THE LIBERATOR.
PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY, AT THE
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.

Robert F. Wallcut, General Agent.

TERMS—$2 50 per annum, in advance.
All resistances are to be made, and all letters relating to the literary concerns of the paper are to be addressed (POST PAID) to the General Agent.
Six copies will be sent to one address for FIVE DOLLARS, if payment be tendered in advance.
Advertisements making less than a square inserted three times for 75 cts.—one square for $1 00.

Financial Committee—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELIJS GRAY JOHN, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, WENDELL PHILLIPS. (This Committee is responsible for the financial economy of the paper—not for any of its views.)

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

VOL. XX. NO. 11. BOSTON MASS. FRIDAY, MARCH 15 1850 WHOLE NO. 1001.

The Liberator.

From the Journal of Commerce.

THE HUNGARIAN EXILES TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Americans! the remnants of the oldest free nation of Europe have landed on the hospitable shores of the free Union of North America.

They are but two kinds of nations on earth; the free and the enslaved. Hungary was from the outset a free land.

Despots and usurpers combined together, and blood the whole force of their respective States, against the strength at their disposal, for mutual support. The Hungarian ever extends to his kind hospitality, aid and comfort.

Free people have seen, alas! too late, their error in treating each other with indifference; the result of which has been, that for the last sixty years, all the free States of Europe have fallen a prey to tyrants.

Hungary resisted the conquest. Through the course of nine centuries, and this in such an unbroken series have experienced, it maintained its liberty and independence.

Not to mention its position as the rampart of Christendom, and its mighty struggles with the Turks, resulting from that position, it has, within the last three hundred years, five times measured its strength with that of Austria, in successful defence of its rights.

With God and justice on our side, we have shown by a hundred victories, in the war of 1848-1849, that more can attempt to enslave Hungary with impunity.

We, and with us the right cause of the other people of Europe, have fallen out of this contest victorious, if the faithless governments of Europe had not suffered Russia to send forth her armed slaves against us, and if the Northern despot had not bribed that man to become a Judas to the land, whose children had entrusted him with its defence.

Overwhelmed by the barbarians of the North, betrayed by Georgey, who might have been the Washington of his country, there was nothing left for us but to lay down our arms—although not conquered, yet unequal to the danger of the moment.

Not renouncing our country nor doubting of the future, which we gladly know as in the hands of God, we save the strength of her brave children for that country and the happier future that must come, and for the present yield to the necessity of the moment.

Hungary's sons cannot, will not, be slaves!

Americans! sons of Washington and Franklin! you cannot have forgotten the sympathy that was extended to your fathers on the part of Europe in their heroic struggle. You will not regard with indifference martyrs of freedom, who have always looked upon your growth with joy, and attended it with prayers for your continued prosperity.

Nor will you refuse a kind reception and hospitable rights to men who have willingly sacrificed all that is dear to man on earth, for the sake of liberty. We, the rightful owners of the land of our fathers, wander houseless over the ocean, while the conspiracy *usurpers* trample on the free inheritance of our free fathers; we come to America with the deep grief of exiles in our hearts.

Our sons have poured out their blood on the battlefield; our wives and little children have been driven from their homes, persecuted and separated from each other; our fathers are have left behind fathers and mothers, in misery, or even in the chains of tyrants; many have no knowledge of the fate of those dearest to them; and to crown all, we are in a great degree alone in our grief by weeping among the ruins over the graves of our dear country.

Thus do we, the unfortunate, come to happy, free America. Americans! you have already shown us your generous sympathy. The encouraging voice of sympathy reached us even before we set foot on the warm grasp of American hands with which we were welcomed, tells us that the free American honors our free Hungarian.

Thank you for this. May America calmly and safely advance to that greatness which Providence has appointed for her!

As we rely upon your hospitable shores, we reach to you our hands in hearty greetings. We hope for a friendly return; for a reception such as one free people gives to another. We count upon such sympathies as must exist between free men who mutually honor each other.

We come to you to seek rest here from the labors of battle; to find alleviation for our sorrow and sympathy; to await the day which Providence has in reserve for the restoration of our country.

We look with confidence for a hospitable reception in this generous land, that may prove to the tyrants of the earth that free people are closely bound to each other, and finally resolved to carry on the struggle for the liberation of the human race to a victorious issue.

God save America, help the oppressed, and let freedom reign throughout the earth.

May the day soon come when emancipated Hungary shall gratefully return, on the banks of the free Danube, the hospitality fully now expressed to her exiled patriots by the noble Americans.

God help Hungary! God bless America! A heartfelt greeting to free America from the exiled patriots of Hungary.

In the name of the exiled Hungarians, the Committee—

Col. JOHN PRAGAY, Adjutant General.
SZALAY LASZLO, Colonel.
Major CORNELIUS FORNET.
Captain EMERICH RAUNSCHER.
Rev. GEORGE A. WIMMER, late Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Prussia.
Major THEO. DANBURGHY, late Charge d'Affaires to the United States.
Major EMER HAMRASY.
New York, 28th February, 1850.

MR. CASS GROUND TO POWDER

[Washington correspondent of the Boston Courier.]

Mr. Cass's confessions in the Senate, the other day, were exceedingly interesting. He spoke with much coolness and a great deal of feeling. He declared that the South was mad, and the North was mad, and that between them he had been ground to powder as between the upper and nether mill-stone. He said he had been broken down and overwhelmed, by trying to stand between these contending parties. He avowed his belief that the same elements which control his mind, were in a fair way to ruin the country. He considered that his race was run, and his errand done; that the Senate and the country that had known him so long, would soon know him no more forever. During these confessions, we felt for Mr. Cass. He certainly displayed great frankness, great sincerity, great feeling; but we must add that he displayed great weakness also. It is a mistake for any man to preach his own funeral sermon. The self-preservice many a man alive, who would die and be buried long before his time comes, if he gave in to fears and apprehensions. A most distinguished example of this power of self may be seen by Mr. Cass say day, if he will look over his right shoulder, to the seat occupied by Mr. Clay. Clay, here sits a man whose entire intrepidity and extraordinary resolution of purpose keep around him troops of enthusiastic friends, and profound admirers without number, among his most sturdy opponents. But Mr. Cass quails before a storm which the 'Old Harry' would laugh at, and he has faced it time and time again.

Both Mr. Clay and Mr. Cass, the one in elbowing his way out of the present melee as fast as he can, and the other in striving to turn it to his own individual account, are but performing their parts consistently with their nature, and in the great drama, which nature assigned to them. We may not complain of either for what they are; but this we may say, that if Mr. Cass were a leader man, and Mr. Clay a less aspiring and undying man, these would be helps to the settlement of the difficulty of the time which do not exist. But highly as we estimate the influence of these long distinguished men, we do not believe that the peace and tranquillity of the country is in any degree dependent upon their individual opinions or actions. The great current of events sweeps on, and in this day of public opinion, no one man and no ten men can change or sensibly warp its general set. J. S. T.

'VIOLENT BLACK-HEARTED ABOLITIONIST.'

The following is the petition presented to the U. S. Senate, which occasioned the political phenomenon of Senator STURGEON of Pennsylvania opening his mouth, and denouncing it as spurious, 'the work of some violent, black-hearted abolitionist'—

The association of Friends for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the mitigation and alleviation of the free people of color, respectfully represents:

That the members of the Society of Friends have long maintained the principles of all men are created equal, that all should have equal rights and privileges guaranteed to them as citizens of a common country.

In view of this, they have been led to look at the increased extent of our domain, and of the necessity of maintaining over its wide surface such equal laws as shall render our happiness and security to a free system of slavery, which has so long burdened and desolated the Southern portion of our land, is viewed by us all with deep concern, and the fear presses upon us, that in the admission of new States into the Union, and the erection of new territories, this terrible evil may be spread and perpetuated, thus adding blight to blight, with its vast addition of distress, of sorrow, and of sin.

We, however, ask you, possessing, as you do, the legislative power to prevent the increase of this dreadful evil, by the non-admission of new States into the Union, or the erection of new territories whose Constitution or organic laws do not contain express prohibitions to the establishment or the continuance of slavery within their limits.

Signed, on behalf of the Pennsylvania Association, at their monthly meeting held in Philadelphia, on the 7th day of the 11th month, 1849.

JACOB M. ELLIS,
LYDIA GILLINGHAM, } *Clerks.*

DISUNION.

The People's Journal, issued at Condersport, Pa., after quoting an article from the Washington Union, which berates the Liberator for publishing resolutions addressed to the Massachusetts Legislature, petitioning that measures be taken for a peaceable secession from the Union, holds the following pertinent language:

'The shareholders have always acted on this principle, and we hope their organ will keep on denouncing and scolding the people of the North until they hint it out.

Why shouldn't these lords of the earth claim exclusive right of talking against the Union? They claim the exclusive right of holding offices. They have disunion in their hearts for many years, and have been obeyed. They have filled the Executive Chair—the Speaker's Chair—controlled the Cabinet—had a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and three-fourths of the Foreign Ministers. If it is any privilege to rail against the Union, it would be in keeping with our usual arrangement to allow the slavery propagandists to have the exclusive enjoyment of it. So you Boston fanatics will please migrate to Africa, or some place else, and not interfere again in an agitation that belongs exclusively to the slave power.'

SPEECH
OF THE
HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN,
ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION,
DELIVERED IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, MARCH 4, 1850.

I have, Senators, believed from the first, that the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measures, end in disunion. Entertaining this opinion, I have, on all proper occasions, endeavored to call the attention of both of the two great parties which divide the country, to adopt some such measure to prevent so great a disaster, but without success. The agitation has been permitted to proceed, with almost no attempt to resist it, until it has reached a period when it can be no longer disguised or denied that the Union is in danger. You have thus had forced upon you the greatest and the gravest question that ever can come under your consideration, How can the Union be preserved?

To give a satisfactory answer to this mighty question, it is indispensable to have an accurate and thorough knowledge of the nature and the character of the cause by which the Union is endangered. Without such knowledge, it is impossible to pronounce, with any certainty, by what measure it can be saved, just as it would be impossible for a physician to pronounce, in the case of some dangerous disease, with any certainty, by what remedy the patient could be saved, without similar knowledge of the nature and character of the cause of the disease. The first question, then, presented for consideration, in the investigation I propose, in order to obtain such knowledge, is—What is it that has endangered the Union? To this question there can be but one answer—that the immediate cause is, the almost universal discontent which pervades all the States composing the Southern section of the Union. This widely extended discontent is not of recent origin. It commenced with the agitation of the slavery question, and has been increasing ever since. The next question is—What has caused this widespread and almost universal discontent?

It is a great mistake to suppose, as by some, that it originated with demagogues, who excited the discontent with the intention of using it as their stepping advancement, or with disappointed, ambitious individuals, who resorted to it as the means of raising, false fictious excitement. There is no foundation for this opinion. On the contrary, all the great political influences of the section were arrayed against excitement, and exerted to the utmost to keep the people quiet. The great mass of the people of the South were divided, as in the other section, into Whigs and Democrats. The leaders and the presses of both parties in the South were united in the attempt to prevent excitement and restore quiet; because it was seen that the effects of the former would necessarily tend, to weaken, if not destroy, the political ties which united them with their respective parties in the other section. Those who know the strength of party ties will readily appreciate the immense force which this cause exerted against agitation, and in favor of preserving quiet. But as great as it was, it was not sufficiently so to prevent the wide-spread discontent which now pervades the section. No; some cause far deeper and more powerful must exist to produce a discontent so wide and deep, than the one inferred. The question then recurs, what is the cause of this discontent? It will be found in the belief the people of the Southern States, as prevalent as the discontent itself, that they cannot remain, as things now are, consistently with their safety, in the Union. The next question, then, to be considered, is, what has caused this belief?

One of the causes is, undoubtedly, to be traced to the long continued agitation of the slave question on the part of the North, and the many aggressions which they have made on the rights of the South, during the time. I will not enumerate them at present, as it will be done hereafter in its proper place.

There is another, lying back of it, but with which this is intimately connected, that may be regarded as the great and primary cause. It is to be found in the fact, that the equilibrium between the two sections in the government, as it stood when the Constitution was ratified, and the government put in action, has been destroyed. At that time, there was nearly a perfect equilibrium between the two, which facilitated ample means to each to protect itself against the aggression of the other; but as it now stands, one section has declared the right of controlling the government, which leaves the other without any adequate means of protecting itself against its encroachment and oppression. To place this subject distinctly before you, Senators, I propose, first, to state a historical statement, showing the relative weight of the two sections in the government, under the first census of 1790, and the last census of 1840.

According to the former, the population of the United States, including Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee, which were then the independent condition of becoming States, but were not actually admitted, amounting to 3,929,827. Of this number, the Northern State had 1,977,899, and the Southern 1,952,072, leaving a difference in favor of the Northern of 25,857 in favor of the former States. The number of States, including Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee, was sixteen, of which eight, including Vermont, belonged to the Northern section, and eight, including Kentucky and Tennessee, to the Southern, making an equal division of the States between the two sections under the first census. There was a small preponderance in the House of Representatives, and in the electoral college, in favor of the Northern, owing to the fact that, according to the provisions of the Constitution, in estimating federal numbers, five slaves count but three; but it was too small to effect sensibly the perfect equilibrium between the two sections, which, as I have stated, existed at the time—a true, perfect equilibrium. Such was the equality of the two sections when the States composing them agreed to enter into a federal Union. Since then, the equilibrium between them has been greatly disturbed.

According to the last census, the aggregate population of the United States amounted to 17,063,357, of which the Northern section contained 9,728,920, and the Southern 7,334,437, making a difference, in round numbers, of 2,400,000. The number of States had increased from sixteen to twenty-six, making an addition of ten States. In the meantime, the position of Delaware had become changed, so as to place the section she properly belonged. Considering her as neutral, the Northern States will have thirteen, and the Southern States twelve, making a difference in the Senate of two Senators in favor of the former. According to the apportionment of the census of 1840, there were 223 members of the House of Representatives, of which the Northern section had 125, and the Southern States (considering Delaware as neutral) 87; making a difference in favor of the former in the House of Representatives, of 48; the difference in the Senate of two members added to this, gives to the North, in the electoral college, a majority of 50, in favor of the North. Since the last census, there have added to the Union: Iowa, Wisconsin, Florida and Texas. They leave the difference in the Senate as it stood before the admission of these States, on the side of the North in the House, making the present majority in the House in its favor, of 50, and in the electoral college, of 52.

The result of the whole is, to give to the Northern section a preponderance in every department of the government, and thus concentrate in it the two elements which constitute the foundation of the government, majority of States, and majority of their population, estimated in federal numbers. Whatever section concentrates in itself, must possess control of the entire government.

But we are just at the close of the sixth decade, and the consequences of the census of 1840 begin to be taken this year, which must add greatly to the decided preponderance of the North in the House of Representatives and in the electoral college. The prospect also is, that a new State will be added to its present preponderance during the period of the decade, by the addition of new States. Two territories, Oregon and California, have already made in progress, and strenuous efforts are making to bring in three additional States from the territory recently acquired from Mexico, which, if successful, will add three other States in a short time to the Northern section, making five States, and increasing its present number of States from fifteen to twenty, and of its Senators from thirty to forty.

