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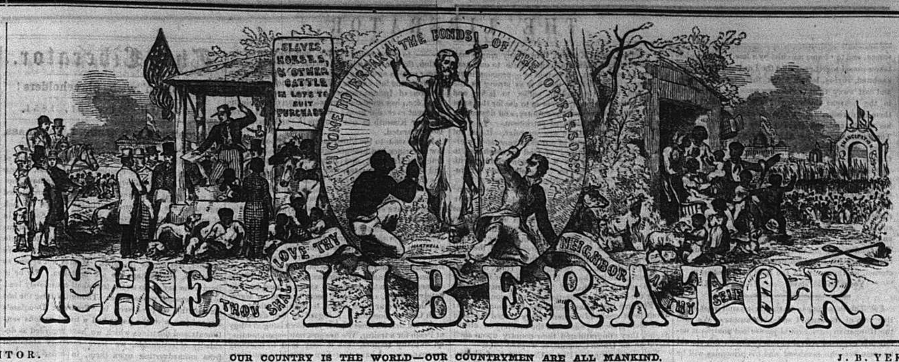

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fata to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons. . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificia majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

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

VOL. XXI. NO. 44. BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1851. WHOLE NO. 1086.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

Extract of a letter from HENRY CLAY, dated Ashland, 3rd October, 1851, to a numerous Committee in New York, inviting him to visit that city, and address a voice of warning to his countrymen:—

It was supposed by the authors and supporters of the compromise, in the last Congress, that the adoption of the series of measures which composed it would secure the unanimous concurrence of all. Their reasonable hopes were confined to the great majority of the people of the United States, and their hopes have not been disappointed. Every where, north, south, east and west, an immense majority of the people are satisfied with, or acquiesce in, the compromise. This may be confidently asserted in regard to thirteen of the slaveholding States, and to thirteen, if not fourteen, of the free States. In a few of both classes of the States, and in some particular localities, dissatisfaction exists, exhibiting itself, occasionally, in words of great violence and intemperance; but this feeling is, I trust, where it has most prevailed, gradually yielding to an enlightened sense of public duty. I present a rapid survey of the actual state of things, as it appears to me, both at the North and the South, beginning at the former.

In all that region, there is but one of the various compromise measures that is seriously assailed, and that is the law made, in strict conformity with the Constitution, for the surrender of fugitives from lawful service or labor. But the law itself, with two exceptions, has been every where enforced; opposition to it is constantly abating, and the patriotic obligations of obeying the Constitution and the laws, made directly or indirectly by the people themselves, is now almost universally recognized and admitted. If in the execution of the law, by the public authority, popular discontent is sometimes manifested, it has, with the exceptions mentioned, been invariably repressed, or prevented from obstructing the officers of justice in the performance of their duties. If I am correctly informed, a great and salutary change has been made, and is yet in progress, at the North, which authorizes the confident anticipation that reason and law will finally achieve a noble triumph.

The necessity of maintaining and enforcing that law, unrepealed, and without any modification that would seriously impair its efficiency, must be admitted by the impartial judgment of all candid men. Many of the slaveholding States, and many public meetings of the people in them, have deliberately declared that their adherence to the Union depended upon the preservation of that law, and that its abandonment would be the signal of the dissolution of the Union. I know that the abolitionists (some of whom openly avow a desire to produce that calamitous event) and their partizans deny and deride the existence of any such danger; but men who will not perceive and own it must be blind to the signs of the times, to the sectional strife which has unhappily arisen, to the embittered feelings which have been excited, as well as to the solemn resolutions of deliberative assemblies, unanimously adopted. Their disregard of the danger, I am apprehensive, proceeds more from their desire to continue agitation, which augments it, than from their love of the Union itself.

You refer, gentlemen, to 'resolutions and addresses adopted at conventions lately assembled around us, in which we have seen with regret, as well as alarm, that the question of adherence to the compromise is avoided or evaded,' and you justly deprecate the tendency of these resolutions. I have not been an inattentive or indifferent observer of them, and with you I deeply regret their adoption. I wish that these respectable bodies could have been less ambiguous, and more explicit, in declaring their determination to acquiesce in, and abide by, a great measure of peace and compromise, which, forming an epoch in the progress of our country, was intended to reconcile and restore concord and fraternal feelings among our divided countrymen. There was no necessity to reserve a right to discuss, to modify and to repeal the obnoxious law. Such a right existed without any express reservation, not only as to that law, but as to all laws, and as to the Constitution itself, which has incorporated in it the right of amendment, and consequently that of discussion. But there are occasions when a spirit of moderation should prompt a forbearance to exercise that right. If more were intended than meets the eye, more than to proclaim the theoretic right of discussion, if it were designed to announce the right of unremitted agitation, to continue the distractions of the country,' and, finally, if possible, to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, patriotism and harmony must condemn the unwise course, as fraught with the most mischievous and perilous consequences.

But we must make some allowances for human frailty and inordinate pride of opinion. Many persons at the North had avowed an invincible hostility to the Fugitive Law, and declared their intention forcibly to obstruct its execution, and had appealed to a higher law, which, as they contended, was paramount to all human legislation. These ostensible positions were wholly irreconcilable with patriotism, or even with the existence of regular government itself. Obeying the dictates, it is hoped, of wiser and purer and more social counsels, the parties who, under the impulses of passion and fanaticism, had assumed, have now abandoned them, and acknowledged their unquestionable duty to submit to the law, until it is modified or repealed by competent authority. In descending from the high and perilous ground, which they could not safely occupy, to that of conceding the obligation of submission to the law, we discern, I hope, a just homage to the dictates of civilization, and to the duties of establishing government. If they have coupled with this proper concession the useless reservation of a right of discussion, and insisting upon a repeal or amendment of a law to which they had taken an exception, may we not hope that their purpose was only to secure a decent retreat, with a secret and patriotic determination to forbear from disturbing that return to harmony and tranquillity, so necessary to the safety and prosperity of the Union? Should it turn out otherwise, should the reckless spirit of agitation continue to disturb and distract our country, to array section against section, and to threaten the stability of the government, my confidence is unshaken in the great body of our Northern fellow-citizens, that they will, in due time, and in a right manner, apply an appropriate and effectual corrective.

THE SYRACUSE OUTRAGE.

We present on our first page, the decision of Judge Conklin, in the case of the Syracuse rioters, in which, after binding them over for trial, he administers some very wholesome advice to higher law rebels and fanatics,—the more effective, perhaps, as coming from a source which has been supposed to be rather in sympathy with Abolitionism. We also present, on the same page, a pithy charge of Judge Nelson, at Albany, on the same subject, a copy of which was requested for the press by several distinguished members of the bar, as being eminently appropriate to the present exigency. It will be noticed that *William H. Seward*, who represents the State of New York in the Senate of the United States, went bail for all the prisoners, and, if correctly reported by the Syracuse Journal, (a paper devoted to his interests,) took occasion to remark that he 'did not suppose that such an act could be regarded as a recognition of the moral obligation of the Fugitive Slave Law.' When men who are honored with the highest offices within the gift of our people, thus wantonly throw their influence on the side of rebellion, what wonder that there should be resistance to the laws, and that the blood of faithful officers should be shed while attempting to enforce them. The 'moral' guilt of Seward in this matter appears to us scarcely, if at all less than that of the prisoners. But he has violated no positive law, and so will escape the punishment he deserves. As if to make the affair supremely ridiculous, as well as wicked, a lot of Syracuse women, several of them in Bloomer dress, accompanied the prisoners to Auburn, and were invited by Seward, in company with the prisoners, to his residence, where they were cordially entertained. The whole motley group, (negroes and all, we presume,) moved in procession. The remarks of the Albany Register, which we subjoin, on the conduct of Governor Seward, are as just as they are severe.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

BLOOMERISM AND ABOLITIONISM. When the latter sentiment finds a lodgment in the female bosom, it not unfrequently delights to exhibit itself in the opposite extremities. It was so on the examination of the Syracuse rioters and rescuers, before Judge Conklin. It is said that on the last day, among the crowd in the court room, were several ladies from Syracuse, dressed in the Bloomer costume, who created considerable excitement, they being the 'observed of all observers.' One of them was the wife of Moses Sumner, one of the prisoners. In the afternoon, the Bloomers promenaded the streets escorted by gentlemen.—*Albany Argus.*

SPUNK! Some thirty or forty ladies—the wives, relatives or intimate friends of those implicated in the Syracuse rescue—attended the preliminary examination before Judge Conklin. They returned yesterday. There was a gentleman in the cars with them, whose official position made it incumbent upon him to take a prominent part in the prosecution. But the ladies did not deem this a sufficient excuse. They accordingly got up and signed a request, that he would seek some other car to ride home in! Nor were they content with this. They determined, formally, to collect 'thirty (three cent) pieces of silver,' and present them to him, as 'the price' of his services! None but enraged women would have conceived so cruel a punishment for a fancied wrong.—*Evening Journal.*

We are credibly informed, that on Monday, when Judge Conklin delivered his opinion, about a hundred Abolitionists, from Syracuse and Auburn, composed of men and women, many of the latter in Bloomer dresses, were present, and that after Gov. Seward had become bail for the parties bound over, the motley group of males and long and short skirted females, by his invitation, formed a procession and escorted the released prisoners to his house, where they were treated to a most gracious and hospitable reception. This conduct on his part, can be regarded in no other light, than as an indirect censure of the decision of Judge Conklin, a public expression of sympathy for persons bound over to answer to the charge of a criminal offence of no ordinary turpitude, and an approval of the sentiments and principles of the fanatical group which formed their escort. We deeply regret that a United States Senator from New York, and former chief magistrate of the State, should have so far forgotten what is due to a decent self-respect, to his high position, to public opinion, and the laws and Constitution of his country, as to take the lead in such a miserable and degrading exhibition. We allude to the subject in a spirit of sorrow, not of anger—with feelings of deep humiliation, and not for the purpose of heaping obloquy upon Gov. Seward. We are sure that on calm reflection, his own sense of propriety will lead him to regret the undignified course in which he indulged, and the pernicious example, which, in what must have been an unguarded moment, he has set before his fellow citizens. We trust the course of those presses, which have so industriously fomented resistance to the fugitive law, and stirred up sedition, has not his deliberate sanction; that he does not approve the Syracuse outrage, and seek to protect its perpetrators from the penalties of the law; that he would not designedly bring a higher court of justice into disrepute, and that least of all does he hold sentiments in common and sympathize with that demented crowd whom he invited to his mansion.

For the honor of the city and of the State in which it is located, we deplore the occurrence of such an exhibition in Auburn, scarcely less than the outrage at Syracuse. We hope that the organs of the exhibitors, will not seize upon the fact that it has led to such an uncouth scene, as another argument why the law should not be executed. It would, however, be of a piece with the rest of their reasoning. And most sincerely do we hope that it will not be repeated upon invitation of a United States Senator.—*Albany Register.*

A few weeks ago, those Northern papers having abolition tendencies and sympathies were contending lustily for the right to discuss the Fugitive Slave Law. It was conceded to them, and they set about preaching resistance to that law. They stirred up mobs to oppose its execution and maltreat government officers. In two instances, the law has been violently trampled under foot, and high crimes committed against the State and national sovereignties. These same presses now claim that the criminal perpetrators shall go unpunished. They have advanced a good ways beyond the right of discussion; they have come to treasonable action, and contend for exemption from the pains and penalties incurred by it. They hold that armed and forcible resistance to a U. S. law is not a crime. They denounce every body who is in favor of punishing it. They are for overthrowing the existing government, or nullifying it, and substituting codes of higher law passed at abolition conventions in Syracuse and elsewhere. They cannot bear the restraint of constitutions and acts of Congress, and though belonging to a miserable faction, have undertaken to subject a majority of the people of this great Union to the precepts of their own perverted consciences. If they could have their own way, they would disorganize our institutions, and put down all legitimate government.

If the shy and vengeful murderer, if the stealthy thief and midnight robber, if the lurking incendiary who fires his neighbor's dwelling, are guilty of great crimes, and should be held up to execration and punishment as a warning to others, much more ought those still greater felons to be, who combined together to subvert the government, and put down all order by forcible resistance to laws. The latter class of culprits have injured society vastly more than the former, and none the less because they profess to act in the name of religion and humanity.—*Albany Register.*

Selections.

From Frederick Douglass's Paper.

R. D. WEBB, GEORGE THOMPSON AND 'THE LIBERTY PARTY.'

In a letter dated Bristol, England, from the gentleman first named, to 'the Editor of the *National Anti Slavery Standard*,' we see painful evidence of a determined effort on the part of Messrs. Thompson and Webb, to place that class of Abolitionists who act with 'the Liberty Party,' of this country, in an absurd and ridiculous position before British philanthropists. What private griefs these gentlemen have, alas! we know not; but *one* thing we can affirm, that Mr. Thompson's course, in this respect, wears an aspect exceedingly ungraceful, and unmagnanimous: for to our certain knowledge, he had no more unflinching friends when in this country, than were the faithful band of abolitionists, designated '*the Liberty Party*.' When here, Mr. Thompson neither despised their sympathy nor their money; and it is not a little strange that he should, so soon after his return to his native land, exert his magnificent oratorical powers in the work of their disparagement.

It is to hoped, however, that the friends of humanity in England will weigh well the statements and reasonings of Mr. Thompson, before they condemn a Party, the standard-bearer of which is GERRIT SMITH of Peterboro'—a name that needs the prefix of no adjective to commend it to the love and admiration of Philanthropists throughout the world.

It appears that, at the meeting in Bristol, (of which Mr. Webb furnishes the *Standard* with an account,) Mr. Mathews, the Free Mission Baptist from the United States, took occasion to explain the claims and merits of the Liberty Party. Mr. Webb says:

'He (Mr. Mathews) was followed by Mr. Thompson, who took his arguments and statements to pieces, and exposed, in strong terms, the absurdity and duplicity of their political enterprise under the name of Anti-Slavery action, as compared with the onslaught of the Abolitionists upon the selfishness and hypocrisy which form the true corner-stones of the system of Slavery. He showed that the Liberty Party has repeatedly fallen to pieces—that it has no principles of cohesion—that it is liable to all the temptations by which mere politicians are apt to be betrayed from the path of truth and consistency—and that, until the American people are indoctrinated into a sense of the sin, disgracefulness and folly of Slavery, it is vain to expect them to legislate upon it. Garrison's doctrine is so simple and luminous that he who runs may read. What is, then, to prevent the Liberty Party from putting forth some exposition of their views that shall recommend itself, as Garrison's does, to every enlightened conscience which is unbiased by sect and undimmed by selfishness? I have seen Gerrit Smith's Letter and Lysander Spooner's Treatise. But they are ponderous arguments. Who can take them in? Even Frederick Douglass's transcendent ability was unable to master them, until he had sat for a long time at the feet of the Liberty Party Gamaliel; and I fear that now, with all his talent and with the help of all the zeal that converts feel, he will find it very difficult to communicate his convictions to any of those who are not already fascinated by the American passion for politics. However, although Mr. Mathews is a zealous advocate of the Liberty Party, he will not succeed in convincing many in these parts of the stability of its moral foundations, or of the straight-forwardness of the assumptions by which it is bolstered up. It is difficult to most Englishmen to turn their attention to the complicated political movements of the United States, or to make them understand how they can be made use of to much purpose for the abolition of Slavery, until the nation has been aroused and enlightened to the enormity of the system.'

Now Mr. Thompson is the last man in the world who should 'expose, in strong terms, the *absurdity* and *duplicity* of the Liberty Party.' It does not look well in a member of the British Parliament, who has sworn to support the British constitution, with its anomalies, and who has labored as hard and as long as Mr. Thompson to convince the people of his constituency that it was for *their* interest and political well-being to *elect* him to that high position, now to deal in the language of self-righteous scorn towards politics.

'He exposed, in strong terms, the absurdity and duplicity of the Liberty Party.' He did, eh? Well! we should like to have heard him. 'The absurdity' is bad enough. This 'absurdity' is a thing of a man's thinking; but the charge of '*duplicity*' carries with it the implication of weakness, hypocrisy, corruption; and the Liberty Party is guilty of neither. 'The absurdity and duplicity' of the Liberty Party in this country, are precisely what 'the absurdity and duplicity' of Mr. Thompson were when he acted with the British Abolitionists for the overthrow of Slavery in the West Indies. The same as when he acted with Messrs. Cobden, Bright, Wilson, Thompson, and other distinguished politicians in promoting the election of men to Parliament who were in favor of the Abolition of the corn laws, and would vote for none other. 'The absurdity and duplicity' of 'the Liberty Party' are precisely what Mr. Thompson's 'absurdity and duplicity' were when he became a 'director of the East India Company,' according to his own showing a most heartless body,) in order that he might reinstate the dethroned 'Rajah of Sattara,' and otherwise advance the political interest of India.

But, says Mr. Webb: 'He showed that the Liberty Party has repeatedly fallen to pieces.' If he attempted to do this, '*he showed*' what was not true, since there has been no such repeated falling to pieces of the Liberty Party, as alleged. The reasoning which would condemn the Liberty Party, because of the apostacy, even of a majority of its members, would be fatal if applied to 'the American Anti-Slavery Society' itself; for its whole history has been marked by withdrawals, separations, divisions and schisms. The statement that the Liberty Party '*has no principles of cohesion*,' is virtually saying that it has no principles at all; for, if it have principle held in common by its members, they form the cohesive bond of union; and we think that if the Liberty Party have no other than the principle of human freedom to bind it together, it could not be honestly affirmed to be destitute of the cohesive element. As to the '*liability to temptation*' to which the Liberty Party is exposed, heaven help us all, including even our friends, Webb and Thompson, who, if we mistake not, have, in their war upon the Liberty Party, *not only been tempted*, but have *yielded* to the temptation to serve a *party*, at the expense of the cause of the Slave. That an Anti-Slavery moral sentiment must precede Anti-Slavery legislation in this country, is understood by no men better than by the members of the Liberty Party; and to be gravely told it by Mr. Webb, as a flash of new light on the *subject*, is simply amusing. The assumption, that the Liberty Party is silent on the 'sin, disgracefulness, and folly of Slavery,' may be swallowed readily enough by those who know nothing of the character of that party; but will be rejected, as *utterly unfounded*, by those who witness, without prejudice, the self-searching labors of its advocates. In what (we would ask Mr. Webb) is the Liberty Party exceeded? *Where* is the organization whose course is more uncompromising, and whose testimony to Anti-Slavery truth is more consistent, straightforward, and stringent? What body of men are more bold in their exposure of the pro-slavery hypocrisy of the Church, or more faithful in their dealings with the two great pillars of Slavery, the Whig and Democratic Parties?

Without disparaging the American Anti-Slavery Society, (for we have no heart, even when thus provoked, to turn accuser of any part of the brotherhood,) we must still say, that the Liberty party is not a whit behind that organization in the stainless purity of its principles, in its fearless enunciation of truth, and in the firmness with which it maintains itself against seductive influences at home, and unfounded reproaches from abroad.

Mr. Webb asks, with apparent simplicity, '*what is then to prevent the Liberty party from putting forth some exposition of their views, that shall recommend itself, as Garrison's does, to every enlightened conscience, which is unbiased by sect, and undimmed by selfishness?*' Most innocently put, barring the crookedness of the sentence! We must regret that there is too great a resemblance in the reception given to the expositions of the Liberty Party, and that which has hitherto attended the exposition of Mr. Garrison. There must be few '*enlightened consciences*' left in this unhappy world, if those only are so who assent *entirely* to the '*expositions*' of Mr. Garrison! '*I have seen Gerrit Smith's letter*,' says Mr. Webb. We should like to know WHICH? for Gerrit Smith has written many letters on the subject of slavery, during the last 18 or 20 years, and if they could all be collected, they would not fall short of filling up friend Webb's garret, in Dublin. We are glad that Mr. Webb does not pretend to have read Gerrit Smith's '*letter*;' he only speaks of having '*seen*' it. The sight of it was doubtless enough for him. He saw enough to convince him, that both '*Mr. Smith's letter and Mr. Spooner's treatise, are ponderous arguments*.' We agree with the latter of this conclusion, though we may dissent from its spirit, for we believe the arguments to be not only weighty, but *unanswerable*. '*Englishmen*' *may* not be quite as clear in mental vision, as some of us apprehended; still we cannot believe, with Mr. Webb, that it is difficult to make them understand the necessity and appropriateness of political action in this country, for the abolition of slavery. Indeed, we found it difficult to make '*Englishmen*' understand how slavery could be otherwise abolished. The philosophy of infusing a correct moral sentiment into the government, by means of voting for good men, and *against* bad ones, has been too often advocated in England by George Thompson, Esq., M. P., not to be pretty easily comprehended throughout the realm. If, however, '*Englishmen*' need further light upon that subject, let them attend Mr. Thompson, in one of his electioneering campaigns through the Tower Hamlets, and if they are not then initiated, we shall unite with the haters of England, and call John Bull a stupid fellow!!

From the Banner of the Times.

A SHORT SERMON.

ACTS XXI. 13: 'I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus.'

Here is another example of the moral heroism which has characterized the great reformers of every age. It is a specimen of the spirit of a devoted follower of truth—of the intrepidity and firmness with which a real lover of Right follows the dictates of Conscience and the voice of Duty. In the instance which called forth from Paul the language of the text, the entreaties of his friends had no power to persuade him not to go to Jerusalem, although he was promised bonds and death as a reward for his labors to elevate man, and free him from the thraldom of error and of sin. In the face of these, he faltered not; his duty was plain, and like a noble and heroic man, he followed in its path, regardless of consequences, declaring his willingness even to die for the name of Christ.

What a contrast between the conduct of this noble lover of truth, and many professed followers of Christ at the present day! Little more than a year since, an act passed our national legislature, and received the executive sanction, requiring northern freemen to violate the dictates of their conscience—to violate their sacred religion—to violate their honor and feelings as men, by denying the rites of hospitality to those fleeing from a system of iniquity and outrage more terrible than death, or by turning blood-hounds to hunt them down, and aid in returning them to the southern hell of whips and chains.

What is the manifest duty of the Christian, when called upon to obey this law? Shall he acknowledge its claims as being higher than the claims of the law of Justice and of Right, or submit from a fear of its penalties? If so, he possesses not the spirit of the text—he is a moral coward, and unworthy the name of Christian. For the cause of Christ, which is the cause of humanity, he should be willing to suffer not only fines and bonds, but also death.

Temporizing priests may tell us, that so long as this is a law of the land, it is our duty as good citizens to obey it; but in so doing, they are guilty of dark heresy and fearful treachery to God! Their words are full of falsehood and blasphemy, for they teach that God's claims and laws can be set aside for a time, and that we must violate them rather than an enactment of corrupt and wicked men! Did Daniel thus when he was commanded not to call upon his God? No! he noticed not the decree of a wicked king, notwithstanding the fearful penalty of the law. *He violated a law of the land!* and the ministry are loud in commending his heroism and unfaltering adherence to the cause of truth in so doing; and yet some of them declare it to be the duty of good citizens and Christians, to obey a law of Congress not less tyrannical and wicked than the decree of Darius.

