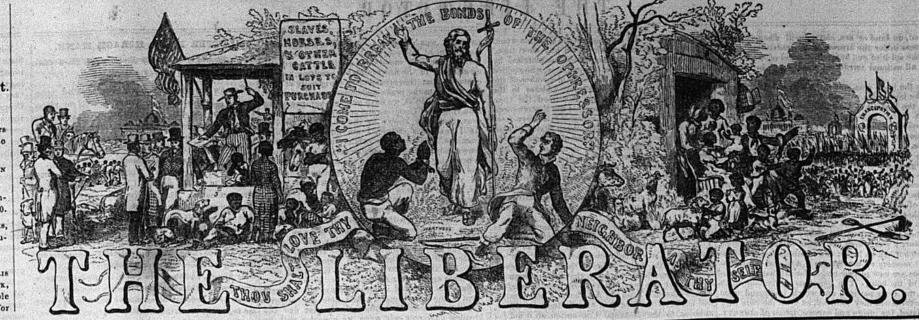
That \$1 50 per annum, in advance. The regitances are to be made, and all letters he pecuniary concerns of the paper are to the personners) to the General Agent.

The comes will be sent to one address for TEN rimmiuments making less than a square intions for 75 cts.—one square for \$1 00. The Arents of the American, Massachusetts, mis and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are auan receive subscriptions for the Liberator.

d Coanittee . - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS MANN, EDNUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, This Committee is responsible on financial economy of the paper—not for



J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

W. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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

WHOLE NO. 1130.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS "A COVERANT WITH DEATH

Yes ! it cannot be denied-the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their

assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their

slaves The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves-an en-

gagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,

delivered from Sinai; 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-

stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the

government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION

AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VI-

TAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NA-

TIONAL GOVERNMENT.'-JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

IOL XXII. NO. 38.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1852.

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MALES!

RIENT, CATION, HILD-BIRTS

HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

REPEAL THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW. U. S. SENATE, Aug. 26, 1852. Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill being sideration, the following amendment was

the Committee on Finance : but where the ministerial officers of the United awhere the miniscertan onlivers of the control are it shall incur extraordinary expenses in a the laws thereof, the parment of which sefficilly provided for, the President of the serifically provided for, the President of the Safes is authorized to allow the payment t under the special taxation of the district or court of the district in which the said services on a shall be rendered, to be paid from the nation for defraying the expenses of the judi-

horized That no such allowance shall be auage for any expenses, incurred in executing the (sayembr 18, 1850, for the surrender of fugi-ion serice or labor; which said act is hereby

being he took the floor, and spoke as follows: W. PAISMENT: Here is a provision for extraor-

eases incurred in executing the laws of the States. Extraordinary expenses! Sir, beneath memors words lurks the very subject on which, seem rate of this body, I was refused a hearissend rate of this body, I was retused a near-flere it; no longer open to the charge of gia 'abstraction,' but actually presented for mal legislation; not introduced by me, but by a the important committees of the Senate; not just forward weeks ago, when there was ample for discussion, but only at this moment, withsendment, which I now offer, proposes to me one chief occasion of these extraordinary ness. And now, at last, among these final ried days of our duties here, but at this earliest sty, I am to be heard; not as a favor, but as The graceful usages of this body may be used, but the established privileges of debate section in the strangerd. Parliamentary courtesy may be straighten, but Parliamentary law must prevail.—
subject is broadly before the Senate. By the

sing of God, it shall be discussed.
So, a severe lawgiver of early Greece vainly git to secure permanance for his imperfect the stempted an alteration or repeal of any with latter about his neck, ready to be drawn if is proposition failed to be adopted. A tyrannical pot among us, in unconscious imitation of this and discarded barbarism, seeks to surround offenive institution with a similar safeguard. be easing distemper of the public mind and at this seat juncture, no man can enter upon the service which I now undertake, without a personal responsi-bits, such as can be sustained only by that sense of my which, under God, is always our best support This personal responsibility I accept. Before the Sends and the country, let me be held accountable for this act, and for every word which I utter.

the me, sir, there is no alternative. Painfully

trunced of the unutterable wrongs and woes of savery; profoundly believing that, according to the tre sort of the Constitution and the sentiments of the fathers, it can find no place under our National Government—that it is in every respect sectional, and in no respect national—that it is always and restricted the creature and dependent of the States, and never anywhere the creature or dependent of the the se other act, impart to it any support, under the Constitution of the United States; with these conchos, I could not allow this session to reach its me, without making or seizing an opportunity to being myself openly against the usurpation, in-pace, and cruelty, of the late enactment by Con-pus for the recovery of fugitive slaves. Full well tion, sir, the difficulties of this discussion, arising magnificate of opinion and from adverse conclusions, strong and sincere as my own. Full well I are that I am in a small minority, with few here to then I may look for sympathy or support. Full well know that I must atter things unwelcome to many attained in the body, which I cannot do without pain. Full well know that the invitation of slavery in our will know that the institution of slavery in our country, which I now proceed to consider, is as senter as it is powerful—possessing a power to sais the whole land with a sensitiveness that shrinks bembles at the touch. But, while these things my properly prompt me to caution and reserve, they and properly prompt me to caution and reserve, they cannot change my duty, or my determination to perfer at the first in willingly forget myselt, and all messal consequences. The favor and good-will of a fellow-citizens, of my brethren of the Senate, sir phase to me as it justly is—I am ready, if record, to service. All that I am or may be, I freely define the cannot be served. teler to this cause.

tel here sllow me, for one moment, to refer to

speciand my position. Sir, I have never been a placan. The slave of principles, I call no party ner. By sentiment, education, and conviction, a and of Haman Rights, in their utmost expansion, I the ever most sincerely embraced the Democratic is a sour most sincerely embraced the Democratic bas sour indeed, as represented or professed by any many, but according to its real significance, as transferred in the Declaration of Independence, and in the Significance of Christianity. In this Idea, I saw advantages merely for individuals or class, but the control of cases, but the sovereignty of the people and the present appiness of all secured by equal laws. Authorities the received and the rest appiness of all secured by equal laws. Authorities the viciositudes of public affairs, I trust always to hold fast to this Idea, and to any political and a secured by the rest of the r

Any which truly embraces it.

Farry does not constrain me; nor is my independent does not constrain to the office which a lessened by any relations to the office which the a title to be heard on this floor. And here, is me a title to be heard on this floor. And nere, it, lany speak proudly. By no effort, by no asset my own, I find myself a Senator of the land States. Never before have I held public set any kind. With the ample opportunities of my find the lies are inscription than this: 'Here lies are a single public set in the lies are inscription than this: 'Here lies are also whose the bears of public set in the lies are a single public set. see as a fairer inscription than this: 'Here here was, without the honors or emoluments of pubers, without the honors or emoluments of pubers, without here are supplied something for his fellow man.' From any ample aspirations I was taken away by the free chase of my native Commonwealth, and placed in the interpolation of any kind, beyond what was implied in my ide and unblished words. The cornect Griends, by is and published words. The carnest friends, by the confidence I was first designated, asked nothing to the confidence I was first designated, asked nothing the confidence I was first designated. momence I was first designated, asked notified me, and, throughout the long conflict which ad in my election, rejoiced in the position which mat carefully guarded. To all my language was form, that I did not desire to be brought forward; I would do not be. at I would do not desire to be brought to that I would do nothing to promote the result; that I had to pledges or promises to offer; that the first should seek me, and not I the office; and that the pledges of promises to offer; the the seek me, and not I the office; and that the pledges of the pledges of

bound to no party and to no human being, but only, according to my best judgment, to act for the good of all. Again, sir, I speak with pride, both for my-self and others, when I add that these avowals found Constitution, share this same epithet. The honest a sympathizing response. In this spirit I have come here, and inthis spirit I shall speak to-day.

Rejoicing in my independence, and claiming nothing from party ties, I throw myself upon the candor

only borrow the language of slaveholders themselves; nor would it accord with my habits or my sense of justice to exhibit them as the impersonation of the institution—Jefferson calls it the 'enormity'—which they cherish. Of them I do not speak; but without fear and without favor, as without impeachment of any person, I assail this wrong. Again, sir, I may err; but it will be with the Fathers. I plant myself on the ancient way of the Republic, with its grand-est names, its surest landmarks, and all its original

And now, on the very threshold, I encounter the objection that there is a final settlement, in principle and substance, of the question of Slavery, and that all discussion of it is closed. Both the old political all discussion of it is closed. Both the old political parties of the country, by formal resolutions, have united in this declaration. On a subject which for years has agitated the public mind; which yet palpitates in every heart and burns on every tongue; which, in its immeasurable importance, dwarfs all others subjects; which, by its constant and gigantic excess throws a shadow agrees those Halls, which resence, throws a shadow across these Halls ; which at this very time calls for appropriations to meet extra-ordinary expenses it has caused, they have imposed the rule of silence. According to them, sir, we may speak of everything except that alone, which is most present in all our minds.

To this combined effort I might fitly reply, that,

with flagrant inconsistency, it challenges the very discussion which it pretends to forbid. Such a declaration, on the eve of an election, is, of course, submitted to the consideration and ratification of the people. Debate, inquiry, discussion, are the necessary consequence. Silènce becomes impossible. Slavery, which you profess to banish from the public attention, openly by your invitation enters every poli-tical meeting and every political convention. Nay, tical meeting and every political convention. Nay, at this moment it stalks into this Senate, crying, like the daughters of the horse-leech, 'Give! give!'

But no unanimity of politicians can uphold the baseless assumption, that a law, or any conglomerate of laws, under the name of Compromise, or howso-ever called, is final. Nothing can be plainer than this; that, by no Parliamentary device or knot can any Legislature tie the hands of a succeeding Legisla ture, so as to prevent the full exercise of its consti-tutional powers. Each Legislature, under a just sense of its responsibility, must judge for itself; and sense of its responsibility, must judge for itself; and if it think proper, it may revise or amend, or absolutely undo the work of its predecessors. The laws of the Medes and Persians are proverbially said to have been unalterable; but they stand forth in history as a single example of such irrational defiance of the true principles of all law.

To make a law final, so as not to be reached by

Congress, is, by mere legislation, to fasten a new provision on the Constitution. Nay, more; it gives to the law a character which the very Constitution pressly that their Great Act is not final. According to the Constitution itself, there is not one of its existing provisions—not even that with regard to from labor-which may not at all times be fugitives

final. Truth alone is final. Inconsistent and absurd, this effort is tyrannic also. The responsibility for the recent Slave Act, and for Slavery everywhere within the jurisdiction of Congress, necessarily involves the right to discuss them. To separate these is impossible Like the twenty-fifth rule of the House of Representatives against petitions on Slavery—now repealed and dis-honored—the Compromise, as explained and urged is a curtailment of the actual powers of legislation, and a perpetual denial of the indisputable principle that the right to deliberate is co-extensive with the responsibility for an act. To sustain Slavery, it is now proposed to trample on free speech. In any country this would be grievous; but here, where the Constitution expressly provides against abridging freedom of speech, it is a special outrage. In vain do we condemn the despotisms of Europe, while we borrow the rigors with which they repress Liberty, and guard their own uncertain power. For myself, in no factious spirit, but solemnly and in loyalty to the Constitution, as a Senator of Massachusetts, I protest against this wrong. On Slavery, as on every other subject, I claim the right to be heard. That other subject, I claim the right to be heard. That right I cannot, I wil not abandon. 'Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely, above all liberties.' These are the glowing words which flashed from the soul of John Milton, in his struggles

with English tyranny. With equal fervor they should be echoed now by every American, not already But, sir, this effort is impotent as tyrannical. The But, sir, this effort is impotent as tyrannical. The convictions of the heart cannot be repressed. The utterances of conscience must be heard. They break forth with irrepressible might. As well attempt to check the tide of Ocean, the currents of the Mississippi, or the rushing waters of Niagara. The discussion of slavery will proceed, wherever two or three are gathered together—by the fireside, on the highway, at the public meetings in the church. The movement against slavery is from the Everlasting Arm. Even now it is gathering its forces, soon to be confessed everywhere. It may not yet be felt in the high places of office and power; but, all who can put their ears humbly to the ground, will hear and comprehend its incessant and advancing tread.

