominations. The parties advertising in the Press, are doing business on capital not even borrowed. We are certain that neither Garrison or Douglass would authorize such a use of their names.

Nicholas Biddle knew what he was about when he said that 'truths might be so arranged as to convey a falsehood!'—q.

What have we gained by the war?—*Whig and Abolition newspaper.*

The infamous reputation of taking sides with the enemies of your country.—*Boston Post.*

Will the Post say what it thinks of Lord Chatham, for uttering the following words when England and America were at war?—'If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign foe was landed on my shores, I never would lay down my arms,—never, never, never!'

PLYMOUTH AND ESSEX COUNTIES—NOTICE.

The friends of freedom and of the slave in these counties, and especially the members and friends of the Anti-Slavery Societies, are reminded of their quarterly meetings, soon to take place at *Bridgewater* and *Newburyport*, as will be seen by reference to the notices in the proper columns. Let there be steadfast and of a good courage, now that the foes of liberty and righteousness are alarmed, and, as the habit of the conscious wrong-doer is, begin to menace. Let them show, by a full and general attendance, that as high as ever burns the fire that is right, so they will not cease to demand that right, and Liberty is proclaimed through all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.

THE CHRISTIAN REFORMER. We have received from its editor, Mr. Charles Stearns, a small, well-printed sheet, of this name, to appear semi-monthly, at fifty cents per annum. It embraces a wide field of inquiry, the following being, as the Prospectus says, 'a few of the topics' it intends topresent: 1st, Anti-Slavery. 2nd, Peace. 3d, Non-Resistance. 4th, Prison Reform and the Abolition of Capital Punishment. 5th, The rights of the Working Classes. 6th, Total Abstinence, including Graham or Physiological Reform. 7th, Water Cure, Magnetism and Phrenology. 8th, The Rights of Woman, including Marriage, &c. 9th, The Old Testament, and 'the New to some extent.' 10th, The Christian Religion. And 11th, 'An attack on the Church and Ministry of the present day,' after the manner of our 'Great Exemplar Jesus.' Any persons desirous of knowing Mr. Stearns's views on these, and other, topics can leave their names with the Publishing Agent, Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill.

☞ CONDENSED.

Lowell, Aug. 31st, 1847.

RESPECTED FRIENDS,

I transmit to you a copy of a Preamble and Resolution, passed by the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society at its last meeting, held on the 21st of the present month. I was authorized by the Society to send them to you, in order that they may be published in the Liberator, and I request you to do so.

Respectfully,

SIMMONS COATES.

Whereas, certain Anti-Slavery individuals in Great Britain have paid Thomas Auld, a slaveholder of Maryland, the sum of $750 for his villanous claim to Frederick Douglass, which he will probably expend in the purchase and rearing of other slaves for the market, and in view of the frequent applications lately made to us to aid in similar purchases, we deem it expedient to adopt the following resolution:

Resolved, That purchasing slaves by the friends of freedom from their unjust claimants, is, at least, an indirect admission of the right of property in man, and directly encourages and tends to encourage the outrageous system of slavery; the practice should therefore receive no countenance from the friends of the slave. We therefore regret to find that the purchase of Frederick Douglass is defended by the editor of the Liberator and other prominent individuals in this country.

BUSINESS ENTERPRISE OF COLORED MEN. To those who may be in want of Boys' Clothing, we would recommend a call upon Samuel Wilson, No. 11 Brattle street, where they will find the best materials skillfully wrought and adapted to the juvenile form.

In this department, Mr. Wilson has manifested much tact, and is eminently deserving of patronage from colored people.

A correspondent of the Worcester Spy, writing from Syracuse, N. Y., thus speaks of an old and faithful friend to the Anti-Slavery cause:

Among the Clergymen here is our friend and former citizen, Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY. He has settled over the Unitarian Society about two years since, and here, as in Massachusetts, he nobly acquits himself as a man who has the fear of God in the relations of life. The influence of his pure character is felt in the community, and he is laid in the heart, and only fulfils his mission to preach the Gospel, but like Him whose representative he is, he goes about doing good. His sympathies are with the oppressed and the outcast, and his kind words and generous deeds give consolation to the weary and heavy-laden. He is a man of strong feelings, but his life is a true Philanthropist. For the slave, whether of vice, or of the law, he has sympathy and regard, and he would have all men.

