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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

THE LIBERATOR.

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

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Selections.

From the Washington Union.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE ON THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.

Mr. Case. When this subject was before the Compromise Committee, there was a general wish, so it did I fully concurred, that the main features of the act of 1793, upon this subject, so far as they were applicable, should be preserved, and that such amendments as experience has shown to be necessary to a fair and just enforcement of the provision of the constitution for the arrest of fugitive slaves, should be introduced by way of amendment. That act was approved by Washington, and has now been in force for sixty years, and has been, among others, the great general principles, to which I am prepared to adhere:

1. The right of the master to arrest his fugitive slave wherever he may find him.

2. His duty to carry him before a magistrate in the State where he is arrested, that the claim may be adjudged by him.

3. The duty of the magistrate to examine the claim, and to decide, like other examining magistrates, without a jury, and then to commit him to the custody of the master.

4. The right of the master then to remove the slave to his residence.

At the time this law was passed, every justice of the peace throughout the Union was authorized to execute the duties under it. Since then, as we all know, the supreme court has decided that justices of the peace cannot be called upon to execute this law, and the consequence is, that many justices everywhere refused to do so. The master seeking his slave, found his remedy a good one at the time, but now very inefficient; and this defect is one that everybody regrets remedy. And this remedy I am willing to provide, fairly and honestly, and to make such other provisions as may be proper and necessary. I do not desire for myself, that the original act should remain upon the statute-book, and that the changes that may be necessary should be made by way of amendment.

Mr. Mason. If it be intended, as I have no doubt it is, by a majority of the Senate, to pass a law which shall be effectual to execute in good faith the constitution of the United States in relation to persons from labor, it is essential that the Senate should take into view and consider the actual evils under which the slave States labor in reference to the formation of a free territory. The South, I mean, the South, comprehending the States of Kentucky and Maryland, bring those States of the Union that border on the free States, have had ample experience not only of the difficulties, but of the actual impossibility, of reclaiming a fugitive when he once gets within the boundaries of a non-slaveholding State; and this bill, or rather the amendments which I have offered, have been framed with a great deal of consideration, to reach, if practicable, the evils which this experience has demonstrated to exist, and to furnish the appropriate remedy in enabling the owner of a fugitive to reclaim him. Sir, it has become a part of the history of the country, that, when a slave has succeeded in escaping from the slave States of the free States, or the most of those into which they do escape—for I do not mean or desire to be invidious by particularizing instances—you may as well go down into the sea, and endeavor to recover from his native element a fish which had escaped from you, as expect, to recover such fugitive—I mean under existing laws. Difficulty is thrown in the way by the population to avoid discovery of where he is; and after this discovery is made, every difficulty is thrown in the way of executing process upon him. And if you should succeed so far as to execute the process, then every difficulty is thrown in the way by armed mobs to prevent the fugitive being carried before the proper officer to take cognizance of the case. And if you should, perchance, succeed in doing this, and an adjudication should be made, I do not know, in one instance, within recent years, where the fugitive was not rescued by violence from the hands of the officer by an armed mob, and the parties claiming him put in peril of their lives. Indeed, in one instance, in Pennsylvania, one of the parties was killed outright by the mob, but in every instance their lives are put in peril. And when, as is sometimes the case, the party pursuing is aggrieved seek a remedy through civil suits brought against the individuals composing such mob, after years of vexatious difficulties thrown in the way, they are finally left to pay the costs of the suit. This is the real state of things; and I could give instances which have come under my own knowledge of owners of slaves who have gone into the States and recaptured their fugitives, which were afterwards rescued from them by violence and force.

The amendments to the bill which I have offered have been framed with a great deal of care, and the real entire regard to the rights of the citizens of those States, to reach all these difficulties, and, if possible, to remove them, so as to enable the owner to recover his fugitive. The amendment proposed by the senator from New Jersey does not reach one of these difficulties; but, on the contrary, the attempt to enforce provisions would be wholly illusory, so far as the hopes of the owner for the recovery of his fugitive are concerned. The proposition, in the first place, is to substitute the ordinary commissioners of the United States in place of the judges within the States. Why, we all know precisely—I mean those residing in the slaveholding States, who have had experience in the attempt of reclaiming fugitive slaves—that such is the tone of feeling among the people in the free States, or the great mass of them, that I make some exceptions—that you could not get three commissioners to execute the law, because, if they did, they would incur the hatred of all their neighbors, and be themselves put under the ban. Then again, it is proposed, as a part of the proof to be adduced at the hearing after the fugitive has been recaptured, that evidence shall be brought by the claimant to show that slavery is established in the State from which the fugitive has absconded. Now, this very thing, in a recent case in the city of New York, was required by one of the judges of that district, which case attracted the attention of the authorities of Maryland, against which they protested, because of the indignities heaped on their citizens and the losses which they sustained in that city. In that case, the judge of the State court required proof that slavery was established in Maryland, and went so far as to say that the only mode of proving it was by reference to the statute-book. Such proof is required in the senator's amendment; and if he means by this, that proof shall be brought that slavery is established by existing laws, it is impossible to comply with the requisitions, for no such proof can be produced. I apprehend, in any of the slave States. I am not aware that there is a single State in which the institution is established by positive law. On a former occasion, and on a different topic, it was my duty to endeavor to show to the Senate that no such law was necessary for its establishment; certainly none could be found, and none was required in any of the States of the Union.

I come now to the next provision of this proposition; which is, that the commissioner, who is not a lawyer, who is a subordinate officer of the court, required to take depositions or audit accounts, is to determine on the construction of this law, and what evidence he must require in its execution. And I present, if the object be, as in nine cases out of ten it will be, with officers of this class, not to aid the claimant, but to throw difficulties in his way, his first demand for the production of the provisions of statute laws establishing slavery in the State, as in the instance of the New York judge; and if no such evidence is produced, the slave will be allowed to go free. But suppose he should be required to prove the existence of the law of the State as one is required to prove the existence of foreign law—under the rules of the common law—what is the poor claimant to do then? He is to prove it by one learned in the law; and this commissioner might, therefore, devolve on the claimant the necessity of taking one of the members of that learned profession from his State with him to prove what the law is. Even if the tribunal is so enlightened and impartial (both of which I doubt) as not to require proof of this nature, it is still one of the difficulties which may be thrown in the way. Another provision is, that if the fugitive shall make his affidavit before the commissioner, or judge that he does not owe labor to the claimant, a jury of twelve men must be summoned to try the case. Now, the idea of interposing a jury trial in a State where the fugitive is arrested, as a preliminary to adjudging the right of the claim for his service, has been a proposition brought up by the abolitionist societies and the liberty people in their various publications throughout the different free States, and, according to my recollection, has been occasionally recommended by the legislatures of some of those States. But, whenever brought to the notice of the States from whence these fugitives escape, it has resulted in the expression of a conviction, in which I share, that if that principle should be adopted by the federal government, it would be a notice on the statute-book of a refusal on its part in good faith to execute the provisions of the constitution of the United States. If you pass a law which shall require a trial by jury, not one man in twenty whose slave escapes will incur the risks or expense of going after the fugitive. It proposes a trial according to all the forms of the court. A trial by jury necessarily carries with it a trial of the whole right; and at trial of the right to service will be gone into, according to all the forms of the court, in determining upon any other fact. It must be tried in term time, or if not, on evidence to be adduced in the usual form, and with all the rights to delay devolving on each party, plaintiff and defendant, which exist in civil cases—the right of delay to get evidence, to delay on the party's own affidavit; and these rights to delay involve that of sending to distant States for evidence. This involves the detention of the fugitive in the mean time—a detention that is purely informal; and whether the jury should or should not render a righteous verdict in the end of the matter I will not inquire into; for it is perfectly immaterial, as the delay itself would effectually defeat the right of reclamation.

I shall not argue this matter of the right of trial by juries; but I understand the settled and fixed opinion of the citizens of the slaveholding States to be, that the right of trial by jury, adopted as part of the law of the federal government, will be taken as a sufficient evidence of a refusal of the federal government to execute effectually this clause of the Constitution. I trust the amendment of the Senator from New Jersey will not be adopted; and that we shall secure the amendments which I have proposed, which are very extensive in their remedies, and, which, I think, if any law can do it, will reach the evils which now surround this subject.

Mr. Dayton. A few words, Mr. President, in reply to what has been said by the Senator from Virginia. The honorable Senator tells us that the experience of the slaveholding States in reference to this matter has been, that it is always useless to pursue a fugitive slave into the free States; and he tells us that he knows no instance where a slave has been given up under the force of judicial authority, and taken quietly back to the State from which he fled.

Mr. Mason, (in his seat.) Of late years; within six or eight years past.