The relations of the Government of the United States—I speak of the National Government—to slavery, though plain and obvious, are constantly misunderstood. A popular belief at this moment makes slavery a national institution, and, of course, renders its support a national duty. The extravagance of this error can hardly be surpassed. An institution, which our fathers most assertile sentited. to name in the Constitution, which, according to the debates in the Convention, they refused to cover with any 'sanction,' and which, at the original organization of the Government, was merely sectional, existing nowhere on the national servitory, is now above all other things blazoned as national. Its supporters plume themselves as national. The old political parties, while upholding it, claim to be national. A National Whig is simply a Slavery Whig, and a National Democrat is simply a Slavery Democrat, in contradistinction to all who regard slavery as a sectional institution, within the exclusive control of the States, and with which the nation has nothing to do. to name in the Constitution, which, according to the theold find me in all respects an independent man, to do.

Constitution, share this same epithet. The honest efforts to secure its blessings, everywhere within the jurisdiction of Congress, are scouted as sectional; and this cause, which the founders of our National strongly; for I shall speak openly, and from the strength of my convictions. I may speak warmly; for I shall speak from the heart. But in no event can I forget the amenities which belong to debate, and which especially become this body. Slavery I must condemn with my whole soul; but here I need only borrow the language of slaves. A condition of the French language, Louis XIV., the grand monarch, by an accidental error of speech among supple courtiers. national instead of sectional, and sectional instead of national.

Slavery national! Sir, this is all a mistake and absurdity, fit to take a place in some new collection of Vulgar Errors, by some other Sir Thomas Browne, with the ancient but exploded stories, that the road has a stone in its head, and that ostriches digest iron. According to the true spirit of the Constitution, and the sentiments of the Fathers, Slavery and not Freedom is sectional, while Freedom and not Slavery is

oom is sectional. While Precaon and not Slavery is national. On this unanswerable proposition I take my stand. And here commences my argument.

The subject presents itself under two principal heads: First, the true relations of the National Government to Slavery, wherein it will appear that there is no national fountain out of which Slavery can be derived, and no national power, under the can be derived, and no national power, under the Constitution, by which it can be supported. Enlightened by this general survey, we shall be prepared to consider, Secondar, the true nature of the provision for the rendition of fugilives from labor, and herein especially the unconstitutional and offensive legislation of Congress in pursuance thereof. I. And now for the TRUE RELATIONS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT TO SLAVERY. These will

be readily apparent, if we do not neglect well-established principles.

If Slavery be national, if there be any power in the National Government to uphold this institution— as in the recent Slave Act—it must be by virtue of the Constitution. Nor can it be by mere inference, implication, or conjecture. According to the uni-form admission of courts and jurists in Europe, again and again promulgated in our country, Slavery can be derived only from clear and special recognition. The state of Slavery,' said Lord Mansfield, pronouncing judgment in the great case of Somersett, is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons moral or political, but only by positive law. It is so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it but Positive Law.—
(Howell's State Trials, vol. 20, p. 82.) And a slave-holding tribunal, the Supreme Court of Mississippi,

dopting the same principle, has said: Slavery is condemned by reason and the laws of nature. It exists and can exist only through municipal regulations."—(Harry vs. Decker, Walker R., 42.) And another slaveholding tribunal, the Supreme Court of Kentucky, has said:

· We view this as a right existing by positive law, of a municipal character, without foundation in the law of nature or the unwritten and common law. — (Rankin vs. Lydia, 2 Marshall, 470.)

Of course, every power to uphold Slavery must have an origin as distinct as that of Slavery itself. Every presumption must be as strong against such a power as against Slavery. A power so peculiar and offendoes not possess. The wise fathers did not treat the country as a Chinese foot, never to grow after infancy; but, anticipating Progress, they declared exspoils its victims of the fruits of their labor; which despoils its victims of the fruits of their labor; which substitutes concubinage for marriage; which abrogates the relation of parent and child; which, by a denial of education, abases the intellect, prevents a true knowledge of God, and murders the reached by amendment, and thus be drawn into debate. This is rational and just. Sir, nothing from man's hands, nor law, nor constitution, can be beast;—such a power, so eminent, so transcendent, beast; -such a power, so eminent, so transcendent so tyrannical so unjust, can find no place in any system of Government, unless by virtue of positive sanction. It can spring from no doubtful phrases. It must be declared by unambiguous words, incapa-

ble of a double sense.

Slavery, I now repeat, is not mentioned in the Slavery, I now repeat, is not mentioned in the Constitution. The name Slave does not pollute this Charter of our Liberties. No positive language gives to Congress any power to make a Slave or to inunt a Slave. To find even any seeming sanction for either, we must travel, with doubtful footsteps, beyond its express letter, into the region of interpretation. But here are rules which cannot be disobeyed. With electric might for Freedom, they send a service influence through, every provision, clause. pervasive influence through every provision, clause, and word of the Constitution. Each and all make Slavery impossible as a national institution. They efface from the Constitution every fountain out of

which it can be derived.

First and foremost, is the Preamble. This First and foremost, is the Preamble. This discloses the prevailing objects and principles of the Constitution. This is the vestibule through which all must pass, who would enter the sacred temple. Here are the inscriptions by which they are earliest impressed. Here they first catch the genius of the place. Here the proclamation of Liberty is first heard. 'We the people of the United States,' says the Preamble, 'in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberly to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America. Constitution for the United States of America.'—
Thus, according to underniable words, the Constitution was ordained, not to establish, secure, or sanction Slavery—not to promote the special interests of
slaveholders—not to make Slavery national, in any
way, form, or manner; but to 'establish justice,'
'promote the general welfare,' and 'secure the blessings of Liberty.' Here, surely, Liberty is national.
Secondly. Next in importance to the Preamble are the explicit contemporaneous declarations in the Con-vention which framed the Constitution, and elseto be confessed everywhere. It may not yet be felt in the high places of office and power; but all who can put their cars humbly to the ground, will hear and comprehend its incessant and advancing tread.

The relations of the Government of the United States—I speak of the National Government—to slavery, though plain and obvious, are constantly misunderstood. A popular belief at this moment makes slavery a national institution, and, of course, renders its support a national duty. The extravagance of this error can hardly be surpassed. An institution, which our fathers most carefully omitted to name in the Constitution, which, according to the

The morality or wisdom of Slavery are considerations belonging to the States themselves.' According to him, Slavery was sectional.

At a later day, a discussion ensued on the clause touching the African slave trade, which reveals the definite purposes of the Convention. From the report of Mr. Madison, we learn what was said.— Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, 'thought we had nothing to do with the conduct of the States as to Slavery, but the ought to be careful not to give any sanction to it.' According to these words, he regarded Slavery as sectional, and would not make it national. Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, 'was opposed to any tax on slaves imported, as making the matter worse, because it implied they were property.' He

taxing them as such under the character of slaves."
Mr. Gorham 'thought Mr. Sherman should consider the duty not as implying slaves as property, but as a discouragement to the importation of them.' Mr. Madison, in mild juridical phrase, 'thought it verong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be represent in way.' A few discourage in the same of t

Constitution.

Nor is this all. In the Massachusetts Convention to which the Constitution, when completed, was sub-mitted for ratification, a veteran of the Revolution, General Heath, openly declared that, according to General Heath, openly declared that, accounting to his views, Slavery was sectional and not national, His language was pointed. 'I apprehend,' he says, that it is not in our power to do anything for or against those who are in Slavery in the Southern Slates. No gentleman within these walls detests every idea of Slavery more than I do; it is generally detested by the people of this Commonwealth; and I ardently hope the time will soon come when our brethren in the Southern States will view it as we do, and put a stop to it; but to this we have no right to compel them.
Two questions naturally arise: If we ratify the Con-Two questions naturally arise: If we raify the Constitution, shall we do anything by our act to hold the blacks in Slavery—or shall we become parlakers of other men's sins? I think neither of them.'

Afterwards, in the first Congress under the Con-

stitution, on a motion, which was much debated, to introduce into the Impost Bill a duty on the importaintroduce into the impost his a day on the introduce into the National Convention had opposed the idea of property in man, authoritatively exposed the true relations of the Constitution to Slavery. His landau and the constitution is slavery. guage was, that the Constitution does not consider these persons as property; it speaks of them as per-

Thus distinctly and constantly, from the very lips of the framers of the Constitution, we learn the falsehood of the recent assumptions in favor of Slavery, and in derogation of Freedom.

Thirdly. According to a familiar rule of interpreta-

materia, are to be construed together. By the same reason, the grand political acts of the nation are to be construed together, giving and receiving light from each other. Earlier than the Constitution was the Declaration of Independence, embodying, in immortal words, those primal truths to which our country pledged itself with its baptismal avows as a nation. 'We hold these truths to be self-evident,' says the nation that all means a contact of the same and the self-evident, says the nation that all means a contact of the same and tion. 'We hold these truths to be self-evident,' says the nation, 'that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unaliena-ble rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. But this does not stand alone. There is another national act of a similar import. On the successful close of the Revolution, the Continental Congress, in an address to the people, repeated the same lofty in an address to the people, repeated the same lotty truth. Let it be remembered, said the nation again, 'that it has ever been the pride and the boast of America, that the rights for which she has contended were the rights of human nature. By the blessing of the Author of these rights, they have prevailed

gress, in the exercise of its power to regulate com-merce among the States, can interfere with the slaverade between the States, a principle has been enun-ciated, which, while protecting the trade from any attervention of Congress, declares openly that the

this spirit the national government was first organized under Washington. And here I recall a scene, in itself a touchstone of the period, and an example for us, upon which we may look with pure national pride, while we learn anew the relations of the na-

The revolution had been accomplished. The fee

or property in man.' After discussion, it was finally agreed to make the clause read?

But a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.'

The difficulty seemed then to be removed, and the whole clause was adopted. This record demonstrates that the word 'persons' was employed in order to show that slaves, everywhere under the Constitution, were always to be regarded as persons. monstrates that the word 'persons' was employed in order to show that slaves, everywhere under the Constitution, were always to be regarded as persons, and not as property, and thus to excude from the Constitution all idea that there can be property in man. Remember well, that Mr. Sherman was opposed to the clause in its original form, 'as acknowledging men to be property;' that Mr. Madison was also opposed to it, because he thought it terong to main in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man;' and that, after these objections, the clause was so amended as to exclude the idea. But Slavery cannot be national, unless this idea is distinctly and unequivocally admitted in the Constitution. he moved to the balcony in front of the edifice. A countless multitude, thronging the open street and eagerly watching this great espousal,

· With reverence look on his majestic face, Proud to be less, but of his godlike race.

The oath was administered by the Chancellor of New York. At this time, and in his presence, be-New York. At this time, and in his presence, be-neath the uncovered heavens, Washington first took this vow upon his lips: 'I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.

Over the President, on this high occasion, floated Over the President, on this high occasion, floated the national flug, with its stripes of red and its stars on a field of blue. As his patriot eyes rested upon the glowing ensign, what currents must have rushed swiftly through his soul! In the early days of the Revolution, in those darkest hours about Boston, after the battle of Bunker Hill, and before the Declaration of Indoceanage the things of the Declaration of Indoceanage the things. ation of Independence, the thirteen stripes had been first unfurled by him, as the emblem of Union among the Colonies for the sake of Freedom. By him, at that time, they had been named the Union Flag.—
Trial, struggle and war were now ended, and the Union, which they first heralded, was unalterably established. To every beholder, these memories must have been full of pride and consolation. But, looking back upon the scene, there is one circum-stance which, more than all its other associations, fills the soul-more than even the suggestions of Union, which I prize so much. AT THIS MOMENT, WHEN WASHINGTON TOOK HIS FIRST OATH TO SUPtion, all laws concerning the same matter in part PORT THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, maleria, are to be construed together. By the same

> unhappily found a home. But, in the only territo unhappily found a home. But, in the only territories at this time belonging to the nation, the broad region of the Northwest, it had already, by the ordinance of freedom, been made impossible, even before the adoption of the Constitution. The District of Columbia, with its fatal incumbrance, had not yet been acquired.
>
> The government thus organized was anti-slavery in character. Washington was a slaveholder, but

> The government thus organized was anti-stavery in character. Washington was a slaveholder; but it would be unjust to his memory not to say that he was an abolitionist also. His opinions did not admit of question. Only a short time before the formation of the national Constitution, he had declared, by let-

truth. Let it be remembered, said the nation again, 'that it has ever been the pride and the boast of America, that the rights for shich she has cented of Greetien. Only a short time before the formation of the Author of these rights, they have prevailed over all opposition, and your time masses of thirteen independent States.' Such were the acts of the privileges of States in their individual capacities, within their several local jurisdictions, no power can be attributed to the nation, in the absence of positive, unequivocal grant, inconsistent with these two national declarations. Here, sir, is the national heart, the national sould prevent the state of the Constitution, and enter into and diffuse itself through all the national legislation. Thus again is Freedom national.