'Be free—not only from the iron chain,
But from the one which passion forges'

He is fearless in denouncing oppression and wrong, and in defending the right, and he has great ground of expediency. The people of his charge are devotedly attached to him; and esteem themselves peculiarly fortunate that they have been able to secure to their community the life-wrestle and emulous example of a man they regard as imbued with so much true Christian spirit. May he long be blessed those among whom he has cast his lot. Where he is, Humanity will never weep the want of a friend.

The following Statement will be read with deep interest by all who knew the lamented Mr. Young, of whose death we made mention in our last paper. We cannot vouch for some of the statement as to some of the minor particulars, but in the main it is correct.

IMPORTANT AND INTERESTING SLAVE CASE.

A few months ago a slave, named —— Brown, belonging to Mr. Russell, of Maryland, was murdered by his master. Some time after, the master himself was murdered, and a brother of the murdered man was taken up and tried for the offence. Not the smallest evidence could be made out against him, and he was acquitted. An acquittal of a colored man in such a region of the world must be held as a most convincing proof of his innocence. But the relatives of the deceased sold Brown into the desolating bondage of the South. He escaped from New York, and was employed in Philadelphia, where he expected to live in safety. But the man-stealer was on his track. Brown had married and seven children in Maryland, whom he was desirous of rescuing from bondage. He had assumed the name of Russell, but a correspondence was commenced from Philadelphia in his real name, to his relatives in Maryland, who were, and they determined to be revenged still farther.

The thieves of Maryland had no longer any control over Brown, inasmuch as they had made it over to the thieves of New Orleans; but one of them appeared at Philadelphia, claiming Brown as his property. This is a favorite and hackneyed mode of seizing a victim. The villains knew full well that they had no right to claim the persecuted man as a murderer, for he had been tried and acquitted, and could not be tried again. But, if they had him once in their possession they could easily do privately what they could not do publically, and at least, they could compel him to return, or running away, and restore him to chains and bondage. Two bloodhounds appeared at the Magistrate's office in Philadelphia, claiming their victim. He was clapped into prison, but no warrant was informal, and on that ground he was released. Seizing the favorable moment, before the injured party could be recaptured, Brown was tracked by the man passing through New York. Rev. Mr. Young of that city kindly agreed to accompany the persecuted man to Canada.

Without the loss of a moment, they proceeded to Montreal, and laid the case before Lord Elgin, claiming that protection which it is the glory of British law to afford to the oppressed. But, if they had aid against, which, with other particulars, had been published in pamphlet form, were laid before Governor Gosselin, they met with a qualified assurance that the hunted man would not be surrendered to his persecutors. The appeal was not enough. Next day, two blood-seekers presented themselves before the Governor, and demanding the surrender of Brown, and, it is almost unnecessary to say, they met with a pointed refusal. Then, and now, this hunted man, his wife and seven children, who had also escaped, are in Canada, safe from the hands of the man-stealer. Some Americans, from ignorance of the law, may possibly give him up on a charge of murder, although this is not likely. However, to prevent it, we have to request our correspondents, as an act of justice and humanity, to hand around this paper of warning. Let it be said that there is a Republic in America, in the length and breadth of British North America so large and free, that it is not as to surrender a fellow-man into the hands of the relentless slaveholder.—*Toronto Banner, Sept. 17.*

CONVENTION IN SALEM, OHIO.

In an account of a large and very interesting Anti-Slave Convention in Salem, Ohio, the Bugle remarks:

The meeting here exceeded our expectations. 'The big tent' was well filled, and the audience as quiet and attentive as so large an audience could well be. Our friends Garrison and Douglass, were somewhat fatigued with their incessant labor for the past week, but their fine intellect and spirits. We have heard it said that this was the largest anti-slavery gathering ever convened in the county, but we do not believe it. The Whigs or Democrats of Columbiana can point to many of the assemblies which were equal to it in point of numbers. The Friends, and county people, those near by and those from abroad, came to the meeting to the eminence upon which the tent stood. The addresses and discussions in the Friends' Yearly Meeting held at the same place, had prepared the way for an interesting convention. Anti-Slavery feeling had been aroused, and the sympathies of at least a portion of the people had been awakened.