Mr. Dayton. The Senator says within the six or eight last years. Well, Mr. President, I have on a previous occasion given the reasons why, in my opinion, no case of this kind has occurred within that number of years. Sir, we are a border State. We are one of those unfortunate States which are, in reference to the matter of fugitive slaves, perhaps more troubled than any other; and so far as I am individually concerned, I wish the owners had every one of their fugitives back again. They are a pest, an annoyance to us; and we get our people as disposed to give them up only according to law. There have been three cases, as I before stated, in the State of New Jersey within the last eleven years, and two of them, I think, within the last four or five years, in which slaves were given up under the finding of juries and two of those slaves were given up under the finding of juries made up almost exclusively of Quakers. Sir, there is no tribunal upon which you can rest your rights more safely than upon the verdict of twelve honest men, sworn then and there, at the time, upon evidence, to render a verdict according to law and evidence. I do not know what may have been the state of things in other States; I speak more particularly in reference to my own—but it is but a few years since—I think within the time designated by the Senator from Virginia—that these outrages were perpetrated in the State of Michigan. There has, so far as I know, been little difficulty in reference to these cases in other States. I judge so from what I see in the papers. Certainly in the Senator from Virginia, and other Senators representing slave States, must have a more large and ample experience than we can have, if they speak with the light that is before me. Those cases in Michigan were comparatively of recent occurrence. There have been two cases in Pennsylvania within the last two years. There have been one in the city of Congress, two cases, I think in Indiana or Illinois. There have been two other cases in Ohio. The case where the fugitive was rescued by the mob in the capital, and not the case of Wheaton. Wherever a rescue has been made, and an action has been commenced, so far as I know, ample damages, have been awarded, and have been paid. But, sir, this is more general information, I know. It is merely an expression of opinion predicated, so far as I am concerned, not upon extensive knowledge.

A word, then, in reference to the exceptions which are taken to the details of this bill. The honorable Senator says the bill provides for the appointment of commissioners, and that you cannot get these commissioners to execute this law—that they will be overawed, or preyed and wrought upon by the sentiment of the public around them. Why, sir, who are named in the bill of the Senator from Virginia? The same class of persons, and appointed in precisely the same way. The only difference is that by his bill, not more than three commissioners are appointed in each county, while my amendment provides one commissioner in each county. It is the same class of persons, precisely. Who else, sir, can you select? Already the federal judiciary have jurisdiction over this very question, under the act of 1793; and by your amendment to that act, you are giving additional persons to carry out the provisions of the bill—persons who come in and take the place of State magistrates and inferior justices of the peace. Well, sir, is it to be supposed that the district judges of the United States, in the selection of their commissioners, will not appoint individuals who, in point of character and legal attainment at least commence rate with the character of justices of the peace? Why, the presumption is that you will gather entirely better class of persons, so far as legal attainment is concerned. At all events, whether it ought to be so or not, this amendment provides the same class of persons as the amendment of the Senator from Virginia.

But then, again, the honorable Senator tells us that, under the amendment I have offered, it is necessary to prove that slavery in the State from which the fugitive escapes. Why, sir, it is necessary to prove that now. It must ever be necessary to prove it, because the fact that you claim the person as a slave implies that you must show that a man can be held to service in the State from which he escapes. Under the act of 1793, it is necessary to do that.

But the Senator from Virginia misunderstood the scope of the amendment which I offered. He seemed to think that this amendment made the matter stand as the New York judge held—that it must stand upon the production of the statute of Maryland, or the production of laws authenticated under the seal of Congress. Not at all. If he had looked at the phraseology of that amendment, he would have seen an express provision to meet that difficulty, and that this matter could be proved as a thing of fact by evidence. I apprehend, therefore, that there is nothing in either of these exceptions of the Senator from Virginia.

But I will not discuss the question as to the character and benefit of a trial by jury in a case of this kind. The Senator's view of that thing is different from mine. His experience is different. In my own State, I have seen this system acted out, and I have seen no evils growing out of it. On the contrary, I have seen full justice done to the master, and at the same time, justice done to the slave. Nor does it involve any additional form or evidence, over and above that which would be necessary if you brought your fugitive before commissioners. Why, the fugitive stands before the commissioners just as he stands before twelve jurymen. They are twelve commissioners, and the fact is heard upon precisely the same evidence as this magistrate is heard before commissioners. It involves no more time, beyond the barfact of summoning a jury; and that, I suppose, in a majority of the free States, is done in an hour. In two out of three of the jury trials proposed in the North, they are tried before magistrates upon a jury summoned at sight. One man is summoned here, and another there; and there is no time and comparatively no expense incurred; the jury settles the matter, and the man takes away his slave.

Mr. Berrien. I desire to make a brief remark upon that portion of the distinctive feature of the amendment proposed by the senator from New Jersey, to which I wish to call the attention of the Senate, is that which provides for a trial by jury composed of persons living in the State in which the fugitive has escaped. Now, sir, I presume we all agree that it was the object of the provisions of the constitution to secure to the holders of that species of property the rights which they enjoyed in their respective States. A controversy has arisen as to the extension of the operation of the constitution beyond the limits of those States. Within the States themselves, there is a general concurrence of sentiment that the provision of the constitution was intended to be a perfect guaranty and protection. Now, sir, what is the right of the holder of this species of property in the State in which he resides? If his title to that property be called in question, it must be by personal action; and that action must be brought in the place where he resides. He is entitled to a trial by a jury of the vicinity. But what is the effect of this amendment? It is to enable a fugitive slave to transfer his trial from the State in which the owner resides to a foreign, perhaps a distant tribunal. I do not mean to debate this proposition, I do not mean to discuss it here. I am perfectly satisfied that no discussion can effect a concurrence of opinion upon this particular amendment, and I have risen merely to express the hope that senators from the slave States will submit this question to a decision of this Senate unembarrassed with and unencumbered by any amendment. If it be a vote of the Senate, I would inquire what is the effect of a vote upon this amendment. If this amendment be adopted, will it be then in order to move to amend this amendment?

Mr. Seward. The amendment that is proposed is an amendment to an amendment. The senator from New Jersey proposes to amend the amendment offered by the senator from Virginia. If that amendment prevails, it will not then be in order to amend it in the present stage of the bill, but it will be when reported to the Senate. Sir, I do not know that there is any objection of the senator from Virginia will be open to amendment.

Mr. Winthrop. I happen to have before me, Mr. President, a little memorandum, which I have amused myself with, the following paragraphs, to which I venture to call the attention of the senator from Virginia. They are in these words:

In an action brought in the United States district court for the southern district of Ohio, on the 3d instant, Jonathan Wright, of Missouri, plaintiff, against Elihu Frazier and four other defendants, for harboring, concealing, and preventing the recapture of a negro slave, who had absconded into Iowa, the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff for $2,000.

A similar trial was had before Judge McLean, in the circuit court of the United States, by John Norris, of Kentucky, against eight residents of Michigan. The number of slaves was four, and the damages given by the jury $2,856.

This is a record of some of the latest judicial decisions in the States to which it refers. It seems to be quite sufficient evidence that, whatever insurmountable obstacle there was in reclaiming the slaves themselves by means of a jury trial, there is no such insurmountable obstacle in recovering the money damages against those who may have aided their escape.

Now, two records, it seems to me, are in some degree an answer to at least one of the suggestions of the senator from Virginia. They prove clearly that, even as the law now stands, the South are not so entirely without redress for the wrongs of which they complain.

For myself, without intending to detain the Senate at any length, I cannot help expressing my cordial concurrence in the amendment proposed by the senator from New Jersey. I understand that amendment to be the same which was laid upon our tables some weeks ago by my distinguished predecessor in this seat, and that it was proposed and proposed by him after careful consultation with the very judge of the Supreme Court under whose ruling the jury returned one of the verdicts to which I have referred. Sir, the senator from Georgia would seem, in the suggestions which he has made, to go upon the idea that there was but one question with regard to these fugitives, or supposed fugitives, who might be arrested; and that is the question, whether he belongs to the party who claims him? But it seems to me that there is another and a preliminary question; and that is, whether he is a fugitive at all?—whether he belongs to anybody? It seems to me that it must always be a question, whenever the process is served, whether he be your slave or our freeman? Whether he be your slave is undoubtedly a question which may be decided by the evidence of the alleged owner. But whether he be a fugitive is a question of the very same principle, to be decided in the place where he is seized, and where his immediate liberty is about to be taken away from him.

Mr. Bevidge. Will the honorable senator allow me to ask him a question fairly, as going before the country? Whether there is a single instance of an alleged owner going into a non-slaveholding State and claiming a slave but his own?

Mr. Winthrop. If I understand the history of the law of 1793 aright, I think the senator from South Carolina will find an answer in a brief statement of that history. It was on this wise: John, a free negro of the State of Pennsylvania, is said to have been kidnapped by three white men of the State of Virginia. These three white men were indicted by the State of Pennsylvania. They fled to the State of Virginia, and were demanded by Governor Mifflin, of Pennsylvania, under the imitation of an abolition society, of which Benjamin Franklin, I believe, was, about that time, the president. The governor of Virginia, whose name I do not at this moment remember, decided that there had been an improper mode, no mode yet provided, under which that clause of the Constitution, just then going into operation, providing for the return of fugitives from justice, was to be executed. He therefore refused to deliver up the three white men who had been indicted under the law of Pennsylvania, as having kidnapped a free negro. Gov. Mifflin, in consequence of this state of things, communicated the facts to General Washington, then President of the United States, and General Washington communicated them to Congress. Congress, upon this communicated, was based the law of 1793. That law provided, in the first place, for the return of fugitives from justice; and an amendment was then added, providing for the provision for the return of fugitive slaves. That I believe to have been the history of that statute; and that occasion for the first time, two subjects of a heterogeneous character being united in the same bill. It does seem, then, sir, that, at the very outset of that government, a case occurred like that inquired for by the senator from South Carolina, which gave origin to the very statute that is now, for the first time, about to be amended. I cannot recollect as to any other cases. I suppose that other cases may have happened, and that the parties are not very likely to happen. But as long as there is a danger that such cases will occur—as long as the law leaves an opening through which they may occur—so long there will be opposition to the execution of any statute which may be provided for the delivering up of supposed fugitives from slavery in this summary and inquisitorial manner.