Christians! will ye obey God or man? Now is the time to decide, if ye have not already, for a crisis, a fearful crisis will soon, yea has already come. The infernal gang of slave hounds are hunting down their victims, and will ye aid them in their Heaven-defying work, or will ye be true to yourselves and the cause of Christ, and trample this infamous law into the dust, despite its penalties and the threats of the pampered tyrants who would enforce it? In a word, are ye 'ready not to be bound only, but to die for the name of the Lord Jesus,' and in the cause of His down-trodden humanity? If ye possess His spirit, ye are; for no compact, no constitution, no human enactment whatever, can for a moment tempt you to hesitate in the performance of your duty. Are ye ready like Christ, like Stephen, like Paul, to sacrifice your lives upon the altar of Truth? Are ye ready to discharge a manifest duty, and aid the oppressed in escaping from his persecutor, even though, like a Torrey, you die within the gloomy walls of a penitentiary?

For my own part, I can say before God, with a full conviction of the rectitude of my position, that if opportunity presents itself, I will defend the fugitive to the utmost of my humble ability—I will trample this insulting law to the earth—with me it is and shall be a nullity. In a word, I believe myself 'ready not to be bound only, but to die,' if needs be, for the cause of humanity.

The Liberator.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

☞ The following Letters were read at the recent annual meeting of the Pennsylvania A. S. Society.

LETTER FROM WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

BOSTON, Oct 4, 1851.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—A sudden cold, attended with considerable inflammation of the lungs, (aside from other considerations,) must deprive me of the pleasure of attending the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, at West Chester, next week. Whatever may be the disappointment felt at my absence, it cannot be greater than the regret I feel at the interposing of any obstacle to prevent my being with those whom I have known, loved and honored, for so many years, as among the earliest, most reliable, most devoted friends of a sorely afflicted and horribly outraged race.

Your Anniversary is to be held at a time of intense excitement, under circumstances peculiarly trying, in a location not very remote from the Christiana tragedy. It cannot fail, therefore, to be an occasion of thrilling interest and deep solemnity. Whatever may transpire, I am confident that you all will possess your souls in patience, nor think it 'strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you; but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings;' 'committing the keeping of your souls to God in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator.' 'For yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be; but the meek shall inherit the earth. The wicked plotteth against the just, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth. The Lord shall laugh at him; for he seeth that his day is coming. The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy, and to slay such as be of upright conversation. Their sword shall enter their own heart, and their bow shall be broken.' 'God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble; therefore will we not fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea.'

Truly, 'This is a nation that obeyeth not the voice of the Lord their God, nor receiveth correction; truth is perished, and is cut off from their mouth. . . . Were they ashamed when they had committed abomination? nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush. . . . From the least of them even unto the greatest of them, every one is given to covetousness; and from the prophet even unto the priest, every one dealeth falsely. . . . They make a man an offender for a word, and lay a snare for him that reproveth in the gate, and turn aside the just for a thing of naught. . . . Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood; wasting and destruction are in their paths. . . . They all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net. That they may do evil with both hands earnestly, the prince asketh and the judge asketh for a reward; and the great man, he uttereth his mischievous desire; so they wrap it up. . . . And he that departeth from evil, maketh himself a prey.'

Nevertheless, 'Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say unto them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not. . . . Hearken unto me,' saith the Lord, 'ye that know righteousness, the people in whose hearts is my fear; fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings; for the moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm shall eat them like wool. I, even I, am he that comforteth you. Who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and the son of man that shall be made as grass; and forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; and hast feared continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor, as if he was ready to destroy? and where is the fury of the oppressor? The captive exile hasteneth that he may be loosed, and that he shall not die in the pit, nor that his bread should fail. . . . For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him. . . . Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. . . . Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread.'

My dear friend, I can find no language so apposite, so reliable, so descriptive, so consoling, in the present time, as that which I have quoted from a volume, professedly held by this oppressive nation in the highest veneration as the inspired word of God, which yet disregards, in the most daring manner, all its admonitions, warnings, expostulations, examples, threatenings and judgments.

More than three millions of our fellow-creatures are continually crying for deliverance from a servitude, 'one hour of which,' in the truthful words of THOMAS JEFFERSON, 'is fraught with more misery than ages of that which our fathers rose in rebellion to oppose.' Their enslavement demonstrates that the guilt of this nation is unparalleled. Our duty, as abolitionists, is still to 'cry aloud and spare not,' until every chain is broken. We have nothing to change—no steps to retrace—no new course to mark out—no confession to make, except that we have come short in zeal, self-sacrifice, devotedness. If the Declaration of Independence is to be cherished, we are right; if the gospel is to be obeyed, we are right; if man is man, we are right. We may safely defy the world to show wherein we have demanded any thing unreasonable for the slave, unjust or to the master. What we protest against is conduct so tremendously wrong, so awfully impious, that no language can exaggerate it—the reducing of a rational, accountable, immortal being to the condition of a beast. We deny that man can be rightfully the property of man. It is the plainest of all propositions, and needs no proof. The people that reject this are filled with a tyrannical spirit; the law that contravenes this is iniquitous, and to be disobeyed at all hazards; the government that repudiates this is essentially despotic, and forfeits all claim to respect, all right to exist. Injustice, cruelty, oppression, these are the works of the devil, not to be tolerated, but destroyed. Whoever undertakes to enforce them, whether called President, Judge, or Commissioner, ranks himself among the enemies of mankind; and must take his place in history by the side of such monsters as Caligula, Nero and Domitian. A compact made at the expense of the rights and liberties of any portion of the people is 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell'; and that covenant—so runs the promise of God—shall be annulled, and that agreement shall not stand, when judgment is laid to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; for the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place.—'Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter in. Trust ye in the Lord forever; for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength. For he bringth down them that dwell on high; the lofty city, he layeth it low; he layeth it low, even to the ground; he bringeth it even to the dust. The foot shall tread it down, even the foot of the poor, and the steps of the needy.'

I have just been cursorily reading a work, published in London in 1792, entitled, 'Thoughts and Inquiry on the Principles and Tenure of the Revealed and Supreme Law,' with reference to African Slavery, 'being humbly submitted to the British Legislature, and to the public in general,' by P. W. HALL. As I have never seen a copy of it before, and as it contains many things (somewhat quaintly expressed) very pertinent to our land and times, I am tempted to occupy the remainder of my sheet with a few quotations:—

'Among the most abandoned and villanous pursuits of men, that of modern slavery has claimed the pre-eminence as most abominable. And it has appeared throughout all its long continued depression of men by men, as not only contrary to every mark of Christian virtue, but as a most horrible disgrace to human nature; and which, to the universal shame of civilized and enlightened nations, is very debasing to them who have imbrued their hands in the blood of iniquity, oppression, cruelty, and murders, by shamefully countenancing and suffering lawless ruffians, robbers, and depredators, to go out from them to various places of the earth, to rob and extirpate the inhabitants; and, for the purpose of cursed avarice, to set up a traffic in men, as if they were beasts, to capture, murder, and enslave the people of a dark complexion, and with infernal intrepidity, to carry them away with hostile force from the coast of Africa to all their colonies, which they have founded in oppression, injustice, murder and blood.

That accursed avarice and brutish wickedness has led the tyrannical oppressors, in the insolence of their infidelity and arrogance, *to form laws of iniquity for establishing combinations of villany*; and the enchantments of its venality have so prevailed over the nations, that a deprivation of every principle of justice, honesty and humanity, has so debased the understandings of men, that they have *formed systems of government, civil policy*, and laws of commerce, diametrically opposite, and contrary to the express laws of revealed wisdom, and every sacred right of man. * * * * *

The refinery of our civilization has extended *protection and support to a combination of man-stealers and slaveholders*, contrary to all law, reason and justice; and the efficient execution of THE JUST LAW has no authority over them, *because those who ought to be the judges and administrators of the law, are the depredators and extortioners*, AND PARTNERS IN THE MATTER; and the only true law, either in its severity, or wise and merciful mitigations, is not regarded. How long shall it be, O Lord God of Hosts! that the people and nations will rebel against thee, and forsake thy law?

What a covetous, wicked and iniquitons generation do we yet live in! *When thieves and oppressors can rob others and bring us gain, for our own profit*, WE LET THEM GO; but when they rob *ourselves* of some money or other trifles of temporary use, we hang them according to the equilibrium law of our land! * * * * *

That audacious, tyrannical and accursed avarice which has set up its dominion over men as property, *has extended into the very concerns of the British* [*American*] *Senate*, contrary to the laws of justice and reason, bringing them into considerations and CONCESSIONS, *as if robbers, thieves, and depredators had a right to the profits of their perfidy!*

'O ye inhabitants of the British [American] nation, who have bewitched you! Have ye not followed after the idols of your avarice, and have adhered to the *arrogance of your legislative assemblies, in setting up laws and statutes*, from time to time, *as claiming an arbitrary authority to themselves*, in reversing the laws of justice and disregarding the light of His truth and the words of His command, who only could make ye wise? And as a foolish people and a rebellious nation, have you not adhered to barbarities and *laws of murder*, which even heathen nations would blush to execute? I have no reason to accuse you falsely; your own hypocrisy and arrogance will show the matter. Ye have put away that authority from you, in the science of your law, which, in other respects, ye generally profess to believe. But ye may be vain, and as long arrogant as ye will, it will not profit you in the end; and the truth, while it gives you light, will bear its own testimony against you. * * * * *

'The horrible combination of that man-degrading traffic has appeared as a monster rolled in blood, as a horrible twisting serpent seeking the vitals of its prey, and as gorging itself with the slaver of its own wickedness; and it has been suffered to go abroad, with all the power and force of villany and violence, devouring and oppressing men, and has come back with the turpitude of its cruelty and voluptuousness, in all its channels and courses, to stifle and benumb the virtues, to tarnish and corrupt the morals, and to spoil the natural generosity and urbanity of the people of this country; and, like a corroding menstruum, it has speckled the inhabitants with brutish barbarity, fretting to the bone, and with tyranny, cruelty, treachery, and covetousness, in all their occupations, in their boats, in their ships, in their houses, in their lands, and in all their situations, callings and offices of life. For a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump; and when tyranny, injustice, and oppression have any root and power in government, they do not sleep and be still, but go on in all the villanies of violence where they can find occasion, and have power to exercise its depredation. *In proportion as any government admits tyranny, injustice and oppression, the people under its jurisdiction will be tyrannical, treacherous, covetous and unjust.* And when such barbarity as the abandoned traffic of slavery is any where tolerated, and suffered with impunity, and without hindrance by the government of any nation, and where almost nothing else in comparison could be reckoned as crimes among men, may not every villain exult in his wickedness, and triumph in the guilt of his covetousness?'

These extracts, my dear friend, strike me as singularly applicable to the present crisis in our guil-

ty land. They occupy so large a portion of my sheet as to exclude some other topics upon which I intended to expatiate—especially in reference to that most heart-rending and atrocious enactment, the Fugitive Slave Bill, to denounce and disregard which is the imperative duty of every one who fears God and regards man. If to put it beneath my feet, and to hold up those who are for executing it to the execration of the world, as the most perfidious, inhuman and lawless of men, be treason, then I glory in being a traitor, and am ready for the dungeon or halter at any moment. All carnal weapons I have long since renounced, but only to put on 'the whole armor of God,' that I may 'be able to withstand in the evil day; and having done all, TO STAND.'

'Glory to those who die in this great cause!
Courts, judges, can inflict no brand of shame,
Or shape of death, to shroud them from applause!
No, manglers of the martyr's earthly frame,
Your hangmen fingers cannot touch his fame!
Still in our guilty land there shall be some
True hearts, the shrine of Freedom's vestal flame:
Long trains of ill may pass, unheeded—dumb—
But Vengeance is behind, and Justice is to come!'

Yours, for universal liberty,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

J. MILLER MCKIM.

LETTER FROM THEODORE PARKER.

BOSTON, October 7th, 1851.

DEAR FRIEND,—Your letter has just reached me. It is too late, therefore, to obey its call, even if it had been possible for me to do so. I have an engagement to assist at the dedication of a school-house in my native town, on Friday, and could not be with you.

It is now a very trying time with us all. It has long been plain, that the two Ideas of America—the Idea of Freedom and the Idea of Bondage—were entirely incompatible; all attempts to unite them must fail. Peace measures, which seek a compromise between the two, will always turn out measures of war. One of the two must be eradicated. The question is not merely, 'Shall there be slavery in one part of the nation?' but if it is, then the question is, 'Shall there be freedom in the other part?' It is not possible. The South cannot keep slavery to itself; the North cannot keep freedom to itself. It will pass over the borders. The events of the last two years have shown to all, with half an eye, what was plain enough before to a clear-sighted man, that slavery must be uprooted from the South, before our freedom at the North is secure.

A great crisis has now come. The Federal Government has openly and publicly declared itself in favor of the Idea of Bondage, and hostile to the Idea of Freedom. The President is for slavery; the Cabinet is for slavery; the Whig party is for slavery; the Democrats are for slavery; the leading merchants, with few, a very few exceptions, are in favor of slavery; the leading newspapers, political and commercial, are in favor of slavery; the leading clergymen, as a general thing, have been true to the instinct of their class; have sided with money, sided with power, and with the oppressor against the oppressed. I think there are not ten prominent politicians in the United States that dare lift up their voice for freedom; I don't know of five prominent clergymen who do so. In Boston, whoso is most traitorous is honored most. The kidnapper walks unrebuked in our streets; his minister defends the business of stealing men, does it publicly, in the pulpit of Jesus, and in the name of God. One of the richest men in the city is said, on good authority, to be the owner of more than a hundred human beings. I think he would be more honored and respected by his associates, if the fact were known. If he should set them all free, he would be honored less than if he should sell them to-morrow. The great crime of Dr. Palfrey is, that he set free and watched over the fellow-men whom his father held in bondage. The sin of Horace Mann is only this, that he loves freedom and hates slavery. The offence of Charles Sumner is, only that he believes the first principles of the Constitution of Massachusetts, and of the Declaration of Independence. Even in Massachusetts, the seed-field of the Puritans, we have but a few men who dare defend the great principles of Eternal Justice. An attempt has been made to convince the people that there is no law above the declarations of Congress; an attempt to establish Atheism as the first principle of government.

Well, my friend, these are hard times; times of corruption, evil times. 'He that serveth the Lord becometh a prey.' Yet I think they are glorious times, also. I am glad that the crisis has come; it will be over all the sooner. The two Ideas, the false and the true, are now in open battle; every election is affected by this anti-slavery movement; we cannot ignore the question; it is fairly before the people; they see only a little of its extent; the whole will appear in due time. I have no fear for the result. Pennsylvania may recede from the right; even Massachusetts may recede; it will be only for a day; they will both come back to the True and the Right, and give it their hearty approval, their hearty love. God will give it triumph.

I am glad that some black men have been found at last, who dared to resist violence with powder and ball. They are driven back to the elementary instincts of human nature. The law is against them; the Constitution is against them; public opinion is against them; and the kidnapper arms to take their bodies. Men who reverence our fathers for throwing British Tea into Boston Harbor, and shooting to death the British soldiers at Lexington and Bunker Hill, cannot fail to do honor to negroes who repel violence by violence, and shoot the kidnappers. Perhaps you will hang them for treason. I suppose all that the money, all that the talent, all that the corruption of the American Government can do to secure the condemnation of those men, will be done. I shall not be surprised if some of them are hung, amid the huzzas of Democrats and Whigs, and with the blessings of the clergy on the judicial crime. But of old time, the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church, and the crow who made his meal on the gibbet, was the carrier pigeon who bore glad tidings of great joy to those who waited for the consolation which Liberty was appointed to bring. I say, I rejoice that a negro has shot a kidnapper. Black men may now hold up their heads before these haughty Caucasians, and say, 'You see that we also can fight. The power to kill is not a monopoly of the slave-hunter!' But I deplore violence; let us do without it while we can, for ever if we can. I am no non-resistant; yet I am glad the leading anti-slavery men are so—that, great as is the right of Liberty, they would not shed a drop of blood to achieve it for all mankind; for though I think their doctrines extreme, they are yet nearer right, I think, than the common notions. Let us have firmness without fight, as long as possible.

I am sorry my friend Garrison cannot go to your Convention. I wish it was possible for me to be there, and say one word in behalf of the Everlasting Right. As it is, I can only give you my hearty good will and earnest desire that your Convention may neither forget its valor nor its discretion—neither its Justice nor its Love.

Truly yours, THEODORE PARKER.

LETTER FROM HENRY GREW.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 6, 1851.

TO THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY:

RESPECTED FRIENDS,—I am again providentially prevented from meeting with you, to unite in the advocacy of the good cause of Righteousness, of Truth, of Love, and of outraged Humanity.

'Clouds and darkness' appear indeed at present around the throne of the Eternal. Yet that throne is established in immutable righteousness. The powers of darkness have been permitted to triumph for a season, and to 'frame mischief by a law.' 'The rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed, saying, let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure.' The judgments of the Almighty will as surely come upon this unrighteous, hypocritical, and inhuman nation, as against Babylon and Jerusalem.

O may you be favored with the spirit of holy love, and with divine wisdom to disrobe the monster of inhumanity of those specious coverings with which her selfish votaries seek to hide her true horrible deformity. Be not discouraged by present obstacles. They are for the trial of our love of the right and the true. The conflict must precede the victory. The conflict may be severe, it may be protracted, but the victory of Righteousness is sure, glorious and eternal, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

Yours for the slave, HENRY GREW.

☞ The following is in the raciest and most effective vein of its intrepid and able author. We wish the Hungarian patriot could peruse and analyze it before his expected arrival in this country; for, should he come here, his manhood and his principles will be put to a severer test by the Slave Power than they were in Hungary, under the despotism of Austria.

From the N. Y. Independent.

LIBERAL MEDITATIONS—KOSSUTH AND COTTON.

BY HENRY WARD BEECHER.

The topics of excitement now-a-days follow each other with such rapidity, that we seem to live in a dream, in which the most astonishing conjunctions and the strangest objects no longer surprise. Our palate is becoming used to high flavors. Nothing less than expeditions, revolutions, world alliances, monster exhibitions, have any power to arrest attention. The unparalleled history of the settlement of California, the sudden creation of a fleet of sea-steamers, surpassing in magnitude the men-of-war to which we used to look up as the very mountains of the deep, the disastrous invasion of Cuba, the extra legal tribunals of San Francisco, by which the mob take the place and functions of organized Justice, while the courts and government, caught in the popular mesh, hang like skeleton flies in a spider's web, swinging in the wind; the escape and glorious advent of that most renowned of modern men—Louis Kossuth; these and such like events occur almost daily. Once it was a thing to be spoken of, if one had doubled the Horn or the Cape; but now it is becoming as common as to go from Broadway into Wall-street. The ship that insures to-day, bound for Canton, looks into San Francisco, cuts across the Pacific, stows its Oolong and Imperial, pierces the homeward deep with its blade-prow, and is back again, almost before we have done talking about her sailing. The globe used to have a respectable circumference, in the days of Dutch-built ships. Long voyages used to be talked about. We might now almost as well talk of long voyages in a wash-tub.—Very soon there will be no place where a villain can run to, unless it be behind the icebergs of the Polar Sea. Deserts are steadily encroached upon, peered into a little and a little further every year. And Interior Africa will soon be familiar whistling-ground to Yankee traders, who will whittle from the Cape of Good Hope straight through to the Nile or to Algiers! After that, there will be no place left in the world where a man can lose himself—unless he join some Union Safety Committee. A man can scarcely be found there.

The topics of the morning, over a dish of coffee, are no longer the weather, the crops, the upsetting of a coach, or a sneaking burglary or two. We now eagerly count up how many *scores* were smashed up in the last railroad collision, and how many blown up in the last capitally executed steamboat explosion. It is a matter of infinite pleasure to us always to learn, on such occasions, that 'no one was to blame, and that the 'utmost care was taken' by the engineers and conductors. For, if one has acquaintances in the calamity, it is a gratification to know that their disaster was a *fate*, and not a careless accident; and that they died honorably by a law of nature, not by the neglect of a stupid conductor, or a drunken captain.

Then, too, we sup upon no wishy-washy highway robberies; we affect hearty murders, and capital hangings,—especially if the rope breaks. By the way, ought not the government to appoint a commission on Hemp? We remember that Daniel Webster very significantly assured the gentlemen of the Senate, we think it was, that the operation of pulling hemp, with nothing to stand on, was very inconvenient. But lately, we observe that the cords which Government selects are so economically manufactured, that men find something to stand on quite unexpectedly, and have to be twice hung before they are once killed. This is not an impertinent intermeddling on our part. We claim to have a personal interest in this matter of hanging. Daniel Webster has most emphatically declared that resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law is treason. Judge Kane of Pennsylvania has charged the jury that the extemporaneous resistance of fugitives and their compeers to civil process was treason. President Fillmore has sent Marshals with patriotic celerity to Syracuse, to arraign for treason all who aided and abetted the rendering of a man to his liberty.

Now it is quite plain that *treason* is to be plentiful. The prospects of harvest were never better.—We have felt the symptoms of ripeness ourselves. And as treason is a capital offence, and brings a man to hanging, it is plain that the Government has work on hand for a while to come. Every candidate for such honors, therefore, has a right, we think, to insist upon it that, if the Government will hang one man for helping another to his liberty, they shall at least provide good hemp. It is against the law to try a man twice for the same offence. But our hangmen sometimes *try* a fellow twice or three times before they succeed. We have prejudices against being hung with rotten cord. This Southern hemp is not strong enough to hold the Union together, if it is not strong enough to hold the weight of one traitor. Why not drop hemp entirely, (as it drops its victims,) and try cotton? Cotton politics and cotton theology have caught the wind as well as cotton sails. Why not cotton cordage? If cotton cordage is half as good for hanging traitors as cotton theology and cotton patriotism are for making them, hemp ought to be suspended. Won't the Union Committee *try it?* Some of them, who have been the most intimate with cotton, *have* suspended; but ought they not to hang in suspense? If any of them have a mind to try it, we will intercede for the other conveniences requisite, so that they shall be at no expense. But every consideration requires that they should use *cotton*. Judas tried hemp, and the rope broke. We trust that they will so far deviate from his interesting experiment of selling his master at a bargain, as *not* to throw away the thirty pieces of silver, and not to try hemp. Give *us* the money for the relief of fugitive slaves, and take good *cotton* for halters! and, if they love their country, *do* let them take cotton that won't *break!*

As for ourselves, while we regard robbery and ordinary murder as in bad taste, we begin to have a *penchant* for treason. *That* is getting to be a gentlemanly affair. There, for example, are the Irish traitors—noble fellows, guilty of not loving oppression! There are our ancestral traitors—Adams, Warren, Jay, Washington, and others, whom the British Government, at one time, was as intent upon hanging, as our friends at Washington now are upon hanging Christiana and Syracuse traitors. Then Poland has had multitudes of traitors, and the Czar of Russia has tucked them away by hundreds under the snow-wreaths of Siberia! We recollect some few historic names of eminent traitors in England, in the days of the struggle of men for liberty. Italy has her traitors, too, Achilli, Mazzini and others. And Austria—why, she has races and nations of traitors! She exports them. All England is agog just now at the arrival of the world's most illustrious modern traitor, Louis Kossuth! And he goes from his den at Kutahyia in a steam-frigate of this traitor-hating government of the United States! What—importing traitors! Will it not interfere with home manufacture? Our enterprise in this branch of domestic industry is recent, and in a very precarious state. Is it right to glut our market with superior traitors from abroad? and especially ought the Government to have a hand in this branch of commerce?

