HE LIBERATOR

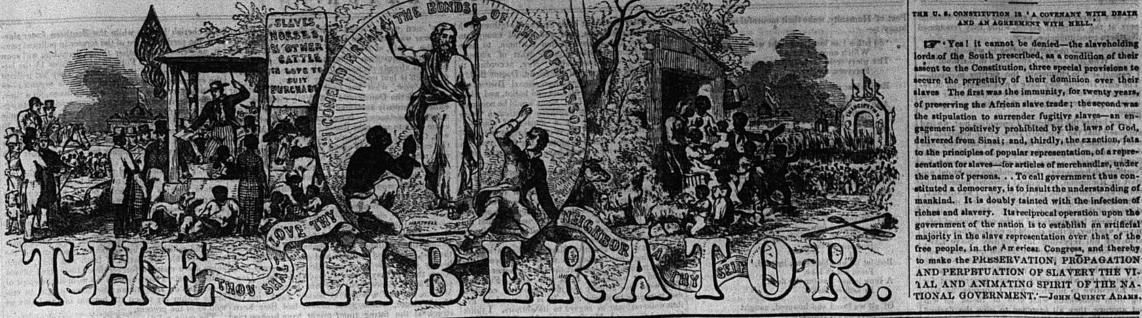
LT-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL. gold F. Wallcut, General Agent.

Tints \$2 50 per annum, in advance. Wil remittances are to be made, and all letters the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to good, (rost Palb.) to the General Agent.

The copies will be sent to one address for TEN Thiertisements making less than a square in-

of the times for 75 cts.—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, rain and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are aucel preceive subscriptions for the Liberator.

funcial Committee. - Francis Jackson, Ellis FARMEN, EDMEND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, fest Pitters. [This Committee is responsible with the financial economy of the paper—not for TH. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

TOL. XXII. NO. 37.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1852.

WHOLE NO. 1129.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholdin

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 en-gagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinat; and, thirdly, the exaction, fata

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons. . . To call government thus con-

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

AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VI-

### SPEECH OF HON. HORACE MANN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS, h & U. S. House of Representatives, Aug. 17, 1852.

there said that one of the collateral consequences acer, in this country, has been to deprave, cores amory of the world, has it ever happened that seeing men of a republic, and the leading oras seeing men or a reproduct of the seeing as of public sentiment, supported by their wealth, as because abettors and champions of slavery? It see his the morally hideous spectacle our coun-

when, before, in the history of the world, have the as information minds in the community labored and scheble distinction between a man and a brute age and enroot in our civil policy a vast, expanding sees, in which conscience, reason, the capacities fallow, and the inborn convictions of accountait and importality, are made subservient and mostary to bones and muscles, and put upon aucsalicks as incidents to the body that perisheth?
The before in all our history, have men of elosee and power ever traversed the country, and speed letters and speeches, like the flakes of a pas-storm, to subdue and harmonize the public are the Mayflower crossed the ocean with her presee the Maynower Crosses cent burden, has any one minister of the Puritan exters dated or ever desired to put on priestly ples and enter the house of God, to defend slavery iste it? Sir, such things were never know

e to politate it? Sir, such things were never known better. It is a new spectacle for men and angels. It mot give a new joy in the world of darkness.

Auster collaters! effect which slavery has produced, is the promulgation from the halls of Congres, and, also, from—what, in such cases, is not in strend but the profune desk—that there is no ther law than the Constitution, or than any inager as man properties which any corrupt Congress may put son 3. Such a doctrine is nothing less than palpathe and fagrent atheism. If I am bound to obey any malay or constitution, as my paramount rule of hama haw of constitution, as my paramount rived day, thenceforth that rule becomes my supreme ar-bler, judge, and god; and I am compelled, by logi-cal accessity, to abjure, renounce and depose all oth-ess. There cannot be two supreme rules of right.— I'l schowledge myself bound by the divine law, as that comes in conflict with the human law, then lamst disober the latter. But if the Luman law be be Higher Law,' and if it conflicts with God's law, ben I am bound to disobey the law of God. If the anstitution be the 'Higher Law,' then we, on takng on seats in this House, and all magictrates and galators, when entering upon the duties of their God to support the Constitution, but ought to swear by the Constitution to support that first, and God afterwards—provided it is convenient. I say, then, that this doctrine—which is one of the offshoots of -that there is no higher law than the law of be State, is palpable and practical atheism. And cily well known to all who hear me, bits all who frequent the puritieus of Congress, that there is no butt of ridicule so common here—nothing which to readily and so frequently raises the 'loud hogh that speaks the 'wecant mind,'—as a fling or set the things.

Sit, it is of featful omen, when the laws of men tte mide-even in theory-to take precedence and s added to this imquity, when the politician die times himself beneath the garb of a priest, and clucks his wickedness under the show of religion.

No person feels a profounder reverence, or would psy a succeer homage to a godly, sin-avoiding, sin-toosing priesthood, than myself. But I have as adequate words to express my abhorrence for the ciercal hypocrite, with whom religion is neiher a succincation of the soul nor a purification of the body, but only a kind of policy of insurance against the retribution in another world for sins communed in this, accompanied all the while by knavish lecks on the part of the insured to cheat the Divine

to out of His premium. Mr. SUTHERLAND. I ask the gentleman from Masschusetts whether it is possible that the higher law of God can come in conflict with the Constitu-

Mr. Maxx. I think it would be better to ask ther the Constitution comes in conflict with the

Mr. SCTHERLAND. I ask the gentleman if every den he obeys every part of the Constitution? had can any good result And can any good result come from discussing these manteral abstractions? Is not the spirit of the Constitution in accordance with the higher law? Can yas punt to a clause in the Constitution, which, the fulfilling to the constitution, which, fulfilling to the best of my ability, would make the weight the higher law of God?

No. Maxx. That is not to the point.

Mr. Sutstraine. It is the very point. You and then I say it with all possible respect—disturb the rt ap issues upon abstract questions of morality, tak have nothing whatever, to do with the protectings of this House, or with correct public sentitions of this House, or with correct public sentitions. If I should undertake to make an issue between tren rou and me upon the subject of slavery, it would be wrong. Yet you get up here and attempt to must this same before the country. You get up a same upon an immaterial question of monlin, same upon an immaterial question of monling them. alty, which simply tends to excite men, without

Mr. Mann. I hope the gentleman will not interin the further. His argument would have answerright as further. His argument would have answerright as further. His argument would have answerright as sell in the time of Herod, the Tetrarch,
when he issued the order for the murder of all the
children under two years of age. The murderers,
conditions, got ten-dollar commission fees for the
deed, So, those who massacred 36,000 Protestants,
as S, Buthologous's days of the running of a strong Bithloonew's day, at the ringing of a signal went by the 'Higher Law' of the Pope, or his ferou, the King; and had not they their 'Union' size by it? And our Pilgrim Fathers were driving a king by the 'higher law' of a hierarchical diament. ent. And so, if you admit this doctrine, there be counity, actual or conceivable, which may

The gentleman says I am discussing 'immaterial arctions,' and raising issues that have no practi-il bearing. Is the fogitive slave law an 'immate-al abstraction'?—a law which violates both the abstraction'?—a law which violates both the se law and the Constitution of the country. Ask free man, Gibson, who was sent into bondage or it, when as much entitled to his liberty as your resulting to the country of the country. of the second of

Nov, sir, I do not believe in preaching against

theoretical and distant sins, and letting real and present once seeape. I do not believe in denouncing the final succession of the probe, and defending the extension of salvery of the signed as exens worth of the highest art of the first own parishes to escape with impunity. They have no mercy for Jeroban—add the worth of the manner and the first own parishes to escape with impunity. They have no mercy for Jeroban—dold. Hunker though the was—because the 'drove Jerost from fall the substitute of the page of history, nor any tariff or sele of the page of history, nor any tariff or sele of the page of history, and their account of the manner above, or expectation, and manner and the substitute of the first of the dry goods to the South to tempt him. But they forget that each and all of the worst sinners whose names blacken the page of history, had their accompanying temptations, and their casuistry for self-defence, just as much as the offenders of our day.—They forget, that when posterity looks backwards upon great crimes, as they stand out in historic relief, they are seen in their foul hakedness and deformity, and without any of the palliations or pretexts by which their wickedness was softened to the tempted eye of the perpetrator. They forget that it will be as true of the crimes of our day, as of ancient ones, when the evanescent circumstances of the seduction have passed by—that then they, too, will stand out in the foreground of the historic canvas, in their full groportions, and in their native deformity, hideons, unmitigated, and exectable. Had not Ananias and Sapphira a temptation every whit as strong to keep back from the apostles a part of the price of their possessions, as though they had been offered a sinecure chaplaincy in the Navy for defending the Fugitive Slave Law? We have historic proof that Benedict Arnold attempted to justify his treason, on the ground that he was seeking the best good of the colonies, just as his followers, in our times, seek to justify themselves by the far less plausible plea of saving the Union.

I know it is said, that if the doctrine of the 'High-inently government; and good, and pious men it has productive.

just commands of men.

Another consequence of most evil portent has grown out of the late political enthusiasm for slavery—I mean, a false interpretation of the law of treason. Sir, you know, and we all know, that under the bloody reigns of British tyrants, treason by construction was the great engine of political and personal vengeance. Under the old doctrine of constructive treason, if living lips dared to preach the gospel of freedom, they were forced to preach the gospel of freedom, they were forced to preach the sents to let slavery remain where it is? There is an doctrine of abject submission to ungodly laws; for the keep they are the property of the property of the keep they are the property of the property of the country, and for the tribunal of history, on this subject. Free the heads they belonged to were decapitated and borne on soldier's pikes through the streets of cities, and hung up to fester and rot at all the site. and hung up to fester and rot at all the city gates. I could occupy the day with the recital of instances, where the purest innocence and the noblest virtues of the law of treason. Having lately looked through those English cases, I now declare that they were not one whit a greater outrage upon the English law, than was Judge Kane's charge to the grand jury in the Christiana cases. Both had in view the same object, to put down agitation for freedom, and Lord Jeffries' expositions were as plausible as Judge Kane's.

To exclude all possibility of constructive treason, you, gentlemen of the slave States, inder our Constitution, its framers defined that ofence in the following words:-

· Treason against the United States shall consist ONLY in levying war against them; or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

Judge Kane says, that whatever would make a Judge Kane says, that whatever would make a man an accessory to the crime, in any other felony, makes him a principal in this; when the very intent of the new definition in our Constitution was so far to abrogate the English law. The emphatic word only, in our definition, expressly excludes the accessory. It is only the man who levies the war, or the man who adheres to the enemies of the country, who is, or, under our Constitution, can be, a traitor. The other interpretation opens the door to all the con-structive treasons known to the worst days of English judicial tyranny—the very door which the fram-ers of our Constitution intended to lock and double-

lock and fasten impregnably.

And again; the doctrine of accessories and the relation of accessories to principals, was a part of the English common law. That common law these United States never adopted, as has been decided gain and again, and, therefore, there can be no acessories in treason, by construction.

And, besides all this, the 7th section of the Fugi-

ive Slave Law provides a penalty for every act which a man can commit in assisting the escape of a slave; so that, if any such act were treason before, it is no long-r so; for no legal principle is better settled, than that when a subsequent statute reduces the penalty provided in a previous one, the previous ords. On any ground, therefore, the charge of ludge Kane is only inferior in monstrousness to the aw whose inherent atrocity he sought to aggravate. A similar attempt to create constructive treason was made in the Syracuse cases; but the air of Western New York, being more electric with free-dom, and a salutary effect upon the health of the court. Would to Heaven that these healthful breezes of the country could reach and sweep away the judicial miasma that stagnates upon our Atlantic

The district attorney at Syracuse, having rendered imself obnoxious, by the inordinate zeal with which he pursued the suspected, in the rescue cases, at that city, I was glad to see it stated in the newspapers, that the ladies of the place had a meeting, and sent him a present of thirty pieces of silver. They were three-cent pieces, however—ninety cents in the whole! The ancient Judas got larger pieces.—Such, however, is now the rivalry to fill his place, that the competitors must content themselves with

smaller coin.

It was said, also, that when Jerry, the alleged fugitive in that case, reached Her Majesty's dominions, he put the from with which he had been 'dressed' into a nice box, and sent them to President Fillinore.

What is the following fling at the 'Higher Law,' but explicit atheism:—
'When nothing else will answer, they invoke religion, and speak of a higher law. Gentlemen, this North mountain is high, the Blue Ridge higher still, the Alleghany higher than either, and yet this higher law ranges further than an eagle's flight above the highest peaks of the Alleghany. [Laughter.] No common vision can discern it; no conscience not transcendental and ecstatic can feel it; the hearing of common men never learns its high beheats; and, therefore, one should think it is not a safe law to be acted on in matters of the highest practical moment. It is the code, however, of the fanatical and factious abolitionists of the North.—Daniel Webster's Speech at Capon . What is the following fling at the 'Higher Law, ists of the North .- Daniel Webster's Speech at Capon

justify themselves by the far less plausible plea of saving the Union.

I know it is said, that if the doctrine of the 'Higher law' is admitted, all laws will be set at nought, and civil government be overthrown. All history refutes this; for, of all the men who have ever lived, those who contended for the higher law of God, have universally been the most faithful and obecient, when him the same account of the same and the same account of the nniversally been the most faithful and obedient, when human laws were coincident with the divine. That identical principle in our nature, which makes us at they become victorious, and in their noble strivings, they reach a sublimity of virtue proportioned to just commands of meu.\* does not prevent bad systems from producing their natural fruits on the mass of men.

And now, having shown what a mighty wrong slavery is, in and of itself; having shown what collateral debasement, cruelty and practical atheism it generates and diffuses, let me ask, if the political Free Soil party do not go to the uttermost verge that allegation is wholly unfounded. Our whole effort has been simply to keep it within the jurisdiction of the States where it is. We would not have it pro-fane free territory. We would not allow it to double its present domain; we would not see it blast, with space, because you are becoming sufficiented by so close crowding, we simply reply, that we cannot admit that argument, because it devotes the whole world to inevitable slavery. For, if you already need a greater expanse of territory for comfortal room, that, too, will soon be crowded with three slaves to a square mile; and the argument for further conguest and expansion will come back upon us. Yielding again, the argument will speedily recuragain. It will be a never-ending, still-beginning pretext for extension, until the whole world shall become a vast realm of slavery—even the free States being engulfed with the rest, so that the dove of freedom will have no spot on the surface of the globe

And now, notwithstanding the infinite evil and wrong of slavery, intringic in it, and inseparable from it; notwithstanding the virus with which it poisons all our free institutions—its exclusion of dependent communities from the brotherhood of the Union; its hardening the nation's heart against all people struggling for liberty; its atheist-making; its attempt to transfer the whole false English code of high treason into our law; and all its debasement of the republican sentiment, and the moral sentiment of the country,—notwithstanding all this, the Bal-timore Conventions decree that the subject of slavery shall be agitated among us no more for-

It embraces all subjects. It forbids the political economist from discussing the relative productive-ness of free and slave labor. It forbids the educaness of free and slave isloot. It formus the educationist from demonstrating that a slaveholding people must always, from the necessity of the case, be an ignorant people—a people divided not only into castes of wealth, but into castes of intelligence. It an ignorant people—a people dieded not only more castes of wealth, but into castes of intelligence. It furbids genius from presenting Truth in the glowing similitudes of Fiction; and that divine-hearted woman, the authoress of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' is under the Baltimore ban. It forbids the poet, whose lips from olden days have been touched as with live coals from offten days have been touched as with live coals from off the heavenly altar—from ever again kindling the hearts of mankind with a divine enthusiasm for liberty. It strikes out all the leading chapters from the book of the moralist. It puts its seal upon the lips of the minister of Christ, when he would declare the whole counsel of God, and forbids him ever again to preach from the text, 'Whatsoever ye would that mon should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' All—worldly prosperity, education, genius, morality, religion, truth—are struck out by these Baltimore Conventions, in their maniacal par-

The noblest men whom God has ever sent into the world—patriots, reformers, philanthropists, apostles, and Jesus Christ himself, are on the side of freedom. Tyrants, usurpers, traitors, man-stealers, the whole-sale robbers and murderers of nations, are on the side sale robbers and murderers of nations, are on the side of slavery. The Biltimore Conventions enlist under the banners of the latter. They affiliate with the House of Hapsburg, and with Nicholas; with the King of Naples, and with the Prince-President of France. One might almost suppose they had plagiarized their resolves from the Paris Moniteur, where that ape who mimics the imperial grandeur he cannot comprehend, records his tyrannical decrees against freedom of speech. Louis Napoleon decreed free discussion out of existence in France. Six hundred men at Biltimore decreed the same thing for this country. The spe succeeded; they fail.

And how are these resolves to be construed, provided new questions respecting slavery arise, or questions new questions respecting slavery arise, or questions already starten are precipitated upon us? Should an attempt to annexCuba, in order still further to aggran-

perjury, and usurpation, forbids the accusations to be made. Among all our constitutional judges, and among all those mock judges called commissioners, there is not one who has met the arguments against the constitutionality of this law. They entrench themselves behind a feeble rampart of precedents as their only defence. Judge Noggins decides it to be

be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.' It also declares that, 'In suits at common law, where the value in the suits at the suits at common law, where the value is suits at the suits

im to the tribunal and the trial of a free man. But under this fugitive slave law, a man's prima facie right to the tribunal and the trial of a free man, is ight to the tribunal and the trial of a com-aken away, not by a court and jury, but by a comclaint and warrant. A claimant demands a human being, presumptively free, as his slave, and that mere emand is made to cancel the presumption of free-om and self-ownership, to take him away from a reeman's tribunal of court and jury, and to carry im for trial before a slave tribunal—that is, a comssioner. Is it replied, that the decision of the commissioner that he is a slave, and not a free man, proves that he had no right to the tribunal and the rial of a free man? I retort, that before an unbought, inbribed, freeman's tribunal, there might have been a contrary decision; but you prejudged him to be a slave, by carrying him before a slave tribunal, and you robbed him of the first right of a free man, by depriving him of a free man's tribunal and trial. For him, and for his case, you abolish the trial by jury. And if, by virtue of such complaint and warrant, you can deprive any person, in any free State, of trial by jury, you can by the same rule deprive all the men in all the free States of this trial—that is, you can abolish that trial for all this class of cases; for assistance; its bribing magistrates to decide

cause it takes from a man presumptively free the right to be tried as a freeman; and it is because the saltimore Conventions cannot answer this argument,

on the part of the person to be robbed and ensiaved by it, may be clandestinely carried or sent to any place where it is to be used, and there spring upon its victim, as a wild beast springs from its jungle upon the passer-by; and it provides that this evidence, thus surreptitiously taken and used, shall be conclusive proof of the facts of slavery and of escape from slavery. It does not submit the sufficiency of the evidence to the indepent of the tribunal, but it he evidence to the judgment of the tribunal; but it rbitrarily makes it conclusive, whether sufficient or arbitrarily makes it conclusive, whether sufficient or not. It abolishes the common law distinction be-tween competency and credibility. Indeed, it abol-ishes the elementary idea of a court of justice itself, considered as a tribuual whose functions are, first and chiefest, to hear both sides, and then to discern beween truth and falsehood. The heathen emblem of ustice was that of a goddess, holding balances in her hand, and weighing with holy exactness all conficting probabilities and testimonies. The true emblem of this law would be that of some Glossin law-

blem of this law would be that of some Glossin lawyer, clutching at ten dollars as a bribe, and trampling
the sacred balances under foot.

