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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1849.

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WHOLE NO. 990.

Refuge of Oppression.

From the Washington Union.

REMARKS OF MR. H. W. HILLIARD, OF ALABAMA,

In the House of Representatives, Dec. 12, 1849, in regard to Slavery and the Union.

Mr. Hilliard said—The gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Adams, who has just resumed his seat, affects to disregard the declarations which several gentlemen have made to-day in this hall, in relation to the present position to which the government is to be placed—not on the ground that they have spoken now hastily, or in the heat of passion; and he treats this under the influence of passion; and he treats this impressive occasion with unbecoming levity, in likening the impressive burst of feeling which has arisen from time to time in the course of this debate, to a mere interrupted the course of this debate, to the contrived applause which brought one of Gallmin's contrived plays into notice. A calmer mind than that of the gentleman from Massachusetts, never addressed his fellow-citizens, which has so unexpectedly been called upon for discussion; and I say, in his behalf, and in the whole House, that the *Union of these States is a great peril*. It has been precipitated into the Union by an utter oblivion, on the part of gentlemen representing the non-slaveholding States, of the fearful danger of the people of the Southern portion of this confederacy, in regard to the threatened encroachments on their rights. I have never known, throughout the entire Southern country, so settled and deep a feeling upon the subject, to which I have referred—the attempt to exclude slavery from the territories of the United States—as it now exists there. And I solemnly declare, speaking from a thorough acquaintance with that people, a people among whom I was born and have been brought up—that if this legislation is to be persisted in, you, I, even your sons, are lost. The gentleman (Mr. Allen) says that the Union is no danger; that the gentlemen who have announced it as imminent could not even move one of the marble columns which support this hall; yet I would remind him that the hand of a child may fling a torch into a temple which will reduce the magnificent structures to ashes! He and his associates are heaping combustible materials against the lofty columns of this Union, which is the hand of a child may at any time fire. It is the fire of every true friend of the Union to speak out; yet it is to be rescued from the perils which invest it, it must be done by a manly, truthful, bold declaration of the sentiments of the Southern people.

I employ no threatening language. I know too well what is due to others from what I feel to be due to myself, to use any other language than such as I deem sincere to use towards myself. I address gentlemen who can comprehend elevated considerations, and who will act under the promptings of such elements of this solemn conjuncture. In speaking for the people who have once more honored me with their confidence in sending me here to represent them, I feel it to be my duty to say, that while they cherish a profound attachment to the Union, they will never submit to any legislation which places their State in an inferior relation to other States of this great confederacy. They will never hesitate when the choice comes to be made between honor and dishonor. They would regard a dissolution of the Union as a calamity—a calamity too great to be estimated; but they would esteem subjection to legislation, which would deprive them of their rights and degrades them, as a still greater calamity. For my own part, I have never admired a phrase, which has become common of late, that we shall be compelled to calculate the value of the Union.

The value of the Union which binds these States together is incalculable; its priceless value defies all the ordinary methods of computation; it is consecrated by battles, and triumphs, and glories, which belong to the past; it embraces a people of kindred blood scattered throughout these States, speaking the same language, and holding the same religious faith; it seems to us unmeasurable blessings; it looks forward to a future still more prosperous and more glorious than the past. But though all this be so, it may be dissolved, and will be, unless the measures which some gentlemen in this hall seem so resolute to press are at once arrested. A brave, generous, high-spirited people, who comprehend their rights, who know how important it is for their defence to resist the first encroachment of tyranny, in whatever shape it may come, will, under the pressure of a long continued wrong, break off an alliance which employs the machinery of a common government against them, without pausing to cast up its value. This is a government of compromise, of mutual concession. When the soul of the Union is fled, how can it longer survive? When the fraternal affection which is the cementer in willing association of kindred, what gindle can be thrown around these States strong enough to bind them? It is of no avail that you talk of a future of convulsion and blood which lies beyond the hour of our separation. Any thing is to be preferred to an ignominious submission to tyranny—tyranny which revels in the mere wantonness of its strength. Men resign life rather than submit to that which rids life of its value. I appeal to the friends of the Union. I may well ask myself to be one of them. In the extreme struggle which I foresee last summer, I bore in my hand that banner which the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. McDowell) described in that eloquent speech by which we were all so much moved at the last session. I bore that great banner in triumph. I spoke for the Union. I urged you the people who gathered about me, and heard my eloquence, I asserted that we should rest in the form of the government for protection until we found Union insufficient barriers. I vindicated the people of the Northern States, and did not hesitate to declare that it was my belief the unjust legislation in regard to the government of the territories of the U. S., which had been throughout and against which they were so indignant, would never be consummated. Now, then, gentlemen, I appeal to you! I call on you for forbearance; and I solemnly declare to you, that it rests with you to save the government from the perils which surround it. Upon you will rest the responsibility of selling this great question. The people of these States, the civilized world, and the God of the universe, will hold you responsible for the consequences. It is in your power to restore harmony to our system, to save our country from the dangers upon which it is driving; and you can do it without a single sacrifice. The Wilmot Proviso, as it is styled by those who have sought to present that measure on this floor—the Wilmot Proviso, which seeks to exclude the citizens of the slaveholding States from California and New Mexico, has not a single principle to recommend it. It rests neither upon generosity, nor justice, nor constitution. It is a law, and it asserts a doctrine which will not be tolerated for a single moment, if applied to the ordinary transactions of life, in any part of the civilized world.

Let me remind you of the relations which we hold to this threatening question. Your policy is *aggressive*, ours is *defensive*. You seize the machinery of the government, and turn it against us. We ask you to forbear, and to leave us in the enjoyment of whatever rights we may possess. It is in your power to save the Union; it is in your power to destroy it. Carry out the measures with which you threaten us, and it will then be too late to save it. You cannot keep down the elements which will heave beneath the government which to-day displays its glorious proportions to the world. The internal fires of the earth cannot be kept down by the weight of the mountains which press them; they will flame up. Nor is there strength enough in this government to keep down the feeling which the consummation of the injustice you contemplate will rouse throughout the whole Southern country.

You have heard Virginia speak through her legislature; Alabama has passed her resolutions in solemn form; and I speak for my constituents, speaking like the rush of her own great waters. I feel at liberty to speak out plainly. I have been charged with being too impassioned—with having spoken from my attachment to the Union. That I was ready to surrender the rights of the South I have said. I do not regret a single exertion which I have made in behalf of the Union. If I can now do any thing towards averting impending calamities, I shall gladly do it. But I can go no further. If, having eyes, you refuse to see, and having ears, if you refuse to hear, I tell you will not regard the remonstrances of a people now thoroughly roused by the injustice measures with which they are threatened, and will be made to stand with the people of that oppressed section of the Union, in resistance to your measures and your power. You have the majority: but the will of a majority cannot disturb the great principles of the Constitution, nor can it interpret the Constitution. When the power of the majority transcends the limits of the Constitution, it ceases to be law, and becomes usurpation.

The people of the State of Alabama look to this Congress with the deepest interest. They will hail with joy the triumph of a patriotic and magnanimous policy; but if other counsels prevail, and your legislation should be so misguided as to deprive them of rights which they hold dear, they will, I believe, throw off the authority of a government which has ceased to answer the ends for which it was created.

I still hope that the chord of Union will not be thrown at this moment will pass away, and that our country will go forward in its glorious career, enjoying the highest internal prosperity, and giving to the world the noble example that has ever been furnished of liberty and order, of strength and tranquillity.

Selections.

From the N. H. Independent Democrat.

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

To one who considers what slavery is, and how it paralyzes everything it touches, even the mind of the slaveholder itself, there is nothing can be more ridiculous than the wordy bravado with which the champions, in and out of Congress, seek to frighten the people into submission to their slavery demands. To hear these chivalrous gentlemen talk, a stranger would imagine that everything noble, manly and brave had its inspiration in and was bestirred to die with human slavery. For this and by this alone, all political institutions in America live and have their being. Hence, whenever a word is uttered or a movement made, disrespectful to this 'peculiar institution,' straight up start these knight errants of oppression, and threaten the political universe with destruction, if they can not, by this system of and eternize the mightiest wrong the earth bears up, as universally admitted, and sealed anew with new covenants by all creeds. Hitherto this system of tactics has answered the highest expectations of those who rely upon it. Again and again the North has been induced to yield. Again and again has the accursed whip of chaps and chains been stretched over new lands, before nutred by a slave.

At length, time passes on, and a new spirit is awakened. Men begin to inquire into the right of slavery; or rather its wrongs. They ask anxiously where shall be the end of all this? When shall the encroachment and aggression end? They begin to look to see the good which this 'God-ordained institution' hath wrought. They look in vain. In place of good they see evil. They trace its progress everywhere by the desolation it leaves in its path. On every soil cursed with its presence, they see standing and growing by its side ignorance, brutishness, and crime. Industry, science, art and education flee before it; while the moral virtues have no more any place left for them. No wonder that good men cannot look upon a system producing such fruits but with abhorrence. No wonder that all men who love virtue and their race, should desire and demand that the dayed its power be numbered. This, for a few years past, they have been aiming to do. In our own land and in all christian lands, the cry against slavery has been heard. The American slaveholders have been startled by this cry. It has come to them from the churches, the pulpits and the presses of the North; and its voice has sounded in their ears, million-tongued, across the ocean. Louder and longer and deeper does it still sound, 'Let my people go.'

Instead, however, of yielding to the pressure that is above and around them; instead of repenting of the great wrong of which they are guilty before God and the world, our slaveholders have hardened more frantically to their accursed system. Not content to be let alone to hug their wrong as long and as closely as they will, they insist on forcing it upon new lands, and among those who hate and loathe it. Nay, they demand that those who thus hate it, shall help them to plant it upon soil which God and nature have, thus far, since the creation, kept free. And they will not be said nay. They tell us, unless we will do it, unless we will forswear all the principles of our fathers, and baptize our souls in the blood and guilt of the most grinding despotism that ever crushed man, they will no longer be part and parcel of our confederacy; they will dig a deep ditch and build a high wall between themselves and us forever!

Well, if such is the determination of our Southern 'allies,' it is well that we should know it. If our Union can only exist by the cement of human slavery, it is desirable that the fact be understood. If the freemen of the North are bound forever to the cause of a bretalizing despotism, which denies the humanity of millions of our race, they should know the price of the cord that binds them. Our slaveholding friends do right in telling us the conditions of the Union. If such is the 'condition,' we are free to say we prefer to see it broken. It is 'better in the breach than in the observance.'

But before proceeding to cancel 'the bond,' it may be well for the 'cancellors' to consider carefully 'their latter end.' Can they by dissolving the Union release land slavery from the liability ever sensible Southern man believes they can. What then is the South to gain? For, to suppose that they will dissolve the Union without the hope of bettering their condition, is to suppose them idiots or madmen. They are neither. They have really no such intention. Not an intelligent man at the South but knows that the Union is the only guaranty for the preservation of slavery where it now is. While that lasts, the people of the free States are constitutionally bound to protect the South, even in upholding an institution they in it very souls abhor. Dissolve the Union, and all these obligations are gone forever, and the free States become the asylum for fugitive slaves. By thousands and tens of thousands they will cross the line to escape the clutches of tyranny. Excite the hopes of the slave, the Union will be to the panting fugitive a 'city of refuge,' from which no slave hunter can take him back to bondage.

Nay, more. Dissolve the Union, and the slaves of the border States would rise in a body, and leave their oppressors as the Children of Israel left the Egyptians; while those of South Carolina and another of the interior slave States where they greatly outnumber the whites, would fight their way to freedom over the smoking cities and slain bodies of their masters. The iron yoke which now bows them to the earth would be tossed to the winds, and they stand up in all the barbaric ferocity of their ancestors in Africa. Give the negro a chance, and he will assert his rights, as Southerners and Northern men have done in times past. Crushed though he has been for ages, he has a manhood which but awaits its hour to make itself felt and acknowledged. But it is not to be expected that the South will, even now, clasps in chains at the South. The best and laughiest blood of the chivalry is also enslaved. The Irish, the Huguenot and the Saxon have been mixed with that of the stolen princes of Africa. Half, perhaps three-fourths of all the slaves of the South have European and American blood in their veins. Think ye such men always be slaves? Will they not rather seize the first opportunity to strike down their oppressors, and raise themselves up to the dignity of God-created men?

The sentiment of the world is against slavery. In all Christian nations, even, it is already abolished. Even the Bey of Tunis has pronounced the system accursed, and has forbidden it in all his dominions. Nowhere abroad could the South look for assistance in the struggle which must come between the enslavers and the enslaved. What the fate of slavery would be, needs no prophet to foretell. The fate of those who now rot in the wealth of sinews bought and sold, we shudder to contemplate. We pray Heaven it may be long ere the historian shall be called to write the horrors of that tragedy. But in future event is more certain than that disunion will be the end of slavery and the destruction of the whole race of slaveholders at the South. Separated from the North, the Cotton States cannot sustain an independent confederacy. The masses of even the white population there are not sufficiently intelligent and moral to maintain a republican government. No slaveholding community ever can be. Unaided from without, it must ever vibrate between the violence of anarchy and despotism. The free States can not have its home where one half of the population are slaves to the other.

But, I hope, they will be in earnest when she talks of dissolution? Has madness seized her public men, that they mean seriously to rush on destruction? Believe it who can. We do not. The Southern politicians see what we see, and that all men may see, that the Union is their last anchor, their only salvation from the fearful dangers with which they are surrounded. This talk of dissolution is nothing but talk, by which they hope to secure their favorite project of extending slavery. It *talk* will do it, slavery will be extended. If talk will do it, the North will be driven from all her principles. If talk will do it, the South will continue to rule this country as she has always ruled it, and made it the prerogative of the great system of tyranny the sun shines on. But *her talk* will never dissolve the Union.

From the Boston Courier.

SOUTHERN RETALIATION.

If we are rightly informed by the newspapers of the South, an attempt is about to be made in the State of Georgia to enact an embargo and non-importation law against Northern commodities and Northern manufactures in that state. It appears that a bill has been introduced into the legislature of Georgia, accompanied by a set of resolutions, which, if adopted, will at once plunge exhibit the full virtues of a patent medicine by carrying off the disease—and the patient along with it. Southern gentlemen are in a dilemma. When it invents a remedy for an evil, it commonly goes to work in the style of the Irishman, who sat on the outer end of a branch where he was sawing off the inner end. We are prepared to say that we believe our neighbors of Georgia are actually and resolutely bent on the undertaking of which we have spoken, and the spectators of the contest may be amused to witness the style in which the wise men who inhabit that wise and high-minded, world, the Georgian State, are going to set about what is to cut them off from the great trunk of the Union tree.

The bill which has been brought forward in the legislature of Georgia provides that a tax shall be levied of fifty per cent. upon all citizens of Georgia buying or selling articles grown or manufactured in the free States. It provides also that any merchant who shall refuse to make return of such articles so as to avoid paying the tax, shall forfeit double their value, and be confined at hard labor for one year. It further requires all the civil officers to compel every person making a return of his or her taxable property to make out that neither he nor she, nor his or her family, have spent fifteen dollars in any one year in a free State, since the passage of this act; if they refuse to make such oath, they shall be subject to pay fifty-fold tax!

The same act forever disqualifies the lawyers of Georgia from practising at the bar of that State, unless they make and keep an oath to prosecute to the utmost extremity, in the courts of that State, on behalf of a resident of a free State. Furthermore it is declared, that this act shall continue to be in force, until all the fugitives or abducted slaves that have taken refuge in any of the non-slaveholding States shall be delivered up to their owner or owners, and ample security given to the slaveholding States of the United States, that their right to hold slaves, and carry them with them to any territory or new State of the United States, shall never be in future infringed, impaired or questioned by any member of Congress, under the pain of expulsion.

A most charming, comfortable and delightful condition the Georgians will be in, after the enactment of this law! How exceedingly pleasant, to pay three shillings for a book to read, when you can obtain the two shillings—and to find their toes pinched by a 'protective tariff' of fifty per cent. on shoe-leather! Georgia must be well worth living in, under such a paternal government. The profession against spending fifteen days in freedom is quite superfluous. No Georgian would wish to set foot out of his own favored land, where 'confinement at hard labor' is so nearly earned. What mortal would value the luxury of passing a fortnight and a day free from yellow fever and mosquitoes, when there is no prosecuting attorney, no government, hard labor, reputation, &c., to be enjoyed at home? We say nothing of making the lawyers swear not to prosecute—is too well and excellent a scheme to need any praise from us, and its effect on trade in Georgia, when her merchants come this way to buy goods on credit, must be admirable. What a fine thing it is to have a head-piece!