We suppose great celebrations are at hand for this illustrious Hungarian traitor. *We* have no scruples in joining any procession. Indeed, we would more gratefully prize the privilege of adding something to the joy, or soothing the nobly borne and heroic griefs of Louis Kossuth, than of any single man of modern days! He is a traitor, quite to our conception of patriotism. A hatred of oppression in every form, a love of liberty which is as strong as life itself, and a willingness to suffer, to labor and endure to the uttermost, and even to die for the sake of achieving the one for our country, and destroying the other, is just our idea of patriotism.

But we know that we are singular. It is but frank to state that many of our most venerated clergymen, who were ordained of God to teach men to ridicule God's law when it comes in conflict with men's laws—differ from us. Of course, they will refuse to take part in any ovation of Kossuth.

What an absurdity would it be for those revered men who act as chaplains, on a Saturday night, to a Union Committee Safety dinner given to Senator Foote (more familiarly known whilom as Hangman Foote—not so much because he deserved the halter, for his Senatorial pugilism, as from the fact of his declaring, in his place, in the presence of the full Senate of these United States, that he would help to hang another U. S. Senator, Mr. Hale, upon the first tree, if he had him in Mississippi—for the crime of free speech in behalf of liberty!) Senator Foote being the hero, the celebration of the Union saved by the Fugitive Slave Law being the occasion, several of our most aged and eloquent clergy graced the table with their presence, and amid the artillery of champagne, they congratulated their country upon such salvation as Union Committees worked out!

Now, let us suppose that a Committee of clergymen should be deputed to wait upon the illustrious exile (whose traitorous effigy has just been haltered and hung at home!) Of course, we should select those who have most pointedly inveighed against the doctrine of the Higher Law. Dr. Dewey, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Spencer, Dr. Spring, Dr. Lord—could a better committee be desired?

During the quarantine of two days, which our Government has ordered at Staten Island, we may imagine that it is the purpose of our excellent rulers to cleanse away all inward taint of treason, as well as outward contamination of plague, from the illustrious exile. We will imagine that the days are to be divided between the Church and the State. Our clerical committee would without doubt cast a shade of awe over the abashed hero, as they marched into the cabin of the steam frigate MISSISSIPPI—(the State of repudiation and Senator Foote!)—each one bearing a presentation copy of his sermon or speech on the Fugitive Slave Law. The oldest clergyman now approaches Kossuth, and welcomes him to this land of liberty and equality. Its blessings are described; the statistics of our prosperity are briefly given. 'All these things,' says the excellent spokesman, 'we owe under God to our liberty. No people can thrive while ground by oppression.' This happy laudation of liberty being done, the gentlemen proceed to question his notions of law and government, patriotism and treason.

'Does your Excellency believe that Slavery is a sin *per se?* Do you not regard it as a patriarchal institution tolerated by Jehovah, not abrogated by Christ, and if properly used, a beneficent arrangement for the blacks?'

M. Kossuth (being perhaps more used lately to the sword than to theology) may be supposed to be a little confused, and rather evades so unsavory a catechism.

But our good divines are too expert in examining candidates in theology in all the nice distinctions into which the Truth has been split up, to be easily dodged. And so Dr. S. says plainly, 'Would you, sir, if by uttering the prayer for it, you could release every slave in America, to-morrow, dare to utter such a prayer?'

'That I should very quickly,' responds the illustrious catechumen, a little off his guard by the directness of the question. The Divines nudge each other. There is business on hand.

'Do you believe that a slave has a right to run away from his master?'

'Do you mean to inquire by this question, gentlemen, whether I have done right in running away from the service of the Emperor of Austria?'

'No, sir, oh no. You are a white man. Perhaps we ought to put the question a little more explicitly. Do you believe a black man held to slavery in South Carolina, has any right to run away?'

The English tongue being yet a little new, Mr. Kossuth does not exactly know what *South Carolina* is, (an ignorance, perhaps, of which her own citizens somewhat partake,) and supposing that it is the name of some prison or government galley, answers, that 'if a man is imprisoned for crime, he thinks he ought to work his sentence out, whether he is white or black.'

'Do you think when a man is flying for his liberty, that any one has a right to help him off?'

'Oh certainly I do. I quite agree with your Government, gentlemen, who have kindly provided me this noble steamer wherewith to escape the Emperor of Austria.'

'But do you think, if a fugitive is arrested, that it is right for men to conspire together for his release, against the express laws of his native land?'

'Ah, gentlemen, you are quite familiar with my case. I perceive that you allude to my extradition from Kutahyia, against the edict of the Emperor of Austria! I quite agree with you, gentlemen, that the Turks did a noble thing.'

By this time, the venerated doctors whisper a moment in consultation, and conclude to leave a copy each of their sermons and addresses in favor of obeying the Fugitive Slave law, and to turn down leaves upon the most salutary passages; such as this in Dr. Lord's sermon ('Union Safety Committee' edition, p. 6.) 'To plead a Higher law to justify disobedience to a human law, the subject-matter of which is within the cognizance of the State, is to reject the authority of God himself, who has committed to Governments the power and authority which they exercise in civil affairs.' As a slave is by our laws defined to be a *chattel*, to be completely in the power of his master; as our laws give to the master the right to treat his female slaves as he will; to separate families, sell the children in one direction and the parents in the other; as our civil laws protect the master in the right of sending his own blood to market mingled with his slaves,—it is not strange that Kossuth, on reading the passage, quite failed to see its practical drift, and thought that it was a hint to him to be an obedient citizen when he should have settled down.

Dr. Spencer called his attention by a dog's-eared leaf to the doctrine (on page 7,) 'A man has no right to fling away his life for a mere sentiment, and leave his wife a widow, or his gray-haired parents without a son to solace them.' This is a part of the statement, that citizens have no right to resist Government until there is a good prospect of success. Upon this passage Kossuth ponders; and as he walks up and down his now deserted cabin, he soliloquizes: 'As if the greatest achievements of the world were not in their inception gloomy and cheerless to all usual methods of estimation. It is the heart determined to die—it is that courage which cries out, "Give me liberty or give me death"; it is that nobleness of nature, that scorns to accept life as a burden of disgrace, and hastens to lay it down as a sacrifice to liberty; in short, it is that sublime and heroic determination of great souls to vindicate man's manhood, living or dying, that ever gives success! Every Hungarian that has fallen is a tongue of liberty in the world. Between the Russian Bear and the Austrian Snake, there was but little hope of victory for their native land. But though Hungary has lost her best sons, the world has gained them. They stand up above all division lines of States, and inspire men every where with hatred to oppression, and a determination to be free. No, it is the mark of a coward to be afraid to strike until he is sure of victory—until he has calculated the profit and loss, and has a safe commercial prospect of gaining! It is the *very* mark, in all ages, of a MAN, that he is willing to die for a "SENTIMENT"!'

On their way back to the city, our clerical examiners held a grave consultation. 'Well, I am disappointed, for one. Mr. Kossuth is not so intelligent a man as I supposed. He is somewhat inclined to fanaticism.' 'It is not to be expected that with his limited knowledge of republican government, he should have discriminating views of the doctrine of liberty. We must remember that he is but a Magyar, and a recent proselyte to liberty—"a new broom sweeps clean."' 'Yes, *this* broom sweeps clean enough! I regard his views to be nothing short of flat higher law nonsense!' 'Gentlemen, let us not be too desponding. We may hope that a little reflection will convince Mr. Kossuth, that circumstances alter cases;—a little dining out, a free intercourse with our public functionaries, a better knowledge of the state of things here, and on which side his bread is buttered; one or two visits from distinguished statesmen, these, with the documents we have left, will probably soon change him from a blind Magyar patriot, into an American patriot:—two very different species, you know. Stranger changes than that have taken place. How long did it take to change you, Dr. ——? How long did it take you, brother ——, to come round? Why, half the men of the nation, that now stand right on the Slavery question, a year or two ago believed in the doctrines of human liberty to the full extent. That sentence in the Declaration of Independence, 'that all men are born free,' &c., has done more mischief than the whole instrument ever did good! Well, brethren, let us remember Kossuth in our prayers!'—and, upon this, they separated.

If this visit to the illustrous traitor, whose higher law doctrines had brought revolution, bloodshed and defeat to Hungary, and immortal glory to himself and all his confederates, was awkward to our lower law divines, it was yet more ticklish to our excellent Government folks! We may suppose several cabinet councils were held. The President may be supposed to have submitted the question thus: 'Gentlemen: It is not to be disguised that we are called to act in circumstances of peculiar delicacy. We must sympathize with the doctrines of liberty in such a way as not to disturb the rights of Slavery. Mr. Kossuth has evidently headed a revolutionary movement, and has claimed the right to do so on the ground of mere natural rights, and upon sentiments of duty. While we acquiesce in these general views, it must be delicately handled, or we shall seem to stand on *higher law* doctrine; and we ought to have as little to do with God as possible. I regard it, too, as a little awkward, that M. Kossuth has just been hung in effigy at Pesth for a traitor. We are just now experimenting on so many traitors, that it may lead to unsavory comparisons. I have therefore assembled you, gentlemen, to lay before you the question, 'How shall we receive Kossuth without recognizing the great principle on which he stands; for it is plain that if we accept *his* principles, we cannot hold on to our own!'

Thereupon, an animated discussion was held. One gentleman thought it would be policy to say so much of Kossuth that nobody would think of *them*. The Secretary of the Navy was of opinion, that statesmen and their principles were like ships and their armament; there must be a set for each side, besides a few revolving guns set in the middle, and turning with equal facility in every direction.

The Secretary of the Army thought it a plain case. 'A statesman's *real* principles are mere heavy artillery, stocked in forts, and never to be used unless the enemy attacked the fort. But then there was another set of principles to be used in the field—light horse, skirmishers, and flying artillery. Now, gentlemen, I take it that Conscience and Right, and that sort of armament, are heavy guns not to be used twice in a century. But obedience to law, and patriotism, and the duty of all citizens to keep the compromises, these are light artillery dashing about here and there, wheeling, twisting, firing or retreating, just as the exigency of the field requires.'

The Secretary of the Treasury 'was of opinion that the case was difficult only in theory. In *practice*, he apprehended the thing might be operated successfully. You see, gentlemen, just now, that conscience, and old-fashioned patriotism, and higher law, are non-interest paying stocks, and our fancy doctrines rule the market. A few outsiders have invested largely in the old securities; but I think we have cornered them. There never was a nimbler market for fancies than now. Just combine, give the old stocks another push down, rush the fancies a notch or two up, and then, just before the reaction comes, why, we'll sell out, and make a clean profit on the speculation.'

The Secretary of State, who had looked remarkably heavy at the announcement of the business, gradually cheered up as these counselors proceeded, and by the time that the dozen bottles had been uncorked, he was ready. 'Gentlemen, union is indispensable in such a case as this. If I have been able to render some slight service to my country in former days, I shall not be found wanting in such a crisis. This country must be saved. We must therefore praise Kossuth, and praise America, and praise liberty, and say as little about *principle* as possible. Gentlemen, I have thoroughly explored this whole question. It is quite possible for us to take both sides, and to use both sides. We must believe in liberty. We must believe in government too. Men have rights; but so have masters. Men must obey their consciences; but they must obey the laws too. If there is any disagreement between these things, it is not for us to go into such abstractions. It is mere metaphysics. Gentlemen, no man is complete without many sides—*aner murionous*—myriad-minded men. I have many sides, you have many sides; all public men have many sides. It is a wise Providence that has ordered it. Let us receive Kossuth on the front side. Gentlemen, let liberty, for the occasion, take—the other side.'

As the schedule of arrangements has not been published, it would be premature to say whether the deeds and speeches on the occasion of Kossuth's reception are to conform to their councils.

THINK OF IT. The Tyrant Fillmore is now prostituting the whole energies of this government TO HANG ELIJAH LEWIS AND THIRTY-SEVEN OTHER AMERICAN CITIZENS for the honor and perpetuity of slave catching! What a declaration of infamy for this nation is the fact, that the wretch hopes by this wholesale act of murder to purchase a second elevation to the presidency! Gen. Taylor butchered thousands of innocent Mexicans, and was crowned with power as his reward. Millard Fillmore thinks he knows this nation, that the blood of these thirty-seven American citizens will appease the South, save the Union, and perpetuate his presidency. And he stands ready to butcher them by the creatures of his judicial power.—*Ohio Bugle.*

THE DIFFERENCE. William M. Padgett, the fellow who received the confidence of the colored people of Christiana, and then betrayed them to the man thieves, goes unpunished and unrebuked.

Samuel Williams, who carries a manly heart, though he wears a sable brow, is subject to a *trial for his life* because he imparted warning to the intended victims of the same kidnappers. It is treason, to be punished with death, to tell a man he is in danger of being kidnapped. This is a free country. Where else can a man be so freely threatened with a halter?—*Ibid.*

THE GREAT EUROPEAN FUGITIVE SLAVE. The despots of Europe act in regard to Kossuth, the renowned European slave, as the American despots act, in regard to our American Fugitive Slaves. Because the Sublime Porte released Kossuth, the Government of Austria is assembling troops to punish the Porte, under pretence that he persecuted the Christians of Austria. And the French Government, the republican despot of that country, denied Kossuth a passage through France.

So in the United States, our despotic Government declares war against the States that rescue fugitive slaves, and threaten death to an American Kossuth who shall attempt a passage through any slave State.

Our Kossuths are honored in Europe, and persecuted at home. European Kossuths are honored in America, and persecuted at home. Kossuth, driven from Europe, comes to America. Our Kossuths, driven from America, are fleeing to Europe. Each of these classes of persecuted humanity carry those principles and passions bring along with them the nations of both continents into a homogeneous mass, and the human race begins to feel it is a brotherhood.—*Syracuse League.*

CRUEL EXPULSION. Two colored citizens, Bulah and Johnson, who have been residents of Jordan, the former about three years, parted with the sympathising citizens thereof Tuesday morning for the King's Dominion. Bulah is an eminent Christian minister. There were no more respected people in our village. They went under the counsel of Judge Conklin, '*to move to some other country, if they were not safe in their own.*' This is the third time that Bulah has purchased a house and lot, and been chased from it by slave catchers.

On Monday evening, the citizens of Jordon met at the Methodist Church to express their indignation at the wrong and outrage inflicted on these men. I have never seen greater excitement and determination. The meeting advised Mr. Bulah to stay, and publicly resolved that they would arm him and arm themselves, and stand by him at all hazards, and to the last extremity.

Mr. Bulah has an interesting family, (his wife a member of the Methodist Church,) and they were all in affliction. He said that he felt so insecure that he could not sleep nights, and could not endure his insecurity. He therefore determined to leave the pleasant home he had just paid the last purchase money for, and took his passage to Canada. We made up a pretty large purse to help him along. I really believe that our citizens would shoot a Marshal, Attorney, or President, as soon as they would a dog, if they put their guilty hands on either of these men. And if that is treason, let it be treason.

THOMAS L. CARSON.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, OCT. 31, 1851.

G. THOMPSON, R. D. WEBB, F. DOUGLASS, AND THE LIBERTY PARTY.

The article on our first page, from the pen of FREDERICK DOUGLASS, entitled '*R. D. Webb, George Thompson, and the Liberty Party,*' is one we have copied with great reluctance, and read with unfeigned regret. Since our friend DOUGLASS avowed his lack of unity with the American Anti-Slavery Society, in regard to political action under the present Constitution of the United States, he has seemed to us to be extremely sensitive to criticism, less courteous in manner, less serene in spirit. It may not appear so to others, and perhaps we are mistaken. Far be it from us to say or do aught that shall causelessly lead to any personal provocation. Though, during the last six months, we have seen in 'Frederick Douglass's Paper,' (we wish the paper had a title,) various sentiments and doctrines which we have regarded as decidedly objectionable, we have carefully abstained from animadverting upon them, in order to avoid even the appearance of controversy with one in whose welfare and progress we have for many years taken so deep an interest, and whose change of position indicates, thus far, we think, as marked a change in the tone and temper of his mind. But we feel constrained, however reluctantly, in fairness to copy and in frankness to comment upon his strictures relating to our transatlantic coadjutors, GEORGE THOMPSON and RICHARD D. WEBB.

Considering the intimate friendship which has subsisted between himself and those estimable men, his article is offensively sarcastic and contemptuous; and the insinuations contained in it are such as, in a less excited state of mind, we are confident he will sincerely regret. 'What private griefs these gentlemen have, alas! we know not,' is a reflection not called for by any thing in the character or conduct, sayings or writings of those gentlemen, whose views of the philosophy and mode of carrying on the anti-slavery conflict in this country have not experienced any change. To say that 'they have not only been tempted, but have yielded to the temptation to serve a party, at the expense of the cause of the slave,' is to impeach their integrity, while exhibiting surprise and indignation at what is pronounced an unmerited censure on their part. The imputation on the candor of R. D. Webb, that 'the *sight* of Gerrit Smith's letter was doubtless enough for him,' may answer for a fling, but is wholly undeserved; for, next to George Thompson, we doubt whether there is one, on the other side of the Atlantic, who reads more attentively, examines more candidly, or decides more cautiously, touching every phase of the struggle in the United States for the abolition of slavery, than Richard D. Webb. For Gerrit Smith, we are sure, Mr. Webb cherishes a high regard as a fearless reformer and a noble philanthropist; and he would not willingly allow any thing from the lips or pen of Mr. S., especially touching the duties of abolitionists, to escape his perusal. 'We are glad,' says Mr. Douglass, 'that Mr. Webb does not pretend to have *read* Gerrit Smith's letter; he only speaks of having *seen* it.' Mr. Webb resorts to no quibbling, and we are confident never dreamed that such a construction would be put upon the word 'seen,' especially by an old friend, as to imply unfairness of treatment and cowardice of mind towards Mr. Smith or the Liberty Party.

There are several flings at Mr. Thompson, in the article we are reviewing, which will greatly delight the enemies of the anti-slavery cause. (1.) Of the Liberty Party, Mr. Douglass says—'When here, Mr. Thompson neither despised their sympathy nor their money.' When here, Mr. Thompson sought for himself neither 'sympathy' nor 'money,' from any quarter, though profoundly grateful for any manifestation of kindness shown to him as a man, 'who would not flatter Neptune for his trident, nor Jove for his power to thunder.' With his life in constant peril, he gave himself with Christian heroism to the cause of free speech and the millions who are perishing in their chains, asking for no remuneration, and keeping nothing in the back-ground. Every where, he avowed his adhesion to the American Anti-Slavery Society; his confidence in the soundness of its principles and the vitality of its position; his distrust of every other plan or mode of operation for the abolition of slavery. He was eminently discriminating as to the political parties, and ever disposed to bestow credit where it could fairly be given; but he clearly saw, and constantly declared, that to none of them could safely be entrusted the management of the anti-slavery enterprise. Whatever pecuniary assistance he received, therefore, was given voluntarily, and with a full knowledge of his actual sentiments and position. If any friends of the Liberty Party were led to contribute to his necessities, in the hope or expectation that he could be bribed into silence respecting the fallacy or the impotency of its position, (a supposition we will not cherish for a moment,) they greatly mistook the man. (2.)

'Mr. Thompson is the last person in the world, who should "expose, in strong terms, the absurdity and duplicity of the Liberty Party."' What does this imply, but that Mr. Thompson's career has been so signally marked by absurdity and duplicity, that he should be "the *last* man in the world" to talk of the absurdity and duplicity of others? Is this F. D.'s present estimate of G. T.?

'It does not look well in a member of the British Parliament, who has sworn to support the British Constitution, with its anomalies,' &c. Will our friend Douglass tell us when that Constitution was adopted—point to its various sections and articles—exhibit its anomalous features, &c. &c., that we may see what analogy there is between it and the American Constitution? and whether there is any ground for the imputation, that G. T., after seeking his own election to Parliament, 'now deals in the language of *self-righteous scorn* towards politics'? In swearing to support the American Constitution, G. T. believes every member of Congress agrees to sustain a pro-slavery compact; and, therefore, no abolitionist can consistently fill that office himself, or elect another to fill it. Does G. T., by becoming a member of the British House of Commons, consciously or actually compromise the principles of justice, or swear to do that which he believes is a sin against God? If so, let him be rebuked for his inconsistency.

When Mr. Thompson, in his speech at Bristol, spoke of the Liberty Party in this country, we are confident it was not in the narrow and restricted sense in which Mr. Douglass chooses to understand him.—In England, what is known of the Gerrit Smith Liberty Party? How many in this country know of its existence? Its rank and file scarcely number a baker's dozen. In a political estimate, it is absurd and ludicrous. Out of central New York, beyond the immediate personal influence of Mr. Smith, how many take an interest in its success? Beyond that particular section, when or where have meetings been held by its adherents, as a proof that they exist? Mr. Thompson took a broad survey of the field of political action; and by the term 'Liberty Party,' comprehended in his indictment, the original Liberty Party, which afterwards became transformed to Free Soilism, Barnburnerism, and now Coalition, or 'Truck and Dicker' Party. It was in this view that he 'showed that the Liberty Party has repeatedly fallen to pieces'—'that it has no principles of cohesion'—and 'that it is liable to all the temptations by which mere politicians are apt to be betrayed from the path of truth and consistency.' In all this, he was morally and philosophically correct.

It has always struck us, as something extremely cool and complacent, for the few individuals in central New York, who style themselves the Liberty Party, to assume to be the veritable Liberty Party that was organized ten years ago; and that they remain true to the platform which was then laid down as the basis of political action, when the truth is, they have established tests and multiplied objects to be obtained, as a combination, never contemplated by the old party. They give a construction to the U. S. Constitution, warranted by nothing in the history of its formation, or in the character of the American people—absurdly insisting that it is an anti-slavery, and not a pro-slavery instrument, and that it was designed to secure the freedom of every human being on the American soil, although adopted by a slaveholding, slave-breeding and slave-trading nation, which, at this hour, is united in nothing so much as in keeping three millions of the inhabitants in chattel slavery!

(1) The pro-slavery Rochester Advertiser promptly seizes upon the article, as follows:—

'*Trouble among the Conspirators.*—It will be seen by the following, from a late number of Frederick Douglass's Paper, that the conspirators are getting at loggerheads! "When rogues fall out," &c. . . . . That such a renegade and demagogue as THOMPSON should assail in a manner "exceedingly ungrateful and unmagnanimous" those who were silly enough to make lickspittles of themselves in pandering so obsequiously to this foreign slanderer of our country, is not at all surprising, *nor is it to be regretted.* They are reaping a just reward for their disgraceful toadyism, and for their treachery to their country.'

(2) An esteemed correspondent, writing from Rochester, says—'I need not tell you that we are pained and astonished at the appearance of Frederick's article on Thompson, George Thompson—for whom, last winter, before his arrival, he feared we would not entertain sufficient respect and admiration; in whose praise and favor he could not say enough. Surprised! I was indignant at the insinuation about money. Oh! what a fall was there!'