Right glad were we to see on the platform at the anti-slavery meeting, Joseph A. Dugdale and Lucretia Mott, who had been the most prominent agitators of the subject in the Quaker meeting. It has been the subject of much remark of late among a certain class of Quakers, that it is a right to be the name of Abolitionism without possessing its spirit or power. We don't like you Garrisonians; Quaker Mott, we should say, is an Abolitionist. Such will probably sing a different tune, when for she gave the people clearly to understand that she was identified with the Garrisonian movement, as it is called, was in fact a part of the movement herself. She took her stand on the platform beside Douglass, Garrison, Foster and other laborers in the cause, and gave evidence to the assembled thousands that she was one with them upon the great question of slavery, although she differed from some upon the Sabbath, a topic which she regarded as a more important branch of the enterprise than some others. She also bore a similar testimony to the Sabbath, and spoke much to the astonishment of the voting Quakers, as well perhaps, as of some others, denounced the Constitution of the United States as a pro-slavery document. On Sunday morning last, Lucretia Mott came forwork the anti-slavery meeting for that of the Friends, stating that Lucretia Mott would be there and probably that Lucretia Mott would be mistaken, for instead of going to the place of Christian worship, she was in 'the big tent,' preaching practical righteousness.

'It is easier to preach than to practice.'—*Old Maxim.*

ILLUSTRATION.—Beneath its benign sway peace and prosperity prevail. Freed from the burdens and miseries of war, our trade and intercourse have extended throughout the world. Mind no longer tasked in devising means to accomplish our ends, schemes of *ambition, usurpation or conquest*, is devoted to the arts of peace

POETRY.

From the Jamaica Morning Journal.

THE CAPTIVE SLAVE.

A POEM—BY WILLIAM CARTER.

A Captive Slave from Africa's land,
On the ocean wide was borne;
He left far his kindred band,
A parent's fate to mourn;
His hoary head was bent with age,
His soul no solace knew;
And none would thery his pangs assuage,
Amongst that lawless crew.

He sat upon the paltry deck,
A poor maltreated thing,
With arms stiff folded round his neck
Lash'd to an iron ring:
His meagre limbs were fetter'd fast,
And weak and sore were they,
His ghastly eye, uplifted, cast
A look of wild dismay.

And grief did writhe he wearied soul
Yet none his plaints would hear;
His moans were hushed by the ocean's growl,
Unheeded dropp'd the tear:
Th' assulting wave a batt'ry made
O' his feeble, paked frame;
That wretched man for mercy pray'd,
But ne'er a heart could tame.

Thus while the nimble barque her course
Did speed upon the wave,
The jocund crew a blasph'mous curse
To his entreaties gave;
The tips of age conspicuous gleam'd
O'er his unpillow'd head;
Yet reckless still his captors seem'd,
For rev'rence too had fled.

And as the fierce and bois'trous wind
Drove fast the waves along,
The Captive, as his fate resigned,
Beheld the billows strong,
That roll'd and dash'd their briny spray
O'er the distended sail:
Meanwhile the tott'ring barque her way
Swept fleeting through the gale.

Now dark and dismal night came on,
Spreading her sable veil;
The lightning's vivid torch anon
Flash'd from her gloomy trail:
Ah! at the dreary midnight hour,
The victim's plaintive tone
His anguish told—that with its pow'r
Could melt a heart of stone.

Twas so he passed the tristful night,
When terrors gap'd around;
E'en few those moments of delight,
When sank in sleep profound,
His soul, forgetful of its fear,
Did fit across the wave;
Did see Jov'd Afric's land appear,
Nor more 'the Captive Slave.'

Kind nature's nurse her visions drew,
To calm his troubled breast;
But they were transcs short and few,
In fancied colors drest;
Her fingers light his eye-lids sloved,
Which soon again she raised;
And ere his eyes had long reposed
They saw the world and gas'd.