No reasonable man, we imagine, will object, if Georgia desires to keep some of herself. Let her be a 'Chinese wall,' and welcome. She will soon discover whether the barbarians are outside or inside. Let her be a Chinese wall, and shut up her inhabitants, and all the population into confinement at hard labor for default of payment. Nobody in this quarter would be at the trouble to prevent her. We have a strong idea of opinion that it would do much good. Nine-tenths of the varying and bluster at the South arise from the want of something better to do. Disunion would be a great remedy for the vapors, and the more serious mischief that Satan finds for idle hands. Let the Georgians, therefore, go to hard labor, by all means; voluntary, if possible, but labor, at any rate.

The sagacity and excellent good sense with which this beautiful taxing, restrictive, imprisoning and prohibiting system is to be made as perpetual as the everlasting hills, or the wisdom of Georgia legislation, must strike every one. This act is to continue in force until, among other things, 'ample security' is given that the right to carry slaves anywhere and everywhere shall not be questioned by any member of Congress! Who will say that Georgia is not a perfect model of discretion and modesty! We should like to see the bond which is to be given in lieu of the 'ample security.' We are afraid it would take more than fifteen days residence among civilized men to grin it a responsible endorser.

We say again to Georgia—try it—pass your law—lay on your embargo, and tax away. You cannot do a too quick thing for us. The time which end of the Union will enjoy the sport the best. There is nothing like giving a man rope enough to hang himself. The sooner the Union and the whole thing is probably a sham. It is supposed that the North will be frightened by these doughty demonstrations, and believe something which it does not believe. If our Georgia neighbors wish to know what we care for such stuff, we answer—nothing at all. Southern threats against the North amount to just nothing. 'Sparrows must fired against a bastion,' says my Uncle Toby. However, if our neighbors like the exercise, let them fire away—but be careful to pay for their own powder.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF SEPARATE COLORED SCHOOLS.

Argument of Charles Sumner, Esq. *in the case of Sarah C. Roberts vs. the City of Boston, in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, Dec. 4, 1849.*

May it please your Honors:

Can any discrimination, on account of color or race, be made, under the Constitution and Laws of Massachusetts, among the children of the Commonwealth, in the common school? This is the question which the Court is now to hear, to consider, and to decide.

Or, stating the question with more detail, and with a more particular application, to the facts of the present case, are the Committee, having the superintendence of the public schools of Boston, empowered, by the *power*, under the constitution and laws of Massachusetts, to exclude colored children from these schools, and to compel them to resort to other schools, set apart for colored children, and to separate schools, set apart for colored children only, at distances from their home less convenient than those open to white children?

This important question arises in an action by a colored child, only five years old, who, by her next friend, sues the city of Boston for damages, on account of a refusal to receive her into one of the public schools.

It would be difficult to imagine any case in which could appeal more strongly to your love of justice, whether you regard the parties or the subject. On the one side is the city of Boston, strong in its wealth, in its influence, in its character; on the other side is a little child of degraded color, of humble parents, still within the period of natural infancy, but strong from her weakness, and from the irrepressible sympathies of good men, which, in divine compensation, come to succor the weak. This little child asks, at your hands her *personal rights*. In doing, she calls upon you to decide a question which concerns the personal rights of other colored children; which concerns the constitution and laws of the Common-wealth; which concerns that peculiar institution of New England, the common schools; which concerns the fundamental principles of human rights; which concerns the Christian character of this community. Such parties, such interests, so grand and various, may justly challenge your most earnest attention.

Though this discussion is held in a court of justice, and before a judicial tribunal, it is no stranger to the public. For five years it has been an occasion of discord to the School Committee; it has filled four different reports, and two minority reports—forming pamphlets of solid dimensions—devoted to this question, have been made to this Committee, and have been published. The opinions of learned counsel have been enlisted in the cause. The controversy, leaving these regular channels, has overflowed into the public prints, and numerous letters have appeared, espousing opposite sides. All at it has reached this tribunal. It is in your power to cause it to be submitted ever.

Forgetting many of the details, and all of the heats which have heretofore mingled with the controversy, I shall strive to present the question in its judicial light, as becomes the bench of this tribunal. It is a question of jurisprudence on which you are to give judgment. But I cannot forget that the principles of morals and of natural justice lie at the foundation of all jurisprudence. Nor can any reference to these be inappropriate in a discussion before this Court.

The great principle which is involved in this case, I shall first exhibit in the Constitution of Massachusetts, next in the legislation, and then in the judicial decisions. I shall then consider the special provisions of this case, and show that the violation of the Constitution and laws, by the School Committee of Boston, answering, before I close, some of the grounds on which the contrary conduct has been indicated.

I. I begin with the principle, that, according to the spirit of American institutions, and especially of the Constitution of Massachusetts, there is no recognized *distinction of color or race, are equal before the law.*

I might, perhaps, leave this proposition without one word of comment. The equality of men will not be directly denied on this occasion, and yet it has been so often assailed of late, that I trust I shall not seem to occupy your time superfluously in endeavoring to establish and vindicate it. The doctrine of *Political Philosophy*, (Part 2, chap. 4,) have characterized equality as impossible and absurd. If they had chosen to comprehend the true origin and application of the term, as employed on such occasions, something, if not all the force of their objections, would have been removed. That we are better appreciates its character and its limitations, let me develope with some care the origin and growth of this sentiment, until it finally ripened into a formula of civil and political right.

The sentiment of equality among men was early cherished by generous souls. It showed itself in the dreams of ancient philosophy. It was declared by Seneca; when writing to a friend, in a letter of consolation on death, he said, *Prima enim pars Æquitatis est Æquitatis.* (Epist. 90.) The first part of Equity is Equity. This sentiment was rendered more practical in the truths of the Christian religion. Here we learn that God is no respecter of persons; that he is the father of all; and that all are his children, and brothers to each other. When the Saviour taught the Lord's prayer, he taught the sublime doctrine of the Brotherhood of mankind, enfolding the Fatherhood of God.

Slowly did this sentiment enter the *State*. The whole constitution of government in modern times was founded on the principle of an hereditary monarchy and order of nobility, and the complex ranks of superiors and inferiors established by the feudal system, all declared, by the equality, the rights of man. Long and they all conspired to perpetuate this inequality. Every infant of royal blood, every noble, every vassal, was a proof and example, that, whatever might be the truths of religion, or the sentiments of the heart, men living under these institutions were not born equal.

The boldest political reformers of early times did not venture to publish this truth; nor did they truly perceive it. Cromwell beheaded his king, but caused the supreme power to be secured in hereditary succession to his eldest son. It was left to John Milton, in poetic vision, to be entranced—

With fair Equality, fraternal state.

Sidney, who perished a martyr to liberal sentiments, drew his inspiration from the classic, and not from the Christian fountains. The examples of Greece and Rome fed his soul. The Revolution of 1688, partly by force and partly by the popular voice, brought a foreigner to the crown of Great Britain, and the establishment, according to the boast of lawyers, of the Revolution of the freedom of the land. But the Bill of Rights did not declare, nor did the genius of Somers or Maynard conceive the political axiom, that all men are born equal. It was full a century in our day from the publication in England, but it is disowned by English institutions.

It is to France that we must pass for the earliest development of this idea of political institutions, and for its most complete, accurate, and logical expression. In the middle of the last century appeared the renowned *Encyclopedie*, edited by D'Alembert and Diderot. This remarkable production, where science, religion and government were all discussed with a revolutionary freedom, contained the idea of Equality, which was published in 1755. Here we find one boldest expression which had then been given to this sentiment. "Natural Equality," says the Encyclopedie, 'is that which exists between all men by the constitution of their nature only. This Equality is the principle and the foundation of liberty. Natural equality is then founded upon the constitution of human nature, common to all men, who are born, grow, subsist and die in the same manner. Since human nature finds itself the same in all men, it is clear, that according to nature's law, each ought to esteem and treat the others as beings who are naturally equal to himself; that is to say, who are men as well as himself." It is then remarked, that political and civil slavery is in violation of this equality; and that it is a violation of the principles of nobility in the State. Alluding to these, it is simply said, that those who are most elevated above others, ought to treat their inferiors as men of the same rank, equals, shunning all outrage, and demanding nothing beyond what is due, and demanding with humanity that which is most incontestably their due.

When we consider the period at which this article was written, we shall be astonished less at its incongruoteness and vagueness, than by its bravery and generosity. The dissolute despotism of Louis XV. overshadowed France. Selfish nobles and fawning courtiers filled the remaining spaces. The principles of government were controlled by royal mistresses. Only a few years before, in 1751, the King, Louis, had established the Royal Society of Medicine, and, in defiance of the principles of equality—but in entire harmony with the conduct of the School Committee in Boston—a military school, *for nobles only*, carrying into education the distinctions of Caste. At such a period, the Encyclopedie did well in uttering such important and effective truth. The *sentiment* of equality was here fully declared. Nor could it be expected that at that day it should be adequately perceived, that it should dare to utter, our axiom of liberty, that all men are born equal in civil and political rights.

It is thus with the history of all moral and political ideas. First appearing merely as a sentiment, they minister those who receive them, with a sublime enjoyment, and with generous sympathies, and encouraging them to congenial efforts. Slowly recognized, they finally pass into a formula to be authoritatively, to be applied, to be defended in the concerns of life.

Almost contemporaneously with the article in the Encyclopedia, our attention is arrested by a solitary person, of humble extraction, born in Geneva, in Switzerland, of irregular education and life, a wanderer from his kindred, and a dependent upon the bounty of a lady, in France,—a man of audacious genius, who set at nought the received opinions of mankind, Jean Jacques Rousseau. This strange person, before the public was by the eccentric *Essay on the Origin of Inequality among Men*, in which he sustained the proposition, that men are born in a state of nature, in a state of equality, before the rise of civilization. This was followed by a later work, the *Contrat Social*. In both of these productions, the sentiment of equality was developed, and the abuses of society, and language was employed going far beyond equality in civil and political rights. The conspicuous position that has been given to this Genevese wanderer, and the influence which they have exerted in diffusing this sentiment, make it proper to refer to them on this occasion; but the science of government in his proposition renders him an uncertain guide.

The French Revolution was now at hand. This great movement for enfranchisement was the expression of this sentiment. Here it received a distinct and authoritative enunciation. In the constitutions of government which were successively adopted, and in the throes of bloody struggles, the equality of men was constantly proclaimed. Kings, nobles, and all distinctions of birth passed away before this mighty and triumphant truth.

Look at these Constitutions, and see at once the grandeur of the principle and the manner in which it was illustrated. The Constitution of 1791 begins in its first article as follows: 'Men are born and continue free and *equal in their rights*.' In its sixth article it says: 'The law is the expression of the equality of all. It ought to be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes.' *All citizens being equal in its eyes, are equally admissible to all dignities, places, and employments, according to their capacities, and without other distinction than their virtues and talents.*' At the close of the Declaration of Rights, there is this further declaration of principle: 'The National Assembly, wishing to establish the French Constitution on principles which it has just acknowledged and declared, *abolishes irrevocably the institutions which were offensive to liberty and equality of rights.* There is no longer, neither nobility, nor peerage, nor hereditary distinctions, nor distinctions of birth, nor feudal rights, nor patrimonial justices, nor any titles, nor any denomination and prerogatives, which were thence derived, nor any order of chivalry, nor any corporations, or decorations, for which proofs of nobility are required, or which supposed distinctions of birth, or which imply an hereditary right of public functionaries in the discharge of their functions. Article 2d: *No longer, for any part of the nation, nor for any individual, any privilege or exception to the law, common to all Frenchmen.*'—*Moniteur*, 1791, p. 230.

In fitful mood, another Declaration of Rights was brought forward by Condorcet, Feb. 15, 1793. Here also are fresh inculcations of the equality of men. Article 1st places Equality among the natural, civil and political rights of mankind. Article 7th: 'Equality consists in this, that each man enjoys the same rights.' Article 8th: 'The law must be equal for all, whether it recompense, or punish, or protect.' Article 9th: 'All citizens are admissible to all places, employments, and functions.

Free people cannot know other motives of preference than talents and virtues. Article 22d: 'Instruction is equally due to all, and society owes it equally to all its members.' Article 32d: 'There is oppression when the law violates the rights of one citizen; there is oppression when the law is violated by public functionaries in its application to individual facts.'—*Moniteur*, 1793, p. 30.

Next came the Constitution of June, 1793. This announces in its second article, that the natural and imprescriptible rights of men are '*Equality*, liberty, safety, property.' And in the next article it shows what is meant by Equality. It says, 'All men are equal by nature and before the law.' (*Moniteur*, 1793, No. 178.) Here we first meet this form of definition. At a later day, when France had passed through an unprecedented series of political vicissitudes, in some of which the rights of Equality had been trampled under foot, when, at the revolution of 1830, Louis Philippe was called to a throne, surrounded by republican institutions, the charter which was then promulgated repeated this phrase. In its first article, it declared, that 'Frenchmen are equal before the law, whatever may be their titles or ranks.'

While recognizing this peculiar enunciation of the equality of men as mere specific and authoritative, it is impossible not to be reminded that this form of speech finds its prototype in the ancient Greek language. In the Greek tongue, a condition of thing is that 'the government of the many has the most beautiful name of *isonomia*—or *equality before the law*. (Book 3, § 80.) Thus this phrase, which, by its comprehensiveness and flexibility, in an age when equality before the law was practically unknown, nevertheless supplied a single word, which at once brought into existence and gave form to an idea which has been practically recognised only in modern times. Such a word in our own language, as a substitute for Equality, would be a contribution to the criticism to which this political doctrine has been exposed.

After this review, the way is now prepared to consider the nature of Equality, as secured by the Constitution of Massachusetts. The Declaration of Independence, which was the first to set forth after the French Encyclopedia, and the political writings of Rousseau, places among self-evident truths the proposition,—'that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' The Constitution of Massachusetts contains the same idea in a different form. In the first article it says: '*All men are born free and equal*, and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties.' The sixth section further explains the doctrine of Equality. It says,—'No man, or *corporation, or association of men have any other title to obtain advantages, or peculiar, and exclusive privileges, distinct from those of the community, but what arises from the consideration of services rendered to the public*; and this title being in nature neither hereditary, nor transmissible to children, or descendants, or relations by blood, the idea of a man being born a magistrate, law-giver, or judge, is absurd and unnatural.' The language here employed, in its entirety, excludes every form of inequality in civil and political institutions.

Though these declarations preceded, in point of time, the adoption of the Constitution of France, they may, if necessary, be construed in the light of the latter. It is evident that they aim to declare substantially the same thing. They are declarations of *Rights*, and the language employed, though general in its character, is obviously to be restrained to those matters which are comprehended in the design and effect of a declaration of *Rights*. It is a childish sophism to adduce in argument against them the physical or mental inequalities by which men are characterized.

It is a palpable truth, that men are not born equal in physical strength, or in mental capacity, or in activity or form or stature, or in color. Diversity or inequality, in these respects, is the law of creation. From this indifference springs divine harmony. But this inequality is in no way inconsistent with a complete civil and political equality.

The equality which was declared by our fathers in 1776, and which was made the fundamental law of Massachusetts in 1780, was *equality before the law*. Its object was to efface all political or civil distinctions, and to abolish all inequality founded upon birth. 'All men are created equal,' says the Declaration of Independence. 'All men are born free and equal,' says the Massachusetts Bill of Rights. These are not vain words. Within the sphere of their influence, no person can be *created*, no person can be *born* with civil or political privileges, not enjoyed equally by all his fellow-citizens, nor can any institution be established recognizing any distinctions of birth. This is the Great Charter of Human Rights, who draws his power from God, upon this soil, whatever may be his condition, and whoever may be his parents. He may be poor, weak, humble, despised; he may be of the humblest race of Indian, or of Ethiopian race—he may be of French, of German, of English, of Irish extraction—but before the Constitution of Massachusetts, all these are equal in the eye of the law. He is not poor, or weak, or humble, or black—or Caucassian, nor Jew, nor Indian, nor Ethiopian, nor French, nor German, nor English, nor Irish; he is a MAN, and the equal of all his fellow-men. He is one of the children of the State, which, like an impartial parent, regards all its offspring with the same care, and opens its ample bosom to receive them to its protection, and to bestow upon them the same rights, equal, hospitable board. The State, imitating the Divine Father, knows no distinction of birth.