And this leads me to say one word more in regard to this question. I believe, in all sincerity, that more fugitives from labor would be recaptured and recovered by their owners, under a law which provided for a trial by jury, than under the present provisions of the law of 1793, or under the provisions of the bill of the senator from Virginia. And why do I believe so? Because all laws depend in no small degree for their efficiency upon the public sentiment of the State or community in which they are to be executed. If there be a strong sense of the injustice, of the oppressiveness of any particular provision, whether of this or of any other law, there will be a disposition to evade the execution of those provisions. On the other hand, if provisions be inserted like those now moved by the senator from New Jersey—provisions which approve themselves to the strong sense of justice of the communities in which this law is to be executed, I believe it would be far more likely to be faithfully carried out, and that more fugitive slaves would be returned to their masters than there have been for the last half century. At any rate, I shall vote for the proposition of the senator from New Jersey. I am in favor rather of recognizing the right of trial by jury in all cases where questions of personal freedom are raised. In case this provision, however, be not adopted, I shall offer another provision, which shall, at least, recognize the great principle of *habeas corpus* in regard to cases of this character.

From the National Era.

FUGITIVE SLAVES—THEIR NUMBERS—RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE.

A writer styling himself 'Randolph of Roanoke,' has recently been engaged in conjuring up all sorts of 'Hydras and Gorgons dire,' for the alarmed readers of the Washington Union. Among the chimeras with which he has attempted to relieve the dreary monotony of the dog-days, is a very imposing calculation of the number of slaves that have of late years escaped from their masters in the South to the free States. We have rarely met with an estimate of the kind, heralded forth with greater confidence in fairness and accuracy of statement and inference; and we have as seldom witnessed a more absurd or ridiculous perversion of facts.

In order to show that there must have been an immense stream of fugitives pouring into the free States for the last forty years, he sets out with a statement of the total number of slaves by the census of the years 1810 and 1840, as shown by the census; and since the number at the latter period is far greater than the natural increase of the slave population, he concludes that the difference is to be accounted for by the fugitives from the South. The excess of free colored people in 1840 over the increase of those existing in 1810, and which the writer assumes to be fugitive slaves, is estimated to amount to 46,224; and by the year 1850, he supposed it to rise to 61,624! This prodigious sum, he says, $27,720,960, Randolph regards as spoliations of the North upon the South, unjust and iniquitous, and warranting reprisals, or even war, if the South seem to act in the matter upon the recognized principles of international law, which governs the intercourse of the nations of the world.

'After washing through three or four columns of inflammatory inferences, of moralizing and sentimentalizing upon the enormity of the wrongs which the South has suffered at the hands of the North, as shown by his unerring calculations, the fact suddenly flashes upon the mind of the writer, that there were a few slaves emancipated in the Northern States between the years 1810 and 1850, which circumstance, unsophisticated minds, might in some degree account for the great increase of free blacks. This thought could not have been indigenous in a mind having such a tendency to error. It must have been suggested by some less demented friend at the writer's elbow. We are warranted in this supposition by the manner in which the objection to his foregoing conclusion is disposed of. He says:

'I believe the data which have formed the basis of all my calculations and estimates, have been moderate to a fault. Just, I am sure they are, and fairer they could not be. But it has just occurred to me that New York and New Jersey manumitted a number of slaves in the course of the thirty years between 1810 and 1840, and Pennsylvania some also. I have heard, indeed, that a large proportion of these were removed to the South before their terms of manumission took effect, and that the distinct so, or at least their service, continuing there, their domicile in those States were lost. Be that as it may, I am not willing to have these estimates be distorted so, to guard all possible mistakes, I shall now strike one-fifth, or twenty per centum, from the estimates of both the aggregate and annual increase, reducing the former to $22,184,640, and the latter to $553,400; and (for good measure) casting into the amount, New England's share of liability to the South during the same period, for the like aggressions, and not less than five hundred slaves, (valued at $225,000) whom the North assisted annually to escape to Canada.'

The above paragraph occurs near the middle of the fourth column of the essay of Randolph, after the author has entirely disposed of the statistical question involved. We leave it to candid readers to say how far we are warranted in hazarding the conjecture that some friend must have suggested the important drawback upon the soundness of his conclusion. He admits, evades, extenuates, denies, and at last compromises with the objection, by allowing one-fifth of the 61,624 colored people to have been manumitted by the Northern people! Now, we should like to know why the writer pounces thus suddenly upon the proportion of one-fifth? Where are his premises? Why not go the whole hog, and insist that every slave escaping in the free States at the respective eras of the passage of emancipation acts, were forthwith spirited off to the South? Why, the same disposing of the four-fifths would Randolph logic about the remaining fifth? There is a proverb, which says a man may as well be hanged for an old sheep as a lamb; and we advise Randolph that the next time he should go the entire mutton for the sake of consistency.

The number of slaves liberated by New York, New Jersey, and other free States, between the year 1810 and 1840, was just 26,377; and allowing them to increase at a less ratio than Randolph claims for the slaves of the South, they would amount to more than number at the latter period. In other words, the 26,377 negroes who were slaves in 1810, would, with their progeny, number not less than 61,624 in 1840. Randolph makes out only 46,224 for the excess above the natural increase of the *free* negroes—so that we have more than we counted for the excess of the slaves! Another thing the true number; at any rate, it is all for which the North can be held chargeable, for if slaves escape without any assistance from the Northern men, the South cannot complain—they must regard it as one of the inevitable imperfections of their peculiar institution. But the number of 151 fugitives, asserted by the Anti-Slavery Society, is regarded as a great achievement by those who participate in such transactions, and we presume that it exceeds the efforts of any former year; so that the sum of the grievance to the South, inflicted by abolitionists, is very trifling, even now, when it is represented as so enormous. It can hardly justify a resort to consideration in the judgment of the most ultra pro-slavery man, if he will look at the facts as they exist, and not as they have been represented by the excited fancy of Randolph.

SONS OF TEMPERANCE.

DISSENT FROM THE DIVORCE DIVISION.

When circumstances impel us to a separation from those with whom we hold dear, it is fitting and proper that the causes be made known.

We have been Sons of Temperance from the early organization of the order in our city; and from one of us for a quarter of a century, by every means in our power, and especially by the most rigid abstinence from all that can intoxicate, by precept and example, have sought to promote the temperance cause. We have done this through evil report and through good report, through honor and dishonor. In this great work we have so deeply identified our hearts, our interest of man, we deem our habits fixed, our character formed, our principles settled; and, by the grace of God, we will live and die, a sober, temperate man, not to buy, sell, nor use as a beverage, any spirituous or malt liquors, wine or cider. But the late act of the National Division of the Sons of Temperance, at its session in the city of Boston, prohibiting the admission of the colored man to any subordinate division of the order, is so perfectly at war with our entire feeling, with all our habits of thought and character, and as we believe' such an outrage upon humanity, that we can no longer continue our connection with the order. Our reasons may be briefly summed up, thus:

1. In all conscience, our national prejudice is strong enough against the colored man, without any from a band of professed reformers like the Sons of Temperance.

2. Prohibitions of this character are utterly antagonistical to every principle of the order. We have declared, again and again, that our objects were purely reformatory. 'Temperance, benevolence, and brotherly love,' we have inscribed on our banner. These kindred principles are to be boundless, regardless of the shades of complexion. Who ed, by the Creator, the different shades of complexion? Who formed this color, and gave to man his variegated complexion? Nature and revelation alike answer—God is Love.

3. The absurdity of such a rule is no trivial objection against it. Slavery, that dark spot upon our national escutcheon, the shame and disgrace of our national government, we well know, talks about enslaving the colored man; but we have not heard, about enslaving the man of color being the criterion, it is know, that so far from enslaving the slave mother, and not the color of the condition of the slave mother, and not the hue of the skin? But, thank God, we have no slave mothers in the North, and we decline endure drawn slave mothers in the North, and we decline endure drawn from slaveholding laws to throw light upon our pathway; and we put the inquiry, and we do it gravely—Shall we, as a band of men, from the case occurs that like before a jury of the Medical Faculty in the city of New York, in which they were nearly equally divided in opinion upon the fact whether a man was black or white? reject, or admit, or say to him he must wait and appear in person before the National Division for a decision in his case? Ruin such as these carry upon the face of them the most grave absurdity.

4. It is cruel—at war with every dictate of

1790,	6,537
1800,	14,564
1810,	22,492
1820,	33,153
1830,	37,930
1840,	47,854

The high ratio in the earlier years, is accounted for by the act for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State, which was adopted in 1780. By its provisions, all born after that period were to be free; and by the year 1820, the females born before the former period had ceased to bear children. Pennsylvania also received, no doubt, a considerable accession of colored people from the older New England States.

We have no data, from the census tables, that the calculations of Randolph are utterly fallacious; that his naked assumption that the slaves of the free States were removed, or sold at the South, cannot be true, as is shown by the existing state of facts. We will next demonstrate, from the statute books of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, which States contained all the slaves north of Mason and Dixon's line, in 1810, that the slaves could not have been exported without incurring heavy fines and penalties.

NEW YORK.