Oh! how his burden's spirit then,
Embitter'd and forlorn,
Did wrestle with its anguish, when,
As he beheld the morn,
It pictured to his suffring mind,
Whilst glow'd the orb of day,
Lenagle's shores he left behind,
In all their bright array.

He thought then of the humble dome,
That gave him shelter there;
Of those who in that sev'r'd home,
Were pining in despair—
His wife, his sons, his daughters fond,
That cheer'd his lengthen'd years;
These made his parent heart despond,
And bath'd his eyes with tears.

A moment's pause my faithful Muse!
Thou scorn'st my boasts therefore,
My fal'ring lips their vigor lose,
And e'en my blood grows chill;
The lyre escapes my fingers' grasp,
That trembles as I play,
My harrass'd soul doth breathless gasp
With horror and dismay.

THE BEAUTIFUL LAND.

BY THOMAS MACKELLAR.

There is a land immortal,
The beautiful of lands;
Beside the ancient portal
A sentry grimly stands.
He only can undo it,
And open wide the door;
And mortals who pass through it
Are mortal never more.

That glorious land is heaven,
And Death the sentry grim
The Lord therefore has given
The opening keys to him;
And ransomed spirits, sighing
And sorrowful for sin,
Do pass the gate in dying,
And freely enter in.

Though dark and drear the passage
That leadeth to the gate,
Yet grace comes with the message,
To souls that watch and wait;
And at the time appointed,
A messenger comes down,
And leads the Lord's anointed,
From the cross to glory's crown.

Their sighs are lost in singing,
They're blessed in their sorrow;
Their journey heavenward winging,
They leave to earth their fears.
Death like an angel seemeth—
'We welcome thee,' they cry;
Their face with glory beameth—
'Tis life for them to die.

GIVE A TRIFLE.

BY D. C. COLESWORTHY.

It is a trifle—give's mill
To help the poor sloop.
'Tis not the amount—it is the will
That makes the virtue strong.

'I have but little,' never say,
'Twill not avail to give;'
A penny, if you give to day,
Will make the dying live.

It is the spirit, not the gold
Upon the waters cast—
That will return a hundred fold,
To cheer and bless at last.

Then give a trifle cheerfully
From out the little purse;
With interest it will come to thee,
When thou will need it more.

TO THE RAIN AFTER A DROUGHT.

Beautiful rain! thou art come at last,
Gladdening the earth and the souls of men;
The burning days are gone and past,
And Heaven hath opened its heart again.
We were weary of gazing on changeless skies,
On withered flowers, and the parched-up plain,
But the clouds are pouring our eager eyes,
And we bid thee welcome, oh, beautiful rain!

MISCELLANY.

RESUSCITATION OF THE DROWNED.

The vulgar method of rolling drowned persons on barrels, and other equally absurd methods of restoring suspended animation, no doubt more frequently kills than cures. Dr. Mott, of the American Ship-wreck Society, gives the following directions, which cannot be too extensively promulgated:

As soon as the body is removed from the water, press the chest gently and steadily downward and backward, and instantly discontinue the pressure. Repeat this without intermission until a pair of common bellows can be procured; (very well mined, introduce one nozzle well upon the base of the tongue. Surround the mouth with a towel or handkerchief—close it. Direct a bystander to press firmly on the projecting part of the neck, called Adam's apple, and use the bellows actively. Then press upon the chest to expel the air from the lungs —to imitate natural breathing. Continue this an hour at least, until signs of natural breathing come on. Wrap the body in warm blankets and place it near the fire, and do every thing to preserve the natural warmth, as well as to impart artificial heat, if possible. Avoid all friction until respiration shall be in some degree established.

MR. DICKINSON'S TYPE FOUNDRY.

To the following just and well-merited tribute to the enterprise and ability of Mr. Dickinson, which we copy from the Boston Journal, we most heartily subscribe.