BRISTOL AND CLIFTON LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The following expression of sentiment was unanimously adopted by this society, at a meeting held on Thursday, October 2nd, 1851:—

We embrace the earliest occasion of our assembling together, after the departure of Mrs. Chapman and the Miss Westons from Bristol, to express the high gratification we have derived from forming their personal acquaintance, and our deep sense of obligation to them for the valuable information they have imparted to us respecting the history and progress of the Abolition Movement in the United States, the difficulties with which those engaged in it have to contend, the course pursued by its prominent advocates, and the principles, aims and spirit in which their sacred enterprise is conducted. We desire to convey to Mrs. Chapman and her sisters, the assurance, that the intercourse it has been our privilege to hold with them has greatly strengthened the confidence, affection and respect with which we regard themselves and their devoted fellow-laborers; that, instructed by their words and animated by their example, we trust, with the Divine blessing, to dedicate ourselves with fresh zeal to the great conflict for freedom; and we hereby renew our offering of sympathy and co-operation with the 'American Anti-Slavery Society,' in their holy work of rescuing their country from the blighting influences which Slavery now casts over all its political, social, and religious institutions.

A PROGRESSIVE COURSE OF INVENTIVE DRAWING, on the Principles of Pestalozzi, for the use of Teachers and Self-Instruction; also with a view to its adaptation to Art and Manufacture. By WM. J. WHITAKER, Principal of the New England School of Design, Boston, Mass. First Course.

The interest that is beginning to be felt in the subject of Inventive Drawing will be increased and aided by this little manual. It contains some very useful hints for the proper management of the subject in a large class; gives a variety of geometrical forms, with their definitions; and urges the importance of cultivating the inventive faculties, making the children produce a series of figures of their own invention, thus combining a correct knowledge of form with tasteful application. Mr. Whitaker enters into his profession with well-tempered enthusiasm, and a just appreciation of its scope and value. To him the New England School of Design, (which promises to be as popular as its object is beneficent,) is largely indebted for its inception and establishment; and most judiciously has he been called to act as Principal—combining, as he does, the most amiable qualities with a mastery of his subject. During his brief residence here, he has won the respect and esteem of those who know him; and though a native of the mother country, is world-wide in his appreciation of man as man.

☞ For sale at the School of Design, Warren Street Chapel. Price 15 cents.

PORTRAIT OF GEORGE THOMPSON.

The Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has just published a Portrait of this distinguished Philanthropist and Reformer, engraved in the finest manner by Illman & Sons from a Daguerreotype by Broadbent & Co., which far surpasses every attempt that has yet been made in a similar line. If it is not, in every respect, what his most intimate friends could desire, it is, nevertheless, so spirited and faithful, so admirably executed, so like in form and feature, in position and expression, as to throw into the shade every portrait of him extant. We recommend to his numerous friends, therefore, to substitute this for any other portrait of Mr. Thompson they may have in their possession.

☞ For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Price 37 1-2 cents.

THE CHRISTIAN MARTYRS: or, the Conditions of Obedience to the Civil Government, by J. G. Forman, Minister of the Second Congregational Church in Nantucket; until recently, minister of the First Church and Congregation in West Bridgewater, Mass.: to which is added, A Friendly Letter to said Church and Congregation on the Pro-Slavery influences that occasioned his removal. Crosby & Nichols. [Extracts and a notice hereafter.]

MR. SEWARD'S ARGUMENT. We are indebted to Hon. William H. Seward, U. S. Senator from New York, for a copy of a pamphlet containing his argument for the defendants in the famous Michigan Railroad Conspiracy trial. It is said to be one of the most powerful speeches ever addressed to a jury, and occupied three days in the delivery, and this phonographic report of it fills a pamphlet of [illegible] decimo pages.

☞ Our esteemed friend, DAVID P. HARMON, of Haverhill, sends us a liberal quantity of as fine Isabella and Catawba grapes as we have ever seen, among the clusters weighing upwards of a pound each, presenting a most enticing aspect—with this note: 'Will you please accept the fruit in this box, (of my own raising) as a token of my regard, and an acknowledgment of the debt of gratitude I owe you for the benefit I have received from your labors as editor of the Liberator?' We gratefully appreciate this act of kindness, and feel strengthened by this recognition of the utility of our labors.

We have not forgotten the promise we made some time ago, to visit Haverhill, and lecture on the great question of the times; but we are still unable to fulfil our pledge to come immediately, as we intended, in consequence of the severest attack of influenza that we have experienced for many years, though slowly recovering from it. Ere long, however, we hope to be able to redeem our promise.

Our thanks are also due to our worthy friend [illegible] DAVEE, of Plymouth, for a basket of [illegible] Isabella grapes, plucked from his own vines.

HOW AMERICANS ESTABLISH JUSTICE AND ATTEST THEIR GRATITUDE TO ALMIGHTY GOD. No. III.

ABOIT, Allan Co., Indiana, September 18, 1851.

To JAMES HAUGHTON, Dublin, Ireland:

DEAR JAMES,—Crime is hated and punished till it reaches a certain magnitude; then it ceases to be a crime, and receives no punishment, but, on the contrary, becomes a great social virtue, to be honored and rewarded. Thus it is in war. Kill ONE man, and you are hung as a murderer; kill ten thousand, and you are a hero, a saint, like a Washington or a Wellington; and instead of being hung, you are made a President, a king, to rule over men. Such it is here. Steal a man's hat, and you are cast out as a mean, despicable thief; steal the *man*, hat, shoes, coat and all, and the despised thief instantly becomes the *Honorable* Henry Clay, or the *Honorable* Daniel Webster, to be honored and idolized by all good Christians and citizens.

So, tell some little, mean, cowardly lie, and Americans, in Church and State, would cry out against you most lustily, as if meanness and lying were abhorrent to their nature; but tell a huge, brazen, bold lie, such as they tell who say that a nation holding three million slaves, and passing the Fugitive Law, and giving political power to men in proportion to the number of their slaves, is the 'land of the free,' 'the asylum of the oppressed,' and you are counted a sincere Christian and patriot, worthy to be a priest and a President.

Unblushingly affirm it to be a self-evident truth that God made *all* men free, and then that he made *some* slaves; boldly assert that your aim is 'to establish justice,' and then turn round and brand men with infamy, drive them from your presence, and hate and persecute them on account of their complexion; declare that yours is the home of the brave, and then rob cradles and nurseries of their helpless inmates, sell them as beasts, and scourge mothers, wives, sisters and daughters; proclaim yourself the protector of the weak and defenceless, and then despise, trample on and insult the helpless and the dumb; without a blush assert your country to be the asylum of the oppressed, and then start off, like a bloodhound, on the track of a fugitive slave; assert that you love and adore God, and then sell Him, in his likeness, with swine; do all these things, and ten thousand others like them, and then are you worthy to be received to the fellowship of Americans as a good American citizen and Christian. I doubt if *you* would be either. You were born in Ireland; none but a native-born American can ever attain to that perfection in lying and hypocrisy which is necessary to meet the exigencies of this age and nation.

But a few nights ago, I had a specimen of genuine American lying and hypocrisy, all under the form and sanctity of Quakerism. I held a meeting in a place called Mt. Etna, in a neighboring county of this State. I was commenting on the Fugitive Law and the new Constitution of Indiana. I said that those who voted for, and would help execute, the Fugitive Law, or the 13th Article of the new Constitution, were worse than common thieves, robbers, or murderers, and ought to be so held and treated. A well known, rich Quaker—BENJAMIN SATTERTHWAITE—sprang to the floor, and declared that he was inspired of God to help execute the Fugitive Law and to vote for the Exclusion Article of the Constitution, and that God directed him to return fugitive slaves, and to exclude colored people from the State; that God inspired him to say that slavery was right and abolition wrong; that because this is the asylum of the oppressed, we ought to help keep the slaves in their present condition, put them down when they attempt to rise, and return them back if they attempt to run away. He solemnly affirmed that his heart was full of Christ and of God, and of love for all men, and that it was this fact that made him stand up against abolition, and in favor of slavery.

I allude to this as a specimen of American Christianity and Democracy. That man is a member of the Friends' Society and the Democratic party; and the churches and political parties of this nation are made up of just such spirits, as a general thing. The great body of the priests and politicians, of the Christians and citizens of Indiana, voted to drive colored people and fugitive slaves from the State, and to punish as felons those who harbor or employ them. The great mass of the Christians and citizens of the Northern States go for punishing men as felons for escaping from slavery to liberty, and for attempting to rise from the condition of brutes to that of men, and all who shall dare to help them. Like the Rev. Dr. Dewey, they would consign their own wives and mothers, their own daughters and sisters, to the pollutions of slavery, to perpetuate their glorious Union with slave-breeders and slave-hunters, with thieves, adulterers and kidnappers.

This is the way in which Americans 'establish justice, perpetuate liberty, and worship their God. Dear friend, it seems to me of infinite moment to the progress of mankind in liberty, in peace, in temperance, in justice, goodness and truth, and in all that is good and great, that the nations of Europe should be made to know just what Liberty, Republicanism, Christianity, Christ and God mean in the mouths of Americans. The masses of Europe are moved, and those do greatly err who mark the future by the temporary triumph of your armed legions in favor of despotism, over the brute force of the masses, undisciplined and ignorant. The true friends of liberty and progress feel the strugglings, the upheavings and tossings of the great European ocean of mind. The triumphs of your armed despots are but the bubbles, the froth, the scum on the surface of those deep waters. That ocean of mind is instinct with life; it is restless; it is tossing to and fro; it will soon leap over its ancient landmarks, and sweep over your thrones, crowns and sceptres, your royalty and your loyalty; your monarchies, your aristocracies, and your oligarchies. What is to rise on their ruins? We know not; but, pray the God of nations, (if you know such a God; I don't; the God I worship being only the God and Governor of *individual man*,) that no Republic may ever rise there after the model of the American Republic—the last great experiment of such a government. *God grant it may be the last!* For of all earth's despotisms, none have ever been so cruel, so mean, so unjust, so inhuman, so oppressive, so full of all lying, hypocrisy and malignity, as that which exists under the name and form of the AMERICAN UNION. It is indeed '*a covenant with death, an agreement with hell.*'

Therefore, dear James, warn the people of Europe, struggling for freedom, against looking to this nation as a model. To open their eyes, print and circulate the extracts, in my two last, from the Constitution of Indiana. They are a true index to the liberty, the character, the government, the religion and God of this nation.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

POLITICAL ACTION.

To S. S. FOSTER:—

Some time since, I saw in the Liberator an account of a speech made by you at an anti-slavery meeting somewhere in Massachusetts, in which it was said you showed that refusing to vote was much more likely to result in the abolition of slavery, than voting would be.

For several years, I have belonged to the VOTING Anti-Slavery Party, believing, as I did, that it would prove the most effectual instrumentality for banishing that evil from the country.

Now, I should be pleased to see, in the Liberator, the process of reasoning by which you arrive at a different conclusion. I presume the Editor will grant you the requisite space. The Editor has my name, which you can have by calling on him, if you consider it of any consequence.

INQUIRER.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

The Committee of the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar take this early opportunity of acquainting its friends with their arrangements, that ample time may be afforded for such general co-operation as shall ensure a more brilliant success than has attended any previous occasion.

The times demand a far higher and more self-denying exertion than ever before, and we doubt not that their claim will be heard and nobly answered, by the contribution of a ten-fold amount of money, labor and sympathy.

The friends of the slave in other countries are helping us on, not merely by their strong words of faith and encouragement, but by the devotion of weeks of patient and tasteful toil, and in many instances by the exertion of self-denying economy. The inmates of the Blind Asylum at Bristol, England, are employing their private earnings in time borrowed from their allotted hours of recreation for the manufacture of those beautiful articles that have added so much in previous years to the value of the Bazaar. In view of all this, will not every abolitionist at home feel impelled to a redoubled exertion?

The Bazaar will open on THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18, at the spacious and beautiful Hall over the Worcester Depot, commonly known as ASSEMBLY HALL.

Such Ladies as design furnishing tables, and wish arrangements made for their accommodation while in Boston, will please give early information of the same.

Ladies sending boxes of articles will please accompany them with a letter, stating particularly the names of the donors, town, &c., and the estimated value of the articles. Money for the general purposes of the Bazaar, or the publication of the Liberty Bell, may be forwarded to

A. W. WESTON,
Weymouth, Mass.

☞ Will the National Anti-Slavery Standard please copy?

BOSTON FEMALE A. S. SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Boston F. A. S. Society was held at No. 6 Chauncey Place, on the afternoon of Wednesday, Oct. 22d.

Miss Henrietta Sargent was chosen President, *pro tem.* She opened the meeting by reading a portion of the Scriptures.

The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. Resolved, That, discouraging as may at first appear the aspect of the anti-slavery cause, we are yet convinced that the hour of its triumph *assuredly*, if *slowly*, draws nigh. Our opinion founds itself upon the fact that the question of the continuance or abolition of slavery is the one now most prominently before the minds of the people, and being thus entertained, we should esteem it faithlessness in the power of Truth, were we to doubt that justice would ultimately conquer.

2. Resolved, That were it otherwise, were the case, to all human apprehension, far more hopeless than at present, we should recognize the duty of laboring in the slave's behalf as none the less obligatory, feeling that it is much to have washed our own hands in innocency, and to have testified continually and before the world against the slave system and its necessary sequences and abominations.

3. Resolved, That language imperfectly expresses the sentiments of sorrow and humiliation with which we recur to one event of the past year,—the re-enslavement of the fugitive Sims; a deed of such fearful atrocity, that we could hardly believe that it *could* have been perpetrated within the streets of our 'Pilgrim city.'

4. Resolved, That every individual who aided in that re-enslavement of an innocent and helpless fellow-creature, whether officially or unofficially, whether from political ambition or pecuniary gain, from fear of man or abstract love of oppression, deserves and will receive the scorn and loathing of all righteous men, and has rendered himself obnoxious to all those retributions denounced in Holy Writ as awaiting the oppressors of the poor, and such as have none to help them.

5. That in the recent resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law at Syracuse, we recognize the power of the good husbandman who sowed good seed on good land, and it yielded a hundred fold. Let us take courage and go forward!

6. Resolved, That we warn the political friends of the slave not to be turned aside from the true battle-ground—freedom for the territories; and beg them to recollect that while the whale plays with the tub thrown to him, he sees not the harpoon launched for his death.

7. Resolved, That while we rejoice in the safety of Kossuth and his followers, we sympathize with their disappointment, when they find that they do not owe their liberation to freemen, but to a nation proclaiming all men free and equal, while legalizing slavery in its most revolting form.

8. Resolved, That the advocates of Women's Rights must be selfish, insincere or ignorant, if they fail to plead the cause of a million and a half of bondwomen in this country, subjected to the basest degradation and cruelty, by a whole nation, vaunting to the world their love of justice and freedom.

9. Resolved, That our most heartfelt thanks are due to those ladies of Great Britain who have so unweariedly aided our efforts, assuring them that we derive from their help and sympathy the highest encouragement, and trust that they will continue them from time to time, as opportunity may present.

10. Resolved, That we renew our subscription for one hundred copies of the *Liberator*, and that the same committee who had the charge of their distribution for last year be re-appointed for the ensuing year.

The Treasurer's Report was read and accepted.

The following officers were then chosen:—

President—THANKFUL SOUTHWICK.
Vice President—HELEN E. GARRISON.
Foreign Cor. Secretary—ANNE W. WESTON.
Domestic Cor. Secretary—HENRIETTA SARGENT.
Recording Secretary—SARAH H. SOUTHWICK.
Treasurer—MARY WILLEY.
Counsellors—ANN R. BRAMHALL, HANNAH TUFTS, MARY MAY, HANNAH ADAMS, CAROLINE WILLIAMS, MARY H. JACKSON.

Adjourned.

SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, *Rec. Sec.*

SCHOOL OF DESIGN FOR WOMEN.

On the 9th of the present month was opened in Boston, THE NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN FOR WOMEN.

The object of this School will be—1. To educate a body of professional designers for manufactures and other purposes, where ornamental designs are required. 2. To teach the various processes of Engraving, Lithography, and other methods of transferring and multiplying designs. 3. To educate a class of teachers in drawing and design.

The course of instruction will comprise an *Elementary Drawing School*, in which it will be required of all pupils to go through a thorough course of elementary drawing and coloring, with lectures and instruction in Geometry, Botany, and other studies, so far as may be necessary for a general familiarity with forms and colors. When sufficiently advanced, the pupils will select as to the particular department in which each may wish to become proficient, and then follow a special course for the attainment of the object. *Industrial Classes* will be formed in the special departments as soon as pupils are found to be prepared to enter them.

Pupils will be received of fifteen years old and upwards. Candidates for admission will be required to furnish satisfactory references as to character.

The Drawing School will be open every day during the week except Saturday, for classes in rotation, from 9 o'clock, A. M., until 2 o'clock, P. M. And the school will be open during all working hours for students in the special departments, and for the industrial classes.

It is the intention of the school to furnish the best instruction that can be procured to pupils who have the desire and can command the time for a thorough and systematic course in drawing and design, and thus to be a standard or Normal school, the graduates from which may be prepared to earn a living by the practice of some of the branches taught, or to teach in other schools of design, or in public schools. With these views, it has been thought essential to make the above limit as to age.

The terms for instruction will be $5 per quarter, payable in advance. When required by circumstances, students will, at the discretion of the Executive Committee, be received for gratuitous instruction.

Application may be made at the School, where also letters may be addressed to the Secretary of the Society. The school will be opened, in a central situation, as soon as suitable accommodations can be secured. Meantime, classes will be formed and instruction proceed at the rooms over Mr. Barnard's Chapel, in Warren street.

EDNAH D. LITTLEHALE, *Sec'y.*

Boston, Oct. 8, 1851.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE RHODE ISLAND A. S. SOCIETY.

The Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society will be holden at Mechanics' Hall, Providence, on Wednesday and Thursday, November 5th and 6th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., on the day first named.

Friends of the slave in the State where freedom of conscience, in its broad import, was first proclaimed! need we urge *you*, upon an occasion like this, to respond to this call? Need we say to you, that the enemy you oppose is not only the friend of slavery at the South, but of a tyranny at the North far more degrading than any which has ever found the sanction of law on our continent? Need we tell you that your rights have been invaded and trampled upon in the efforts of the oppressor to strengthen the African's chains?—that your homes are made prison-houses—that your hands are commanded to perform the work of the despot's bloodhound—that the liberty of conscience, which you have boasted for two centuries, is erased from the record of your rights—that the patriotism of seventy-six is become the treason of fifty-one, and that the war, thus ruthlessly commenced and wantonly urged, is proclaimed already to be one of extermination against what you, as Republicans, have held most dear. At such a time, need we make our plea in tears, or urge the claims of Freedom in lengthened words? May we not *know*, that what you have been, you will continue to be,—that what you have failed to do, through lack of belief in the recklessness of your enemies, you will determine to perform, at whatever sacrifice?

Come to our meeting—sit with us, counsel us, encourage us, help us! Eloquent defenders of our cause will be here, to warm your hearts with living thoughts, and every effort will be made to render your stay agreeable to you and profitable to your cause.

In behalf of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavey Society,

GEO. L. CLARKE, *President.*

AMARANCY PAINE, *Secretary.*

Providence, October 10, 1851.

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

THE WEYMOUTH FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold its Annual FAIR, at the Ladies' Room of the Depot at WEYMOUTH LANDING, commencing on *Monday Evening, Nov. 2d*, and closing on the evening of FRIDAY, the 7th. The collection of articles offered for sale will be unusually large and attractive, including alike the useful and the beautiful. Addresses will be delivered on the evening of Thursday, the 6th, at the Universalist Meeting-House, by WM. LLOYD GARRISON and WENDELL PHILLIPS. There will be music at the Fair each evening, and no exertion will be spared to render the occasion both pleasing and profitable to all who shall feel sufficiently interested to give it their attendance.

ANOTHER BEREAVEMENT.

ROCHESTER, (N. Y.) Oct. 22, 1851.

DEAR FRIEND:

It is with painful and heart-felt feelings that we are called to mourn the early departure of our noble coadjutor, WILLIAM R. SALISBURY. After an illness of some four weeks, he was the victim of the great destroyer. There should be some fitting tribute to his memory. Oh! that we had words to adequately describe the virtues, the modesty, the gentle and humane qualities of the deceased. Society loses one of its most exemplary members, the legal profession a promising student, and humanity a noble heart, a world-wide advocate of the despised and oppressed. He was liberal in ideas, generous in feelings, magnanimous in spirit, and uncompromising in principle. Having a warm heart for the oppressed and enslaved, he was naturally drawn towards their champions and defenders; hence the cause of his being at the Faneuil Hall reception of GEORGE THOMPSON, where he had to go away with regret and disgust at mob law in Boston. Time and again has he gone miles to hear the eloquent pleaders of the universal rights of all. He cared nothing for the ties of party, but acted with that which most clearly represented the true ideas of reform; always giving word and vote where they would tell most for freedom. 'Long shall we seek his likeness.' Never did the truthful words of Longfellow seem so emphatic as now:—

'Art is long, and time is fleeting,
And our hearts, though strong and brave,
Still like muffled drums are beating
Funeral marches to the grave.'

UPTON.

The Anti-Slavery meeting, appointed in this town, was duly held on Saturday evening and Sunday last, in the handsome and commodious Hall known as Waverley Hall. The weather, during nearly the whole time, was exceedingly unfavorable, but the attendance was quite good. Thomas S. Forbush, of Upton, was chosen President, and Henry Fish, of Milford, Secretary. The principal topics of discussion were, the Legislation of the National Government on matters pertaining to Slavery, (which was shown to be wicked and atheistical,) the position and apparently downward course of the Free Soil Party, the Colonization Society, (the handmaid of Slavery,) and, with a few noble exceptions, the pro-slavery character of the American churches. These questions were discussed by Stephen S. Foster, Lucy Stone, Samuel May, Jr., and Loring Moody.

Upton, we trust, will continue to maintain her past well-deserved reputation as an anti-slavery town. There may be temporary discouragements, and the heartless and unprincipled foes of freedom and justice may seem to prosper, and spread themselves. But they shall pass away, and though we seek them, they shall not be found. If the servants of God and the Right will persevere, they shall gloriously triumph over Wrong, and the Redemption of the slave shall be perfected.

M.

NOTICE.

Friends whose pledges to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, made in January last, are yet unpaid, will please forward the amount of the same, at their earliest convenience, to the Treasurer, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, or to the General Agent, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 21 Cornhill, Boston.

KOSSUTH'S ADDRESS TO THE DEMOCRATS OF MARSEILLES.