What would the Sonthern gentlemen who hear
nie say, if, while attending to your duties in this
Hall, a miscreant in any Northern city or State,
without knowledge or possibility of knowledge on
your part, should now be suborning witnesses to obtain evidence that your house, your plantation, or
cotton crop, was his, and by and by should make his
appearance on your premises, demanding instant ppearance on your premises, demanding instant cossession, and, in case of refusal, or demur, should possession, and, in case of refusal, or demar, should draw you before some ten dollar magistrate, read his conclusive proof, while you are forced to be dumb, and then thrust you out of estate, house and home? And yet this fugitive slave law is as much more by side,—the command and the prohibition together,

ed petitions, and would now silence debate—because they are conscious they cannot meet it by argument. The Fugitive Slave Law, for instance, is assailed by the jurist, because it is unconstitutional; by the patriot, because it is unconstitutional; by the patriot, because it disgraces the country in the eyes of the civilized world; by the religious man, because it is unchristian; and by every one who has the sentiment of humanity in his bosom, for its unheard-of cruelty. The upholders of that law can answer no one of these arraignments. Their only resource, therefore, is the dastardly denial of discussion and free speech. Like Louis Napoleon, who, having no possibility of reply to the accusations of treachery, perjury, and usurpation, forbids the accusations to be made. Among all our constitutional judges, and casion; yet, on sight of them, the commissioner pronounced Daniel to be a slave. It afterwards turned out, on a hearing before Judze Conkling of the United States Court, that there never had been one particle or scintilla of evidence before the commissioner on which his ten dollar certificate of slav-

their only defence. Judge Noggins decides it to be constitutional, because Judge Scroggins had decided it to be so; and when we look back to Judge Scroggins for light, we find he decided it to be constitutional, because Judge Spriggins had held it to be so. Chief Justice Shaw, of Massachusetts, whom whom I regard as one of the ablest Judges who ever administered the common law, any where, virtually admitted, in the Sinas case, that if the question of the constitutionality of this law were a new one, the affirmative could not be sustained. I repeat, then, it

the constitutionality of this law were a new one, the affirmative could not be sustained. I repeat, then, it is a dastardly order to keep silence, because they cannot meet discussion. Necessity is their only defence,

The tyrant's plea, excuse their devilish deed.'

Let me state, in a few simple propositions, the unconstitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law, which has been so much elaborated elsewhere:

Excepting the army and navy, the Constitution of the United States declares that 'no person shall \*
be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due.

against the native-born citizens of a free State.

And yet, with all these abominations on the face of the law, and after this long train of outrages in its administration, the Baltimore Whig resolutions, which, perhaps, are the less iniquitous of the two, declare that the law shall not be modified, unless time and experience' shall demonstrate some abuse of its powers. How low down must these men live, that they do not call what has already happened and the state of the law, and after this long train of outrages in its administration, the Baltimore Whig resolutions, which, perhaps, are the less iniquitous of the two, declare that the law shall not be modified, unless time and experience's shall demonstrate some abuse of its powers. How low down must these men live, that they do not call what has already happened and the state of the law, and after this long train of outrages in its administration, the less iniquitous of the two, which perhaps, are the less iniquitous of the two, which perhaps are the less iniquitous of the two, which perhaps are the less iniquitous of the two, which perhaps are the less iniquitous of the two, which perhaps are the less iniquitous of the two, which perhaps are the less iniquitous of the two, which perhaps are the less iniquitous of the two, which perhaps are the law shall not be modified, unless the declares that the law shall not be modified and the law shall not be modi

common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved.

Now, every case of claim for an alleged slave necessarily involves both the question of liberty and the meetion of property.

A story is current respecting the origin of this law, for whose authenticity I cannot personally vouch; but it certainly carries verisimilitude on its face. The bill is said to have been concocted by a Southern disunionist, anxious for some pretext to break up the Republic, and who therefore prepared a bill is said to have been concocted by a Southern disunionist, anxious for some pretext to break up the Republic, and who therefore prepared a bill is said to have been concocted by a Southern disunionist, anxious for some pretext to break up the Republic, and who therefore prepared a bill is said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a Southern distribution of the said to have been concocted by a So Now, every case of claim for an alleged slave necessarily involves both the question of liberty and the question of property.

By the constitution of every free Stato in this Union, every person within it is presumed to be a free man; or, in other words, there is never any prima facie presumption that any man within it is a slave. Every man is presumptively free until proved to be otherwise. If the civil condition or status of slavery is to be fastened upon any one, it must be done by the decision of a tribunal having jurisdiction over liberty and property—that is, by court and jury. The prima facie evidence that a man is free, entitles him to the tribunal and the trial of a free man. But any one property—that is, by court and jury. The prima facie evidence that a man is free, entitles him to the tribunal and the trial of a free man. But also the fact of the prima facie evidence that a man is free, entitles him to the tribunal and the trial of a free man. But

unknown to the Constitution itself. Sir, when I survey, one after another, the horrid features of this law-its palpable violation both of the letter and the spirit of the Constitution; its conthe retter and the spirit of the Constitution; its con-tempt and defiance of that great organic law, the Declaration of Independence, and of the who'e spirit and acts and lives of our revolutionary fathers; its repugnance to all the noblest maxims and princi-ples of the British Constitution, consecrated and hallowed as these have been from age to age by patriots' struggles and by martyrs' blo tion of such a code of evidence as was never before placed on the statute book of any civilized nation; its provisions for deciding conclusively the question of a man's liberty, in what is to him a foreign State you can abolish that trial for all this class of cases; you can abolish then, by equivalent legislation, you can abolish it in all cases whatever. Where, then, is that right to a trial by jury which the Constitution declares decided as to prove themselves capable of accepting a bribe; its instant execution of the dreadful sensitive of the preserved?

tence, without appeal or writ of error; its repudiawhich is recognized by all civilized nations, not on ly in cases of debt, but in regard to the title to rea Baltimore Conventions cannot answer this argument, that they forbid its promulgation.

And besides this, the proofs which the law provides for and declares conclusive are abhorrent to reason, to common sense, and to the common law. It provides that evidence taken in a Southern State, and even in regard to crimes, so that a master who has abandoned his slave for forty years, can come and pluck him from wife and children, from home, property, and friends; and when, further, I see the practical workings of this law;—free Northern and time or place which a claimant may select, without any notice, or any possibility of knowledge, on the part of the person to be robbed and enslaved by it, may be clandestingly carried or sent to say. ern citizens carried into bondage; Southern pro-fessors in the art of kidnapping—chasing the shrick-ing fegitive from all his hiding-places and his altars monster fathers pursuing the children of their owr loins, as lately happened in New York, to sell then lotas, as lately happened in New York, to sell their into slavery; the virtuous woman hunted by the lecher, from whose whips and scourging she had fied to avoid his guilty ambrace; thousands of laborious and peaceable citizens amongst us, surrounded by self-carned comfort and competence fleeing from all the endearing relations of kindred and neighborhood, out of a republic into a monarchy to regain the lost birth-right of freedom—thus reenacting the scenes of the Huguenot flight under Charles IX.; and, as the crowning cruelty of the whole, an entire race of free people, of innocent people, of people whose ancestors fought and fell in the battles of the Revolution, and who have as much right, not merely to assemble. much right, not merely to security and protection, that the feeling of security and protection under our Government, as you or I,—when I see these people, filled with consternation and dismay for themselves and for their children, trembling when themselves and for their children, trembling when they look around them upon the earth, lest some tiger, in human shape, should spring from his ambush and seize them, and plunge them into slavery's hell, and trembling when they look opward into the sky, because God seems to have forsaken them;—sir, when I contemplate all these things, I am compelled, though against the common faith, to acknowledge evidence of supernatural inspiration in the hearts of men. But it is infernal and diabolical inspiration, whose evidences I recognize. Sir, this

birth-strangled babe, Ditch-delivered by a drab.

Justice and gratitude, however, demand the I should say, that there were 67 members of the Whig Convention who stood out bravely and to the last against this attempted abolition of the freedom of speech.— In the Democratic Convestion, there seems to have been scarcely a whisper of dissent.

Sir, I cannot but acknowledge that the events I have recited have an ominous look for the cause of freedom. It seems as though the black cloud which has settled down over Europe was extending its line settled down over Europe was extending its gloomy folds across this country, to envelope in darkness and despair the last hopes of liberty upon earth. But I have infinite faith in God and in truth. I believe that cloud to be surcharged with lightnings which will yet blast the oppressor. And, after the lightnings and the storm have passed, then shall come

he day of universal freedom and joy.
Fulse as those Baltimore Conventions were to the
Constitution of the United States, to the Declaration Constitution of the United States, to the Declaration of Independence, to humanity, and to God, yet when we come to scan their proceedings more closely, we find that they were amenable to a power they refused to acknowledge. It was there, as in the ancient mythology; the gods decreed, but there was an inexorable fate, standing behind the good, and controlling their decrees. That irresistible fate, which bound the Conventions as with a spell, and hemmed; in their desires and antitude for wong, which was in their desires and aptitude for wrong, which was a will within their will, was the genius of Northern

anti-elavery.

'There were, at least, half a dozen candidates, which the Democratic Convention vastly preferred to the one they finally took up with; and there was at least one, whom the Whig Convention, under the Southern pressure brought to bear upon them, would nave consented to take, but for the uplifted arm of the North, which menaced inexorable defeat for any such selection, and would have terribly executed its menace. As in the vision of the Scottish seer, 'com-ing events cast their shadows before, so here the coming thunders of the people's rebuke sent their echoes forward, and forbade both Conventions from coming thunders of the people's rebuke sent their echoes forward, and forbade both Conventions from inscribing the more apostate names upon their bauners. It was the Free Soil party of the North that held those thunders in its hands, and if it did not determine whom the Conventions should nominate, it did determine whom they should not.

Why did not the Democratic party nominate Gen. Cass? For ferty years he had stood conspicuously before the country; had served in early life, in a military capacity, on the northern frontier; been af-terwards Governor of a territory now swarming with inet minister and Senator at home. Besides, he was a man of unblamable private life—one who, whatevposed himself to the imputation of bartering his integrity for 'dotations'; reputed, and, I believe, justlegrity for 'dotations'; reputed, and, I believe, justly reputed, to be a temperance man, which fact, by
itself, had he been a candidate against a man of
intemperate habits, would have given him fifty thouand votes in New England alone—a fact which future Presidential aspirants will do well, to heed.—
Why was not Gen. Cass nominated? His Nicholson letter was the flaming barrier, which neither the perverse Balaum of Democracy, nor its Besst, was able to pass by! By that letter, as the returns of 1848 show. Gen. Cass struck off 100,000 votes from his ticket in the State of New York alone. Gen. Cass died of a modern disease, called 'letter-writ-Cass died of a modern disease, called 'letter-writing,' which has proved singularly fatal to Presidential candidates. The Nicholson letter was the malignant distemper that bloated and killed him.

Why was not Mr. Buchanan nominated—the favorite of that great State, which, as she inclines often

way or the other, seems to rock and sway the Union, and determine the result in every Presidential elecand determine the result in every Presidential election. He was a man of great powers—one whom
Nature had laid out on a grand scale. When the
history of this country is written, Mr. Buchanan's
name cannot be put in a parenthesis. He made Gen,
Jackson, rather than Gen, Jackson him. His talents,
with those of Gov. Marcy, of New York, were the
salt that saved Mr. Polk's administration from putridity. He was a during man. In 1848, in an official communication to the French Provisional Government, he boldly obtruded his counsels upon them
for the formation of their Constitution, as though the
new remultic were his ward. Lamartine politicly under new republic were his ward. Lamartine politely made a French bow in return; but saying, as he gave it, he would not tolerate advice from any other people God ever created.

Why was not Mr. Buchanan nominated? Ah! he had been even bolder in his domestic policy than in his foreign. His offer to run the Missouri Compromise line through to the Pacific Ocean, and to sacrifice all South of that line on the altar of the Moloch of Slavery, was a grand act of apostacy to Moloch of Slavery, was a grand act of apostacy to Northern sentiment and to freedom, which brought the films of death over his eyes. His coup d'etat was a coup de grace. He will be less successful in making such Northern platforms, than in making French Constitutions. In all the States north of Pennsylvania death of the Molleties that the making preserved more constitutions. In all the States north of Pennsylva-normal during the 49 ballotings, he rarely received more than half-a-dozen votes; and I think his average in those States did not come up to that insignificant, or rather, to that significant number.

And what was the fate of the Semator from Illi-

nois, whom some sagacious and over-reaching Whig called the Young Giant—a nickname which his own called the Young Giant—a nickname which his own friends were silly enough to adopt. I say silly, for every body knows that the common notion which the common people have of a 'young giant' is that of unnatural and precocious animal development. The very name conjuces up images of rowdyish passion and appetite; of nocturnal revels, of a sort of wild, obscene force, unchastened by the lessons of experience, and untempered by Nestorian wisdom. What was his reward for his implied or understood offer of the annexation of Cuba? From the four States of Massachusetts, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania, he never, at any one time received wore than sixne never, at any one time, received more than six-cen votes, and in four-fifths of the ballotings, he re-ceived but five or six. In winning the South, he for-

Vaulting ambition that o'erlesps itself And falls on t'other side!

to the cea. I heat in My are my lu-

hire the main

. \_\_\_ like idiots gazing in a brook, Who lesp at stars, and fasten in the mud.' The slain Hectors may have a monument, and be re-membered; but it is the felicity of the vulgar herd, in an ungodly contest, that they rot in a forgotten

Long before the Baltimore Convention met, we had supposed that the Northern Democratic aspirants for the Bresidency had done their worst; that they had drank the last dregs of the cup of humiliation. But Southern genius seems exhaustless in resources for Northern debesement. Some unknown political up-start in Richmond, (Virginia,) obtruded himself into notice by shouting out the two words, 'PRESIDENCY,'
PROSLAVERY,' to all the candidates, and, instantly, thirteen of them were at his feet. He put to them some 'more last questions' in the catechism of infa-my—' whether, if they should be elected, they would veto any bill repealing the Fugitive Slave Law, and so forth. All answered as his questions indicated they must. Forgetful of the nature of the olation of the whole spirit of our government for the Executive to interfere with Congress, by tell-ing them beforehand what acts of theirs he will not approve, they all hastened to give the desired response. He did not send them a pro-slavery creed, with a blank left for their signatures, but he compelled them to write out their own shame with their own hands. He did not send the collar and chains all ready for them to put on; but he said, forge them and rivet them on yourselves; and, submissive,

them and rivet them on yourselves; and, submissive, they forged them and riveted them on, and expressed gratitude for the favor.

And now, where are those thirteen Democratic candidates? And where, too, are those two Whig candidates, who, within the last two years, have done every conceivable thing, and a thousand things before propogniable to propriet the slave power? before inconceivable, to propitate the slave powe Gone, sir: all gone, with those who perished at Ty born! They rebelled against humanity and agains God, and verily they have their reward. They mount ed a platform, where they hoped to be crowned, amic the huzzas of the people; but an avenging Nemesia stood there, and, in the twinkling of an eye, chang-ed it into the 'drop platform' of the executioner.— Sir, when a single malefactor receives at the hands of justice his well-merited doom, the moralist seizes the example to give a warning to others who may be tempted, in like cases, to offend. He points to the ignominious body of his victim, and, as the herald of God, he proclaims the eternal law, that crime never compensates the criminal. He declares that, until finite man can overpower or circumvent the infinite Creator, the retributions of sin shall pursue the sinner. If the preacher does this when he has but a single victim for a text, what an accumulation of en ergy and emphasis is given to his admonitions when there are fifteen victims before him!

Now, there are two or three general observations on this impressive spectacle, which I wish to make. In the first place, all the leading candidates of both Would onventions were Northern men. historian have signalized the event as something mos extraordinary, if fifteen Southern champions of slavery, born and bred in its midst, whose very growth bodily and mental, had been only the accretion of pro-slavery particles and ideas, and who were committed to the institution by a life-long series of acts had suddenly gone over to Northern Free Soilers o stand upon their platform to obtain Would it have at all diminished the nervel, if these fifteen Southern applicants for Northern support, with all the followers whom lust of power or f money could enlist, had gone through all the South vociferating that, unless they should adopt the Free Soil platform, the Union would be dissolved? I think such a chapter in history would never cease to create amazement and wonder. Is it not infinitely more wonderful, in this age of the world, that Northern men should do for slavery what we could never expect, at one time, so many South ern men to do even for freedom?

My second remark pertains to the number of the Never were there even half so many on the Presidential race-course before. Now, why were The answer is obvious. The South had said again and again, and most explicitly to the North, us your most pro-slavery man, and we will adopt him.' It is easy to see that when moral, or even intellectual, qualifications are the test, in choosing a President, the candidates must be few; but, if d votion to slavery is the sole test, then there may not only be fifteen, but five hundred, or five thousand,-In this way the competitors became so numerou that the chances of success were worth nothing.blanks are to the prizes a hundred to one. It was a poor speculation for the presidential aspirants to put the price of the office so low that anybody, however obscure before, could become a rival. Cass Buchanan, Marcy, Douglas, Dallas, Dickinson, &c. should have thought of this before they entered the lists, and put themselves on an equality with a mar whom not one in five thousand out of New Hamp-shire could remember ever to have heard of before, and yet who plucked the prize out of their hands. Another remark is, that the Southern vote, in both

Conventions could have been concentrated at any time upon either one of the Northern candidates, with one remarkable argention which I will men tion by and by-provided only that the Northern nited upon him. At any momen the South would have accepted Gen. Cass, or Mr Buchanan, or Gov. Marcy. In the Whig Convention, the South was most anxious to take Mr. Fillmore; but it was impossible to bring the North to his support. Each of them, by the eagerness of his pro-slavery course, had signed his own deathwarrant in States enough to defeat him. And as to Mr. Fillmore, on whom the South were more unanimous than on any one of all the other candidates, his bloody right hand had signed the Fugitive Slave Law; and, therefore, it was as certain, as anything future can be, that he could not obtain a single electoral vote north of Mason & Dixon's line. The infinite mercy of God may wash that blot from his name in er world, but it can never be forgotten in this And thus they all came under that great moral law which forever cries 'Woe! woe!' to the offender.-Fascinated by the brilliancy of the prize, they forgo the eternal law of rectitude and lumanity, by which

A Voice. What do you say of Gen. Pierce?