TYPE FOUNDRY.—We have already more than once referred to the Boston Type and Stereotype Foundry established by Mr. S. N. Dickinson in this city, and have taken occasion to speak in terms of commendation of his enterprise and success in introducing the Scotch method of cutting type, which had previously been unknown here, but which finds much favor with printers. Mr. Dickinson is well known for his practical skill, and devotion to his business as a printer for many years. He has done more to improve the style of printing than any other individual—and has invested a large capital in carrying on the business on a large scale. It is understood that he is about to relinquish the management of his business, henceforward, and devote all his energies to his Foundry—in which we have no doubt he will be as successful in devising and casting new and beautiful specimens of type for all kinds of printing work, as in improving the book, newspaper and job printing business, to to which branch he has devoted so many years.

MECHANICS' FAIR.

In the wooden building outside, the magnificent railroad car, recently manufactured by Messrs Davenport and Bridges, of Cambridgeport, excited great admiration. It is forty feet long, and three wide, resting on newly invented springs, with horizontal action, which free the cars from all strain in passing curves, and from all jarring from any other cause of interruption. The passenger, even when going at the most rapid speed, may read in the car as comfortably as if he were in his own parlor. The doors, seats, and interior sides are made of rosewood, and the floor of white maple and black walnut, inlaid. The seats (for sixty passengers) are covered with violet colored plush; they are forty inches in width, and have two inches more knee-play than is usually allowed. At each end is fixed a solar lamp, and over the doors are registers, which indicate the name of the town at which the train will stop next. There are also stuffed cushions between the windows, and pegs for hats, umbrellas, &c., and three rows of Emerson's patent ventilators. The car has been purchased by the Fitchburg Railroad Company, for three thousand dollars.—*Post.*

WHAT THE INSTILLED VEST OF ENLISTING.

A letter-writing recruit from the army, at the seat of war, addressing his friends, at home, concloses his letter by saying, 'I a man ever asks you to enlist, knock him down with a club.' Poor fellow! This anecdote, by the by, reminds us of one the incidents of which are similar, though having reference to a different kind of enlistment. A gentleman travelling in the West came to a town which was pretty much the Sodom of Texas. Entering the bar-room in the only inn in the place, he spied a discontented looking little fellow leaning on his hands and eyeing the fire most ruefully. The traveller learned afterward that the unhappy looking villager had been a great politician, and had gone his death for 'Polk and Dallas,' under whose triumphant auspices he had hoped to get the Post Office of the village for his services. But, though often and strongly promised, he had never succeeded. This made him reflective, and rather regretful; and he had begun to repent his recent zeal. In order to draw him out, one of the bystanders said, 'Well, I voted for Mr. Polk, my boy, and ain't ashamed to own it.' Whereupon the traveller remarked, 'Well, then *I did not.*' At this, slowly uprose the little logic-throne villager, and joyfuriously whispering in the ear of the new comer, said—

'*Didn't* you vote for Polk, though?'

'Certainly not, I'm sorry to say.'

'Will you just do me a slight favor, sir?' pursued the disappointed office-seeker.

'Certainly,' was the answer of the stranger.

'If I can!'

'Well, then; just look here! Just be so good as to take me out behind the town, then, and give me a good licking—will you?'—*Express.*

OUTRAGES ON THE RIO GRAND.

The Flag of the 14th, gives the following details of brutal outrages committed by men in the uniform of American cavalry soldiers:

About 2 o'clock in the night of the 12th inst., a party of 12 Americans, mounted, armed and equipped as our volunteer cavalry, rode into the Rancho of Solicena, about eight leagues distant from this city, the inhabitants of which are in daily intercourse with us, and have for years been accustomed to ing for arms, entered the dwellings and perpetrated outrages of every imaginable kind. The men were abused and forced to flee from their houses, the women were insulted, their jewelry and trinkets taken from them, and every dwelling robbed of what money could be found. On Mexican, who has made a report to the board of alcalde of this city states his loss at $150—money that he had received from the sale of wood to steamboats.

Several other ranchos were visited by this party during the same night, but the inhabitants were forewarned of their approach, and fled to the woods with every thing valuable they possessed—few of them have yet ventured to return.

From the rancho of Guadalouge, only three leagues from here, the inhabitants have likewise fled and dare not venture to return until some protection is afforded them.