The following is the address of Governor Kossuth to the Democrats of Marseilles, on the refusal of the French government to grant him a free passage through France. The address is said to have given offence to some of the friends of Kossuth in England, and it has been deemed necessary by some over-ardent admirer, to apologize for the sentiments contained therein, on the ground that the address was prepared in the haste of departure from Marseilles. In our opinion no apology is required. The sentiment is as appropriate as the language, and both express very properly the feelings of an honest patriot at the pusillanimous course of the French Government:

Citizens—The government of the French Republic having refused me permission to traverse France, the people of Marseilles, yielding to the impulse of one of those generous instincts of the French heart which are the inexhaustible source of the nobleness of your action, has honored me by a manifestation of its republican sentiments—a manifestation honorable for its motives, manly for its resolution, peaceable in its ardor, and as majestic in its calmness as nature, the grand image of God, before the tempest. I have heard my name blended with the hymn of the 'Marseillaise,' and with the shouts of *Vive la Republique!*—a cry which is the only legal one in France; the only one whose legitimacy has been won by the blood of the martyrs of liberty! It is so natural to love freedom! It is so light to suffer for it! It is almost less than a mere duty; but there is, indeed, a supreme glory in the thought of being identified with the principle of liberty in the mind of the French people.

I have no desire for glory—but this glory I accept, in order to merit it. I accept it as a pledge of common interests, (*solidarite*,) and I accept it as a testimony of the fraternity of the French nation with all nations. I accept it as a sign of salvation for my beloved country. To you, Frenchmen! republicans! is the honor of that salvation! To us, poor Hungarians, the duty of meriting it! My nation will understand the appeal of your fraternity. It will be proud of, and bravely respond to it, as those ought to do who are honored in being called 'brothers' by the French people. These are the only thanks worthy of the people of Marseilles—worthy of that manifestation with which they have honored me—yet not me, but my nation! and, in my nation, the past less than the future!

Permit me not to speak any more of the refusal of the government of the French republic to grant me a passage through its territory. I know that the French people are not responsible for, and are not identified with its acts. I know that neither M. L. N. Bonaparte, nor M. Faucher, are the French nation. I knew, and I know, that the executive power is delegated to them; but that the honor of the French nation is not in their keeping. I shall no longer bear in mind their refusal, and I desire that humanity shall not remember it, if by any chance those who have been already in exile, and who, to all appearance, have forgotten it, should again be so.

Last evening, one of your brethren, (of our brethren,) an operative of Marseilles—oh! I know his name, and I shall not forget it—came, in spite of the cold, and swimming through the water, on board the American frigate, to press my hand. I pressed his hand with pity, with emotion, and gently reproached him for his termerity. '*Que voulez vous?*' he answered; 'I desired to touch your hand, I could not find a boat, I took to the water, and here I am. Are there any obstacles to him who will?' I bowed to these noble words. The love of liberty, the sentiment of duty and fraternity, were mine before coming to Marseilles; but it is at Marseilles I have found the motto, 'There are no obstacles to him who wills.' That motto shall be mine. Vive la republique! Health and fraternity!

LOUIS KOSSUTH.

Marseilles Roads, on board the frigate Mississippi, of the United States, Sept. 29, 1851.

INVASION OF MEXICO—PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 23.

The President having received intelligence on Monday from the U. S. Consul at Matamoras, that a company of Texans had been organized and marched into Mexico, and that new enlistments were progressing for similar purposes, has issued the following Proclamation:—

[OFFICIAL.]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, there is reason to believe tast a Military Expedition is about to be fitted out in the United States, for the purpose of invading the Mexican Republic, with which this country is at peace: and whereas, there is reason to apprehend that a portion of the people of this country, regardless of their duty as good citizens, are concerned, or may be induced to take part in the same; and whereas, such enterprises tend to degrade the character of the United States, in the opinion of the civilized world, and are expressly prohibited by law;—

Now, therefore, I issue this my proclamation, warning all persons who shall connect themselves with any such enterprise, in violation of the laws and national obligations of the United States, that they will thereby subject themselves to the heavy penalty that is denounced against such offenders; that is, if they should be captured within the jurisdiction of the Mexican authorities, they must expect to be tried and punished according to the laws of Mexico, and will have no claim to the interposition of this government in their behalf.

I therefore expect all well-disposed citizens, who have at heart the reputation of their country, and are animated with a just regard for its laws, its peace and its welfare, to discountenance, and by all lawful means prevent, any such enterprise. And I call upon every officer of this government, civil or military, to be vigilant in arresting for trial and punishment every such offender.

Given under my hand and seal, Oct. 21, 1851, and in the 76th year of independence.

MILLARD FILLMORE, *President.*

J. J. CRITTENDEN, *Acting Sec'ry of State.*

THE SYRACUSE PRISONERS.

About one hundred of our 'most prominent citizens,' and among them a number of ladies, visited Auburn yesterday, in company with the 'felons,' to hear the decision of Judge Conkling. The interest manifested by our citizens for the subjects of this unjust prosecution must be a source of gratification to all concerned.

The party arrived at Auburn at half past ten o'clock A. M., and immediately proceeded to the Court House. In a few minutes the Judge took his seat on the bench, and declared his readiness to decide upon the cases before him. After calling the names of the prisoners, he stated that in order to prevent any future misapprehension, he had committed his decision to writing, and proceeded to read over the precious document.

After the reading of the decision, the bail bonds were signed and delivered into safe keeping of the District Attorney. They consisted of three separate bonds. One signed by Alfred Cobb and William H. Seward, for the appearance of Ira H. Cobb. The names of James Davis, Moses Summers, Stephen Porter, and William Salmon, were included in another bond; and those of Prince Jackson, Harrison Allen, and Wm. Thompson, in the third.

The two latter bonds were signed by Wm. H. Seward, E. W. Leavenworth, Hiram Hoyt, O. T. Burt, Lyman Clary, Daniel McDougal, R. W. Washburn, Charles B. Sedgwick, George Barnes, Wm. E. Abbott, Charles A. Wheator, Abner Bates, John Ames, R. A. Yoe, Samuel Mead, Charles Leonard, Henry Gifford, Hiram Putnam, and Alanson Throp.

Other names were freely offered, but the District Attorney begged them to stop, probably fearing there would not be room on the bail bonds. Charles B. Sedgwick accompanied the prisoners as counsel. Ex-Governor Seward was in attendance, and it will be noticed, placed his signature to each of the bail bonds. When the ceremony was over, the party returned to Syracuse, and we very much doubt whether a pleasanter or merrier party ever passed over the road.

Mr. Summers's wife appeared in the court-room, at Auburn, in Bloomer costume, with several other women in the same style. James Davis is nephew of John Davis, U. S. Senator for Massachusetts. Mr. Seward invited all the 'traitors' to his house, and entertained them.

MEETING OF THE SLAVE-CATCHERS.

SYRACUSE, Oct. 25, 1851.

A large and enthusiastic meeting was held in this city this afternoon, by the friends of law and order.

On the opening of the meeting, and after the election of Major Burnett as chairman, the proceedings were interrupted by a band of rioters, headed by some of the most prominent citizens of Syracuse. By the timely arrival of the delegation of the first ward, order was restored, after two or three of the rioters had been forcibly ejected from the hall.

The meeting was addressed by Hon. Harvey Baldwin and Mr. Brooks.

An address and resolutions were adopted, of the law and order stamp, and the meeting closed quietly.

[The real fact is, that these pretended friends of law and order behaved in a most rowdyish manner.]

ANOTHER FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.

PHILADELPHIA, Friday, Oct. 24.

This morning, at ten o'clock, a fugitive slave case was heard before U. S. Commissioner Edward D. Ingraham. The name of the alleged slave is Henry Pogue, he is stated to belong to Noble Pennington, of Cecil county, Maryland, from which place, it is said, he fled. He was arrested somewhere in the Northern Liberties, this morning, about 7 o'clock, by officer Henry Kline, who was acting under authority of the United States Commissioner. The prisoner made no resistence, nor was the officer molested on his way to the office with him.

The Commissioner, on the conclusion of the examination, as to the identity of the slave, made out a warrant delivering the fugitive into the custody of his master. He was taken to Maryland at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

The whole affair passed off with as little fuss as a common assault and battery case usually does before one of our magistrates. Members of the several Abolition societies were present, and some of the most active colored abolitionists assisted in the defence by their counsel—yet all was calm and peaceable.—*Bulletin.*

During his examination, Mr. Pierce, counsel for the prisoner, said Judge Conklin, of Western New York, had decided that the 10th section of the Fugitive Slave Law applied only to such cases as had occurred after the passage of that act.

The Commissioner replied he could not be guided by any decision of Judge Conklin, as he could not believe but that the Judge labored under a very great mistake.

DEMOCRATIC TRIUMPH IN PENNSLYLVANIA.

The New York Tribune comments upon the result of the late election in Pennsylvania as follows:—

'Well: Pennsylvania has attested her devotion to the Fugitive Slave Law, and her willingness to descend to any depth of servility which the Slavery Propaganda may see fit to require. If Cuba is to be the next grab, she is ready to acquiesce and to aid. If two or three new Slave States, to be carved from what remains of Mexico this side of the Sierra Madre, are to be put before Cuba, Pennsylvania is ready for that. If new acts of tyranny, even morestrocious than the Fugitive Slave Law, or new Constitutional obstructions to any exhibition of a sympathy for Universal Freedom shall be exacted, she will be the foremost to lick the dust from the boots of the Propagandists. Already her Buchanan has bid for the support of that Propaganda by offering to run the Slave Line of 36 30 clear across the Continent; and her Dallas has undertaken to outbid him by proposing to amend the Federal Constitution so as to repress future Anti-Slavery efforts. All this, you see, is intended to *put a stop to Slavery Agitation!* Of course it will do it—or, at all events, it will give a chance of resurrection to some long-buried politicians, which is equally an object of patriotic solitude. One way or another, the Union is bound to be saved.'

THE SWAN OF AFRICA. A new impulse is about to be given to the musical *furor*. A new candidate for fame in the world of song has arisen in the West. It is a bird of African extraction, through not exactly a black bird; and she has spread her wings under the euphonious title of the 'Black Swan.' Her real, earthly name is Eliza Greenfield. She is a colored girl, belonging to Buffalo, N. Y., where she is making preparation for her *debut*. She has surprised and delighted those who have heard her, and is said to possess a voice of great purity and flexibility and extraordinary compass—singing notes in alto with brilliancy and sweetness, and desending to the bass notes with a power and volume which is perfectly astonishing. The 'Buffalo Commercial' of Saturday last says:

'The 'Black Swan' gave a rehersal yesterday afternoon at Townsend Hall. Those who heard her came, we believe, to the unanimous conclusion, that she was next to Jenny Lind, at least, in her vocal powers. She has a great compass of voice—rising and falling from the highest to the lowest tones, with the greatest ease and rapidity, with 'intonations softly sweet, and anon thrilling and startling.' We understand that she will give a concert in this city at an early day—probably next week.'

FIRST CONCERT OF THE 'BLACK SWAN.'—Miss Greenfield, the colored lady who has created so much excitement in Buffalo as a vocalist, gave her first concert in that city on Tuesday evening last. The *Commercial* says that 'all were surprised at the extraordinary compass and power of her voice, and the apparent ease with which she sang, passing from the lowest to the highest notes without the slightest effort. Her voice is remarkable for its sweetness, compass, flexibility and power, and with proper training and practice, the 'Black Swan' may become as renowned as the 'Swedish Nightingale.'

The *Courier* says:

'The hall was filled to overflowing with one of the most fashionable audiences of the season, and her songs were most enthusiastically applauded and encored. She has a truly wonderful voice, and the manner in which she sang some of her pieces was indeed surprising, considering the comparatively small amount of cultivation she has had.'

The Rev. Dr. Dewey and 'The Problem of Human Destiny.'—We learn from the Boston Post that the Rev. Dr. Dewey is about to deliver, before the Lowell Institute in that city, a course of lectures on 'The Problem of Human Destiny.' This is the same very 'liberal' Unitarian Doctor of Divinity who, in a lecture on 'The Law of Progress,' delivered by him last winter, in Boston, and we know not in how many other places, declared that, if his own mother were a refugee from slavery, he would send her back to it, to save our glorious Union. And thereupon a clerical brother of his, but not quite so 'liberal' a clergyman, said—'I believe him *this* time.' 'The Problem of Human Destiny' may be one of difficult solution; but the destiny of such a Doctor of Divinity as Dewey, supposing his last winter's zeal for the Union to continue, and the New Testament to be not a humbug, is not, we fear, so much a problem to be solved, as a 'fixed fact' to be deprecated.—*True Democrat.*

Mr. Shackford's Lecture.—The Lyceum Hall was well filled on Sunday evening, to hear the third anti-slavery address by Rev. C. C. Shackford, of Lynn. Mr. S. exposed in a clear light the daring hypocrisy of the American people, and their recreancy to the religious and political principles they profess. The low tone of the pulpit upon the subject of obedience to human laws and the authority of God's laws, was dwelt upon with earnestness, and pointedly denounced. The teachings of the lower law clergy Mr. S. considered as demoralizing to the community. As Marshal Ney said, 'Napoleon is our God,' so they say, practically, 'Webster is our God.'—*Salem Freeman.*

☞ Somebody has sent us a copy of the Boston Christian (!) Observer, a notorious pro-slavery concern, which passes with some people as a *religious* newspaper (!), and which contains the first of a series of malignant and vulgar articles against the old school abolitionists. The same paper appends to a notice of the Woman's Convention, the following sentence, which is as amiable in spirit as it is grammatical in expression:

Mr. Henry Ward Beecher is pastor of a church in Brooklyn, N. Y., and is now found in the very company that we predicted a year ago he would ere long be a 'hail fellow well met,' with the very companions he is placed with above. 'Birds of a feather flock together.'

Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot and refugee, who is expected to land on our shores in a few days, states the following as one of the objects which he sought for his own country, and which rendered him obnoxious to the Austrian Government:—

'*That every inhabitant of my country, without regarding language or religion, should be free and equal before the law—all classes having the same privileges and protection from the law.*'

If, after becoming an adopted citizen of the United States, he should undertake to advocate the same principles, would he not be obliged to become again a refugee? Our Union Safety Committees should keep an eye on these 'foreign incendiaries.'

SONS OF TEMPERANCE. The Grand Division of Massachusetts commenced its session in Boston on Wednesday, with a numerous attendance, and great spirit. We are glad to learn, says the Commonwealth, that the Grand Division re-affirmed, by an almost unanimous vote, their previous action in resistance of the attempt by the National Division to exclude colored men from the order. This speaks well for the intelligence and right feeling of the Sons of Temperance in Massachusetts.

☞ Hon. Joshua R. Giddings is announced to speak in Charlestown, Nov. 5th; Natick, 6th; Worcester, 7th; Lowell, 8th; and in Boston, Lynn, and Doschester.

☞ Father Mathew will postpone his departure to the 7th of November, Mr. Collins having offerred to transfer his passage ticket from the steamship Atlantic to the Pacific.

Europe.—Galignani's Paris Messenger says:—'There is hardly a great city of Europe which one might not suppose to be inhabited by wild beasts rather that by men, or by enemies rather than citizens, such is the formidable character of the means employed to secure its tranquillity and obedience. Ramparts frown on the people from the river side or the brow of the hill; there are barracks and guard-houses in every quarter; there are troops always in movement; the drum never ceases; at every public place you may stumble on a group of soldiers, ready to turn out on the approach of the officer in command; and you feel as if it were not so much a city as a camp you are dwelling in. France is hardly more unfortunate in this respect than the other great Powers of Europe; but there are, we believe, still about a hundred thousand soldiers in the department of the Seine, and Lyons, a mere manufacturing city, is policed by more than thirty thousand.'

☞ Kossuth, the Hungarian leader, was expected to reach Southampton on or about the 12th October, having sailed from Marsailles on the first instant, in the American steam frigate Mississippi. Kossuth was accompanied by his wife, child, and mother-in-law, and 58 other refugees from Kutayah, including the following five Polish officers, viz:—Gen. Joseph Wysosk, Col. Jules Pizyiemski, Capt. Joseph Lusakowski, Lieut. Ladislas Kossak, and Dr. Louis Spaczek.

☞ An address from Kossuth to the people of the United States is published, vindicating the cause of Hungary. It has been translated by Major Tochman, who is to present it to Congress. The document is exceedingly interesting.

☞ We read in the 'Messager'—'The Democrats of Paris have just sent a message to Kossuth. It has a great number of signatures, and amongst them are those of several representatives of the Mountain.'

☞ Kossuth is the son of a lawyer and small land-owner in Zemplin, and was born in 1806. He is therefore now in his 45th year. He was married in 1841.

☞ It is said the Magyars pronounce the name of Kossuth as if it were written *Koz-zute*, putting the accent on the last syllable.

Lord Dudley Stuart having obtained intelligence from Vienna, that an attempt to assassinate Kossuth would be made at his landing in Southampton, and that two females had left the Austrian capital for the express purpose of making an attempt on the life of the illustrious fugitive, at Southampton, great precautions were to be taken by the authorities of Southampton to frustrate the satanic design of these fantical women.

Italy.—Mr. Gladstone's disclosures about the atrocities of the Neapolitan Government seem to be causing more and more uneasiness among the advocates of that despotism. Latest news from Naples brings tidings that forty-six State prisoners have been sentenced to death, including ten deputies, two ex-ministers, one ambassador, and two priests.

☞ The approaching close of the great Industrial Exhibition created great interest and excitement. Monday, the 6th instant, being the first day of the last week, the enormous number of 107,815 persons visited the building. On the following day, the number was 109,915. Notwithstanding this immense throng, every thing went off with perfect order, and no accident of any sort occurred.

Lamentable Shipwreck on Lake Erie—Twenty-nine Persons Drowned.—The propeller Henry Clay, previously reported as lost off Long Pond, on the Canadian side of Lake Erie, on Thursday night last, had on board 30 persons, including one female, passengers and crew. While the vessel was laying side up in the trough of the sea, all lashed themselves to the rigging. Shortly after, the deck parted, when the hull turned bottom up, carrying down all except ten, who succeeded in disengaging themselves from the wreck. They subsequently got hold of the pilot house deck, but before morning all but three had been washed off. David Keel, with the first mate and wheelsman, then succeeded in getting hold of a pole and a piece of carpet. The pole was placed in the stove pipe hole, and the carpet made use of as a sail, with which they made some progress till eight o'clock, when the brig John Martin bore down and threw a rope which Keefe succeeded in grasping. He was dragged through the water about a quarter of a mile, holding on to the rope meantime by his hands. He finally succeeded in getting on board the brig, but saw nothing of his two companions on the raft, after he left it. The propeller was commanded by Capt. Callaro, who was formerly an officer in the Texan Navy, and was also the inventor of a signal lantern for distinguishing vessels at sea.

Nothing has been seen or heard of steamer Empire, which left Dunkirk on Thursday last, for Detroit. It is feared that she went down in the gale on Thursday night, and every soul on board perished.

More Indictments.—The Grand Jury of the United States Circuit Court yesterday returned seventeen true bills against the Christiana prisoners, charging them, in a variety of counts and forms, with resisting the officers of justice in the execution of legal process; resisting the laws, and aiding and abetting in the escape of fugitive slaves, with force of arms, &c. The names of the prisoners have already been published. The cases will come up for trial in November.—*Ledger of Saturday.*

SEVENTH COURSE OF LECTURES.

The Seventh Course of Lectures, before the *Salem Female Anti Slavery Society*, comprising eight in number, will be delivered on successive Sunday evenings, at Lyceum Hall.

The remainder of the course will be given by the following gentlemen, viz:—

Nov. 2—CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, of Philadelphia.
9—WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Boston.
16—JOHN W. BROWNE, "
23—WM. L. GARRISON "

Admittance 6 1-4 cents. Tickets for the course, 37 1-2 cts., to be obtained at the door.

E. J. KENNY, *Rec. Sec.*

LORING MOODY

Will lecture in

Leominster,	Sunday,	Nov. 2.
Gardner,	Tuesday,	" 4.
Winchendon,	Friday,	" 7.
Ashburnham,	Sunday,	" 9.

☞ Will friends please make arrangements?

NOTICE.—Letters and communications for the subscriber should be addressed to him at 21 Cornhill, Boston.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS.

NEW SERIES.

NEW BEDFORD, (Bristol Co.)

Saturday Evening and Sunday, Nov. 1 and 2.

This Convention will be attended by Stephen S. Foster, Abby Kelly Foster, and Lucy Stone.

PLYMOUTH COUNTY.

A meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Hingham Town Hall, on Sunday, Nov. 9. Names of speakers next week.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*

H. H. BRIGHAM, *Secretary.*

Inventive Drawing.

A PROGRESSIVE Course of Inventive Drawing, on the Principles of Pestalozzi, for the Use of Teachers and self-instruction; also with a view to its adaptation to Art and Manufacture. By William J. Whitaker, Principal of the New England School of Design, Boston, Mass. First Course. Boston: 1851. For sale at the School of Design, Warren St. Chapel. Price 15 cents.

November 1. tf.

GROUPS! GROUPS! GROUPS.

J. A. WHIPPLE would respectfully inform his friends and the public, that he gives his personal attention to Daguerreotyping at his old stand, 96 WASHINGTON STREET, and is prepared to execute family groups, classes, clubs, &c., with the greatest perfection, having every facility for the purpose, skylight 15 feet square, steam power, for the preparation of plates, the best instrumens that are made, and ten years experience in the art. He was complimented with the highest premium at the LAST Fair, for 'decidedly the best groups.'

SERMON FOR THE TIMES.

THE CHRISTIAN MARTYRS; or, The Conditions of Obedience to the Civil Government—a timely discourse, by J. G. FORMAN, for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21, Cornhill—price 20 cts.

TO PRINTERS.

FOR SALE. A small font of Bourgeois and one of Brevier, about half worn. Also, a lot of column and head rules. Will be sold *very cheap*, for cash. Apply to the printers of the *Liberator*.

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

MY COUNTRY.

Deep anguish reigns within my breast,
Dear country, for thou art not free!
A plague-spot rests upon thy crest,
The stain of Negro Slavery!

Thy stripes are black, thy stars gone out,
Thy freedom but a mocking jest:
What are thy Senators about,
With such a load of shame to rest?

What! are they sunk to coward knaves,
That revel in disgrace and shame?
Are we become such fallen slaves,
That we cannot redeem our name?

Let us not sit down tame and coldly,
While there's a wrong or galling chain;
But up! and seek redemption boldly,
And wipe out every spot and stain!

Let us proclaim, ALL MEN ARE FREE,
And banish sorrow, care and pain,—
Abolish all of Slavery,
And then our stars will shine again:—

But not till we've fulfill'd our trust,
And that unto the very letter;
Freed our good weapon from its rust,
And with it sundered every fetter.

Then tell the word, we are a nation
'That means to do the thing that's right,'
And occupy our proper station,
With 'stars and stripes' all clear and bright.

W. J. W.

From the National Era.