Slavery was abolished in the State of New York, in the year 1817. The act declares that all slaves born after the 4th of July, 1799, shall be free at the age of 28 years; and that their masters are required to support them in the mean time. They are not to be carried beyond the limits of the State under any pretext, on pain of forfeiture of the slave, and incurring a penalty of $1000 for each offence. See laws of 1817-1818; and Revised Statutes, vol. 1, page 836—Congress Library.

NEW JERSEY.

The act of emancipation passed in 1820. All slaves born after the year 1805 to be free at twenty-five years of age. A fine of one thousand dollars, and imprisonment, for transporting slaves out of the limits of the State, and a forfeiture of full age, who freely consent to go, before a judge of one of the Courts, in private. See statutes of New Jersey—Congress Library.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The abolition act passed in 1780; amended in 1788—see statutes for the year. All are declared free at the age of twenty-eight, who have been born since 1780. Penalty, seventy-five pounds for carrying a slave beyond the limits of the State.

In conclusion, we will remark, that although unable to estimate the number of fugitive slaves, we think it evident from the above facts and considerations, that the calculations of Randolph are at least ten *times* too large. He quotes from a publication by the Anti-Slavery Society, where it is said that 151 slaves had escaped from bondage during the past year. It is understood that this society has an organization, extending along the whole frontier of slavery, and even to the point where the borders of the slave States, on the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico—at least, such is the allegation of the Southern press and speakers. This organized society for running off slaves, then, would be cognizant, we should imagine, of every escape, and being proud of their achievements, would not fail to chronicle every such case. It is therefore to be presumed, that the number, 151, is not far from the true number; at any rate, it is all for which the North can be held chargeable, for if slaves escape without any assistance from the Northern men, the South cannot complain—they must regard it as one of the inevitable imperfections of their peculiar institution. But the number of 151 fugitives, asserted by the Anti-Slavery Society, is regarded as a great achievement by those who participate in such transactions, and we presume that it exceeds the efforts of any former year; so that the sum of the grievance to the South, inflicted by abolitionists, is very trifling, even now, when it is represented as so enormous. It can hardly justify a resort to consideration in the judgment of the most ultra pro-slavery man, if he will look at the facts as they exist, and not as they have been represented by the excited fancy of Randolph.

SONS OF TEMPERANCE.

DISSENT FROM THE DIVORCE DIVISION.

When circumstances impel us to a separation from those with whom we hold dear, it is fitting and proper that the causes be made known.

We have been Sons of Temperance from the early organization of the order in our city; and from one of us for a quarter of a century, by every means in our power, and especially by the most rigid abstinence from all that can intoxicate, by precept and example, have sought to promote the temperance cause. We have done this through evil report and through good report, through honor and dishonor. In this great work we have so deeply identified our hearts, our interest of man, we deem our habits fixed, our character formed, our principles settled; and, by the grace of God, we will live and die, a sober, temperate man, not to buy, sell, nor use as a beverage, any spirituous or malt liquors, wine or cider. But the late act of the National Division of the Sons of Temperance, at its session in the city of Boston, prohibiting the admission of the colored man to any subordinate division of the order, is so perfectly at war with our entire feeling, with all our habits of thought and character, and as we believe' such an outrage upon humanity, that we can no longer continue our connection with the order. Our reasons may be briefly summed up, thus:

1. In all conscience, our national prejudice is strong enough against the colored man, without any from a band of professed reformers like the Sons of Temperance.

2. Prohibitions of this character are utterly antagonistical to every principle of the order. We have declared, again and again, that our objects were purely reformatory. 'Temperance, benevolence, and brotherly love,' we have inscribed on our banner. These kindred principles are to be boundless, regardless of the shades of complexion. Who formed this color, and gave to man his variegated complexion? Nature and revelation alike answer—God is Love.

3. The absurdity of such a rule is no trivial objection against it. Slavery, that dark spot upon our national escutcheon, the shame and disgrace of our national government, we well know, talks about enslaving the colored man; but we have not heard, about enslaving the man of color being the criterion, it is know, that so far from enslaving the slave mother, and not the color of the condition of the slave mother, and not the hue of the skin? But, thank God, we have no slave mothers in the North, and we decline endure drawn slave mothers in the North, and we decline endure drawn from slaveholding laws to throw light upon our pathway; and we put the inquiry, and we do it gravely—Shall we, as a band of men, from the case occurs that like before a jury of the Medical Faculty in the city of New York, in which they were nearly equally divided in opinion upon the fact whether a man was black or white? reject, or admit, or say to him he must wait and appear in person before the National Division for a decision in his case? Ruin such as these carry upon the face of them the most grave absurdity.

4. It is cruel—at war with every dictate of

Christianity or humanity. It may have been the dictation of slavery, and we fully believe it was. Neither freedom or love of freedom ever made such a suggestion. Such rules may favor a party, but never can promote humanity, or advance Christ. The sublime law of human happiness, can only be promoted by them. Revelation, in setting forth the brotherhood of man, in harmony with the spirit of the age in which we live, cries out, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." The rule says, Nay, not for the colored man. Against all such proscription we enter our solemn protest; therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That this subordinate division regards such action of the National Division as unauthorized, and an encroachment upon the rights of subordinate Divisions.

2. *Resolved*, That as freemen, we know our rights, and will defend them, nor suffer them to be trampled upon by any class of men claiming to be represented either, either politically, religiously, or in any social capacity; that, as American citizens, we recognize the rights of all men, and we will not countenance this cowardly effort to proscribe the down-trodden and helpless portion of our race.

3. *Resolved*, That in view of this action of the National Division of the S. of T., we cease to fellowship with our Brothers.

4. *Resolved*, That we hereby return the charter of Southport Division, No. 53 S. of T., to the Grand Division of the State of Wisconsin, and declare this Division dissolved; and that a copy of the above be sent to the G. S., of the G. D.; to the M. W. S., of the National Division; also to the *National Era*, the *Old Ocean Bucket*, and the *Kenosha Telegraph*, for publication.

Done in Division, S. of T. Hall, July 13, 1850.

R. H. DEMING, W. P.
JOHN NOBLE, R. S.

From the Salem (N. J.) National Standard.

ELECTIVE FRANCHISE CONVENTION.

Pursuant to the call, the [colored] delegates assembled, in Convention, in Bethel Church, at 3 o'clock, P. M. Samuel Lewis, President, Henry Perrett, and John S. Rock, Recording Secretary. The following resolutions were subsequently reported for discussion by the committee—viz:

Whereas, We have seen with deep regret the injustice done us in this our *native* State, and in the United States generally—we do solemnly protest against species of slavery and oppression which they reproduce as the most prominent—the institution of slavery—the scheme of expatriation as announced by colonizationists—no suffrage—and general exclusion from public privileges on account of color.—Therefore,

Resolved, That we will use every lawful and right ous means for the extirpation and overthrow of the institution of slavery in this country, believing it to be the great and chief cause of the general wrong inflicted upon us, and the prime source of the scorn and degradation in which we are held by our white oppressors.

Resolved, That the scheme of the colonizationists is the attempt to remove us from this our native country, is one no less wicked in principle than the African slave trade; knowing as we do, that it emanates from nothing less than an antipathy to the race (no matter how much matter has degraded) having a white skin, are received with a legal welcome from every foreign country.

Resolved, That we regard the Colonization Society as the strong-hold of the slaveholder, and the enemy of the colored man.

Resolved, That we will have no fellowship with colonizationists while they continue to urge the deportation of colored men; and as we are born free and equal, we will never, under any pretence, be removed by these tools of the slaveholder, from the land of our nativity; but will maintain our individual rights, even at the expense of our lives.

Resolved, That we regard Lewis's Fugitive Slave Bill as the most infamous attack ever made in this country on the rights and liberties of colored men—a direct violation of the principles of the Federal Constitution, and a mockery of the free spirit of freedom and equality, which pervades the age.

Resolved, That depriving us of the right of suffrage on account of color is an intolerable outrage, and cannot be looked upon by us with a spirit of complacency or conciliation.

Resolved, That we regard the possession of the Right of Suffrage as a sacred privilege, and of the highest consideration, and we will agitate and petition for this object, until rewarded by our full enfranchisement.

Resolved, That from the aspect of things in this country in reference to our political rights, we entreat our people, by all that is sacred and holy in our history, to stand unshaken as the rock, and brave the storm like those who are willing to perish in a just cause.

PERFECTLY NATURAL.

In a discussion in Congress recently, Mr. Butler contended that a colored man is not a citizen of the United States, and not entitled, under the Constitution to the complete rights of citizenship. Is it not, then, perfectly natural they should not have any particular love for our government, or should not consider themselves under any obligation to support it? And how foolish it is to call Mr. Douglass, (the eloquent editor of the North Star,) a *traitor* to that government which refuses to recognize his rights as one of four millions of his brethren as men entitled to all the rights of men! Let the government do justice to all, and it will receive the support of all right minded and honorable men.

We will here mention a significant fact. While the fugitive slave bill was under discussion, and the slaveholders were attempting to increase the means by which they could perpetuate an institution which subjects every American to the obloquy and reproach of the whole civilized world, the attempt to insert into this bill a provision, by which colored citizens of the North should be guaranteed their rights when in Southern parts, was repudiated with scorn. Thus is the North again humiliated! How long will she bear it?—*N. Y. Pulpbinder.*

MR. GIDDINGS'S SPEECH.