Here nobility cannot exist, because it is a privilege from birth. But the same anathema, which smites and blasts nobility, smites also caste and banish every form of discrimination founded on birth.

Quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

THE SYSTEM WORKS WELL!

Extract from one of the speeches of George Thompson, Esq., on Parliamentary Reform:—

I know we are told by the prime minister, that the present system works well, and that we should let it alone. That it works well for the few, we know; but we think that it works ill for the many, we are persuaded, and I think we can prove; that it works well for those who divide annually millions of money among themselves, I can easily imagine; but that it works well for those who have to pay the sixty millions, we deny. The clergy of England and Ireland are, no doubt, very well off, very well, let well alone? but that it works well for the seven millions of another creed, who are forced to yield the wealth which the Protestant clergy so lovingly divide amongst themselves and their clergy, we deny. The bishops, deans, canons, choristers, and clergy of the Church of England, are comfortably enough. The system works well, and in truth it does work well for them—they live in ceiled houses, they graze in rich pastures, they lie down beneath the shade of the embowering and goodly heritage. (Cheers.) But does it work well for those who pay tithes, for those who must pay church rates or go to prison, for those who see the produce of the fruits of their property impounded by the myrmidons of the Church! 'The system works well?' Yes, for a few in England and Ireland; but, for the Dissenter, for the Covenanter in Canada with £10,000 a-year; for the Queen's representative in India with £225,000 a-year; for an ambassador at Lisbon with £7,000 a-year; for a Prime Minister with £5,000 a-year salary, and two brothers taking pay from the people in the army, and one as a canon in the church, and another a clerk-in-office in the navy, and another as sergeant-at-arms in the House of Commons, who has an uncle also in the navy, and a cousin who contrives himself there by taxing dogs and hanging Canadian priests in their robes of office, and executing men on suspicion of being suspected of being disaffected to his government; a Prime Minister whose father-in-law is Keeper of the Privy Seal, with £2,000 a-year for his trouble; and whose brother-in-law is Secretary to the Board of Control, with £1500 a-year and nothing to do; a Prime Minister who has, among other good things, the patronage of 2103 livings in the church, the appointment of bishops, the nomination of cabinet ministers, and such like adjuncts, appurtenances and evidence of office, too numerous to mention. Verily, the system works well! But does it work well for the interests of trade? well for the rights of industry? well for the cause of peace? well for the comforts of the poor? well for the rights of conscience? well for the contentment of the colonies? well for the peace and improvement of Ireland? well for the purity of the House of Commons? well for the freedom and independence of elections? The

system works well for those who, by a vote in the House of Commons, can obtain, as by the rubbing of Aladdin's lamp, millions upon millions of money to a sort with no shareholders—who have power to dispense it at home, in the pockets of the hard working poor, than were ever discovered in California; who by pitiful majorities, can legalize immoral laws, while they crush the meritorious and toiling masses. can enable aristocratic idlers to clothe themselves in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day. The system works well for such; but does it work well for those who buy soap for cleanliness, and pay a tax of 5s in the pound? for those who buy cheese, and pay 6s in the pound? for those who buy sugar, and pay 6s in the pound? for those who buy coffee, and pay 8s in the pound? or for those who smoke and pay 16s in the pound? Does it work well for the publicity which is the soul of justice? for the spread of information? for the progress of knowledge? for the elevation of the people? for the march of intellect, when it taxes foreign books £7,647, and paper £745,000, and advertisements £153,000, and extorts a stamp duty, amounting to £300,000; making a revenue of a million and a quarter, raised by the interposition of barriers in the way of intellect and thought, and the circulation of mind, and the diffusion of ideas? Does it work well for those national benefactors, the Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh, who commenced life that notwithstanding all their toil and risk, the Government has reaped a greater share of profit from their enterprise than they themselves have done?

The system works well! Yes, for admirals without ships, for generals without command, for pensioners without merit, for office-holders without offices, for grand inquisitors without inquiries, for an ex-chancellor who never had but one cause, and did not decide that. The system works well! Yes, it worked well in the days of Sir Henry Parnell, who, in his work on financial reform, in 1832, disclosed the fact, that the pensions on the English civil list were £73,900; on the Irish civil list, £26,000; on the civil establishments of Scotland, £32,000; on the consolidated fund in England, (royalty not included,) £112,000; in Ireland, £40,000; on the army and navy estimates, £30,900; making a total of £313,900. Verily, the system does work well! It works well for a Hanoverian pensioner with £21,000 a year; well for a Belgian king, with £50,000 a year; well for a dowager queen, with £100,000 a year; well for a prince of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, with £30,000 a year; well for Lord Ellenborough, who, in the twinkling of an eye, £11,000 a year to reconcile him to his idleness; well for Lord Brougham, with £5000; for Lord Colchester, because his father was Speaker; well for Lord Canterbury, because *his* father was ditto, £3,000; Lord Canning, because his father was Chancellor of the Exchequer, £3000; Lord Dacre, an ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, £3000; Lord Glenelg, ex-Colonial Secretary, £2000: Henry Goulburn, ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, £2000. Verily, it would fail to tell of the Lushingtons, the Crokers, the Campbells, the Lyndhurstes, the Strangfords, the Heytesburys, the Penrosses, and the Percivals, who, because they were chancellors, ambassadors, and governors upon splendid salaries, are now pensioned upon the public, and are supported by the taxes levied upon those who never shared in the spoils. The state is the fruit of their labor in the mine, the workshop, the field, or the loom, and are deprived by taxation of the means of obtaining the necessaries and their wasting tails demand. (Loud cheers.) It will not be the fault of the society I represent, if the line and plummet of a sound morality be not used to chase monstrous extortions and extravagances; if they be not tested by the rules of common honesty, and by the standard applied to every-day transactions. The dispensers of this money must be brought to account, and the recipients of these vast sums must be made to answer to the artisan, the tradesman, the mail carrier, and the fatherless, for the appropriation of that which they have never earned. (Tremendous cheering.)

WARM DEBATE IN CONGRESS ABOUT FATHER MATHEW.

From the Washington Union.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR.

U. S. SENATE—Dec. 20, 1849.

The VICE PRESIDENT stated that the first business before the Senate was the consideration of the following resolution, submitted yesterday by the Senator from Wisconsin, and laid over under the rule:

Resolved, That the Rev. Theobald Mathew be permitted to sit within the bar of the Senate during the period of his stay in Washington.

The question being stated upon the resolution,

Mr. CLEMENS rose and said: I objected yesterday, sir, to the adoption of that resolution, and it would have been better, perhaps, for me to have explained to the Senate the reasons which influenced my conduct. But I was then engaged upon other matters, and I now take the opportunity to explain what I should then have said. I rose, sir, in the image of the resolution; because the individual to whom it refers has been charged with denouncing our portion of this confederacy as the refuge for the land of lawless pirates. I object to it, because he has been charged with addressing an appeal to the people of this country, calling on them to carry on a war against the institutions of the South; and when he was addressed respecting the matter by the chief temperance societies in the State of Alabama, he refused to answer, or at least refused to permit that answer to go before the public. Under these circumstances, I do not feel, sir, that, so far as my action may go, I could permit a resolution of this sort to pass.

I do not, sir, believe slavery to be a sin; and if it is a sin, it is one with which a foreigner has no business to interfere. If I listen to the representations of the people of slater States with good temper, surely it is all that can be asked of me. I shall, therefore, vote against the resolution now, as I objected to it yesterday. It was in his power to reply to the charges, but he refused to do so.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. President, I confess that I have been most sorry that this resolution came for the adoption of that resolution. It is a very small affair; a compliment which cannot be very highly appreciated in some of its aspects by the reverend gentleman who is aimed in that resolution. But, sir, in the little affairs of human life, whether social or national, I have found that courtesies, kindness, and small attentions, are often of more value and more grateful feeling than those of a more substantial character. We often appreciate more the piquyanne than we do the double eagles in the currency of social and human life.

Perhaps, sir, it was hardly necessary to have presented this resolution; but it has been called for, I understand that, according to the usages of the Senate, any member may introduce into the lobby any distinguished person whom he thinks proper to introduce. I had understood that to be the rule; perhaps I was mistaken; but, sir, I thought, at the time, that resolution was a fitting message to pass to Philadelphia, to virtue, that it is a merited tribute to a man who has achieved a great social revolution—a revolution in which there has been no bloodshed, no desolation inflicted on the widows and orphans extracted; and one of the greatest which has been achieved by any of the benefactors of mankind. Sir, it is a compliment due to the reverend gentleman, it may be; and I put it in all seriousness, in a spirit of the most perfect kindness, to the honorable member from Alabama, whether the cause of the cause of slavery in its collateral and remote branches upon all possible occasions that may arise during our deliberations in this body, is not more, I mean, as injurious to the stability of the very institution which I have no doubt the honorable member would uphold.

Sir, I have seen something in the papers upon the subject of Father Mathew's having expressed some opinions years ago, in Ireland, upon the subject of slavery. I have seen, on the other hand, that he came to this country, and got a nearer and more accurate understanding of the state of things, he refused to lend himself to the cause of Northern abolitionists and in consequence of that refusal, incurred the severest animadversions. But whether that had occurred or not, I, in common with other causes and other motives, I submit it to the consideration of the hon. Senator whether it is prudent, right, just, and proper to refuse a compliment which I venture to say, the hearts of all an kind accord to this distinguished foreigner; a compliment as less due to him for his great services in the cause of humanity, than it is due to his as an Irish patriot.

Mr. SEWARD. I think, sir, that men often disagree in regard to the merit of the living, but seldom differ in regard to the merits of the dead. The Capitol, its halls, its chambers and its grounds, are filled with statuary, memorials of the illustrious benefactors of mankind, of other nations as well as of our own; and these memorials are looked upon with pleasure and satisfaction by the people. It would be a painful reflection that occurs to us when we raise these monuments to the dead. They can convey no encouragement to the benefactor in the generation of his philanthropic enterprise. They convey it him so sympathy in the sufferings which he endures. The resolution before the Senate presents a very difficult occasion upon which I have to vote, sir, without danger of error, recognise a public benefactor—a benefactor of mankind; and in which the honage which is offered is not offered to him by the painful reflection that mankile cannot hear and cannot feel.

I need no argument to be addressed to me, sir, to convince me that it would be proper to establish any connection between this illustrious benefactor of the human race and our own country, in order to entitle him to the compliment which is proposed to be offered him, because I regard the interests of the American nation as the interests of humanity; and whoever, in any part of the globe, has relieved the condition of any portion of the human race, I look upon as entitled to the approbation and the gratitude of the American nation.

I have said that there was no danger of error. A nation, a race, interesting from consanguinity—interesting by a thousand ties—finds its virtues increased, and its condition improved, by the people represented by the labors of Theobald Mathew. Where, among the living, do we find a man whose works of benevolence have so extensively and so deeply followed him?

Mr. President, I should join in this homage—in this act of reverence—as an act of reverence to virtue, wherever it should be offered; but I must say, with all freedom, and trust that the freedom will be conceded to me as I concede it to others, that since it is objected that this act of respect shall not be allowed to pass without a particular opinion of the person who is the subject of it, in regard to slavery, I must be allowed to say, with all respect, that I hope the American people will, from the evidences, by the unanimity with which they pass this resolution, of this sentiment—which is almost unanimous, I believe, is common, at least, to the North—that it is a crime, if it be a sin, we deplore its existence amongst us, and deny the responsibility of its introduction here; and, therefore, I hope we shall not withhold from virtue the meed which is its due, because it happens to be combined in the person of one who exhibits not more devotion to virtue than to the rights of man.

Mr. MALLORY. I rejoice, sir, I am glad to see the Senator from New York put the question upon something like distinct grounds—to advocate it upon the ground of the opinions of this individual in relation to slavery. I, for my part, sir, have been sorely wearied. We have seen this country torn by dissension for years past, with its doors open to the British emissary who came here to sow the seeds of fraternity of the United States. There was a time, sir, when there was an American feeling in this country, and every man who was worthy to be called an American, from the sires of the revolution, turned with loathing from the foreign emissary who came here to distract our nation. It is the degenerate and unworthy sons of those from whom we inherited our institutions, that thus take up with foreign prejudices and foreign interference. Sir, this is no contest as to the merits of him who leads in the great cause of humanity. This is no question upon the great labor he has performed, the benefit conferred upon the world, which reaches the heart of every man. We approve of all he has done in the cause of temperance. The question is whether the United States Senate, still having upon its floor those who represent a slaveholding constituency, are to vote for extraordinary compliment, as one knows as the ally of O'Connell, and in whose expressed opinions he openly coincided? If, as the Senator from Kentucky says, there has been a change in his sentiments, he has refused to avow that change, although that declaration of that change was sought from him, as stated by the Senator from Alabama. Why was it not made? Why, if he came here as a guest to share our hospitality, and not to disturb the peace of the country, did he not declare that our institutions are our own, and that he did not come here to disapprove of any portion of them; that he came here to express no opinions in relation to slavery? He cannot, properly, a wolf in sheep's clothing; and I hold the Senator from New York to be the very best authority upon that subject.

Mr. President, in opposing this resolution, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I yield all homage to the services of Father Mathew in Ireland, and to every Irishman who, by his exertions, has made abolitionism, I feel all that I do for a brother; but as to O'Connell and his band, and all the horde of abolitionists, foreign and domestic, I feel that I have to exclude them all from this chamber, I would not hesitate a moment to do it.

Mr. WALKER. As the introducer of that resolution, it is proper for me to make some expression of the motives which actuated me in doing it. I assure you, sir, and the Senate, that I looked to the reverend gentleman mainly for information on other opening that that of a philanthropist connected with the temperance reform. I did not for a moment take into consideration what he was or was not in regard to the subject of slavery. If I ever noticed any statement which he has heretofore expressed upon this subject, I have now forgotten particularly what these sentiments were. And if, sir, I had thought of it, it would have made no difference in my mind, nor do I think it ought to make a difference with gentlemen from the South. So far as we have had any indication of the mission of Father Mathew, it is one of peace, one of benevolence, of good-will to mankind. It is not one of hostility, nor of aggression upon the rights of any class of the community. Looking to him, sir, as a philanthropist—one who has not only done great good, but who is now engaged in the same good work, I did not for the moment occur to me to look at the reverend gentleman named in any other light, or in any other capacity; but I will say this—that in consequence of the great excitement now in Kentucky, I think it unfortunate that in every little matter we must see so much jealousy upon the subject of slavery. It is unfortunate—beneficial to neither to the South, to the North, nor to the country. Other gentlemen may have more feeling than it is possible for me to have in the present of their relations to it; but it does seem to me that the introduction of this subject on every occasion, in this way, will do good service to the Senate of the United States, good to the country, nor good to either division of the country.

Perhaps, sir, I may be in error. Perhaps gentlemen from the South may be more strongly of opinion that I am in error, and that others advocating this resolution are in error, that I am able to see or to appreciate. But, sir, I regard it in this matter, and in regard to all other similar matters, I have, I hope, some reason to think God that I can look at them with an eye divested of any bias or any or any other interests. If others are so unfortunately constituted that they cannot, it is not for me to censure them, pronounce sentiments, but it does seem to me that the widows and orphans of slaveholders, as well as the widows and orphans of non-slaveholders, and that the wives of slaveholders, as well as the wives of non-slaveholders, can sympathize alike in the great work in which Father Mathew is engaged; that they can look at it alike, laboring under the horror of infatuation in the prosecution of private relations. It seems to me that they can look at it divested of selfish and personal interests. I use the term 'selfish' in no opprobrious sense, but in the common meaning of whatever is personal to themselves. I believe, sir, that there are individuals in every portion of the country who can sympathize with Father Mathew in the course he is pursuing; and I also believe that these large classes, these great numbers of individuals, will look upon the Senate of the United States with perfect astonishment, when they find that the matter of slavery has so far crept into our deliberations that we cannot sympathize with men upon the great and glorious work of philanthropy without bringing in this question to mar the deliberations of the body. But be that as it may, sir, for one I must regret, that I had seen the wave of this question introducing this resolution, than that I have expressed. I looked at the individual named in the resolution as a philanthropist, as one who has devoted his life to promote the good of humanity, the good of mankind; and at the time I neither thought, nor knew, nor cared what he was doing on any other subject, so long as I had no evidence which I remembered, and I may say no evidence yet introduced has satisfied me,—that he was acting here in any other capacity than as a philanthropist. If I should hereafter see from him any efforts to disturb the peace of the country, I should regret it; and I doubt whether there is a Senator who would not be sorry for him an example like this; and when similar services are rendered to us and to the world, let us reward them by a similar mark of approbation.