THE PRISONERS OF NAPLES.*

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

I have been thinking of the victims bound
In Naples, dying for the lack of air
And sunshine, in their cold, damp cells of pain—
Where hope is not, and innocence in vain
Appeals against the torture and the chain—
Unfortunates! whose crime it was to share
Our common love of freedom, and to dare,
In its behalf, Rome's harlot, triple-crowned,
And her base pander, the most hateful thing,
Who, upon Christian or on Pagan ground,
Makes vile the old heroic name of king.
Oh, God most merciful! Father, just and kind!
Whom man hath bound, let Thy right hand unbind;
Or, if Thy purposes of good behind
Their ills lie hidden, let the sufferers find
Strong consolations; leave them not to doubt
Thy providential care, nor yet without
The hope which all Thy attributes inspire,
That not in vain the martyr's robe of fire
Is worn, nor the sad prisoner's fretting chain;
Since all who suffer for thy truth send forth,
Electrical, with every throb of pain,
Unquenchable sparks, Thy own baptismal rain
Of fire and spirit over all the earth,
Making the dead in slavery live again.
Let this great hope be with them, as they lie
Shut from the light, the greenness, and the sky,
From the cool waters and the pleasant breeze,
The smell of flowers, and shade of summer trees,
Bound with the felon lepers, whom disease
And sins abhorred make loathsome; let them share
Pellico's faith, Foreste's strength to bear
Years of unutterable torment, stern and still,
As the chained Titan victor through his will!
Comfort them with Thy future: let them see
The day-dawn of Italian liberty;
For that, with all good things, is hid with Thee,
And, perfect in Thy thought, awaits its time to be!

I, who have spoken for freedom at the cost
Of some weak friendships, or some paltry prize
Of name or place, and, more than I have lost,
Have gained in wider reach of sympathies,
And free communion with the good and wise.
May God forbid that I should ever boast
Such easy self-denial, or repine
That the strong pulse of health no more is mine;
That, overworn at noonday, I must yield
To other hands the gleaning of the field—
A tired on-looker through the day's decline.
For, blest beyond deserving still, and knowing
That kindly Providence its care is showing
In the withdrawal as in the bestowing,
Scarcely I dare for more or less to pray.
Beautiful yet for me this autumn day
Melts on its sunset hills; and, far away,
For me the Ocean lifts its solemn psalm,
To me the pine woods whisper, and for me
Yon river, winding through its vales of calm,
By greenest banks, with asters purple-starred,
And gentian bloom, and golden-rod made gay,
Flows down in silent gladness to the sea,
Like a pure spirit to its great reward!
Nor lack I friends, long-tried and near and dear,
Whose love is round me like an atmosphere,
Warm, soft, and golden. For such gifts to me,
What shall I render, oh my God! to thee?
Let me not dwell upon my lighter share
Of pain and ill that human life must bear;
Save me from selfish pining; let my heart,
Drawn from itself, in sympathy, forget
The bitter longings of a vain regret,
The anguish of its own peculiar smart;
Remembering others, as I have to-day,
In their great sorrows, let me live, alway,
Not for myself alone, but have a part,
Such as a frail and erring spirit may,
In love which is of Thee, and which indeed Thou
art!

* The recent publication of W. E. Gladstone, M. P., has made the public familiar with atrocities, on the part of the Neapolitan Government, without a parallel in the history of tyranny.

THE INDIAN SUMMER.

There is a time, just ere the frost
Prepares to pave old Winter's way,
When Autumn, in a reverie lost,
The mellow day-time dreams away;

When Summer comes, in musing mind,
To gaze once more on hill and dell,
To mark how many sheaves they bind,
And see if all is ripened well:

With balmy breath she whispers low,
The dying flowers look up and give
Their sweetest incense ere they go,
For her who made their beauties live.

She enters 'neath the woodland shade,
Her zephyrs lift the lingering leaf,
And bear it gently where are laid
The loved and lost ones of its grief.

She seeks the shore, old Ocean heaves
In gladness hug his mighty breast;
Prisons his wild winds in their caves,
And, basking in her smiles, is blest.

At last old Autumn, rising, takes
Again his sceptre and his throne,
With boist'rous hand the trees he shakes,
Intent on gathering all his own.

Sweet Summer, sighing, flies the plain,
And waiting Winter, gaunt and grim,
Sees miser Autumn hoard his grain,
And smiles to think it's all for him!

Reformatory.

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

LONDON, Sept. 12, 1851.

DEAR GARRISON:

It is said there are certain honest traders in the States, who make wooden nutmegs to sell, honestly if they can, but at all events to sell; and the business of the makers is to make loud professions of high honor, to affect independence, and to give

'The age and body of the time its form and pressure,'

in such manner as shall sell their nutmegs. We have a paper here which has been called the leading journal of Europe—not that it really leads the public mind, but it is supposed to sell the greatest number, and, under that impression, it obtains an immense number of advertisements, and a very large income. It does not lead, but is skillful in noting the course which the public mind is likely to take; it sees what wind is coming on to blow, and indicates it by trimming its sails accordingly. It does this with extraordinary pre-vision, skill and tact; but it has so invariably done this in reference to what will sell, that men now deem it a political index of those movements that are about to become facts. They gather, print and publish news as tradesmen; and we ought to judge, and most men do judge them, as other tradesmen; but they make such large professions, that men are apt to forget, and many do forget, that their loud profession is but sounding brass. However, their writers are long-sighted, keen observers, and they see, or think they see, that the kings in Europe are overdoing it, and they are turning against their *protegè*, the Emperor of Austria. It had so grossly praised and patronized, softened and apologized for all the cruelties and wickedness of the Austrians in the Hungarian war, that it had obtained the bad name of the Austrian Gazette, and this name had begun to stick so closely to the journal, that they have seized the opportunity of the Austrian Emperor declaring himself absolute and despotic, to begin to turn round and eat their teachings.

I send you the paper of the 11th September, that you may take that article (page 4) as an index of what is predicted by experienced pilots of the probable future of Europe, and give it to your readers, if you please. You will also see in the same paper the wretched state of things at Good Hope.

This comes of the lust for patronage in our aristocracy. If they would be content to allow men to govern themselves, instead of insisting upon governing them so many thousand miles off, and that too through military governors, who know but little of social needs and constitutional principles, and of whom the people here know very little, and the people there know nothing until they are required to call them 'Excellency,' and render them obedience.

Remember that we poor English are ground down to pay for the blood and waste, violence and injustice, which men are there made to commit. Sir Harry Smith, our Governor, is a great boaster, and vain of the power he has.

Observe in the paper I send you the following article relative to the condust of the king of Prussia:—

GERMANY. The king of Prussia has taken Hanover, Frankfort and Cologne, on his journey to Hohenzollern. He is accompanied by Manteuffel, who held interviews with the Hanoverian ministers, while his master visited the king. At Frankfort-on-the-Maine, he reviewed the troops in the Rossmarkt, a large open square—the very spot on which the inhabitants of that and many neighboring cities had often listened to the orations of Gagern, and the other heroes of the German Parliament. His Majesty could scarcely have been oblivious of these associations, and the people certainly were not—for not a cheer was heard, scarcely a hat raised. At Cologne, he went to the cathedral, where he was received by the Catholic clergy *in pontificalibus*, and affably conversed with them for a considerable time. But when the burgomaster and the municipal authorities waited upon him, and made a speech of welcome, he told them, in the style of our James I., 'He did not come to make compliments, but to speak the truth, and the whole truth.' 'But I know,' said he, 'that you are very ticklish and particular about your press; but this hallucination must needs end, for it hinders confidence and attachment, and excites discord in town and country. You must try to banish this fiend-like spirit, that things may go better. I fully agree with what my brother William (the Prince of Prussia) has told you, and say seventy times, and again seventy times, 'Amen,' to it. It is high time you did away with these things; otherwise, I will; for I have the mind and the power to do it. See to it, in order to improve, and the sooner the better; else we shall not remain good friends; for, I assure you, *the severest measures will be taken.*' At other towns in the Rhenish provinces, the Catholic clergy were caressed, the Protestants and the citizens snubbed or lectured.

These things are treasuring up wrath to the day of judgment.

Every one feels here, and on the Continent too, the uncertainty of things as they now are. There has been no settlement, but simply a reaction; the tide will flow again; the people will be uppermost, and with a feeling that things are not to be hushed. The question will be, I fear, when their day comes,—and it will not be long first,—decapitation, deportation, or incarceration.

Our Government, as you well know, is in the hands of the Whigs. Lord John Russell, the great promiser but little performer, is their Premier. Just before the last session, he wrote his celebrated letter, amounting to a manifesto against the people's right to nominate Bishops in England assuming to bear the titles of and to be Bishops of places in England; and nearly the whole of the last session, which is just concluded, was spent in talk about passing a bill, rendering it illegal for any man to assume those titles in England. The question would have been totally valueless but for the fact that we have an Established Church, with an income reckoned by millions, and that income is in the possession of another class of priests. The struggle really is, on the part of our aristocracy, and particularly that portion of them that belong to the party in power, to preserve the patronage of this enormous revenue, and the struggle has been continued during the session between these two parties in relation to the danger which the priests who are in the saddle apprehend from those who are desirous to unhorse them, and get into it.

Having got through this session, and still continuing in power, the Whigs of course have now to cast about for a means by which they may continue longer to hold it. The people,—using that word to include the masses,—are not at this time represented in Parliament. One man in eighty only has a vote. Just twenty years ago, the Reform Bill, as it was called, was passed, by which the rotten-boroughs that then existed were cut off, but the result was, to give only that proportion of suffrage which I have mentioned. The rapid increase of science and knowledge,—which has since been diffused, for now twenty years is equal to half a century in times past,—enables the people to see that the so-called reform is merely an instalment of their rights; and to stay themselves in office for another year, this Lord John Russell,—who had been for the last twenty years treating the last bill as a final measure,—came out with a delaration that another must be conceded; and it is understood that their policy, as a party, now is, to introduce a new bill, giving something more, which the House of Lords will refuse. The Whigs will then dissolve the Parliament, and go to the country, that is, to a general election, working the idea into the public mind, 'If you do not keep us in, you will get no Reform Bill; therefore, return us men, who will carry that bill, in spite of the Lords, and we shall be your faithful stewards in that ministry yet.'

By this you will see they may keep in not only for two years, but for many years, if they give a moderately decent instalment of liberty to the people.

EDWARD SEARCH.

[Correspondence of the Tribune.]

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION AT WORCESTER.

FIRST DAY—EVENING SESSION.

The City Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity before the hour of adjournment arrived. It is estimated that there are three thousand people present, three-fourths of the assembly in the afternoon, and nearly as large a proportion this evening, being women. It is a sublime view to overlook from the platform the vast assemblage that have come to listen to the eloquent women who have made their appeal to the justice of mankind for better education and more thorough training of all their powers, and freedom to use them as they may deem consistent with their true interests and happiness, equal rights and privileges in all the industrial pursuits of life and political franchises of the people, equal opportunities to fill the highest and best sphere of which they are capable, and the right to determine for themselves what this shall be.

Wm. H. Channing, of Boston, addressed the assembly. He proposed merely to open the discussion of Woman's political rights, which would engage their attention this evening. He then read portions of a letter from Jeanne Deroin, of France, Editor of the *Voice of Woman*, who was now in prison on account of her devotion to the cause of political liberty for Woman. Her offence was meeting with an assembly of working people in illegal numbers, among whom she has been active in forming co-operative unions. She is described by Mrs. Blackwell, of New York, as a woman of pure life, who is striving to enfranchise her sex. She addresses her letter from a prison in Paris. 'To the Convention of Women of America,' and it is also signed by another woman, engaged in the same cause, Paulina Roland, who is likewise imprisoned for the same offence. The following is the translation of the letter:

To the Convention of the Women of America.

DEAR SISTERS: Your courageous declaration of Woman's Rights has resounded even to our prison, and has filled our souls with inexpressible joy.

In France, the re-action has suppressed the cry of Liberty of the Women of the future. Deprived, like their brothers of the Democracy, the right of Women to civil and political equality, and the fiscal laws which trammel the liberty of the press, hinder the propagation of those eternal truths which must regenerate humanity.

They wish also—the Women of France—to found a hospitable tribunal, which shall receive the cry of the oppressed and suffering, and vindicate, in the name of human solidarity, the social right for both sexes equally; and where Woman, the Mother of Humanity, may claim in the name of her children, mutilated by tyranny, her right to true liberty, to the complete development and free exercise of all her faculties, and reveal that half of truth which is in her, and without which no social work can be complete.

The darkness of the re-action has obscured the Sun of 1848, which seemed to rise so radiantly. Why? Because the revolutionary tempest, in overturning at the same time the Throne and the Scaffold, in breaking the chain of the black slave, forgot to break the chain of the most oppressed of all—of Woman, the Pariah of humanity.

'There shall be no more slaves,' said our brethren. 'We proclaim universal suffrage. All shall have the right to elect the agents who will carry out that Constitution which should be based on the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Let each one come and deposit his vote; the barrier of privilege is overturned before the electoral urn; there are no more oppressed, no more masters and slaves.'

Woman, in listening to this appeal, rises and approaches the liberating urn to exercise her right as member of society. (1) But the barrier of privilege rises also before her. 'You must wait,' they say! But by this claim alone Woman affirms the right, not yet recognized, of the half of humanity—the right of Women to Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. She obliges man to verify the fatal attack which he makes on the integrity of his principles.

And soon, in fact, during the wonderful days of June, 1848, Liberty glides from her pedestal in the flood of the victims of the re-action;—based on the right of *the strongest*, she falls, overturned in the name of 'the right of the strongest.'

The Assembly kept silence in regard to the right of one half of humanity—for which only one of its members (2) raised his voice but in vain; no mention was made of the right of Woman, in a Constitution framed in the name of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

It is in the name of these principles that Woman comes to claim her right to make part in the Legislative Assembly, and to help form the laws which must govern society, of which she is a member.

She comes to demand of the electors the consecration of the principle of equality by the election of a Woman, and by this act (3) she obliges man to prove the fundamental law which he has formed in the sole name of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, is still based upon *privilege*. And soon privilege triumphs over this phantom of universal suffrage, which, being but the half of itself, sinks on the 31st of May, 1850.

But while those elected by the half of the people, by men alone, evoke force to stifle liberty, and forge restrictive laws to establish order by compression—Woman, guided by fraternity—foreseeing incessant struggles, and in hope of putting an end to them, makes an appeal to the laborer to found Liberty and Equality on fraternal solidarity. The participation of Woman gave to this work of enfranchisement an eminently pacific character, and the laborer recognizes the right of Woman, his companion in labor.

The delegates of a hundred and four associations, united without distinction of sex, elected two Women (4) with several of their brethren, to participate equally with them in the administration of the interests of labor, and in the organization of the work of solidarity.

Fraternal associations were formed with the object of enfranchising the laborer from the yoke of spoliage and patronage; but, isolated in the midst of the Old World, their efforts could only produce a feeble amelioration for themselves.

The union of associations based on fraternal solidarity had for its end the organization of labor, that is to say, an equable division of labor, of instruments, and of the products of labor.

The means were, the union of labor and of credit among the workers of all professions, in order to acquire the instruments of labor, and the necessary materials, and to form a mutual guarantee for the education of their children, and to provide for the needs of the old, the sick, and the infirm.

In this organization (5) all the workers, without distinction of sex or profession, having an equal right to election, and being eligible for all functions, and all having equally the initiative and the sovereign decision in the acts of common interests—they laid the foundations of a new society based on Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

It is in the name of law framed by Man only—by those elected by privilege—that the old world, wishing to stifle in the germ the holy work of pacific enfranchisement, has shut up within the walls of a prison those who had founded it, those elected by the laborers.

But the impulse has been given—a grand act has been accomplished. The right of Woman has been recognized by the laborers, and they have consecrated that right by the election of those who had claimed it in vain for both sexes, before the electoral urn, and before the electoral committees. They have received the true civil baptism; elected by the laborers to accomplish the mission of enfranchisement, after having shared their rights and their duties, they share to-day their captivity.

It is from the depths of their prison that they address to you the relation of these facts, which contain in themselves high instruction. It is by labor, it is by entering resolutely into the ranks of the working people, that Women will conquer the civil and political equality on which depends the happiness of the world. As to moral equality, has she not conquered it by the power of sentiment? It is, therefore, by the sentiment of the love of humanity that the mother of humanity will find power to accomplish her high mission. It is when she shall have well comprehended the holy law of solidarity,—which is not an obscure and mysterious dogma, but a living providential fact—that the kingdom of God promised by Jesus, and which is no other than the kingdom of Equality and Justice, shall be realized on earth.

Sisters of America! your socialist sisters of France are united with you in the vindication of the right of Woman to civil and political equality. We have, moreover, the profound conviction that it is only by the power of association, based on solidarity; by the union of the working classes of both sexes to organize labor, can alone be acquired completely and pacifically the civil and political equality of Woman, and the oppressed, the Social Right for All.

It is in this confidence, that from the depths of the jail which still imprisons our bodies without reaching our hearts, we cry to you—Faith, Love, Hope—and send to you our fraternal salutation.

(Signed,) JEANNE DEROIN,
PAULINE ROLAND.

Paris, Prison of St. Lagare, June 15, 1851.

1. The 27th of Feb., 1848, Pauline Roland presented herself before the electoral re-union, to claim the right of nominating the Mayor of the city where she lived. Having been refused, she claimed in April, the same year, the right to take part in the elections for the Constituent Assembly, and was again refused.

2. Victor Considerant.

3. In April, 1849, Jeanne Deroin claimed for Woman the right of eligibility, by presenting herself as a candidate for the Legislative Assembly, and she sustained this right before the preparatory electoral re-unions of Paris.

4. The 3d of Oct., 1849, Pauline Roland and Jeanne Deroin, delegates from the Fraternal Associations, were elected members of the Central Committee of the Associative Unions.

5. This Central Committee was for the Fraternal Associations what the Constituent Assembly was for the French Republic in 1848.

After reading the letter of Jeanne Deroine and Pauline Roland, of France, Mr. Channing continued his remarks. He described three classes of persons in the community: Manish Men—not manly but man*ish*; Womanish Woman, and those who think that woman will become masculine if she is admitted to the rights and privileges she claims. The first comprise those men who pride themselves upon their exclusive privileges; upon their animal and physical superiority, and those things which they have appropriated peculiarly to themselves. The second are those women who esteem the things most which will please the perverted taste of men, and who take pleasure in those flatteries which the womanly woman despises from the bottom of her heart; and the third are those whose ideal of womanhood is seen in the frail and delicate beauty, the supineness and submissive spirit of the woman of fashion. He portrayed the true ideal of a perfect manhood, that in which courage, and vigor, and manly beauty, are blended with the gentleness, tenderness and delicacy of woman. He only is the hero who blends these qualities in his nature. He alluded to the highest and most perfect type of true manliness, the Saviour of the World, in whom the moral energy, wisdom and firmness of a true humanity were blended with the utmost purity, tenderness and love. He also dwelt upon the characteristics of a true womanhood, and showed how much mankind need her purifying and restraining influence in the affairs of the Government and the State.

The following Letter from Miss MARTINEAU was read to the Convention:—

CROMER, [England,] Aug. 3, 1851.

MY DEAR MADAM: I beg to thank you heartily for your kindness in sending me the Report of the Proceedings of your 'Woman's Rights Convention.' I had gathered what I could from the newspapers concerning it, but I was gratified at being able to read, in a collected form, addresses so full of earnestness and sound truth as I found most of the speeches to be. I hope you are aware of the interest excited in this country by that Convention; the strongest proof of which is the appearance of an article on the subject in *The Westminster Review*, (for July,) as thorough-going as any of your own addresses, and from the pen (at least, as it is understood here,) of one of our very first men—Mr. John S. Mill. I am not without hope that this article will materially strengthen your hands, and I am sure it cannot but cheer your hearts.

As for me, my thoughts and best wishes will be with you when you meet in October. I cannot accept you hearty invitation to attend your Convention, as my home duties will not allow of my leaving my own country. But you may be assured of my warm and unrestricted sympathy. Ever since I became capable of thinking for myself, I have clearly seen—and I have said it till my listeners and readers are probably tired of hearing it—that there can be but one true method in the treatment of each human being, of either sex, of any color, and under any outward circumstances—to ascertain what are the powers of that being, to cultivate them to the utmost, and *then* to see what action they will find for themselves. This has probably never been done for men, unless in some rare individual cases. It has certainly never been done for women: and, till it is done, all debating about what woman's intellect is—all speculation, or laying down the law, as to what is woman's sphere, is a mere beating of the air. *A priori* conceptions have long been found worthless in physical science, and nothing was really effected till the experimental method was clearly made out and strictly applied in practice, and the same principle holds most certainly through the whole range of Moral Science. Whether we regard the physical fact of what women are able to do, or the moral fact of what woman ought to do, it is equally necessary to abstain from making any decision prior to experiment. We see plainly enough the waste of time and thought among the men who once talked of Nature abhorring a vacuum, or disputed at great length as to whether angels could go from end to end without passing through the middle; and the day will come when it will appear to be no less absurd to have argued, as men and women are arguing now, about what woman ought to do, before it was ascertained what woman can do. Let us once see a hundred women educated up to the highest point that education at present reaches—let them be supplied with such knowledge as their faculties are found to crave, and let them be free to use, apply and increase their knowledge as their faculties shall instigate, and it will presently appear what is the sphere of each of the hundred. One may be discovering comets, like Miss Herschel; one may be laying open the mathematical structure of the universe, like Mrs. Somerville; another may be analyzing the chemical relations of Nature in the laboratory; another may be penetrating the mysteries of physiology; others may be applying Science in the healing of diseases; others may be investigating the laws of social relations, learning the great natural laws under which society, like every thing else, proceeds; others, again, may be actively carrying out the social arrangements which have been formed under these laws; and others may be chiefly occupied in family business, in the duties of the wife and mother, and the ruler of a household. If, among the hundred women, a great diversity of powers should appear, (which I have no doubt would be the case,) there will always be plenty of scope and material for the greatest amount and variety of power that can be brought out. If not—if it should appear that women fall below men in all but the domestic function—then it will be well that the experiment has been tried; and the trial had better go on forever, that woman's sphere may forever determine itself, to the satisfaction of everybody.

It is clear that Education, to be what I demand on behalf of woman, must be intended to issue in active life. A man's medical education would be worth little, if it was not a preparation for practice. The astronomer and the chemist would put little force into their studies, if it was certain that they must leave off in four or five years, and do nothing for the rest of their lives; and no man could possibly feel much interest in political and social morals, if he knew that he must, all his life long, pay taxes, but neither speak nor move about public affairs. Women, like men, must be educated with a view to action, or their studies cannot be called Education, and no judgment can be formed of the scope of their faculties. The pursuit must be the life's business, or it will be mere pastime or an irksome task. This was alway my point of difference with one who carefully cherished a reverence for woman—the late Dr. Channing. How much we spoke and wrote of the old controversy—INFLUENCE *vs.* OFFICE! He would have had any woman study any thing that her faculties led her to, whether physical science, or law, government and political economy; but he would have had her stop at the study. From the moment she entered the hospital as physician, and not nurse; from the moment she took her place in a court of justice in the jury-box, and not the witness-box; from the moment she brought her mind and her voice into the legislature, instead of discussing the principles of laws at home; from the moment she enounced and administered justice, instead of looking upon it from afar, as a thing with which she had no concern—she would, he feared, lose her influence as an observing intelligence, standing by in a state of purity, 'unspotted from the world.' My conviction always was, that an intelligence never carried out into action could not be worth much; and that, if all the action of human life was of a character so tainted as to be unfit for woman, it could be no better for men, and we ought all to sit down together to let barbarism overtake us once more. My own conviction is, that the natural action of the whole human being occasion not only the most strength, but the highest elevation: not only the warmest sympathy, but the deepest purity. The highest and purest beings among women seem now to be those who, far from being idle, find among their restricted opportunities some means of strenuous action; and I cannot doubt that, if an active social career were open to all women, with due means of preparation for it, those who are high and holy now would be high and holy then, and would be joined by an innumerable company of just spirits from among those whose energies are now pining and fretting in enforced idleness or unworthy frivolity, or brought down into pursuits and aims which are any thing but pure and peaceable. In regard to this old controversy—of Influence *vs.* Office—it appears to me that, if Influence is good and Office is bad for human morals and character, Man's present position is one of such hardship as it is almost profane to contemplate; and if, on the contrary, Office is good and a life of Influence is bad, Woman has an instant right to claim that her position be amended.