On the contrary, there is not a single territory in progress in the Southern section, and no certainty that any additional State will be added to it during the decade. The prospect then is, that the two sections in the Senate, should the efforts now made to exclude the South from the newly conquered territory succeed, will stand, before the end of the decade, twenty Northern States to twelve Southern, (counceding Delaware as neutral,) and forty Northern Senators to twenty-four Southern. This great increase of Senators, added to the great increase of members of the House of Representatives, and electoral college, on the part of the North, which must take place upon the next decade, will effectually and eventually destroy the equilibrium which existed when the government commenced.

Had this destruction been the operation of time, without the interference of government, the South would have just cause to complain; but such was not the fact. It was caused by the legislation of this government, which was appointed as the common agent of all, and charged with the protection of the rights and the security of all. The legislation by which it has been effected may be classed under three heads. The first is the series of acts by which the South has been excluded from common territory belonging to all the State, as the members of the federal Union, which has had the effect of extending slavery by the portion of the Union assigned exclusively to the South. The next consists in adopting a system of revenue and disbursements by which the unequal proportion of the burthen of taxation has been imposed upon the South, and an undue proportion of its proceeds appropriated to the North; and the last is a system of internal improvements, measures by which the original character of the government has been radically changed.

I propose to bestow on each of these, in the order they stand, a few remarks, with the view of showing that it is owing to the action of this government, that the equilibrium between the two sections has been destroyed, and the whole power of the system centered in a sectional majority.

The first organized movement towards it commenced in 1835. Then, for the first time, societies were organized, presses established, lecturers sent forth to excite the people of the North, and incendiary publications scattered over the whole South through the mail. The South was thoroughly aroused, meetings were held everywhere, and resolutions adopted, calling upon the North to apply a remedy to arrest the threatened evil, and pledging themselves to adopt measures for their own protection if it was not arrested. At the meeting of Congress, petitions were poured in from the North, calling upon Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and to prohibit what they called the internal slave trade between the States, avowing at the same time, and attributed directly to the intention to abolish slavery not only in the District, but in the States and throughout the Union. At this period, the number engaged in the agitation was quite small, and it possessed little or no personal influence.

Neither party in Congress had, at that time, any sympathy with them or their cause; the members of each party presented their petitions with great reluctance. Nevertheless, as small and as contemptible as the party then was, both of the great parties of the North dreaded them. They felt that though small, they were organized with reference to a subject which had a great and commanding influence over the Southern mind. Each party, on that account, feared to oppose their petitions, lest the opposite party should take advantage of the one that opposed, by favoring them. The effect was, that both united in insisting that the petitions should be received, and Congress take jurisdiction of the subject for which they prayed; and to justify their cause, took the extraordinary ground that Congress was bound to receive petitions on every subject, however objectionable it might be, and whether they had or had not jurisdiction over the subject. These views prevailed in the House of Representatives, and particularly in the Senate, and thus the party succeeded, in their first movement, in the object for which they proposed—a position in Congress, from which the agitation could be extended over the whole Union. This was the first organized step in the agitation, which has ever since continued, and which, as it is now acknowledged, has endangered the Union itself.

As to myself, I believe, at that early period, that if the party who got up the petitions should succeed in getting Congress to take jurisdiction, that agitation would follow, and that it would in the end, if not arrested, destroy the Union. I then so expressed myself in debate, and called upon both parties to take grounds against taking jurisdiction, but in vain. Had my voice been heard, and Congress refused taking jurisdiction by the united votes of all parties, the agitation then followed would have been prevented, and the fanatical movements accompanying the agitation, which have brought us to our present perilous condition would have become extinct, from the want of something to feed the flame. That was the time for the North to have shown her devotion to the Union; but unfortunately both of the great parties of that section were as intent on obtaining or retaining party ascendancy, that all other considerations were overlooked or forgotten.

What has since followed are but natural consequences. With the success of their first movement, this small fanatical party began to acquire strength. Well, and with that, to become an object of courtship with both of the great parties. The inevitable consequence was, a further increase of power, and a gradual tainting of the opinions of both of the other parties with their peculiar opinions, which, it was intended over both, and the great mass of the population of the North, who, whatever may be their opinions, are not fanatical, have gone with them, with keeping up its distinctive organization, hardly ever fail, when it comes to acting, to co-operate in carrying out their measures. With the increase of their strength, their demands have increased in the same proportion. In a short period after they had commenced their first movement, they had succeeded in obtaining from one of the two great parties of the Northern States to pass acts which, in effect, abrogated the provision of the Constitution that provides for the delivering up of fugitive slaves.

Not long after, petitions followed to abolish slavery, in forts, magazines, dock-yards, and in other places where Congress had exclusive power of legislation. This was followed by petitions, and resolutions of Legislatures of Northern States, and popular meetings, to exclude the Southern States from all territories acquired, and to prevent the admission of any State hereafter into the Union, which, by its Constitution, does not prohibit slavery. At this period Congress is invoked to do all this, expressly with the view of the final abolition of slavery in the States. That has been proved to be the ultimate object from the beginning of the agitation until the present time, and yet the great body of both parties of the north, with the full knowledge of the fact, although disowning the abolitionists, have co-operated with them in almost all their measures.

Such is the brief history of the agitation, as far as it has yet advanced. It is, I ask, Senators, what is there to prevent its further progress, until it fulfils the ultimate end proposed, unless some decisive measure should be adopted to prevent it? Such is one of the causes, which has added to its increase from its original small and contemptible beginning, until it has attained its present magnitude, diminished in force? Is it since, fanatical as the movement—that slavery is a sin, and ought to be suppressed—weakenor now than at the commencement? or is the abolition party less numerous and influential? or have they less influence over elections? or less control over the two great parties of the North in elections? or has the South ceased to be an object of concern, controlling the movements of this government now than it had when the agitation commenced?

To all these questions, but one answer can be given, i.e., No, no, no. The very reverse is true. Instead of weaker, all the elements in favor of agitation are stronger now than they were in 1835, when the agitation first commenced. Within all the elements of influence on the part of the South are weaker, I again ask, whatever to stop this agitation, unless something decisive is done, until the great and final object at which it aims—the abolition of slavery in the South—is consummated? Is it then, not certain that if something decisive is not now done to arrest it, the South will be forced to chose between abolition or secession? Indeed as events are now moving, it will not require the South to secede, to dissolve the Union; agitation will of itself effect it, of which its past history furnishes abundant proof, as I shall next proceed to show.

It is a great mistake to suppose that disunion can be effected by a single blow. The cords which bound these States together in one common Union, are far too numerous and powerful for that. The Union must be the work of time. It is only through a long process and in succession that the cords can snap until the whole fabric falls asunder. Already the agitation has caused a separation of the ties of some of the most important, and has greatly weakened all the others, as I shall proceed to show.

The cords that bind the States together are not only many, but various in character. Among them, some are spiritual or ecclesiastical; some political; others social; others approbation of the institutions of the other; and others to the feelings of duty and obligation.

The strongest of those of a spiritual and ecclesiastical nature were those which united the two religious denominations all of which originally embraced the Union. All these denominations, with the exception perhaps, of the Catholics, were organized in conformity with the political divisions of the country, their ecclesiastical assemblies, their general assemblies, corresponding very much with the character of Congress. At these meetings, the principal clergymen and lay members of the respective denominations from all parts of the Union met to transact business relating to their common concerns. It was not confined to what appertained to the doctrine and discipline of their respective denominations, but extended to plans for disseminating the Bible, establishing missionaries, distributing tracts, and of establishing printing presses, publishing religious tracts, newspapers and periodicals, with a view of diffusing religious information, and for the support of the doctrines and creeds of the denomination. All these combined contributed largely to strengthen the bonds of the Union. The strong ties which held these denominations together, formed a strong cord to hold the whole Union together; but, as powerful as they were, they have not been able to resist the explosive effort of slavery agitation.

The first of these cords which snapped under its explosive force, was that of the powerful Methodist Episcopal Church. The numerous and strong ties which held this church together, all which are gone. They now form separate churches, and instead of that feeling of attachment and devotion to the interests of the whole church which was formerly felt, they are now arrayed into two hostile bodies, engaged in litigation about what was formerly their common property.

The second cord that snapped was that of the Baptists, one of the largest and most respectable of the denominations; that of the Presbyterians is not entirely snapped, but some of its strands have given way; that of the Episcopal Church is the only one of the four great Protestant denominations, which remains unbroken and entire. The strongest cord of a political character consists of the many and strong ties that have held together the two great parties, which have held the government together from the first beginning of the government. They both extended to every portion of the Union, and had strongly contributed to hold its parts together.

The first of these ties was by which the South was deprived of its due share of the territories, originated with the confederacy which preceded the existence of this government. It is to be found in the provisions of the ordinance 1787. Its effect was to exclude the South entirely from that vast and fertile region which lies between the Ohio and the Mississippi, now embracing five States and one territory. The next of the series is the Missouri compromise, which excluded the South from that large portion of Louisiana which lies north of 36 30, exceptor what is included in the State of Missouri. The last of the series excludes the South from the whole of the Oregon Territory. All these in the slang of the day, were what is called slave territory, and not free soil; thatis, territories belonging to slaveholding powers, and open to the emigration of masters with their slaves.

By these several acts, the South was excluded from 1,238,025 square miles, in extent of country extremely exceeding the entire valley of the Mississippi. To the South was left the portion of the territory of Louisiana lying South of 36 30, and the portion North of it included in the State of Missouri, and portion lying South of 36 30, includes the States of Louisiana and Arkansas, and the territory lying West of the latter, and South of 36 30, called the Indian country. A portion lying South of this, with the territory of Florida, now the State, makes in the whole 283,566 square miles. If to this we add that of the territory acquired with Texas. If the whole should be added to the Southern section, it would make an increase of 325,520, which would make the entire South, 608,920, leaving but a large part of Texas is still in contest between the two sections, which leaves uncertain what will be the real extent of the portion of the Southern section of the Union. I have not included the territory recently acquired by the treaty with Mexico. The North is making the most strenuous efforts to appropriate the whole to herself, by excluding the South from every part of it. If she succeed, it will add to that from which Southern laws have already been excluded, 527,078 square miles, and would increase the whole the North has appropriated to herself, 1,765,978, not including the portion she may succeed in excluding us from in Texas. To sum up the whole, the United States, since they declared their independence, have acquired 2,373,040 square miles of territory, from which the North will have excluded the South, if she should succeed in appropriating the newly acquired territories, about three-fourths of the whole, and leave the South but about one-fourth.

Such is the first and great cause that has destroyed the equilibrium between the two sections in the government.

The next is the system of revenue and disbursements which has been established by the government. It is well known that the main source from which the government has derived its revenue, is from duties on imports. I shall not undertake to show that all such duties must necessarily fall mainly on the exporting States, and that the South, as the great exporting portion of the Union, has, in reality, paid nearly more than her due proportion of the revenue, because I deem it unnecessary, as the subject has on so many occasions been fully discussed. Nor shall I, for the same reason, undertake to show that a far greater portion of the revenue has been disbursed at the North than its due share; and that the joint effect of these causes has been to transfer a vast amount from the South to the North, which, under an equal system of revenue and disbursement, would not have been paid or taken from the South. Nearly all the duties were imposed, not for revenue, but for protection, that is, intended to put money, not into the treasury, but directly into the pocket of the manufacturers, and consequently may be found of the immense amount which, in the long course of so many years, has been transferred from the South to the North. There is no data by which it can be estimated with any certainty; but, it is safe to say, that it amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars. Under the most moderate estimate, it would be sufficient to add greatly to the wealth of the North, and by that greatly increase her population, by attracting emigration from all quarters in that direction.

This, combined with the great and primary cause, fully explains why the North has acquired a preponderance over every department of the government, by a disproportionate increase of population and States. The former, as has been shown, has increased in fifty years, 2,400,000 over that of the South. This increase of population, during so long a period, is sufficient to be accounted for by the number of emigrants, and the increase of their descendants, which has been attracted to the Northern section, from Europe, and the Southern States, by the superior advantages derived from the causes assigned. If they had not existed—if the South had retained all the advantages of her joint ownership in her by the fiscal action of the government, and if they had not been excluded, by the ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri compromise, from the region lying between the Ohio and the Mississippi, and between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, north of 36 30, it is scarcely admitted of a doubt, that the South would have retained the emigration with the north, and by retaining her own people, would have at least equalled the north in population under the census of 1840, and probably rather that about to be taken. She would also, if she had retained her equal rights in those territories, have maintained an equality in the number of States with the North, and have preserved the equilibrium between the two sections which existed at the commencement of the Government. The loss, which she sustained in this, is to be attributed to the action of this Government.

But while these measures were destroying the equilibrium between the two sections, the action of the Government was leading to a radical change in its character, by concentrating all the power of the system in itself. The occasion will not permit me to trace the successive by which this great change has been consummated. If it did, it would not be difficult to show that the process commenced at an early period of the government; that it proceeded almost without interruption, step by step, until it absorbed, virtually, its entire power. This has been done, going through the whole process to establish the fact, it may be done satisfactorily by a very short statement.

That this government claims and practically maintains the right to decide in the last resort, as to the extent of its powers, will scarcely be denied by any one conversant with the political history of the country, is equally certain. That it also claims the right to resort to force to maintain whatever power she claims, is equally undeniable. It is a power derived from what we daily hear, that this has become the prevailing and fixed opinion of a great majority of the political world. This, of course, is a limitation on possibly be placed upon the powers of a government claiming and exercising such rights? And, if none can be, how can the separate governments of the States maintain and protect the powers reserved to them by the Constitution, or the people of the several States maintain those which are reserved to them, and among them their sovereign powers, by which they ordained and established, not only their separate State Constitutions and governments, but also the Constitution and government of the United States? But if they have no Constitutional means of maintaining them against the right claimed by this government, it necessarily follows, that they hold them at its pleasure and discretion, and that all the powers of the system are, in reality, concentrated in it. It also follows, that the character of the government has been changed in consequence, from a federal republic, as it originally came from the hands of its framers, and that it has been changed into a great national consolidated democracy. It has, in fact, at present all the characteristics of the latter, and not one of the former, although it still retains its outward form.

The result of the whole of these causes combined, is that the North has acquired a decided ascendancy over every department of this government, and through it, a control over all the powers of the system. A single section, governed by the will of the numerical majority, has now, in fact, the control of the government, and the entire power of the system. What was once a constitutional federal republic, is now converted, in reality, into one as absolute as that of the Autocrat of Russia, and as despotic in its tendency as any absolute government that has ever existed.

As this the North has the absolute control over the government, it is manifest that, on all questions between it and the South, where there is a diversity of interest, the interest of the latter will be sacrificed to the former, however oppressive the effects may be, as the South possesses no means by which it can resist, through the forms of the Constitution, when there were no questions of vital importance to the South, in reference to which there was a diversity of views between the two sections, the state of things might be safely left to operate as it has heretofore, by the South. But such is not the fact. There is a question of vital importance to the Southern section, in reference to which the views of the South and of the two sections are opposite and hostile as they can possibly be.

I refer to the relations between the two races in the Southern section, which constitutes a vital portion of her social organization. Every portion of the North entertains views and feelings in reference to this hostile to it. Those most opposed and hostile regard it as a sin, and consider themselves under the most sacred obligation to use every effort to destroy it. Indeed, to the extent they conceive they have power, they regard themselves as implicated in the sin, and responsible for permitting it to be by the use of it from every means. Those less opposed and hostile regard it as a crime, an offence against humanity, as evil in a moral point of view, and feel themselves bound to use all efforts to effect the same object. While those who are least opposed and hostile, regard it as a great evil, and wish to be rid of it, or what they call the nation, and feel themselves accordingly bound to give it no countenance or support. On the contrary, the Southern section regards the relation as one of the most cherished character, and subjecting the two races to the greatest calamity, and the section to poverty, desolation or wretchedness, and accordingly feel bound to the construction of interest, safety and duty, to defend it.