Of all the nations of the earth, ours is the only one where public opinion is entirely unfettered, and the tribute it renders is therefore the more valuable. I believe public sentiment was never more unanimous than in the appreciation of this great cause, and of the zeal and self-sacrifice with which this Christian missionary has devoted himself to its service. I feel, sir, that, therefore, we should be slight acknowledgment to cheer him upon his journey.

Mr. FOOTE. Mr. President, it is with no little reluctance that I take part in the debate now in progress. Delicate topics have been introduced, which I had hoped would not have been introduced, which I had hoped would not have been intruded upon our notice thus early. The real question before the Senate seems to be, shall the Senate do what has been done by us to a distinguished champion of the cause of temperance, on occasion of the eminent service which he has done in Philadelphia, in New York in the south and zeal in suppressing one of the most hideous evils which has ever made its appearance in the world. No one who knows the history of Father Mathew as the champion of temperance can doubt that he deserves the respect and sympathy of all who feel interested in preserving the dignity and happiness of man, and in promoting the cause of temperance. I have long admired him most profoundly, and sympathized with him most deeply. On account of his merits as a successful advocate of temperance in two hemispheres I feel strongly inclined to support the resolution which has been offered for according him a seat on the floor of the Senate. I am sincerely sorry that we are less it be shown that there is something in the resolution offered by the senator from Wisconsin violative of the rights of the people of the country, and therefore held in respect. Indeed, I believe that the almost unanimous vote of the Senate would have been given in support of this resolution, but for the extraordinary speech delivered by the honorable senator from New York [Mr. SEWARD] a few moments since. It seems that this gentleman feels authorized to say that the sentiments of the Senate are not in accordance with the sentiments, and on this account, and on no other, does he base his support of the resolution. I regard his speech as a direct and decided appeal to the distinguished native of the Emerald Isle alluded to, in recognising him, as he has explicitly done, as a more distinguished friend of humanity than, I think, and indeed I confidently believe that the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, [Mr. Clay,] and one equally distinguished, the silent senator, [Mr. Cass,] understand the attitude of Father Mathew in regard to slavery in this country far better than the senator from New York, who has showered upon him such fulsome compliments. The honorable senators from Michigan and Kentucky have not been egregiously misinformed in regard to the present condition of the cause of temperance and of temperance now in our midst, he would be one of the last men in the world either to intermeddle, himself, with any portion of the domestic institutions of a republic of which he is a temporary guest, or to instigate the vicious intermeddling of others, or to encourage the intermeddling of foreign philanthropists, which has at last placed in such serious jeopardy the noblest civic institutions which the wisdom of man has ever succeeded in establishing upon earth.

Sir, I have been so long fighting under the *noble non-intervention* flag which may be seen at the masthead of that well-rigged vessel of State of which the great Palinurus is the commander, [Mr. Clay,] I have been the faithful and fearless pilot, that I am not afraid to attend upon him still during the short voyage for which it would seem he has consented to embark. Could I suppose it possible that the rumors which have reached us relative to the present opinions of Father Mathew upon the question of slavery were true, or that he was capable of abetting in the least degree, either by word or deed, the schemes of those wicked factionists whose sentiments and policy are so fiercely and efficiently represented upon this floor; instead of uniting in a proceeding intended to do him special honor, I should not hesitate to refuse him even the slight compliment which is proposed by every where so modestly and gracefully receives as he journeys through the republic. I regret to learn that, when addressed by citizens of the South and Georgia as to his views upon the question of slavery, he either declined responding, or responded by letters published from philadelphia, that his only request. I think that, in this transaction, he committed a great mistake, and one which will greatly impair his efficiency as a champion of temperance. But, until I receive conclusive evidence that he agrees in all with any of the domestic controversies in progress on this side of the Atlantic.

I well remember, sir, what occurred some where in the State of Massachusetts between certain fierce abolition agitators and Father Mathew, in which these worthies attempted to force upon him a recent and ungentlemanly attempt to inveigle this venerable personage into their nefarious schemes, and to wield the influence of his name and character against the institutions of the South; and I have not forgotten the dignified and severe rebuke which he administered to these infatuated factionists, nor the spirited manner in which he left the room and turned upon him so plenteously afterwards. These facts are too recent not to be recollected by all of us. I do not wish to be supposed to be the mouthpiece of action of the hon. Senator from Albama, [Mr. Clemens] who has on this occasion gratified his friends so highly by some of the most brilliant parliamentary debuts that I have ever witnessed. His conduct evinces only that decent and proper respect for public sentiment, which is so well known, especially illustrated by the circumstances stated by him, which a previous knowledge of his character and history would have induced me to anticipate from him on an occasion like this. Sir, I did my judicious colleague, [Mr. Davis,] in the eloquent harangue which he has just delivered in our hearing, utter one sentiment to which I do not cordially response. I allude to which he administered to the honorable Senator from New York, [Mr. Seward,] and his allies in and out of this body, in the remarks which he at most have felt who heard it, save, perhaps, the unhappy subjects themselves.

And now, sir, let me turn my attention particularly, for a moment or two, to the Senator from the Empire State, who has so unauthorizedly advocated the resolution. The honorable Senator from Wisconsin, [Mr. Walker,] on the ground that Father Mathew is an avowed abolitionist in spirit, and is *on that account*, worthy to receive special honor at the hands of an American Senate. Why, sir, the honorable Senator must have forgotten where he was; he must have become suddenly oblivious of his official oath which binds him to support the Constitution of the United States, whose sacred provisions guarantee perpetual protection to slavery against all foes, either foreign or domestic; and, in consideration of protection, thus guaranteed, the Constitution itself would never have become part of the supreme law of the land, or the union of States would never have established upon foundations which all true patriots hope may prove perpetual.

Sir, what object did the honorable Senator from New York purpose to attain by this unconstitutional display of the morning? Is it his object merely to monopolize the sympathies of the whole Irish and Catholic population of the country? Is it by making this resolution odious to all who respect the vital principles which are embodied in our political compact, and which have been sanctioned by the great anti-slavery members of this body, thus to establish exclusive claims to the future political support of this numerous and powerful portion of our population? Is it the acquisition of Presidential honors in 1852 that has bedazzled the fancy of the honorable Senator from New York, and prompted him to utter that calumnious and deeply dishonorable panegyric upon the famed Missionary of Temperance, which has awakened in the breast of all so profound a sentiment of surprise, of indignation, and of pity? Sir, I regard Father Mathew as deserving any part of the commendation bestowed upon him, in connection with the cause of temperance, by the honorable Senator from New York, instead of recognising him as a noble philanthropist, I should feel compelled to class him with thieves, and with murderers, according to their night incendiaries. Did I suppose that the honorable Senator from New York had been duly authorized to express sentiments in relation to Father Mathew upon the question of slavery, I should regard it as insulting to this body to have his name even utered in our hearing. I must suppose, until proof to the contrary shall be adduced, that the honorable Senator from New York, whether designedly or not, I will not undertake to decide, has done serious injustice to a venerable philanthropist, and, sir, that in his fiery eagerness to advance a favorite but infamous cause, he has attempted to drag to his aid the influence and popularity of a great and potential name, in a manner that cannot fail to prove displeasing to all the disinterested friends of the temperance reform to be found upon the habitable globe. I venture to predict, that the shrewd and sagacious Irish population of the country will infallibly detect the most benging attempt to decoy them; and comprehending the lofty motives which actuated the honorable Senator from the Empire State in setting on foot this precious scheme of demagogical deception, they will be, full, in due season, to the Senator, and to all according to his intrinsic deserts.

Sir, there was a classic saying in the olden time, which I fear it is indicious pronounced—*Quod istiqui id arguunt.*' The conduct of the honorable Senator from New York, and that of his abolition associates in this place, is most conclusive of the reverse of this—*whatever they touch they defile*; connect with them and their accursed cause (politically speaking) by a young and promising Senator, and instant with destruction; the downfall of our free institutions is the natural and inevitable result of their malevolent devices. In this particular occasion the honorable Senator from New York, professing a desire to evince his personal respect for one who stands but little in need of his supercriticable patronage, has grossly disserved the subject of his declarations, and awakened more or less of prejudice in bosoms where, but for the officious zeal of which I have complaining, nought but sentiments of kind respect and generous sympathy would have found admittance. The honorable Senator will not be offended, I hope, if I say that, at least he has, on this occasion, rather painfully awakened a forensic reminiscence of former years, which, but for him, would perhaps never have risen up in my memory again.

I once witnessed a trial of two criminals upon a capital charge. They were defended rather unskilfully by a young and inexperienced attorney, who had spoken about an hour, with about as much heat and animation, at least, as has been exhibited by the honorable Senator from New York in the consideration of Father Mathew's claims to Senatorial honors. The young advocate had gotten through with to say but little in behalf of his clients, and, as regard of the alleged malefactors was concerned, had been discussed, and the case of the associate culprit was engaged to be presented. The jury had, as he decidedly humane, and had been greatly agonized with the damning character of the defence set up for the accused, but forward from the bench, and thus addressed the engaged defender of perseculted innocence:—' Young man, you have already secured the conviction of one of your unfortunate clients, and I advise you, for the sake of the other, the other should be acquitted, you will decline uttering a single word in his vindication.' The young lawyer, taking the hint, and doubtless, in his client escaped the gallows. It is to be hoped that Father Mathew will be lucky enough to avoid the destruction which the proposed resolution by the fatal advocacy of the Senator from New York, who, from the period of his noted contest with the State of Virginia upon the subject of the surrender of fugitive slaves, has been distinguished as the most fierce abolition agitator, and an open and undisguised assailant of the most venerated guarantees of the Constitution.

Sir, I have no fear of the liberty of any man, my friend, that Senator that a period has almost arrived when even his eloquent tongue will be stilled upon his favorite topic. The time has long been when such a formally prepared, prosy, and well conned speech as that which he uttered this morning in our hearing, will be impatiently listened to by any man, at all, by this august assembly; when the enlightened and patriotic people of this great Republic will indignantly denounce the noisy agents of faction who thus direction to their Anti-Slavery funds.

FRANCIS JACKSON,
ELLIS GRAY LORING,
SAMUEL PHILLIPS,
EDMUND QUINCY,
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Boston, Dec. 24, 1849.

CONGRESS ON THE MESSAGE.

After a fortnight of unavailing ballotings for a speaker, the 31st Session of the House of Representatives succeeded in effecting a choice (by a plurality, not a majority vote) on Saturday evening. The Democratic candidate (Howell Cobb, of Georgia) was declared to be elected, he having received, on the sixty-fourth ballot, 102 votes—Robert C. Winthrop (Whig) having 99—the rest with 21 scattering votes. This has the Slave Power, in its undisguised form, again triumphed; but better thus, than the success of Winthrop, who has received the retribution which he so justly merits. All thanks to the Spartan band of Free Soilers, in the House, for their independence and inflexible perseverance in the cause of Freedom. They be as vigilant, sturdy and *impracticable* throughout the whole session, never allowing an opportunity to pass without renewing the conflict for equal rights!

The message of President Taylor was communicated to Congress on Monday. It is a plain, unpretending, and strictly business-like document, and of very reasonable length. It begins and ends with a panegyric upon 'the glorious Union'—the dissolution of which, in the judgment of the President as a stockholder, 'would be the signal for the extinction' of perpetuity, at the expense of the bodies and souls of three millions of the people, would be incomparably more calamitous. The dissolution of the Union will be the abolition of slavery; and beyond that, we are prepared for all possible consequences.

The President earnestly invites the attention of Congress to an amendment of our existing laws relating to the *African* slave trade, with a view to the effectual suppression of that *barbarous traffic*. He says it is not to be denied, that 'this trade still, in part, carried on under the protection of the United States, and owned or navigated by some of our citizens.' But he does not say, why it is more criminal to traffic in human flesh abroad than at home; nor why, if, for enslaving a native African, the sailor ought to be hung as a pirate, Zachary Taylor should be allowed to retain his plantation for enslaving hundreds of native-born Americans! But where is the difference?

There is not a word in the message in favor of the Wilmot Proviso—of course! not! Instead thereof, the President, at the present session of Congress is pretty distinctly deprecated. By awaiting the action of the people of California and New Mexico on this subject, the President soothingly says 'all causes of uneasiness may be avoided, and confidence and kind feeling preserved.' How very considerate!

The President recommends the reducing of all single-letter postage to the uniform rate of five cents, regardless of distance—at the same time greatly curtailing or wholly abolishing the franking privilege. Very good. He also recommends giving greater efficiency to the army and navy. Very good.

PANEUIL HALL BAZAAR.

The Anti-Slavery Bazaar was thrown open to the public on Monday last, presenting its accustomed attractions, and giving cheering evidence that, on both sides of the Atlantic during the long season, the advocates and friends of the slave have been active, untiring and industrious in his behalf. The contributions from abroad are generous, beautiful, multiform, abundant, and give equal value and splendor to the exhibition. The home contributions are also numerous, and most creditable to the metropolis. The supply being munificent, now then for ready and liberal purchasers. By the memories thronging around the Old Cradle of Liberty—by the sacred and glorious cause which this instrumentality is intended to carry forward—by the common humanity—let the spacious hall be constantly filled with those who are determined to do what in them lies to swell the general proceeds, and thus to hasten the day when that high system of robbery, pollution, blasphemy and soul-murder, which now afflicts, degrades and curses the land, shall be forever exterminated.

Don't forget—what is wanted pecuniarily is, the long pull, the strong pull, and the pull all together.

☞ Remember that WENDELL PHILLIPS is to address the assembly this evening, at the Anti-Slavery Bazaar, in the old Cradle of Liberty—commencing at 8 o'clock. Addresses from other and eloquent speakers may be expected on every subsequent evening to the close of the Bazaar on Thursday evening next.

The Liberator
BOSTON, DECEMBER 28, 1849.

No Union with Slaveholders.

TO THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE LIBERATOR.

The undersigned, as the Committee having in charge the financial concerns of the Liberator, are under the necessity of announcing to its subscribers that it has become impossible upon them to sustain the price of the paper to the terms upon which it was afforded previous to their reduction to one dollar, in 1847. We regret, as much as any of the friends of the Liberator can do, this necessity; but the state of the subscription list, and a deficiency of several hundred dollars at the close of the present year, leave us no alternative.

At the former price, $2 50, for two or three years previous to the reduction, the receipts of the year had quite, or very nearly, covered its expenses, including Mr. Garrison's salary. We were induced to make the change at the urgent instance of several of the truest friends of the Liberator, who believed that its circulation might be greatly increased, if the price was reduced. We are compelled to say, after the experience of two years, that the experiment has failed. We are sure, therefore, of the cordial support of all who appreciate its value in the property of a return to the former price, of their warm co-operation with us in our endeavors to place the anti-slavery affairs upon a permanent foundation.

We believe that it is in the power of more than a very numerous body of subscribers can be prompt, at any price, to a paper of the radical character of the Liberator. It is too much to expect that men will be willing to pay for the message that chastises them, however deserved or whatever the correction may be. But we do not believe that those who can estimate its value as an Agent of Reform, will be deterred from taking it by any terms of subscription necessary to its support; still less, that any who now enjoy its influences will abandon it for the trifling advance. They will remember that this addition to the price, moderate as it is to the individual subscriber, makes a difference of near A THOUSAND dollars in the receipts of the paper, as it now stands.

The name of the Liberator, then, from the beginning of the next volume, will be restored to the price of TWO DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS, *per annum*, which, we hope, in time, will enable us to meet its expenses. But, for the present, we must earnestly request those friends of the paper who, last year, generously contributed to pay FIVE dollars for their copy, to continue, or increase, their liberality. Such assistance will be indispensable for longer or shorter season. As soon as it can be dispensed with, we shall gratefully release them from giving this direction to their Anti-Slavery funds.

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☞ The debate was further prolonged by Senators Mangum, Dickinson, Downs, Pearce, Douglas, Seward, Hale, Clemens, Butler, Berrien, Mason, Houston, Yulee, Walker, Calhoun, and Davis of Miss.;—and the resolution ultimately was adopted—Yeas 25—Nays 18. We shall give the remainder of this extraordinary and highly edifying discussion next week.