Yesterday, Mr. Giddings, contemptuously eschewing the miserable mana for dogmatizing on the Constitution which possesses the souls of many of the members of this House, as of the other, when positive action is required, delivered one of the best speeches, if not quite the best, which has been delivered in the lower House this session on the boundary question. He was opposed upon principle to the bill from the Senate for paying Texas ten millions, and taking a cession of a part of a territory claimed by her, but believed by a vast majority of the people of the United States, already to belong to us. Adopt means, said Mr. Giddings, for ascertaining, and running, and marking the true boundary, giving to Texas all the land that belongs to her, but tax the people of the other States not one cent, to purchase what either she does or does not own. He (Mr. Giddings) showed a more markable familiarity with the geography of the country, and the facts of the dispute, than I supposed any body but C. Benton possessed. And in reference to the threats of Texas, he stated that he would vote millions for defence, but not a dime for tribute, and informed Mr. Howard that he and his State were here only by sufferance, and that he would cheerfully vote fifteen or twenty millions to get them both out.—*Washington corr. of the Tribune.*

SLAVE CATCHING.

Mason's fugitive slave bill, now before the Senate, provides that all the proof necessary for taking a person into slavery, is on the oath of the master and his description of the alleged slave, with the identification of the person claimed. The question is to be decided by commissioners without a jury, and their decision is to be final, without appeal, and without the benefit of Habeas Corpus or Habeas Corpus! The bill further provides that if any slave is rescued from a claimant, after being delivered to him by the commissioners, the slave must be PAID FOR OUT OF THE TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Let such a bill pass, and it will not be long before the United States will have to pay the value of all the slaves within the limits of the Union; and if many of them do not have to be paid for two or three times over, it will be lucky for us. The escape, identification, and rescue, of slaves, will become a regular organized business, and Uncle Sam will have to foot the bills. It will beat California gold digging, two to one. The slave, by special arrangement, will only have to escape to an adjoining country, and the whole process of identification, restoration, and rescue, may be the work of but two or three days, to establish a claim against the National treasury. Then, within a single week, and before there has been time for that claim to be paid, another may be established for the self-same slave, and so the process may go on, ad infinitum.—*Worcester Spy.*

From Burritt's Christian Citizen.

MASON'S FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.

With a cold-blooded tenacity, that neither liberty nor pity could melt, the South has claimed and exercised the most despotic rule, towards all who dared to question her right to buy and sell men, under pretext that she was maintaining her 'State Rights;' and now with an audacity and effrontery that is unparalleled in the history of legislation, she has repudiated the principles of State individuality, and has insolently invaded every free State in the Union with her 'Fugitive Slave' responsibility bill.

We have no hesitation in declaring this bill to be an invasion and violation of the rights of the North. It sweeps away all those moral distinctions that separated us from South Carolina. It imposes upon every man, woman, and child in this Union, a participation in slavery. It completely changes the present character of that institution; and modifies the present relations of every citizen of the Union. The plans by the provisions of this enactment ceases to be a *slaveowner*; this paramount position of moral turpitude, and of pecuniary responsibility, he concedes to his feudal superior, the *Federal* Government; and he contents himself with being a *slaveholder*, so long as he can be so conveniently. This is a re-enactment of the old Roman law, by which a Roman could sell his own British ancestors; and which is still the theory of British landlordism. The *sovereign* is the only legitimate *landowner*; the landed aristocracy of England consider themselves but being *landholders*. By this 'slave catching bill,' the United States assumes the *ownership* of three millions of slaves; and leaves the property in those slaves to take care of them, with the assurance that if those slaves should take to flight, and if circumstances should prevent their restoration to bonds and shackles, then shall their price be paid in pollen corn taken from the treasury of the Union, on the Phrygian caps of which are stamped the ironic word 'Liberty.'

This legislation, however, will not settle the question of slavery; nor will it restore the fugitive to his bonds. There is not enough of moral force, behind this law of Southern dictation, to counterpoise the anti-slavery sentiment of the North.

The true men who hold the plough upon our sterile but free hills of New England, and who breathe her Northern air, have the same of slave only as a Southern abstraction, and a fact; and they will never consent to the invasion of their sacred homes, and the desecration of the sod beneath which their ancestors are sleeping, without resistance when they repudiate as a falsehood uttered in the face of the God of Liberty. The South may dictate this law; but there is no sympathy in the North to support such dictation. The South may impose the slave paying responsibility bill, but there is not the shadow of a deposition in the North to assume it. A moral necessity will compel the North to perpetuate slavery in this Union. In spite of the unhallowed endeavors of its patrons to extend this moral gangrene of slavery over the whole dominion of the States, it must and shall be constrained to remain a free institution.

J. B. S.

CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30.

The House took up the Texas Boundary Bill.

Mr. Clark, of New York, (Jefferson County,) said, that the Wilmot Proviso was with him, and his constituents, a sentiment—an abiding principle. When he was unanimously elected to this Convention, with the view of promoting the election of Gen. Taylor, the gentleman on his left, (Mr. Brooks,) was a distinguished member of the Committee, and reported resolutions to that body, embodying the Wilmot Proviso, and strongly enforcing it. The fact was spread before the people, that the Convention were friends of the Wilmot Proviso, and voted for Taylor for applying it to all the territory acquired from New Mexico. His colleague said yesterday, that the proviso was once introduced for a different purpose, and that it arrested the progress of the American arms. But the progress of the American arms was arrested before the resolutions were reported. The gentleman said the proviso was introduced and was adhered to for factious purposes, but the gentleman did not do well to arraign those who supported it. He (Mr. Clark) voted for it because he thought it was right, and the reason why he voted to reject the Texas Boundary Bill was this—he knew that it would give to Texas at least seventy thousand square miles of territory which never belonged to Texas; and then millions of money would go to no matter who. Certainly the money would not go to those brave men who won the battle of San Jacinto, or the descendants of those who fell at the Alamo. It would go to the shareholders of the stock market. He discovered that the bill proposed to vote the freedom of her soil and the slaveholding institution. He did not care, as the boy said, about the cake, but he detested the mode in which the bitch cut it. [Laughter.] He knew nothing of the legislation of the Texan Congress; he always voted according to his honest convictions. He voted against the Texas Bill, and subsequent events had satisfied him that he was right. His colleague said, that by the providence of God, Texas had given up her territories. He (Mr. Clark) believed that if there was no law in New York forbidding slavery, that there were fifty thousand slaveholders in that State who would own slaves; for families experiencing the inconvenience of the want of sufficient help would own them. There was a difference of opinion among doctors. Which was the physician, he asked, who to enact laws against the decree of God, for slavery cannot go to the territories, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Venable) said yesterday that it could. Mr. Clarke asked Mr. Brooks to read the extract from Mr. Clingman's speech for him.

Mr. Brooks did so.

Mr. Clarke said it was read excellently well. (Laughter.) All the arguments used to oppose the bill, saying that the days of Rome were numbered when Brennus cast his sword in the scale and demanded its weight in gold. Texas throws the bowie knife into the scale, and the government did not send here to rob the Treasury. In the conclusion of his remarks, he repudiated the idea of dissolution. There was nothing in it but idle cry. If there were any danger of it, and that it was believed in South Carolina and Texas, the women and children would cry themselves blind, and the men would run mad. He did not believe in any such revolutionary doctrine (Laughter.) He likened Texas to the robber who demands the traveller's purse in the name of the Virgin,—and he was prepared to give his reasons why he opposed slavery, when the hour to which he was limited in debate, expired.

From the N. H. Independent Democrat.

NO PANACEA.

There is no panacea for slavery but its annihilation. And all palliatives are worse than useless. Time, which cures many evils, but aggravates this, and makes it incurable save by violence and blood. Such will the result be, if America's slavery, if it shall be still longer permitted to wield its murderous sceptre, and still further to extend its domain. Slavery is itself a state of war against all the highest and holiest rights of man. And being such, it has no right to ask or expect but that the hand of every true man, everywhere, shall forever be lifted up against it. No true man can consider any relation so gigantic a system of wrong, as American

ultimately paid object at which we aim—the abolition of American Slavery.

Resolved, That, as abolitionists, we have no controversy with individuals or organizations, with churches or with institutions, or creeds, or creeds, or parties, but only with ourselves in our way, by setting forth at our ministers and identifying themselves with the slaves and their advocates.

Resolved, That our noble and self-sacrificing brotherhood, Mr. Chaplin, in his sufferings and imprisonment for helping slaves out of bondage, has our warmest sympathy and prayers; and that we regard him and his prisoners as the like sufferings as martyrs for the precious cause of freedom and humanity.

Resolved, That it is in that heroic deed, he violated the law of man, then that law itself is and that to great and glorious cause, he is practically to defend the law of God; and that to treat as a criminal for this deed, is practically to defend the law of God; and that to treat as a criminal for this deed, is practically to defend the law of God; and that to treat as a criminal for this deed,

POETRY.

From Burritt's Citizen.

THE LAND OF SLAVES.

Tell me where the star-gemmed banner floats upon
the western breeze,
Where the eagle from his eyrie looks on earth's two
mightiest seas,
Where the giant Mississippi to the deep its tribute
pours,
Where untired, unceasing, ever great Niagara's thunder roars,
Where on fertile plains unmeasured bright the golden harvest waves,
Tell me this, and I will tell you where there is a
LAND OF SLAVES!