This hostile feeling on the part of the North towards the social organization of the South, long lay dormant; but it only required some cause which would make the impression on those who felt most intensely, that they were responsible for its continuance, to call it into action. The increasing power of this government, and of the control of the Northern section over all of it, furnished the cause. It was thought by many that the mere election of a President of the North in action, for the purpose of destroying the existing relation between the two races in the South.

But this powerful cord has proved no better than the spiritual. It resisted for a long time the explosive tendency of the agitation, but has finally gone, and has already been destroyed in its entirety, and in the way it can be, by snapping sunder and weakening the cords which bind it together.

If the agitation goes on, the same force, acting with increased intensity, as has been shown, there will be nothing left to hold the States together, except the mere form and shell. But surely, that can with no propriety of language be called a Union, when the only means by which the weaker is held connected with the stronger portion is force. It may indeed, be called a Union, but it will be a Union, in which the parts will be more of the character of subjugation on the part of the weaker to the stronger, than the union of the independent States of Greece, in one federal Union, as they stood in the early stages of the government, and which only is worthy of the same name of Union.

[*Remainder Next week.*]

The following just and noble sentiments are copied from the Lynn Pioneer, a Free Soil paper:

Are not the Democrats of the Free States, as the Whigs, willing to submit to a state of things so unjust and degrading? Are they to be frightened into submission by the threats of the slave oligarchy? Must the free men of the Free States crouch and crawl to the slave aristocrats, and do their bidding for the sake of a miserable mess of pottage? Must the free men of the Free States crouch and crawl to the slave aristocrats, and do their bidding for the sake of a miserable mess of pottage? Must the free men of the Free States crouch and crawl to the slave aristocrats, and do their bidding for the sake of a miserable mess of pottage? Must we be *actively in favor of extending slavery*, in order to live in peace with our southern neighbors? We have not been taught the meaning of the word be, who take pleasure in calculating the glorious fabric, the result of our patriots and heroes, shattered to pieces—and yet, we will say, that if it has no other cement to keep it together but the extension of slavery, let it fly asunder—let it fall—let it perish forever!

DESERT AND SLAVERY.—From time to time correspondents of newspapers have reported the fact, that slavery already exists, and finds toleration, in Deseret. Here is another testimony to the same fact. A correspondent of the New Orleans Crescent, writing from Salt Lake, gives some account of the Mormons, and, in the course of his letter, says:

'There is a great number of settlers from Alabama and Mississippi, who have come to this place with their negroes, *and hold them here the same as formerly.*'

SPEECH
OF THE
HON. DANIEL WEBSTER
ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION,
DELIVERED IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, MARCH 7, 1850.

A FULL REPORT, REVISED BY HIMSELF.

The Vice President stated the first business before the Senate to be the unfinished business of yesterday—the motion to refer to the Committee on Territories the Message of the President of the United States, transmitting the Constitution of California, upon which the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Walker) had the floor.

Mr. Walker.—Before I proceed, I must return my thanks to the Senator from Wisconsin, (Mr. Walker,) and the Senator from New York, (Mr. Seward,) for their kind courtesy in allowing me to address the Senate this morning.

Mr. President:—

I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American, and a member of the Senate of the United States. It is fortunate that there is a Senate of the United States—a body not yet sunk from its propriety, not lost to a just sense of its own dignity, and its own high responsibilities, and a body to which the country looks with confidence for wise, moderate, patriotic, and healing counsels. It is not to be denied that we live in the midst of strong agitations, are surrounded by very considerable dangers to our institutions of government. The impressed with these winds we feel loose. The East, the West, the North, and the stormy South, all combine to throw the whole ocean into commotion, to toss its billows to the skies, and to disclose its profoundest depths. I do not affect to regard myself, Mr. President, as holding, or as fit to hold, the helm in this tempest. I do not feel competent to it, but I have a duty to perform, and I mean to perform it with fidelity—not without a sense of surrounding dangers, but not without hope. I have a part to act, not for my own security or safety, for I am looking out for no fragment upon which to float away from the wreck, if wreck there must be, but for the good of the whole, and more especially for the good of the whole; and there is that which will keep me to my duty during this struggle, whether the sun and the stars shall appear or not upon us. I am here, then, I speak to-day for the preservation of the Union. "Hear me for my cause." I speak to-day, not of a solicitous and anxious heart, for the restoration to the country of that cheerful and that happy state which makes the blessings of this Union so rich and so dear to us all. These are the topics that I propose to myself to discuss; these are the matters, and these the subjects, that influence me in the wish to communicate my opinions to the Senate and the country; and if I can do any thing, however little, for the promotion of these ends, I shall have accomplished all that I desire.

Mr. President, it may not be amiss to recur very briefly to the events which equally sudden and extraordinary have brought the political condition of the country to what it now is. In May, 1846, the United States declared war against Mexico. Her armies, then on the frontiers, entered the provinces of that Republic; met and defeated all her troops; penetrated her mountain passes, and planted her capital. The marine force of the United States took possession of her ports and her towns on the Atlantic and on the Pacific; and, in the end, a treaty was negociated by which Mexico ceded to the United States a vast territory, extending seven or eight hundred miles along the shore of the Pacific; reaching back over the mountains, and on the desert, until it joined the frontier of the state of Texas. So it happened that in the distracted and feeble state of the Mexican government, shortly before the termination of war by the United States against Mexico had become known in California, the people of California, under the leadership of American adventurers, overthrew the existing Provincial Government of California—the Mexican authorities—and run up an independent flag. When the news reached San Francisco that war had been declared by the United States against Mexico, this independent flag was pulled down and the stars and stripes of this Union hoisted in its stead. So, shortly before war was proclaimed by the United States, military and navy, had possession of San Francisco, and California. California was filled with emigrants from various parts of the world, took place in California in 1846 and 1847. But now, behold another wonder!

In January, of 1848, the Mormons, it is said, or some of them, made a discovery of an extraordinary rich mine of gold—or rather, of a very great quantity, gold, hardly to be called a mine, but it was spread near the surface—on the lower part of the South or American branch of the Sacramento. They seem to have attempted to conceal their discovery for some time; but soon another discovery, perhaps of great importance, was made of gold in another part of the American branch of the Sacramento, and near Sutter's fort, as it is called. The fame of these discoveries spread far and wide. They excited more and more the spirit of emigration towards California, which had been already excited; and persons crowded in hundreds and flocked towards the bay of San Francisco. This, as I have said, took place in the winter and spring of 1848. The rush of population commenced in the spring of that year, and from that time to this the work of searching for gold has been prosecuted with a success not heretofore known in the history of this globe.

We all know, sir, how incredulous the American public was at the accounts which were given of first of these discoveries; but we all know now that these accounts received, and continue to receive daily confirmation, and down to this time, I presume I suppose assurances are as strong after the experience of these several months, of mines of gold apparently inexhaustible in the regions near San Francisco, in California, as they were at any period of the earlier date of the accounts. It so happened, sir, that, although in a time of peace, it became a very important subject for legislative consideration and legislative decision, to provide a proper Territorial Government for California, yet differences of opinion in the committee of the Government prevented the establishment of any such Territorial Government for California at the last session of Congress. Under this state of things, the inhabitants of San Francisco and California—then amounting to a great number of people—in the summer of last year, thought it to be their duty to establish a local Government. Under the proclamation of General Riley, the people of those delegates to a Convention—that Convention met at Monterey. They formed a Constitution for the State of California, and it was adopted by the people of California in their primary assemblages. Desirous of immediate connexion with the United States, the Senators now present, and Representatives of California, who have come hither, bringing with them the authentic Constitution of the State of California; and they have present themselves, on the part of that Near State, that the State may be admitted into the Union as one of the United States. This Constitution, sir, contains an express prohibition against slavery or involuntary servitude in the State of California. It is said, and I suppose truly, that of the members who composed that Convention, some sixteen or twenty natives had been residents of slave-holding States, about twenty-two were from the non-slaveholding States, and the remaining ten members were either native Californians or citizens of the territory. This prohibition against slavery, it is said, was inserted with entire unanimity.

(And it is the circumstance, sir, the prohibition of slavery by that Convention, which has constituted the raise—I do not say it has wholly raised—the dispute as to the propriety of the admission of California into the Union under this form in which it has to be denied, Mr. President—nobody thinks of denying—that, whatever reasons were assigned at the commencement of the late war with Mexico, it was prosecuted for the purpose of the acquisition of territory, and under the alleged argument that the cession of territory was the only form in which proper compensation could be made to the United States by Mexico for the various claims and demands which the people of this country had against that government. At any rate, it will be found in the Press Polk's message at the commencement of the session of 1847, avowed that the war was to be prosecuted until some acquisition of territory was made. And, as the acquisition was to be south of the line of the United States, in warm climates and countries, it was fair, I suppose, expected by the South, that whatever acquisitions were made in that region would be added to the slaveholding portion of the United States. Events have turned out as we have expected, and that expectation has not been realized; and therefore some degree of disappointment and surprise has resulted, of course. On the other hand, it appears that the question which has so long harassed the country, and at some times very seriously alarmed the minds of wise and good men, has come forward for a fresh discussion—the question of slavery in these United States.

Now, sir, I propose—perhaps at the expense of some detail and some repetition—to detain of the Senate—to review historically this question of slavery, which, partly in consequence of its own merits, and partly, and more, in consequence of the mode in which it has mixed in one and the other portion of the country, has been a source of so much alienation and rankling feeling between the different portions of the Union. We all know, sir, that slavery has existed in the world from time immemorial. There was slavery in the earliest periods of history, in the Grecian states. There was slavery among the Jews; the theocratic government of that people made no injunction against it. There was slavery among the Greeks, and the institution of slavery, in the Greek states, or sought to find, a justification for it exactly upon the grounds which have been assumed for such a justification here—that it was a natural and original difference among the races of mankind, the inferiority of the black or colored race to the white. The Greeks justified their system of slavery on that ground precisely. They held the African, and in some parts the Asiatic tribes to be inferior to the white race; but they did not show, I think, by the close process of logic, that if they were true, the more intelligent and the stronger had therefore a right to subjugate the weaker. The more manly philosophy and jurisprudence of the present period of the justification of slavery on entirely different grounds.

The Roman jurists, from the first and down to the fall of the empire, justified the institution of slavery, the natural law, by which, as they maintained, all men, of whatever clime, color, or capacity, were equal, but that slavery was a wise, beneficial, and proper and authority of the law of nations—arguing, and arguing truly, that at that day the conventional law of nations admitted that captives in war, whose lives, according to the usages of the times, were at the absolute disposal of the captors, might in exchange for exemption from death, be made slaves for life, and that such servitude might descend to their posterity. The jurists of Rome also maintained that by the civil law there might be servitude—slavery, personal and hereditary—by the municipal law of a people who might sell himself into slavery; second, by his being received into a state of slavery by his creditors in satisfaction of a debt; and thirdly, by being placed in a state of slavery for crime. At the commencement of Christianity into the world, the Roman world was full of slaves, and I suppose there is to be found no injunction against the slavery for crime, or any other in the teachings by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or any of his Apostles. The object of the instruction imparted to mankind by the Christian Dispensation was to touch the heart, purify the soul, and improve the lives of individual men. That object went directly to the first foundation of all political and all social relations of the human race—the individual heart and mind of man.

Now, sir, upon the general nature, character and influence of slavery, I suppose there is no difference between the Northern portion of this country and the Southern. It is said on the one side that, if not the subject of any injunction or direct prohibition in the New Testament, slavery is a wrong; that it is founded merely in the right of the strongest; and that it is an oppression, like all unjust exercises of power, and that, in such a mighty nation subjects a weaker nation to their will; and that slavery, in its nature, whatever may be said of it in the modifications which have taken place, is not in fact according to the meek spirit of the gospel. It is not kindly affectioned. It does not 'seek another's, and not its own.' It does not 'suffer long and be kind.' These are sentiments which are cherished, and recently with greatly augmented force, among the people of the Northern States. I believe they hold that religious sentiment of that part of the country, as it has more or less taken hold of the religious feelings of a considerable portion of mankind. The South, upon the other side, say that we are accustomed to this relation between the two races all their lives, from their infancy; having been taught in general to treat the subjected race with humanity, to feel for them kindness—have not yet taken this view of the subject which I have mentioned. They, as a mass, of thousands of religious men, with consciences as tender as any of their brethren at the North, who do not see in the relation of slavery as it exists in the Southern States, perhaps, that, whatever they may think of it in its origin, and as a matter depending upon natural right, yet they do not see, and, they say, find, slavery to be an established relation of the society in which they live, can see no way in which—let their opinions on the subject be what they may—they can, it is in the power of the present generation to relieve themselves from this relation. And, in this respect, candor obliges me to say that I believe they are just as conscientious, many of them, and of the religious people all of them, as they are in the North in holding different opinions.

Why, Sir, the honorable Senator from South Carolina, the other day, alluded to the great separation of that great religious community, the Methodist Episcopal Church, that separation was brought about by differences of opinion upon this peculiar subject of slavery. I felt great concern as that dispute went on about the propriety of the separation, but the difference of opinion might be adjusted, because I looked upon that religious denomination as one of the great props of religious sentiment throughout the whole country, from Maine to Georgia. The result was against my wishes and against my hopes. I have read all their proceedings, and all their arguments, but I have not been, I think, able to come to the conclusion that there was any real ground for that separation; in other words, that no good could be produced by that separation. I must say, I think there was some want of candor and charity. Sir, when a question of this kind takes hold of the religious sentiment of a country, and comes to be discussed in the religious assemblies of clergy and laity, there is always to be expected, or always to be feared, a great degree of excitement. It is in the nature of man, manifested by the whole history, that religious disputes are apt to become warm, and men's strength of conviction is proportionate to their views of the magnitude of the questions. In all such disputes, there will sometimes men be found with whom every thing is absolute—absolutely wrong, or absolutely right. They see the right clearly; they think others ought to do it, and they are disposed to establish a broad line of distinction between what is right and what is wrong. And they are not seldom willing to establish that line upon their own convictions of the truth and the justice of their own opinions; and they are willing to mark it great that they are placing along it a series of dogmas, as lines of boundary are marked by posts and stones. There are men who, with clear perceptions, as they think, of the right of duty, do not perceive how too hot a pursuit of one duty may involve them in the violation of others, or how too warm an enforcement of one duty may lead to the violation of other truths equally important. As I heard it stated strongly, not many days ago, these persons are disposed to consider the enforcement of duty as upon a war horse, and to drive furiously, on and upon, and over all other duties that may stand in the way. There are men, in times of that sort and disputes of that sort, are of opinion that human duties may be ascertained with the exactness of mathematics. They deal with morals as with mathematics, and they think what is right and what is wrong, and from what is wrong with the precision of an algebraic equation. They have, therefore, none too much charity towards those who differ with them. They are apt, too, to think that nothing is good but what is perfect, and that there are no compromises or modifications to be made in human affairs. In the conference of opinion, or in deference to other men's judgment. If their perspicacious vision enables them to detect a spot on the sun, or a fault in man, they think that a good reason why the sun should be struck down from heaven. They prefer the chance of running into utter darkness to living in heavenly light, if that heavenly light be not perfect, without any spot or imperfection. They are impatient men, too impatient always to give heed to the admission of St. Paul, that "we are apt to see but in part." They are too impatient to wait for the slow progress of moral causes in the improvement of mankind. They do not remember that the divine spirit of the Son of Jesus Christ have, in eighteen hundred years, converted only a small portion of the human race; and among the nations that are converted to Christianity, they forget how many vices and crimes, public and private, still prevail, and that many of them, public crimes especially, which are offences against the Christian religion, are without exciting much more regret or indignation. Thus wars are waged, and fights have taken place, which are expected, and wars. There certainly are; but it was the remark of an eminent person, not many years ago, on the other side of the Atlantic, that it was one of the great reproaches to human nature that wars were some times necessary. The defence of nations sometimes causes a war against the injustice of other nations.