J. M. BARRETT, THE SOUTH CAROLINA VICTIM.—He is released. We published his acquittal in our last number. The declaration of Judge Grimke, that he should be released—and the courts and the scoundrels who meant to murder him were compelled to release him—Are Sublime Exchange.

It is not right to speak of the courts of South Carolina, or any other State, in this way. In the proceedings of the court before which the case of J. M. Barrett was heard, we observed nothing indicating prejudice against the prisoner.—*National Era.*

Was it no 'indication of prejudice' to refuse Barrett bail, until forced by popular influence to grant it? None but they denied him the *Habeas Corpus*? —none but they denied him bail pending his trial? —none but they demanded a deposit of money?—none that he was imprisoned all summer upon an indictment found against him without examination? Was it no prejudice to found such an indictment upon? Where does the Doctor keep his eyes? It would seem as if they were too weak for the Sublime Exchange.

In the opinion of the *Era*, 'it is not right' to say they meant to enslave a man! We think this is another Sublime Exchange. We think the court at Washington which convicted Dangerfield, Ashmun, were guilty of the highest outrage. We think the courts there that allow people in Washington to own numerous slaves, and yet, by their decisions, deny to all of their rights, to flog, work, and sell them for jail fees, are deserving of very little respect. Especially do we think such courts have committed grievous wrong the provisions of law, and the Constitution of the United States.—*Liberty Party Paper.*

MR. MANN. On the first ballot after the declination of Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Mann voted for Mr. Duer, of New York, and on the 2d (being the 41st ballot) for himself, as the member of Pennsylvania. Considering that four or five thousand Whigs in this district voted for Mr. Mann, and that he had indulged himself in voting 30 times for their mortal enemy, and the mortal enemy of their interests, for a Northern enemy of Mr. Palfrey—Mr. Mann's personal friend —we think he might have voted once—just once for a Free Soiler—for Mr. Palfrey, who was an member of electing. It would have offended nobody but Schoolcraft, and would have been a cheap offset for 5000 votes. Mr. Palfrey is a Whig, he is, in a Wilmot Proviso man, who is ever ready to support him for office who will use all their opportunities to discredit and defeat the Wilmot Proviso.

He is like Wm. J. Brown, of Indiana—the great tree Brown—only he has another way of showing it. He stops at Free Soil doctrine at home, and then goes to Washington and strikes hands with the slaveholders. Brown undertook to play *all* his cards at Washington, and therein he differs from the whole race of northern Whigs who do all their anti-slavery work at home, and go to Washington with only the slight duty on their hands of satisfying the slaveholders.—*Rochester Gazette.*

MASS CONVENTION AT SYRACUSE.

It has been determined that a CONVENTION of the friends of the STATE OF NEW YORK shall be held at

SYRACUSE,

on TUESDAY, the 16th of JANUARY, 1850.

The present aspect of National affairs in regard to the question of Slavery; the present position of political parties in relation to those affairs; the present relation which Abolitionists, who have preserved their faith inviolate, hold to those parties; and the relation which Abolitionists sustain to each other, and the duties demand that such a Convention be held in this state; that it be held during the present session of Congress; and that it shall represent the entire strength of that portion of our people who are hostile, on principle, to the extension of Slavery into new Territory, or to its existence anywhere; who are determined, at the proper time, at once, to the work of making its abolition a present and most influential ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION that has ever been held in our State. The warning cry of

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS

and their abettors was never more needed than at this moment, and has never been so heeded as it will be in the present crisis.

Particulars of time, place, and probable continuance of the Convention, and names of the distinguished friends of the cause who will be present, will be given in future notices.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

We again insert the following memorial to the Legislature, for the purpose of stimulating the friends of religious liberty to active efforts in its behalf:—

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MASSACHUSETTS:

The undersigned, inhabitants of Massachusetts, respectfully ask of the Legislature the repeal of all laws in this Commonwealth, enforcing the observance of a day of the week as 'the Sabbath,' or 'the Lord's day':—

1. Because there exists among the people an equally honest and conscientious difference of opinion as to the holiness of particular days, and the mode of their observance;

2. Because it is contrary to the fundamental idea of a republican government, that conscience should be coerced into conformity by law, or that special rights and privileges should be given to a particular religious belief;

3. Because the question of the holiness of days,—like that of public worship, the support of the clergy, the observance of ordinances,—should be left in its decision to individual conscience, and made to depend on its own merits, without the intervention of the State; and,

4. Because, as it has been found safe, politic and beneficial to allow the people to decide for themselves in all other religious matters, there is no reason to doubt that the same good results would follow the repeal of the Sabbatical laws.

EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

The undersigned, inhabitants of ——, respectfully request that, since the women of the State are made to pay taxes, and are held amenable to its criminal laws, they may be allowed a voice in the imposition and use of the first, and in the enactment of the second, and hence that they be permitted to vote, and to be eligible to office.

☞ By particular request, we copy from the Lawrence (Whig) Courier, a very friendly and highly commendatory account of the proceedings of the late quarterly meeting of the Essex County A. S. Society in that place. According to the editor of the Courier, it was prepared by a Free Soil Whig. The publication of it is as creditable to the liberality of the former, as it is to the fairness and good will of the latter. The Lawrence (Democratic) Sentinel has a more brief, but equally favorable notice of the meeting. Such treatment has been much too seldom shown towards the friends of the slave.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—Communication from Henry Grew, of Philadelphia, on the subject of Woman's Rights, is on file for publication next week. Also the "Johannes Schmidt."

We should rejoice to see with our Rochester friends, at the anniversary of the Western N. Y. Anti-Slavery Society on the 9th of January, but we can give them no encouragement whatever. We highly appreciate their kind invitation.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO GOVERNOR UJHAZY.

Our readers will recollect, says the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, that we published, some days since, a letter from Ladislaus Ujhazy, late Civil Governor of Comorn, to the President of the United States, announcing his intention, and that of several of his compatriots, to seek an asylum in this country. Said letter was dated at London. The following is the President's reply:—

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20, 1849.

SIR,—I have duly received your letter of November 3d, from London, announcing the determination of yourself and comrades to seek an asylum in America.

The people of this Republic have deeply sympathized with the Hungarians in their recent struggle for constitutional freedom, and in the calamities which have befallen their unhappy land; and I am sure that I but express the universal sentiments of my countrymen in bidding you and your associates a cordial welcome to our soil, the natural asylum of the oppressed from every clime. We give you protection, and a free participation in the benefits of our institutions and our laws, and trust that you may find in America a second home.

I am, with high respect, your sincere friend,

Z. TAYLOR.

LADISLAUS UJHAZY,
Late Governor of Comorn, in Hungary.

☞ The New York papers are in transports of raptures, on occasion of the arrival of Mille. Apolonia Jagiela, the young Hungarian heroine of whom we published an account a week or two since. Double Mille. Jagiela is a woman of great spirit and courage, yet we do not delight that Elder Grafin, whose late escape from slavery in Georgia is a fresh tale to the public mind, called into exercise during her recent 'Rights' with her husband quite as much true courage as the Hungarian heroine, quite as much written freedom, and certainly an equally noble aspiration for freedom and equality, in the drawers full as much sympathy as the fugitive from across the water. Both of these fugitives appear to be remarkable women.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21st.

Good Speed.—At the recent opening of the railroad from Lewiston to Waterville, Maine, ladies were not allowed to participate in the festivities, and in fact not have ladies there are somewhat jealous of their privileges and prerogatives, and the ladies of Lewiston and vicinity could not understand why sober and solid citizens should go off upon a celebration, in which the whole community was interested, but in which they were not included. They therefore followed the celebration of their husbands and brothers by a turnout on their own hook, in which about sixty ladies participated. They had their celebration, in which they were most gallantly assisted by the gentlemen of Waterville, and returned home in good season, satisfied with the measure of their retaliation.

☞ Further particulars of the Anti-Slavery Celebration at Plymouth on Saturday and Sunday last, may be expected next week.

From the Lawrence Courier.

☞ A friend of ours, a Whig at heart, and of course a friend of the abolition of involuntary servitude except for crime—but wearing during the last President's struggle with the Abolitionists, a Buffaloism—attended the late Anti-Slavery Convention in this town, and thus dotted down the proceedings; mixing, undoubtedly, here and there, a little of his own impressively omitted to condemn the more prominent errors of his friends, Garrison and others, but the reader will have sense enough to do so as he falls upon them in his reading.

OLD ORGANIZED ANTI-SLAVERY.

The Quarterly Meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society was convened at Odd Fellows' Hall, in Lawrence, on Saturday afternoon, Dec. 15.

James N. Buffum, of Lynn, was chosen President. Eliza J. Kenny, of Salem, and Benjamin A. Stevens, of Lawrence, were appointed Vice Presidents.

Secretary—Mrs. Ruth Buffum, of Lynn.

The Convention was in session during the afternoon and evening, and very spirited addresses were made by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, and Lewis Ford, of Abington. Mr. Garrison spoke to a resolution arraigning the American church and government as being eminently pro-slavery in sentiment and action, and deserving only of unmitigated condemnation by Christian abolitionists.

An additional batch of resolutions were offered in the evening by a Free Soil Clay *outsider* from Haverhill, complimenting Mr. Garrison very highly for his devotion to the cause of abolition, and also asserting, with considerable vehemence, that Henry Clay, of Kentucky, was deserving of the sympathy and respect of the friends of anti-slavery, for 'standing up solitary and alone among the eminent men of Kentucky, and uttering the *certain* sound which will inevitably hasten the annihilation of the "peculiar institution" in that State'—earnestly entreating him so to do the power and influence of his great name by emancipating his slaves, and uniting his efforts with Garrison for its universal abolition—and in the glowing language (says the resolution) of the honest Quaker poet of the Merrimack, John Greenleaf Whittier, 'higher glory shall crown him, if he will spurn the Western patriot's future fame.' The resolutions in question further referred to Mr. Clay and the festival which is annually held in New York, by his warm-hearted admirers, in honor of his birth-day, and recommended that the abolitionists, the descendants of Mr. Garrison, should 'get up a republican and appropriate festival, at Newburyport, against and in honor of the 45th birth-day of Wm. L. Garrison, the pioneer of American anti-slavery, which would occur on the 10th of December, 1850.' Mr. Clay was also commended in the resolutions for his efforts, in times past, in behalf of the protection of Northern labor. The series were concluded by a strong Free Soil one, endorsing the conduct of the Free Soil Representatives in Congress.

Mr. Buffum opposed the resolutions in a very gentlemanly but condescending manner. Mr. Garrison, with much propriety and modesty, disclaimed any superior credit in the course which he had felt it his duty to pursue in behalf of the slave. Mr. Buffum suggested that the mover withdraw the resolutions. On motion of the Free Soiler who offered them, they were laid on the table, with the exception of the last, which was 'placed in the orders of the day.' The meeting then adjourned to the next morning.

On Sunday, the Convention continued its session. Mr. Garrison occupied the chief part of the forenoon in one of the most logical and eloquent speeches we ever listened to. His subject was the pro-slavery character of the American church, by authority and by Scripture, he proved to be corrupt and time-serving—in alliance, hand and heart, with Christless and diabolical slaveholders and their apologists. Just before the Convention adjourned, Frederick Douglass, the eloquent colored orator, who had been announced to be present, but whom the people had almost given up expecting, made his appearance, and was received with much gladness. Mr. Douglass had come from Rochester, N. Y., on purpose to be present with his old Essex County friends, whom he had been unable to be present with for a long while before. He had missed the train of cars leaving Rochester, and had made a miss of it all the way, so that he could get no further than Reading on Saturday night, and on Sunday had to take a private carriage and come to Lawrence; because, said he, 'wherever I promise, I will always perform, if I'm able.' This was the substance, if not the exact expression, and it is a glorious one. The people of Lawrence and Essex cannot but admire his good spunk in riding between twenty and thirty miles, through a drizzling rain, to fulfil the engagement which he had made. We wish Mr. Phillips might have honored the people of Essex in like manner. Much disappointment was felt at his absence.

In the afternoon, Mr. Douglass addressed the Convention in a speech replete with eloquence and ability. He argued and endorsed the resolution of Mr. Garrison, as being opportune and timely. Mr. Garrison followed in a short speech.

In the evening, Mr. Garrison made some very interesting remarks, in his usually vigorous and earnest manner. He stated, in the course of the evening, that he was in Pennsylvania not long since, and heard an honest old Quaker (of ——, state to a public meeting that he (the Quaker) had, by his own personal efforts, or rather, he had assisted, by means of the 'underground railway,' as it is termed, in absconding from their masters over 1600 slaves, and that but two of this number had been recaptured. He also stated that, on the borders of Pennsylvania, in the state of Maryland, where there used to be a large population of slaves, there were but five remaining in limbo, and two of them were about to take shank's mare, or leg bail, and *runaway with themselves*. Land on that border which used to sell for eight or ten dollars, now brought thirty dollars and upwards, showing very naturally and irresistibly the superiority of free territory, occupied by free men, over that of the same territory occupied by slaves.

Two fugitive slaves were present at the meeting, (we refer now to the Anti-Slavery Convention,) one a little white boy with scarcely a tinge of color about him, but perfectly straight, and a countenance of a bright and very prepossessing character, and his uncle, a bright mulatto, who had first purchased his mother—a noble act, which should be ever immortalized among young man—and then had redeemed himself from bondage, by purchase. This young man has a sister, seventeen years of age, in slavery, a beautiful girl, almost white, whose master has been offered one thousand dollars for her, because, in the infernal parlance of the South, it is reported she is growing full as fast as master offers her to this brother for six hundred dollars, if paid in a given time; but if otherwise, she will be sent to the hellish shambles or harems of New Orleans. This master has evidently some gleam of humanity in his breast, or he would sell her to the highest bidder. We trust this young man will not only raise the amount wished, but a great deal more, enough to give her a good education in New England, and, in due time, peradventure, a good *white* Yankee husband.

To return to the little boy. He was a slave in North Carolina, with his mother, and a little sister of seven years of age, as white as the mother and the boy, and the latter is so white, that Mr. Buffum stated that the high sheriff of this county, Mr. Sprague, of Salem, took him for his son; and he felt proud, or should have done so, if he could have claimed him as such. The mother is now residing in Boston, and we trust the State will protect her, *en masse*, should an attempt be made to return her to slavery. The little boy had been sold on the auction block in the old North State, for four hundred dollars, and was soon to be carried further South, to work out his life for some lazy task-master. The mother, with an intrepidity worthy of a Spartan mother, resolved, doubtless, with the most intense love for the son, and fear lest they might be caught, left their master to visit her mother. This was merely a ruse to get away. She took the cars at the first station she could, and proceeded over the railroad to Washington city, where her brother (the young man present at the meeting with his little slave nephew,) passed her through to Philadelphia. She had thus persevered, and had passed through the slave State of Virginia, the adjoining slave capital of Maryland, and the slave State of Maryland, without having the color of either suspected. The intrepidity, ingenuity and devotion of this woman is as remarkable as it is glorious, grand and heart-cheering to freemen. So heroic a woman and widow as this should never want for any thing amongst us, and we trust she never may. We believe Mr. Buffum intends to educate the children with his own, at Lynn, and we know of no man in the county more worthy to have them in keeping. We hope they will live to gladden and bless him for all the years of twelve dollars more collected for them during Sunday. We doubt not, if the collection had been taken on another day, a great deal more would have been obtained, as there are many people who do not have their pocket books about them on the Sabbath.

After the exhibition of the little fugitive, Mr. Douglass took the floor, and delivered one of the most magnificent speeches we ever listened to in any gathering of freemen, of any sort, moral or political. We have listened to some of John B. Gough's best efforts, and have been well repaid for our pains, but we heard this celebrated temperance orator, entranced by his eloquence. But we never heard Gough, in his palmiest efforts, transcend the eloquence of Mr. Douglass on this evening. The audience was composed of 600 persons. He was enthusiastically cheered, but there was not been an intelligent person present who was not spellbound. We regret exceedingly that we did not make some arrangements to report this speech. In fact, we anticipated nothing like it, though we expected much. We never heard Mr. Douglass before; we have read, however, his published speeches—very grand ones, too. But none of them were like this. The latter portion of it, more especially, where he entered into an examination of the condition and character of his race in this country, was as logical and lofty, as it was eloquent and touching, and should well be conceived. He poured forth from a full heart, without doubt, a perfect torrent of burning, withering, scorching rebuke to this nation for their tyranny and prejudice to and against men of color. If possible, we hope Mr. Douglass will report this speech in the New Star, and we hope if he does so, he will send a copy of it to John Caldwell Calhoun, of the nation of South Carolina. He would be instructed in reading it, no doubt. If he could hear such a speech, and from a negro, too, one whose early life had been spent amongst slaveholders, the man would be appalled; his knees would totter like his prototype's, Belshazzar, of old; he would see the handwriting on the wall, and so plain that he would loathe himself like Job, and cover himself with sackcloth and ashes. We doubt not if Douglass could obtain him for an auditor and talk to him and of his race with the power he did on this evening, he would so essentially shame and mortify his arrant pride and arrogant opinions, that he would go into a fit of apoplexy or catalepsy, from which he would never recover; and with his death the power of slavery would be diminished, for we agree with Mr. Garrison, that Calhoun is the life, and the soul and strength of the one power which rules this nation.