Eburkly. Beyond these is a principle of the common law, clear and indisputable, as upremer rule of interpretation, from which in this case there can be no spieal. In any question under the Constitution, and enter the Constitution, and enter the constitution and provided the constitution of the law is always feedy to catch at anything in favor of liberty.—(2. Black. Com., 94). The law of England in every case show favor to liberty. And this sentiment breaks forth in natural, though intense force, in the maxim: Imputs etraulity of the constitution in the administration of the condition, were allowed important to the desired that foreign and the constitution of the condition of the conditi Chief Justice of the United States. In his sight slavery was an 'iniquity,' a sin of crimson dye,' against which the ministers of the gospel should testify, and which the government should seek in every way to abolish. 'Were I in the Legislature,' he wrote, 'I would present a bill for this purpose with great care, and I would never cease moving it till it became a law, or I ceased to be a member. Till America comes into this measure, her prayers to Heaven will be impious.'

But they were not alone. The convictions and earnest aspirations of the country were with them.

intervention of Congress, declares openly that the Constitution acts upon no man as property. Mr. Justice McLean says: 'If slaves are considered in some of the States as merchandise, that cannot divest them of the leading and controling quality of persons by which they are designated in the Constitution. The character of property is given them by the local law. This law is respected, and all rights under it are protected by the Federal authorities; but the Constitution acts upon slaves as peasons, and not as property.' * * 'The power over Slavery belongs to the States respectively. It is local in its character, and in its effects.'—(Groves vs. Slaughter. 15 Peters R., 507.)' Here again Slavery is sectional, while Freedom is national.

would not have Slavery national. After debate, the subject was committed to a committee of eleven, who subsequently reported a substitute, authorizing 'a tax on such migration or importation, at a rate not exceeding the average of duties laid on imports.' This language, classifying persons with merchandise, seemed to imply a recognition that they were property. Mr. Sherman at once declared himself 'against this part, as acknowledging men to be property, by taxing them as such under the character of slaves.' Mr. Gorham 'thought Mr. Sherman should consider the duty not as implying slaves as property, but as a pressed slaves, a young man, afterwards by his con-nummate learning and forensic powers the acknow-edged head of the American bar—William Pinkney in a speech of earnest, truthful eloquence —in a speech of earnest, truthful eloquence—better far for his memory than his transcendent professional fame—branded slavery as 'iniquitous and most dishonorable'; 'founded on a disgraceful traffic'; 'as shameful in its continuance as in its origin'; and he openly declared, that, 'by the eternal principles of natural justice, no master in the State has a right to hold his slave in bondage a single hour.'

Thus, at this time, spoke the nation. The church also joined its voice. And here, amidst the diversities of religious faith, it is instructive to observe the general accord. The Quakers fint bore their testimony. At the adoption of the Constitution their

mony. At the adoption of the Constitution, their whole body, under the early teaching of George Fox, and by the crowning exertions of Benezet and Woolman, had become an organized band of abolity comman, and occome an organized band of about-tionists, penetrated by the conviction that it was un-lawful to hold a fellow-man in bondage. The Meth-odists, numerous, earnest and faithful, never ceased by their preachers to proclaim the same truth. Their rules, in 1788, denounced in formal language the buying or selling of bodies and souls of men, women and children, with an intention to enslave them.—
The words of their great apostle, John Wesley, were constantly repeated. On the eve of the National Convention, the burning tract was circulated, in which he exposes American slavery as the 'vilest' of the world—'such slavery as is not found among the Turks at Algiers,'—and, after declaring 'liberty. the birthright of every human creature, of which no law can deprive him, he pleads: 'If, therefore, you law can deprive him, he pleads: 'If, therefore, you have any regard to justice, (to say nothing of mercy or the revealed law of God,) render unto all their due. Give liberty to whom liberty is due, that is, to every child of man, to every partaker of human nature.' At the same time, the Presbyterians, a powerful religious body, inspired by the principles of John Calvin, in more moderate language, but by a public act, recorded their judgment, recommending to all the people under their care, to use the most prudent measures consistent with the interest and the state of civil society, to procure, eventually, the the state of civil society, to procure, eventually, the final abolition of slavery in America. The Congregationalists of New England, also of the faith of John Calvin, and with the hatred of slavery belonging to the great non-conformist—Richard Baxter—were sternly united against this wrong. As early as 1776, Samuel Hopkins, their eminent leader and divine, published his tract, showing it to be the duty and inerest of the American States, to emancipate all their African slaves, and declaring that 'slavery is in every instance wrong, unrighteous and oppressive—a very great and crying sin—there being nothing of the kind equal to it on the face of the earth. And, in 1791, shortly after the adoption of the Constitution, the second Jonathan Edwards, a twice-honored tion, the second Jonathan Edwards, a twice-honored name, in an elaborate discourse often published, called upon his country, 'in the present blaze of light,' on the injustice of slavery, to prepare the way for 'its total abolition.' This he gladly thought at hand. 'If we judge the future by the past,' said the celebrated preacher, 'within fifty years from this time, it will be as shameful to hold a negro slave as to be guilty of common robbery or theft.' guilty of common robbery or theft."

the nation, by its leading denominations, Quakers, Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists, thundered against slavery. The colleges were in unison with the church. Harvard University spoke unison with the church. Harvard University spoke by the voice of Massachusetts, which had already abolished slavery. Dartmouth College, by one of its learned professors, claimed for the slaves 'equal privileges with the whites.' Yale College, by its President, the eminent divine—Ezra Stiles—became the head of the Abolition Society of Connecticut. And the University of William and Mary, in Virginia, testified its sympathy with this cause, at this very time, by conferring upon Granville Sharpe, the acknowledged chief of British abolitionists, the honorary degree of Dector of Laws. ry degree of Doctor of Laws.

The LITERATURE of the land, such as then exist-

The LITERATURE of the land, such as then existed, agreed with the nation, the church, and the college. Franklin, in the last literary labor of his life; Jefferson, in his 'Notes on Virginia'; Barlow, in his measured verse; Rush, in a work which inspired the praise of Clarkson; 'The Ingenious Offer of the Algerine Captive'—the earliest American novel, and though now but little known, one of the earliest American books re-published in London—were all moved by the contemplation of slavery. 'If our fellow-citizens of the Southern States are deaf to the pleadings of Nature,' the latter exclaims, in his work, 'I will conjure them, for the sake of consistency, to cease to deprive their fellow-creatures of freedom, which their writers, their orators, representatives, cease to deprive their fellow-creatures of freedom, which their writers, their orators, representatives, and senators, and even their constitution of government, have declared to be the inalienable birthright of man.' A female writer and poet, earliest in our country among the graceful throng—Sarah Wentworth Morton—at the very period of the National Convention, admired by the polite society in which she lived, poured forth her sympathies also. The generous labors of John Jay in behalf of the crushed African, inspired her mose, and, in another poem, generous labors of John Jay in behalf of the crushed African, inspired her muse, and, in another poem, commemorating a slave, who fell while vindicating his freedom, she rendered a truthful homage to his inalienable rights, in words which I now quote as

> "Does not the voice of Reason cry?
> Claim the first right that Nature gave; From the red scourge of bongage fly : ... Nor deign to live a burdened slave."

Nor deign to live a burdened slave,"

Such, sir, at the adoption of the Constitution and at the first organization of the mational government, was the outspoken, unequivocal heart of the country. Slavery was abhorred. Like the slave trade, it was regarded as temporary; and by many it was supposed that they would both disappear together. As the oracles ceased or grew mute, at the coming of Christ, and a voice was heard crying to mariners at sea, 'Great Pain is dead,' so, at this time, Slavery became dumb, and its death seemed to be near. Voices of freedom filled the sir. The patriot, the Christian, the scholar, the writer, vied in loyalty to this cause. All were abolitionists.

Glance, now, at the earliest Congress under the Constitution. From various quarters, memorials were presented to this body against slavery. Among these was one from the Abolition Society of Virginia, wherein slavery is pronounced 'not only an odious degradation, but an outrageous violation of one of he most essential rights of human nature, and utterly repugnant to the precepts of the Gospel.' Still another, of a more important character, came from the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania, and was signed by Benjaunin Franklin as President. This venerable man, whose active life had been devoted to the welfare of mankind at home and abroad—who,

both as philosopher and statesman, had arrested the admiration of the world—who had ravished the light-ning from the skies and the sceptre from a tyrant as a member of the Continental Congress, ha set his name to the Declaration of Independence and as a member of the National Convention, had again set his name to the Constitution-in who e, perhaps, than in any other person, was embod true spirit of American institutions, at once practical and humane—than whom no one could be more familiar with the purposes and asp rations of the more familiar with the purposes and aspirations of the founders—this veteran, 84 years of age, within a few months of his death, now appeared by petition, at the bar of that Congress, whose powers he had helped to define and establish. This was the last political act of his long life. Listen now to the prayer of Franklin;

'Your memorialists, particularly engaged in attending to the distresses arising from slavery, believe it to be their indispensable duty to present this subject to your notice. They have observed with real satisfaction that many important and salutary powers are vested in you for promoting the welfare and securing the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States; and as they conceive that these blessings ought rightfully to be administered without distinction of color, to all descriptions of people, so they indulate themselves in the alexance cracefuling. Your memorialists, particularly engaged in at distinction of color, to all descriptions of people, so they indulge themselves in the pleasing expectation, that nothing which can be done for the relief of the unhappy objects of their care, will be either omitted delayed. Under these impressions, they carnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slav ery; that you will be pleased to countenance the res toration of liberty to those unhappy men, who, alone in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetua toration of therty to those unhappy men, was, atone, in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who, amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection; that you will promote mercy and justice towards this distressed race, and that you will step to the very verge of the power wested in you for DISCOURAGING every species of truffic in the persons of our fellow-men.

Important words! In themselves a key-note of the times. From his grave, Franklin seems still t call upon Congress to step to the very verge of the power ested in it to discounage stayen; and, in making this prayer, he proclaims the true national policy of the Fathers. Not encouragement, but dis-

conragement of slavery was their rule.

Sir, enough has been said to show the sentiment which, like a vital air, surrounded the national gov ernment as it stepped into being. In the face of thi history, and in the absence of any positive sanct.or rd to suppose that slavery. which, under the confederation, was merely sectional, was now con stituted a national institution. Our fathers did not may, with the apostate angel: very, 'Get thee behind me, Satan! In a different spirit, they cried out to Sla-

there is yet another link in the argument. In the discussions which took place in the local conventions, on the adoption of the Constitution. sensitive desire was manifested to curround all pe sons under the Constitution with additional safe guards. Fears were expressed from the supposed in definiteness of some of the powers conceded to the National Government, and, also, from the absence of Bill of Rights. Massachusetts, on ratifying th Constitution, proposed a series of amendments, a Adams, in the Convention, as 'a summary of a Bill of Rights':-

* That it be explicitly declared, that all powers no expressly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution, ar reserved to the several States, to be by them exercised

Virginia, South Carolina and North Carolina, with minorities in Pennsylvania and Maryland, united in this proposition. In pursuance of these recommend-ations, the first Congress presented for adoption the following article, which, being ratified by a number of States, became a part of the Constitution as the 10th amendment :-

. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

Stronger words could not be employed to limit the power under the Constitution, and to protect the people from all assumptions of the National Govern ment, particularly in derogation of freedom. It guardian character commended it to the sagacion mind of Jefferson, who said: 'I consider the four dation corner-stone of the Constitution of the United States to be laid upon the 10th article of the amend And Samuel Adams - ever watchful o freedom-said: 'It removes a doubt which many have entertained respecting the matter, and gives assurance, that if any law, made by the federal gov-ernment, shall be extended beyond the power grant ed by the Constitution, and inconsistent with the Constitution of this State, it will be an error, and

adjudged by the Courts of law to be void.'