Now, sir, in this state of mind, upon the general nature of slavery, lies the cause of a great portion of those unhappy divisions, exasperations and heartburnings, which have existed between the Northern parts of the Union. Slavery does exist in the United States. It did exist in the States before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

And now let us consider, sir, for a moment, what was the state of sentiment North and South in regard to slavery at the time the Constitution was adopted. A remarkable change has taken place since, but what did the wise and great men of all parts of the country think of slavery in what estimation did they hold it then, when the Constitution was adopted? Now, it will be found, sir, if we carry ourselves by historical research back to that day, and ascertain men's opinions and sentiments, we shall find, perhaps, that there was no great diversity of opinion between the North and the South on the subject of slavery, and that the Fathers of the Republic from both parts of the country held it equally an evil—a moral and political evil. It will not be found that either at the North or at the South, slavery was much, though it was, in a very active against slavery, as a inhuman and cruel. The great ground of objection to it was political; that it weakened the social fabric; that, taking the place of the labor of freemen, it was a source of great loss to the productive; and therefore, we find from all the eminent men of the time the clearest expression of their opinion that slavery was a evil. And they described its existence here, not without truth, and not without some acerbity of temper and force of language, as the result of the act of a foreign government, who, to favor the navigator, had entailed these evils upon the colonies. I need hardly refer, sir, to the publications of that day. They are matters of history on the subject. The sentiments of the eminent men, and nearly all the conspicuous politicians of the South held the same sentiments; that slavery was a evil. The North and the South, in a general and a curse. There are no terms of reprobation of slavery so vehement in the North of that day as in the South. The North was not so much excited against it as the South, and the reason is, I suppose, because there was much less at the North, and the people of the North, or think they saw, the evil more prominently as they were seen, or thought to be seen at the South.

Then, sir, when this Constitution was framed, this was the state in which the sentiments of the Convention reflected the judgment and sentiments of the great men of the South. A member of the other House of Congress, I think, was pleased to have an extract speech has collected extracts from those public documents. They prove the truth of what I am saying, and the sentiments then was, how to deal with it, and how to deal with it as a evil. Well, they came to this general result. They thought that slavery could not be continued in the country if the importation of the slave should be prohibited; and they thought provided that after a certain period the importation might be prevented by the act of the new Government. They were of opinion, I suppose, that a gentleman, a Northern gentleman, I think, and many of the Southern gentlemen opposed it as being too long. Mr. Madison especially was something more against it. He said it would bring too much of this mischief into the country to allow the importation of slaves for such a period. Because we must take into account, in the state of mind and sentiment which we are considering the sentiments and opinions in which the constitutional provision originated, that the provision of the Constitution, that the importation of slaves ceased, the white race would multiply faster than the black race, and that slavery would therefore become less and less in the future. I do not, I do not proper here to allude to that, I had almost said, celebrated opinion of Mr. Madison. You observe, sir, that the term slave or slavery is not used in the Constitution. The Constitution does not require that 'fugitive slaves' shall be delivered up. It requires that 'persons bound to service in one State, and escaping into another, shall be delivered up.' Mr. Madison opposed the introduction of the term slave or slavery into the Constitution; for he said he did not wish to have it recognized that there existed in the United States of America, that there could be property in man. Now, sir, all this took place at the Convention which framed the Constitution. A concurrent and contemporaneous, is another important transaction not sufficiently attended to. The Convention which framed the Constitution, assembled in Philadelphia in May, and, after deliberating, I suppose, long all that time, the Congress of the United States in the month of July, 1787, had, as a matter of design, as we know, that the Convention should not assemble in the same city where Congress was holding its sessions, but that it should be public men, of the country, therefore, of distinction and eminence, were in one or the other of these two assemblies; and I think it happened in some instances that the same gentlemen were members of the Convention, and such was the case of Mr. Rufus King, then a member of Congress from Massachusetts, and at the same time a member of the Convention, and, in the Convention, from that State. Now it was in the summer of 1787, the very time when the Convention in Philadelphia was framing this Constitution, that the Congress in New York was framing the ordinance of 1787. They passed that ordinance on the 13th July, 1787, the very month, perhaps the very day on which these questions of the importation of slaves and the character of slavery were debated in the Convention at Philadelphia. And so far as we know, there was no difference of opinion between the opinion between these respective bodies; and it resulted in this ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from the territory of the United States. The Congress of the United States had jurisdiction, and that was all the territory northwest of the Ohio. Three years before, the Congress of the United States had accession of that great territory to the United States. And a most magnificent act it was. I never reflect upon it without a disposition to do honor and justice to the statesmen of Virginia, Massachusetts, Virginia, for that act of cession of her North-Western territory. I will say, sir, it is one of her fairest claims to the gratitude of the people of the United States, and perhaps it is only second to that other claim which attaches to her: that from her counsels, and from the intelligence and patriotism of her leading statesmen, proceeded the first idea put into practice for the formation of a general Constitution of the United States. Now, sir, the ordinance of 1787 applied thus to the whole territory over which the Congress of the United States had jurisdiction. It was adopted nearly three years before the Constitution of the United States was adopted, and yet, perhaps the ordinance took effect immediately on its passage while the Constitution of the United States, having been adopted, it was to be put into effect by and by, and by their Conventions; and then a government had to be organised under it. This ordinance, then, sir, as the proposition was put to the Convention, was adopted, and this government put in motion, in April, 1789.

Mr. President, three things are quite clear as historical truths. One is, that there was an expectation that on the ceasing of the importation of slaves from Africa, slavery would begin to run out. That was the general expectation. Another is, that it was there was any power in Congress to prevent the spread of slavery in the United States, that power was lodged in the Convention of Virginia, and in the fullest extent. An honorable member, whose health does not allow him to be here to-day—

A Senator.—He is here. (Referring to Mr. Calhoun.)

Mr. Webster.—I am very happy to hear that he is—may he long be in health and the enjoyment of it to serve his country and his friends! He was of opinion that this ordinance as the first in the series of measures calculated to enfeeble the South, and destroy them of the political power and the benefits and privileges of this government. He says very properly that it was done under the old confederation, and that the Convention of Virginia, he says, had my present purpose is only to say, Mr. President, that it was done with the entire and unanimous concurrence of the South. Why, there it stands! The vote of every State in the Union was unanimous in favor of the ordinance, with the exception of a single individual vote, and that individual was a Northerner. That, sir, the ordinance abolishing or prohibiting slavery Northwest of the Ohio, has the hand and seal of every Southern member in Congress. Now, sir, I hold it to be a fair conclusion, that the Convention meant to leave slavery, in the States, as they found it, entirely under the authority and control of the States.

This was the state of things, sir, and this the state of opinion, under which those two very important matters were arranged, and those two important things done; that is, the establishment of the Constitution with a right reserved to the States of slaves, and the establishment of the ordinance prohibiting to the full extent of all territory owned by the United States the leaving to the States all power over slavery, in their own limits. And here, sir, we may pause. We may reflect for a moment upon the coincidence and concurrence of sentiments between the North and the South upon those questions at the period of the adoption of the Constitution. But opinions, and sentiments, and feelings—greatly changed North and changed South. Slavery is not regarded in the South now as it was then. I see an honorable member, who, I think, is in his place, who, from his remarks; he brings to me, sir, freshly and vividly, the sentiments of his great ancestor, so much distinguished in the Revolutionary period. A great ancestor he was, and worthy a grandson, with all the sentiments he expressed in the Convention in Philadelphia upon this subject.

Here we are at this time. There was, if not an entire unanimity, a general concurrence of sentiment, running through the whole community, and especially entertained by the eminent men of all parts of the country. But soon a change began at the North and the South, and a severance of opinion showed itself—the North growing more and more, and more strong against slavery, and the South growing much more warm and strong in its support. Sir, there is no generality of sentiment that is so universally subject to be influenced by what appears to them to be their present, emergent, and exigent interest. I impute to the South no particularly selfish view in the change which took place over her. It is not her certainly no dishonest view. All that has happened has been natural. It has followed those causes which always have produced, and always will produce upon it. What, then, have been the causes which have created so new a feeling in favor of slavery in the South, and so much more warm and strong in its support. Sir, there is no generality of sentiment that is more

The Liberator.

BOSTON, MARCH 15, 1850.

No Union with Slaveholders!

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Among the half a dozen men in Congress, the utterance of whose sentiments, in times of deep excitement, command the national attention, and exert in all sections of the country a strong influence over the popular mind, for good or evil, Mr. Calhoun stands prominent. Yet he has no breadth of character, no greatness of spirit, no generosity of purpose, no comprehensiveness of view. No man was ever more sectional in his feelings and aims. In no respect does he present an *American* front; he is a Southern man as regards the South, and a Southern man for the South, not of the republic, is the object of his solicitude; the extension and perpetuity of slavery, not the enlargement and preservation of liberty, are the ends of his public labors. To be simply an American; to go, in the magnificent language of Mr. Webster, for 'our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country'—or, in the profligate declaration of Mr. Winthrop, for 'our country, however bounded'—is to present to the world a very small pattern of a man; but to be, in affection, interest, honor, absorbed by a fractional portion of the land, and one's activity, to be utter unconsciousness of any other relations or duties, is a reduction to pigmean littleness. Intellectually, it is universally conceded that Mr. Calhoun is much above mediocrity; but a strong intellect, miserably perverted, whether an object of admiration, nor creditable to its possessor; certainly, it is a calamity to the race. The real dimensions of a man are to be known by the size of his heart, rather than by the volume of his brain. But where or what is the heart of John C. Calhoun? Who has felt its warmth? who can testify to its generosity? Who perceives in it any vitality? There is no blood in him; he is as cold as a corpse. He is made of iron, not flesh; he is hybridous, not natural. There never has been his match or parallel on earth, in his consecration as a public man to the hideous system of chattel slavery—its safety, advancement, perpetuity. His statesmanship is nothing better, nothing less, than demonship. He is demonized by a principle or passion that destroys all human affinity, and saps the foundation of all morality. He believes, and acts in accordance with that belief, that it is 'better to reign in hell than serve in heaven.' Damnation suits his taste and temperament, he being uppermost among the damned, invested with full powers of mastery. Where there are no chains, no torments, no enforced degradation, no contempt of moral obligation, he could not and would not dwell at ease. Universal peace, equality, purity, happiness, would be to him an intolerable state of society. Like Satan, as described in Milton's Paradise Lost, he exclaims—

'Farewell, happy fields,
Where joy for ever dwells! hail, horrors! hail,
Infernal world! and thou, profoundest hell,
Receive thy new possessor! One, who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by place or time.
The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.
What matter where, if I be still the same,
And what I should be, all but less than he
Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least
We shall be free; the Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
Here we may reign secure; and in my choice
To reign is worth ambition, though in hell.'

—The beams of the sun of liberty are as hateful to him as were those of the natural sun to Lucifer, after his overthrow:—

'O thou! that with surpassing glory crown'd,
Look'st from thy sole dominion like the god
Of this new world; at whose sight all the stars
Hide their diminished heads; to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
O sun! to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell; how glorious once above thy sphere;
Till pride and worse ambition threw me down,
Waring in heaven against heaven's matchless King.'

For three centuries, chattel slavery has had its advocates and defenders; but rather as a temporary expedient than as a permanent system. Few persons, of any note, have been so lost to shame as to vindicate it as in itself right and worthy of perpetuity. Washington, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, all the distinguished men of the South identified with 'the times that tried men's souls,' invariably deplored its existence as an evil, and contemplated its gradual but certain extirpation. But Mr. Calhoun—in utter defiance of testimonies like these, in utter contempt of the self-evident truths set forth in the Declaration of Independence, in bold defiance of the sentiments of a world still low in its estimate of human liberty, in violence of all the instincts of his nature—asserts it to be a blessing, the noblest of all institutions, the source of national prosperity, the corner-stone of the temple of republican freedom! Living, he contends for it as though existence without it would be insupportable; and dying, he is resolved to bequeath it to posterity as the richest legacy that can be given! Talk of unnatural wickedness or downright insanity! If he is a sane man, on this subject; if his brain is not diseased to an extent that destroys accountability; then he is among the wickedest of men—of his father, the devil, whose work he delights to do. His conscience is 'seared as with a hot iron.' In point of intellect, he is more to be abhorred than Caligula; on the score of tyranny, he is worse than Pharaoh. His villanies are innumerable and stupendous. He commits atrocities on a gigantic scale. He is not merely an adulterer, a thief, a barbarian, an oppressor, a man-stealer, in an individual sense, on a private scale, but comprehensively, and titudinously, by wholesale. He is not to be judged by the number of slaves actually on his plantation, under his special treatment. As the shameless robber of their rights, the remorseless foe to their emancipation and improvement, he is to be ranked as a criminal of no ordinary dye. But he goes for the enslavement of millions of his race, and their posterity to the end of time; and whatever that bondage requires,—or whips, or chains, or instruments of torture, or bloodhounds, or merciless penal laws,—for its unimpaired existence, he is ready to decree and enforce. He is destitute of virtue; for he denies to these millions the marriage institution, and enforces universal prostitution. He is without natural affection; for he is in favor of a wholesale and retail traffic in human flesh, and sees no reason why mothers are sold as the progeny of swine. He is fraudulent to the last degree; keeping back the hire of the laborers who reap down his fields, and plundering them of every possession. His impiety cannot be transcended; for to his miserable victims he says,—'I am God, and besides me there is none else'—and to the command to let the oppressed go free, he says, in the language of the Egyptian tyrant, 'Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice, to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go.'

If, on the other hand, Mr. Calhoun is diseased on this subject to an insane degree, he has shown no held accountable for his sayings and doings, then his proper place is in an Insane Asylum, and not in the Senate of the United States,—though it is true, since the addition of Foote and Clemens to that body, the Senate has partaken largely of the characteristics of Bedlam. But this excuse is not to be gravely urged, and therefore Mr. Calhoun, in a right moral estimate, is deserving the condemnation we have bestowed upon him.

On our first page, we have given a large portion of the speech of Mr. Calhoun, (and next week we shall publish the remainder,) which, in consequence of his feeble state of health, was read in the Senate, at his request, on the 4th instant. If we had time, we have not room to notice it at length in our present number; but its sum and substance are easily stated in a few words.

He bitterly complains, (and here he seems to give plausible evidence of insanity,) that while the North and the South, at the adoption of the Constitution, had almost an equal population and an equal division of the States, the North has since been rapidly distancing the South, in point of numbers, political strength, prosperity, &c. &c., so that the equilibrium is lost, on which alone the Union can be maintained! Concerning disparity between the two sections he perversely declares has been owing to the preponderance of Northern influence in the management of the government; whereas, it is merely the difference between free labor and slave labor; and, moreover, it is notorious that the government has been wholly controlled by the Slave Power for the last fifty years.