There the white man forges fetters for his dark-skinned brother's hand;
There he hunts him with the bloodhound, scars him with the burning brand;
There the wife, torn from her husband, bartered
for glittering gold,
And the mother from her children distant bondage sold;
There no hope for millions cometh till they slumber
in the grave;
There, accursed by this traffic, o'er *the white man is a slave!*

True, his limbs are free, unshackled; but the great
and deathless mind,
That should travel with the lightning, soar unfettered
as the wind,
Touched by Slaver's blighting finger, blackened by
its burning heat,
Prostrate falls before the idol, lowly crouching at
its feet.
In alternate links containing, prejudice and pride
can roll,
As it were, a chain of iron firmly round the immortal
soul.
Ho, Columbia, is the spirit of thy Pilgrim Fathers
fled?
Say! are truth and justice buried with thy great and
noble dead?
Could the heavy clank of fetters raise those patriots
from the grave,
Would their breathe the air polluted by the presence
of the slave?
No! their eager hands outstretching, down the manacles would fall,
And the sun shine on a country where the men were
free men all.
Oh! how are the 'mighty fallen from the heights
they climbed of yore!
Loudly boasting still of freedom—they are freedom's
sons no more.
One, the pride of Massachusetts, has eclipsed a life-won fame,
And the dark cloud of dishonor rests upon his well-known name:
Ay! and in the Empire City, mobs the freeman's
voice can drown,
While the 'powers that be' stand idle, quailed beneath a ruffian's frown!
And—oh! shame upon thee, city! there the noble
Douglass stood,
With the Christian's holy patience, and a hero's fortitude,
While the heavy blows descending fell upon his noble form,
Firm, erect, unyielding ever, as an oak amid the
storm.
Empire city! thy dominion none will envy, none will
crave;
Thou, not Douglass, art degraded! thou to slavery
art a slave!

O, Columbia! I would warn thee—Rush not blindly
on thy fate!
God is just; and though long-suffering—not *forever*
will he wait.
Read and ponder well the story, how in Mizraim's
ancient land,
He the suffering slaves delivered with a mighty
outstretched hand.
Stay not till the plagues are on thee, lest, perchance,
a funeral cry,
Loud and long, shall strangely mingle with the shout
of LIBERTY!

ELIZABETH.

BEAR ON.

Bear on! What though life's tide may be
A current strong, opposing thee,
And thou hast but a slender sail
To spread before an adverse gale;
When trials lash the waves in foam,
And thou art far from friends and home,
Yield not thy spirit to despair,
But manfully the billows dare;
High o'er the waters, wild and cold,
Fix thou a steadfast eye, and hold!
Bear on, bear bravely on!

Bear on! the world may jeer and scoff,
And chosen friends may cast thee off;
Stay not to weep, the brittle chain,
One stormy wind could break in twain.
If thou hast found that heart untrue,
Which was thy hope, thy idol too,
Sink not in sorrow's depths profound;
Despair will never heal the wound;
Give to the past no vain regret,
The future lies before thee yet.
Bear on, bear bravely on!

Bear on! Dost thy repining eye
See worthless man exalted high,
While modest merit sinks forlorn
In cold neglect and cruel scorn?
O, never, from thy tempted heart,
Let thine integrity depart;
When disappointment blights thy cup,
Undaunted, nobly drink it up;
Truth will prevail, and Justice show
Her tardy honors, sure, though slow.
Bear on, bear bravely on!

Bear on! our life is not a dream,
Though often such its mazes seem;
We were not born to lives of ease,
Ourselves alone to and to please.
To each a daily task is given,
A labor which shall fit for heaven;
Then duty calls, let love grow warm,
Amid the sunshine and the storm,
With Faith life's trials boldly braid,
And come a conqueror in thy rest.
Bear on, bear bravely on!

TO A GRANDMOTHER.

BY BERNARD BARTON.

Old age is dark and unlovely.—*Ossian.*

Oh, say not so! A bright old age is thine;
Calm as the gentle light of summer eves,
Eve twilight dim her dusky mantle weaves;
Because to thee is given, in thy decline,
A heart that does not thankfully repine
At aught of which the hand of God bereaves,
Yet all He sends with gratitude receives;
May such a quiet, thankful close be mine!
And hence the fire-side chair appears to me
A peaceful throne—which then were formed to fill
Thy children, ministers who do thy will;
And those grand-children, sporting round thy knee,
Thy little subjects, looking up to thee,
As one who claims their fond allegiance still.

Reformatory.

INFIDELS—ATHEISTS.

LEICESTER, Medina Co., O., }
Sunday, August, 1850. }

DEAR GARRISON:

It is 12, M. I am in the great tent. Oliver Johnson is Chairman. Parker Pillsbury is speaking. Three thousand persons are present, from forty miles around. It is a beautiful, bright day; and it would cheer your heart to look in upon us and see this multitude of farmers, and their wives and children—men and women who came here to settle in this then wilderness. Resolutions have been offered, two of which are as follows:—

Resolved, That the popular ideas of religion entertained by this nation, in Church and State, co-exist in harmony with slavery, and that fidelity to self-evident truth demands that we should be INFIDELS to such a religion, and seek its overthrow as the enemy of human freedom.

Resolved, That what is recognized and worshipped as God by slaveholders and their allies, in Church and State, is not the just and loving Father of men, but is a demon of pollution and blood, and is to his worshippers not an incentive to deeds of love and kindness, but an almighty apology for the wrongs which they perpetrate upon the slaves; and fidelity to the Author of our being, more nearly Lawgiver, Judge and King, demands that we should be ATHEISTS to such a God; and as we would efficiently labor for the abolition of slavery, we must seek to dethrone from the hearts of the people that God which thus instigates his worshippers to perpetrate this sum of all villainies,' American slavery.

These resolutions, with others, are before the meeting. Parker is speaking to them, with great power, earnestness. The above resolutions were discussed, with earnestness. Two ministers were present—William Lumsden, the Presbyterian minister of this place, and Rev. Mr. Longley. They asked me if I believed in the existence of a God, and in the Bible as a rule of faith and practice. I told them I believed in the existence of God, and in the *truths* of the Bible. But I considered the question entirely irrelevant in an anti-slavery meeting, and never could be asked by one who does not think more of his creed, his theological dogmas, than he thinks of humanity. We come here to rescue our common nature from the dominion of slavery. We call upon all human beings, as such, to unite, up to the help of the Lord against the mighty—to the work of redeeming man, the image of God, from being sold in the market with mules and farmer's tools. It seems to me an insult to humanity and to God, when a man is calling on his fellows to come to the rescue of our common nature from the desecrations of slavery, to break in upon him to ask what are his views of the Church, the Bible, the Sabbath, prayer, death, God, retribution, &c.; and when they do ask these questions, my answer is—(I have no time to give any other)—Down with Sabbaths, Bibles, churches, priests, governments, and dethrone all gods from the hearts of men, that cannot exist without killing or enslaving men. Let man be sacred. If I cannot vindicate the sanctity of human life and liberty without coming into contact with men's ideas of God and religion, their theology and religion are in fault, not I. My opponents say my aim is, *not* to vindicate the sanctity of man, but to destroy all religion, and dethrone God. They know they utter falsehoods when they say it. The clergy thrust their God and religion before my way, when I am rushing to the rescue of humanity from slavery, and if I go to remove these obstacles, they cry out, and say my aim is to promote *atheism* and *infidelity*; whereas, had not the clergy and church usurped their God and Bible against non-resistance and anti-slavery, and in support of slavery, war and hanging, I never had thought of warring against them. Now, I must war against what this nation calls God and Christianity, if I seek the abolition of the gallows, war and slavery. To say that slavery and war are wrong is to deny the existence and scorn the worship of what this nation calls God.

INFIDELS! ATHEISTS! Dear Garrison, we must be atheists and infidels, in the estimation of all slaveholders, of all who plead for the right to kill or enslave men, or we cannot be true to the law of justice and love written on our souls by the pure and infinite Mind—we cannot have the spirit and lead the life of Jesus. There can be no progress in our conceptions of the Eternal Spirit, without the charge of atheism. When the popular Church and clergy cry out *atheism*, it is a sure evidence to me that men are getting pure and higher ideas of God. When the cry of *infidelity* is loudest, it is a certain proof that higher and holier views of human relations and duties are spreading among the people. Every step of progress in regard to men's views of God and man has, by priests, been met with the cry of infidelity and atheism. Thank God, I am counted worthy to be called an infidel and atheist, by all who plead for the right to kill or enslave human beings! In proportion as I am conscious of loving and forgiving my enemies, and of wishing and seeking the good of my fellow-beings, have I been denounced as an infidel and atheist by the Church and clergy. The clergy know—if they know any thing—that no man can be an atheist, literally speaking. Infidelity does not necessarily imply a rejection of any thing good; atheism implies not a denial of any thing that is just and true. The priests know, too, that no man can reject the spirit and principles of the gospel and lived by Jesus.

I have long been accustomed to test what men regard and worship as God by Humanity. If what a man calls God—i. e., if a man's conceptions of God—conflict with the self-evident truths and the sympathies and affections of human nature, I at once reject the being and worship of such a God—i. e., I reject their *idea* of God. Slavery is revolting to the purest sympathies and innate sense of justice of our nature; so are war and hanging; and I at once reject the authority of any being, as God, that ever did or ever can enslave men or instigate men to make war against and kill one another. Dear Garrison, is this a just and true view? I know it is, for me; and I believe it is for God and for all; and ere long, all will thus deal with slaveholding and war-making religions and gods.