Ma. Mann. Some one inquires what I say of Gen
Pierce. I say of Gen. Pierce, that if he had beer conspicuous in the pro-slavery contest for the last two years; if he had been known as the ardent lover of the Fugitive Slave Law, and had answered the of the Fugitive Slave Law, and had answered the Richmond Scott letter about a veto of it, he never would have received the Baltimore nomination.—Some other man would have been exhumed for the occasion. Not knowledge of him, but ignorance of him secured his nomination.

['A Voice. How of General Scott?]

Ms. Mann. Had Gen. Scott devoted himself to the cause of slavery for the last two years, as his confipctiors had done, he would not have been nomination.

His short-comings in that iniquity, as every

confipritors had done, he would not have been nom-insted. His short-comings in that iniquity, as every body knows, is the reason, and, I might almost say, the sole reason, why the South and the pro-slavery part of the North oppose him. But for this, the South would prefer him before either of his rivals. In regard to Mr. Webster, there are three points

In regard to Mr. Webster, there are three points which I propose to elucidate—his position of special and marked hostility to slavery in 1848, what he did for the cause of slavery in 1850, and how the South requited him in 1852. His case is peculiarly impressive. Instructive warnings as all the others are, yet the Secretary stands alone. I am about to speak of his downfall in no spirit of personal exultation, though he has done are the greatest wrong. Because, when sitting on the top of his political Olympus, he hurled his shafts at me, I scorn to retaliate when he lies deserted and despairing at its base. The man does not live, (unless now it be himself.) who felt a more poignant grief at his ruin than was felt in this heart of mine. But it was not on the 21st of June last, and at Baltimore, that he fell; but on the 7th of March, 1850, in the Senate of the United States. It was then that he sunk hi beaming forehead in the dust, never again, I fear, to be lifted up. It was then that he tore from his brow stars away -a diadem richer than ever blazed upos the brow of royalty, for its gems were not gathered from mak or mine, but from the more precious treasures of wisdom and eloquence. Then thousand of hearts were wrong with anguish, as cold, refenttess, and blasphening, those apostate doctrines fell from his lips. I say no bosom, save now perhaps his own, was ever more deeply saddened at the spectacle of that moral ruin, than mine. As I think of him now, ever-recurring and dirge-like, do the elegiac stains, written for the occasion by the great

A enare for all;
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,
Befit his fall!

Oh! dumb be passion's stormy rage,
When he who might
Have lighted up and led his age,
Falls back in night. Scorn! would the angels laugh, to mark

A bright soul driven, Fiend-goaded down the endless dark, From hope and heaven!

Let not the land, once proud of him, Insult him now,

Nor brand with deeper shame his dim,
Dishonored brow. But let its humbled sons, instead,

From sea to lake,
A long lament, as for the dead,
In sadness make. Of all we loved and honored, naught

Save power remains—
A fallen angel's pride of thought,
Still strong in chains. All else is gone : from those great eyes The soul has fled! When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead!

Then, pay the reverence of old days
To his dead fame;
Walked backward, with averted gaze,
And hide his shame!'

Still, I should leave this part of my subject main ed and incomplete, should I forbear to draw the moral which the fate of this eminent man so im-pressively teaches. In the history of this world, it is inexpressively sad that offences should come. I would be still more sad if we could not use them to warn others from offending. Besides, the drama, in one of whose scenes we were brought together upor the stage and enacted a part, has now been played out, and I am now able to establish by history all the positions I then maintained by argument.

intellect—the The grandeur of Mr. Web first point always made in his defence - I readily admit. On this point I give his friends carte blanche of concession and agreement—the whole argument

their own way.

But, on the next point, I claim to have the whol concession and argument my own way: -- that though his intellect were fitted to fill a 'Dome of Thought,' vast as one of those Egyptian statues that have been lately found on the banks of the Nile, from whos craniums the natives have long been in the habit of craniums the natives have long over in the man, or cotting millistones without sensibly diminishing their bulk, yet if he could exchange it all to blot out the history of the 7th of March speech, he would

make a divine speculation.

For proof of this, I might cite volumes. I might refer to his pilgrim address at Plymouth, and his reply to Col. Hayne, and select something from almost every page of those volumes of eliquence— beautiful as painting, and grand as statuary—whose appeals fell upon men's hearts like an afflatus of the spirit of God. With all this, I might then content spirit of God. With all this, I might then contrast what he has written and spoken since the day of his downfall, pictorial as it is, with emblems of whips and chains, of auction-blocks, and shricking fugitives, fleeing from the bloody lash and the lecher's and finding no protection in the sactuary of Fancuil Hall, or under the shadow of Bunker Hill, or by the sacred monuments of Lexington and Concord.

But I will confine myself to a single item of proof prefragable and conclusive:— The Buffalo Convention of 1848, proclaimed its

determination 'to maintain the rights of free labor against the aggressions of the slave power, and to secure free soil for a free people.'

It declared its 'independence of the slave power,

and its fixed determination to rescue the Federal Government from its control. It declared that the provise of Jefferson to prohibit

excluding slavery from the North Western Territory, clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation, not to extend nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage slavery; and t policy, which should never have been departed from, the government ought to return.

It declared that it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery, wherever that Government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence."

It declared 'that the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an Congress.

It declared that we accept the issue which the alave power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave territories, our calin but final answer is, no more slave States—no more slave territory.'

And what did Mr. Webster say of this platform, within one month after it had been adopted? This is his language:-

'I have said, gentlemen, that in this Buffalo platform, this collect of the new school, there is nothing new. There is nothing in it that all the Whigs of the northern and middle States may not adopt. Gentlemen, it is well known that there is nothing in this Buffalo platform which, in general, does not meet the approbation of all the Whigs of the middle and northern States. States States were the state of the state of the state of the middle and northern States. approbation of all the wings of the same of the morthern States. Suppose, now, that all of us who are Whigs should go and join the Free Soil party, what would be the result? Why, so far nothing would happen, but that the Whig party would have changed its name. That would be all. Instead of being the Whig party, it would be the Free Soil party. We should be all there, exactly upon the same principles upon which we have always stood.

Now, contrast this full, explicit, comprehensive, and apparently ingenuous subscription and adhe-sion to all the doctrines and articles of the Boffalo platform, in 1848, with the 7th of March speech in 1850, and with all that has since followed it from

Surely, if General Jackson, in 1836, in order obtain a third election, had courted and defended the United States Bank, written and spoken through all the Eastern cities in its behalf, and made James Watson Webb and Nicholas Biddle his bosom con-fidents and counsellors; surely, if Mr. Clay, in 1848, had declared for free trade, against all tariffs, against had declared for free trade, against all tariffs, against river and harbor improvements, and against all the policy that had most signalized his life; surely, if Mr. Calhoun, during the controversy respecting the new Territories, had suddenly avowed himself the disciple

of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and had raised the standard of 'immediate emancipation,'—surely, I say, neither of these events would have furnished such ample material of contradiction and amazement as is supplied by the melancholy case I am now con-sidering. After having nurtured, tutored, and led sidering. After having nurtured, tutored, and led Northern anti-slavery sentiment for thirty years; after having claimed the 'patented thunder' of the Wilmot proviso; and after having discovered the North star, in a single day, without premonition or cause of change, Mr. Webster espouses doctrines more Southern than South Carolina, and becomes

Calhouner than Mr. Calhoun.

Where shall the searcher of history find a parallel Where shall the searcher of history find a parallel for this? I know of none. I can conceive but one—that of Moscs, from the confines of Jordan, and the top of Pisgah, commanding the children of Israel to march back into the land of Egypt, for re-subjugation to Pharaoh; yet striving to persuade them that the 'geography' and 'scenery' of the Nile would the 'geography' and 'scenery render slavery there impossible

And yet when the trial-hour of the Baltimore Con-And yet when the trial-hour of the Baltimore Convention came, what did he gain by it all? A single Southern State? Not one. A single delegate from a Southern State? Not one. With all the efforts that official power, and the wealth of cities, and amazing industry could make; with all the subscription meminations, and Fancui Hall meetings, and Castle Garden committees, and Wall street, and State street, and subsidized presses, fraudulent hopes of tariff and Southern trade could effect, Mr. Webof tariff and Southern trade could effect, Mr. Webster could rally but an average of twenty-nine votes
in a Convention of almost three hundred members,
and never, on any balloting, according to the political thermometer which measured his popularity, did
he rise above thirty-two degrees—the point of eternal
congelation! No Southern State gave him a vote!
No Southern delegate was sent there to give him a vote. Fifty-three opportunities occurred, extending from day to day, and, according to the account published in the Boston Courier, from a professed eye-witness of the scene, the Northern friends of the Deposites,] vol. 4, p. 92.

Poet of Humanity, wake their mournful echoes in my breast:—

'So fallen? so lost? the light withdrawn Which once he wore?

The glory from his gray hairs gone Forevermore!

Revile him not—the Tempter hath

Mr. Webster besought their Southern brethren with prayers and entreaties, sad and tearful enough to have melted flint, to have melted platinum, to have melted anything but the infusible heart of slavery, and yet they were inexorable. Nay, according to the published statement of his friend, Doctor Bell, a delegate from the Fourth Congressional District of Massachusetts, after the fifty-second ballot, and when the second published anything but the figure of the published statement of his friend, Doctor Bell, a delegate from the Fourth Congressional District of Massachusetts, after the fifty-second ballot, and when it became certain that Gen. Scott would be nominated the next time, these Southern gentlemen "were carnestly appealed to, as a matter of courtesy, to place our candidate [Mr. Webscer] right [wrong?] on the page of history, to unite in the final vote on Mr. Webster, which would have left him with some one hundred and twenty or thirty votes?—they refused to give him even that empty compliment.

So certain has been the fate of Mr. Webster, for the last eighteen months, that I, and all those with whom I am politically associated, have foreseen it and predicted it with as much confidence as an astronomer foretells an eclipse. Let us trust that the fate of such victims will not be lost for the future upon the Northern men.

upon the Northern men.

Sir, out of this Fugitive Slave Law has arisen an Sir, out of this Fugitive Slave Law has arisen an ill-sounding, half barbarous word, to express the wholly barbarous idea that the law is never to be repealed or modified. It is the word 'Finality.' This word has already got into somewhat common use in regard to its objects. It is destined to get into universal use in regard to its authors. I think General Cass and Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster with meanwithers.

General Cass and Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster, with many others, have by this time an interior and realizing sense of what the word 'finality' means. Though too late for them to profit by it, I hope it will be blessed to the use of others.

And what palliation, what pretext, what subterfage even, had these men for such betrayal of human in the 2. Nothing literally applied to the man in the 2. Nothing literally applied to the such as the contract of the such as en, nature, enter to such active to the fraudu-2 Nothing, literally nothing, but that fraudu-dea of 'danger to the Union;' that cry of which the South always raises when she has an object to accomplish; and which she will always continue to raise, on pretences more and more shadowy and evanescent, the more we have the folly o heed it. The same threat is now, at this instan time, made, if the North does not give them their choice in the two candidates for the Presidency.

Among redundant proofs, demonstrating that the Union has been in no peril, nor shadow of peril there are two which never have been answered, and never can be answered. Notwithstanding all vas done in this House, and more especially in the Senate, and by all the pro-slavery presses and proslayery champions, North and South, during the year 1850, to create a panic in behalf of the Union, they were never able to effect the price of United States stocks, neither in this country nor in Europe so that the difference could be discovered with microscope. Now, of all men living, stockholders and annuitants are the most sensitive. Universally they are a timid race. If there be a cloud in the avens, or a ripple on the surface, they fear wrec and shout the alarm. But timid as they constitu-tionally are, not politicians nor panic-makers could discompose their screnity by all their insane cries about the crambling of the Union to pieces; and there was not a member of the Castle Garden con would not have given every cent as much, for United States securities on the days when they sent forth their fraudulent resolves, as before or after.

On this point I will cite an authority whose sound ness upon the question in issue I believe in, and certainly my opponents will not dispute:

· We have preserved and fostered credit till all have become interested in its further continuance and preservation. It has run deep and wide into our whole system of social life. Every man feels the vibration when a blow is struck upon it. And this is the reason why nobody has escaped the influence of the Secretary's recent measure. While credit is delithe Feason way nobody has except the the Secretary's recent measure. While credit is delicate, sensitive, easily wounded, and more easily alarmed, it is also infinitely ramified, diversified, extending everywhere, and touching everything.

And yet the very men who, in their capacity o other capacity of stock-dealers and merchants, never varied their asking or their giving prices one jot of tittle. They cried 'earthquake,' could be heard, nor a jar felt; and they tried to make us believe that a tornado was uprooting the forests, when nobody could see a leaf on a tree moving No! the cry of danger to the Union was raised to divert the attention from their assaults upon the Constitution. It was the latter and not the forme

Another reason, and it is a standing and continuous one, why there was no danger to the Union, consists in the fact that the South, according to their own estimate, are under bonds of \$1.500,000,000 to keep the public peace. Let them break up this Union and their property in slaves, which they now value at this enormous sum, will not, at the end of a quar-ter of a century, be worth so many groats. Does anybody imagine that this Union can be dissolved without civil commotion, without revolution by arms Sir, this is a subject inconceivably painful; but it is a possibility spoken of and sported with by others with such levity, that I am constrained to invest it with some of its appropriate solemnities. Does any one believe there can be two border nations, one ounded on the principle of freedom, and the other on the basis of slavery, having a contiguous frontier of three thousand miles, and daily traversing the same waters, with immunity from war? And in such wars, who will be the eager allies of the North? to-day, capable of bearing arms, and their number is increasing faster than ever. They are practising the use of fire-arms, and the menage of the horse The story of their The story of their oppressions is recounted every day, in every hamlet and at every fire-side. The mothers nurse their children with milk and with vengeance together. The knowledge of a North star is penetrating further and further into the South ern interior, and arousing new hearts to the effort of self-emancipation. A dissolution of the Union re peals the accursed act of 1850. The free soil of peals the accursed act of 1850. The free soil of Canada and the British Provinces—the only free soil there now is on the northeastern part of this continent-is brought down to Mason and Dixon's line We have in the Northern States a population of tw hundred thousand of African descent. In case of war between the two sections, thousands of this colored race will fly to the land of bondage swift as they ever flow from it. They will go to make desolution of the realm that once made desolution o them, and of all they held dear. Under their avenging cry, insurgents will rise up like an exhalation over all the South. There are no motives more terri-ble than those which nrge a bondsman to his revenge Perpetual proximity between master and slave for respectively proximity between master and slave tunishes perpetual opportunity for retribution. Every house is an arsenal of weapons; every tool on the plantation an instrument of death. Fire and darkness are allies which nature proffers him. In this warfare, the master does not go into the battle alone; his wife and children are at his side, whose weakness or whose beauty, in presence of an imbrotection, may provoke the first assault. Ay, sir, in a civi or a servile war, the South will be in a more perilous condition than if every kernel of gunpowder in all the magazines of an army just on the eve of battle, should suddenly become animated, and set itself on fire. If the South wish to exhibit to the world, on a fire. If the South wish to exhibit to the world, on a magnificent scale, the natural retributions of slavery; if they wish to realize, in their own fair land, and by Hyder Alis of their own, Burke's terrible picture of the desolation of the Carnatic, they have but one thing to do, and that is to dissolve this Union. But I do not fear that any such madness will possess them. As I said before, they are under bonds of \$1,500, 000,000 to keep the peace, and their wives and daughters are sureties in the bonds. All wealth that is consumable, all affection that is destructible, all chastity that is violable, are pledged for the fulfil-

Waiving a hundred other facts and considerations the two which I have now specified are sufficient to show that this cry of 'danger to the Union' was wholly baseless and deceptive.

wholly baseless and deceptive.

From another point of the compass, and from an independent series of facts, a similar moral may be drawn for future presidential aspirants. Neither the Democratic party nor its Northern leaders had anything to gain by the Mexican war, and yet they plunged headlong into it at the dictation of the South. The Whig party, as such, always pronounced the war itself to be an aggression, and its territorial acquisitions a robbery. Yet the great body of this party voted the supplies that ratified its inception. Opposition to the war of 1812 had proved politically disastrous to many of those who made it; and it was foreseen that opposition to the Mexican pontically disastrous to many of those who made it; and it was foreseen that opposition to the Mexican war might be attended with similar results. Hence the lukewarmness of Whig opposition in Congress, and hence the voting of supplies to earry it on. Hence the pro-slavery men, and the 'manifest-des-

tiny' men were allowed to have their way; and ro the war was continued at an estimated expenditure in the whole, of more than \$200,000,000, and the ultimate acquisition of territory, some portion of which is already occupied by slaves, and two thirds of which is laid open to slavery by law.

And now, what has been the effect of that war upon both the Democratic and Whig civilians, who either vigorously sustained it, or opposed to it only a feeble resistance? It made the Cassars who have come back to rule over Rome. But for the Mexican wand feet in their wherever they may be found, to either vigorously sustained it, or opposed to it only a feeble resistance? It made the Cesara who have of liberty, then, wherever they may be found, to come back to rule over Rome. But for the Mexican stand fast in their integrity; for, to adopt the sentiment of Mr. Jefferson, in such a contest, there is not tier colonel, as Mr. Webster specingly called him, come back to rule over Rome. But for the Mexican war, General Taylor would have temained a 'frontier colonel,' as Mr. Webster sneeringly called him, and not even innacy would have conceived of him for President. But for the Mexican war, General Scott, though in honor and in bravery retaining his invincibility, would have lacked, to political wooders, the more potent charm of availability, and would never have been nominated. And but for the Mexican war, the shades of oblivion would soon have the perfected their easy work of hiding the name of General Pierce from the world forever. And now, behold the civilians, Cass, Buchanan, Marcy, and the rest, who stood sponsors and godfathers for that bloody deed. Defeated in 1848 by the very man whom the war they supported had raised up! General Taylor discomfited only one Santa Anna in a Mexico, but half a dozen at home. Look, too, at Mr. Webster, whose giant blows, had they been Mr. Webster, whose giant blows, had they been strock at the fitting time, might have broken the helmet and pierced the mailed armor of that Mars; yet see him thrust aside in 1848 to make room for one hero born of that war, and in 1852, hardly alanother. In 1852, also, see General Pierce, who had about as much to do with the Mexican victories, as little Iulus had to do with the Trojan war, yet plucking the nomination from Cass, Buchanan, Marcy, Douglas, and all the rest. The camp triumphs over Cabinet and Senate. The cedan arma log a is read backwards. How many of these warriors will remain in 1856, and in 1860, to shoulder aside the civilians for the third and fourth time, because they were false to their duty in waging or in tolerating that war, remains to be seen. But what a righteous retribution for those civilians, who, at first, might have prevented, or afterwards might have staved that effusion of human blood! As a specimen of poetic justice, romance or drama has nothing finer. I have, sir, but one topic more to present, before

shall have sufficiently disobeyed and defied the Baltimore resolutions, for this time, and shall be ready to sit down. As I said before, present omens forebode ill to the cause of freedom in this land out a more searching analysis throws a cheering

light upon our prospects.