How can the Union be preserved? Only by stopping the anti-slavery agitation, and keeping Liberty within the dimensions of the Procrustean bedstead of Slavery!! What can be more rational than this? What more easily effected? It is a demand for a repeal of the law of gravitation, and the extinction of the human mind!

'Tyrants! in vain ye trace the wizard ring;
In vain ye limit Mind's unwearied spring!
Lo! Science, Freedom, Truth, Religion, shine,
Arrest the rolling world, or chain the deep!
No—the wild wave contemns your sceptered hand!
It rolled not back when Canute gave command!'

LET THE PEOPLE SPEAK.

What if Daniel Webster has betrayed the cause of liberty, bent his supple knees anew to the Slave Power, and dishonored the State which he was sent to Congress faithfully to represent? Let the people speak—and as he moves, is she to follow, even to the lowest depth of moral degradation? No—he is only one of eight hundred thousand, many of whom are incomparably his superior, if not in intellectual ability, at least in all those moral qualities and generous affections which bless and preserve society. On the great question of slavery-extension or slavery prohibition, now before the country, the 'common people'—the farmers, mechanics, and working classes generally—are as capable of forming their own opinions, each for himself, as Daniel Webster or John C. Calhoun. It is for them to speak and act with promptness at this crisis, (when so many public men are yielding to the power of corruption,) in a manner worthy of the glorious cause of liberty. Let it be shown, on their part, by a movement almost as rapid as that of the lightning, of heaven, that Mr. Webster receives no endorsement at their hands; that he has not spoken their sentiments; and that they regard him as worthy of official censure. To facilitate such a movement, the following memorial to the Legislature has been drawn up for signatures, not in condemnation of his whole speech, as such, (though it has not a redeeming feature in it,) but in reference to two or three points on which the people of Massachusetts, without distinction of party, are overwhelmingly united in sentiment. Let this memorial be quickly circulated, signed, and presented to the Legislature; and we trust that that body will fearlessly discharge its duty by responding to the prayer of the memorialists, in an emphatic manner.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts:—

The memorial of the undersigned, citizens of Boston, respectfully represents—

That as the Senators from this State, in the U. S. Senate, are chosen by the General Court, and not directly by the people, it is obviously proper, and may sometimes be a duty, for the General Court, or the General Court to advise such Senators as to the course deemed best to be pursued by them in their official capacity, thus increasing the weight and influence of their voice and vote, and directly upholding their hands, in a given course of procedure—

That, in the opinion of your memorialists, such an emergency now exists, and therefore such advice is called for, in order that the sentiments of the people of this Commonwealth, in regard to prohibiting, by an express enactment, the extension of slavery to the new territories, may be clearly understood and faithfully maintained—

That as the Hon. Daniel Webster confesses, in his speech in the U. S. Senate, that 'no one needs instruction and advice more than himself,' it is peculiarly incumbent on the General Court to give such instruction or advice in his particular case—especially as, in the position referred to, he virtually denies the right of those electing him to the U. S. Senate to express any opinion, at any time, as to the manner in which he shall discharge the duties of his office—

That inasmuch as Mr. Webster has signified his determination not to vote for the application of the Ordinance of '87 to the territories of California and New Mexico, on the specious but dangerous pretence that it would be a superfluous act, because, in his opinion, slavery is for ever excluded from those territories 'by the will of God and the law of nature'—an opinion notoriously at variance with that entertained by the great body of Southern slaveholders, and also with historical facts in regard to the exercise of despotic power, which is not absolutely dependant on either soil or climate—and inasmuch as the people of Massachusetts believe it to be equally inexpedient and unnecessary that slavery should be expressly prohibited in the territories aforesaid, by act of Congress—it therefore becomes the duty of the General Court to express its surprise and regret at this avowal of Mr. Webster, and to admonish him that he can carry out his purpose only by trampling beneath his feet the feelings, wishes and votes of the people of Massachusetts—

That Mr. Webster is deserving the censure of the General Court, in unequivocal and earnest language, for having made the extraordinary declaration, that he shall cast his influence, with all its prestige, in the full extent,' the bill introduced into the U. S. Senate by Mr. Mason, of Virginia, whereby the liberty of persons arrested as fugitive slaves is made dependant, not on a trial by jury, but on the decision of any 'judge, commissioner, *clerk*, marshal, postmaster, or collector, as the case may be, either by oral testimony or affidavit taken before and certified by any person authorized to administer an oath under the laws of the United States, or of any State'—

That the endorsement made by Mr. Webster, of the accusation of the Senate against Judge Pratt, for being a party to that portion of the U. S. Constitution pertaining to the return of fugitive slaves, is not warranted by any legislative or judicial action on record up to the present hour; though, in the opinion of at least a portion of your memorialists, if the facts were properly sifted, it would not be found to be deeply deplored, but rather a proof that the claims of humanity are felt to be stronger than the obligations of an immoral contract.

SYNOPSIS OF WEBSTER'S SPEECH.

1. To admit three or four more slave States from Texas.

2. That he will not vote for the 'Wilmot Proviso' for New Mexico and California, because it would be a needless and useless attack upon the feelings of the South, and because it would be absurd, when Slavery is excluded from the territories by the irrepealable laws of nature.

3. That the restoration of fugitive slaves is a solemn constitutional obligation upon the North, and upon the Legislatures and people of the North, and that the complaints of the South in this respect are just, and ought to be allayed by the observance of the Constitution.

4. That Mr. Webster is willing to settle the question of the disputed territory of New Mexico by paying Texas for the surrender of her claims.

DANIEL WEBSTER AND JOHN DAVIS.

Brother Garrison:

In reading the short speeches of Daniel Webster and John Davis of Massachusetts, in the Senate, upon the petitions for a dissolution of the Union, I was very forcibly struck with the tender conscientiousness of these gentlemen, relative to participation in the support the Constitution. Says Mr. Davis, 'When we come into this chamber, the first duty which the Constitution requires of us is to go to your table, and swear before Almighty God that we will support the Constitution.' Mr. Webster says in his presentation, 'Gentlemen, members of Congress—when we take, at the commencement of this session, you, and each of you, took your solemn oaths, in the presence of God and the holy Evangelists, that you would support the Constitution of the United States,' &c. Now, I wish to try or examine their sincerity, by conscientious by God and the holy Evangelists in whose presence they swore. And first, God says, by his Son Jesus Christ, 'I say unto you, swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it is his throne, nor by the earth, for it is his footstool,' &c. James says, 'But above all things, brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath.' Chap. v. Oh, what veneration for God and his holy Evangelists! Second. What do these gentlemen Senators swear so solemnly, 'in the presence of God and his holy evangelists,' to support? Do they, in reality, swear to support wholesale murder; for does not the Constitution give Congress power to declare war? And what is war but wholesale murder? God says in the decalogue, 'Thou shalt not kill'; but these gentlemen say in the presence of this very God, we swear we will kill, and then kiss the 'holy Evangelists.' What profound conscientiousness is manifested here! Third. What further do these gentlemen swear they will support? Answer. Theft and robbery; for does not the Constitution give Congress power to grant letters of marque and reprisal? Yes, to grant these letters but robbery and theft, ay, even piracy? for who can tell the difference, morally? Oh, what holy conscientiousness these gentlemen must possess, swear to support these ungodly acts, and then kiss the 'holy Evangelists'! Again, these gentlemen swear to support wholesale licentiousness; for who does not know that the nation's camp is the nation's brothel? Swear to support this brothel, and then kiss the 'holy Evangelists.' Again. These gentlemen swear to support slavery, 'the sum of all villanies.' When God says by the prophet Isaiah, 'Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?' these gentlemen swear they won't do any such thing, and then kiss the 'holy Evangelists,' who say, 'Do as you would be done by.' Oh, sublime respect and obedience to God and the 'holy Evangelists.' They no doubt will be canonized when they die, by New England religionists.

Once more: God says by the holy Evangelists, that whatsoever he hath joined together, let no man, even honorable Senators, put asunder; but these gentlemen swear they will break his holy covenant whenever the slaveholder is disposed to do it, and then kiss the 'holy Evangelists.' Not only will they do this, but they swear they will sever every sacred tie of family relation. Children shall be torn from their mothers, brothers from sisters, husbands from the four winds of heaven, whenever their masters the slaveholders shall direct, and then kiss the 'holy Evangelists'!

But Irony aside! Was ever blasphemy and hypocrisy more apparent? Swear to support all the crimes of deepest dye, and then—swear before God and his holy Evangelists for the rectitude of their ungodly conduct! Webster thought that there ought to be an appropriate preamble to those 'presumptuous' politicians, and so he gave one. So I think there ought to be one relative to their oath-taking, as I have mentioned above to it; and I will give them in the following words:—Whereas, the Constitution of the United States is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell, and an eternal and malignant enemy to God and the holy Evangelists; therefore, Resolved, That whenever members-elect of Congress post office, in accordance with the mandate of a large number of the citizens of that town.—*Journal.*

Fatal Railroad Accident.—On Monday morning, as the freight train upon the Maine railroad was approaching Saco, it was discovered that a bridge was seen upon the top of the cars, and as the train was nearing a bridge, a motion was made to him to get down. He disregarded or misunderstood the action, and in a moment afterwards his head struck the bridge, dashing his skull to pieces, and of course killing him instantly.

Buffalo, N. Y., Monday, March 11—10 A. M.

A tremendous conflagration occurred in this city yesterday morning, at about 2 1-2 o'clock, commencing in the building known as Stewart's Globe Saloon, in the north wing of the North American Hotel.

The flames spread very rapidly, and by 7 o'clock had consumed the American Hotel, Lafayette street Church, Bloomer Hall, Metzger's stables, and from 15 to 20 other buildings.

The fire was first discovered about 3 o'clock, in the basement of the Globe Hotel, and the amount of property destroyed is not yet ascertained.

March, 1850.

Boston Female Medical School,

Conducted by the American Medical Education Society.

THE fourth term of Lectures on Midwifery and Medicine commences April 3, 1850, and continue three months. Tuition $25.

Directors.—Richard Fraser, Samuel E. Sewall, Enoch C. Rolfe, Dexter S. King, Simon G. Shipley.

SAMUEL GREGORY, Sec'y, 25 Cornhill.

March 8 3tis

UNION MUTUAL
Life Insurance Company,

DIRECTORS.

Abbott Lawrence, Portland, John D. Lang, Maine, Ezra White, New York, Charles Joyce, Maine, Daniel Sharp, Jr., Boston, Jos. H. Williams, Ms., Henry Dunster, Boston, Thomas Dudley, Boston, Geo. C. Collins, N. York, Horatio Hakes, Boston, Elisha B. Pratt, Boston, J. W. Hastings, Boston.

ALEXANDER WRIGHT, *President.*

Daniel Sharp, Jr., *Vice-President.*

THIS COMPANY

Continues to Insure Lives on the most Favorable Terms.

DIVIDEND OF PROFITS

Must be very large, owing to the peculiar advantages Society. 6 to 10 per cent. Mutual Company, and the great success and economical management of its managers.

Travelling and residence *privileges* unusually liberal. Special permits granted for short periods, or for foreign *year* Annually always granted at reduced rates.

A Liberal Credit given, if desired, on premiums for *Life Policies*, the amount being 40 dollars or more.

N. B. *Persons insured during the current year, share in the Profits.*

J. C. SHARP, M. D., Medical Examiner, in attendance every day from 12 to 1, P. M.

The best pamphlet out on *Life Insurance*, and all desired information upon the subject, may be obtained by mail, if written for, *post paid*, or at the Agent's

Office, lower floor, Merchants' Exchange.

Feb. 8 E. S. CABOT, *Agent.*

CLOTHING
NEW STORE,

No. 107, Cambridge Street

LEWIS HAYDEN,

WHO, it will be remembered, was formerly a slave in Kentucky, has opened the above Store, and keeps a good assortment of

MEN'S AND BOY'S CLOTHING,

of superior quality. He trusts that all will lend him a helping hand, for it will be his constant endeavor to keep for sale a *good* and *cheap* article on hand, both at wholesale and retail.

He has also a good assortment of little Knick Knacks, such as are generally kept in a variety store, so that he is enabled to accommodate all his friends who may feel disposed to give him a call.

JONATHAN WALKER,

On his return from Vermont, will endeavor to be at the following specified places, at the times mentioned, and will give one or two lectures in each place. If friends of the oppressed will make the needful arrangements:—

Southboro',	Mass., Friday,	March	15.
Hopkinton,	" Sat. and Sun.	"	16—17.
Walpole,	" Monday,	"	18.
Paxboro',	" Tuesday,	"	19.
Upton,	" Wednesday,	"	20.
East Bridgewater,	" Thursday,	"	21.

ESSEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A Quarterly meeting of the Essex County A. S. Society will be held at Lynn on Saturday and Sunday, March the 23rd and 24th, to commence at 3 o'clock, P. M. The Board of Managers are desirous that this meeting should be one of the most spirited and profitable meetings ever held in the County. While Congress is almost wholly employed in discussing the questions, whether this curse of slavery shall be extended over new regions of territory or be annihilated in the old—while the whole South are excited to action, and are calling Conventions to take measures to strengthen Slavery—surely the Friends of Freedom ought to be equally vigilant and active. Come, then, one and all, and take counsel together, and devise means for the overthrow of this hell of sin. Wm. L. Garrison, Lucy Stone, with other eloquent speakers, have engaged to be present. Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Salem, will address the friends at the close of the meeting, Sunday evening, upon the present aspect of the times, and the duty of the Abolitionists. Per order of the Board of Managers.

☞ The meeting will be held at Lyceum Hall.

RUTH BUFFUM, *Rec. Sec.*

LUCY STONE,

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

Gloucester,	Friday,	March	15.
Beverly,	Tuesday,	"	19.
Danvers, New Mills,	Wednesday,	"	20.
Danvers,	Thursday,	"	21.
Marblehead,	Friday,	"	22.

And will attend the Essex County meeting, at Lynn, on the 23d and 24th.

PARKER PILLSBURY,

An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society will lecture as follows:—

Manchester,	Friday,	March	15.
Duxbury,	Tuesday,	"	19.
Kingston,	Wednesday,	"	20.
Plympton,	Thursday,	"	21.
Plymouth,	Friday,	"	22.

ESSEX, (ESSEX CO.)

Parker Pillsbury and Lucy Stone, Agents of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, propose to hold an Anti-Slavery meeting in this place, on Friday next, March 17, at the usual hours of meeting, morning, afternoon and evening.

PARKER PILLSBURY,

An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in MILFORD, Ms., at Darling's Hall, on Saturday evening, March 23.

Also, on Sunday, March 24, afternoon and evening, at the usual hours of meeting, at the same place.

At Horticultural Hall,

PRATT'S BOTANICAL AND POETICAL PANORAMA OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN, with three groups of Adam and Eve, as large as nature, in oil colors.

Open every evening at 6 1-2, and moves at 7 1-2 o'clock.

Also—on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, at 3 o'clock.

☞ Admission 25 cents. Children half price.

Mirror of the Lakes!

AT AMORY HALL.

DURR'S SEVEN MILE MIRROR, or a Tour of 1000 miles, through the Lakes, Canals, Rivers, St. Lawrence, and Saguenay Rivers, illustrated on 100 acres of Moving Canvas, perfectly representing 200 Cities and Villages, over 100,000 Buildings, and 300 Steamboats, Ships, and other Vessels. The following objects and localities are among the many: the City and Harbor of Quebec, the Citadel of Quebec, Montmorenci Falls, and the Great Gulf. This vast artistic composition ends displaying the awful attributes of the Saguenay River.