1, P. M.—Now the people are taking their pic nic here in the tent. We have worshipped the great Father by speaking in behalf of the slave two and a half hours. Now we are worshipping Him by supplying our physical wants; by eating, walking about the tent; by interchanging our thoughts and feelings; by laughter and merriment—for the children are very merry and happy. Here and there are groups of men and women, eating, drinking, (water,) and earnestly discussing our positions about liberty and slavery, and the Bible and God. We hear much upon these questions. See 2500 or 3000 men, women and children, under a great tent, in groups, and walking about, earnestly talking about the rescue, not of a Sabbath, a Bible, or an ordinance, but MAN, from desecration—man concerned to vindicate man, that where slaveholders call God, from wrong and outrage.

4, P. M.—We have had a meeting of much interest here. A man—a *profane swearer*—is now on the platform, to vindicate the Church, the Bible, and Divinity of this nation. We had a glorious gathering at Randolph, a week ago to-day. Abby Kelley Foster is doing a great work here. To-day she is laid up with an ulcerated tooth and swollen face. She is otherwise pretty well. We had a good meeting at Akron the last week. Anti-Slavery, No Union with Slaveholders, is taking deep hold of the noble hearts of the people of Ohio.

H. C. WRIGHT.

A CATALOGUE OF SOUTHERN ATROCITIES.

From the New Orleans Bee, July 22.

MURDERS AND LYNCHING—INDIAN DEPREDATIONS.

By the steamship Yacht, we have received the American Flag of July the 17th. Captain Brennan was murdered at Brownsville by the notorious Bill Hardy. The particulars of the horrible deed are thus related by the Flag:—

On last Thursday morning, 11th inst., our citizens were astounded at the unmeasurably base and cowardly murder, in consequence of the death of the Coroner, had been called to hold an inquest over the body of Capt. Jackson Brennan, who had been murdered in cool blood by the notorious Bill Hardy, both recently from Galveston. It appears that the above two, with a number of others, were at one of the saloons there, where they remained until between one and two o'clock in the morning, when Capt. Brennan left for his place of lodging. He had not proceeded far when he was overtaken by Hardy, who drew his knife, and thrust it to the hilt in Brennan's left breast. Seeing Hardy's movements, he threw up his hands, and exclaimed—'Bill, don't cut me.' It was too late; the fatal stab came too quick and too certain for him to avoid it. He ran some thirty or forty yards, fell and expired.

After committing this outrage, Hardy walked back into the house, with his knife in hand, reeking with blood, and exclaimed—'I'm a tart; and that's the way I'll serve any man who 'll follow me.' Some of those who heard him, supposed he had got into difficulty with a Mexican, and advised him to leave, which he did. As soon as it was ascertained that he had killed Captain B., men were sent to the same house, to prevent his escape, and to secure the Mexican, if he could. He was arrested next morning, about daylight, near one of the ferries, ironed and taken to jail.

The cause assigned for this brutal outrage is the refusal of Brennan to let Hardy have money while at Brazos; which is, in all probability, the true cause, as Hardy was heard to say, on the way up from that place, that he had marked his man. The people resolved to mete out justice to the murderers, and they accordingly assembled, and demanded the culprit of the deputy sheriff, who was obliged to deliver him up into their hands.

On reaching the spot selected for this tragic scene, Hardy remarked that he knew he had to die, and intended to die like a man; but would rather be shot than hung. The crowd assented to witness the solemn tragedy was quite large, but orderly and quiet, with a few exceptions. No one volunteering to shoot the guilty wretch, it was decided that he must hang. During all this time, and even while the arrangements were making for launching him into eternity, where he would meet a more dread tribunal than any on earth, he evinced the most perfect indifference as to his fate, not suffering a muscle of his face to betray the least emotion, and even took the rope that was to hang him and tied the hangman's knot, to show how it was done, without the slightest perceptible trembling of his hand. Those managing the matter, fearing the knot was not well tied, untied it for the purpose of retying, in which they failed, when he remarked, to a gentleman standing near him that he would have to tie it again. This kind office the individual addressed promised to perform for him. The doomed man then got on a cart, mounted on a plank which rested on the wheels, without any resistance or assistance, and while the rope, which was suspended from a beam some 20 feet above, was being adjusted round his neck, asked to have his hands tied behind him. There he stood, high above the crowd, his hands tied, the noose close about his neck, death staring him in the face, calm, cool and collected. The cart moved from under him, and in the twinkling of an eye he was in eternity. He died after a slight struggle, and thus terminated the earthly career of Bill Hardy. He met death with the same reckless indifference that he had meted it out to others.

—

On last Tuesday morning, our city was made the theatre of a most exciting tragedy, when our citizens again took the law into their own hands, and meted out justice to a brutal wretch, who had set at defiance the law of God and man. Even where we can learn of the occurrence, the particulars are these: A Mexican went into the house of McKee, where a number of men were, and asked another young Mexican for a bit. The individual, who was dealing monte at the time, remarked that he would give it to him, which he did. The Mexican then commenced eating, and drawn his pistol, which, on receiving the money, he fired at the Mexican first addressed. The pistol was loaded with buckshot, and the ball, which was the second fired at in the breast near the breast, a third wounding another Mexican in the arm. As soon as he had committed the first deed, he ran to the river, and attempted to effect his escape into Mexico by swimming. Several shots were fired while he was in the water, but none hit him. He was knocked down his several persons in a skiff, caught and brought back. He was then taken to see the man whom he had shot, who was suffering greatly, thence to the place where Hardy was executed, and there hung. It was said not to exceed twenty minutes from the time he discharged his pistol, till he was dangling in the air. No cause has been assigned for the cold-blooded act. The young man who was shot in the breast died shortly after the murderer was hung.

The 'Barbary States of America.'—We copy, from the Richmond (Va.) Republican, the following report of barbarian cruelties inflicted upon slaves, in that city, by order of the Police Court, in a single week.

FEB. 1, 1850.—To-day, a few stray darkies were all the Mayor was called on to sit in judgment upon; the first of whom—

Henry, the property of Sarah Holman, was committed to jail for going at large. His mistress will have to pay a fine for the same.

John and Richard Ivers, put in the cage last night, minus their passes, were discharged by his Honor.

FEB. 2.—Bob Brown, a slave, was ordered ten lashes for striking a white woman. The punishment seemed to be light, but there was a palliation in the case which fully justified his Honor in inflicting this small flagellation on Bob Brown.

Antonio Dunlop, was fined a fine of six dollars imposed on him for having, in violation of law, on the 20th ultimo, permitted an unlawful assembly of slaves in his house.

FEB. 4.—Daniel Ragland, hired to Price and Harwood, was ordered twenty lashes for being riotous, and trespassing on Milly Davenport on the 2d instant.

James, the property of John Enders, was ordered twenty lashes for running from the watchmen, when hailed by them.

Peter, the property of William Scott, got ten lashes for stealing from the store of Ned Graves, within the last ten days, a part of that darkey's wardrobe.

Jim, belonging to Mr. Barrett, got twenty lashes for stealing two cocoanuts from C. Brizzolara last night.

Sam, hired to Tinsley & Co., was ordered five lashes for driving carts on Sunday, on the first inst. His owner was allowed to pay the fine.

Wm. Tierney procured bail before he was taken down to his Honor, having looked thereon, pronounced it good; whereupon William Tierney again went forth rejoicing.

FEB. 6.—Joseph Thacker, a free boy, put in the lock-up for want of a pass, but on proving proved his freedom, was discharged this morning.

Jane, hired to E. Bowman, was ordered twenty lashes for being out late, and trespassing on E. Jackson, on the 3d inst.

John, hired to A. S. Lee, was rewarded with twenty lashes for having been caught stealing wood from E. H. Turpin, last night.

Absalom, a small boy, employed by Charles Philips, was ordered five lashes for driving his team faster than a walk, on Cary street, on the 2d inst.

Murder in Texas by Slaves from Maryland.—The Galveston Bay Bee, of the 17th Bunner, of the 17th April, furnishes the following narrative of a most revolting murder:—

Rutersville, April 10.—About a year ago, or more, Mr. G. Hayden moved from Maryland four negro men, belonging to a Mr. Goodwin, to this county; and the negroes have repeatedly said they were only to stay here so long as Hayden lived. Mr. Hayden was opening a new farm on the Navidad, and had rented some land about Rutersville, from and near place. On Thursday, the 4th inst., being somewhat indisposed, he left two of the negroes and a German, and went to his camp.

That night, two of them, Moses and Bob, went to his camp. Both knocked him in the head with a maul, and then dragged him out to the fire and threw him upon it, and succeeded in burning his legs off above the knees. Finding this process slow, Bob took him and put him back in the camp, (which was made of plank,) and set fire to it, entirely consuming the body. Moses and Bob are in irons here.

The third boy disclosed the affair on his examination to-day. Bob confessed the crime when.

—

In Williamson county, Tenn., J. H. Clay murdered William Wiggins by shooting him through the heart.

—

At Columbus, Ga., on Sunday the 2d, Stephen Doles was killed in a fight with Thomas Terry, both young men.