Beyond all question, the National Government ordained by the Constitution, is not general or universal; but special and particular. It is a govern ment of limited powers. It has no power which not delegated. Especially is this clear with regar to an institution like slavery. The Constitution cortains no power to make a king, or to support king! rule. With similar reason, it may be said, that i contains no power to make a slave, or to support a system of slavery. The absence of all such power s hardly more clear in one case than in the other. re be no such power, all national legisla tion upholding slavery must be unconstitutional and annot be higher than the foun tain-head. Nay, more; nothing can come out of nothing; the stream cannot exist, if there be no springs from which it is fed.

from which it is fed.

At the risk of repetition, but for the sake of clear ness, review, now, this argument, and gather it to gether. Considering that slavery is of such an of fensive character that it can find sanction only in 'positive law,' and that it has no such 'positive sanction in the Constitution; that the Constitution according to its preamble, was ordained 'to establising justice' and 'secure the blessings of liberty'; that in the Convention which framed it, and also, else in the Convention which framed it, and also, elsewhere, at the time, it was declared not to sanction slavery; that, according to the Declaration of Independence and the Address of the Continental Congress, the nation was dedicated to 'liberty' and the 'rights of human nature'; that, according to the principles of common law, the Constitution must be interpreted openly, actively, and perpetually, for freedom; that, according to the decision of the Supreme Court, it sates were always and as recognity but preme Court, it acts upon slaves not as property, but as reasons; that, at the first organization of the National Government under Washington, slavery had no national favor, and existed nowhere beneath the national flag or on the national territory, but was openly condemned by the nation, the church, the colleges, and literature of the time; and finally, that, according to an amendment of the Constitution, the national government can only exercise powers delegated to it, among which there is none to suppor slavery. Considering these things, sir, it is impossible to avoid the single conclusion, that slavery is in no respect a national institution, and that the Constitution nowhere unhable. But there is one other special provision of the Constitution, which I have reserved to this stage,

not so much from its superior importance, but be-cause it may fitly stand by itself. This, alone, if practically applied, would carry freedom to all with-in its influence. It is an amendment proposed by the first Congress, as follows:

'No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.'

Under this agis, the liberty of every person within the national jurisdiction is unequivocally placed.

I say of every person. Of this there can be no question. The word 'person' in the Constitution embraces every buman being within its sphere, whether Caucasian, Indian, or Africau, from the President to the slave. Show me a person, no matter what his condition, or race, or color, within the national jurisdiction, and I confidently claim for him this production, and I confidently claim for him this production. Under this egis, the liberty of every person with tection. The natural meaning of the clause is clear but a single fact of its history places it in the broad but a single fact of its history places it in the broad light of noon. As originally recommended by North Carolina and Virginia, it was restrained to the freeman. Its language was, 'No freeman ought to be deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but by the law of the land.' In rejecting this limitation, the nuthors of the amendment revealed their purpose, that no person, under the national government, of whatever character, shall be deprived of liberty, without due process of law; that is without due are out due process of law; that is, without due pre-sentment, indictment, or other judicial proceedings. Here, by this amendment, is an express guaranty of personal liberty, and an express prohibition against its invasion any where, at least within the national

jurisdiction.

Sir, apply these principles, and slavery will again be as when Washington took his first oath as President. The Union flag of the republic will become once more the flag of freedom, and at all points within the naitional jurisdiction, will refuse to cover a slave. Beneath its beneficent folds, wherever it is

carried, on land or sea, slavery will disappear, like | candidly that he did not think South Carolina would | darkness under the arrows of the ascending sun-like the spirit of evil before the angel of the Lord. In all national territories slavery will be impossi

On the high seas, under the national flag, slavery will be impossible.

In the District of Columbia slavery will instantly

cease.

Inspired by these principles, Congress can give no sanction to slavery, by the admission of new slave

States.

No where under the Constitution can the nation,

No where under the Constitution can the nation, by legislation or otherwise, support slavery, bunt slaves, or hold property in man.

Such, sir, are my sincere convictions. According to the Constitution, as I understand it, in the light of the past, and of its true principles, there is no other conclusion which is rational or tenable; which does not dely the authoritative rules of intersectation, which does not dely the authoritative rules of intersectation, which does not dely the authoritative rules of intersectation. pretation; which does not affirm the public opinion in which it had its birth; and which does not dishonor the memory of the fathers. And yet these con-victions are now placed under formal ban by politicians of the hour. The generous sentiments which filled the early patriots, and which impressed upon the government they founded, as upon the coin they circulated, the image and superscription of Liberty, have lost their power. The slave-masters, few in number, amounting to about 300,000, according to number, smounting to about 30,000, according to the recent census, have succeeded in dictating the policy of the national government, and have written SLAVERY on its front. And now, an arrogant and unrelenting ostracism is applied, not only to all who express themselves against slavery, but to every man who is unwilling to be the menial of slavery. A novel test for office is introduced, which would have excluded all the fathers of the republic -- even Washington, Jefferson and Franklin! Yes, sir. Startling ington, Jefferson and Franklin! it may be; but indisputable. Could these revered demigods of history once again descend upon earth, and mingle in our affairs, not one of them could receive a nomination from the National Convention of either of the two old political parties! Out of the convictions of their hearts and the utterances of their lips, against slavery, they would be condemned.

This single fact reveals the extent to which the

national government has departed from its true course and its great examples. For myself, I know no better aim under the Constitution, than to bring the government back to the precise position on this question, which it occupied on the anspicious morning of its first organization under Washington:

Cursus iterare

that the sentiments of the fathers may again prevail with our rulers, and that the national flag may no-where shelter slavery.

To such as count this aspiration unreasonable, let

me commend a renowned and life-giving precedent of English history. As early as the days of Queen Elizabeth, a courtier had boasted that the air of England was too pure for a slave to breathe, and the common law was said to forbid slavery. And yet, in the face of this vaunt, kindred to that of our Fathers, and so truly honorable, slaves were introduced from the West Indies. The custom of slavery gradually prevailed. Its positive legality was affirmed, in professional opinions, by two eminent lawyers, Talbot and Vorke, each afterwards Lord Chancellor. It was also affirmed on the bench by the latter as Lord Hardwicke England was already a slave State .--The following advertisement, copied from a London newspaper, the Public Advertiser, of Nov. 22, 1769. shows that the Journals there were distingured, as some of ours, even in the District of Columbia:

. To be sold, a black girl, the property of J. B., elev en years of age, who is extremely handy, works at her needle tolerably, and speaks English perfectly well; is of an excellent temper, and willing d sposition. En-quire of her Owner, at the Angel Inn, behind St. Clement's Church, in the Strand,

At last, only three years after this advertisem in 1772, the single question of the legality of slavery was presented to Lord Man-field, on a writ of Habeas Corpus. A poor negro, named Somerset, brought to England as a slave, became ill, and, with an inhumanity disgraceful even to slavery, was turned adrift upon the world. Through the charity of an estimable man, the eminent abolitionist-Granof an estimable man, the common aboundary is and uncertain in his own mind, he will Sharpe—he was restored to health, when his wish such a provision. In this vague expunfeeling and avaricious master again claimed him a vague desire, this idea first appeared. as a bondman. The claim was repelled. After an protracted discussion, in Westminster Hall, marked by rare learning and ability, Lord vapor, which has since swellen, as in the As Mansfield, with discreditable reluctance, sullying his tale, to the power and dimensions of a giant. great judicial name, but in trembling obedience to next article under discussion provided for the surgenius of the British Constitution, pronounced a decree, which made the early boast a practical verity, and rendered slavery forever impossible in England. More than 15,000 persons, at that time, held as slaves in English air—four times as many as are now found in this District—stepped forth in the happiness and dignity of freedom.

With this guiding example, let us not despair.

The time will yet come, when the boast of our Pelli-ers will be made a practical verity also, and Court or Congress, in the spirit of this British judgment, once objected: This would oblige the Executive will proudly declare, that no where under the Conit will no longer engender national animosities, v it no longer demands the national support.

II. From this general review of the relations consideration of the TRUE NATURE OF THE PROVIS-ON FOR THE SURRENDER OF PUGITIVES FROM LABOR, embracing an examination of this provision n the Constitution, and especially of the recent a of Congress in pursuance thereof. And here, as his discussion, let me bespeak anew your Not in prejudice, but in the light of history and of reason, let us consider the subject. The way will then be easy and the conclusion certain.

Much error arises from the exaggerated impor ance now attached to this provision, and from the assumptions with regard to its origin and primitive by some special difficulty, which had become practi-cally and extensively felt, anterior to the Constitu-tion. But this is one of the myths or fables with which the supporters of Slavery have surrounded their false god. In the Articles of Confederation, while provision is made for the surrender of fugitiv nothing is said of fugitive slaves or servants; and there is no evidence in any quarter, un til after the National Convention, of any solicitude on this account. No previous voice was heard to express desire for any provision on the sub-

ject. The story to the contrary is a modern fiction.

I put aside as equally fabulous the common saying that this provision was one of the original com-promises of the Constitution, and an essential con-dition of Union. Though sanctioned by eminen dition of Union. Though sanctioned by eminent judicial opinions, it will be found that this statement has been hastily made, without any support in the records of the Convention, the only authentic evidence of the compromises; nor will it be easy to find any authority for it in any contemporary doc-ument, speech, published letter or pamphlet of any kind. It is true that there were compromises at the formation of the Constitution, which were the sul ject of anxious debate; but this was not of them,

There was a compromise between the small and large States, by which equality was secured to all the States in the Senate. There was another compromise finally carried, under threats from the South, on the motion of a New England member, by which the Slave States were allowed Representatives acthe Slave States were allowed Representatives according to the whole number of free persons, and three-fifths of all other persons, thus securing political power on account of their slaves, in continuous that direct taxes should be apportioned in a way for the fugitive, and thus the Act failed to be a way for the fugitive, and the way for the fugitive way fo

from the prohibition of the foreign slave trade, thus securing, down to that period, toleration for crime. This was pertinaciously pressed by the South, even to the extent of an absolute restraint on Congress, John Rutledge said: 'If the Convention thinks John Rutledge said: 'If the Convention thinks North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, will control thinks ever agree to this plan [the Federal Constitution] "for reclaiming servants and slaves, escaping froundess their right to import slaves be untouched, the control another," was introduced into the street of the control of the c

stop her importation of slaves in any short time. The effrontery of the slaveholders was matched by the sordidness of the Eastern members, who yielded again. Luther Martin, the eminent member of the Convention, in his contemporary address to the Legislature of Maryland, has described the compromise. 'I found,' he says, 'that the Eastern members, notwithstanding their aversion to Slavery, wer very willing to indulge the Southern States, at lease with a temporary liberty to prosecute the slave trade gratify them, by laying no restriction on navigation provided the Southern States would in their turn nds. The bargain was struck, and at this price the Southern States gained the detestable indulgence. At a subsequent day, Congress branded the slave trade as piracy, and thus, by solemn legislative act, adjudged this compromise to be felonious and

Such are the three chief original compromises the Constitution and essential conditions of Union The case of fugitives from labor is not of these During the Concention, it was not in any way as-sociated with these. Nor is there any evidence from the records of this body, that the provision on this subject was regarded with any peculiar interest As its absence from the Articles of Confederation had not been the occasion of solicitude or desire anterior to the National Convention, so it did no enter into any of the original plans of the Constitu tion. It was introduced at a late period of the Convention, and with very little and most casual discussion, adopted. A few facts will show how unfounded are the recent assumptions.

The National Convention was convoked to me

at Philadelphia on the second Monday in May, 1787 Several members appeared at this time; but majority of the States not being represented, those present adjourned from day to day until the 25th when the Convention was organized by the choice of George Washington, as President. On the 28th. a few brief rules and orders were adopted. On the On this day Edmund Randolph, of slaveholding

Virginia, laid before the Convention a series of six teen resolutions, containing his plan for the establish ment of a new National Government. Here was no

allusion to fugitive slaves.