Hand Book to the Mirror, 12 1-2 cents.

Doors open at 1-2—Mirror moves at 7 1-2 o'clock.

Admission, 25 cents—Children half price.

Day exhibitions Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, at 3 o'clock.—

Webster's Dictionary.

'Without reserve or qualification, the best extant.'—*President Wayland.* 'Unsurpassed in completeness and accuracy by none in our language.'—*President Wayland.* 'It far excels all others, in giving and defining scientific terms.'—*Prof. Hosmer.* 'The standard wherever the English is spoken, it deserves to be, must be, is, and will be.'—*Prof. Stowe.* 'An honor to the language.'—*Pres. Humphrey.* 'A conjunction of copiousness, perspicuity, and accuracy, not found in any other.'—*Pres. Day.* 'A great improvement on all which have preceded.'—*Pres. Wheaton.* 'Worthy of perpetuity as a patriotic work.'—*Pres. Woods.* 'Most complete, accurate, and reliable of the language.'—*Pres. Beecher, Pres. Larabee, Pres. Kelly, Pres. Wheaton, Pres. Richard, Pres. Smith, Pres. Knox, and Chancellor Frelinghuysen.*

Published by G. & C. MERRIAM, Springfield, Ms.

And for sale by Booksellers generally.

March, 1850.

At the Liberator Office.

Daily Advertisement.

Boston Female Medical School.

Conducted by the American Medical Education Society.

THE fourth term of Lectures on Midwifery and Medicine commences April 3, 1850, and continue three months. Tuition $25.

Directors.—Richard Fraser, Samuel E. Sewall, Enoch C. Rolfe, Dexter S. King, Simon G. Shipley.

SAMUEL GREGORY, Sec'y, 25 Cornhill.

March 8 3tis

UNION MUTUAL
Life Insurance Company,

DIRECTORS.

Abbott Lawrence, Boston, John D. Lang, Maine, Ezra White, New York, Charles Joyce, Maine, Daniel Sharp, Jr., Boston, Jos. H. Williams, Ms., Henry Dunster, Boston, Thomas Dudley, Boston, Geo. C. Collins, N. York, Horatio Hakes, Boston, Elisha B. Pratt, Boston, J. W. Hastings, Boston.

ALEXANDER WRIGHT, *President.*

Daniel Sharp, Jr., *Vice-President.*

THIS COMPANY

Continues to Insure Lives on the most Favorable Terms.

DIVIDEND OF PROFITS

Must be very large, owing to the peculiar advantages Society. 6 to 10 per cent. Mutual Company, and the great success and economical management of its managers.

Travelling and residence *privileges* unusually liberal. Special permits granted for short periods, or for foreign *year* Annually always granted at reduced rates.

A Liberal Credit given, if desired, on premiums for *Life Policies*, the amount being 40 dollars or more.

N. B. *Persons insured during the current year, share in the Profits.*

J. C. SHARP, M. D., Medical Examiner, in attendance every day from 12 to 1, P. M.

The best pamphlet out on *Life Insurance*, and all desired information upon the subject, may be obtained by mail, if written for, *post paid*, or at the Agent's

Office, lower floor, Merchants' Exchange.

Feb. 8 E. S. CABOT, *Agent.*

CLOTHING
NEW STORE,

No. 107, Cambridge Street

LEWIS HAYDEN,

WHO, it will be remembered, was formerly a slave in Kentucky, has opened the above Store, and keeps a good assortment of

MEN'S AND BOY'S CLOTHING,

of superior quality. He trusts that all will lend him a helping hand, for it will be his constant endeavor to keep for sale a *good* and *cheap* article on hand, both at wholesale and retail.

He has also a good assortment of little Knick Knacks, such as are generally kept in a variety store, so that he is enabled to accommodate all his friends who may feel disposed to give him a call.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, MARCH 15, 1850.

No Union with Slaveholders!

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Among the half a dozen men in Congress, the utterance of whose sentiments, in times of deep excitement, command the national attention, and exert in all sections of the country a strong influence over the popular mind, for good or evil, Mr. Calhoun stands prominent. Yet he has no breadth of character, no greatness of spirit, no generosity of purpose, no comprehensiveness of view. No man was ever more sectional in his feelings and aims. In no respect does he present an *American* front; he is a Southern man as regards the South, and a Southern man for the South, not of the republic, is the object of his solicitude; the extension and perpetuity of slavery, not the enlargement and preservation of liberty, are the ends of his public labors. To be simply an American; to go, in the magnificent language of Mr. Webster, for 'our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country'—or, in the profligate declaration of Mr. Winthrop, for 'our country, however bounded'—is to present to the world a very small pattern of a man; but to be, in affection, interest, honor, absorbed by a fractional portion of the land, and one's activity, to be utter unconsciousness of any other relations or duties, is a reduction to pigmean littleness. Intellectually, it is universally conceded that Mr. Calhoun is much above mediocrity; but a strong intellect, miserably perverted, whether an object of admiration, nor creditable to its possessor; certainly, it is a calamity to the race. The real dimensions of a man are to be known by the size of his heart, rather than by the volume of his brain. But where or what is the heart of John C. Calhoun? Who has felt its warmth? who can testify to its generosity? Who perceives in it any vitality? There is no blood in him; he is as cold as a corpse. He is made of iron, not flesh; he is hybridous, not natural. There never has been his match or parallel on earth, in his consecration as a public man to the hideous system of chattel slavery—its safety, advancement, perpetuity. His statesmanship is nothing better, nothing less, than demonship. He is demonized by a principle or passion that destroys all human affinity, and saps the foundation of all morality. He believes, and acts in accordance with that belief, that it is 'better to reign in hell than serve in heaven.' Damnation suits his taste and temperament, he being uppermost among the damned, invested with full powers of mastery. Where there are no chains, no torments, no enforced degradation, no contempt of moral obligation, he could not and would not dwell at ease. Universal peace, equality, purity, happiness, would be to him an intolerable state of society. Like Satan, as described in Milton's Paradise Lost, he exclaims—

'Farewell, happy fields,
Where joy for ever dwells! hail, horrors! hail,
Infernal world! and thou, profoundest hell,
Receive thy new possessor! One, who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by place or time.
The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.
What matter where, if I be still the same,
And what I should be, all but less than he
Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least
We shall be free; the Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
Here we may reign secure; and in my choice
To reign is worth ambition, though in hell.'

—The beams of the sun of liberty are as hateful to him as were those of the natural sun to Lucifer, after his overthrow:—

'O thou! that with surpassing glory crown'd,
Look'st from thy sole dominion like the god
Of this new world; at whose sight all the stars
Hide their diminished heads; to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
O sun! to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell; how glorious once above thy sphere;
Till pride and worse ambition threw me down,
Waring in heaven against heaven's matchless King.'

For three centuries, chattel slavery has had its advocates and defenders; but rather as a temporary expedient than as a permanent system. Few persons, of any note, have been so lost to shame as to vindicate it as in itself right and worthy of perpetuity. Washington, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, all the distinguished men of the South identified with 'the times that tried men's souls,' invariably deplored its existence as an evil, and contemplated its gradual but certain extirpation. But Mr. Calhoun—in utter defiance of testimonies like these, in utter contempt of the self-evident truths set forth in the Declaration of Independence, in bold defiance of the sentiments of a world still low in its estimate of human liberty, in violence of all the instincts of his nature—asserts it to be a blessing, the noblest of all institutions, the source of national prosperity, the corner-stone of the temple of republican freedom! Living, he contends for it as though existence without it would be insupportable; and dying, he is resolved to bequeath it to posterity as the richest legacy that can be given! Talk of unnatural wickedness or downright insanity! If he is a sane man, on this subject; if his brain is not diseased to an extent that destroys accountability; then he is among the wickedest of men—of his father, the devil, whose work he delights to do. His conscience is 'seared as with a hot iron.' In point of intellect, he is more to be abhorred than Caligula; on the score of tyranny, he is worse than Pharaoh. His villanies are innumerable and stupendous. He commits atrocities on a gigantic scale. He is not merely an adulterer, a thief, a barbarian, an oppressor, a man-stealer, in an individual sense, on a private scale, but comprehensively, and titudinously, by wholesale. He is not to be judged by the number of slaves actually on his plantation, under his special treatment. As the shameless robber of their rights, the remorseless foe to their emancipation and improvement, he is to be ranked as a criminal of no ordinary dye. But he goes for the enslavement of millions of his race, and their posterity to the end of time; and whatever that bondage requires,—or whips, or chains, or instruments of torture, or bloodhounds, or merciless penal laws,—for its unimpaired existence, he is ready to decree and enforce. He is destitute of virtue; for he denies to these millions the marriage institution, and enforces universal prostitution. He is without natural affection; for he is in favor of a wholesale and retail traffic in human flesh, and sees no reason why mothers are sold as the progeny of swine. He is fraudulent to the last degree; keeping back the hire of the laborers who reap down his fields, and plundering them of every possession. His impiety cannot be transcended; for to his miserable victims he says,—'I am God, and besides me there is none else'—and to the command to let the oppressed go free, he says, in the language of the Egyptian tyrant, 'Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice, to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go.'

If, on the other hand, Mr. Calhoun is diseased on this subject to an insane degree, he has shown no held accountable for his sayings and doings, then his proper place is in an Insane Asylum, and not in the Senate of the United States,—though it is true, since the addition of Foote and Clemens to that body, the Senate has partaken largely of the characteristics of Bedlam. But this excuse is not to be gravely urged, and therefore Mr. Calhoun, in a right moral estimate, is deserving the condemnation we have bestowed upon him.

On our first page, we have given a large portion of the speech of Mr. Calhoun, (and next week we shall publish the remainder,) which, in consequence of his feeble state of health, was read in the Senate, at his request, on the 4th instant. If we had time, we have not room to notice it at length in our present number; but its sum and substance are easily stated in a few words.

He bitterly complains, (and here he seems to give plausible evidence of insanity,) that while the North and the South, at the adoption of the Constitution, had almost an equal population and an equal division of the States, the North has since been rapidly distancing the South, in point of numbers, political strength, prosperity, &c. &c., so that the equilibrium is lost, on which alone the Union can be maintained!! Concerning disparity between the two sections he perversely declare has been owing to the preponderance of Northern influence in the management of the government; whereas, it is merely the difference between free labor and slave labor; and, moreover, it is notorious that the government has been wholly controlled by the Slave Power for the last fifty years.

How can the Union be preserved? Only by stopping the anti-slavery agitation, and keeping Liberty within the dimensions of the Procrustean bedstead of Slavery!! What can be more rational than this? What more easily effected? It is a demand for a repeal of the law of gravitation, and the extinction of the human mind!

'Tyrants! in vain ye trace the wizard ring;
In vain ye limit Mind's unwearied spring!
Lo! Science, Freedom, Truth, Religion, shine,
Arrest the rolling world, or chain the deep!
No—the wild wave contemns your sceptered hand!
It rolled not back when Canute gave command!'

LET THE PEOPLE SPEAK.

What if Daniel Webster has betrayed the cause of liberty, bent his supple knees anew to the Slave Power, and dishonored the State which he was sent to Congress faithfully to represent? Let the people speak—and as he moves, is she to follow, even to the lowest depth of moral degradation? No—he is only one of eight hundred thousand, many of whom are incomparably his superior, if not in intellectual ability, at least in all those moral qualities and generous affections which bless and preserve society. On the great question of slavery-extension or slavery prohibition, now before the country, the 'common people'—the farmers, mechanics, and working classes generally—are as capable of forming their own opinions, each for himself, as Daniel Webster or John C. Calhoun. It is for them to speak and act with promptness at this crisis, (when so many public men are yielding to the power of corruption,) in a manner worthy of the glorious cause of liberty. Let it be shown, on their part, by a movement almost as rapid as that of the lightning, of heaven, that Mr. Webster receives no endorsement at their hands; that he has not spoken their sentiments; and that they regard him as worthy of official censure. To facilitate such a movement, the following memorial to the Legislature has been drawn up for signatures, not in condemnation of his whole speech, as such, (though it has not a redeeming feature in it,) but in reference to two or three points on which the people of Massachusetts, without distinction of party, are overwhelmingly united in sentiment. Let this memorial be quickly circulated, signed, and presented to the Legislature; and we trust that that body will fearlessly discharge its duty by responding to the prayer of the memorialists, in an emphatic manner.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts:—

The memorial of the undersigned, citizens of Boston, respectfully represents—

That as the Senators from this State, in the U. S. Senate, are chosen by the General Court, and not directly by the people, it is obviously proper, and may sometimes be a duty, for the General Court, or the General Court to advise such Senators as to the course deemed best to be pursued by them in their official capacity, thus increasing the weight and influence of their voice and vote, and directly upholding their hands, in a given course of procedure—

That, in the opinion of your memorialists, such an emergency now exists, and therefore such advice is called for, in order that the sentiments of the people of this Commonwealth, in regard to prohibiting, by an express enactment, the extension of slavery to the new territories, may be clearly understood and faithfully maintained—

That as the Hon. Daniel Webster confesses, in his speech in the U. S. Senate, that 'no one needs instruction and advice more than himself,' it is peculiarly incumbent on the General Court to give such instruction or advice in his particular case—especially as, in the position referred to, he virtually denies the right of those electing him to the U. S. Senate to express any opinion, at any time, as to the manner in which he shall discharge the duties of his office—

That inasmuch as Mr. Webster has signified his determination not to vote for the application of the Ordinance of '87 to the territories of California and New Mexico, on the specious but dangerous pretence that it would be a superfluous act, because, in his opinion, slavery is for ever excluded from those territories 'by the will of God and the law of nature'—an opinion notoriously at variance with that entertained by the great body of Southern slaveholders, and also with historical facts in regard to the exercise of despotic power, which is not absolutely dependant on either soil or climate—and inasmuch as the people of Massachusetts believe it to be equally inexpedient and unnecessary that slavery should be expressly prohibited in the territories aforesaid, by act of Congress—it therefore becomes the duty of the General Court to express its surprise and regret at this avowal of Mr. Webster, and to admonish him that he can carry out his purpose only by trampling beneath his feet the feelings, wishes and votes of the people of Massachusetts—

That Mr. Webster is deserving the censure of the General Court, in unequivocal and earnest language, for having made the extraordinary declaration, that he shall cast his influence, with all its prestige, in the full extent,' the bill introduced into the U. S. Senate by Mr. Mason, of Virginia, whereby the liberty of persons arrested as fugitive slaves is made dependant, not on a trial by jury, but on the decision of any 'judge, commissioner, *clerk*, marshal, postmaster, or collector, as the case may be, either by oral testimony or affidavit taken before and certified by any person authorized to administer an oath under the laws of the

POETRY.

THE COMPROMISERS.

To the Committee of the Millville Anti-Slavery FAIR, held at Millville on the 21st and 22d of February, the following lines were respectfully dedicated by their author.

O, injured Africa! thy suppliant hands
And tearful eyes are raised in vain to Heaven;
Thy wail of anguish reaches to all lands;
No wrongs compare with thine—ah, it is given
To thee, poor *Africa*, to suffer! Driven
For centuries have been the bonds between
Thy children and their brethren. Long have striven
Thy friends from sham mercy and wrong to screen
Thy sons and daughters, and to liberty redeem.