Let us see, in the first place, why it is that the North, with almost two-thirds of the population and of the votes of the whole Union, is controlled on al questions pertaining to slavery by the other third belonging to the South. The answer is at hand. duestions pertaining to slavery by the other third belonging to the South. The answer is at hand. We at the North are divided into two parties, Whigs and Democrats, who balance, and, in all political contests, neutralize each other. Nominally, the South is divided into the same parties, but, in what ever regards slavery, it is undivided and a unit—indissoluble as the Stamese twins; for where you find Chang, you are sure to find Eng. On tariffs, river and harbor improvements, and so forth, they carry on a feeble and somnolent warfare among themselves; but whenever the tocsin of slavery i selves; but whenever the tocsin of slavery is sounded, they awaken to seize their arms, and form in solid column for a quick-step march to the point in contest. Hence, by obtaining the feeblest support from the North—generally speaking by stealing marches upon us, while we are engrossed by our acceptance. customed vocations—an easy triumph is won. nominal division of parties, therefore, is very far from being the true one. The country is, and for long time has been, for all purposes saide from the spoils of office, divided into three parties of very nearly equal numbers—the Whigs and Democrats of the North, and the pro-slavery party of the South—the latter, with the slightest aid, or even with the acquiescence from either of the others, being able revail. And this will continue to be th intil a practical anti-slavery party is formed at the North, to balance this pro-slavery party is formed at the North, to balance this pro-slavery party of the South, and to do battle for liberty as they do for slavery. Such a party, in sufficient numbers to contend successfully with its antagonists, may not be immediate-

power, are our allies, and therefore we must prevail k at the amazing fact that the Southern States. with more than double the area of the Norther after an experiment of more than sixty years of free government, have but about half the free population f the latter. I say the area of the former is more than double the area of the latter; but this is by no means the only element of their natural superiority. Their milder climate, their more fertile and easily cultivated soil, and its happy adaptation for produc ing the great staples of commerce which the whole civilized world will have and are ready to pay for gives to the South at least a two-fold advantage over the North, acre for acre, or State for State. With their super-eminent and easily-understood advantages, the Southern section of tence, and with al dividual independence or social strength, instead of being as one to two, they should be as three to one. eparated only by a ribbon's width of water, illustrates this problem, even to school boys. It is slavery, and slavery alone, that has struck them down from their lofty pre-eminence; that has dwarfed their gigantic capacities, and driven them to maintain an ascendency—ultimately worthless and worse than worthless-by suborning Northern politicians, instead of exulting in the

ly formed, and therefore I see before us a period of struggle and trial. But the spirit of God is on our

side in this work. The laws of the moral universe

the laws of nature, the laws of population and

legitimate superiority of home-born and undecaying And thus is the only fulfillment of an eternal law which always has been, and always will be exempli fied in the history of mankind-the law that all weakness; that all wickedness is dementia. By a law, fixed as gravitation, error tends to rain, and moral wrong to imbecility. Let any individual act upon a false theory, and in that, his hopes will s fortunes maimed. be disappointed, and h community legalize false principles, or adopt evil less, institutions into its organic law—which is its sen-sorium—its strength becomes taintless, and its glory turns black. False notions, or even ignorance the laws of health, bring disease upon an individual, or epidemics upon a country. False conclusions in political economy bankrupt a city, or the treasure of or epidenics upon a country. False conclusions in political economy bankrupt a city, or the treasury of a nation. False metaphysical or theological dogmass cramp the faculties, vittate the knowledge, and repress the aspirations of their possessors, and the schools or the sects that adopt them dwindle into weakness, become contemptible, and perish. God weakness, become contemptible, and perish. Neither caste, primogeniture, nor hierarchy can save it. The false notions of Aristotle, about the perfectness of the circle for motion, and the law of continuous of fluid mith the circle for motion, and the law of continuous of fluid mith the circle for motion, and the law of equilibrium of fluids, with other absurdities, ken the philosophic and inventive genius of the world in irons for two thousand years; but then they passed into everlasting contempt. False maxims in government, and false practices in political economy, have worked out the terrible problem of Ireland's roin, sending almost two millions of her people through disease and starvation into the grave, or in-to exile, within the last ten years, and completing by processes which make 'destruction sicken,' the dreadful demonstration of a crime which was begun six centuries ago, and has now passed into the Gebenna of cternal execration wherever history

Now, as slavery is error and wickedness combin ed, it must incur the penalties ordained of God against both. As it corrupts domestic virtue, contravenes the natural laws of a nation's prosperity and growth, excludes and drives away those who and growth, excludes and drives away those who are instinct with the love of freedom, from settling within its borders, makes general education impossible, and eviscerates from the Gospel of Jesus Christ the highest and purest of its principles and precepts, it follows by a law of adamantine necessity, that the body politic, which suffers it, is vulnerable in every part, and that physical and moral death besieges every gate of its citadel. Slavery assails all the laws of God broadside; and it must, therefore, re-

laws of God broadside; and it must, therefore, receive His retributions broadside.

These are but specimens of the weakness which is always inflicted by error, and of the fatuity that ensues from moral wrong. They are specimens of those 'Higher Laws' of God, which fulfil their destiny, whether men heed them or defy. They crush the restraint, while resisting, and silence the blasphemer in mid volley.

If the Northern States of this Union, therefore,

an attribute of the Almighty but must take part with us.

Sir, I have endeavored now to speak upon the real and true state of the Union. I have desired to ascertain towards what point of the moral compass this great vehicle, which we call Government, freighted as it is with so much of human welfare, and with the fondest hopes of the oppressed, is now moving. I have sought to determine that direction, not by the meteoric lights which are exhaled from human passion and selfishness, but by taking observation of the tunchangeable luminaries of truth and duty, which as hine down upon us forever from their fixed places shine down upon us forever from their fixed places up! Genin the skies. I have spoken no word in the spirit of a Anna in a partizan or a politician; but have sought to emok, too, at well as of the present. The mere politician judges of events by their in

mediate consequences—by their relation to himsel and his party. Under our Constitution, the next four years is the politician's eternity. The next election s his judgment-day. The blessedness of his futur consists in an anticipated share of the \$200,000,000 o be distributed from the National Treasury during the next presidential term, and in being one of hundred thousand men, who, for the same period, are to be elevated into conspicuousness, or to abide in their obscurity. But the eternity that I believe in, will not end on the 4th of March, 1856. Consequenwill not end on the 4th of March, 1856. Consequences are to flow from events now passing, which are unending in their nature and their influence. Interests are at stake infinitely more important than the temporary official prominence or obscurity of a hundred thousand men—infinitely more precious than \$200,000,000, or two hundred millions of Californias, with golden Australias to boot. He, only, is worthy the name of telescence in the second of t worthy the name of statesman, he, only, is fit to pre-side over the affairs of a great nation, whose vision takes in the vast relations of cause and effect; whose judgment is determined by what must be, in the fu-ture, as well as by what exists in the present, and who never erects a superstructure of constitution of law for the protection or the enjoyment of any hu-man interest, without laying its foundations on the

# The Liberator

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, SEPT. 10, 1852.

SPIRIT OF THE CAPE.

The annual gathering of the active and progressive riends of impartial freedom, on Cape Cod, took place on Saturday and Sunday last, at Harwich. In consequence of the limited notice that had been given, i was not supposed that the attendance would begin to compare with the number that appeared on the ground last year, which was unusually large; but to the general surprise and gratification, the assembly was numerous beyond precedent, composed argely of the best people to be found on the Cape, or any where else. Probably not less than fifteen hundred persons gathered on Sunday, to consecrate the day in a manner the most effectual to glorify God and bring salvation to man; and considering how widely scattered is the population of the Cape, and that very many are absent at this season, this was a strong demonstration. The number of vehicles on the ground presented an animating spectacle, and extending in all directions into the woods as they did, it wore a sublimely primitive aspect. Harwich, Chatham, Hyannis, Yarmouth, Barnstable, Dennis, Brewster, Sandwich, and other towns, were well represented on the occasion. Three meetings were held in Union Hall on Saturday, and one in the same hall on Sunday evening; and two in the beautiful grove adjacent during the day on Sunday, making six in all. We have attended many popular gatherings, but never have we been present at one where the general decorum and interest were more remarkable than or

and thus every thing seemed to conspire to make the meetings eminently satisfactory and profitable. Robert Crosby was called to the chair, and J. B Sanderson appointed Secretary. The principal speakers were Charles C. Burleigh of Connecticut, Charles Lenox Remond of Salem, J. B. Sanderson of Sandmight possess, and but for slavery, would to-day possess three-fold the population of the Northern section—all free, all blessed with more abounding convincing, Mr. Remond never more felicitous and eloquent; and Mr. Nell and Mr. Sanderson acquitted As compared with the North in all that gives in themselves admirably, as identified by their complexion with the millions who are perishing in slavery A wide range was taken in the discussion, involving the most important religious, political and economical aspects of the anti-slavery cause; though only the following resolutions were presented :-

this occasion. The weather was in the highest de-

gree delightful, the very perfection of the season;

Resolved. That it is no part of the Anti-Slaver enterprise to determine whether one day in the week s more holy than another; or whether the Bible is the only rule of faith and practice-a completely inspired volume; or whether the church and ministry are divinely called and instituted ; but its sole object is, to overthrow, through a faithful application o the truth to the consciences of the people, a vast, legalized system of robbery, cruelty, uncleanness, murder, and soul-debasing heathenism; and to put every slave on the American soil in the full possession of his instignable and heaven-derived rights. Neverthe-

Resolved. That in behalf of the anti-slavery enter prise, we explicitly declare, that, being inherently just, holy and true, and embracing all the interests of man alike for time and for eternity, there is no day too sacred on which to present its claims ;-that, whatever the Bible teaches on the subject, the rights of man are not derived from any book, neither are they to be determined by an appeal to any book, but they are inherent and indestructible, and therefore to trample upon them is to assail their Divine-Author in the most impious form, and to outrage human nature in the most flagrant manner; - that the church which fails to bear a faithful testimony against the enslavement of our fellow-creatures is corrupt, time-serving. and apostate, and the ministry who are dumb in view of our great national sin, or who do not testify against it as 'the sum of all villanies,' are unworthy of countenance and support.

Resolved, That the 'finality of the Comprom neasures' which God presents to this guilty nation s, to hide the outcast and bewray not him that wan dereth; to undo the heavy burden, break every yoke and let the oppressed go free; and that this finality is ours to the end of the conflict.

The hospitality of our friends at Harwich was un ounded. The sum of \$33 50 was raised for the cause

SPEECH OF HORACE MANN.

We complete the publication of this speech, in o resent number, to the exclusion of many articles of le for insertion. Its great length is as nothing to it great merits, and will deter no one who is interested n the mightiest struggle of the age from giving it thorough perusal. It is marked by all the best characteristics of its gifted and eminent author, and wil add much to his well-earned reputation on both side of the Atlantic. The closing portion of it is particu larly impressive, appealing as it does to the highest moral and religious sentiments of the human mind. Next week, we shall commence the publication of he very able, elaborate and eloquent speech of Mr. Sumner, on his motion for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. The time occupied in its delivery was

CAPT. DRAYTON IN NEW BEDRO A public meeting was held in Sears's Hally Bedford, on Sunday evening last, to congratakely Begions, on our less from his long and cas as Drayton on his release from his long and can be finement in the national prison at Washing he remembering those in bonds as bound with due. remembering toose in course as count with the crowded audience was present, and large as

erowined studence was present, and targe sub-were unable to gain admission to the hall, he may being completely filled at a very early hear The meeting was organized by the electic of it. drew Robeson, Esq., as President, and Wm.C. Ca. drew Robeson, Long, as recomment, and wanted Scoretary. Mr. Robeson, after a few person marks, explanatory of the objects of Capt. In marks, expunsion of the control of the country visit, and an incidental reference to his country visit, and an incidental reference to his country visit, and an incidental reference to his country visit. sufferings, introduced him to the sudience.

Capt. Drayton took the stand, and proceed as. Lapt. Long tale of suffering. The recita ra ranently calculated to touch the heart, and then deeper love of that freedom which is the factors right of all human beings. The narrate ra as plain and unvarnished statement of the count of a plain and unvarianted of Capt. Drops and schooner Pearl, the sentence of Capt. Drops and schooner Fears, the Sayres, &c., who were arrested at Washington long Sayres, co., all 1848, for an attempt to aid Russia escaping from bondage.

After the conclusion of Capt. Drayton number which produced a marked effect, the meeting range dressed in a very able manner, by Mesc. En R. Johnson and Josiah S. Bonney; also, 171. C. Bay and David W. Ruggles.

mother of the search of the se

ame over addened art. Ja melti oman, sual, ro are sual, ro are gos he Societ sudden ean and he atmoster from ires in o

th exect o Anti-S

l men, leed, in

e man ch thin five y

uld pa l gave

was th

oald mo

e only a

Soyes rough a arful air

tinguis bave he There is Imighty What

esent p see his st, in th

constituti law or re-dicated a ther of w such sent and a hali his platfor

shed no I are oti-slav feel equipo too, r

e cou by me and But m Ill see, stions lended belie the m

ughable received the properties of the propertie

I soppi image timage rog, ye rount of cont, sected, salls, as sall

and David W. Ruggles.

A colored gentleman, by the name of Chair Thus. As, was introduced, who resided in Washington at the as, was introduced, who tended in research time the arrest of Capt, Drayton occurs, ad wa advised of the circumstances attending it. He fully advised of the statements of Capt, D, and also the quite a graphic description of several seems which quite a graphic observation, connected with the affair.

The following resolutions, introduced by Mr. Em

R. Johnson, were passed unanimously:

Whereas Capt. Daniel W. Drayton having been poleased from the American prison at Washington where he was incarecrated for faithfully exerting to Divine injunction of doing unto others as he would wish them to do unto him; therefore, Resolved, That we, the citizens of New Belfed,

welcome Capt. Drayton to our homes and hearts; that we have listened to his pathetic narrative with deep interest; that we honor him for his intreplity, and admire him for his unspotted integrity and usbounded humanity, that we truly sympatize with him in the painful and enfechled condition of his health and rejoice with him that he has been restared in his family and friends, and we hope he may be himed with a long life of usefulness, and when the drama of his eventful career closes, may his tomb-stone be embellished with the emphatic inscription, 'Here lis the Martyr to Liberty.' Resolved, That this meeting return their siners

thanks to Hon. Charles Sumner, for his indefatigable efforts in procuring the release of our brother, and we hope that he will continue the agitation against slavery and its concomitants, until every pretext for oppression shall be erased from our national escutcheon. A very liberal contribution was taken up for the

benefit of Capt. Drayton, and the meeting adjourned

SPEECH OF CHARLES SUMNER.

At the conclusion of Mr. Sumner's speech in the Senate, for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, the Hon. John P. Hale rose and bestowed the following generous but somewhat extravagant eulogy upon it:-

Mr. President, I did not intend to have said sin. thing, and I shall occupy the Senate but a very fer minutes; but I feel that I should be doing injustice to my own feelings and injustice to my friend, the Senator from Massachusetts, who has addressed the Senate to-day, if I were to fail at this time to repress the very great gratification with which I have listened to his speech; and in saying that, I do not mean to pass by entirely the honorable Senstorion North Carolina, for I listened to him, as I always 40, with great pleusure, but justice compels me to say hat I thought by far the best parts of the speech of the honorable Senator from North Carolina, were those extracts he read from a former speech of the Senitor from Massachusetts. I listened to both Senten with great pleasure, but I feel bound to say to-day that it is my deliberate conviction, that the honorable Senator from Mass., if he was actuated by as correct and selfish motives as can be possibly attributed to him, has, so far as his own personal fame and reputahim, has, so far as his own personal fame and reputs-tion are concerned, done enough. Yes, sir, by the effort he has made here to-day, he has done enough to place him side by side with the first orators of stiquity, and as far ahead of any American orator is freedom is ahead of slavery. I believe that he has formed to-day a new era in the history of policies and the clonurges of the converted. to-men to-may a new era in the history of politics and the eloquence of the country, and that in future gen-erations the young men of this nation will be stimu-lated to efforts by the record of what an American has this day done, which all the appeals drawn from any limit history would be activate in the state of the ory would be entirely of the friends of humanity and liberty that will set of the friends of humanity and liberty that will as be paid through many generations; the memory at which shall endure as long as the Eoglish language spoken, or the history of this republic forms a part of the annals of the world. That is what I believe as the annals of the world. That is what I beare, is if I had one other feeling, or could indulge in on other feeling in reference to that effort, it would be a feeling of envy that it was not in me to tread era at an humble distance in the path which he has a nobly and so eloquently illustrated.

#### WENDELL PHILLIPS AT WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

Among the exercises at the annual Commencement of this institution, was an address before the Adelphi Society, by Wendell Phillips. A correspondent of

the Springfield Republican says: the Springfield Republican says:

'He caused some flutering among the stad enservatives and rigid thenlogians that starred the stag, and enchained his audience for an hour sod shift with salient sallies, beautiful periods, and pointed home-thrusts upon society, institutions and individuals. It would be difficult to state his leading limits and the presentation of a single affirmative one. But the mild tones and chaste and eloquent periods of Pailthe presentation of a single affirmative one. But the mild tones and chaste and eloquent periods of Paillips have a charm that yet lingers in the ear, say he writer, and prompts me to say that I would not have lost the pleasure of listening to this oration for a consideration. The highest gratification of the hear er undoubtedly lies in the enunciation, by the spailer, of truths and ideas which the former has felt in his soul, or which heat in response to emotions there dormant. Yet, I pity the intolerant bigot who estant form the deasure in the original and eloquent derifdormant. Yet, I pity the intolerant bigot was used not find pleasure in the original and eloquent deriopments of a mind like that of Phillips, even though they be not tuned to the same key as the note of is own soul. There was much that was truth and much all of it could be own soul. There was much that was truth and most that was glorious in the oration, and all of it could be heard with pleasure. Mr. Phillips' oratory is of the Everett, Winthrop and Samner school-refeed, chaste, classical—but there is in his more of quest, natural grace than either of the others display. He speaks wholly without notes, and with the greatest freedom and case.

THE LIBERTY PARTY. The result of the National Liberty Convention in New York, on the 1st int. was that the party split in two. The majority uphal Gerrit Smith, who made elaborate speeches in farst of voting for Hale and Julian, and the minority headed by Mr. Goodell, seceded, and nominated for Presdent, Wm. Goodell, and for Vice, Charles C. Fee. The majority in favor of Hale and Julian was If-ds number at the Convention being quite small. It as agreed to make Frederick Douglass's paper the organ both branches of the party! The convention finally adjourned to meet at Syracuse, Oct. 1, who Jerry's rescue will be celebrated in Wheaton's ner hall, which is to be named 'Jerry Hall.'