On the same day, Charles Pinckney, of slave holding South Carolina, laid before the Convention what is called 'a draft of a Federal Government, to be agreed upon between the free and independen States of America, an elaborate paper, marked by considerable minuteness of detail. Here are provisions, borrowed from the Articles of Confedera ion, securing to citizens of each State equal privi leges in the several States; giving faith to the pub lic records of the States; and ordaining the sur-render of fugitives from justice. But this draft though from the flaming guardian of the slave-in terest, contained no allusion to fugitive slaves.

In the course of the Convention other plans were brought forward; on the 15th of June, a series of eleven propositions by Mr. Patterson of New Jersey so as to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government, and the preservapropositions by Mr. Hamilton, of New York, 'cor aming his ideas of a suitable plan of Governmen for the United States;' and on the 19th June, Mr. Randelph's resolutions, originally offered on the 29th May, 'as altered, amended, and agreed to i Committee of the Whole House,' On twenty-three resolutions, already adopted on dif ferent days in the Convention, were referred to a a Constitution. On the 6th August, this committee reported the finished draft of a Constitution. And yet in all these resolutions, plans and drafts, seven in number, proceeding from eminent members and committees, no allusion was made to fugi from abla tive slaves. For three months the Convention n session, and not a word nitered on this subject.

At last, on the 28th August, as the Conventias drawing to a close, on the consideration of the article providing for the privileges of citizens in dif ferent States, we meet the first reference to this words worthy of note: 'Gen. [Charle Cotesworth Pinckney was not satisfied with it. H SEEMED to wish some provision should be in cluded in layer of property in slaves.' But he mad no proposition. Unwilling to shock the Convention and uncertain in his own mind, he only seemed t wish such a provision. In this vague expression of modest, hesitating phrase is the germ of the auda-cious, unhesitating Slave Act. Here is the little vapor, which has since swollen, as in the Arabia; ender of fugitives from justice. Mr. Butler and Mr. Charles Pinckney, both from South Carolina now moved openly to require 'fingitive slaves and servants to be delivered up like criminals. s are Here was no disguise. With Hamlet it was no said in spirit-

. Seems, madam, nay, it is ; I know not seems.

will proudly declare, that no where under the College and stitution can man hold property in man. For the republic, such a decree will be the way of peace and republic, such a decree will be the way of peace and safety. As slavery is banished from the national servant than a horse. Under the pressure of these servant than a horse. of the State to do it at the public expense.' jurisdiction, it will cease to vex our national politics.

It may linger in the States as a local institution; but down. The actual of the surrender of criminals of the surrender of criminals. The article for the surrender of crimina was then adopted. On the next day, August 29th profiting by the suggestions already made, Mr. Butler moved a proposition-substantially like that now found in the Constitution-not directly for the surrender of 'fugitive slaves,' as originally proposed but of 'fugitives from service or labor,' which, with out debate or opposition of any kind, was unanimou

The provision, which showed itself thus tardily nd was so slightly noticed in the National Conver tion, was neglected in much of the contemporaneou discussion before the people. In the Conventions o South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, it was commended as securing important rights, though o Virginia Convention, an eminent character, Mr George Mason, with others, expressly declared tha there was 'no security of property coming within this section.', In the other Conventions it was dis regarded. Massachusetts, while exhibiting peculia ensitiveness at any responsibility for Slavery, seen ed to view it with unconcern. The Federalist, (No 42.) in its classification of the powers of Congress describes and groups a large number as those 'which provide for the harmony and proper intercourse among the States, and therein speaks of the powe over public records, standing next in the Cou tion to the provision on fugitives from labor; but fails to recognise the latter among the means o promoting that: harmony and proper intercourse; nor does it anywhere allude to the provision.

The indifference which had thus far attended th subject still continued. The earliest act of Con gress, passed in 1793, drew little attention. It was not originally suggested by any difficulty or anxiety touching fugitives from labor; nor is there any re cord of the times, in debate or otherwise, showin that any special importance was attached to its provisions in this regard. The attention of Congre-had been directed to fugitives from justice, and, wi ittle deliberation, it undertook in the same hill t provide for both classes of cases. In this accidents nanner was legislation on this subject first attenu

ed. There is no evidence that fugitives were ofte seized under this act. From a competent inquire we learn that twenty-six years elapsed before a sin gle slave was surrendered under it in any Free State three-filths of all other persons, thus securing political power on account of their slaves, in consideration that direct taxes should be apportioned in the same way. Direct taxes have been imposed at only four brief intervals. The political power has been constant, and, at this moment, sends twenty-one members to the other House.

There was a third compromise, which cannot be manifeld without shame. It was that hateful bary than the constant and without shame. It was that hateful bary than the constant and all of sale from the Almighty. But every those cases passed without public comment. these cases passed without public comment.

In 1801, the subject was introduced into the

House of Representatives by an effort for another Act, which, on consideration, was rejected. At later day, in 1817-18, though still disregarded b ever agree to this plan [the Federal Constitution] unless their right to import slaves be untouched, the expectation is vain. 'The people of those States will never be such fools as to give up so important an interest.' Charles Pinckney said: 'South Carolina can never receive the plan [of the Constitution] if it prohibits the slave trade.' Charles Cotesworth Pinckney 'thought himself bound to declare the same of the Mole, amended and passed by that body. In the Senate, after much attention and warm debate, it was also passed with amendments. But on its return to the House for the adoption of the amend-

ments, it was dropped. This effort, which, in the discussions of this subject, has thus far been unnoticed, is chiefly remarkable as the earliest recorded evidence of the unwarrantable assertion, now so

ed evidence of the unwarrantable assertion, now so common, that this provision was originally of vital importance to the peace and harmony of the country.

At last, in 1850, we have another Act, passed by both Houses of Congress and approved by the President, familiarly known as the Fugitive Slave Bill.

As I read this statute, I am filled with painful emotions. The masterly subtlety with which it drawn, might challenge admiration, if exerted for benevolent purpose; but in an age of sensibility and refinement, a machine of torture, however skilful and apt, cannot be regarded without horror Sir, in the name of the Constitution which it violates; of my country which it dishonors; of Humanity which it degrades; of Christianity which it offends, I arraign this enactment, and now hold it up to the judgment of the Senate and the world. Again I shrink from no responsibility. I may seem to stand alone; but all the patriots and martyrs of history, all the Fathers of the Republic, are with me. Sir, there is no attribute of God which does me. Sir, there is no attraction of unite against this Act.

But I am to regard it now chiefly as an infringeBut I am to regard it now chiefly as an infringedwa not dwa no

flagrant as manifold, assume the deepest dye and broadest character only when we consider that by its language it is not restrained to any special race or class, to the African or to the person with African blood; but that any inhabitant of the United States, of whatever complexion or condition, may victim. Without discrimination of color even, and in violation of every presumption of freedom, the Act surrenders all, who may be claimed as 'owing service or labor,' to the same tyrannical proceeding If there be any, whose sympathies are not moved for the slave, who do not cherish the rights of the humble African, struggling for divine freedom, as warmly as the rights of the white man, let him con ider well that the rights of all are equally assailed 'Nephew,' said Algernon Sidney in prison, on the night before his execution,' 'I value not my own life a chip, but what concerns me is that the law which takes away my life may hang every one of you, whenever it is thought convenient.

Though thus comprehensive in its provisions and applicable to all, there is no safeguard of Human Freedom which the monster Act does not set at naught.

It commits this great question-than which no is more sacred in the law-not to a solemn trial: but to summary proceedings.

It commits this question—not to one of the high

tribunals of the land-but to the unaided judgment of a single petty magistrate. It compits this question to a magistrate, appointed, not by the President with the consent of the Senate, but by the Court; holding his office, not during good behaviour, but merely during the will of the Court;

and receiving, not a regular salary, but fees according to each individual case. It authorizes judgment on ex parte evidence, by affidavits, without the sanction of cross-examination. It denies the writ of Habeas Corpus, ever known

as the Palladium of the citizen. Contrary to the declared purposes of the framer enstitution, it sends the fugitive back 'at the

public expense! Adding meanness to the violation of the Contion, it bribes the Commissioner by a double fee to pronounce against Freedom. If he dooms a man to be acquired, the feeling was equally earnest and unan-Slavery, the reward is ten dollars; but, saving him to Freedom, his dole is five dollars.

The Constitution expressly secures the 'free exercise of rel'gion;' but this Act visits with unrelenting penalties the faithful men and women, who may render to the fugitive that countenance, succor and shelter, which in their conscience 'religion

seems to require.

As it is for the public weal that there should be an end of suits, so by the consent of civilized nations, these must be instituted within fixed limitations of time; but this Act, exalting Slavery above even this practical principle of universal justice, ordains-proceedings against Freedom, without any reference to

Glancing only at these points, and not stopping for argument, vindication or illustration, I come at once upon the two chief radical objections to this Act, identical in principle with those brought by our Futhers against the British Stamp Act: first, that it is a usurpation by Congress of powers not granted by the Constitution, and an infraction of rights rights secured to the States; and, secondly, that it take away Trial by Jory in a question of Personal Liberty and a suit at common law. Either of these objections, if sustained, strikes at the very root of the Act. That it is obnoxious to both seems beyond

But here, at this stage, I encounter the difficulty that these objections have been already foreclosed by the legislation of Congress and by the decisions of the Supreme Court; that as early as 1793, Congress assumed power over this subject by an Act which failed to secure Trial by Jury, and that the validity of this Act under the Constitution has beer affirmed by the Supreme Court. On examination this difficulty will disappear.

The Act of 1793 proceeded from a Congress tha

had already recognised the United States Bank, by a previous Congress, which, though sanctioned by the Supreme Court, has been since in high quarters pronounced unconstitutional. If it erred as to the Bank, it may have erred also as to fugitives from labor. But the very Act co capital error on this very subject, so declared by the Supreme Court, in pretending to vest a portion of the judicial power of the Nation in State officers This error takes from the Act all authority as a

The decisions of the Constitution. I dismiss it.

The decisions of the Supreme Court are entitled to great consideration, and will not be mentioned by me except with respect. Among the memories of my youth are happy days in which I sat at the feet of this tribunal, while Marshall presided, with Story by his side. The pressure now proceeds from the case of Prigg vs. Pennsylvania, (16 Peters 539,) wherein the power of Congress over this mat criticism of this judgment, or considering the extenbinding force, all which has been already done a the bar in one State, and by an able court in another but conceding to it a certain degree of weight a a rule to the judiciary on this particular point, still i does not touch the grave question arising from the denial of Trial by Jury. This judgment was pronounced by Mr. Justice Story. From the interesting biography of this great jurist, recently published by his son, we derive the distinct statement that the necessity of Trial by Jury was not before the Court so that, in the estimation of the judge himself, it was still an open question. Here are the words:

One prevailing opinion, which has created gree prejudice against this judgment, is, that it denies the right of a person claimed as a fugitive from service of labor to a trial by jury. This mistake arises from supposing the ease to involve the general question at the constitutionality of the Act of 1793. But in ment that the Act of 1793 was unconstitutional, because it did not provide for a trial by jury according to the requisitions of the sixth article in the amendments to the Constitution, having been suggested to my father on his return from Washington, he replied that this question was not argued by counsel nor con-sidered by the Court, and that he should still conside

But whatever may be the influence of this jude ment as a rule to the judiciary, it cannot arrest on duty as legislators. And here I adopt with entir assent the language of President Jackson, in his memorable Veto, in 1832, of the Bank of the United States. To his course was opposed the authority of the Supreme Court, and this is his reply:

'If the opinion of the Supreme Court covers the co-ordinate authorities of this Government, The Congress, the Executive, and the Couri, must each for itself be guided by its own opinion of the Constitution. Each public officer, who takes an oath to support the Constitution, succers that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others.—It is as much the duty of the House of Representaives, of the Senate, and of the President, to decid tives, of the Senate, and of the President, to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval, as it is of the Supreme Judges when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The suthority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control the Congress or the Executive, when acting in their legislative expansition. be permitted to control the Congress or the Executive, when acting in their legislative capacities, but thave only such influence as the force of their reason

With these authoritative words of Andrew Jack son I dismiss this topic. The early legislation of Congress and the decision of the Supreme Court cannot stand in our way.

[Remainder next week.]