And yet 'tis not enough! they clamor still
For Africa's blood. 'More room, more room,' they cry,
'In which our destiny we may fulfil!'
And Africans by millions still must die,
Beneath the blighting curse. Fearful is the cry
Of human blood from swamps of rice that rise,
Or cotton fields, where tender mothers sigh
For their loved infants, reaching to the skies,
And pleading with our God in judgment to arise.

When fair Missouri's fruitful valleys asked
For skilful men, the friends of liberty
Would fain have dwelt alone therein. 'No tasked
And crowded slave upon its soil shall they see,
But all free, and lithe, and good and free.
O then the monster howled! the subsidizer
His game began—the Union threatened—he
Called to his aid each man and God-despiser;
But first in rank there came the mighty Compromiser.

With sugared words he soothed the freeman's fears,
To slaveholders he gave a knowing wink—
I will not say—he might have shed some tears!
The sacred (?) Union (!) was his theme, I think.
Freemen became alarmed lest the strong link
(Strong certainly it must have been, so long
To bind the living to the dead) should sink
In estimation of the voting throng;
And so another compromise was made with wrong.

The Union was preserved! the bargain made!
O Africa, what a cruel fate for thee!
Quick'ning at once the foul soul-driver's trade
In every branch—on river, gulf and sea—
Putting for all the day of jubilee.
The blood and tears of thy poor sons and daughters
Have mortared all those fertile plains!—ah me!
They're mingled with the rushing waters,
As Southward they've been borne, like cattle to the slaughters.

And is not this enough? Ah no! for more
The horse-leech daughter cries. 'More land! make room!
I want a place to be,' she says; 'the shore
Of fair Pacific is my bound. I'll soon
My shambles open there, and give a boon
To my fast friends. For theirs the goodly land
Shall henceforth be, while sun or moon
Endure. Just by this glorious Union stand!
And Southern States and men will gain what they demand.'

'Back, foulest demon, to thy place in hell!'
Shout many millions of the free-born race;
'The evils thou hast wrought no tongue can tell,—
Thou art on *sin* a blot, a foul disgrace;
Thy bounds are set. No farther shalt thou go;
Thy bloody marks on all our land we trace.
Fair Liberty the shores of oceans shall embrace,
And industry and peace on all bestow,
Making again a paradise for men below.'

The Compromiser's slaves grew 'fat and sleek,'
And happy too, he said, (they're apt to stray;)
And he became religious quite, and meek;
He was immersed, and wont, 'tis thought, to pray;
And walked in most things in a godly way.
'Twas all in vain! the nomination bone
Another get, which vexed him much, they say,
And left him quite disconsolate at home;
Where much we hoped he'd stay, and fast and pray alone!

But when he saw the danger of the Union,—
Or, rather, Slavery's want of elbow room,—
He left his quiet home and sweet communion
With holy books and prayer (?) and soon, too soon
Fr Freedom's cause he'll sway the Senate-room;
Blinding again the trusting people's eyes,
Filling poor Afric's friends with fear and gloom,
Taking all parties by a grand surprise,
And make for slavery another compromise.

The furnishers of stock for Southern trade
Will now, no doubt, be looking up their breeders;
In coming times great fortunes will he made,
In spite, I fear, of all come-out-seeders
From Church or State, or mighty party leaders.
'Tis said *white* cattle fetch far more than other,
(I now crave pardon of all chaste readers;
The thing's in fault, not I)—O brother!
Is't this that makes the child scme lighter than its mother?

And is it thus your coffers fill with gold?
The child, by law, the mother's fortune takes;
Whose are these pale-faced children, bought and sold!
Just heavens! are men transformed to crawling snakes,
Devouring their own offspring? Why, this makes
One's blood quite curdle in his swelling veins!
The *sons* of villainies have left
Upon God's image to imprint such stains;
And yet they will be there while slavery remains.

Ye mighty Doctors of Divinity,
Who labor hard to Christinize such sin;
You have a quite *eassinine* trinity
In slavery, war, and endless hell! Begin,
Good sirs, to plume your quills for flight; you've been
Doing a heavy business, we'll allow,
In pious frauds, to still the growing din
Of anti-slavery. Another job is now
Upon your hands: of course you'll do it—you know how.

Yo modern Doctors of a softer creed,
Indefinites, Ultras, Restorations!
Who hold the Fatherhood of God, indeed!
And Brotherhood of man of all the nations,
And yet your hired out-throats take your stations,
And labor hard to bolster slavery,
Here's work for for you—full pay and rations.
For some persist in holding it rank knavery—
This whole concern—in spite of prayers and bravery.

Here's labor plenty for all hands, I think,
To justify this business of extension
In all its many parts. Each subtle link
Of argument must be well made; attention
Must be given to logic! and much mention
Duly made of holy scripture (?)—indeed
You must now tax to th' utmost your invention;
Or much I fear that you will not succeed
In making this extension act a very righteous deed!

What can by man be done, you'll do, no doubt!
You are the bulwark of glorious wrong;
Old crimes by your supernal (?) touch come out
'Organic sins,' and may be practised long,
And freely too, by every praying throng,
Without a forfeiture of Christian name.
O God of truth and love how long, how long
Shall such bear sway? O let the living flame
Of thy pure truth purge off right quick this damning shame!

Ye hardy millions of the North and West,
Though low your prints and place-men bow the knee,
Say, will you longer heed their base behest,
To creep and cringe before foul slavery?
Will you, the bone and sinew, strong and free,
Whose mighty fist, as the word of God,
Throughout the land, is felt by every knave,
O will you not now break th' oppressor's rod,
Causing free men to leap where slaves so long have trod?

Up, Democrat, and Whig, and firm Free Soiler!
Whose hands are hard with freedom's manly toil,—
Now crush, for you've the power, the base despoiler
Of human rights. It has its sneaky coil
About your hearts and limbs. No foot of soil
Throughout this land is free; 'tis tainted all
As slavery's hunting ground; the sad recoil
Of violated right on you doth fall;
You can't be wholly free, and leave them in their thrall.

Ye faithful few, who've burst the selfish band
Which holds the nation in its foul embrace,
O cease not to proclaim throughout the land,
What God demands—freedom for all the race.
The Church and Union are a deep disgrace
On Christ and manhood, while they hold this sin—
While on their robes the blood of slaves we trace.
'Tis treason to our God if we come in'
To share the league with them—or peace or truce begin.

Not all the eloquence that men possess,
Not painters, sculptors, and the poets too,
Conspiring 'Harry of the West' to bless,
Can give him to the future great and true.
Thick dark clouds are gathering, and will soon undo,
Should even they to do this work essay,
Millions of handcuffed slaves will rise to view,
Cursing, as well they might, the sunless day
That sent on Afric's race the Compromiser Clay!

D. E. W.

Reformatory.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS AND DUTIES.

OBSERVATIONS ON MR. GREW'S REMARKS CONTINUED.

MR. GARRISON:

Mr. Grew continues to labor with indefatigable zeal to overturn our position of the equality of the sexes. In the preceding article, he endeavors to show that woman is a subordinate to man by nature, by her king and lawgiver in temporalities. In the article at present under review, he manifests equal zeal to prove that woman occupies a degraded, inferior position in spiritual matters. He represents her as barely permitted to enter the house of God, to sit at the footstool of her master, or else to stand at the door of her master in the family, to be taught. 'For it is received as a permanent rule and as a commandment of the Lord, if women will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home.' Woman occupies the notice's seat, from the principle that she belongs to an inferior, subordinate caste, as to physical organization, and as a tribute of adoration to man's sovereignty. Not from a principle of her moral and intellectual inferiority to man. This is a dominion 'like the princes of the Gentiles.' Matt. 20: 25. It is not the principle of Christianity. When the foundation is *anti-Christian*, what must the superstructure be?

Passing over Mr. Grew's preliminary observations, we will proceed to consider his remarks which have a more immediate bearing on the question at issue. He limits the meaning of the portion of Scripture, 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free.' Gal. 3: 28, to all being alike partakers of grace. Is that any *new* revelation or *new* gospel principle? or was grace limited to the Jews, to the exclusion of the Gentiles? We answer, no; God is no respecter of persons. But there was a great difference between Jew and Gentile concerning privileges. It is the *privileges* of believers that the apostle is speaking of, as is made manifest in the succeeding chapter.

Mr. Grew says, 'The prophecy of Joel, that the Divine Spirit should be poured out on the sons and daughters, children of God, received, in part, and was fulfilled. Anna, Elizabeth and Mary prophesied under the new, as well as Deborah, Miriam and Huldah under the former dispensation.' He is right, that the prophecy of Joel referred to the Christian era, but he is easily mistaken when he says, 'Anna, Elizabeth and Mary prophesied under the New.' The New did not commence until after Christ's crucifixion. Christ lived under the Mosaic dispensation, and observed the Mosaic ritual; and Anna was the last established prophet under the Old dispensation. Peter says expressly, Acts 2: 17, 'Then the Spirit was poured out on the day of Pentecost, as was spoken by the prophet Joel,' and quotes the words of the text. See Woman's Rights, p. 170. Mr. Grew draws an argument for the permanency of the apostle's supposed prohibition of women speaking in the church, from the fact that it is embodied in 1st Corinthians, 14, where the rules for the permanent order of the Church are contained. Now, if this were true, it would be worthy of consideration; but the *reverse is the fact*, for it is contained in the chapter where he was regulating supernatural gifts, which were temporary effusions, and were common to both *sexes*; hence the apostle would not forbid *their exercise* in either sex. Mr. G. says, 'It is not true that the apostle in this chapter—1st Cor. 14—was directing the exercise of supernatural gifts, and no other; he directs as one who understands prayer and singing, but also in respect to the common gift of speaking to edification 'exhortation and comfort.' Well, we have an open Bible, let the reader judge for himself. What direction does he give about prayer or singing? He (the apostle) directs them to sing or pray with the spirit () and with the understanding also; with reference to those who prayed or sung in an *unknown* tongue. Was this not a supernatural gift? Certainly he directed them to speak to edification, in the exercise of their supernatural gifts. He was directing supernatural gifts, and *no other*, and continued to do so from the beginning to the end of the chapter, with the exception of the 34th and 35th verses. There are some general principles laid down that would be of use to ordinary congregations; but it would not be a *violation* of any of them for women to speak in the Church, in a decent and orderly manner. It is perfectly futile to argue the point. It is plain that the design of the apostle in this chapter is to regulate supernatural gifts, and *no other*. *No ordinary* religious assembly is conducted in the manner he directs. For example, verse 31: 'For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn and all be comforted,'—*all* who had the gift of prophecy. Verse 34: 'Let your women keep silence in the Churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law.' *They are commanded is not in the original.* Verse 35: 'And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the Church.'

We know Philip had four daughters, unmarried, who did prophesy—Acts 21: 9. How would it answer to tell them to keep silence in the Churches? 'And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home.' This latter injunction is as imperative as the former, and *equally* the 'commandment of the Lord.' One convincing proof why this prohibition was not intended to be universal and general is, that it embraces but one class of females, married women. It is plain, those women were doing nothing like preaching; the object of preaching is to *give information, not to learn*. It is plain, those women were interrogating their husbands in public, according to the disputatious spirit of the age. They were not capable of conducting a discussion, nor was the Church a proper place; it produced confusion, and the apostle directed them, if they would learn any thing, to ask their questions at home; for it is a shame for wives or matrons to talk thus in the congregation. Mr. Grew says, 'It is not true that the apostle said it was a shame for women *to talk* thus in the congregation. He said, 'It was a shame for women to speak in the Church, *without any qualification or reference to the manner of their speaking*.' Well, doctors will differ. The editor of the Comprehensive Commentary says, 'The word here translated speak, almost universally in the New Testament signifies not to speak, but *to talk*; and the Greek here for disturbance, is a word used of a noisy, tumultuous assembly.' We are sure it ought to be wives, because the correlate has bond in spoken of in connection.' Now, this shows it was but one class of females that behaved thus disorderly, and were not under any supernatural influence of the Spirit; for the supernatural gifts of the Spirit were given for the edification of the Church, for the work of the ministry. And we know those gifts *were common to both men and women*. Forsmuch, then, as God gave women like gifts as he did unto men, could or would Paul withstand God? Paul in this chapter was directing the exercise of those who were supernaturally gifted, and no other; and in this connection, he directs women who were *not thus gifted* to keep silence in the Church. Anna spoke in the Temple, or *preached* in the Temple, declaring Christ's advent in the flesh; Luke 2: 37, 38; and we know men and women were *promiscuously* on the day of Pentecost; 'on the sons and on the daughters was the spirit poured out, and they shall prophesy, saith God; and on the servants and on the handmaidens will I pour out in those days of my Spirit, and they shall prophesy, saith God.' Mr. G. represents the apostle speaking for God, and saying women shall *not prophesy*, and those who had previously spoken in the Church had acted *shamefully*. He said, 'It is a shame for women to speak in the Church, without any qualification or reference to the manner of their speaking.' Well, we grant, that the Spirit of God acted shamefully to impel women thus to speak. And Mr. G. represents the honored apostle as ineffably inconsistent with himself, telling the women it was a shame to do what he himself had, an hour previously, approbated and adjusted, in the 11th chapter of the same epistle! The way Mr. G. shows off the apostle, we would suppose that Paul would exclaim, 'O inconsistency, thou art a jewel!' If ever there was one man above all others who had reason to say, Save me from my professed friends, Paul is that man. Slaveholding professed Christian ministers and people make Paul their special friend, benefactor and patron saint; and the political despot claims the same relationship to Paul. Mr. G. makes very light of the word of the Lord spoken by Paul in 1st Cor. 11. It is strange that his veneration makes such quick transitions. He says, 'The reference to women prophesying in the Lord covered in the 11th chapter—what does the reference prove? Certainly nothing more than that some women did, 'in some manner,' pray and prophesy. It is a violation of just rules of interpretation, to allow this incidental reference to women prophesying in some manner to subvert the *subsequent* plain prohibition of the inspired writer.' Did you not say, Mr. Grew, the apostle said, 'It is a shame for women to speak in the Church, without any reference to the manner of their speaking'? They were to keep silence. Now you say, they prophesied 'in some manner.' It was the Spirit of God that 'in some manner' prophesied; women were but the instruments, the Spirit of the Lord spoke by them, and His word was on their tongue. It is the Spirit of God you estimate so low, not the women. Whatever it was for men to pray and prophesy in the congregation, it was the same in women. Did not the prophetesses under the Old Testament prophesy in the same 'manner' as did the prophets? And did they not speak with as much authority as did the prophets? and with as much publicity as did Haggai prophesied in the king's chapel and to the king's court, and Anna in the Temple. They did not 'peep and mutter in a corner,' more than did the prophets; and their sayings make equally as good texts as do men's; and women's sayings are no more not inspired make as good texts as do men's. For example, the text of the woman of Samaria would make as good texts as would a man's, and though dead, will still speak in the Church till time shall be no more. What are we to think of a theory which takes such dashing with untempered mortar to support the prohibition emanating the Spirit of God? Women prophesying in 'some manner,' indeed! They must utter some refuse prophesy, some jargon; their bodily presence was weak, and their speech must be contemptible. 'Do my prophets no harm,' is the command of God. 'He that despiseth you despiseth me.' The fact that women were supernaturally gifted, and that those gifts were given for the edification of the Church for the work of the ministry, are sufficient proof of themselves to answer all cavils against women speaking in the Church, and yet Mr. Grew contends that the apostle did *not prohibit* the exercise of those gifts in the Church. And all existing facts, precepts and examples agree with this opinion, with the exception of two isolated passages, 'incidental reference,' and all the ingenuity of man cannot reconcile these contradictions on the hypothesis that women were prohibited from exercising their gifts in public assemblies. Woman's Rights, pp. 149–166.