THE STATE CONVENTION. We learn that arrange ments have been concluded with the managers of the several railroads centering in Lowell, to take passes gers to the State Free Democratic Convention. Wednesday of next week, at half fare. Measures at which is progress to secure trains from other points that accommodate delegates generally from all parts of the accommodate delegates generally from all parts of the safe. It is now certain that Messrs. Summer, Phillips. State. It is now certain that Messrs. Summer, party all is and other distinguished members of the party all is accommodate delegates generally accommodate delegates generally Stare. It is now certain that Messrs. Sumner, sail and other distinguished members of the party all present and address the people. A mass convey will, in all probability, also be held.—Commonweally

as fairs danner to the Liberator on the burning of the has Party GARRISON : letter to the Liberator off the ourning of the Heavy Clay, I many a world of apology for my are in the fragments of time snatched to ster coles, and often when fatigue and languoi Your types made me say, horrid se teler stronger than the case requires.

tien of An-tien of An-n. C. Coffin-erinent re-prayton's capture and

was emii was emii was emiid excite a
id excite a
God-given
to was the
tore of the
tare of the
tarylan and
ten, during
It shares in

ng was ad-a. Ezra R. L. C. Ray

a's Thom

gion at the

He fully

ected with

Mr. Erra

uting be

Bedford,

d hearts

ative with

ntrepidity.

with him

his health.

restored to

the drama

ib-stone be

indefatiga-

rother, and

pretext for

ational es-

up for the

adjourned.

ech in the e Law, the following

upon it:-

said say-a very few g injustice friend, the ressed the ime to ex-ich I have t, I do not

enator from always do,

to say that eech of the were those the Sena-h Senators say to-day honorable

ind reputa-ir, by the ne enough stors of an-

orator as that he has politics and future gen-l be stimu-

LIAMS

mencement he Adelphi

etaid coni the stage,
and a half
ad pointed
ind pointed
ind pointed
it dividling idealidess than.
But the
da of Philit, sags the
dion for any
f the hearthe speakhas felt in
tions there
t who cantent develione of his
and much
it could be
tory is of
lare. He
is greatest

National 1st inst., ity upheld in favor for Presi-C. Foot-as 17—the ll. It was the organ convention 1, when aton's new

at arrange-gers of the like passes-ention, on avures are points that It, so as to arise of the r, Phillips, rty will be convention

NER

· Here lies

familier stronger indeed a horrid one; and yet w parties and forgotten the Henry Clay disaster, mark in more terrible occurred here in these on sters. A Lake Steamer, with six hundred tes board, runs deliberately, wantonly, wilfully pen board, runs denocrates, wantonly, wilfully short property, A bitter animosity always exists and the two modes of Lake navigation, as I have somether and hence the frequent collisions. In unner, the Steamboat had the worst of it. In a mother after the collision, she sunk in a hundred states of eater; and in all probability, more than abstract people perished. And now that terrible what is pretty much forgotten also; and the news and news boys are waiting anxiously for the embr catastrophe to give demand for their tistics. It is to them only, that such visitations and exametified for everlasting good. is see, we held the Anniversary of the Western

16 Savry Society. It was, as usual, an occasion da light interest. I am glad you have attended of these meetings, for you now know what they The presence of Joseph Banken added very and to the pleasure and profit of the meeting. Engal belief better beware how she makes it desirable for men at he to take themselves away from her bent, we can be reconciled, for her incalculable aber anspeakable gain. OLIVER JOHNSON, too, ore the mountains from Philadelphia, and beed by his presence and co operation, many a L JASE ELIZABETH JONES led us all captive by minar pathos of her appeals, particularly to nn. And HESET C. WRIGHT girdled us, as ni road and round, with his iron linked logic. IN WALKER pesled upon us the full tones o thought with him from the Methodist pulpit, isse consecrated heartily to the proclamation of a geospel. While MARIUS ROBINSON, the editor of scory's paper, sent down upon us, occasionally, win bolt from the well-charged battery of his undbest, which thrilled every soul, and purified smoothere from the moral mists and miasmas that sem the sectarian and political pools and quagmen sur neighborhood. Many others, too, spoke earstellest effect, in support of the doctrines of 1 150 Slavery Society. Some of them were Free inm, out and out, but sterling abolitionists still. ded in the raising of funds, I know not but they set shamed the most true-hearted of the Society wass, and, as I was told, a most reliable one is wathings, pledged himself to pay one half as much, be bee years, into the treasury, as any disunionist soil pay. He paid down twelve dollars and a half. morre assurance to continue the same annually for wing; - and he will doubtless pay much more. The most remarkable phenomenon of our anniversa

rs the presence and position of FREDERICK DOUGse Sometimes he spoke in a way to electrify us as as on the could. It was emphatically DougLass as he as in the days of his manhood. Then again he nel nount his senatorial stilts, and attempt to perfrom the politician. It was then pitiful to behold him, heady arguments he gave us were those which you and thre heard him 'tear to tatters, to very rags,' a hundred ses, in Boston and elsewhere, when presented to him Free Soil ministers and others, as he was now padig them before us. In two or three instances, noor of Songayin Tauru, the slave woman, pierced him each and through with a single dart, sent with that hefal sim and precision for which she is so eminently singuished. I good many times, here in the Westhave beard a single question put an end to all strife. There is a spirit in woman, and the inspiration of the Amigher giveth it understanding." Was seemed to me most remarkable in our old friend

ettelass was, a certain vagueness as to what his resent position is. He has always been considered ince his 'Decline and Fall,' a Liberty party man. But, is this instance, he was more than half the time scraping the Pittsburgh position. He argued the unnationality and illegality of slavery, and every ever regulation relating slavery; but still he viv feeted and supported the Pittsburgh nominees, neitheref whom has ever held, so far as is known, any surl sentment. At any rate, I have within an hour and a half heard Mr. Gippings declare, for himself and his platform, that, on the whole question of State sovis no difference of sentiment in any the great parties. We could not really tell, at tiers, whether Douglass was one thing or the other. Thre ever felt, since he began to falter, that he would Idl to, and probably through, the Free Soil pury. His appearance and course in our meeting fartibed me lamentable assurance, that it will be even sa. I an confident he was doing far more for political sat-slavery while with us, than at any time since; and I feel equally sure, the clear-sighted of his party think o to, and deplore the change. He has surely not ben released and greeted by the party as his talents and position in the ranks of reform deserved. The STREETS and GIDDINGSES have often said, in public and a private, that they would not have the master med and sprits in our moral movement abandon the care they are now pursuing. Whom should they bran by 'master spirits,' if not our once faithand powerful coadjutor, FREDERICK DOUGLASS Bet my communications are getting too long. You will see and will doubtless let your readers see, the resdrains we adopted at our anniversary meetings. We uspied to speak is no unknown tongue. The Westin South is giving good account of herself. I hope

> Yours, and your readers, PARKER PILLSBURY.

IF h was, certainly, a 'horrid,' though somewhat include hunder that we made, in printing the letter received from our attentive friend Pillsbury, prior b the present one; and not less so was the blunder epented in the communication of our correspondat IS (as joinled out by him in our present taler, where 'North Carolina' and 'North Caroan' were substituted for 'New Church'-which Chart, by the way, appears to have no North to it. here quer errors remind us of a correction which the present in a country newspaper to this effect; It is alrestisement, printed in our last, for stormstargus peringers, read scorm-destroying lozenges!"

ad being the Parent organization will find her one of the nost faithful and virtuous of all her daughters.

LABORS IN RHODE ISLAND.

SMITHVILLE SEMINARY, (R. L.) August 31st, 1852.

I suppose I must give you a narrative of my pil-Frages. Perhaps I have already neglected it too es, jet I cannot believe it a matter of much conerence if I had some great story to relate, on achand I could perhaps take my pen with some But the exciting days of mobs, burning has not great speeches, have passed away, perhaps in is tetam. O! for a lattle opposition, such as laused to enjoy about 1835, to relieve the monotay of these prosy times! If we could have the multi-trans and letting off of gas of a presidential appait would be a little better; but duliness drear ed stansion profound seem to rest upon the public laffalo platforms and Presidential nominadon't raise so much as a ripple upon the calm

surface of public indifference. Men will fight for nothing now but their bottles and their purses. Remove these, and the era of universal non-resistance would dawn upon the places, at least, which I have visited here in Rhode Island. But to my narrative. My meeting at Poxboro was a failure, from the

fact that no notice had been given, except through the Liberator. The friend to whom I wrote, Mr. Spencer Hodges, did not get the letter in season. I was, how ever, cordially welcomed to his home for the night and the next day he very generously took me into his carriage, and carried me eight miles to North Attleboro', where I was welcomed by our zealous friend and co-worker, Oliver S. Brastow, and family My meeting at this place, although the notice wa short, was very well attended. It was held in the Second Advent meeting-house, on Sunday afternoon, the officiating minister, with the free consent of the committee, generously giving way to my lecture. This particular Church of Second Adventists is composed of non-resistants of the right stamp, who reondiate the United States Constitution, as well as al other constitutions, governments, and laws, based upon the sword. This is a part of their creed. They are also, as a matter of course, not only opposed to slavery in sentiment and feeling, but are willing to show their faith by their works. I have never found truer sympathy than at North Attleboro', among the Second Adventists. This was the first time that I ever came in contact with this new sect, and I know not whether, as a body, they take the non-resistant ground, or not. I think not, however, because if they had, they would have attracted more attention. collection was taken up in behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at the close of my lecture, amounting to \$3,50. The next day, Monday, as per arrangement, I proceeded to Valley Falls. Having relied upon the advertisement in the Liberato for the notification of this meeting, instead of writing to the friends in the place, and no one having minded the advertisement, no notice had been given. and, consequently, I could have no meeting as I intended, but made arrangements for one on a subsequent evening. From Valley Falls I went to Hope Village, (but

not very hopeful for anti-slavery,) in Warwick, where I had a tolerably good meeting ir. point of numbers. Hope is one of the numerous cotton manufacturing villages, nestling beneath the hills and chestnut groves in the beautiful valley of the Pawtucket river. By the way, what a pity the original Indian names of places, rivers, &c., have not been retained throughout the country, as here in Rhode Island. There is a mysterious interest and poetical beauty in these names. It is true, they suggest mournful reflections; names. It is true, they suggest mournful reflections; hesitating several moments, Mr. Parker declined yet there is, I think, a peculiar fitness and propriety in doing this, averring that he believed it best always to them, and a peculiar unfitness in those borrowed from the old world. An English writer, who has travelled in this country, I think HARRIET MARTINEAU, complained of a want of taste in the Americans, in setting aside the original names, so perfectly expressive, in many instances, of the character of the place or thing designated, and substituting European appellations of places widely different, and in many instances huddling together those most remote in strange incongruity. I believe, however, that Miss MARTINEAU did not fail, like most foreigners who visit our shores, to see the monstrous incongruity of slavery in the heart of a republic!

The scenery, as you wind around the hills in the stage road following the course of the stream in the Pawtuxet Valley, is surpassingly fine; but the associations suggested to the reflecting mind, at every turn, by the sight of the gray cold, prison-like walls of the immense factories, where thousands of human beings, of both sexes, yet mostly females, from the tender ages of six years upwards, are constantly immured fourteen out of the twenty-four hours each day-literally grinding in the prison-house for a bare subsistence, through a life robbed of half its years. nature in her loveliest aspect and sweetest smiles greets the eye at every step.

At Hope, I found Mr. Danie! Gould, an old subhere amounted to \$1.20.

At Risch Hill, I had a small meeting in a Bantist expense of lighting the house.

one time, I believe, was engaged as lecturing agent, adopted and lived out in aggravated forms by creseen in this selfish world. Anti-slavery serves the incessant and baneful is the sirocco ever blowing virtuous mind to wake,' and wherever you find an ab- towards us from the 'Barbary States of America.' elitionist of the right stamp, you find a universal reformer.

My next meeting I purposed holding at Valley Falls, but a two days'-storm prevented. But I found the best of homes, and the most entertaining and congenial society, in the family of our excellent friends, Mr. and Mrs. Chase, of that place.

I next visited North Scituate; but, owing to the seattended the churches where my notices were readconsequently, few knew of the lecture, which was to hour of meeting, about a hundred students, and a few give me death." as originally presented by Jefferson, down to the adoption of the late Baltimore platforms. I presume this I want to remind the readers of the Liberator any doubts in regard to its authenticity.

present Constitution. It is almost too much to advilege of being a wrong-doer. It is bad enough to serve the devil gratis, or 'on trust,' as Daniel Web-ater chooses to, and be obliged to take ten mills less and then breaks forth in refulgent beams the glorious than one per cent, on a dollar in the end. But I am sun of liberty, equality, and fraternity! Yes, there is getting my letter much too long.

Yours for humanity, ALONZO J. GROVER land,-

MUZZLERS OF THE PRESS.

On the evening of May 26th, 1852, I attended neeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, at the Melodeon, in Boston. Theodore Parker made an elaborate address before a respectable audience o that occasion, and in it he adduced a striking profrom his own personal experience of the unhol league now existing between Mummon, the flinty-hearted god of Northern traders, and Moloch, the bloody-handed god of Southern tyrants. I will try to give the substance of Mr. Parker's anecdote. He said that but a few months before, he called on an

eminent publishing firm in Boston, who had in years past issued several of his works, to consult with then about undertaking the publication of another work which he had then nearly ready for the press. He was waited on by a member of the firm, when the follow ing conversation ensued (I put this in the first person for clearness' sake, and also furnish the unknown pub lisher with a suitable cognomen) :-

Mr. Parker .- I am preparing a collection of sermo and addresses for the press, and desire to know if you will publish them on terms similar to our forme dealings ?

Mr. Gagspeech .- Do you intend to have any of your Anti-Slavery discourses in them?

Mr. Parker .- Most certainly. I do not expect t reach very far into posterity, but as far as I do go, I desire to go holding my Anti-Slavery discourses i my right hand.

Mr. Gagspeech .- Then we cannot publish you volumes. Our business connections with the South are such that it would seriously injure our trade in that section to be the mere medium through which any Anti-Slavery doctrines came before the public,

Mr. Parker. - The reason of your refusal is a stron lemonstration of the necessity that Anti-Slavery doctrines should come before the public. When wealthy booksellers refuse to place their names or an humble minister's title-page-though he bears all the cost of publishing and runs all the risk of selling -because the atmosphere of his free ideas will drive off customers for their other works, then indeed has the 'despotism in America' gained a fearful preponderance.

Thereupon Mr. Parker bade Mr. Gagsneech good bye, and left to hunt up some publisher whose soul enjoyed a broader range than the rim of a dollar. And he found one, too, there being a Lot in every

Mr. Parker was asked by Samuel May, Jr., to men tion the true name of the time-serving publisher for whom I have had to supply a soubriquet. After err on the side of charity, and that the man wa actuated more by weakness than wickedness in his ungenerous conduct. I regretted that we could not have been informed

rom Mr. Parker's lips who this self-appointed censo of the press was; though the feeling which i duce the speaker to withhold his name was highly honors ble and noble. Any man who is so corrupted to the core with the filthy lucre of which he has more than enough, that in the sacred work of providing nation's literature he will pander to oppression deserves to be marked on the back plainly and deeply as one of his own quartos!

In the above account, I do not profess to quote exact language used by either of the parties in this curious dialogue, except as regards Mr. Parker' second remark to Mr. Gagspeech : that is printed or my memory along with ever so many more of his eloquent sentences. But my brief sketch will impar generally correct idea of the voluntary and unblushing meanness of Mr. Gagspeech on the occasion detailed above.

In this connection, it may be apposite to relate and more of its joys-makes the heart sad, though little event which I know to have transpired in Bos ton this summer. A popular and long established literary newspaper, which circulates largely at the South, was written to in terms of commendation b scriber to the Liberator, to whom I am indebted for an agent at Mobile, for its careful avoidance entertainment and liberal assistance. The collection sectional questions' (meaning its tame cringing to th Slave Power, for liberty alone is 'sectional' in thi country); and a lure to further flunkeyism was held meeting-house, and received fifty cents for my servi- out in the promise that 'if a like moderate and patri ces, the committee generously giving the trouble and otic (!) course was pursued in future, an increased circulation of the Kidnappers' Bloody Flag would At this place, I also found one friend to our the result in Alabama. Here we see the programs cause, Mr. William Tanner, formerly a subscriber of cowardice directly supplied and enforced by the to the Liberator, and brother to Abel Tanner, who at boasted 'chivalry' of the nation; and we see who welcomed me to the hospitalities of his home; tures who dare to celebrate the 17th of June and the and a home he has, though humble, such as is seldom 4th of July! A trifling straw like this shows how

## MISS HOLLEY IN DUXBURY,

- Duxbury, Sept. 1, 1852.

FRIEND GARRISON: So few are the signs of anti slavery progress in the town of Duxbury, it is well when they do appear to record them, for the encour agement of the few who are seeking truth, and disciverity of the storm referred to on Sanday, few people plining the mind for the great work of emancipation which you have so nobly begun.

Seldom has it fallen to our lot to listen to such have been in the Baptist meeting-house. This being thrilling discourse as was given in our town hall, the the case, and the storm continuing, the prospect was other evening, by Miss Holler, of Rochester, N. Y. that few, if any, would come out to my lecture. In Penetrating as the fire of truth, gentle and touching this dilemma, Rev. Hosea Quimby, Principal of the as the appeals of Jesus, filled with the love of freedom Smithville Seminary, a flourishing institution, situated and humanity, no one can listen to her without being a short distance from the village, proposed that I made better. Could the poor, down-trodden captives should speak in the Seminary Hall to the students, in the South land come within hearing of this sincere who could attend without going out of doors. Of voice, they would feel all the force of that quickening course, I gladly accepted the invitation; and at the expression of Patrick Henry,- Give me liberty, or

of the villagers, assembled in the hall, and listened A goodly number attended; one subscriber was obapparently not without interest for upwards of two tained for the Liberator, and five dollars contributed hours. I endeavored to show the relation of the North to the cause. All seemed to feel it a privilege to give to slavery, giving as full an account as I could, in the something. One friend, who has been a member of time, of the action of the Federal Government in its the Methodist church, renewed his subscription for behalf, from the striking out of the clause depreca- the Liberator, and expressed to me his want of confitory of slavery in the Declaration of Independence, dence in the Wesleyan church as a means of abolish-

was a chapter in American history not found in the that venerable man whose presence was always felt text books of the institution, and probably not the at our anti-slavery gatherings in years gone by-SETH most familiar to my audience; but no one expressed SPRAGUE. O, had he lived, would he not have urged on the Wesleyan church to nobler deeds and pur This institution is under the control of Prof. Quim-by, who is a reformer, an excellent man, and a distin-cause fired and thrilled by the genius of freedom, he guished teacher. I consider this a rare school, and was progressive; and whoever lets love do its per-would recommend it to those who do not care to feet work, will find his life glowing with perpetual send their children to schools under the control of youth. Now that church is closed against the voice pro-slavery and sectarian influences. Mirabile dictu! of mercy; its form towers gloomily, a sad monument my lecture was favored by the Orthodox minister of of the folly and pride which build costly houses, and the place, who took the trouble to call on me previous decorate them for senseless forms and ceremonies,—
to the meeting, and was not ashamed to distribute sevwhile humanity lies bleeding beneath their portals. eral of my handbills on his way home. Last winter, Every church in Duxbury is closed against the reformer he invited me to lecture in his pulpit on Sunday, in The Universalists, professedly the most liberal, who the day time ! This may seem almost fabulous to anti- have labored hard to save souls in this life-sure they slavery lecturers, yet it is true. I expect the expla. would be in the next-refused to open their church nation is, that Mr. Hall is an Englishman by birth for Charles C. Burleigh to plead the cause of the and education, and has been in this country only about slave. Prominent among this cluster of churches seven years. I think, however, he is made of too stands the Uniterian. Few churches in a country vilstern metal to ever become Americanized. He told lage are more conservative and aristocratic than this me that he has never taken the pains to get Ameri- Many hundred dollars have been taken from the canized, (naturalized,) from the fact that he should young and unsuspecting at Fairs, and by grab-boxes scorn to exercise the rights of citizenship under the (a species of gambling,) to buy a costly organ. Its doors are closed against us, of course; still a few remit of human nature, that any man will buy the pri- main true. I am not discouraged, though there are moments when the prospect looks dreary. This is an

'Take heart! — the waster builds again A charmed life old Goodness hath; The tares may perish, but the grain Is not for death.'