LETTER PROM HORACE MANN. To the Electors of the (lately Eighth, now) Third Con-

gressional District of Massachusetts. FELLOW CITIZENS: You will soon be called upon o elect a Representative to Congress to fill my place have lately received many private letters, kindly expressing the hope that I may be my own successor. I ake this occasion to thank my constituents for the nonors already received from their hands, and to decline being again a candidate for the office.

It is well known to my friends that, a long tim

previous to my last election, I had intended to declin re-nomination. But peculiar circumstances, for time, connected my name with the great principles of Freedom and Humanity, and these principles no sacrifice could tempt or force me to abandon. I was herefore induced to forego my intention of retiring, and, in due time, you upheld those principles by electing me again. Intervening events, which every body knows, and therefore I need not repeat, make recurrence of the same circumstances impossible; and hence I can conceive of no motive which can prompt me to change the determination, which, at the time of my last election I formed, not to accept the offic In closing a political relation with my constituent

which, at its termination, on the 4th of March next. will have lasted for six years, I cannot disguise the fact that I do not now leave our beloved country ; nor the reputation of the country in the minds of the moral and humane of all other countries; nor the cause of civil Liberty; nor the avowed and cherished principles of the great majority of the party that first elected me, as they were when I accepted the office am now about to lay down. The country has changed its policy, if not its faith. The reputation of th Republic abroad is tarnished. The cause of civi Liberty has received a vital stab. And many of those whom I personally respect, and who flattered me a least with their political, if not personal friendship, six years ago, have left me to contend alone for the great principles which they then deposited as a sacred trust in my hands. Whether they or I have quitted the ground on which we then stood together, history

Under these circumstances, self-vindication seem to demand a brief retrospect. I shall look back however, over the mournful past, in no criminating spirit. Regret for my country, grief for the cause of Humanity, obliterate every feeling of personal un kindness. What man, with a human heart in his bosom, would not love even his worst enemies, to con ciliate them in favor of the freedom of mankind and of the welfare of posterity? At the time I accepted office as your Represents

tive, a feeling prevailed throughout all the Northern States, which I believe to have been stronger and more unanimous than ever existed on any other subject, against the acquisition of foreign territory for ilmous in favor of excluding slavery from it by positive law.

How has that feeling-which was demanded by every principle of worldly policy as well as by every precept of Christian ethics-been respected? How has it respected itself?

The vast territory of Utah has been since acquired and organized. So far from any prohibition of slavery being incorporated into its organic law, that law contains an express provision that 'when admitted as a State, the said territory, or any portion of the same shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission. The same provision, in the same words, is contain

ed in the act establishing the territory of New Mexico. Thus, instead of such a prohibition slavery, as I was virtually instructed, a hundred time over, to vote for, there is a positive permission of it and a permission, under such circumstances, is an invitation to carry slaves there, and a promise to defend the musters and legalize the bondage.

This is not a barren provision of law, nor a delusive or nugatory promise. As appears by the last census slavery already exists in Utah. Mr. Bernhisel, the delegate from that Territory in Congress, informs me that there is nothing in the Mormon religion prohibit ing it. No obstacle, therefore, now exists to its over speading that wide region, if not for agricultural, a least for domestic purposes, and for working mines should mines be discovered, as they undoubtedly will be, on the confines of California, or its other unexplored part.

Not only have military and other officers from th South taken their slaves with them into New Mexico. but in recent conversations with Judge Houghton selieve admin stered the Kearney code, and is well requainted with the country and its people,) he inormed me that there are not less than twelve or fifteen hundred slaves in that Territory at the present time They are Indian and not African, which is the otaly reason I know of why they are not set down in th late census. They were purchased of the Indians while children or minors, and are held as slaves whatever their age. Such persons are bought from their Indian parents at a lower price than that at which African slaves can be imported from the South The effect may therefore be, for a brief period to prevent the importation of those of African descent but Judge Houghton expressed to me an undoubting opinion that whenever capital shall be invested i mines, (and valuable mines are already known to exist there,) slaves will be introduced for working them. What else can be expected under the special guaranty of the act of organization?

The Chief Justice of New Mexico, nominated b Mr. Fillmore, is from the State of Mississippi, reput ed to be a slaveholder, and ready to decide that sla very, notwithstanding the Mexican law abolishing it may have a legal existence in that territory. During th carly part of the present year, Mr. Fillmore had just cause to dismiss him from office for malconduct, but declined to do so. And besides all this, there has been an expres

cession, without justifiable cause or equitable cor sideration, of more than fifty thousand square mile of free territory-more than six times as much a the whole area of the State of Massachusetts-t slaveholding Texas. This free territory has alread passed under the jurisdiction of a State whose Con stitution prohibits even its Legislature from abolish ing slavery. And, as though there could be no ento the devotion or bounty of our government in behalf of this institution, TWENTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS-ter millions in the form of principal and ten million worth of interest-have been granted to Texas, with which to pay her debts, replenish her freasury develop her resources, attract slaveholding emigrant to her fertile soil, and prepare a brood of slave State for early admission into the Union. Of this twenty millions, Massachusetts will have to pay not less than two millions.

Fellow-citizens : Am I not justified in saying, that rom 1844 to 1850, there never was any principle of governmental policy dearer to all the moral, religious and patriotic people of Massachusetts, more frequent ly set forth with the solemnity of legislative resolu tions, more regularly voted by acclamation in politi cal conventions, or more universally advocated, reit erated, and insisted on by all our newspapers, secula and religious, than that of the great ordinance of 1787. by which perpetual freedom was secured to the vast region northwest of the Ohio River? Where are those resolutions, appeals, arguments-tho.e rivalric to see who should be foremost and loudest, in exclud ing slavery from free territory-where are they now From either of the great political parties that divide the country, do we hear so much as an echo of their former protestations ?

When I was first elected to Congress, our view State was animated by one sentiment in large of the State was minimated by one secondary in party of the ishing slavery in the District of Columbia, Their ishing slavery in the District of Columbia, ing citizens of the District had petitioned for it. Ke. ing citizen, and other great statesmen affirmed the power Clay and other great statement and posted to Congress to do it. The honor of the country and the rights of humanity demanded the exercise of the rights or numerical variables of the power. We are now told by two-thirds of the Social crn States, that slavery in the District shall saik ern States, that on penalty of the dissolution of the abolished, but on pensis; of the try page.

Union; and all the Northern leaders of the try page. Union; and an experimental reaction the terms political parties humbly succumbed to the there

Up to 1850, the only law which existed for then Up to 1000, the largest had been judged uses clamation of its details, and, owing to him, strutional livion of the fundamental principle of a free green ment, in not providing a trial by jury for questions human freedom, it had fallen into general dense

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Now, we have a law on this subject, which he press words, denies the trial by jury and the and habeas corpus, and creates a set of officials lever he the hated stipendiaries of other government; they get the hire of their iniquity not in stiprod, bein special fees, and greater fees when they strike for human liberty than when they uphold it. It sales, which has no saving clause of mercy for man or as man, whose former 'owner' may have acqueselis: man, whose formancipation until acquiescence has become the strongest of all relinquishments of claim. It is a law, which has filled the hearts of a whole rect of people with consternation and dismay. Yet said a law, living and active, invading homes of pure mi bosoms of contentment, we now have, instead of one which, from its unconstitutionality and its olivaness, had become substantially obsolete. This lay all 'good citizens' are required to obey, under engmous penaltics of fine and imprisonment, and the two great parties have given their adhesion to it. Strange and incredible as it may seem, fellow-eig-

zens, any man amongst us, who bears a pirate's but in his bosom, may, to-day, build, fit, equip, lean, or otherwise prepare any shiper vessel, in my porter place, within the jurisdiction of the United States, for carrying on the African slave trade, and not necossarily incur any greater pecuniary penalty than he would do by giving a cup of cold water, or a crast of bread, or a rag of clothes, or a night's shelter, to a trembling, imploring, panting fugitive; or doing any other thing in his behalf, which Christ has exhaud and commanded us to do for the naked, hungry, or imprisoned. On this point, obedience to the ising, tions of Christ, and fitting out a vessel for the Africa slave trade, may be visited with the same peculiar penalty! The length of imprisonment, in the try cases, is different, but to balance this, he who effeds by obeying the law of Christ, is fined an extra thes. sand dollars for the 'owner' of the slave, while the piratical kidnapper on the coast of Africa and his mecessories pay nothing to the injured party. Mal not ask, what kind of a God the men believe in when can make or uphold such laws?

Under such a formidable series of aggressions agos every principle dear and sacred to freemen, how could it be expected that any one who had not los se merely his manhood, but his memory, could main silent? Were men silent, would not the stones in the street cry out? But even this exigency of the coe's provided for; for both the late Baltimore Comme tions have commanded silence on the flagment of these wrongs, and both the Whig and Democratic Conventions of this State have adopted and neidel the Baltimore platforms. Thus have fetters bengu upon Free Speech. What more remains but to put fetters upon our limbs? Should this fail, the land treason need not to be stretched an inch further than it has already been stretched by some of our infeid authorities and United States functionaries issues. jously to extinguish the life whose words they cand

suppress. I beseech my fellow-citizens to ponder upon the things. Let them ask themselves whether, until with in the last two years, they ever heard of Norther politicians publicly advocating and defending thentension of slavery into free territory? If, mail wis in the same period, they ever heard of Northern and forbidding Freedom of Speech in regard to the gotest wrong that man can commit or endure? If us this calamitous epoch, they ever heard of one minist of the gospel, of Puritan stock, palliating slavers has New England pulpit, and using religious services to bestow encomiums and honor upon the champion and co-laborers of Southern slaveholders? or ever fore heard the religion of the Bible brought down the level of the practice of slave-hunting and sh breeding men ? Is it not time that the people sho rise in their majesty, and restrain those wrongs!

And what compensation has the North receive What compensation has any Northern man receive for thus turning his back summer of 1850, it was a common saying in certs quarters, that by yielding the Compromise mean to Southern slaveholders, we might obtain protests for Northern labor; and more than one man has all in my hearing. . Congress ought to have kept her the Compromises until they had got the Tod-Though nothing could be more abhorrent to my ings than to barter Human Liberty for money, yeld me ask those who differ from me on this point, all who were willing to exchange the rights of a rest commercial profits, let me ask them this question: 'Have you got your Tariff?' And who has ten out to be the truer prophet, they who beguing with the promise of a Tariff, or I, who foregard you from the beginning, that by such means, yet never would get it?

And again: Have these compromise measure. fatal to Freedom, increased commerce with the Satt Have the South consumed, or been able to pay for single additional yard of cloth, or pound of inthe nail, or a shoe peg, more than they would have dost had Northern members of Congress never helped firm to pass the Compromise measures and the Fegure Slave bill? What advantage, then, have merchant manufacturers obtained? What reward have police cians received, save the breaking up of their paris and the destruction of individual hopes, with the keen sense of shame, if not of remorse, which me take their places? And what return has the great ad populous North obtained, save the filling up after darkest page ever yet written in our country by

As for the notion that danger to the Union has been averted, I will not spend a penful of ink on so for and unsubstantial a pretence. That alarm was it ricated in the manufactory of humbugs, when them material was all gone. Every business men have observed, in the latest advices from Europe the the recent flurry about the fisheries (which can no apprehension in any sober mind, on either side the water) caused an entire suspension of opening in American stocks, in the London market. Sand tive is Credit—so superstitionsly alive to the feaths mor of civil commotion—shrinking from the possible of danger, like a consumptive man from an east And yet, during the whole of the year 1550, was the half score of Presidential aspirants at Water ton, who had become responsible that the last should be in danger, employed every political limit as to blow the alarm, and every political ventriles to cry with his thousand voices, they could no press the value of American securities, rither in it foreign market or in our own, an infinitesimal per a a mill. The reason why the capture of a fishing reason why the capture of a fishing reason why the capture of a fishing reason which the business of London—while the trif it Dissolution of the American Union passed unbroken was, that the latter, was known to be therefore and to have and to have no more reality in it than the shore of at the corners of the city streets, which declars, night Moscow is to be burned!' So baseless dulent was this clamor about danger to the East and West, and along Mason and Dixas in and from the Atlantic to the Parific, the said one

and a the chasm, sooner than this Union will be

her any cause growing out of slavery. Too

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The answer is too plain for argument, Ob-

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those should be about the same of the same dig the do the South know their doom of aveng ger and Mobil, if separated from the North! to have these calamities been brought upon or, by a Coalition'-(I decline to prefix the adformer were as opposite to the latter as light is gives they have so human bondage; to doom s sentiment of Christendom, in regard to slathe District of Columbia; to pass such a law

or Fugitive Slave Law; and to forbid not only to all or any of these things, but even the discussion of them. ga at this proved to be one of those Coalitions' as, which Lord Brougham meant when he ther greatest evil, certainly, is the one most difmbs shunned - their tendency to deliver over the at to be guidance of the few, in matters where no non ever should be exercised—to make the opin a sected by leading men pass current without any among their followers—to enfeeble and cor she pable mind, by discouraging men to think parts-[by forbidding men to discuss the calquestions ?1—and to lead multitudes into a sich they have no kind of interest in pursuis order that some designing individuals may their folly or their crimes." sen's advances,' he adds, 'such delusion me more and more difficult to practise.' se not hope that society, in this Commo

n, s now so far advanced, and that public sentiusend us has now become so enlightened and mird, as to render any further 'delusion,' is sail lead to the extension or perpetuation of asion, I wish again to express gratitude to

onts good wishes to all my enemies, (if any I al shat political man is without them?) and to lose who have co-operated with me, that I further desire for any political office whatat that I intend, in a private way, and accordthe measure of my ability, to spend the remd my days in advancing the same great objects that my life has hitherto been devoted. HORACE MANN.