The Free Soil resolution, in conjunction with two or three additional ones proposed by Mr. Garrison, was unanimously adopted. One resolution of the Free Soiler, from Haverhill, it was voted, that the hearty thanks of this Convention be presented to Messrs. Garrison and Douglass, for their able, earnest and eloquent addresses to the free people of Essex. The Convention then adjourned without day.

P. S. We ought to have observed above, that on the first evening, Mr. Edmond, a Scotchman by birth, made a short speech, recounting his experience of Southern life, as illustrated in a residence of several years in the empire of South Carolina, principally at Charleston, where he carried on business for a long while as a baker. He finally turned into a teacher and preacher, and for trying to instruct some slaves against the will of their masters, he received a coat of tar and feathers, which laid him prostrate several weeks on a bed of sickness. As soon as he recovered ed, he left the country, and is now travelling among the people of the North, where his rights of speech are protected, and we doubt not he will do good wherever he goes. He is a genuine, live Scot, no mistake—full of real grit and good humor.

I might also have remarked, that Mr. Garrison and Miss Kenny added much to the interest of the meeting by their singing. Douglass, by the way, wound up with a song—in which others joined, of course—'Come join the Abolitionists,' etc.

Miss Kenny presided over the Convention a portion of the time, with much grace and dignity. R.

☞ We copy the following merited reproof from the Boston Republican. It is given in the right spirit, and without any partisan intent.

HON. HORACE MANN.

The representative of the eighth district, who so effectually misdirected the Free Soilers by his hearty denunciations of slavery, seems about to define his position, in this matter, in a way they certainly dreamt not of—not now, by eloquent declamation on the evils of slavery, but by acts of substantial service for its aid and comfort.

It is all very well, since it has become fashionable with partizan politicians, rank pro-slavocrats, and those who care not a straw about slavery, pro or con, to waste a great amount of virtuous indignation on the existence of negro slavery in this *democratic* model republic of ours, and while such, but more especially with the Whig party, it has become a fixed fact of the programme and order of exercises to furnish forth a liberal amount of anti-slavery declamation, on all occasions, but especially political occasions.

Of Mr. Mann, however, better things, and a more consistent course, and not without reason, expected. He had made a most splendid and thorough anti-slavery speech in that citadel of slavery, the House of Representatives. He denounced slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories with a zeal, a heartiness and a boldness, which contributed him to the duty of abolishing it wherever the jurisdiction of the general government extended; and he had declared, as we are well assured, that under no circumstances would he in any way aid the election of General Taylor to the Presidency, and thus place the government in the hands of the slave power.

With even ordinary men, we should consider these things as a sufficient guarantee, that no palpable act in opposition to such pledges would be committed,—but with one of Mr. Mann's character for integrity and openness, we should not think of taking further pains, and making such assurance more sure—and yet we are deceived, either by our own fault or by his, and are now humiliated to see Mr. Mann quietly settling down in the Whig ranks, and siding with Hunker conservatism, by casting votes after vote for Robert C. Winthrop for Speaker, notwithstanding Mr. Winthrop's known devotion to the slave power, and his obsequious obedience to its dictation in constituting the committees of the House on all questions which concern the interests of slaveholders.

We are aware that some of the most rabid slaveocrats have accused him of disloyalty to slavery, for what purpose it is best known to themselves—certainly we see no reason for it, and until these charges are more specific, we must attribute it to their extreme caution in trusting any Recent events, in connection with the Speakership, have served to sharpen, and to render not altogether unreasonable.

But we desire to do Mr. Winthrop justice. So far as we know and believe, he has been consistent—something, certainly, for a politician—he has made no pretension of hostility to slavery, nor manifested any love of liberty,—especially liberty for the blacks; he nevithelessness has not depended on professional pretensions, and of his party of devotion to freedom, and hostility to negro slavery, we are not aware, and do not believe, that Mr. Winthrop has ever personally endorsed that fraud.

True to his principles or his instinct, he was the first Massachusetts Whig of any note to welcome Texas into the Union, and the only Representative from Massachusetts (except an apology for a representative) in Congress to vote for the war against Mexico—both measures, admitted on all hands, to be highly necessary for Slavery, and deadly hostile to the free States. Such is Mr. Winthrop. But Mr. Mann has heretofore given evidence that he is governed by totally different principles. He has deliberately and fully committed himself to liberty and progress, and should now see to it, that no vote he may cast shall aid Slavery, or thwart the onward march of the progress of Freedom, when she so much needs the aid and fealty of all her friends. He should know that a vote for Robert C. Winthrop for Speaker is a vote for pro-slavery committees for the District of Columbia and the Territories, and is, in a more important particular, a betrayal of Freedom to the tender mercies of her most deadly enemies. J.

FOREFATHERS' DAY.

The 229th anniversary of the landing of our Pilgrim Forefathers was celebrated in a very appropriate manner at Plymouth, on Saturday and Sunday, the 22d and 23d instant, by the friends of the 'Old Colony A. S. Society'—Bourne Spooner, of Plymouth, the President of the Society, in the chair.

At an early hour on Saturday, the spacious church on the Green (one of the very largest in Plymouth) was filled to overflowing by a very attentive and intelligent audience.

After some appropriate remarks by the President, on the character of the Convention, on motion of Eli Richards of Weymouth, the following persons were chosen a Committee on Business, viz: Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone, Lewis Ford, and Frederick Douglass.

Chose Samuel Dyer, N. B. Spooner and Anson Harlow, a Committee on Finance, and also to take in to consideration the time and place of holding the next quarterly meeting of the Society.

Wendell Phillips, from the Business Committee, presented the following resolutions, viz:

Resolved, That whatever may have been the views of the Puritans on particular points, he was emphatically the radical reformer of his day, in favor of the largest liberty and the widest toleration of which his age had conceived, his whole course an individual protest against the civil and religious institutions of his time; and hence we regard the Anti-Slavery enterprise his fairest and only representative, and this the first real celebration of his landing, the first true to his spirit and worthy of his memory.

Resolved, That whether God taught the Pilgrims all his truth in regard to civil liberty, we care not to ask; for thus we maintain our position as abolitionists:—Our fathers brought slavery here, as is affirmed, then duty to God and the country binds us, their sad sons, to undo their evil work, and free the land from this curse; but if those old men were honest haters of bondage, then also is it the first duty of us, their proud sons, to prove our sincerity by bearing a constant protest against it, and keeping the land pure as they left it to us.

Resolved, That what is needed for the speedy abolition of slavery in this country is a spirit of determination, enterprise, self-sacrifice, courage, and absolute reliance on God for success, such as was sublimely exhibited to the world by the Pilgrims of Plymouth Rock—the adventurous exiles of the Mayflower—in their efforts to find a land in which they could enjoy civil and religious liberty.

Resolved, That, under such a condition, no man in any land, of in any age, was ever really a Christian without being imputed a heretic and a blasphemer; and no one a true friend of liberty, who was not deemed a traitor to his country; and as all true men are of one lineage, like children gathering to the old Homestead, we come to the graves of the Pilgrims, the heretics and traitors, who left the Church of their day for Truth, and the State of their birth for Liberty, as the fitting place to brand the Church in our midst, which presumes to praise and affects to love them, as a synagogue of Satan, and the American Union as a covenant with death and an agreement with hell, and, like our Fathers, whose words were deeds, to devise means for the overthrow of both.

Resolved, That regarding the jarring and troubled scenes in Congress, the fortnight past, as most cheering evidence of the growing anti-slavery interest at the North, we hail them as omens of yet better times; and as the best service Washington has rendered to liberty since J. Q. Adams stood up there for freedom of debate—and knowing, as we do, that the House of Representatives can never be permanently the sacrifice of justice and the triumph of traitors, we hold up both hands to cry with Chatham, 'May Disorder reign forever!'

Resolved, That, standing on Plymouth Rock, we re-echo the welcome with which Pennsylvania has greeted the Liberty party of our day and exquent friend, GEORGE THOMPSON, to visit us again, and again devote his energies to that same crusade for liberty, his former positions and most triumphant service, which has already endeared him to the hearts of American abolitionists.

[The last was passed by acclamation.]

The above resolutions called forth, through Saturday and Sunday, speeches of a very high order, from Wm. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Charles L. Remond, Frederick Douglass, Miss Lucy Stone, Professor Pierson, of Central College, New York, Dr. George W. Ellis, of Washington, D. C., and others.

Mr. Robert Edmond, who has recently been driven from the South, for the crime of teaching the poor bondmen the character of God, and his A, B, C, in education, gave to the convention an account of the shameful and brutal treatment he received at their hands. Notwithstanding the coat of tar and feathers which he received, and his being a minister of Jesus, 'not one of our churches here at the North bid him welcome, to lay before them a statement of my sufferings' said Mr. Edmond. His remarks created a deep feeling among the audience, and gave us new proof how little is to be expected from our Northern churches in behalf of slavery.

The committee on the time and place of holding the next quarterly meeting, reported that it be holden in North Bridgewater, on the day of our annual Fast, in April next. Accepted.

The 'Old Colony A. S. Society' have heretofore held many large and enthusiastic meetings, but never one before so interesting and responsible, and so well attended. The speeches given to the several speakers were very frequent, warm, and enthusiastic. In regard to numbers, no meeting of ours was ever before so fully attended. Notwithstanding the very severe rain on Saturday evening, the spacious church was well filled, and on Sunday crowded, and on Sunday evening, every nook and corner was jammed almost to suffocation, and hundreds, we were informed, went away, being unable to make even an entrance into the house.

The remarks of Messrs. Garrison, Douglass, Phillips and Remond were very able and eloquent—never more so. And well they may have been—the time and occasion only inspired them with new zeal, perseverance and eloquence.

On motion of James N. Buffum, the resolutions were put, and adopted unanimously.

Amount collected by the Financial Committee, $57 33.

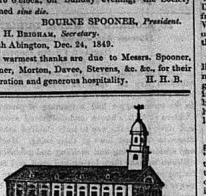
At 10 o'clock, on Sunday evening, the Society adjourned *sine die*.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*

H. H. BIGHAM, *Secretary.*

South Abington, Dec. 24, 1849.

Our warmest thanks are due to Messrs. Spooner, Blackmer, Morton, Davee, Stevens, &c. &c., for their hospitality and generosity. H. H. B.



SIXTEENTH NATIONAL

ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR,

FANEUIL HALL,

Was opened on MONDAY, THE 24TH OF DECEMBER, at 10, A. M., and will close on THURSDAY EVENING, January 3d.

It has never before been in the power of the Managers to present so large and beautiful a collection of articles. So many of our friends have visited Europe during the past year, that we have enjoyed unusual facilities for procuring articles alike rare, elegant, and useful. Our trans-Atlantic friends, also, have never been more generous in their donations, and it is with the utmost confidence that we ask our usual visitants to defer the purchase of their holiday gifts till the Bazaar opens, believing that it will be impossible to find elsewhere so large and unique a variety.

Among the articles best worthy of attention are the following:—Caps and *Fanchons* of the newest style, from the most fashionable *Magasins* of Paris, valuable not merely in themselves, but also as patterns. A small assortment of beautiful Ribbons and Flowers. Very splendid articles of Dresden China, of the time of *Louis Quinze*, remarkable even in Paris for their beauty, and unmatched in this country. Cologne bottles of old *Sevres*, very beautiful China Inkstands, Flower Stands, Pastille Burners, *Porte-Violettes, Tete-a-Tete* service, and a variety of smaller articles. Porcelain figure of *Millie. Rachel* in the character of *Phedre*, pronounced a most accurate resemblance. *Objets de Paris*, a name given to articles of inlaid work, comprising Work, Glove, Jewel, and Perfume Boxes. Work Box with medallion of flowers, the painting by *Franco*, on alabaster of the newest fashion, and in the most exquisite taste. *Presse papiers* of an entirely new style. Articles carved in Cocoa Nut. Beautiful Rustic Vases, and other articles *en Gres*. Statuettes in *Biscuit*. Scotch Shawls of unusual fineness, of the Jenny Lind, Loch Laggan, Balmoral, Charlie Stewart, Tullibardine, Lorne, Princess Alice and Sutherland patterns; Scotch Plaids, and Handkerchiefs, Ladies' and Children's Polkas, of all colors. Every variety of Mat, knitted, netted and crocheted. Ladies' and Gentlemen's Wrought Slippers, made and unmade. Affghan Blankets *en Couvre Pieds* for Invalids. Cabas and Travelling Bags, Beautiful Hearth Rug embroidered in Berlin Wool, Knitted Bed Quilt, Knitted Drawing Room Curtains. Homton Lace Collars, Cuffs and Chemisetts, of unusual variety. Tidies and Chair Covers of all descriptions, some of the style so much admired last year, some wrought in colors. Aprons of black silk, satin and watered silk, plain, trimmed with lace, and richly embroidered. Great varieties of Scarfs, Cuffs, Prudence Caps and Handkerchiefs, knitted and netted in Berlin wool of all colors. Urn Stands, Feather Screens, Screens very beautifully embroidered on white satin, Sofa and Chair Cushions, elegantly wrought. Wrought Garden Chairs. Table and Chair Covers of Silk Patchwork. Great variety of Children's Dresses, some richly embroidered. Very beautiful Cloaks for infants. Infants' Hoods, Homens and Hats. Irish knitted Collars and Cuffs, of great fineness. Embroidered Table Borders, Carriage Mats, Purses, Music Holders. Dolls of all kinds, Wax, Wooden and Gutta Percha, some in the exact costumes of Wales, Normandy and Guernsey. Wax Doll and Wardrobe, valued by the donor at £5.

Beautiful Basket Work from the Bristol Blind Asylum. Lined Basket, embroidered with Chenille. Fayal Baskets. Tunbridge Work Box. Every variety of Toilet and Pin Cushion. Needle Cases, Housewife's Watch Cases, Carpet Balls, Babies' Boots and Shoes, and Gaiters. Etchings in Permanent Ink on Linen, after the Elgin Marbles, and from Illustrations of Faust.

Floral perfumed, Illuminated, Rose, Cream and Damask Laid, Queen's Cameo, Albert, and, in fine, every variety of Note and Letter Paper, with corresponding Envelopes, may be found at the Book Table.

Engravings of Mazzini, Villiers, Wilson and Bright. Water Color Drawings by Miss Carpenter, Mrs. Thomas and Mrs. Rickards; Views on the Banks of the Otter; Exact Representation of a May Day Village, Club and Fair in the West of England. Superior Solid Sketch Book for Artists and Amateurs. Small Vellum Card Cases. Memorandum Books. Ladies' Morocco Housewife. Ladies' and Gentlemen's Travelling Cases, highly gilt. Boxes of Fancy Wafers. Albums. Every variety of Blotting-Book, some of an entirely new style.

Russia Pocket Books. 'Where is it?' or Address Books. Autographs, including some very valuable ones of Salisbury, Minister of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Robert Walpole, William Godwin, Lord North, Mrs. Hemans, Brissot, Hannah More, and other distinguished authors and statesmen.

English editions of the Lives of Knox, Robert Hall, Cowper, R. L. Edgeworth, Fox's Book of Martyrs, Geddes's Bible, very rare.

Scented Olive Oil Soap. Pastilles Perfumes. Scented Paris Soaps. A white China Gilt Tea Service. Dried Grasses and Pressed Forest Leaves. Chinese Envelope Boxes of Lequered Ware. Epergne of Canton China.