Beautiful thought! It cheers me on. The word spoken with sincerity is ever-living. It will do its work in due season.

Friend Garrison, what a glorious cause is this! My heart warms to you when I look back to the time when you started the Liberator, in the face of a world of opposition; and how amidst violence, spite and slander, you have maintained the principle, that all mankind are brethren-your motto, 'My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind '-is hard to be understood by a mercenary and oppressive nation. We have the understanding, but not the earnest endeavor to do justice to all the world. We walk forth in the sunlight of this refulgent summer, and bathe in the cool night as in a river, talk loud and long about Divine love and glorious liberty, and freight this bark of freedom with the bodies and souls of three and a half millions of human beings, with all the attributes of the divinity stamped upon them, and use them up as our avarice or convenience demands. If this is Christianity, the less we have of it, the bet-

ter. The oppressors of man are welcome to what consolation they may derive from it. You and all the real lovers of freedom and goodness in the world, will go athwart its desolating track. May you have strength of body, as you have strength of soul, to endure unto the end of this moral revolution. While day and night come only to strike a chill into the heart of every slave who has thought how good freedom must be, may we all have strength to work. Angel of patience, be with us! Work on, work ever. Hope, too, for the inevitable decree of the universe is m SHALL BE ACCOMPLISHED! 'On then, my brothers ! every blow Ye deal is felt the wide earth through;

Whatever here uplifts the low,
Or humbles Freedom's hateful foe,
Blesses the old world through the new. Yours for the slave,

GEO. J. PETERSON.

THE NEW CHURCH AND SLAVERY.

My Eprron : I perceive, that in publishing my a ticle with the above heading, in your paper of the 20th of Aug., in the last paragraph before the postscript, you have made a mistake and repeated it, which totally destroys the meaning which Prof. Bush intended to convey. He was speaking that he should be under the necessity of discontinuing the New Church Repository at the close of the year, in consequence of New Church people being opposed to the controversial character of this work. He said, we can never satisfy the N. C. public to such an extent as to make it an object,' &c. Now, instead of N. C., which means New Church, you have made him say North Carolina. Further along, instead of Ne C. which means New Church, you have printed it ' North Carolinians, to the utter perversion of the true reading. Mr. Rodman's sermon, mentioned in the first paragraph, was delivered April, 1851, instead of 1852.

In the July and August number of the Repository Prof. Bush continues the controversy with a decided spirit. The following is one paragraph from the July number:

We have reached, then, if we mistake not, by fair process, the conclusion, that there is an immedia duty in the premises incumbent on the slaveholder one, too, which involves the very essence of emanci pation, and that without violating any of the established laws of divine order, when those laws are right lished laws of divine order, when those laws are rightly apprehended. It is a duty directly imperative upon the individual, irrespective of any-human ensetments legitimating the asserted, but unfounded, claim of property; for no carthly statute is authorized to contravene an eternal dictate of Heaven, nor may any legislature presume to invade the province of private conscience, and interpose a veto to any decision of the will of God. All such enactments are, of course, null and vaid, in fore conscientive, as in fact is every ordiand void, in foro conscientie, as in fact is every ordi-nance of man which conflicts with the higher law of the divine order.'

In the Repository for August, I find nearly six columns which Prof. Bush devotes to the slavery question. I quote the following found on page 368 :

GEORGE THOMPSON'S DEFEAT, it appears from the representations of the English press, was caused, not by his visit to the United States, but by sectarian jeal-ousy and hate. The Non-Conformists could not make him the very first duty of the delinquent is to forbear the actual doing of the verong in question! In the case before us, the essence of the wrong-doing is not in the oppression or cruelty which may chance to be exercised toward the slaver, for oppression and cruelty are exercised where slavery does not exist, but in the assertion of a claim which gives one man the absolute and unlimited control over the person, powers and possessions of another, without his consent. This claim is recognized by the laws of the slave States as a valid right, while, in the eye of the Divine law, it is regarded as a nullity. What, then, is the demand of the Divine law, but the cordial and unreserved giving up of the principle which constitutes the gracamen of the Divine law, but the cordial and unreserved giving up of the principle which constitutes the gravamen of the offence as viewed in the light of eternal truth and justice? In virtue of this fictitious claim and fancied right, men, women and children are bought and sold like any other marketable commodities, and various wrongs inflicted, which would not be, but for the asserted but baseless claim of property. Now, inasmuch as the sincere mental renunciation of this alleged right of ownership lays the axe directly at the root of the evil, and forbids all traffic in these human chartals, who can fail to perceive that emanciation chattels, who can fail to perceive that emancipation has fairly won the day when this point of concession has been reached? Is it possible that this can be denied, without the denial of the truth of the whole train nied, without the denial of the truth of the whole train of our foregoing argument? And to the most earnest abolitionist we would put the question, whether his demand is not virtually complied with when the nature of the relation is entirely changed, and the abhorred traffic in human flesh has come to an end?

On the cover of the August number of the Reposi-On the cover of the August number of the Repository, Professor Bush again states the prospect of relinquishing its publication at the close of the year. A new weekly New Church paper, called 'The Age,' has just been started in New York, which will take off some subscribers from the Repository. Besides, the great body of the New Church people are manifestly pro-slavery, if we may judge by their works and publications. It seems highly necessary that such a valuable work, and such an efficient aid to the holy cause of emancipation of Southern slaves from their unjust and cruel bondage, should be sustained. Nothing is to be expected from the 'New Jerusalem Magazine,' published in Boston, to aid the cause, as it appears to be under the control of the most direful conservative hunkerism. It is said to be conducted by Webster Whigs, and in favor of the Fugitive Slave Law. Nothing appears in it to offend the rankest and most cruel slaveholder. I am sorry it is so, but so it is. I hope the friends of the slave will come to the rescue, and not let the Repository go down, for then there will be no New Church publication to battle for the rights of the colored man, unless a new work

Visitor.

Drath of the Hon. Orth Fowler, member of Congress from the Fall River District, died at Washington on Friday last, after a sickness of five days. Mr. Fowler was for many years an Orthodox clergyman, of considerable ability, and was universally eate with a such as cleeted to the Massachusetts Senate from Bristol County about five years ago. After serving in that capacity, he was nominated in 1848 for Congress, and was elected. His course in Congress, on the great day elected to the Massachusetts Senate from Bristol County about five years ago. After serving in that capacity, he was nominated in 1848 for Congress, and was elected. His course in Congress, on the great questions of the day was perfectly satisfactory to the friends of Freedom in his district, and he was re-elected by an over, whe find the ministry, he was elected to the M tory, Professor Bush again states the prospect of relinthe rights of the colored man, unless a new work should start into existence. 1.8.

Yours, &c., P. S .- To fill out this page of letter-paper, I quote the following from the Repository for August, which I extract from an able article, headed 'FREE DISCUS-BION-Is it to be frouned upon in the New Church?

\*Dear Sin: The opening of the subject of slavery for a candid and dispassionate consideration, in the pages of your periodical, was one, to me, of great interest. Still, in common with yourself and readers, generally, I had much doubt as to the manner in which it would be received by your friends in the South-But though I anticipated a rather cold reception of the subject, on the ground of expediency, I was not prepared for so strong an expression of almost unqualified disapprobation, and an absolute closing of the lips to all and everything that may be advanced upon the subject, as appears to be aimed at in the communications published in your June number.—What can be calculated to fill the mind with more concern than this? There is a corpse in our midst, which shall remain there; its odor is exceedingly of fensive to our neighbors, yet it shall neither be removed nor investigated, nor its character or uses discussed. Truly this is a fearful thing, and sad and sorrowful are the reflections, which the reading of the several letters, so antagonistic to a freedom of even the most Christian expression upon the subject, excite, that the hope of poor down-trodden humanity; if slavery eats out the life of our country, and wars lay waste our

conclusion comes irresistibly, that not only is there physical but spirituds slavery; a slavery of the soul as well as the body.

'Is slavery an evil? D is affirmed that it is, it is even admitted that it is,—and with the standing and prominent doctrine of the church before him, that all evils should be shunned as sins against God, this is claimed as an exception!

This is but a small part of the letter, signed F., who ays he writes from a slaveholding State, where h expects to spend his life.

THE CAUSE OF THE SLAVE.

PEPPERELL, Aug. 28th, 1852. Who will speak in vindication of the slave, an tho will act in his behalf? That responsibility

does not rest upon the multitude; on the contrary upon those who possess manly courage—that courage which is undaunted when tried before a proud pharisaical tribune. The vocabulary of epithets exhausted; the volleys of sneers and ridicule have but little effect upon this God-approving mission

love to God and man.

A glorious work is progressing under the super vision of those who have cast overboard party names and buried where the hand of resurrection will nev er reach, church canons of hypocrisy. They have cast off the dark veil which overspreads the so-called Christian world. They have entered single-hander in vindication of that down-trodden race, and are determined that opposition shall not check their pro gress, however strong the tide of public opinio presses against them. Duty to their fellow-me nerves their arms, and encourages their hearts.

To see three millions of human beings, who are good by nature as ourselves, enslaved; bought and sold into merciless servitude-made as mere chattelsand ranked with the brutes, in a land boasting of freedom, of religion and equal rights-it is enough-to call forth sympathy and aid for those who are compell ed to become 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' even worse than that-to be loaded down with heavy chains, and driven about from one plantation to another. Yes, they are often cooped up in filthy pens, to await the arrival of some Southern planter to take them away into hopeless bondage, thus separating father, mother, brother and sister, forever. And this violation of human rights is openly practised a the very seat of government, and beneath the stars and stripes that figst above the Capitol ! Glorious freedom ! Such freedom deserves the malediction of the Almighty.

A short time since, I had the pleasure of listening to an address in the village of P. by one of the great est advocates of emancipation; but I could not de-tect any tendency towards 'infidelity,' or a disre-gard for the Sabbath, respecting which so many have falsely accused him. What I listened to satisfied me that his fabric had its foundation upon the truth -a foundation, against which all the efforts of this Gentile community will prove fruitless.

\*Love God with all thy soul, strength and might, and thy neighbor as thyself. And who is my neighbor? All mankind. Then is it out of place to praise God, and pray for our fellow-men, black or white, on the Sabbath? If not, could there be any reasonable motive in refusing those who sympathize with the oppressed the use of this or that pulpit Boasting of 'liberal Christianity,' but still unwilling to aid them in their endeavors, or even to contribute the poor widow's small pittance. Is that in imitation of the Golden Rule? Is it in derogation of the right to admit a man to this or that pulpit, because he does not believe precisely as I do? Can there be any other possible motive than downright prejudice, in thus denying the 'sanctuary' to those who have enlisted in a good cause? Was it making brighter the flame of brotherly love ? On the contrary, it was totally extinguishing that spark of kindness, on accounof a mere difference of opinion. Such proceedings will not be lost in oblivion; but at the great day o eccounts, all men will behold a higher tribunal, and then they will receive their reward, according to the leeds done in the body, from an omniscient God.

TRUTH.

GEORGE THOMPSON'S DEFEAT, it appears from th epresentations of the English press, was caused, no y his visit to the United States, but by sectarian jeal

Casaius M. Clay. It was a great disappointment to many, and especially to us, not to find the great Kentucky champion of freedom present at the late Convention, and the cause of his absence gave unusual and sincere regret. He has recently buried two of his children—his eldest son, the boy celebrated for handing his father the pistol when he was aurrounded and his life endangered by an infuriated mob, and a daughter of six years. They died of a fever, of which Mr. Clay himself was dangerously ill at the time the delegates left Kentucky. The gentleman from his immediate neighborhood informed us that he was so low as to sign, with difficulty, his credentials as delegate to the Convention. Serious fears were entertained for his life, but this gentleman said he would recover.

'I know he will recover,' he added, 'for I have seen him soo often in danger—sick and surrounded with mobs, he has always been preserved! Oh, he will be raised up again, for his work is not done!

May the prediction prove true, for his loss now would he a serious blow to the cause of liberty.—Pittsbury Visitor.

Mr. Rantout's Successon.—The Governor has directed that elections to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Robert Rantoul, Jr., late representative in the 32d Congress, from the 2d district, be holden on the 2d Monday, being the eighth day of November, and the day of the State election.

STEAMBOAT EXPLOSION ON THE HUDSON.

Tax Syona Sours. The Mobile Tribune cays, that allowing \$100.000 for the loss of wharves by the late storms, \$500.000 will be more than sufficient to cover the whole damage in that city.

In Augusta, Ga., it is estimated that \$50,000 will repair all damages there.

Sixteen lives were lost by the terrible earthquake which occurred at Santiago on the 20th August. The inhabitants, generally, found refuge or board the shipping. The loss of property was estimated at 1,500,000 dollars.

MADAME SONTAG, the world-renowned vocalist, arrived at New York, on last Sunday night, in the Arctic. A large crowd received her at the wharf, and she rode to the hotel in a carriage presented to her

An advertisement appears in the English pa-pers, announcing the re-publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin, in London, in six numbers, of a penny o num-

FATAL ACCIDENT. On Tuesday, about 11 o'clock, Mr. Jonathan Cash, an aged and much respected colored citizen of Boston, while trimming a grape vine in the rear of his house, No. 103 Chambers street, fell head foremost on the pavement, and was instantly killed. He was once a siave. He leaves a wife and one child. Three other fatal accidents occurred from falling from buildings, in the city, on the same day.

BLOODY AFFAIR. On Saturday evening last, a man named James Mahoney, who lives in Mason Street, Charicstown, while in a fit of delirium tremens, leap-ed out of bed, and seizing a sharp pruning-finite, rushed into the street, and stabbed some half a dozen persons, in one or two instances it is feared fetally, before he could be secured.

#### TO THE PRIENDS OF HUMANITY

After an imprisonment of more than fout years, in the city of Washington, for a deed in the highest degree creditable to his humanity, though punished as a felony by the government, Capt. Daniel. Dianton, with his companion Edward Saruss, has been pardoned by the President of the United States, (mainly through the instrumentality of Hon. Charles Sumner.) and is once more at liberty, but with his health very seriously impaired, so as to unfit him to engage, at present, in any business for a livelihood.

As he has a large family dependent on him for support, his case is one deserving of special sympathy and aid on the part of the friends of impartial liberty, in whose cause he has been so great a sufferer.

The undersigned, therefore, the committee who had the management of the case in the courts at Washington, while the trial was pending, respectably solicit such contributions in behalf of Capt. Drayton and his family as any may be disposed to make, pledging

such contributions in behalf of Capt. Drayton and his family as any may be disposed to make, pledging themselves to see the money faithfully applied and duly acknowledged. Donations may be sent either to Francis Jackson or Robert Morris, 27 State street.

S. E. SEWALL, J. P. BLANCHARD, FRANCIS JACKSON, ELIZUR WRIGHT, ROBERT MORRIS, JOSEPH SOUTHWICK JOHN W. BROWNE, RICHARD HILDRETH, S. G. HOWE, Boston, August 28, 1852.

ESSEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A Quarterly Meeting of the Essex County A. S. Society will be held at Lawrence, on Saturday and Sunday, Sept. 25th and 26th, agreeably to adjournment. Meetings to commence at 7 o'clock, Saturday evening. Let there be a full attendance of the friends of liberty. Names of speakers will be given hereafter. JOSEPH MERRILL. Rec. See.

BURRILLVILLE, R. I.

BURRILLVILLE, R. I.

An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in the Old Meeting-house in Burrillville, on Sanday, Sept. 12, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and will be attended by Stephen S. Foster and Abby K. Foster.

Mr. and Mrs. Foster will also speak in the Baptist-meeting-house at Pascoag village, on Saturday evening, Sept. 11.

BARNSTABLE COUNTY. CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:

Barnstable, Sat. eve'g. Hyannis. MARLBORO', (Middlesex Co.)

STEPHEN S. POSTER and ARBY K. POSTER, Agents

of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will apeak in Marl-boro' Town Hall, on Saturday evening, Sept. 18. Also—on Sunday evening, Sept. 19, at usual hours morning and afternoon, at FELTONVILLE. LEOMINSTER, (Worcester Co.)

DANIEL FOSTER, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will give his course of Four Lectures at Leominster, commencing on Sunday next, Septem-CONCERT.

The Excelsior Glee Club respectfully inform their friends and the public, that they will give their first Concert at the Belknap Street Church, on Tuesday evening next, Sept. 14, commencing at half-past 7 o'clock. Tickets 12 1-2 cents, to be had of the

Notice. Will Miss Holley inform S. M., Jr., where

MARRIED—In Andover, Sept. 5, by George Poster, Esq., Mr. James B. Smith to Miss Mary Ann Lindsey, all of A. Sept. 6, by Rev. W. B. Brown, Mr. Jabez L. Burrill, of Oberlin, Ohio, to Miss Lydia Cal-

DIED-In this city, 7th instant, Miss Ann Ray, aged 82 years and 6 months,

LEWIS HAYDEN. FASHIONABLE

CLOTHING STORE,

NO. 121 CAMBRIDGE STREET-BOSTON. Lycary variety of Coats, Pants, Vests, Shirts, Bosoms, Collars, Cravats; Carpet Bage, Trunks;
and Gentlemen's Furnishing Goods in general;
a good assortment of fashionable Hats and Caps, &c. &c., selling at the lowest rates.

August 27.

THE SPIRIT WORLD.

THE SPIRIT WORLD.

LIGHT from the Spirit World; comprising a Series of Articles on the condition of Spirits, and the development of mind in the Rudimental and Second Spheres, being written by the control of Spirits. Rev. Charles Hammond, Mediam. Price, 63 cts.

The Pigrimage of Thomas Paine, and others, to the Seventh Circle in the Spirit World—a continuation of Light from the Spirit World, written by the Spirit of Thomas Paine—50 cts.

Voices from the Spirit World: being Communications from many Spirits, by the hand of Isaac Post, Medium—50 cts.

Reichenbach's Dynamics of Mesmerism, \$1 25.

Night Side of Nature—Ghosts and Ghost Secrs. By Catharine Crowe—\$1 00

Supernal Theology, and Life in the Spheres: deduced from alleged Spiritual Manifestations. By Owen W. Warren—25 cts.