Es Newton, Sept. 10, 1852.

IMMER PROM HON. JOHN P. HALE. Dover, N. H., Sept. 6, 1852.

Das Sta: When I wrote to my friend, G. G. ton Es, of Concord, prior to the Pittsburg Conven chang in anticipation any nomination by that bot I supposed that I should not have occasion ges to trespass on the attention of any one, on that the treision, which I then announced, was starly in accordance with my own taste and judgentluture also in pursuance of the carnest and mested request of those whose wishes I felt bound set, v.z., my wife and children. I had supof and honed, after that letter was written, that disentiny present term of service in the Senate of period which was to clause between the present thatevest, might not be disturbed by any attempt he part of my friends to introduce my name into ts and struggles of a Presidential election." But the members of that Convention, with singular minity, have judged differently. Such being the s, and the friends with whom I sympathize, having inel that the great interests of Civil and Con shoul Liberty may be best-promoted by a course front from that indicated by myself, I have not it a Berty, under the neculiar circumstances of the we to set up my own opinion in direct opposito such an expression of my friends. I therefore iny own wishes and opinions to those of my s, and thus assent to what has been done, notistasding my previous refusal to consent that it fit be done. I wish also to say to you, and through to that portion of the public who may feel any inat in the matter, that to the inquiries which may be of me, as well as to those which have already acts, I have no answer to make. I suppose that ose who hominated me did it from a conviction of wist I would do, founded on a knowledge of what I done, rather than any facility I might be suppsed to possess in making pledges and promises for the future. But if I were ever so much disposed to after the lists, and contend with those who deal in promises and pledges, and professions of fidelity to he come we espouse, I could hurdly hope to come up to the standard of those, made by men prominent sage forgotten and trampled upon by those who them, in their hot haste to enrol themselves he a banner upon which are inscribed sentiments timiples seven-fold more odious and abomina liethen those against which they have revolted.

Very respectfully,

Your friend. JOHN P. HALE. In Heser Wilson, President of the Free Demomin National Convention.

the Liberator

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, SEPT. 17, 1852.

SPEECH OF MR. SUMNER.

We lay before our readers the first half of the very brate and carefully prepared speech of Mr. Sumng, so his proposed amendment for the immediate al of the Fugitave Slave Law. It is eliciting high plations in all quarters, and the press is throw-

at of edition after edition with great rapidity. It all be read by the country—by men of all parties ad a country—by men or an plant the taly wide reputation of its author for learning, that and philanthropy. But it is not without its enerable points. We think it clearly demonstrates atitationality of the Fugitive Slave Law, inseath as by it the right of trial by jury, all the reprocesses of a legal claim, and all the safecach of personal liberty in the Pree States, are deand But, beyond this, it does not travel an inch; and this is a very subordinate question, and not the many and all-essential one of the entire and immethe abeliton of slavery, wherever it exists on the Abstracts soil. Again, we regard the distinction that Mr. Summer attempts to make between the Gumil Gerernment and the States as such, as one about any essential difference; in fact, it does nothis believe the former from the guilt of upholding the system; for Mr. Summer admits all the olding features of the Constitution, and among these, the right of the slaveholder to recover his fugisare, by 'due process of law,' in any State in the un. Finally-he proposes to put things, in reto slavery, as they were at the adoption of the Onsitution to stand precisely where stood the But this would be merely to go over the ground again, and to ultimate in the universal remacy of the Slave Power as at the present time. The is not statesmanship, but infatuation. Our cry all h, : No Union with Slaveholders!"

AN INQUIRY.

FRIEND GARRISON-I wish to inquire of you, or some one that possesses the information, how such gross discrepancy happens in the two reported speeches of Rev. Mr. Parker, at Framingham. In the reported speech of Aug. 6th, Mr. Parker says-In this connection, the recent attempted speech of Charles Sumner was cited; and though still expressing confidence in Mr. Sumner, and his purpose to do his duty, yet he felt he had yielded to the South what should never have allowed. In Mr. Parker's speech, as reported last week, (Aug. 27,) not a word is uttered, either pro or con, concerning Mr. Sumner. How shall we reconcile this contradiction?

Yours, truly, J. CUSHING. South Hingham, Aug. 31, 1852.

We believe the reason that induced Mr. Parker, in reporting his speech for the Liberator, at our special request, to omit his allusions to Mr. Sumner. vas, that he had written to Mr. S. quite as plainly as he had spoken at Framingham, concerning his protracted silence, and, therefore, deemed it unnecessary to print his friendly criticism, especially as Mr. S. had subsequently manifested a disposition to be fully heard in the Senate, before the adjournment of Congress. - Ed. Lib.

WEST NEWTON, 13th Sept., 1852.

DEAR GARRISON-1 was sorry to see, in the report which somebody makes in the last Liberator, of some of my remarks last May, that I am made to speak of the ookseller who declined publishing my book, as Mr. Gagspeech. It would describe the bookseller no more than it would describe me; for I think he would t more incline to gag a man than I should. He is a wor thy and liberal man; to apply such language to him is eminently unjust. You will do me a favor by stating that I did not use any such opprobrious epithet.

> Hastily and beartily yours, THEO. PARKER.

IF If our friend Mr. Parker had read the article he refers to more carefully, we think he would have Fowler of New York City, Miss S. B. Anthony. seen no occasion for making a correction of this kind; for our correspondent expressly stated, 'I [not Mr. Parker] furnish the unknown publisher with a suitable cognomen.' Mr. Parker says the publisher afore said 'is a worthy and liberal man,' and that 'to apply such language to him is eminently unjust'-notwithstanding he was unwilling to publish a collection of Mr. P's sermons and addresses, because some of them were of an anti-slavery character, and would therefore give offence at the South ! If there were nothing selfish and truckling in such conduct, why did Mr. P. refer to it at the New England Convention? If it illus trated the potency of the Slave Power over the press, it also revealed the meanness of a man ' whose soul enjoys no broader range than the rim of a Collar.'-

THE BIRLE DISCUSSION. The letter of Joseph Bar ker, published some time since in the Liberator, respecting the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, appears to have created considerable uncasiness on the one hand, and given much satisfaction on the other, on the part of our readers. Week before last, we E. Oakes Smith, Sarah Miller of Penn., Lucy Stone gave a pretty long rejoinder from the pen of our of Mass., James Mott of Penn., Mrs. C. M. Severance respected friend, Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson, of Ohio; of Ohio, Ernestine L. Rose of N. Y. city, Paulina W. this week we give an additional portion; the whole to be completed in another number. Now this is to Hunt of Mass., were appointed said Committee. tax our limited room somewhat heavily. But, in addition to this, we have two long communications from the Rev. S. S. Griswold, of Connecticut, also in reply to Mr. Barker. If, now, we should exercise our editorial prerogative, and mingle in the controversy, we should have room for no other topic; for replies might follow ad infinitum, on both sides. Some limit, thereforc, must be set to this discussion, at least for the time being, in order that the dish served up for our readers may be somewhat diversified. Each party shall be fairly heard; but we must be permitted to say to what extent. We beseech all our correspondents to use as much brevity as possible.

HALE AND MANN. We copy the Letters of John P Hale and Horace Mann from the Commonwealth.

It will be seen that Mr. Hale, with his characteristic wariness, avoids making the slightest allusion to the platform adopted by the 'Free Democracy' at Pittsburgh. Why this silence?

The Letter of Mr. Mann is a comprehensive and somewhat startling survey of the growth, or rather development of the Slave Power for a few years past His numerous political friends and admirers will deeply regret his unwillingness to be a candidate for relection; nor will they easily be persuaded that his services will not be as much needed in Congress in the future, as they have been in the past.

Philosophy of Mysterious Agents, human and munhilosophy of Mysterious Agents, human and mundane: or the Dynamic Laws and Relations of Man. Embracing the Natural Philosophy of Phenomena, styled Spiritual Manifestations. By E. C. Rogers. In Five Numbers—No. I. Boston: Redding & Co., 8 State Street. Bela Marsh, 25 Cornbill, 1852. The author of this pamphlet says it is the result of

a long and patient inquiry into the mysterious phenomens, which, from the earliest ages, have been found to be associated with human beings; but which either, on the one hand, have been regarded as the superstitions of the ignorant, or, on the other, have been used as the materials of a mystical philosophy. He has not given a work merely to read, but to be studied. The spirit which pervades it is calm, candid, rational, and philosophical. This first number of the series is chiefly occupied with a statement of the method of investigation, and a narration of certain remarkable cases pertaining to movements of objects and sounds without visible instruments, and without the characteristics of intelligence, &c. We infer from its perusal, that while its author is not disposed to reject as fabulous, or as the tricks of legerdemain, the so called 'Spiritual Manifestations' which are increasing in all parts of the country to an extent and with a diversity truly extraordinary, he believes he has discovered a satisfactory solution of them, on scientific principles, independent of any connection with another state of existence. As yet, every attempt to account for these phenomena has signally failed, excepting on the 'spiritual' theory, and this has not been without almost insurmountable difficulties. The admirable manner in which Dr. Rogers commences his work leads us to desire to see its completion, and leaves no doubt that it will be curious instructive and of real value. All who are interested in the subject will be repaid by a perusal of it.

MEYER'S UNIVERSUM, PART I., No. V. We have just received this number of the above well-designed and finely executed work. It contains four steel plate engravings, representing-The Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris; Plato's School; View on the Hudson near Newburgh; and Calcutta; -all attractive, and augmented in interest by highly instructive and interesting descriptive reading matter. The whole series when complete, will form an elegant collection of choice pictures. For sale by Redding & Co., 8 State street Price 25 cents per number

MESSES. FOWLERS & WELLS & Co., Phrenologists, 142 Washington street, Boston, examine the heads and determine the traits and peculiarities of those who call on them, and keep a great variety of books on Phrenology, Water-Cure, Psychology, and kindred subjects. See their notice in another column.

ARRIVAL HOME. It gives us great pleasure to an nounce the arrival at this port, yesterday, in the steamer Niagara, from Liverpool, of Miss CaroLINI WESTON, who has been residing in Paris, for the last two or three years, with her sister, Mrs. Maria W. Chapman. She will be warmly welcomed by a large circle of anti-slavery friends.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

SYRACUSE, Sept. 11, 1852. DEAR GARRISON: Last evening, at 10 o'clock, the Woman's Rights Convention adjourned sine die. It has been an admirable meeting; but, for the want of phonographic reporter, very many pearls and dia-

Lucretia Mott presided, and her wisdom, purity and singleness of heart gave her a skill and aptness in the discharge of her duties, far greater than she could have acquired by the study of ' Jefferson's Man-

Mrs. Pauline W. Davis, Mrs. E. Oakes Smith, Mrs Ernestine L. Rose, of N. Y., Mrs. E. J. H. Nichols, o Vt., Miss Antoinette Brown, Mrs. Jones, of Ohio, and Miss Harriet K. Hunt, of Boston, all spoke frequently, and excellently well. Mrs. Gage read an monly valuable address, and Mrs. Abby H. Price, of Hopedale, read another scarcely less excel lent than the one she gave at Worcester. But Lucy Stone spoke with more effect than either upon the au dience; and she certainly is a woman of some remarkable gifts, which she is devoting to great pur-

The audiences were large, from the first meeting to the last. Every evening the hall has been crowded. In order to meet the expenses of the Convention, and of the publications that are to follow, we charged a fee for admission; and the whole receipts at the door have been \$283 25. Besides this, we have had donations amounting to \$20. These menevs will pay all our expenses, and enable us to publish the report and aundry tracts.