A. W. WESTON,
M. G. CHAPMAN,
MARY MAY,
LOUISA LOCKLING,
SARAH SOUTHWICK.

NOTICE. *The Refreshment Table.* Any article suitable for our purpose will be thankfully received, but we shall be *particularly grateful* for supplies of *Coffee, Sugar, Bread and Butter.* These are articles which are absolutely necessary, and if not given, we are compelled to purchase them. Nothing contributes more to the success of an undertaking of this kind than the restriction of its expenses to the narrowest limits; and we therefore trust that all friends who can aid us without much inconvenience, by donations of the above-named articles, will do so. Milk and Cream will likewise be very acceptable.

For the Committee,

A. W. WESTON.

The Accident on the Vermont Central Railroad.—The names of the individuals who were killed and wounded by the falling of the trestels of the new bridge over the Ottauquechee River at Woodstock Falls, on Monday last, were as follows, as we learn from the Vermont Whig:—

Mr. Amos P. Cutting, an overseer, from Lyme, N. H., who died before he could be carried to a house. John Bland, an Irishman, was grievously lacerated about the head, and died soon after, painfully conscious, died in the evening. James Kennedy, of Burlington, had his chest crushed, and died a few hours after. Mr. D. Cunlis, late of Bellows Falls, received some injury from the shock, but will probably recover. Henry Williams, of Colchester, suffered a compound fracture of the arm, and William Hoag, of Winooski, had his thigh broken in a shocking manner.

Fatal Accident.—As Mr. Harding Daniels, of Holliston, was crossing the Milford Branch Railroad, near the freight depot, with a horse and wagon, his wagon was struck by a gravel train backing up, throwing him across the track. The cars passed over his body, crushing him in a horrid manner, and killing him instantly. He was about 50 years of age, and leaves a wife and several children.—*Boston Journal.*

☞ The morning train up on the Troy and Saratoga railroad, between Troy and Schenectady, when the 'journal' of one of the cars broke, making that car turn a somersaut, and throwing it with others off the track. William Stiles, conductor, and about a dozen others, passengers, were more or less injured: some, it is reported, having limbs broken.

☞ On Thursday evening, last week, Mr. Josiah Hesrd and Miss Hannah Jane of North Berwick, Me., who were on their way to make a visit to their friends in Mendutbonry, N. H., attempted to cross Lake Winnipiseogee, in a sleigh, and fired a man to show them the way. The ice broke, and the whole party, together with the horses, went down together, and were drowned. The bodies were recovered on Friday.

Death of Wm. Miller, the Prophet.—Mr. Miller, of Low Hampton, N. Y., somewhat celebrated for his views respecting the nearness of the Advent, died at his residence on Thursday, the 20th instant, in his 68th year. He was born in Pittsfield, Mass., Feb. 15, 1782. On the commencement of the last war with Great Britain, he received a captain's commission in the U. S. Army, where he remained until the peace. He took part in the action at Plattsburg, where 1500 regulars and about 4000 volunteers defeated the British, who were 14,000 strong.

Cholera in Louisiana.—The Alexandria (Red River) Republican of the 8th inst. says, that the cholera has reappeared on several plantations on Red River, that it prevails to some extent in Madison, Carroll, and some other of the northern parishes, and that its course is marked with considerable fatality among the negroes.

Great Bank Robbery.—The Phenix Bank of Westerly, R. I., was broken into on Sunday night last, and robbed of bills of the bank to the amount of $16,000.

Railroad Opened.—The completion of the Cayuga and Susquehanna railroad was celebrated at Ithaca, N. Y., last week, by a great crowd, a procession, speeches, &c.

Opening of the Rutland and Burlington Railroad.—We learn from the Boston Advertiser, that this important link in the chain of railroad communication between Boston and Lake Champlain, was opened to public travel through its entire length, for the first time, on Tuesday. The road, which is nearly 120 miles in length, with its rising grade of 1200 feet—necessarily averaging, in one place, for seven miles, a grade of 60 feet to the mile—has been completed in less than three years, at an average cost, including proper fixtures, stations, road furniture and apparatus, of less than $25,000.

☞ M. Guizot is at present one of the lions of Paris, and walks about the streets apparently as unconcerned as in the palmiest days of Louis Philippe.

☞ On the 15th ult., the High Court of Versailles pronounced sentence of transportation for life on M. Ledru Rollin, and thirty-three other persons implicated in the June insurrection.

☞ The new Emperor of Hayti has ordered furniture of the richest kind in France for his Imperial palace, to the value of nearly 1,600,000 francs, or $200,000.

☞ The Governor has appointed Monday, the 21st day of January next, for the seventh trial for an election of a Member of the 21st Congress from District No. 4.

LUCY STONE,

An Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

Lexington, Sunday, December 30.
Portland, Friday, January 4, the Anti-Slavery Lyceum.
Thursday, January 3.
Portsmouth, N. H., Friday, January 4.
Dedham, Sunday, January 6.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

☞ CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an address on Capital Punishment, in the Universalist Church in Plymouth, on the first Sabbath in January, in the morning, and also an address on the subject of Discharged Convicts in the afternoon, in the Unitarian Church.

There will be a general meeting in the evening for the free discussion of the whole subject.

HEAR HIM!

MR. ROBERT EDMOND, a native of Scotland, but for several years a resident in the Southern country, will lecture on the subject of slavery in the Town Hall, in Abington, on Sunday next, Dec. 30th, forenoon, afternoon and evening, at the usual time of religious service. Mr. Edmond will relate the particulars of his having been TARRED AND FEATHERED, last year, in South Carolina, on account of his endeavors to teach the slaves to read the Bible—from which State he was compelled to flee for his life. He will also give many facts as to the cruel treatment of slaves, which, as an eye-witness, he is able to substantiate. Let the hall be crowded on the occasion.

LECTURE ON TEMPERANCE.

A lecture on Temperance will be delivered by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, in the Temperance Hall, at Dedham, on the Sunday evening next, (Dec. 30,) at half past 6 o'clock.

LECTURE BY PARKER PILLSBURY.

☞ PARKER PILLSBURY, as an agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture in GEORGETOWN, (Essex county,) on Sunday, Dec. 30.

Masonic Temple!

☞ *MERRY CHRISTMAS!* ☜

Wonders of Mental Science.

PATHETISM.

LAROY SUNDERLAND
Discovers of Human Nature,
THE ORIGIN, NATURE, PHENOMENA, DESTINY.

DISEASES CURED
SURGICAL OPERATIONS
CHARACTER IMPROVED.
All Kinds of Mental Diseases Cured.

INTELLECTUAL ENTERTAINMENTS
Consisting of Scenes of Mirth and Wonder in
FASCINATION
Performed on his Assistant,
Mysterious, Mirthful, Musical, Musical,
Beginning the most wonderful Clairvoyance of Modern Times.
And extending in certain reality, to that state of Mental Fascination, called
SPIRIT WORLD!

EVERY EVENING, this week and next, at 7 o'clock.
Admission 15 cents.
☞ Advice to Invalids, and Phrenological Examinations daily, at Masonic Temple, from 8 to 12, A. M.
December 27.

Ninth Week at Boylston Hall.

J. INSCO WILLIAMS'S

PANORAMA OF THE BIBLE.

THIS Painting, which is over a mile in length, will commence moving every evening, at 7 o'clock, precisely.

Tickets 25 cents Children under 12 years of age, half price.

Exhibition every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon, at 3 o'clock.

HENRY W. WILLIAMS, M. D.,
Physician, Surgeon and Oculist,
No. 10, ESSEX STREET, - - BOSTON.

POETRY.

From the University Magazine.

A CHRISTMAS SONG.

A SONG OF A PLEASANT OLD WOODMAN, AND HIS WIFE JOAN, AT A CHRISTMAS FEAST.

BY P. J. PALMER.

Come! Jock o' the wood, my jolly old man!
Get up and bar the door!
The feathery sleet, with frosty foot, is dancing on the moor;
With a whoop and a call, in every hall, the Christmas sports abound,
And ditties are sung, and the sweet bells rung, the simple village round.
Untether and fling the curtain down, and cuddle in the screens—
You shall be the king of the feast, and *I* will be the *queen*.
And we'll drink good rest! to the merry old times!
we'll chirrup of kith and kin;
[ha'] brown ale I brewed myself, before the frost came in,]
So bow to the rule of reverend yule, in sunshine and in storm,
And thrust your shoulder next to mine, to keep your old wife warm.
Gaffer! my joy! how many a time we ne'er shall see again,
I pressed my chubby cheek to thine, at yonder glistening pane,
And beckoned you in to the sanded floor, with infant love and glee;
I twined your locks with dingle-flowers, whilst wild berries you prest
Into my lips, then sank to sleep upon my baby breast.
My mother stayed her whispering wheel, and gave us kisses sweet,
She loved so much to hear the sound of our little dancing feet.
Look up, my dear old charming chuck! and never turn askew!
You're not ashamed of me, I trust—I'm never ashamed of you!
Oh, weren't we glad—what fun we had! at yonder village school!
And how I screamed to see you stand, a Dunce! upon the stool—
And how we gambol'd in the lanes on many a breery morn,
And how you kept my kirtle wide, and dragged it from the thorn!
And how we went, with coat and hood, to ring the carols round,
Sitting before the vicarage door, at moonlight we were found,
And will and nill! they dragged us in, and made us dither and stare,
To have to sing our songs again before the lady's chair:
Your gatherings all you gave to me, full twelve pence was the gain;
And you kissed me under the sycamore tree, and *I* kissed you again.
Loud waved the flame in the winter's wind, the winking glades were red;
My mother nursed the baby dear, my father was in bed.
When oh, for shame! that night you came, with maistletoe bough to call,
With bungling words, (and 'a lame excuse is worse than none at all!')
And ay, we sat in the brave old screen, and ay, we looked and sighed;
Mother she brewed the buttered quart, and bade us drink it up;
But ay, you looked at me and sighed, and ay, looked in the cup.
You never nestle so near to me—or play with such antics now!
You always drink our measure up. God bless your dainty brow!
Think of the gay December time you took me for your bride;
Up and down the bells were swung, I never left your side;
So proud of me as your loving bride, you called me pink and rose,
And we danced beneath a holly bough, in all our Sunday clothes.
Lord bless me! how you twirled me round, and made my color rise!
And I can't tell which were brightest then, your buckles or your eyes.
The squire he gave a thumping goose, your rival sent a curse,
My lady sent a silver pound, tied in a silken purse;
Heaven forgive your wicked face, and all your youthful sins,
Next Christmas eve the parson came and married us, poor lovely twins.
Soon, soon the honey-moon unwilling was to hide;
Father and mother went to dust, our pretty children died:
A famine came, the laboring men committed crime for bread;
You hinted once of doing so; I wished that you were dead:
Struggle on bravely!' still I cried. You did, my dear, and won;
'Twas bitter strife, well ended, and fortune well begun
We'd a cow and a nag, a pig and a cot, and hearty children three.
And merry we danced the first of May, around the hawthorn tree.
Ah! then came happy Christmas, they almost drove us mad;
The sculls always squeaking—the children always glad.
We're grey old people, Jock o' the wood! but grieving won't avail;
We've seen our younkers settled, so we'll sit and drink our ale.
Come! take your fiddle from overhead, and never your whisper say;
I'll show you the lilt I danced for you upon our wedding day;
I've got the same blue kirtle on, the same red kerchief, too,
And you've the self-same smiling face, with looks 'as good as new'.
Strike up! strike up! my lithsome lad, twang out a lusty strain;
I'll foot it, on the Christmas hearth, around and round again;
There's music! music! in my heart, and mirth upon my tongue!
You never played so well before—I never felt so young.
Give me a kiss, you Jock o' my heart! as sweet as love can tell!
Give me a *dozen*, you Jock o' my heart! dost love thy old wife well!
You bring the tears into my eyes, and burn my heart-strings, too.
But should I weep? sweet lad of my love, let's drink a drop with you!
For my cup is out, and I think I hear, or the wind talks over the moor—
There's some one tittering, jerking, whispering, joking at the door.
Sure it must be our children's sons, coming with wonted rhymes,
To sing a carol round the hearth, and wish us happy times!
I guess they've heard our silliness. I'll sit me down and spin—
Jock! hide the fiddle on the rack, and let the darlings in.

Reformatory.

TO RICHARD D. WEBB, DUBLIN.

[*Extracts from Journal continued.*]

OAKLAND, Clinton county,
Sunday, Nov. 4, 1849.

This is 'the holy day,' the 'Lord's day,' as it is called—a day set apart to worship God. I now have Twenty-four Boys! I am at Abraham Brooks's. In the forenoon, we had a meeting of parents and children at A. B.'s house, and discoursed about war and slavery, and the way to train children into obedience to the just laws of their being. Much was said against fretting and scolding and punishing our children to make them loving and good, and for imitating our example. It was shown that there is no power in anger and violence to bind human beings together in love and peace, but that anarchy must ever result from violence, when used to govern families or nations.

We held our meeting in a small, close room, for two hours. We were weary and prostrated, and went from our meeting into a beautiful pasture, and there, by the road-side, children and parents had a glorious game of blind-man's buff. These were still Quakers and their children playing, heart and soul, while some were going to and from their places of worship. We had held a meeting to rescue humanity from the auction block and battle field, and now we were rescuing ourselves from the withering effects of a small, crowded room. It was a happy time, and more acceptable to God than singing, praying, baptizing and communing, simply because it is more profitable to those who engage in it. That game of blind man's buff was a more acceptable offering to God than any oral prayer ever offered by a worshiper or slaveholder; and I had rather pass to the tribunal of my Creator with that handkerchief tied over my eyes, and feeling and poking about after my playmates, old and young, than from a prayer-meeting or communion table of a pro-slavery or pro-war church. What are the canting, lying prayers of Texas, to one day, pray to God, 'Thy kingdom come,' and the next vote for the kingdom of Zachary Taylor, Lewis Cass, or Martin Van Buren, compared to the joyous, sincere and hearty laugh of those children at play? We only tied a bandage over our bodily eyes, to wander in darkness a moment till we could catch some one to take our place; but sectarian priests, with their holy books, Sabbaths, churches and governments, put out the eyes of men's souls, and send them off to grope in eternal darkness—so far as they can.

In the afternoon, we had a temperance meeting in a school house, and concluded that the most dangerous place for a reformed drunkard was in a church where alcohol is used at the communion. The question was started—Can we promote temperance by keeping silent on slavery? Friar Mathew's conduct was held up to the scorn and reprobation of all honest minds. Strike hands with slave-breeders and slave-traders to promote temperance! It is like all human policy, a compromise with sin, to get power to do good. It never was, and never can be done. The moment any man consents to tell a lie to get power to tell the truth, he loses the power to tell truth, because he consents to be a liar. So when men consent to vote for and to swear to sustain slavery and war, to get power to abolish these evils, they lose all power over them. He that will kill men to protect life, cannot be trusted to guard life, when he is a murderer.

This evening, we had a social party at A. B.'s, to talk over the question—Can man have a right to dictate law to man, and to punish him if he refuses obedience? I believe he is a tyrant who claims it. Man cannot be justly held responsible to any law or being, except to his own nature; i. e., to the organic laws of his being. No arbitrary law can be of any authority, no matter by whom given. God never enacted an arbitrary law, or penalty. His laws are all interwoven into our nature; he never gave to man a law, except he wrote it on his body and soul, as an element of existence. Man cannot be justly held amenable to any law out of himself, to any arbitrary rule of life, that has no foundation but the injunction of men. Man's laws are necessarily arbitrary, and therefore can be of no authority further than we can find them in that statute book which each man brings into being with him. God cannot justly put man under the dominion of man, unless he changes our present nature and relations. A man has no more right to vote for and under this government than for murder; and he who joins this conference, joins a band of pirates. These positions are granted to be correct by some; yet they join the conference. Man cannot justly be held responsible to man, nor to God, except through the fixed and just laws of his nature. If this be so, what are slavery, war, and human government, but outrages upon humanity? The man who assumes the right to dictate law to man, and to punish him if he will not obey, is a tyrant, and an enemy to his kind, at least, by position; and is heir, if he knows what he does.

XENIA, Green co., Nov. 8.