With every wish that your meeting may be a happy one, and your great cause a flourishing one, I am, dear Madam, yours, faithfully,

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

From the London Morning Chronicle of Sept. 30.

BLOOMERISM IN FINSBURY.

Last evening, a meeting, convened by the advocates of the new American costume, of which Mrs. Amelia Bloomer is the reputed founder, was held in the British Institution, Cowper street, Finsbury. It was announced that the proceedings would commence at half-past 8 o'clock, and that Mrs. C. H. Dexter would address the meeting on the proposed transatlantic reform. Long before seven o'clock, many hundreds of persons assembled in front of the building; and, although the crowd was extremely dense, the mob unusually violent, and the demands for admission indescribably clamorous, the clock struck eight before the doors were opened.

As may be readily imagined, the assembled persons pressed with great zeal into the building; some were trodden down, others fainted, and the large hall, which is capable of holding about from 1200 to 1500 persons, rapidly filled. The prices of admission were fixed as follows: For the hall, 3d.; for reserved seats, 6d.; and for the platform, 1s.; but owing to the want of arrangement that prevailed, not one out of a hundred who entered the building paid any thing for admission. Of the persons present, five to one were men, who could not be supposed to have any direct interest in the change of costume which the Bloomers recommend.

The interval which elapsed between the admission of the auditory and the time appointed for the entrance of the Bloomers was passed in a most disorderly manner. All sorts of jokes and witticisms were bandied about, and some very coarse remarks were made at the expense of the dress reformers. As the principal reformers were after time, it was suggested that a grand chorus of 'Buffalo gals, can't you come out to-night?' would be an appropriate invitation to expedition. Soon after this, one of the vergers of St. Paul's Cathedral, a portly-looking man, placed himself in the presidential chair, and was loudly but ironically cheered.

A gentleman, who seemed to be an official person, jumped upon the table, at this stage of the proceedings, and delivered the following address: 'Ladies and gentlemen—I am requested by the managers to state, that Mrs. Dexter is outside, and as soon as the police can clear the crowd that is pressing upon the doors without, she will appear.' Another person informed the meeting that Mrs. Dexter would appear as soon as the uproar ceased. She could not be expected to enter while the meeting was conducting itself in a manner disgraceful to a British audience. (Great uproar.)

The Verger of St. Paul's: The sooner the better, or else there will be a jolly row. (Laughter and cheers.) I don't much care, I've got a very comfortable seat here.

Half-past nine o'clock arrived, and the indignation of the meeting vented itself in the most fearful yelling. Threats of damage to the building were proclaimed, and great anxiety prevailed lest injury might be inflicted.

A man, habited in the Bloomer costume, came upon the platform, and addressed the meeting as follows: Ladies and Gentlemen—According to arrangement, my wife, Mrs. Dexter, is here in this room. We have been waiting in the next room for half an hour, and could not get out. But if you will be quiet, Mrs. Dexter will come. (Uproar.) I wish her to come forward, if she is in the room. When she was in the next room, she was obliged to change her costume with another lady, in order to get through the crowd. I missed her, and I can tell no more. (Uproar.)

As there appeared no symptom of Mrs. Dexter's arrival, loud cries again rose from every part of the hall. Several gentlemen demanded to know who were the committee appointed to manage the matter, and Mr. Taylor having announced himself one of that body, he was informed that proceedings would be taken against him and others, at the police office, for obtaining money under false pretences. This intimation was received with great favor by the meeting, who cheered it most vociferously.

A loud cry was raised for the chairman, and the verger of St. Paul's, who had been occupying his post and calmly surveying the agitated state of the meeting, rose and beat a hasty retreat. There was another cry for Mr. Dexter, but he had disappeared.

Mr. Taylor, a committeeman, informed the meeting that it was intended to defer the meeting until next Monday, when the hall would be opened free. On being asked to return the money paid for admission, he said he could not find the check-taker. (Loud expressions of indignation.) He was about attempting to effect his escape, when he was roughly seized and made prisoner by the gentlemen on the platform.

The excitement at this stage of the proceedings was of a frightful character. Throgh a window at the extreme end of the hall, a dummy in rough Bloomer costume was suspended. There was a desperate rush from one end of the hall to the other, and many persons were seriously injured.

A young woman, who had been standing in the body of the hall, made her way to the platform, and ascended the table. Under the impression that it was Mrs. Bloomer in ordinary female costume, the meeting cheered her with great enthusiasm, and then relapsed into a dead silence. She then addressed the meeting as follows: Ladies and gentlemen, I have got on this platform to show you that if Mrs. Dexter is here in this room, she can come up here with the greatest ease. (Hear, hear, hear.) Gentlemen will allow her to pass, and not only allow her to pass, but assist her if she will make the attempt. (Cheers.) Come forward, Mrs. Dexter, if you are here. (Renewed cheering.) Come forward, if you do not wish to make fools of the ladies and gentlemen who are present. Mrs. Dexter, I call upon you to come forward and show yourself to these gentlemen; there is no corner of the room from which you cannot pass through these gentlemen, dense as the crowd is. (Cheers.) If Mrs. Dexter will not come forward, let those who are connected with her return the money that has been paid at the doors. If she does not do that, all this proceeding will be put down as a swindle. My opinion is, ladies and gentlemen, that you are collected here to be laughed at, or to have your pockets picked. I am told that a committee of men undertook to manage this affair; why, then, don't they do their duty? If women had formed the committee, you would have seen the lady,—Mrs. Dexter. (Loud cheers.)

A call was raised for Mr. Taylor, the committeeman, and he stood side by side on the table with the valorous young woman who had undertaken to lead the meeting. He presented a most pitiable and lamentable appearance, being a person of small stature.

The young woman, taking him by the hand, said: Ladies and gentlemen, this is one of the responsible parties, one of the committee. Mr. Dexter has gone, the check-taker has gone, and this poor young man has been left to settle the matter with you. [Laughter.]

The young woman (addressing Taylor:) What have you to say, sir?

Mr. Taylor, looking very disconsolate, held his hat before his eyes, but volunteered no explanation.

Some conversation took place between Mr. Taylor and his fair assailant, during which time the auditory remained very silent. At length she said, 'This gentleman says Mr. Dexter has gone to seek his wife [roars of laughter,] and yet they say Mrs. Dexter is in the room. What do they mean by all this? Let this poor young man explain it. He says he can't give you any information, and so here he is, and I throw him upon your mercy. Do what you like with him. Wait a minute, however, and I will ask him a question or two. [Loud cheers.]

The young woman: What are your name and address?

Mr. Taylor (very slowly and very feebly:) I don't think it right to tell.

The young woman: There is a man who calls himself an Englishman, and is ashamed of his name. [Hear, hear.] I will ask him another question, and that is, whether he knows how the money which has been collected at the doors has been disposed of?

Mr. Taylor: I don't know, the check-taker has gone. [Hisses and yells.]

The young woman (addressing Taylor:) Have you got any money? [Tremendous cheering.]

Mr. Taylor made some reply, but it was inaudible to every one but the young woman, who said, Gentlemen, he says he has got money in his pocket, but it does not belong to him.

Upon this announcement being made, a vast body of persons pushed towards the platform, determined to take summary vengeance upon poor Taylor. He was driven right and left with merciless violence, and would probably have sustained some injury, had not the police entered, and seeing the danger to which he was exposed, judiciously removed him.

Several other persons addressed the meeting in an impassioned manner, denouncing the whole affair as an unmitigated hoax, and unqualified swindle. The remarks which were directed personally towards Mrs. Dexter and the leaders of the Bloomer party, the law of libel forbids us to publish.

As there seemed to be no chance of the promised address by Mrs. Dexter, the auditory dispersed with violent invectives against Bloomerism and its advocates.

There seems to be no doubt that the immense mass of persons who assembled completely duped Mrs. Dexter. It is equally certain that, although there were many persons present who were disposed to treat the matter as a joke, the vast majority of the audience would have secured for Mrs. Dexter a fair hearing, and have protected her from any annoyance. The attention which the young woman whose part in the proceedings we have detailed met, is a sufficient exemplification of this fact.

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13 WINTER STREET.

September 19 2w

To the Honorable the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, now holden at Boston, within and for the County of Suffolk, on the thirtieth day of September, 1851.

RESPECTFULLY libels and propounds EMILINE S. BOND, of Boston, in our county of Suffolk, that she was lawfully married to DAVID BOND, of Boston, aforesaid, Mariner, on the second day of June, in the year eighteen hundred and twenty nine, that she has ever since behaved as a faithful wife; that for more than twelve years successively next preceding the thirtieth day of September, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty one, without the consent of the libellant, he has utterly and wilfully deserted her; that she believes he is and has been during that time absent from this Commonwealth.

That for more than twelve years the said David has neglected to support her.

Wherefore she prays this Honorable Court to decree that the bonds of matrimony between her and said David may be disolved.

EMILINE S. BOND.

Boston, Oct. 8, 1851.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

SUFFOLK, ss.

SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT.
March Term, 1851.

Upon the foregoing Libel it is ordered, that the libellant give notice unto the said DAVID BOND to appear before this Court to be holden at Boston, within and for the County of Suffolk on Monday the eighth day of December next, by adjournment from the second Tuesday of November next, by publishing an attested copy of the foregoing Libel and of this order thereon three weeks successively in the Liberator, a newspaper printed in said Boston, the last publication to be thirty days at least before said eighth day of December, that he may then and there shew cause why the prayer of said Libel should not be granted.

By the Court,
GEO. C. WILDE, Clerk.

Oct. 13, 1851.

A true copy of the foregoing Libel and of the order of Court thereon.

Attest, GEO. C. WILDE, *Clerk.*

TO REFORMERS.

JUST published, and for sale by W. J. BANER, No. 201 William street, New York,

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY, No. 1.

The true Constitution of Government, in the Sovereignty of the Individual, as the final development of Protestantism, Democracy and Socialism. By Stephen Pearl Andrews. 70 pp. 12 mo. Price, 20 cts.

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The above works can be ordered from the publisher, WM. J. BANER, No. 201 William street, New York, and sent by mail in or out of the United States. 3t

Miss H. Martineau's New Book!

LETTERS

ON THE LAWS OF MAN'S NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT.

By HARRIET MARTINEAU and H. G. ATKINSON.

First American edition, just published and for sale by J. P. MENDUM, 35 Washington street, Boston, up stairs, 4th story.

August 29 istf

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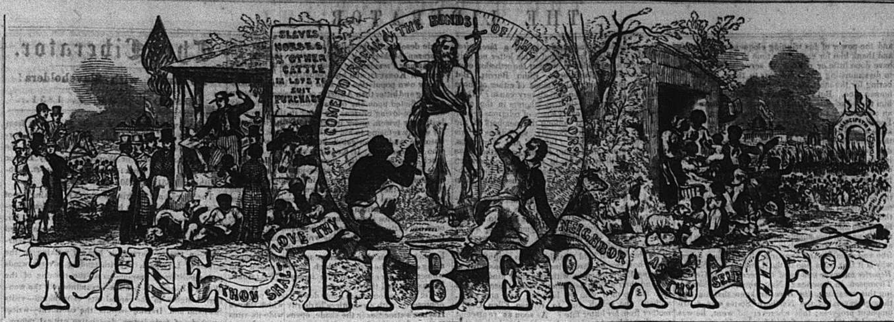
Financial Committee.—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, WENDELL PHILLIPS. [This Committee is responsible only for the financial economy of the paper—not for any of its debts.]



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

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

VOL. XXI. NO. 45. BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1851. WHOLE NO. 1087.

Refuge of Oppression.

From the Syracuse (N. Y.) Star.

'LAW AND ORDER.'

Pursuant to a call signed by eight hundred citizens of Syracuse, and the County of Onondaga, a meeting was held in the City Hall of this city, at 2 P. M., on Saturday, Oct. 25th, to express a proper condemnation of the late infamous outrage perpetrated by an armed mob, on the 1st of October.

The Hon. Harvey Baldwin then addressed the meeting in an eloquent and patriotic speech, a full report of which will appear hereafter.

The Hon. James M. Brooks, M. C. from New York, being loudly called for, rose and addressed the meeting in a sound, eloquent, and impressive speech.

The following officers were appointed:—

President—M. D. Burnet.

Vice Presidents—B. Davis Noxon, John G. Forbes, Johnson Hall, Thomas Spencer, Phares Gould, Rufus Stanton, M. W. Bennett, Otis Bigelow, Jas. Lynch, Elijah Rhodes, Joseph C. Spencer, Dorastus Kellogg, E. L. Phillips, Harvey Loomis, John Sandford, L. H. Redfield.

Secretaries—Winslow M. Watson, Cornelius L. Alvord, Stephen D. Dillaye, Benj. L. Higgins, Elisha C. Adams.

The Chairman appointed the following Committee on an Address and Resolutions:—Geo. F. Comstock, W. M. Watson, S. D. Dillaye, H. Baldwin, Thomas T. Davis, and John F. Wyman.

This Committee reported an address, and the following resolutions, which were adopted:—

Whereas, a rigid observance of the Constitution and the laws, and a prompt and vigorous repression of all attempts at their violation, have ever been justly regarded as essential to the maintenance of civil liberty—and

Whereas, on the first of October inst., a law of the U. S., enacted in strict conformity with a requirement of the Constitution, and subsequently affirmed by the proper judicial tribunals, was deliberately violated by a mob assembled for that purpose in this city—the officers of the U. S. Government assaulted and maimed, and their prisoner rescued by violence from their custody—whereby the power of the Federal Government was set at defiance, the sanctity of a Court of Justice invaded by armed rioters, and the peace and order of the city temporarily subverted,

Therefore—Be it Resolved, That we, citizens of Syracuse and the County of Onondaga, deeply regret the commission of the aforesaid outrage upon the law, and would express our unqualified abhorrence of the infamous transaction.

Resolved, That while we unreservedly condemn the conduct of those who actually participated in the riot of the 1st October, we repel the accusation that any large number of the citizens of Onondaga, were engaged in that disgraceful affair.

Resolved, That we will steadfastly adhere to the obligations imposed upon all the citizens of the United States of America, by their adoption of the Constitution—that we will yield obedience to all laws Constitutionally enacted—and faithfully abide by the decision of all legally constituted judicial tribunals.

Resolved, That we regard with extreme abhorrence the counsels of those misguided, infatuated and seditious persons, who have repeatedly within the past year, in their convocations in this city and elsewhere in this section of the State, promulgated the most rebellious and treasonable doctrines—blasphemous, in many cases, both in language and sentiment—in their tendency promotive of hostility to the Constitution and the laws—subversive of the Union, and destructive of the glorious heritage of a free Government, which our fathers bequeathed, as they hoped, to the American people, for a possession, forever and ever.

Resolved, That the recent resistance to the law in this city, is the natural consequence of the teachings of these preachers of sedition; that they should therefore be held morally responsible as accessories before the act, and in consequence of such participation, as morally guilty of a violation of the law, and as such deserving of the severe reprobation of all good men.

The meeting then adjourned, with three cheers for the Constitution and the Laws.

A CHIVALRIC EPISTLE.

MAYS' LICK, Ky., Aug. 21, 1851.

MR. HENRY C. WRIGHT—*Dear Sir*—I read some days since an extract of a speech or a letter you were lately delivered of, on the 11th of July, on this glorious Union. And I must say, that such ignoble, unpatriotic, illiberal, ungenerous, unmanly, and Anti-Christian sentiments, are not becoming a barbarian, much less, one who calls himself a benevolent, philanthropic Christain.

'You are an abolitionist, and as such your enthusiasm exceeds your prudence. You ought to mind how you talk about this glorious Union. You ought to recollect that Kentucky has raised enough hemp to make *ropes* to *hang* all such traitors as you, and other kindred spirits of Ohio; and also that North Carolina has manufactured enough tar, and Missouri has raised enough of *feathers*, to tar and feather all such detestable, villanous characters.

'It would afford us great pleasure to give you a coat of *tar and feathers*, and if you will show your detestable and villanous countenance over here, you will see something you have not seen for some time, and it may be, you never have seen it in your life.

'Come over, and I'll warrant you a real Kentucky welcome.

Yours truly,

RICHARD B. LOMAX.'

ARMING OF 'YOUNG AFRICA.'

A correspondent writes us, that 'for a few days past, it has been observed that colored persons are pricing and buying fire-arms, such as pistols, revolvers, &c., with the avowed intention of using them against the ministers of the law, and our orderly citizens, should they be called upon to aid in executing the Fugitive Law in our city.' And the writer suggests that some measures should be adopted to put a stop to these premonitory symptoms of treason.

Whether what our correspondent apprehends be fully justified by the facts or not, we are unable to say. But we have no apprehensions of the sort. Let the negroes buy as many revolvers as they please; but they may rest assured that the first one that is used by them against our citizens will be the signal for the extermination of the whole negro race from our midst. If they wish to provoke *a war of the races*, by re-enacting the bloody scenes of Christiana, they will find our civil and military authorities, and our citizens at large, prepared to defend themselves, and to put down their murderous assaults, with an avenging arm that will carry retributive justice home to such vile traitors and assassins. If the issue is to be forced upon us, to decide whether the white races are to maintain their rights and their position, or whether *negro mob law* is to govern and ride rampant over our laws, constitution and liberties—let it be known at once, that our people may be prepared for the emergency.—*Rochester Adv.*

Selections.

From the New Bedford Standard.

REPLY

To 'a Portion of the Citizens' of Newbern, in Council.

To M. A. OUTTEN, Chairman, WM. G. BRYAN, Secretary, and the GENTLEMEN comprising the meeting held in the Court-House, in Newbern, North Carolina, Sept., 1851, and their sympathizers.

GENTLEMEN—I have the honor to acknowledge that I am not in the receipt of 'a copy of the proceedings' of your meeting furnished me by your 'Secretary.' Either he has failed to comply with the vote of the meeting, as published in your papers, or it has been miscarried. It may be he could not get it *lightered* over the SWASH. At any rate, my notice of it has been delayed already, in consequence of its not coming to hand, quite too long. But having received from an unknown hand the 'Republican and Patriot,' printed in Goldsboro', in your State, September 25th, last past, in which I find what purports to be said proceedings, I take it for granted that it is correct, as this appears to be one of the papers requested to publish the same, to wit:

MEETING OF THE CITIZENS OF NEWBERN.

It being made known to the citizens of the town of Newbern, that a vessel, the property of Rodney French, of Massachusetts, had arrived at our port, soliciting employment; a portion of the citizens of the town assembled in public meeting at the Court-house, on the 17th instant—

When Matthew W. Outten was called to the Chair, and Wm. G. Bryan appointed Secretary. After the meeting was organized, the following preamble and resolutions were reported, read, and unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, in the late attempts to reclaim fugitive slaves in the States of Massachusetts, which slaves had escaped from their lawful owners in the Southern States, Rodney French, a citizen of the town of New Bedford, in the aforesaid State of Massachusetts, was foremost in the lead of the opposition to the execution of the law under which said slaves were claimed to be restored to their owners, and the said Rodney French did, by his acts and public speeches, endeavor to influence and excite the abolition party of his town to resist the execution of the laws of the United States, and in said speeches he called on the fugitive slaves and free negroes to arm themselves, and prevent the taking away runaway slaves; and whereas, the said Rodney French has a vessel now in our port soliciting Southern men for employment; and, in view of these facts, be it

Resolved, That we, the citizens of the town of Newbern, in public meeting assembled, do pledge ourselves to give the said French no support, no aid, no employment, whereby he may receive one *cent* from us, a portion of the people of the South, of whom he has been so liberal in his abuse; and further, that all our exertions shall be used with our fellow-citizens to influence them from patronizing the said vessel, so that she shall go away without a barrel of freight.

Resolved, That the masters and owners of lighters be requested not to lighter said vessel over the Swash.

Resolved, That the Intendant be requested to have the said vessel searched, and place a watch over her until she leaves the port.

Resolved, That our sister towns in the State be requested not to employ said vessel or any other owned by said French, nor countenance any individual connected with said French in any way whatever.

Resolved, That to that portion of the North who have manifested a disposition to carry out in good faith the Fugitive Slave Law, we extend the hand of fellowship, and we shall always greet them with a hearty welcome.

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to send a copy of these proceedings to said Rodney French.

Resolved, That the Newbernian, North State Whig, Republican and Patriot, and Wilmington papers, be requested to publish these proceedings.

M. A. OUTTEN, *Chairman.*

WM. G. BRYAN, *Secretary.*

The vessel in question was not in your harbor by any orders of mine. She was ordered to Bay River and vicinity for a cargo of lumber, contracted for by me, which, on her arrival there, owing to heavy rains, was not quite ready. Captain Pratt being one of the owners of the vessel, upon his 'own mere motion,' concluded in the mean time to go to your place, and take a freight to New York.

I became interested in the vessel with Capt. Pratt, after the loss of his schooner, the CAROLINA, for the purpose of giving him business and getting my lumber, &c., to market. Not foreseeing, no, nor even conjecturing, that she would ever disturb the equanimity of 'a portion of the citizens of the town' of Newbern, by 'SOLICITING SOUTHERN MEN FOR EMPLOYMENT.'

To me, however, this is no new thing. I have received similar treatment before, and bore it cheerfully. In New England—in Massachusetts; yes, in the city of New Bedford, I have been proscribed for opinion sake, and compelled by a sense of duty to others, to dissolve with my partner in business. I am getting accustomed to these things. As the boy said of his eels, 'It don't hurt them at all to skin them, after they get used to it.' So it is with me. Being so accustomed to such treatment, it produces no pain whatever.

He (my partner) was told by those who had the power,—commercial as well as political,—'Dissolve with French, and we will "extend the hand of fellowship" commercially; but if you do not, we will give you "no support, no aid, no employment," whereby you "may receive one *cent* from us."' In less than ten minutes after his desire to separate was announced to me, a dissolution was decided upon, and before the sun set in the west again, my relation to the concern terminated. In this case, I shall be as prompt as the circumstances will admit. That Captain Pratt and others may not suffer, I shall dispose of my interest in the vessel to him, or some of his friends, on her arrival—*no matter the sacrifice*; and my business in your State will be closed forthwith.

Why all this? What have I done to bring down in such haste, after the arrival of the A. in your waters, the indignation of 'A PORTION of the citizens of the town' of Newbern?

In the first place, you say, 'Whereas, in the late attempts to reclaim fugitive *slaves* in the State of Massachusetts, which *slaves* had escaped from their LAWFUL OWNERS of the Southern States, Rodney French * * * was foremost in the lead of the opposition to the execution of the *law* under which *slaves* were claimed to be returned to their owners.' The high distinction you award to me here will be disputed by others, therefore I must decline it. On most occasions where my sympathies have been enlisted, I have been content to fill some humble place in the ranks, rather than aspire to be '*foremost in the lead*.'