Familiar Spirits and Spiritual Manifestations: being a Series of Articles by Dr. Enoch Pond, Professor in the Bangor Theological Seminary, together with a Heply by Veriphilos Credens—15 cts.

The Clairvoyant Family Physician. By Mrs. Tut-

25 cts.
The Clairvoyant Family Physician. By Mrs. Tut-

The Clairvoyant Family Physician.

The Revelations, the Great Harmonia, and all the other Works of A. J. Davis, the Clairvoyant.

For sale by

No. 25 Cornhill.

July 2

3m

WORCESTER

Water Cure Institution No. 1. GLEN STREET

THIS Institution is well arranged for the treatment of individuals at all seasons of the year.

TRIMS, &c.—For full board and treatment, from \$5 to \$10 per week. Treatment without board, from \$2

to \$10 per week.

Each patient should furnish one linen and two heavy cotton sheets; two woollen blankets; one comfortable, and old linen for bandages.

Out door practice attended to as usual.

Office hours from 2 to 4 P. M.

1 y may 7 S. ROGERS, M. D.

For the Liberator LITTLE EVA.

Sweet as a flowret fair of spring, The lovely little Eva grew, And blithe as woodlark on the wine. The loves and graces round her drew.

The fragrant, balmy-laden breeze. That soilly fans the sunny South, Through clustering groves of orange trees, Blew gently on her tender youth.

And still more beautiful she grew, And bright, but delicate, as fair; In her deep eyes of heavenly blue, An angel's look of love was there.

A winning warmth of holy love Beamed in the sweetness of her smile, As if a scraph from above Had stooped to visit earth awhile. And as she lingered here below, Her sister scraphs seemed to say, Dear Eva, leave this world of wo!

Sweet sister angel, come away !" Her mission was a glorious one. To nature true in all its parts : On God's inimitable plan, To sooth and soften human hearts :

To woo away from scenes of sin, To point men upward to the skies, To love and truth their bearts to win. And help them from the dust to rise.

The little messenger of love,

Her heavenly mission well fulfilled, Rejoicing, soars to bliss above; Even so her heavenly Father willed. But many a stern eye shall yet Be dimmed and wet with honest tears,

And softened hearts shall quicker beat

Where Eva's thrilling tale appears. On mother earth's maternal breast, Beneath the verdant, flowery sod,

Her fragile form is laid to rest, Her spotless spirit, lives with God. From the New York Reformer. THE AMERICAN DRACO. I saw a bloody ebon throne, Upresred in Mammon's sterile plains,

Oppression laid the corner-stone, And wrought his iron law in chains : The crimsoned drapery hung around, A product of th' infernal loom That tore a million shrinking hearts. And, from the tender strings they formed. Wove round their souls, a rayless doom.

I looked, and heard the shackles clank Upon the slave's abraded limb, And earth the crimson current drank. While Hope's fair star grew pale and dim; Chains that corroded grew with tears, Borne through the circle of his years, Were duller for the rust they bore,

As oft he wept and turned them o'er.

The tyrant spake, and round his seat The millions stooped with trembling fears, While ever pressing at his feet, They bathed them with unnumbered tears; He spake, and words of giant sin-Were borne upon the horrent blast, That burned with ire as on it passed, And sought a bolier clime to win

He sat, and with sardonic leer Claimed tribute. E'en at freemen's hands He sought to blight their uncursed lands. And leave them like his empire drear. While millions of a darker tan Woke up at dawn to meet the sun. The shaded brotherhood of man. Whose hue a darker doom had won And ere the day had closed, the ties Of countless hearts were snapped in twain. And from the wide, far-spreading plain There woke a million startling cries; The father, parted from his son, Said. Let me die-my race is run! While mothers, in their bondage there, Wailed with a mother's long despair.

And laughed at sin's refined device To measure Virtue out for Gorn! Beneath the sun's unclouded light They kept the cursed mart's confines, Where Freedom's temples stand in sight And knowledge with her glory shines : Where freemen to their Mecca tend, Where Truth and Love their spirit send Where lie in Death's sublime repose The ashes of THE GREAT, THE GOOD

In the broad light of day he sold

Whose life was deeds, that at its close In bright array immortal stood-Where kneel the pure at holy time, And Sabbath bells peal out their chime.

Oh, Thou Eternal One! whose eye Pervades all depths, surveys all spheres Behold thy shadowed image lie Oppressed with bonds and hopeless years. In the deep counsels of thy will, In the vast fullness of thy law, Speak, and the earth with bliss shall fill, Like that creation's morning saw; Send down thy fire, and iron chains Shall holy love transmute to gold, And o'er the barren, bloody plains, Shall Freedom's triumph car be rolled; And Light shall reach the darkest mind, Resolving Hope in Night's abyes, While Glory infinite shall find Earth ripening in autumnal bliss !

TRIPLES.

A cloud may intercept the sun, web by insect workers soun. Preserve the life within the frame, Or vapors take away the same. A grain of sand upon the sight May rob a gient of his might! Or needle point let out the breath, And make a banquet-meal for Death.

How often, at a single word, The heart with agony is stirred, And ties that years could not have riven, Are scattered to the winds of heaven; A glance, that looks what lips would speak, Will speed the pulse, and blanch the check; And thoughts, nor looked, nor yet expressed, Create a chaos in the breast.

A smile of hope from those we love May be an angel from above : A whispered welcome in our ears Be as the music of the spheres; The pressure of a gentle hand Worth all that glitters in the land Oh! trifles are not what they are, But fortune's ruling voice and star.

A SECTION SEL

# The Liberator.

THE BIBLE . QUESTION.

Mr. GARRISON ESTREMED FRIEND-We ask the privilege of occu pying a space in your columns, for the purpose of making some remarks on two communications, purporting to be from the pen of Joseph Barker; the first of which appeared in the Liberator, April 23d, and the second, May 14th. In his first communica tion, he declares his determination to devote his special labors, as long as he lires, to the overthrow of the opinion of the Divine authority of the scriptures, representing them as having the most contaminating influence, both Old and New Testaments, and that the world cannot be, reformed without previously overthrowing the doctrine of the Divine authority of the Jewish and Christian scriptures. He represents the scriptures as sanctioning all kinds of oppression, as the chief support of domestic slavery. He represents Law as coming from the Bible.

Joseph Barker would have his readers believe that we live,' and by a zig zag, sophistical manner of reasoning, he labors to impress his readers with a belief that the scriptures enjoin this without limitation, that is, they are to obey all laws decreed by the govwrong. Neither the latter nor the former of these ob-

believers in the Bible are in favor of the Fugitive Slave Law. Joshua R. Giddings is a Bible man-is he its advocate? The Fugitive Slave Law so palpably violates the precepts of both the Old and New Testaments, that we question much whether there is one well informed, disinterested believer in the Bible, who thinks it is right to obey it. It is a waste of time to argue what Bible men do. The question is, what does the Bible say? All know, that the principal arguments against this wicked law are taken from the Bi-Where is the higher law to be found, which is appealed to as the final arbiter, but in the Bible? Suppose we had no Bible, where would we find the higher law? Is there any other method that could be devised, better calculated to impress the minds of the commonality of mankind of the wickedness of this law, than that which is recorded in the Bible?

There is no such folly and wickedness taught in the Bible, in any place, as that if an evil law is decreed by the civil powers, that sanctifies and justifies the doing

Those who have been truly believers in the Bible. and obedient to its requisitions, have in all ages considered it an all-important doctrine, if man's law comes in competition with God's, to obey God rather than man, let man be clothed with authority of whatever name. That this was their practice as well as their theory, let the engines of death bear testimony. The gallows, the gibbet, the stake, the rack of the cross, had no power to deter them from their purpose of obeying God rather than man. This is incontrovertible testimony, and settles the matter, Doctors Dewey and Barker to the contrary notwithstanding. Did Paul, the author of this objectionable portion of scripture, tell them to do what was wrong, in subjection to the civil powers? He tells them to be which is good, and they should have praise of the same. Romans 13. This was the kind of obedience they were to give to the civil powers-do good, and refrain from evil. Paul's example is a commentary on his meaning; setions speak louder than words. From the time he first became a Christian to the day of his martyrdom, he set an example-not to do wrong in obedience to the civil powers. He was frequently imprisoned and maltreated by them, and ultimately suffered martyrdom at their hands, in confirmation of the doctrine of obeying God rather than man. A few pro-slavery divines, who wish to pander to a corrupt public sentiment, in order to gain popularity and favorable bargain for slaves. They were not slaves, distinction from those in high places, for their patriotism, have represented it as a scriptural duty to obey whatever; his kindred and posterity would be gov the Fugitive Slave Law, because it has been decreed by the 'powers that be,' without questioning its character, whether it is good or evil, and have spoken, and written, and preached, in behalf of this doctrine, What matters it what the Gannets, or Deweys, or Stuarts and Springs say? their sayings, or preachings, or writings, are not scripture. We are to judge their been too wise to be taught by their Maker. productions by the scriptures, not the scriptures by their sayings, or writings, or preachings. These are stealing in Bible estimation. He says, (Gen. 40: 15,) pseudo-Bible men, who have slandered the Bible, and must take their stand with anti-Bible men. Jesus Christ and his Apostles represented as sanctioning the Fugitive Slave Law!!! Christ most emphatically Joseph informs us that man-sellers and man-buyers condemned the Fugitive Slave Law, and annexed the most appalling penalty to its observance : \* For I was an hungered, and ve gave me no meat : I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not. Depart from me, ye cursed, &c. &c. And Paul, in his own person, set an example, that it was right to escape from oppression, II. Cor. 11:

It is obvious that Joseph Barker views the scriptures through a perverted medium. Their contaminating effects are chimeras of his own imagination; and if he would ever succeed in convincing men that they are sheer fabrications, it would work no reformation upon them. This was tested by the French revolutionists, who acted like demons. But we will make Joseph Barker himself the example. We have the outlines of his character detailed by himself, in his letter to a friend, which we have at present under review. It embraces the essential features of the moral and intellectual man, both in his state of belief and unbelief, in the inspiration of the Bible. He has been specially particular in speaking of himself; he has used the personal pronoun in reference to himself upwards of one hundred and eighty times, if we are correct, in a little more than two columns of large print. readers of the Liberator generally, to know his opinions, and reasonings, and prospects, and plans of operation, and the changes his opinions have undergone, and are undergoing; and it has enabled us to judge of the effects of those changes on the man. From his own statement, he was just as good a man, when he was a is at the present time, and perhaps a little better. We occupied, (a minister of Jesus Christ, or, secording to his vocabulary, a 'sectorian priest,') a member of a denomination of Christians recognized as evangelical.

seems not to be confident that he retains his former desire to serve mankind, as he had at the beginning of his career, when he was in the state of belief. And his history also shows, that a belief in the Divine authority of the Bible is not corrupting; not even the basest of all positions, a 'sectarian priest.' May we slaves in subjection. It is related, that he at one tim not conclude, that the good life and exemplary conduct of Joseph Barker, as reported by himself, are to be attributed to habits of virtue, which he had formed in numerous. It would be examplary and entertaining his early days, when he was a believer in the Bible? to lady-slaveholders to tell of Sarah mounting he He had learned from the Bible, that to love God su-premely, and his neighbor as himself, were the pre-cepts to direct him through life. The good Old Book their slaves from insurrection, by such a tremendous says, 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and array of armed force. Abraham was manifestly n when he is old, he will not depart from it.'

J. B., in his second communication, announces a startling discovery; he anticipates an objection that will be raised against the necessity of abolishing the means to keep such a family of slaves in subjection. Bible, in order to obtain the abolition of slavery. The There is not one of B's slavery tests which would ap-

objection is, that 'slavery was abolished in the Brit-ish West India islands, without assailing the doctrine f the Divine authority of the scriptures. He says-The bearing of the scriptures on the slavery question was not so well understood then. It had never bee liscovered till since West India emancipation, tha the scriptures did justify slavery. Previous to that time, the Bible was regarded as opposed to slavery and was employed as an instrument for its destruction.' Is it not a deplorable calamity, that ever its pro-slavery character had been discovered ! This discovery, we suppose, will be placed to the credit of some pro-slavery, pro-Bible, and anti-Bible American divines. (Uncle Sam's boys are cute fellows, Mr. B. of course included; a brotherhood of profound expos itors, who have jumped in judgment on the pro-sla very character of the Bible. What strange allience are sometimes formed !) From what Mr. B. says, the Bible only is reponsible for the continuance of slave ry, for some period subsequent to West India eman cipation. He has not told us the particular date, bu the principal arguments to support the Fugitive Slave it had not been discovered that it sanctions slaver un'il after that occurrence. It must have been infl delity that 'propped up slavery' previous to that periall who believe the Bible to be the word of God, be-lieve they should obey the Fugitive Slave Law. He slavery when they regarded the Bible as opposed to slavery says, the Bible enjoins us to obey the laws of the very. B's path is grievously beset with labyrinths !! land, the commands of the government under which Any person who can discover that Jesus Christ or his Apostles favor slaveholding, or the Pugitive Slave Law, either by precept or example, must be given up to strong delusion. What! the meek and lowly Jesus taxed with sanctioning slaveholding!! He who ernment under which they live, be they right or came into the world 'to preach deliverance to the captives,' to set at liberty them that are bruised ; who came to 'minister, and not to be ministered unto,' and It is manifestly a misrepresentation to say, that all gave himself as an example to follow his steps; who forbids his followers to assume any thing like lordly authority, but if they wished to be great, let them be the servents. Because Christ and his Apostles die not expressly condemn slavery in as many words, therefore they were in favor of it! Most profound logic truly!! Christ and his Apostles did not forbid ma king counterfeit money, but they spoke against fraud Christ and his Apostles laid down fundamental principles, which would cut up slavery by the root, and condemn its constituent parts. The principles of liberty contained in the Constitution of the United States, if carried out, would forever exclude slavery, although it does not mention slavery. We will refer J. B. to Mr. Garrison's writings for scripture denunciations of slavery. He will there find a choice collec-J. B. announces another tremendous discovery,

made on the nefarious teachings of the Bible. It is discovered that the conduct of Joseph, related in Exodus, in impoverishing the people of Egypt, and converting them all into slaves, is given by the scriptures as an evidence of superior wisdom, and as a proo of supernatural illumination. This discovery, we think, must be placed to the credit of J. B. Unhappily for his credit, the discovery is like Paddy's fleawhen you put your finger on it, it is not there. Ar invention may be placed to his credit, but not a discovery. There is not one word of approval, either expressed or implied, of the conduct of Joseph, in contracting with the Egyptians, when supplying them with grain from Pharaoh's store-houses,- Gen. 47 15-20,-but directly the contrary. There was a particular statute enacted in the law of Moses, subse quent to this contract of Joseph's, forbidding such conduct as he was guilty of-Lev. 25: 35-37. Phara oh speaks of Joseph as being discreet and wise, with reference to the wise, discreet, and laudable plan he afraid of the civil powers if they did evil, but do that had laid, for protecting the kingdom from the direful ravages of impending famine, and says, with reference to the interpretation of his dream, that God had show ed it unto him,-Gen. 41: 38, 39-but not one word said in approval of his conduct, respecting his contracting with the Egyptians. And if Pharaoh had approved of it, it makes no difference ; he was a heathen king, and not an inspired person, appointed to reveal God's will. Joseph was not perfect, yet he was a wise, good, virtuous and amiable man, in all his vieissitudes of fortune. No doubt he thought he was acting honestly, when he contracted that Pharaoh should receive the fifth part of the product. A pretty Mr. B. It was no personal advantage to Joseph erned by the same regulation. The Expetians were culpably improvident in not reserving food for them selves against the days of famine in the seven plente ous years. No doubt, infidelity in God's threatenings was the cause of their negligence. There has been class of wise-scres, in all ages of the world, who have

Joseph throws light on what is denominated man-Hebrews.' Now we know that the Ishmaclites bough him from his brothren. Gen. 37: 28. Thus we se for the purpose of holding them as slaves, are man

stealers, in scripture estimation. J. B. says, 'That portions of the Bible are in favor of slavery I cannot doubt, -says, 'I am not about to quote passages to prove all this: If I were a slaveholder, or a slaveholder's priest, I would feel no fear whatever of proving that slavery is a scriptural institu tion.' B. takes a shorter way in proving that slaver is a Bible institution, than quoting passages. He begs the question, and goes on to give the most odious characteristics of slavery, and argues stoutly agains them, as though they were supported by the Bible He says to slaveholders, . It is in vain to tell us wha Jewish or Christian books say about slavery; they are no authorities with us. Well may you have recour to documents in Greek and Hebrew, in Syriac and Chaldee, for the light and the virtue of the presen age are all against you.' Now, this is not honest, My B., to take it for granted that you have proved that the scriptures justify these odious features of slavery which you have named, when you have not even at tempted to prove it, and which you nor any other man can prove, for it condemns every characteristic of slavary which you have mentioned. Now, Mr. B. come up with your proof, give us those passages o Every thing relating to some individuals, who are scripture which justify slaveholding. There are far great benefactors of mankind, is highly interesting. better motives to impel you to show that the Bible It must have been satisfactory to his friend, and the justifies the 'sum of all villanies,' than you could have, were you a slaveholder, or a slaveholding priest.' You say, 'the prevailing nations respecting the Divine authority of the Bible help to prop up evi of almost every kind.' Nay, you say, 'it is impossible to cure men of gross evils which you enumeral without changing their views respecting the Bible believer in the authenticity of Divine revelation, as he If you can show that the Bible justifies slavery, would do much to invalidate its claim to Divine auth judge of his former belief from the position he then rity. Now, having such powerful motives to impe you to show that the Bible sapetions slavery, we ar his vocabulary, a 'sectorian priest,') a member of a dentity desire you to produce those pro-slavery passa-denomination of Christians recognized as evangelical.

At the present time, he reports no progress, but both instructive and lucrative. There is a flattering prospect that it might rival 'Uncle Tom's Cabin It would be an interesting part of history to inform u

how father Abraham (whom you or some of the brotherhood have discovered to be a slaveholder) and mother Sarah managed to keep such a large family of armed three hundred and eighteen men-Gen, 14: 14 Judging from this, his slaves must have been very slaveholder, but was the chief of a tribe, elevated that position on account of his superior moral and in tellectual qualifications. Abraham was withou

ply to Abraham or his servants. There is no evidence of their unhappiness. They had no disposition to escape, and when they went from home, they were in a great hurry to return. We have an account of one being sent on a special errand by Abraham, (Gen. 24,) on a long journey, and a great amount of valuable property with him, and plenty of money in his pocket. This was a favorable opportunity for him to make his escape, if his situation had been uncomfortable. He was anxiously solicitous to have his business brought to a close, that he might be permitted to return. There is not one characteristic of slavery that B. has mentioned, either as it respects the master or the slave, that will apply to Abraham or his servants. So much for Abraham's slaveholding.