I left Oakland—Dr. Brooke's—day before yesterday, on which day nine men, in a neighboring town, were put on trial for murder. The facts, as told to me, were substantially these:—One man owed another *two dollars and a half*. (10s.) The debtor was from home. The creditor seized and sold five acres of Indian corn, for some six or eight cents per bushel, to pay the debt, the corn yielding forty or fifty bushels per acre. The purchaser gathered half of it and took it off before the creditor came home. He came, and found his corn sold so maliciously by the government, which was the tool of the creditor's revenge; he at once gathered the other half, and cribbed it. The purchaser, having bought it, and being the *government* owner of it, determined to have it all. He gathered nine men, and with teams started for the corn, or for the life of the creditor. They came to the place, and were ordered not to enter the premises. They tried to force an entrance; the owner knocked one man down; the fryer of the corn seized a bar of iron, struck the man, and broke his skull; he fell senseless, and the others jumped on him and brained him. The wife came out and begged them not to kill her husband. They seized her and did violence to her person. The man died in a few days, and the man who gave the blow fled, and a reward of $200 is offered for his apprehension. The other nine were taken on a charge of murder in the first degree.

I find a man is in prison in this town, Xenia, under sentence of death, for murder in January, 1850. He cut his wife's throat, confessed his crime, and is to be hung.

The spirit of murder pervades this whole nation, since the Mexican war. Why not? The government, i. e., the VOTERS, murdered 40,000 innocent Mexican men, women and children, under the sanction of their religion and God. Why should that God who led on these VOTERS to murder the Mexicans, turn round and hang this man for killing one woman, or those ten men for killing one man? The God of these voters rewards them with glory and gold, for murdering 40,000, and hangs a man for murdering two! Are men bound to honor and respect such a God? I have just as much respect for the honor of Sheva, Juggernaut, and the other gods of the Hindoos, as I have for the bloody, revengeful demon worshipped as God by the voters in this government. Ought these men to be killed because they have killed? Ought their blood to be shed, because they have shed a brother's blood? Ought their throats to be cut because they have cut another's throat? Ought a drop of blood to be drawn on us as an obligation to hang these men; simply because, to kill men, for any cause, is a violation of the fixed and just laws of our nature. That man had as good a right to cut that woman's throat as the voters, through Jacob Brooks, had to cut out the throats of the women and children of Monterey; those ten men had as good a right to knock out the brains of the British at Brandywine, Trenton, or Yorktown; and God approved the act of the woman in the throat as completely as he did the breaking of Andre's neck by Washington. The Author of our being condemns them both alike as murder, and he commands all the voters, with their agents, who killed the Mexicans, to be hung, as truly as he commands this poor, unfortunate murderer of his wife to be hung. Human government! Its chief end is to make criminals and hang them. Hang the governor, I say I, and then human life would soon be comparatively safe. We should soon have no other hanging to do.

'*Would you hang a man for doing what commanded you to do?*' This question was put to me in Vienna, in '44, as I was examining the ancient armor in the *Schloss-Ambras*. I quietly looked at the questioner, who was a priest, and said 'NO.' 'What would you do?' asked he, in quite a heat. 'I hang the God that could command such an abominable deed,' said I. 'If God required you to stone your child to death for disobedience, what would you do?' asked he, in great excitement. 'Stone the God that could order such an unnatural and murderous deed, and let the child go,' said I. 'Would you not offer your son as a sacrifice to God if he required it of you? as he did of Abraham?' asked the priest, horror-struck. 'NO,' said I; 'I would sacrifice the God who could be pleased with such an offering, and let my son go; for, any how, the god who could require me to hang my brother, to stone my child, or sacrifice my son as an offering, has no existence, and *never had*, except in the disordered imaginations of his worshippers; he is a bloody spectre, a phantom God, and I'd rather hang and stone a spectral, ghostly god, than a living, bona fide human being.' So I answer to all who bring in what they call God to sanction the action they intend to do. I will hang the god whose nature allows him to carry out his bloody purposes by such bloody means in the hands of man. I do not recognise the existence or authority of any being as God who ever did or can require man to take the life of man, or to violate any of the fixed and just laws of our nature. The all-wise, all-just, all-good, and all-powerful Author of our being, who made us and put us under fixed laws, and works out *all* his purposes respecting man by the agency of such laws, and *never* by direct revelation or arbitrary command, never did and never can order man to kill his brother; and when men of the past or present come to us with what they suppose to be a direct command from God to sustain war or capital punishment, be it for idolatry, Sabbath-breaking, witchcraft, heresy, or murder, the nature of the act proved to be done convinces me at once that they are mistaken. I had rather believe every prophet, seer, apostle, speaker or writer, mistaken, than to believe the Father of men ever told one of his children to kill another. And to make a fair, distinct and tangible issue with all the advocates of the gallows and the sword, as a means of defence or punishment, I deny the existence and authority of any being as God who ever authorised the use of either for the protection of life, liberty or property. Therefore, I say to all such advocates of blood for blood, who erect their gallows and their gibbets, on the throne of their God, and make him the stronghold of war and all its atrocities, I would hang and slaughter all such war-making gods, for they are but horrid phantoms, that only serve the purpose of an almighty apology and refuge for the crimes of his worshippers. The Author of our being, and of justice and love, says of the worshippers of a slaveholding, war-making, gallows-supporting God, They have formed to themselves a God that profiteth nothing. Behold, all his devotees shall be ashamed and confounded together; they set up a God of idolatry, a slaveholder, a drunkard, hangman as God; they fall down before him, and pray to him, and say, 'Deliver us, for thou art our God.' They feed on ashes; deceived hearts have turned them aside from the true God. They shall be covered with confusion.

SELMA, Clark co., Nov. 12.

On the evenings of the 10th and 11th, I lectured in the Wesleyan house in Cartsville, to review an address by Edward Smith, the great leader of the Wesleyans, or COBNUTTERS. He says if the government does sanction and sustain slavery, it is the duty of Christians to be a part of it and help administer it; that it is our duty to vote for the Constitution, even though in doing so we must vote for slavery and war, and all the horrors that make them; that we could have no knowledge of the evils of slavery but from the Bible; and that we must receive the Bible, and a belief in the divine authority of all its contents, can ever abolish slavery. The God that speaks in the soul his despises; only the God that speaks in the Bible is of any account to him. He places the Bible above the world and all its interests, and the fixed truths of the soul must, in his view, go down before the positive declarations of the Bible; and the constitutional laws of our nature must yield to arbitrary commands of the Bible. He would test Nature by Revelation, rather than Revelation by Nature; fact by fiction, rather than fiction by fact. I took the ground, that supposed direct communication from God, given by inspiration, revelation, miracles, dreams, visions, direct interposition of any kind, whether given to teachers of the past or present, must all be tried by the soul of man; and if they conflict with the fixed laws and self-evident truths of nature, they never came from the Author of our being. The authority of the human soul is paramount to that of all books. When the God of the Bible contradicts what God put in the soul, as it often does in reference to war and capital punishment, the former must go down before the latter. Those who sustain the positive commands and penalties of the Bible to sanction war, slavery, or the death-penalty, at the expense of natural justice and equity, and of the fixed facts and laws of human nature, are sustaining and perpetuating the doctrine under which slavery and war perpetrates every crime against his brother. What leads the Hindoo mother to cast her child into the Ganges; or the Hindoo to cast himself beneath the car of Juggernaut—or the Aztec to offer human sacrifices? Those outrages upon nature were perpetrated under the same authority that led Abraham to sacrifice his son, the Jews to invade and exterminate the Canaanites, to stone children to death for the sins of their parents, and to stone witches, Sabbath-breakers and murderers to death; i. e., the authority of direct arbitrary command from God. Thus, in all ages and nations, every outrage upon humanity and justice has been done under the sanction of some supposed direct revelation!

Dr. Brooke—Do not shock at my language. Slavery and war, in this nation, have fled for protection to the bosom of what the nation calls God. If I pursue them there, I am branded as an infidel and an atheist. I treat the Being that thus shelters those evils as I treat Jupiter, Bacchus, Mars or Moloch. I deny his existence, despise his authority, and fear not his wrath. I must take this ground, or renounce the God and Author of my nature.

There are some precious spirits around Selma; some of them love me and my doctrine; some hate my doctrine, though they show no personal animosity to me.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

INTEMPERANCE IN HIGH PLACES.

BY PHILIP S. WHITE.

The halls of legislation in our country have been frequently disgraced by the drunkenness on the floor of more than one State, and the midnight councils of the representatives of the sovereign people.

We have the testimony of a gentleman, who was at the time a member of Congress, that in one session of Congress, by a conservative estimate, three thousand dollars were expended in purchasing intoxicating drinks, for the members, to be used in the lobbies of the Capitol. The expenses for these articles were charged in the bill of expenditures to the account of 'stationery.'

The Bible and Christian statesmen is more formidable than that of intemperate clergymen; but in some respects not so appalling; for men who serve at the altar of their God, may expected to be more free from the immoralities of life, than the leaders of parties.

In the House of Representatives at Washington, we have seen a member from New Hampshire hanging for hours across his desk, with his head in his hand, who, when roused from his lethargy, would sometimes gain the floor, and from his powers of mind and utterance command the attention of all. The lobbies of the House brought the ulcerations of his moral character to ripeness and rottenness; and Jacob's brother was failed to reflect honor on Congress, and he soon after died of *mania a potu*.

Who has not seen the tall, drunken member from New York, a native of Ireland, in the Legislature of New York, and on the floor of Congress, he was long known, and acknowledged every where as a leading politician of strong mind; but by his pernicious habit, he went down to old age, a victim of intemperance.

The notorious drunkenness and horrid death of Felix Grundy, Secretary of Treasury, should be sufficient to name him, except as a warning to the coming generation. After he had reduced himself to a shadow, he exclaimed, 'I am a ruined man,' and he finished the work of death with his pendulum.

The Secretary of War, during a part of Mr. Madison's presidency, and several of 'The Granny Generals,' as they were familiarly called under him, were frequently seen in a state of intoxication.

A statesman from Georgia, who once held a place in our cabinet, and who, at the time, was a candidate for the presidential chair, had the same fault to such an extent that he could not write his name.

A Senator from New York, who had, we had, had been Governor of the Empire State, who died suddenly, was accustomed to drink in Washington two pints of brandy per day, and afterwards—and yet he had such strong intellectual and bodily powers that he could speak rationally and walk straight, when his free blood was stimulated to boiling.

Another gentleman, who had been Governor of the State of New York, of most amiable manners, and generally beloved, while Vice-President of the United States, was often intoxicated that he disgraced himself and the Senate while presiding over that august body. During several sessions of Congress, he was a member of our Senate, while a President *pro tempore* occupied his seat in the capitol. He died prematurely from inebriation.

The Duke of the Senate in Congress from Pennsylvania we know to have been drunkards. One of them had been the chief magistrate of the Commonwealth, and another of them anticipated the nomination of party to that high office, but failing to receive it, soon killed himself with alcohol. A third still lives, and has been seen by the boys to crawl like a tortoise from the bank and bar-room to the door of his boarding-house, while the young urchins exclaimed: 'There's the drunken Senator from Pennsylvania!' He is so heavy a man that a sleeder companion and a half-tipsy coachman could not sustain him on his feet, while moving over the breadth of the short avenue.

We have heard a distinguished Senator say on Capitol Hill, that he never introduced a measure till he had resolved on it twice, once when drunken, and once when sober.

One who very ably filled the Vice-President's chair in the Senate, not long since, and who was the learned judge of a southern school, the friend of humanity, and the decided defender of Christianity, fell a victim, in the prime of life, to the free use of the intoxicating cup.

We have heard the silly declamation of a noble general on the floor of the Senate; and when the presiding officer required the Senator from Indiana to take his seat, he saw that he had fallen, at his full length, on the floor, because he was too much beside himself, with strong drinks, to hold his large 40 bow chain, and two years after this event he died of the fashionable *mania*, and was buried with all due Congressional solemnities, not far from the Senate chamber, in which he most ingloriously took the floor.'

Truth might also tell us of the electioneering campaign of a Harrison, who was so much drunk as to nearly every place of public speaking to which he betook himself; and having been elected, continued his potations until he placed his brains, and all his toes, and the muzzle to his forehead, and blew his brains out, before his official term of office had expired.

When inebriation has thus assailed all classes of people in the community, from the lowest to the highest, is it incredible that 30,000 of the American people should be yearly dried annually from the poisonous effects of alcohol?

From the Christian Citizen.

WAR AND HUMAN BROTHERHOOD.

We believe in the universal brotherhood of the race. Whatever of human being is capable of pain and suffering, there are our sympathies, and there is our brother. We cannot forget that the throat of a queen or peasant is as much to be guarded against a Russian as much as it does a Hungarian bosom. We cannot be unmindful that the shot that dashes out a Magyar's brains, and makes his home the desolate abode of orphans and widows, produces the same effect when it strikes the head of his foe. We cannot forget the agonies of the wounded Russian, stretched upon the battle-field, and that he is brother, his last, flit through his mind thoughts of his rude but by the Danube, 'where are his young barbarians all at play,' any more than we can forget the agonies of body and spirit of those who fall in a juster cause; and our patriotism refuses to bestow a larger proportion of our sympathies upon the one than the other. All alike deserve our sympathy and comp ssi n; all alike should be the subjects of our prayers and the objects of our regard. We have no faith in a patriotism that is purely national. The God who makes his sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and who sendeth the rain equally upon the just and unjust, has established no limits or boundaries to our expansive love; he has erected no barriers beyond the pale of which we may not carry our kindliest hopes, our most benevolent aspirations in behalf of our fellow men. His Son, Christ Jesus, came not to proclaim the glad tidings of the new dispensation to a single nation or people, but to all people. In him, as his well been said by an eminent divine, 'the wall of partition, which had so long divided the Gentile from the Jew, were broken down.' It is impossible for a patriotism that is truly Christian, to be national; and here is the touch-stone by which we may test the sham patriotism of our selfish politicians. We say sham patriotism, for it is selfish in its character, as existing facts will abundantly demonstrate.

Who are they who get up great meetings to sympathize with the Hungarian patriots? Who are they that make great speeches about liberty and the rights of man in old Europe? Who are they that hold up the Hungarian patriots to the admiration of Austrian injustice? Who are they that with tearful eyes move the feelings of the people to sympathy with the wrongs of those men and women suffer three thousand miles away? Who are they that write flaming editorials, filled with all the choice epithets of eloquence, to spurious republic niem, that vaunts itself aithe nobles, noblest republic on earth? It is that can be conceived of, while it makes chattels of one-sixth of its population? Are they not, for the most part, the leaders

'Whose lordly souls have *telescopic* eyes,
Who heed the smallest speck of *distant* pain;
While at their feet a world of agonies,
Unseen, unheard, unheeded, writhes in vain?'

We do not care to listen to the cant of such devotees of Freedom. The patriotism which is so narrow as to expend its sympathies upon Hungarians abroad, while it shuts its eyes and ears to the Hungarians at home, is not a Christian sentiment; it is based upon nothing better than selfishness and pride; it seeks not so much to bless others as to profit itself.

'The poor ye have always with you,' said the Saviour to his disciples; they have they been will us. Ever, in our cars, the slave clanks his gall chains, and lifts up his voice in tones of almost despairing anguish for succor under the heavy yoke that he bears. Ever among us the grip of the iniquities, legalized by statutes of our own creation, oppresses the poor and strips him of his homestead in the hour of his affliction, with the same greedy appetite that the Austrian pounces upon the homesteads of the Magyar peasantry. Ever among us the Christian is called upon to quench the aspirations of the seekers after liberty and right. It is the part of a true and an enlightened Christian patriotism to frown on distinctions in the objects of its charity,—to bow in its philanthropy by no national boundaries,—to circumscribe its sympathies by no circumstances of place, time, or condition.

Let those who will, perpetrate the glaring inconsistency of aiding Hungary to free herself from the yoke of despotism, while they keep their sweet will. Better still stronger upon the limbs of the slave. Let those who will, complain of Austrian tyranny, while with their petty actions they practically say, that they help to enlarge the boundaries of tyranny's domain upon our own soil; let those who will, hold up to the detestation of the world, the barbarity which indicts corpses upon the bodies of its prisoners of war, while themselves uphold a government which authorizes the bestowal of forty thousand ladies upon the large stocks of our government to board a single ship in a single cruise, in time of peace. It becomes not the true friends of humanity to enact any such inconsistency in the cause of the slave; we do, that all men are brothers—that all war is criminal in the sight of God, let us still walk on in the good path which the precepts of Christ clearly point out to us. Let us, while we sympathize with our Hungarian brethren in their struggles, not forget that their foes are also men; that they are driven to the battle-field by an arbitrary power, which they are not disobey; that their position is not of their own seeking, but of the lordings that have seized and conquered them into a state of bondage. Let us, while