—

☞ A correspondent of the Louisville Journal gives a sad account of a feud between two families of Garrard county, Ky., named Evans and Bill. He says, that some time since, Bill swore that one of his neighbors, named Hill, and then fled, it is supposed, to Indiana. On Monday last, one of the Evans and one of the Hills met in Lancaster, and exchanged shots without effect. The Hill gang then fell on Evans with knives, and cut his throat on each side, and cut upper lip nearly off his face. Pacificating business was going on, a brother of Evans appeared, and shot down with a revolver, successively, Richard Hill, Fred. Bills Hill, William Hill, and Bill, the fugitive's brother-in-law. Numerous shots were made at him without killing him. The battle was over the wounded Evans, and who was supposed to be dead. None of the wounded are dead, and it is thought they may all recover.

Tragedy in Texas.—A shocking affair recently took place in Texas. A Mr. Wiley, living upon the Sabine, near Van Zandt, had separated from his wife. It appears that he afterwards visited her at a house in the neighborhood where she was residing, and proposed a division of their property, to which she consented. He then took her behind him, on his horse, and proceeded to their former house, which they reached upon Saturday night, and, during the division of the property, he requested her to walk out in the yard with him. As soon as they left the house, he shot her down, and, after she had fallen, mounted his horse to escape. A number of citizens followed and overtook him in Rusk county, and killed him.—*N. O. Pic.*

☞ At Lafayette, La., a negro driver undertook to chastise his daughter, a girl about 14 years of age, who, after receiving a few cuts, seized a knife and plunged it into her father's heart. She was surrendered to the legal authorities.

☞ In Clarksville, Tenn., Wm. Marr, a student in the Jefferson College, was held in $6000 bonds for stabbing Leonard C. Faxon in an auction room. Mr. F's elder brother, the editor of the Jeffersonian, prevented Leonard from shooting Marr on the spot.

☞ A most flagrant outrage was committed at Savage Factory, Md., one day last week, upon Mrs. Josephine Eppes, of White Oak Bottom, Prince George's county, by a negro named Amos Green. He has been arrested.

Family Poisoned.—The family of Mr. Murphy of Montgomery, Alabama, were all suddenly taken sick a few days ago, and left the house, complaining of a chill, but died. A negro woman, the family cook, has been lodged in jail, on strong suspicion of having mixed arsenic in the food.

☞ At Lafayette, La., on the 9th ult., Frederick King, Esq., was shot down in his store by a coloured man, a female slave, shot her in the breast and killed her, for being saucy to his wife.

☞ In Hinds county, Mississippi, Mr. Myrick was murdered by his son in a quarrel, both being intoxicated.

☞ We learn that a rencontre took place between John and George Kelly, near Clarksville, in this county, on Monday last, which resulted in the latter being mortally wounded with a scythe.—*Louisville Journal.*

Murder.—A fatal rencontre occurred at Prairie Mount, Chickasaw county, Miss., on the 23d, between Wm. Tompkins and W. Harris, in which the latter was killed. Tompkins escaped, and a reward of 200 dollars is offered for his apprehension.

☞ An affray recently occurred in Bellevue, in Bossier parish, between Mr. David Hammeter, a wealthy planter, and a person named Lipscomb. It appears that Hammeter had recently wounded, and Lipscomb cut in ten places with a knife, some of which are thought to be mortal.

Slave Insurrection.—The New Orleans True Delta states, that the excitement in the towns near that city continues to exist in insubordination, and a few nights since made an attack on the patrol.

Homicide.—On Saturday night last, Hiram Woodall shot John Smallen in the neck with a pistol, from which he died in a few minutes. Woodall was committed to await his trial on the charge of murder.—*Ala. (Ga.) Pat.*

A Tavern-keeper Murdered.—R. Whitshalo, the keeper of a tavern eight miles from this city, was murdered on Saturday evening last. Several negroes have been accused and arrested.—*Richmond, Va. paper, April 15.*

☞ Cicily, a negress, was hung at Paulding, Miss., on the 24th ult., for the murder of Dr. Longpin, wife and child. She confessed before her execution that she chopped the Doctor's head off while he was asleep, with a hatchet, and then, in her rage, knocked her child with a 'chunk.' She then killed the child and set fire to the house, first rifling the Doctor's pantaloons.

Fatal Affray.—At Black's store, Tippah county, Miss., near the Mobile line, on the 23d instant, a fight occurred between Drs. Wooten and Brannon, two practising physicians in that vicinity. The latter was killed, and the former mortally wounded. The difficulty of the case not yet learned. Cause supposed to arise from prejudices existing between them—one being a botanical, and the other a mineral physician.

☞ Col. Siebella, editor of the Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser, and Mr. Smith, a member of the Alabama Legislature, have gone to Mississippi to fight a duel. The quarrel grew out of something which Mr. Smith said in the recent Legislature.

Unfortunate Occurrence.—A rencontre took place on Thursday evening, in Portsmouth, between Wm. Wallace Davis, Esq., one of the editors of the Dispatch, and Mr. Thomas Cocke, in which the latter commenced the attack, and the former, in defending himself with a revolver, lodged two balls in the body of his assailant. The wounds are not supposed to be mortal.—*Norfolk, Va. Herald.*

Fredericksburg, Va., Aug. 17.—A most heart-rending murder has been perpetrated at White Oak, near this place, which has caused the greatest excitement. Mr. Lewis Ford, an old and well-known citizen, was shot by his brother-in-law, Daniel Malone, and instantly killed. Malone was arrested and committed to jail as principal, and Mr. Goldsber as accessory in the murder. The woman confesses that she handed Malone the gun, procured the powder and ball, and told him to kill the deceased.

Diabolical Murder.—A correspondent of the Eddyville (Ky.) Banner, writing from Marion, Crittenden Co., Ky., gives an account of two horrible murders committed in that vicinity on the 20th ult., by a fiend in human form, named Wm. T. Willingford, on his wife and child. She had been confined but a few days when he dragged her from her bed, and stamped her to death. The infant he starved to death, not allowing it to be nursed by its mother or any one else from the time it was born. The writer says these facts are established beyond the reach of doubt. The monster made his escape.—*Louisville Journal.*

Death of Col. Dupree.—Gentlemen from Vicksburg mention the death of Col. Dupree by the hand of his son-in-law, in Hinds county, Miss. Col. Dupree had a quarrel with Mr. Gordon a few days ago, on the 8th inst. they met at a church near Brownsville, Hinds Co. Gryers left the church, but was soon followed by Gordon, who approached him, and asked if Graves was armed. Graves, hoping to prevent any difficulty, said he was not. Dupree then pulled a pistol from his pocket, and cut him several times with a knife, when Graves pulled a pistol from his pocket, and shot the Colonel through the body. Colonel Dupree mounted his horse and rode several miles towards home, but died in about two hours after having received the wound.—*N. O. Bee.*

Murder.—In St. Louis, on the 8th ult., in an altercation between Cornelius Collier and Jefferson Thomas, the latter was killed by a pistol shot. Thomas was arrested and lodged in jail.

Two-fold Horrors.—Mr. Check, clerk of the steamer Julia, informs us that a white man came out about Fort Henry, on the 4th inst., and were arrested a few days since, charged with the murder of Mrs. Allen, of Clay county, Mo. The woman confessed the deed, and implicated her husband. For want of better evidence, they were both taken a short distance from the town of Liberty, on Monday last, and hung up by a mob, their bodies were then tucked up to the branches of a tree and hung. The object of the murderers was money.—*St. Louis Rep.*

A Rencontre took place on last Saturday morning, between two of our citizens, Mr. Reynolds and Charles Rogers, the latter shot Rogers out of a gun-shot through the breast, causing instant death. Reynolds immediately came to town and gave himself up to Sheriff McIlwee, and demanded an examination into his conduct. After a full examination before Justice Moody, he was remanded to the District Court for trial, but admitted to bail in the penalty of $300, which he immediately gave. Although, from some confliction of testimony, the justice thought it his duty to remand him for trial, yet we must say, in justice to Mr. Reynolds, that he acted, taking all the proof together, as nine out of ten of our citizens would have acted under the circumstances.—*Victoria Advocate.*

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It is put up in pint bottles, at the extraordinary low price of 50 cents each, which makes it economy in the means of those in moderate circumstances.

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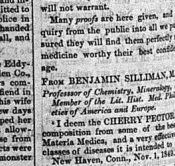

IN offering to the community this justly celebrated remedy for diseases of the lungs and throat, we feel not fear with it the test of time has tried it, but frankly to lay before them the testimony of distinguished men, and some of the results of its success, from which they can judge for themselves. We sincerely pledge ourselves to make no false representations or false statements of its efficacy, and to hold out any hope to suffering humanity which we do not believe will be realized.

Many *proofs* are here given, and we invite inquiry from the public into all we publish. We are assured they will find them perfectly reliable, and that medicine worthy their best confidence and support.

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Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy, &c. in the Medical College of the La. Hist. Med. Pub. Institution of America and Europe.

"I deem the CHERRY PECTORAL an valuable compound, combining some of the best medicinal Materia Medica, and a very efficient remedy in diseases of the lungs. I remain, &c."

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HEAR THE PATIENT.

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JAMES BANNON.

Hampton, ss. SPRINGFIELD, November 1, 1847.

This day appeared the above named James Bannon, and pronounced the above statement true, before me,

ALONZO NORTON, Justice of the Peace.

At the office of the Hon. George Ashmun.

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