But, gentlemen, are you sure that your premises are correct in another regard? You speak of slaves who had 'escaped from their lawful owners.' I was not aware that there was a slave upon this continent who had escaped from his '*lawful owner*.' Is it not impossible for one man to be the lawful owner of another, in this 'LAND OF THE FREE AND HOME OF THE BRAVE,' under the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of these United States? The former of which declares, 'that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.' And the latter declares, that it was adopted to 'establish JUSTICE, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of LIBERTY to ourselves and our posterity.'

Talk about one man being the lawful owner of another man, under such circumstances! Is it not preposterous? Besides, I have yet to learn that you have any laws upon your statute-books making any class of *persons* SLAVES. We have been told by high authority that you have none.

Mr. Mason of Virginia, in his place in the Senate of the United States, a short time since, told the Senate, the country, and the WORLD, that to his knowledge there were no laws in the slaveholding States making any class of PERSONS, SLAVES. How, then, can a lawful claim be established by one man to the bonus and muscles, body and soul (as it were) of another man?

We have been taught, at the NORTH, and most of us believe it to be true, that the three millions of human beings, 'made in the image of GOD, but a little lower than the ANGELS,' that you assume have lawful owners down South, are held in a relentless, cruel, inhuman and unjust bondage, 'ONE HOUR *of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which our fathers rose in* REBELLION TO OPPOSE'; and that those who assume to be their masters work them without pay, and sell them at pleasure—have no more right to do so than the slaves would have, could they obtain the power, to make slaves of their present masters—work them without compensation, and sell them upon the auction-block to the highest bidder.

It is not by virtue of JUSTICE, of RIGHT, or of LAW, then, but by virtue of Power, which enables men to assume the relation of 'lawful owners'; which power, sooner or later, will certainly cease to occupy its present seat, unless God ceases to be just. We have long ago been told by a distinguished Southron, '*There is no attribute of the* ALMIGHTY, *that can possibly take sides with* SLAVERY'; and, in view of the enormity of the system, 'I tremble for my COUNTRY when I reflect that GOD is JUST.'

Gentlemen, we hold, or rather most of us, this way, that there is not a slave in his chains down South, who has not a right to his immediate, unconditional liberty. Who can successfully deny this?

Why, gentlemen, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of this Commonwealth, at a public dinner table, soon after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, when that was the uppermost topic of conversation, remarked (in substance and nearly verbatim) as follows: 'There is not a slave upon a Southern plantation, who has not a perfect, God-given right to demand his immediate liberty of his master at any moment, and if it is denied him, to take it over all opposition, at any expense of blood or life.'

When our Chief Justices put forth sentiments like these, you must not be surprised if they are quite universal.

Do such men often get in advance of public sentiment upon such questions?

You say I have endeavored to 'influence the abolition party of this city 'to resist the execution of the law of the *United States*'!

Suppose, for the sake of the argument, that it were so, (which, by the way, is not admitted, and you produce no proof,) did any but tyrants and traitors to humanity and liberty impose that law upon us? And is not 'resistance to tyrants obedience to God'? Are men to be blamed for acting in obedience to God?

This (so-called) Fugitive Slave Law, what is it, that I am called upon to obey it, and assist in its execution?

It is the most disgraceful, atrocious, unjust, detestable, heathenish, barbarous, diabolical, tyrannical, man-degrading, woman-murdering, demon-pleasing, heaven-defying act ever perpetrated in any age of the world by persons claiming to have consciences and a belief in a just God. In one word, it is the '*sum of all* VILLANIES.'

How came it upon the statute-books of this nation? It was put there, not by the will of the people, but it found its way there through the instrumentality of the darkest, yes, the blackest and wickedest treachery to professions, principles, constituencies, humanity, LIBERTY and *Independence*, since Judas betrayed his Master; or even since the morning stars sang together.

But for Daniel Webster's 7th of March speech, the 'Omnibus Committee' never would have been conceived. Without his vote, it never would have been born. All had voted but that ARCH TRAITOR, and it lacked one vote to give it life. His name was called once, and no response. Again, and no reply; when a number of Southern gentlemen, to whom he had undoubtedly pledged himself, repaired to his seat, as I am credibly informed, and one of them addressed him thus:—'Mr. Webster, don't let your courage ooze out at your fingers' ends; come up like a man, vote to raise the committee, and redeem your pledge.' There was undoubtedly a mighty struggle between the 'GOD-LIKE' and DEMON-LIKE going on in the mind of the great expounder, at that time, the latter of which finally prevailed. His name was called a third time, and he got out a faint 'Yes'! The work was done. His constituents, his country, humanity, 'God and Liberty' betrayed! Judas, it is said, actually received thirty pieces of silver for his treachery; Mr. Webster, only the promise of thirty States to preside over, if he could cheat them into the arrangement.

Had there been half as much of the divine spirit about him (and perhaps less spirits in him,) as there was in Judas Iscariot, he would, upon reflection, have gone out of the Senate chamber, and shared the same, or a similar fate. But, no, his treachery was of the *Arnold type*, doomed to have the finger of scorn pointed at him up and down the earth.

He has his reward. Shut out of Faneuil Hall, the ancient CRADLE of LIBERTY, until its 'doors turn upon golden hinges'—repudiated by the Massachusetts Whig State Convention, as a candidate for the Presidency, and compelled to fall back upon his subscription list, for that high distinction. And then, how about his Southern friends, who promised him their support, if he would turn his back upon the North? How is he rewarded in that quarter? As Arnold was in Great Britain, 'They love the treason, but despise the traitor.' They can't trust him. Are the Southern presses out for Mr. W. for the Presidency? The only allusion to him from that quarter that I have seen, of late, was from a paper whose editor discourses thus: 'I wish it distinctly understood that Daniel Webster is not on my list of candidates for the Presidency, neither as my first choice—as an available, or a last resort.'

You may think I attach too much importance to the influence of one man in this transaction. But let me ask you, had the great 'expounder' in his 7th of March speech ranged himself on the side of freedom, instead of slavery, and declared in his place, what he had enunciated upon Massachusetts soil, and elsewhere, viz: 'The Wilmot Proviso is my thunder—The Whig party is the only true *free soil* party—No more SLAVE REPRESENTATION in CONGRESS—No more SLAVE STATES—NOT ANOTHER INCH OF SLAVE TERRITORY,' would the Omnibus Committee ever have been conceived?

Again, had he, on that occasion, presented the following extracts from the Resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts, passed in 1838, 1847, 1849, and 1850, to wit:

'Congress ought to take measures to effect the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY in the DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—Congress has by the Constitution power to abolish slavery in the territories,—Congress has by the Constitution power to *abolish* the *traffic* in SLAVES BETWEEN DIFFERENT STATES of the UNION.—That the exercise of this power is demanded by the principles of HUMANITY and JUSTICE,—That the Legislature of Massachusetts views the existence of HUMAN SLAVERY within the limits of the United States, as a great calamity and an immense moral and political evil which ought to be abolished,—that its extension should be uniformly and earnestly opposed by all good and patriotic men throughout the Union; Congress has full power to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the territories, and that it is the duty of Congress to exercise the power for the perpetual exclusion of the institution from the territories that are free, and for the extinction of the same in territories where it exists. The people of the State of Massachusetts, acting under a solemn sense of duty, have deliberately and repeatedly expressed their purpose, to resist the extension of slavery into the national territories, or the admission of new slave States into the Union, and for these ends to apply, in every practicable mode, the principles of the ordinance of 1787; also to seek the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the withdrawal of the power and influence of the general Government from the support of slavery, so far as the same may be constitutionally done; and

Whereas, The important questions before the country make it desirable that these convictions should be reaffirmed; therefore,

Resolved, That the people of Massachusetts earnestly insist upon the application by Congress of the ordinance of 1787, with all possible sanctions and solemnities of law, to the territorial possessions of the Union, in all parts of the continent for all coming time. It is the duty of Congress to pass such laws only in regard to the delivering up of fugitive slaves, as will be sustained by the public sentiment of the FREE STATES, where such laws are to be enforced, and which shall especially secure to all persons claimed as fugitives from labor or service, the right of having the validity of such claim determined by a jury in the State where such claim is made.'

Then, had Mr. W. added, these are the sentiments of my constituents—of the free North—they are my sentiments, and the sentiments of my Hon. colleague upon this floor—we are pledged to maintain them by the acceptance of the trusts reposed in us by the people of Massachusetts, 'NOW AND FOREVER,' would the Omnibus Committee ever have been born, or the aforesaid Fugitive Slave Law disgraced the statute book of this republic? No, verily! But Mr. Webster being promised Southern support for the Presidency, CAVED IN, and with him an army of Northern 'doughfaces,' who were to be rewarded with offices for themselves or their friends, under this and Mr. Webster's contemplated administration.

A law put upon our statute books, under these circumstances, is a law 'not fit to be made'—'not fit' to be obeyed or executed by any one. It should be EXPUNGED. 'It was conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity.'

It is wholly unconstitutional. There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States conferring the least authority upon Congress to pass such an act, or rather such a BILL OF ABOMINATIONS.

This was Hon. John C. Calhoun's view of the subject. Also that of Hon. Mr. Rhett, his successor, who, when the SHADRACH affair was before the Senate, said in his place:

'This government has it not in its power to enforce this law, so as to make it efficacious. I believe that by the action of the States, and the States *alone*, the rights of the South can be maintained and enforced.' Again—he says, 'the delivery of a fugitive from labor is an affair between two States. The fugitive is to be delivered up. To be delivered up, he must be seized. He must be in the possession of those who are to deliver him up. No authority within a State can seize a criminal against the laws of another State, but the authority of the State itself to which he has fled. This is the law of nations. Look at the Constitution. Is there one word in it referring to fugitive criminals and fugitive slaves, conferring any power on Congress to legislate upon these subjects? No power whatever is given to Congress. Congress is not even mentioned in that connection. What is the inevitable inference? Why, that *Congress has no such power*.'

The same opinion is entertained by eminent civilians, jurists and statesmen, the country over. It was the opinion of Shadrach, and Jerry, now residents in Canada. Of William Wells Brown, Henry *Box* Brown, and William and Ellen Crafts, who attended the World's Fair at the Crystal Palace, and who are now travelling in England. Of the citizens of Christiana, and also of Syracuse—not even excepting the military, notwithstanding the late 'Prophecy of Daniel.'

This being the view I take of this aforesaid Fugitive Slave Law, I certainly shall not obey it, or assist in its execution, come what may. I shall do what in me lies to have it repealed or expunged.

God forbid, that any panting fugitive from the prison-house of bondage should ever tap at my door, and be turned away empty. No matter how close upon his heels are his pursuers.

I prefer to have my lot cast with that proscribed and persecuted class, rather than enjoy the 'employment,' 'for a season,' of those who can only 'extend the hand of friendship' upon condition that I assist them in 'carrying out, in good faith, the Fugitive Slave Law.'

You are pleased to prefer another charge, viz: that in my 'public speeches,' I have 'called on the fugitive slaves and free negroes to arm themselves, and prevent the taking away runaway slaves.'

This, as well as all your other charges, is unsupported by a particle of evidence, and is without foundation and truth. The fugitive slaves and free negroes here, needed no word of mine to excite them to resist 'the taking away runaway slaves.' One of our Judges of the Court of Common Pleas said to a fugitive who asked him for money to enable him to go to Canada, No! Not a dollar; but if you want a 'six barrel Pistol' to defend your liberty on Massachusetts soil, and will promise to use it if necessary, I will give it to you, and any other arms you may require. The mere mention, in the papers, of the passage of that law was enough to 'excite' them to arm themselves with as fixed a determination as Jackson prepared to resist the British at New Orleans, and in the estimation of many of our citizens in quite as commendable and praiseworthy a cause. They remembered the words of the wise man in the 24th of Proverbs, 10th, 11th and 12th verses: 'If thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small. If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death; and those that are ready to be slain, if thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his works?

This I have said in public and private, and I repeat it, were I a fugitive from a Southern plantation, 'a tall dark complexioned colored man' if you please,—had I escaped to a free State,—should I be pursued by any one claiming me as a slave with a view of taking me back to bondage by authority of the Fugitive Slave Law; the first man that approached me for that purpose, I would shoot down, if in my power, and as many of his posse as seemed necessary to escape their grasp. And this, gentlemen, is no more or less than you would do under similar circumstances. I know you well. I know you would. 'If this be treason, make the most of it.' Who dares to affirm that it would be wrong? Let him that can, stand up and show why.

It seems that you have pledged yourselves to 'give the said Rodney no support, no employment,' &c.

Once upon a time, a certain wealthy house (which shall be nameless on this occasion) had a ship-master in its employ, who made the shortest voyages and the most money for the house of any captain in their service. However, he turned an honest penny to good account for himself also, which came to be viewed by his employers with some dissatisfaction. At the completion and settlement of a very successful voyage, the captain's share amounted to so much that the partners consulted together, and decided to discharge him. Accordingly the senior partner said to him: 'Well, captain, we have no more employ for you.' 'Very well, gentlemen,' (was the reply,) 'I don't thank you for your employ, I am able to employ myself.'

Have you not gone a little out of your way, and interfered with business not exactly your own, by making an effort to prevent 'masters and owners of lighters from lightering said schooner OVER THE SWASH?'

Now I submit whether this does not exhibit a spirit far from creditable to high-minded and honorable gentlemen? But let me assure you, that whether the vessel gets lightered 'OVER THE SWASH,' or not, I shall be quite as reluctant to assist in carrying back to bondage those that have escaped from the South, and shall not be withheld in the least in any efforts I may be able to put forth, in behalf of the down-trodden and the oppressed. Or even if you had *burned* her to ashes in you harbor, [as I learn from a private source you threatened to do,] it would not have been a very convincing argument, that I ought to 'conquer my prejudices' and assist with 'alacrity' in the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law; although a perfectly conclusive one, I grant you, against the said vessel ever again '*soliciting Southern men for employment*.'

You go one step further, [and there is, it is said, 'but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous,'] and endeavor to influence your 'sister towns' not to employ any vessels of mine, 'nor countenance any individual connected with' me 'in any way whatever.' This might be viewed by some of more limited experience in this line, as adding insult to injury. But, gentlemen, I take no exceptions at any thing you have been pleased to say or do in the premises. 'Those whom the gods design to destroy, they first make mad.' You have high authority for this part of your proceedings. It has long since been laid down as a rule, by slaveholders and 'Northern Doughfaces' in the U. S. Senate, that no man should be confirmed by that august body, to any office in the gift of the Executive, (with now and then an exception,) who was not on the Southern side of the slavery question; or whose political associates were inimical to the 'peculiar institution;' or, in other words, who had not an exalted opinion of 'UNENLIGHTENED LABOR.' And while the compromise, so called, was in contemplation, and under discussion, all the important executive nominations to offices in the free States were laid upon the shelf, and it was promulgated unblushingly, in substance in the House and Senate, that none can have office from the 'WHITE HOUSE,' no, nor their political friends either, who dare to vote against the 'chivalry of the South' in this respect. Still, I do not despair of my country, 'however bounded.' It will not always be so, in that branch of our government. The Granite Empire, and I am happy to add the 'Old Bay State' also, will be represented there next session by *three men* at least, who will not fear the face of CLAY; but will stand up boldly for Freedom. 'A three fold cord is not quickly broken.' In view of these things, I feel very much as Paul did when he came in sight of the Three Taverns: 'he thanked God, and took courage.'

I have had commercial relations with the citizens of your State for the last thirty years. Have met every contract and paid every demand. Have carried, and caused to be invested in your State, hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars, for your lands, the products of your soil, your industry, and your forests. In my possession is a large amount of unredeemed paper against your citizens, taken for property I have parted with, that they have enjoyed. Still, rather than be classed with 'that portion of the NORTH who have manifested a disposition to carry out in good faith the Fugitive Slave Law,' to whom only 'the hand of fellowship and **** hearty welcome' can be extended, by those who make merchandise of men, women, and children, that God made our EQUAL BRETHREN, and endowed with the '*inalienable right*' of LIBERTY *and the pursuit of* HAPPINESS,' and for whose *redemption* CHRIST DIED, I am ready to suffer any *pecuniary loss* in your *power to impose*, any *ostracism* TYRANNY CAN INVENT, any PENALTY this SLAVE-CATCHING GOVERNMENT can INFLICT.

In conclusion, permit me to commend to your consideration the language that Abraham addressed to Lot:—'Let there be no strife; I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen, for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself I pray thee from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right, or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left.'

Yours for the right,

RODNEY FRENCH.

New Bedford, Oct. 20, 1851.

[Papers that have published the doings of the meeting at Newbern are respectfully requested to copy the above 'Reply.']

THE SLAVE CASE AT WASHINGTON. We learn through an authentic channel that the Presbyterian 'Elder' in Washington city has finally consummated the sale to the slave-trader, of the young woman whom he has kept through the heats of summer confined in a filthy pen. She was carried on to the South in a gang or coffle last week. Her mother, who is a servant in a wealthy and truly benevolent family, says she had tried in vain to prevent the loss of her child, by offering the price in money to the 'Elder'—the full market value. The Elder officiated in his place at the communion on the first Sabbath in the present month; and as the church belongs to the New School body, it is very likely he may be on hand to officiate in the same capacity for the General Assembly when it meets. The slave trade at Washington being abolished by the 'compromise,' the sale and imprisonment took place at Alexandria.—*N. Y. Independent.*

From the Pittsburgh Saturday Evening Visitor.

'CHRISTIAN STATESMAN.'

Is the misnomer of a handsome new weekly, of the size and much the appearance of 'The National Era.' It has been started in Washington City, by Rev. R. R. Gurley and Daniel R. Goodloe, editors, and is 'dedicated to African Colonization and Civilization, to Literature and General Intelligence.' It may be statesmanship to advocate sending free Negroes to Africa, in order to enhance the value of slaves; but the Christianity of expatriating our native-born citizens, because we bear them a most unchristian hatred, is another matter. The *Christian* policy of sending 'the heathen of this country' to civilize and Christianize the heathen of another country is somewhat doubtful; and even the statesmanship of exiling so much of 'Virginia's best blood' might be questioned, so long as our millions of acres lie untilled, calling to the laborers of all lands to come and redeem them from the wilderness. We are not so very much crowded in this country, that Messrs. Gurley and Goodloe need dedicate their energies to the support of expensive schemes for relieving us of our surplus population; and if their 'zeal for the Lord' moves them mightily in the cause of African missions, they should begin at the beginning—dedicate their powers to the education and preparation of their missionaries. To what other country do we send missionaries without first giving them a thorough Christian and mental training? Where are the schools and colleges for preparing the messengers who are to carry civilization—the light of the glorious gospel, of sciences and the arts, to the poor benighted African? In looking all over their columns, we can find no account of these schools, or who are the professors there. It cannot be possible they intend to choose their Christian missionaries out of that institution where masters Whip and Thumbscrew are the principal preceptors, and the laws visit with fine and imprisonment the offence of teaching any of the pupils to read! We are a little dull of comprehension, and cannot understand exactly how their benevolent intentions towards Africa are to be carried out. The account they copy from the Baltimore Patriot of the Randolph Negroes, who are a part of the missionaries they propose to send over, would lead us to fear that any civilizing process entrusted to their care would be very likely to progress backwards at an alarming rate. How these 'worthless pests upon the community' would aid in civilizing Africa is more than we can understand. It does not matter that the neighbors of these pests contradict the statement of the Patriot, and say they are as orderly and industrious as any other part of the community. Messrs. Gurley and Goodloe believe the other account, and, believing it, want these pests ordained Christian missionaries, and folks to contribute funds to send them out to civilize a nation! We cannot understand either the Christianity or the statesmanship of the *Christian Statesman*; but the saving knowledge of a set of men who have converted a whole class of people into ignorant beasts of burden and 'useless pests,' appealing to the benevolent for means to send them out of their road, is easy enough to understand and appreciate. Southern statesmen have forcibly kept their entire laboring population in the most degrading, brutalizing ignorance, in order that they might produce as much rude brute force as possible, without intelligence to dispute a master ruling will; and now, when the supply has become troublesome, they turn to their neighbors, and gravely ask for alms to rid themselves of the nuisance they have themselves created, and with a hypocrisy which would make Judas's kiss ashamed, they ask it in the name of Christ, that these ignorant, brutified 'pests' may represent Him, and carry His gospel to a people who are less heathen than themselves. It is modest, decidedly, and we trust the success of the *Statesman* may be commensurate with its Christianity and benevolence. The Reverend editors can surely ask no more.

From the Portland Inquirer.

THE MAINE CONGREGATIONAL CONFERENCE AND ANTI-SLAVERY.

For some years, anti-slavery men in the Congregational churches in Maine have petitioned the Maine Conference to withdraw fellowship from the General Assemblies of Presbyterian churches in the United States, for the reason that these Assemblies, both Old School and New School, are composed in part of slaveholders, and consequently are 'important bulwarks of the 'patriarchal institution.'

This year, in its place, the Committee of Arrangements rejected the Connecticut resolutions, affirming the supreme rights of God and of conscience, and brought forward the subject of Colonization, and time was set apart for its introduction by one of its advocates from Princeton, N. J., who was allowed to speak nearly twice the time allotted him—a special favor not granted to other speakers; although, for several years past, in deference to the anti-slavery sentiment which it was supposed pervaded the Conference, the Colonization question has not been introduced.

The great argument used to oppose anti-slavery men in the Maine Conference has been, that if we cease sending delegates to the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church, we deprive ourselves of any opportunity of laboring with them as Christians for their reformation on this subject.

This year, they have *shown* their insincerity in the use of this argument, with which they have heretofore blinded many conscientious Christians, by electing as their delegate to the Old School General Assembly, Rev. J. O. Fisk, of Bath, who has proved his loyalty to the interests of slavery, or rather, his subserviency to the ship owners of his congregation, by preaching a sermon in defence of the infamous Fugitive Slave Law; and, if I recollect rightly, was reported as one of the speakers at the Union, alias the Fugitive Slave Law meeting, held at Bath a few months ago, *ostensibly* to sustain the Constitution, but *really*, it is presumed, to sustain Daniel Webster, and to secure cotton freights.

This is the man they select as the organ of the Congregational churches of Maine, to deal in Christian faithfulness with that embodiment of pro-slavery, the Old School General Assembly of the Presbyterian church.

While this was going on, there were scores of ministers and laymen present, members of the Conference, who have repeatedly proved themselves the devoted friends of the slave, who listened to these proceedings with the submissive spirit they have so often severely rebuked in their representatives in Congress.

It was evident throughout the meetings, that pro-slavery was in the ascendency. From all I heard of the speeches and reports, the last two days of the meeting, I should not have imagined that there was a slave in the land.

Anti-slavery men have labored in years past with some faithfulness with that body, but now seem to have given up the case as hopeless. Will anti-slavery churches retain their connection with a conference which *paralyzes* all action, and, to so great an extent, suppresses sympathy for the crushed slave?

CONSISTENCY.

South Berwick, Oct. 13, 1851.