Let us hear about the Jews when they became or-

ganized in a national capacity; give us a copy of the pro-slavery compromises of their Constitution, and a copy of their stringent fugitive slave law. Excuse us for anticipating you; you will find their fugitive slave law recorded in Deut. 23: 15, 16. 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which has esthee, even smong you, in that place which he shall thou shalt not oppress him.' (This was Paul's autho rity for sending back Onesimus as a slave; you know Paul was a Jew.) We want you to give us the location of their slave mart-their scripture authority for selling men inscribed in glaring capitals over the auction-block. As we have the Bible at hand, we will that steeleth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death'- Exodus 21: 16. You remember Joseph explains what constitutes the crime of stealing a man, viz : buying him. or selling him for the purpose of holding him as a slave. Paul says, 'The law is for man-stealers,' or man-traders, or man-holders-I, Tim. 1: 10. want one instance pointed out of any of the patriarchs or any of the Jews selling a slave, that is, lawfully, or any third person mentioned in any contract of the kind. Jewish servitude was manifestly a voluntary contract for an equivalent,

In our next, with Mr. Garrison's permission, we will notice Mr. Barker's unfounded charges against ELIZABETH WILSON. the Bible. Cadiz, Ohio, Aug. 20, 1852.

STEAMBOAT DISCUSSION. THE BIBLE-ITS RELATION TO HUMAN PROGRESS.

STEAMER SOUTHERNER, Lake Erie, ?

DEAR GARRISON: Suppose the Quakers should select certain letters and writings of Fox, Barclay, Penn, and of other early Friends; call a general council of Friends in New York; put all those compositions together; bind them up in one volume, and then put the question to vote-Shall this book be received at the word of God! A majority of the Convention decide in the affirmative, and, on the authority of that vote. they go forth with that book to present it to all as the only revelation of God to man, the only test of truth. and only infallible rule of faith and practice; and they proceed to denounce every man as a sinner, who dares to question the authority of that vote, to call in question any thing the book says is true, or to be- hope they will make them freely. He may rest aslieve any thing false, which the book asserts to be true. They assert that every thing in that book is true and time left me to contend against great public wrongs to right, simply because it is in the book, and that every spend any of it in vindicating myself. If my life thing contrary to the book is false and wrong, because it is opposed to the book.

What would be said of the Quakers were they to do such a thing? They would be condemned as unjust, inhuman, tyrannical, insane or infamous. Yet exactly this thing have the Quakers, and every other their efforts. sect in Christendom done, in regard to the Bible. Certain letters and writings, scattered over Asia, Africa and Europe, in the hands of individuals, were collected; a council called, of priests and rulers; a vote taken on the question-Shall these compositions be received as the word of God! The convention decided in the affirmative, and millions have been imprisoned, tortured and murdered, solely because they dared to dissent from the decision of that Council, and to give to that book a meaning different from that given by the popular priesthood.

But, suppose a Quaker, say T. Galbraith, of New Garden, Ohio, comes to you with that book, collected and passed upon by a Convention of Quakers as the word of God-presents you a copy, and says to you, Receive all this book contains as coming direct from God-question not the truth and inspiration of one word of it, or I will no longer walk with you, nor read nor sustain your paper.' T. G. tells you, if you even discuss the question of its divine authority, as a whole, in the Liberator, or allow others to do so, I family. Suppose you ask him, . What evidence have von that this book is all of God?' T. G. answers,-I have the soitness in myself that it is all of God. Besides, a great Convention of Quakers decided it to be all true, and that God actually commanded and did. all that book attributes to him.' You say to him .-· Friend G., let me examine the book, and judge from its contents, whether it be true or false.' Suppose T. G. replies, ' Natural sagacity in the reasoning powers of man can know nothing of divine things."

Here you are put down, at once, as one that is to tally blind, and having nothing in your reasoning powers by which you know divine things. The works of God you know, but these are not divine things. To know astronomy, botany, geology, mineralegy, chemistry, physiology, and the laws that govern the material and spirit universe, is not to know 'divine things; but to know and believe all that is in the

Quaker Bible, is to know and receive divine things.' But you dare to open the book, and to bring it contents to the test of your own moral nature, of your own sense of justice and equity. You find polygamy, concubinage and incest, sanctioned in that Quaker Bible. You find aggressive, exterminating wars, the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, and the giving-up of females taken in war. to satiste the brutal lusts of soldiers-all sanctioned by it. You find the hanging and drowning of witches, Sabbath-breskers, and disobedient children, expressly commanded in it, and the slaughter of children for the sins of their parents. You find that the Quakers are expressly commanded, by their Bible, to put to death, without merey, all who differ from them in their ideas of God, and who would seek to persuade them to embrace other religious opinions than those contained in their holy book. Finally, suppose the book expressly asserts that George Fox had no Auman father, but was divinely begotten of God. All thes and many others like them, you find recorded in and sanctioned by the book. Through the Liberator, you say to T. G.,-who is supposed to present to you the book - I cannot believe that a God of justice, love, truth and purity, ever commanded or sanctioned such that he did.' . I have not, and never wish to have, is tions, and such monstrous, unnatural stories never were and never can be, in accordance with justice, goodness and truth. ' Well,' says T. G., 'I will have nothing to do with a paper, that allows the truth and divine authority of one single passage of the Quaker Bible to be called in question. Such is the claim set up for the Bible by the Chris

tian world. It came into being, as a book, exactly as the supposed Quaker Bible did; it is received as the word of God, because a Council of priests and politicians voted it should be so received. Whatever the book condemns must be false and wrong ; whatever it approves must be true and right. So says Christendom. The Quakers, generally, and all tion of the absolute truth and inspiration of every- are earnest, zealous and faithful and thing in the Bible shall not be discussed. We have working out their own individualities.

THE WITNESS IN OURSELVES ' that polygamy, concunage, incest, rapine, plunder, revenge, wrath, and sholesale butchery of men, women and children, as anctioned in the Bible, are all right and approved o God. 'We ask no man whether the Bible accounts of onah and the whale; of Samson, the foxes and firebrands ; of the assassination of Sissera by Jack or of Eglon by Ehud, be true, for we have the witness in ourselves, that they are all of God. We ask no men to tell us whether Jesus had a human father. we know that he had not, because we have the witness in ourselves that he had not; and we will give no countenance to any paper that allows any of these things to be called into question in its col-Dear Garrison-I am in the saloon of the steame

passing over the smooth, glassy surface of lake Eric petween Toledo and Cleveland. We have had ar nstructive, though pitiable scene. Two Quakers three Presbyterians, one Methodist, and three Baptists, and myself. The Quakers had seen the letter of T G., refusing to take the Liberator, because it allowed caped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with the discussion of the Bible question in its columns Several of the company had read the letters of J choose, in one of they gate, where it liketh him best : Barker and H. C. Wright, denying that slavery, was or anything else was true or false, or right or wrong simply because they are sanctioned or condemned by the Bible. They condemned the spirit of his letter as unworthy a just, honest man; yet they insisted that no Christian could countenance a paper that allowed the truth and divine authority of the Bible to take the liberty to supply you with the passage: 'He be questioned in its columns. They said that they were willing the Liberator should say any thing and every thing to prove that God actually approved of all the Bible says he did; but were not willing to sustain a man in uttering one word to prove that he did not. Is the Bible the word of God ? They are willing the Liberator should support the affirmative but, they say with T. G., if it says anything in support of the negative, we will not support it. We know that the Bible, in every age, has been

used by the Church and Clergy, its authorised ex pounders, to sanction every outrage on justice and humanity. Is anything true or false in principle, or right or wrong in practice, because it is sanctioned or condemned by the Bible? This question is forced upon us by the advocates of war and slavery. Shall the Liberator be sustained in a fair and full discussion of it ? I can but hope it will. I have cost the Liberator many subscribers. How ? I do sincerely believe the Bible, in some points of it, sanctions the darkest crimes and practices that ever darkened the records of our race. I have said this in the Liberato and have shown that war and the death penalty, in their worst and most murderous forms, are sanctioned by that book. I cannot receive it all as God's truth. It is repulsive to the purest and most divine elements of my soul. So says Joseph Barker. We have both freely expressed our belief that the Bible has no. power to authorise the perpetration of war, slavery, the death-penalty, or any other crime. I am sorry, for his sake, that T. G. has rejected the

Liberator because it admits articles that reject those parts of the Bible that sanction war, polygamy, concubinage, the death penalty, and other crimes and outrages against nature. If T. G., or any one else feels a pleasure in personal allusions to myself, I sured there will be no rejoinder. I have too little will not vindicate me, I must fall into condemnation

For one end I would labor, as far as the Bible concerned, to show that nothing can be right because the Bible sanctions it; nothing wrong be cause it con demns it. To this I wish T. G. and all would direc H. C. WRIGHT.

#### HENRY C. WRIGHT-NON-RESISTANCE LONDON, August, 1852.

I observe in a recent Liberator, that HENRY C WRIGHT addresses a letter to me, dated Michigan about one thousand miles in a direct line west of Boston. He must be so constantly on the wing, practising the go-shead mode of travelling, that he has forgotten the difficulty with which snails travel. I thank him for his kind invitation, but I remind him of the thousand ills that flesh is heir to. I remind him, further, of 'sea-sickness,' and of his own account of his voyage here and back again, and of how little we citizens, who seldom quit our own island, are fitted to encounter the fatigues of prairie travelling and that I have arrived at an age, at which men are in the habit of measuring a ditch before they jump it or in other words, of looking at the probable conse quences of their actions.

When I have thought of going to America, to look at 'Uncle Sam,' I have generally determined that I might see the young stalwart, form my now notions and nurse my own fancies, and test my own crotchets

I can then, too, travel when and how I like and avoid swamps and cordurov roads, when my cor pus is not in a state to bear the ups and downs that merciless mode of travelling.

It is not impossible that some day, within the nex three years, he or you may find me listening unresistingly, though not assentingly, to non-resistance

Mr. Wright says, if I were to see your deep and mighty forests, and pass over your inland seas, inhale their fresh and fragrant airs, and let my soul go and expend amid nature's mightiest and handless work, I might then go back to the narrow streets and smoke of London, and lie down and say, 'Now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.

He does not know that I shiver at the idea of travelling for days through woods and forests, and trem ble at the thought of cordurey roads; and that, in stead of my soul growing and expanding among them, I feel pretty sure that one night passed in forest or a prairie would book me for departing, but I think not in peace ; and that twelve hours' bnmp ing on a cordurey road would effectually put as end to my travelling power.

I am quite prepared to believe the mental pain that must be inflicted upon those who travel in the States, in consequence of the existence of slavery, and the

prejudice of color. A distinction which exists in our theories is, I think, this : that while we both condemn slavery heartily and thoroughly, I am not so bitter as I infer from his language he is, against slave-owners; for instance, this is language which I could not use. He says :- I am heart-sick. I cannot speak to you of our prairies, our forests, our rivers, lakes and mour tains, nor of the energy or activity of our population the boundless extent of our national domains, without shame and horror. Not a forest, deep and dark, no a cavern, not a mountain-top, not a river or lake, not one little spot is sacred to liberty.' Now I could, as things. But, says T. G., 'I have the witness in myself I hope, speak of and admire the works of nature, not withstanding the process of adaptation, which is the your answer. Such atrocious cruelties, such prostitu- process of God in nature, as regards man, is not so far advanced in all men as I could desire, and hav been made to wish. I know, or think I know, tha the same God who made and opened my path and mission, as I am made to view it, has opened their path and their instrumentality, and that it is quite as well that I work on, speaking the truth, and acting it as far as I know it, without bitterness to those who do not see with my eyes, because they have not read the same pages in the book of life, with the same eye and the same state of faculties, nor been subject to he same influences that I have.

If I am right, and in the way of truth, it is quit certain they will be made to see the same thing in due time, and that that time will be more quickly brought about, in proportion as good and honest me are earnest, zealous and faithful and persevering it

Bear in mind, that the progress of this work is committed, in part, to the individuals who intelligence committed, in part, to the marvisuans was minks at that each has his own lamp given to him, and a that that each has also we same some a day be ready, when called, to enter on an advanced use Let us not forget that our social duties are feeded upon, and proceed from, an individual organ Social arrangements are merely more effectual zations for more effectively working out and each

ing these individualities, and are the process of also ing these insurance of existence up to the highest; and from the lowest stages of burbane a highest; and the highest social arrangements, and the pure and most comprehensive sympathies. When Henry C. Wright takes to bitter inquis. he appears to me often to take leave of his below as

he appears to me the man to be before us, as stantly expects him to double his fat tol has down the first slavehold r he meets. I should be sorry, if, in these observation, I pay

rise to the impression that I do not wish shifting rise to the impression that a no not said southern to produce themselves; to be prominent; to be as stant in season and earnest and faithful in being their testimony against slavery and its abonius and in avoiding intercourse, as far as is possible win I know how difficult it is for those who here a

horror of slavery to restrain detestation from running into scolding; but it is the difficulty with which we have to deal, and it is the just and judicious mode of dealing with that difficulty that I am now move of

VM.

REDOM

HON

The Civil der conserved by I are have have have been of the country of the countr

On this I
Mr. Pase
mary expensive special
part desire special
mary expensive special
mary e

I write with great deference for Henry C. Wrights opinions upon these matters, for I know that men who confine themselves pretty well to one subject in all probability have seen more of its relations, and usderstand it better than those who have only lookel at it occasionally, as one part of their reading and think-EDWARD SEARCH.



CURES WITHOUT FAIL BURNS, BRUISES,
FLESH WOUNDS, CHAPPED HANDS
BILES, FELONS, SORES,
SORE EYES,
CHIEBLAINS, PILES,
INJURY BY SPLINTERS,
RING WORM, SALT RHEUM,
ERYSIPELAS,
S. NGLES.

TRY IT ONCE. YOU NEVER WILL BE WITHOUT IT The Good it Does is Felt at Once. CURE IS SURE AND PERMANENT. RUSSIA SALVE VEGETABLE OINTMENT Has cured thousands of the above troubles.
It has been used and sold in Boston for
the last Thirty Years, and its virtues
have stood the test of time.

EVERY MOTHER WITH CHILDREN

ALL HEADS OF PASILIES,
Should keep a Box the Cuphord, or on the Shell,
handy to use, in CASE OF ACCIDENT. Price, 25 Cents per Box. Put up in large size metal boxes, with an engraved wrapper, similar to the above engraving, without which none are genuine. Grocers, and wholesale and retail by REDDING & CO.,

PATENT ÆOLIAN PIANO FORTES PHESE Instruments, with the improvements rate by the subscribers, especially in their constructs, and voicing of the Eolian, renders them capable the softest tones of an Eolian Harp, and of being incomed in power, sufficient for any parlor use, and who combined with the Piano Forte, as the performer on the state of the sta

combined with the Piano Forte, as the performer case at pleasure, can be made to imitate the sweet base of the Flute or Clarionete, Horn or Basoon, wish see land and with the other the Piano Forte accompanient thus combining orchestral effects, by the same perfected at the same time.
Piano Fortes with, or without the attachment, will be

selected by ourselves when desired, and sent may part of the country, and warranted to give satisfacting

part of the country, and an action or the money refunded.

The patient is owned by ourselves exclusively, farlit.

State of Massachusetts, and no other person or pensa in Massachusetts have the right to manufacture these is struments. And, as many of the Piano Fort sain struments. struments. And, as many of the Piane Fertr sain and others in their interest have said the Ædias and ment injured the Piano Forte, and will not keep in with it, we hereby notify all persons, that in faint with all apply the attachment to our own instruments and expressly for the attachment to stand; secretled this we have known to remain in tune one year and out without tuning; and but very few of the attachment without tuning; and but very few of the attachment even those applied over five years since, have been uponed at all. We have applied upwards of 1100 of the attachments, and will give the names of the partiest ed at all. We have applied upwards of 1100 e and attachments, and will give the names of the pardon to those who desire information, in almost critical of the country.

T. GILBERT & O. No. 400 Washington St. Besta

## BOOKS.

BOOKS.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, or Life among the Lov's:
in cloth \$1.50. A Defence for Fugicine State, sight
the Acts of Congress of February 12, 1734, and Spetember 18, 1830. By Lysander Spoont. 35 cm.
The Unconstitutionality of Starrey, by the same state,
50 cents. Narrative of the Life of Frederics Inopia.
25 cents. The Branded Hand: or Trial and Improvement of Jonathan Walker, at Pensaccia, Farida, in
aiding Slaves to escape from Bondege, 35 cb. In
Anti-Starrey Harp, 12 cts. Narrative of Ileay Exam, a Fugitive Slave, 12 1-2 cts. Halter's Fester
Starrey, for Youth, 6 cts. Walker's Brig Time
Starrey, for Youth, 6 cts. Walker's Brig Time
of Henry C. Wright, \$1. The Proceedings of 18
Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worecest, Land
Oct. 15th and 16th, 1851, 25 cts. Savery: Land
Oct. 15th and 16th, 1851, 25 cts. Savery: Land
Joel Shew, M. D., \$1. The Hydrogathic Engagnesis
Joel Shew, M. D., \$1. The Hydrogathic Engagnesis
by Dr. Trall, in two volumes, \$2.50. Speecks, 16
drezzes, and Occasional Sermons, in two
Theodore Parker, \$2.50. For Sale by Bela Manh
25, Cornhill.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT TO FEMALES!

evernand in it is a series of the injured, a politiciparty of the injured in it is a series of the

### MAD. BOIVIN'S PREPARATORY PARTURIENT, OR FEMALE RELAXING EMBROCATION.

FOR MITIGATING THE PAINS OF CHILDBURY THIS wonderful agent, for an external replicated is the discovery of Madame Bovin, out of the Is the discovery of Madame Boivin, est of most celebrated Female Physicians of Paris, and the greatest blessing of the age for mitgating the pen of child-birth. It is perfectly harmless in in sant Hundreds of females have already used it in American

with the most gratifying results.

To reals by the Proprietor's authorized spring only—in Boston, by Mrs. E. Kidder, No. 100 Central on East Boston, by Robert Kent, Apotherst, vick Square; in Worcester, by A. Clark, Apatherick Square; in Worcester, by A. Clark, Apatherick Square; in Worcester, by B. Clark, Apatherick Square; in Worcester, by A. Clark, Apatherick Square; in Worcester, by E. Balled Stone, No. 2 Maple street; in Choton, by E. Balled Stone, No. 2 Maple street; in Choton, by E. Balled Stone, No. 2 Maple street; in Choton, by E. Balled Stone, No. 2 Maple street; in Choton, by K. Wasien Find C. S. Eastman & Co.; in Amherst, by Newion Find November 14

Water Cure at High Rock A SA SMITH has leased of Jesse Hotchines is beautiful Rock Cottage in Lynn, as a Weter car atablishmen.

A beautiful Rock Cottage in Lynn,
Establishment.

This cottage stands on a romantic hill, almost is sorter of Lynn, some 200 feet above the city, overlooking the finest accnery on the cost, ter is most excellent, and the location a very describe and pleasant one. Terms from \$5. to \$10 per such and pleasant one. Terms from \$5. to \$10 per such and pleasant one. payable weekly.

ASA SMITH, Propriets.

Miss L. A. SMITH, Plantes.