Mr. Grew has made an effort to reconcile them; but it is evident he did not succeed to his satisfaction. He has adopted an expedient which proves his theory conclusively, namely, 'Paul knew that all the individuals we have enumerated were supernaturally gifted, and that they were under the same consideration of the Church; and he knew those individuals did exercise them in the C urch in some manner, (!) and he knew it was the Spirit of God speaking by them; yet none of these things deterred him from recording, as a permanent rule, and in the commandment of the Lord, that women should keep silence in the Churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak.' This is begging the question. Mr. G. says, 'How unreasonable it would be to require all women to be in silence, because the women of one Church spoke disorderly!' Who ever said any thing so unreasonable? Woman's Rights, p. 231. Mr. G. identifies himself with this maligned preacher, and piteously exclaims, 'Are the above charges justly preferred against us because we believe the word of the Lord?'

Now, any person looking at the state of society, would see it would not do for a general rule for women, if they would learn any thing, to ask their husbands at home, nor would it have answered in Paul's day—he speaks of unbelieving husbands, &c. Some women have no husbands. Mr. G. can soon dispatch these objections. He will say they are widows, or were unbelieving husbands, in his day, who might be saved by the means of the believing wife; hence the wife was the teacher. And bacchanalian husbands, who neither know nor cared about religion; and he knew there were such husbands, besides of the 'sons of good understanding, as a Nabal and an Abigail; and he knew that religious information was more extensively diffused among women, with the exception of ministers of the gospel; a great majority of men, in Paul's days, neither knew nor cared for any of those things; and he also knew there were husbands of such who had no husbands, and he knew there would be to this day a great many of all the above characters, for he spoke by the Spirit of God, who saw the end from the beginning; yet none of these things deterred him from recording a permanent rule, and as the word of the Lord, if women will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home.

We have observed that Paul called some women fellow-laborers, helpers in Christ Jesus. Woman's Rights, p. 149. Mr. G. says, 'When it can be proved that there can be no laboring in the service of Jesus Christ, but by the help of his wife, besides preaching and teaching in public congregations, we shall be obliged to allow that there is, at least, an apparent discrepancy in the writings of the apostle.' The discrepancy is *in yourself, not* in the writings of the apostle; it is your wrong construction which makes the discrepancy. The apostle also says, 'those women which labored with me in the gospel.' The gospel signifies good news or glad tidings. Now, laboring with the apostle in the gospel signifies that they labored with the apostle in promulgating good news or glad tidings of grace and salvation to mankind sinners; and not to baking cakes, entertaining the ministers, serving tables, &c. Mr. G. says, 'It is to be regretted that the author has made some unwarrantable inferences from the writings of her Christian brethren, which place them in a false position, and manifest a bias in attempting to establish her theory, which is not always in accordance with either knowledge or truth.' As to our knowledge we do not boast, but as to our want of truth, we consider it a heavy charge, and we demand specifications. We have made many quotations, and giving the proof. We anticipated charges of untruthfulness which compelled us to bring some individuals unfavorably before the public, for whom we had a personal respect. Had we noticed the puerile cavils which are presented to support this aristocracy of sex, which has so long cursed the world, without pointing out the sources from whence they emanated, we undoubtedly would have been taxed with lying. We are the aggrieved party, and have chosen the language which in our opinion was best calculated to express our grievances. It is principles, and not men, we are combating. We do not feel writing a letter to the editor of our opponents, we could not have treated their side of the question with more truthfulness, nor did we draw an inference from their premises that was not in our opinion legitimate. We are taxed with drawing an inference unwarrantable from Mr. Henry's remarks on 1st Tim. 2: 13, 1st Cor. 11: 8, 9—Woman's Rights, p. 20. Mr. Henry says, 'All which are urged as reasons for the humility, modesty, silence and submissiveness of that sex in general.' Our inference, that is, we suppose it must teach the mother humility and modesty, silence and submissiveness to the son, as she is of that sex; and that this is not an 'unwarrantable inference' is made clear by the following. In commenting on Gen. 3: 16, he says, 'The whole sex, by creation equal with man, is for sin put under subjection, and made inferior.' Now, when the whole sex is made inferior and put under subjection, is it not a legitimate inference that the mother is put under subjection to the son? Woman's Rights, p. 23.

As to the remarks we have made on Barnes on Slavery, Woman's Rights, pp. 224–229, we retract nothing; we still believe we have spoken the sentiments of woman as he exhibits. The wife is the slave and the husband the master, to all intents and purposes, except he thinks 'it would be an abuse of the husband's power to sell her for the mere sake of gain, and it is not *fairly* implied in the relation.' He passes by the question of right, as a parental duties, and He speaks as if the whole duty of training children devolves on fathers. They are enemies to the human family; let them design it or not, that would lower the mother's responsibility, or detract from her honor, or weaken her influence. Barnes on Slavery is before the public, and will speak for itself. We have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Barnes, but from what we know of him by character, we respect him, and it gives us pain to be laid under the necessity to say, we deprecate his principles respecting the standing of one-half of the human family.

At the beginning of Mr. Grew's former article, he acknowledges 'that man has oppressed woman, and has exercised dominion over her that God never gave him;' and he concludes the present article by the same acknowledgment. He says, 'Most shamefully has man abused his power and his disobedience to the command to love his wife as himself.' (When did usurpers *not* abuse their power?) 'Obedience to this precept will ever duly regulate, for mutual felicity, the authority which God has given him in the most endearing human relationship.'

We conclude by asking Mr. Grew *how much authority* is God given in the most endearing 'human relationship'? This is an important inquiry. How much authority would the husband *wish* the wife to exercise *over him*, or would the exercise of her authority operate for his *felicity*, supposing their relationship were reversed? A due consideration of these inquiries will enable the husband to judge with precision how much authority he is to exercise over the wife, in fulfilment of the commandment 'to love her as himself.'

ELIZABETH WILSON.

Cadiz, Ohio, Feb. 22, 1850.

From the Kennebec Journal.

CUSTOMS OF THE PURITANS.

LUCEUM. The lecture last week by EDMUND QUINCY of Massachusetts was a very amusing and instructive account of the manners and customs of our Puritan ancestors, their early laws for the regulation of dress and divers domestic matters, extending even to the proper regulation of the love passes between young persons. The railing at the ridiculous muscles of the audience were pretty frequently exercised, while at times their finer sensibilities were touched; and we believe all were highly interested by the wit and eloquence of the speaker, and instructed by his piquant descriptions. We think Boston at the present day will hardly be recognized in his picture of Boston of the seventeenth century, when turnips and cabbages were grown in Washington street, and cows were pastured at the South End. The city corporation, in order to induce people to spent their gostces on the *trolloirs* and promenades, would scarcely relish the strict discipline of Puritan times, when the corporation of a British manof-war and his boat's crew were set in the stocks because they refused to go to meeting when they came ashore one sabbath morning; and when all the shops were regularly closed, and business suspended for the Thursday lecture. We think attendance on religious services is not *quite* so punctual in Boston now as in those days, 'before for many a city town and maiden' it were. The circumstance above alluded to of the British captain being put in the stocks, was quite amusing to the people present, although not vouching for its strict truth, told a good story of the sequel to it. It seems that the churchwardens, on learning the jealous British man-of-war had put the captain in limbo on the wharf, hastened down to release him, apologizing for the matter by alleging that the captain was a very religious regulations. The officer told them to make no excuse, he was himself an advocate of strict discipline, and was indebted to nobody for enforcing the law; and as a proof of his good feeling, he invited all to dine with him next day on board ship. They accordingly went, and were regaled with all the good things of the season, and the wine was plentifully quaffed; societies were not then extant, and even churchwardens loved good liquor), until they became so mellow as to which they proceeded when they rose from table to go home. It was now the captain's turn. On reaching the deck, our spry warrior was immediately seized up to the rigging, and a round dozen administered, amidst the shouts of each succeeding discretion, the captain all the while denying the strictness of the naval code, which compelled him thus to punish every man who came on deck disguised with liquor.

☞ William Hunt, formerly of Philadelphia, but the most extensive sugar planter in the island of Cuba, recently died. His will was opened on the 18th ult. in Philadelphia, when his nephew, William Hunt Stewart, was found to be sole heir to his immense possessions, but has not year yielded $119,000, and may safely be set down as annually worth $80,000. This devise is charged with the payment of $200,000 in legacies, and five years given for that purpose. Mr. Stewart is quite young, and may probably be the richest man of his age in the Union.

Great Triumph of the Floating Dock.—The huge floating dock, article, of Collins' new line, is now in receiving her copper on the section floating Dock in the East River. Her tonnage (3500 tons) is greater than that of any other ship in the world, and her length and beam are considerably greater than that of the United States ship-of-war Pennsylvania.

☞ George R. Weitzenger, associate editor and proprietor of the Louisville Journal, died on the 25th ult., of congestion of the brain, after an illness of two days.

DUGDALE'S PATENT
Moth-Proof Bee-Hive.

THE above Hive is admitted, wherever its merits have been fairly examined, to be superior to any now offered to the public. It is a most efficient preventive of the ravages of the moth, affords facilities for dividing the hive, removing honey and honey-comb; and, in short, treats the bees in a better and more prosperous condition, accomplishing every thing expected of any hive, or attributes, far beyond those of any hive or patent heretofore constructed.

Bee-culturists, and all those desiring the introduction to their premises of the best and most approved hive ever constructed, are respectfully requested to examine this one for themselves, and will find it is not, that it claims to be.

The following are a few of the many testimonials which might be given, showing the superiority of this Hive:—

Governor Ford's Testimony.

I, the undersigned, having examined the above Bee-Hive of Mr. D. Bonsall (J. A. Dugdale's patent), most cheerfully, and, I consider it the best approach to the purpose intended, and the most perfect of anything of the kind which I have ever seen.

SEABURY FORD.

Burton, Ohio, Sept. 20, 1849.

From Professor Kirtland.

DANIEL BONSALL: It affords me great pleasure to state, that I have examined a model specimen of your tent Moth-proof Bee-Hive, and that, in my opinion, it fulfils all the objects for which Mr. Henry's repeats Hive, than any other patent, which I have examined. I have secured the right to use my patent, and have determined to put its merits along side of the tioned Hives, all of which I have in use in my apiary.

J. P. KIRTLAND.

Cleveland, Sept. 21, 1849.

Cayuga County Agricultural Society.

We, the undersigned, a committee appointed by the Cayuga County Agricultural Society to examine articles, hereby certify that we have examined the Hive of Mr. Daniel Bonsall, (J. A. Dugdale's patent,) and do not hesitate to say, that it is the best constructed Hive we have ever seen, and we should think that it was as near perfect as any beehive can could be made.

EMERY GOODWIN,
RALZA SPENCER,
WM. G. MUNSELL.

Burton ty, at the Agricultural Fair, held Sept. 10, 1849.

Mahoning County Agricultural Society.

We, the undersigned, a committee appointed by the Mahoning County Agricultural Society, on mechanic articles, hereby certify that we have examined a Bee-Hive of Daniel Bonsall's, patented by J. A. Dugdale, and do not hesitate to say, that it is the best constructed Hive we have ever seen. We can recommend it to all persons who may need it.

Signed by the Committee, this 20th day of Oct., 1849.

WILLIAM BLYTHE,
NATHAN HARMAN,
WM. MEEKER.

At the Agricultural Fair in Trumbull County, Ohio, and also at Syracuse, New York, the above Hive was declared by the committees authorized to decide, to be *superior to all others*.

Purchasers of rights will be furnished with all the necessary directions for constructing and using the Hive.

☞ Family and township rights for Essex County, in this State, are for sale by the Editor of the Liberator. A good Agent is wanted for this purpose.

Great Cough Remedy!

AYER'S
CHERRY PECTORAL
For the Cure of
COUGHS, COLDS,
HOARSENESS, BRONCHITIS,
WHOOPING-COUGH, CROUP,
ASTHMA and CONSUMPTION.

THE annals of medical science, affording as they do ample proof of the power and value of many medicinal agents, have furnished no examples to compare with the salutary effects produced by AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL.

The remarkable cures of diseases of the lungs which have been realized by its use, attested as they are by many prominent professors and physicians in this and foreign lands, should encourage the sick to persevere with the strong assurance that the use of the 'CHERRY PECTORAL' will relieve and ultimately cure them.

We present to the public unsolicited testimonials from some of the first men in our country, upon whose judgment and experience implicit confidence may be placed.

DR. PERKINS, President of Vermont Medical College,

one of the most learned and intelligent physicians in the country, considers it a "consignation of one excellence for the cure of that formidable disease, Consumption.

NORWICH, April 26, 1847.

Dr. J. C. Ayer—Dear Sir—Agreeably to the request of your agent, we will cheerfully state that we have known the effects of your CHERRY PECTORAL, and they have been astonishing indeed. Mrs. Betsey Streeter has been afflicted with a severe and relentlessness cough, which reduced her so low that little hope could be entained of her recovery. Numerous remedies had been tried, but without effect before the use of your CHERRY PECTORAL; and that has cured her. George Watkinson, Esq., had, to our knowledge, been afflicted with a bronchial complaint, and had grown every worse, until the CHERRY PECTORAL has entirely removed the disease, and restored to perfect health. Mr. Watkinson is now as he is as free from any of its symptoms as we are. The Rev. Mark Dane had been so severely afflicted with the Bronchitis as to disable him from his labors, and nothing had given him relief until I (Mr. Thorning) carried him a bottle of your PECTORAL, which cured him at once, and he now officiates as usual in his place.

These are three of the cases in which we have known it successful, but never to fail. We have great pleasure in certifying to these facts; and are, respected sir, your humble servants,

(REV.) DAVID THORNING,
(REV.) JOSEPH BATTLES.

Among the distinguished authorities who have given their names to recommend CHERRY PECTORAL, as the best remedy for the cure of the Affections of the Lungs, are: The London Lancet; Co-padian Journal of Medical Science; Medical Gazette and Surgical Journal, Charleston (S. C.) Medical Review, "New Jersey Medical Reporter, Prof. Wappeus, Harvard College; Prof. Bartlett, Dartmouth College; Prof. Chaunceey, President Perkins, Vermont Medical College; Dr. Valentine Mott, New York city; Parkes Cumminge, Philadelphia; Dr. Bigelow, Philadelphia; Willoughby C. Rice, Ohio; Prof. Braithwaite, Leeds (Eng.) Med. and Chir. Rev.; Richard Kane, Queen's College, Ireland; Prof. Schmavkaya Leipsic.

The public have but to know the virtues and rational hing success of the 'CHERRY PECTORAL' in curing diseases of the Lungs, when they will be secured from these dangers, whenever this remedy can be obtained.

Prepared by J. C. AYER, Chemist, Lowell, Mass., and sold by Druggists everywhere.

Jan 25 3m

HENRY W. WILLIAMS, M.D.,
10 Essex Street, - - - Boston,
Particular attention given to
Diseases of the Eye.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

JUST received, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill:

The Experience of Thomas Jones, who was a Slave for forty-three years. Written by a friend, as given him by the victim. This is an affecting and authentic narrative. Price 12 1-2 cents.

Cousin Ann's Stories for Children—in prose and poetry—very useful and entertaining.

A Discourse on Woman, by Lucretia Mott; delivered at the Assembly Buildings, Philadelphia, Dec. 17, 1849; being a full phonographic report, revised by the Author.