A few days previous to these occurrences, a similar body of men conducted by two Mexicans, visited the ranchos of Larin and Guadarrel Tijo, and even worse crimes. Fears of still more serious consequences to themselves, should they report the offenders to the authorities, have induced the Mexicans to bear their wrongs in silence—hence the reason so many days elapsed without the mention being made of it.

A BATTLE GROUND. One of the Massachusetts Regiment of Volunteers, writing from Matamoras, thus describes the present appearance of the field, battle-grounds between our troops and the Mexicans:

'I visited, yesterday, Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. At Palo Alto, along where the Mexican line was, there are quite a few graves, large piles of bones, lying where they fell, with parts of uniforms attached to them—cantenes, caps, and all kind of equipments, decaying together. The Americans were all buried.

Resaca is worth seeing, as it is where the hardest fight was. The fighting was in the road, in a ravine, and on both sides there is chaparral. All through the chaparral are strewed shoes, hats, all kinds of implements of warfare, and the trees are torn with cannon balls. In one tree I should think there were twenty musket balls—some have been cut out by visitors. Through the whole woods are graves—in some instances there are 150 Mexicans in one grave. I think Resaca is the best place an one may could have chosen for a decisive stand; and how they were driven from it, it is hardly possible to conceive.'

SANTA ANNA'S STORY.

We copy from the *Washington Union* of Tuesday the following abstract of Santa Anna's account of the late battles, and declarations of his future intentions:

Gen. Santa Anna commences his manifesto, announcing to the Mexican people the armistice which he had concluded with Gen. Scott, by saying that the events of the 13th and 20 are already too notorious, because they were unfortunate. He then adverts to the extraordinary exertions which he had used to raise and organize an army of more than 20,000 men, and provide supplies for them, and to construct lines of fortifications. His plan of defence, he says, was evident from a glance at the well-fortified position at the disposition of his troops; but in war, an accident apparently insignificant may frustrate the most skilful combinations. On the 18th, at 11 o'clock in the morning, he ordered a general who commanded a division of 5,000 men and 24 pieces of artillery, to fall back on the village of Cerquesco, for the purpose of effecting a concentration of forces, in consequence of a movement of the enemy.

But this general, forgetting that there could not be two commanders in chief, disobeyed, contrarious to object to the order; and, instead of falling back, advanced; and the first news that he (Santa Anna) had of this unfortunate movement was the report of cannon, showing that an engagement had commenced. With a fatal presentiment of the consequences, he immediately placed himself at the head of a brilliant body of four thousand men and five pieces of artillery, and proceeded to the support of the general, but arrived too late. The enemy had interposed his force between them; and the night coming on, and the rain falling in torrents, he was compelled to retire. He, however, sent an order by an aide-de-camp to the refractory general, (whose name he does not mention,) and he had hardly put himself in motion when the enemy made his attack, and in ten minutes the general was routed. The consequences of this, he says, were terrible; the army could, by a rapid movement, reach the Capital before it was possible for him to succor it, or night fall with the whole body of the enemy's force on the Mexican army. An engagement did take place between their respective advanced corps, and Santa Anna says that his exertions cost the enemy not a little blood, and that he succeeded in placing himself in a position to save the Capital; but, upon receiving a communication from Gen. Scott proposing an armistice, he consented to accede to it. He then touches upon the propriety of an armistice in the abstract, and concludes by saying that if the present armistice shall be successful, it will be his great wish to extend. He is still, he says, at the head of a respectable body of troops, and the nation will support him in maintaining its honor and independence, by crushing the disorganizers, factious and seditious opposition to the supreme authority.

ENORMOUS EXPENDITURE.

The U. S. Government has expended within the last year and a half, the sum of $7,000,000 more than its receipts for the same time.

Working men! remember that this enormous outlay for war and slavery, will come from your pockets, and is a burden upon your shoulders, as really as if you had to pay it all yourselves, you instead of being purloined from you by the cunning device of duties and customs. The burdens of war are always yours—the profits of war are always gulli-ble. The profits of war are a mere gulli-ble. The profits of war are a mere gulli-ble. The profits of war are a mere