Yours, affectionately, SAMUEL J. MAY.

The following is a brief synopsis of the pro

seedings of this highly interesting gathering. The Convention met at 2 o'clock. Among the la dies present were Mrs. Nichols, editor of the Windham County Democrat; Mrs. E. Oakes Smith, Mrs. Davis, Lucy Stone, Lucretia Mott, Abby Price of Hopedale, Harriet K. Hunt, Mrs. Rose, Mrs. L. M.

Mrs. Paulina W. Davis called the meeting to order. Prayer was offered by Rev. S. J. May.

Miss Lucy Stone was then elected Secretary pro

The President then announced that the following ommittee had been appointed for the nomination of officers : Mrs. E. L. Rose, Mrs. E. J. H. Nichols, Lucretia Mott, Rev. S. J. May, Lydia P. Savage, Pliny Sexton, Sarah Halleck, James Mott, and Griffith M

The Nominating Committee reported a list of

For President-Mrs. LUCRETIA MOTT. For Vice Presidents - Mrs. Paulina W. Davis of R Mrs. E. Oakes Smith of N. Y.

Secretaries-Mrs. Clementine Nichols of Vt., Gerrit mith of N. Y., Mrs. Sarah L. Miller of Penn. Miss Susan B. Anthony, N. Y., Martha C. Wright, Samuel J. May, Mrs. Lydia M. Fowler.

Mrs. Rose then moved the appointment of a Busi-

ness Committee, which motion was carried, and Mrs. Davis of R. I., Elizabeth W. Phillips, Harriet K.

Mrs. E. Oakes Smith, from the Business Committee hen reported in part the following resolutions:-

Insamuch as many of the institutions handed dowr o us from the past, like heir-looms, are felt to be,though time-honored,-hindrances to human progress, and opposed to that divine Truth which give ight to the world; therefore,

Resolved, That it is our duty to examine these in titutions, and ascertain which of them are still wor thy of our honor and support-which we shall seek to s-form, and which to cast saide

Resolved. That it is the right of every woman olding property, and as a citizen also of the republic, to resist taxation, till such time as she is fully epresented at the ballot-box.

Resolved, That as the imbruted slave, who is con cent with his lot, and would not be free if he could, if any such there be, only gives evidence of the depth of his degradation; so the woman who is satisfied with her inferior condition, averring that she has all the rights she wants, does but exhibit the enervating effect of the wrongs to which she is subjected.

Gerrit Smith, from the Business Committee, reportd the following resolutions :-

Resolved, That the demand of woman is not for privileges, nor favors, nor employments, nor for honors, but for monrs.

Resolved. That the rights of human beings to their own persons, their own earnings and property, and to participate in the choice of civil rulers, are rights which belong as naturally and absolutely and fully to Woman as to Man.

Resolved. That we beseech woman never to consent o hold any of these great sacred rights in abeyance; and never to consent to exchange any of them for bribes and privileges, or flatteries and favors, however alluring and seductive.

Mrs. Gage offered the following resolution :-

Inasmuch as the peace of society depends on the promotion of justice, and the happiness of mankind on the enjoyment of their rights; and as the absolute rights and natural equality of both sexes are self-evident, and cannot be given by favor, but eternally exst : therefore,

Resolved, That it is the imperious obligation of ev ery woman to enter into the discharge of the duties arising from these natural rights to the greatest possible extent; and that we will hereafter direct our strenuous efforts to the acquiring of those rights now forcibly withheld.

Susan Anthony offered resolutions commending journals edited by women. E. P. Jones excepted Mrs. Swisshelm's paper, it not

eing for woman's rights.

Harriet Hunt presented resolutions, advocating female physicians, and castigating editors for publishing demoralizing advertisements.

The question on permanent organization was taken up, which led to an animated discussion. We cannot earn that any definite action was taken thereon. Letters were read from Angelina Weld, in opposi-

tion, and from E. Oakes Smith, in favor. Delegates were present from Vermont, Massachu setts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsyl-

vania, Ohio and Canada. The subject of a new paper, with Mrs. E. Oaker Smith as editor, was discussed.

Resolutions were passed, favoring female physician ind lawyers, and also an alteration in the marriage laws.

It was voted that the next Convention be held a Cleveland, Ohio

Connection. In our last number, it was inad vertently stated that, at the National Liberty Party Convention held at Canastota, N. Y., Gerrit Smith made elaborate speeches in favor of voting for Hale and Julian.' This is a mistake. Mr. Smith merely sustained the report of the minority committee agains making any nominations for the approaching Presidential elections, and expressed the hope (a very fallacious one) that the Free Democracy will ye make their platform conform to that of the Liberty Party. Unless this be done, he will not vote for their 'candidates. Of course it will not be done, and therefore it is settled how Gerrit Smith will vote.

The State 'Free Democratic' Convention, a Lowell, on Wednesday last, nominated Hon. Horace Mann for Governor, and Hon. Amasa Walker for Lt. Governor of the Commonwealth.

ANTI-SLAVERY PAIR.

LEESBURGH, (Ohio,) Sunday, Aug. 29, 1852. DEAR GARRISON-I came from Michigan some two weeks ago, to attend the anniversary of the Western A. S. Society. Of that great gathering you will have received an account by the Bugie, ere this reaches you.

J. Barker, J. W. Walker, P. Pillsbury and O. Johnson were there to aid in the meetings. From the anniver sary, J. Barker, J. W. Walker and myself came to this place, to hold meetings, and to help the young people here in their Anti-Slavery Fair. J. Barker occupied Friday, day and evening, to show the certainty of the triumph of Anti-Slavery over all opposition. He illus-trated his idea by referring to the history of the world Notwithstanding his clearness and his cogency, he was denounced by the man who wrote to F. Donglass to come here to do away Garrisonism, as a foul-mouthed lecturer!

Yesterday morning, J. B. left us for his home, fifty miles west. We went on with the Fair and the meetings during the day and evening. To-day-Sundaythe Lord's day, as it is called-we met and held our meeting in the Wesleyan house in the forenoon, then at 12 adjourned to this hall or store room, where a din-ner is provided, and where the goods of the Fair are spread out for sale. You would be interested to be here where I am, and see and hear all that is passing around me. There is the spread table, around which are many men, women and children, eating and paying for their dinners. There are the Fair goods spread out, and the people surrounding them, looking at them, admiring them, and purchasing them.

It is a pleasant scene. I am glad to be presen enjoy the social sympathy, and get strength to do battle for the right and the true. But, (asks one near me.) perance gathering. Nearly all of the time was taker any more sacred and holy than any other day. Our the Maine Farmer, -a man acknowledged by everyhearts and heads and hands are at work, devising ways body to be an excellent man, a thorough temperane and means to redeem three millions of slaves ! Is not advocate, and Free Soiler, or for Gov. Hubbard these tables covered with food and merchandise for sale. with God, would they do as much good as they are now to the God of the oppressed to look on these people purchasing these articles, and eating this food, and pay-ing their money to aid the Anti-Slavery movement, than are praying, singing, baptisms, and the perform-ance of rites. It is amazing that men should respect the day more than the man. We held the meetings till this evening. There is much interest in the cause. It would take F. Douglass or any other man a good while to root out the seeds of what the pro-slavery church and priesthood call infidelity.

By the way: a few persons met in Salem, the other day, and adopted the following resolution:- That a committee be appointed to call a Convention to consider the origin, authority, and influence of the Bible."

A committee was appointed to call the Convention, and to fix the time and place. I wish you and Theodore Parker would be at it. It will be a stirring discussion. Advocates of the truth and divine authority of the book, as a whole, are expected to be there. The bearing of the Bible on war and slavery will be freely discussed.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LABORS IN THE CAUSE. East Abington, Sept. 8, 1852.

I will now finish up my account of my Rhode Island labors. I assure you I felt ashamed to see so long a letter from my dull pen, as the one in your last number. I humbly beg pardon of editor, subit would fill so much space, and I shall try and make amends by future brevity. My next appointment, after leaving Smithville, was

at Appenaug (Warwich). Here I had depended upon the Baptist clergyman, the only minister in the village, to give notice and make arrangements for my lecture This he did freely last winter, and invited me to visit him again at my first opportunity. But, after I had gone, some of his largest tax-payers told him to mind his 'P's and Q's,' in future; if he didn't, he might look out for the consequences! This hint was sufficient. The poor man concluded, in his own language, not to meddle with anti-slavery in future, except in his own sermons.' Whether he will do wonders ever in his sermons, I leave the reader to judge. I could hardly find it in my heart to rebuke him under the circumstances. I really pitied him, as, with tears in his eyes, he confessed his situation. He is a Scotch man, and has been in this country but a few years: i poor, and has a wife and several children dependent on him for support. His salary is his only dependence, and he is given to understand that this will be taken away, if he aids or abets abolitionism. It cannot be expected that a man will do much for the liberty of others, as long as he himself is a slave. I told him, sympathisingly, as I took my leave, that I hoped he would do his duty, both to himself and the slave, whatever that duty might be.' He replied that his prayer to God was that the clergy might be liberatsoon; for it was too bad to be thus situated .-This was evidently a good, but not a strong man, I could not undertake to prescribe a man's duty under such circumstances; I would rather leave him to his conscience and to his God. How many there are who are similarly constituted, and similarly circumstanced in life! Themselves the unwilling victims of social disorder and chaos, they are obliged to save themselves, temporarily, if salvation they have, at the expense of their more unfortunate neighbors. The clergy are the most immorally situated, and the most unfortunate and deserving of sympathy of any class of people in the world-if possible, not excepting the slaves themselves.

From Apponaug I went to East Greenwich; and I might make a long story, and then not begin to give you an idea of my experience in this place. O! that those who have the effrontery to charge the abolitionist with selfish motives, could but know what it is, as Parker Pillsbury says, to be a 'field hand' in this cause, and take their chances 'in all weathers'! I am quite certain that one weck's experience in Maine or Rhode Island would produce a marked change in their opinions in this respect—that it would 'conquer their projudices.' Suffice it to say, that, after running all over town' in the hottest day in the year, to see meeting-house committee men; after getting the committee together, and hearing the question whether I should be permitted to lecture in the vestry, gravely discussed by 'squire and deacon,' pro and con, for an hour; after waiting to have the clerk's records searched back to 1835 for prohibitory resolutions, it was finally and solemnly decided, that I could not have even the unpainted, uncarpeted, uncushioned, straightbacked-benches of a rough-finished seven-by-nine basement Methodist vestry, to invite the people for such a purpose! And still I was assured, by the deacon and the squire and all concerned, that 'we were as much abolitionists as any body'! I finally, after sweating like a hav-maker from 7 until I o'clock, succeeded in getting leave to go into the Baptist vestry. I then put out my handbills, and in the evening had a small audience of boys and girls! 1, however, must not omit to say, that I found one family of whole-souled, sterling reformers-that of Mr. James Adams. But they were like the family of Lot in Sodom; and I was happy to learn they were about to leave, thus rendering the parallel perfect.

The Methodist minister, I was informed by reliable authority, is in the habit of telling his people that there is no slavery in the Northern Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church! This bold, round lie ' is thus deliberately uttered and repeated to the people of East Greenwich by Rev. Mr. Dennis.

From East Greenwich, I went to Valley Falls an Cumberland, and hald three very good meetings-on-

at the latter, and two at the former place. The seco meeting at Valley Falls was held in the Baptist meet ing-house, on Sunday evening. This house has been refused for anti-slavery meetings, for several years until now. A large amount of property has lately changed hands in the village, and is now owned by bolitionists! Much credit is, however, due to Rev. Mr. Silver for his generous courtesy in admitting me to his desk, and for listening candidly to a rebuke of his own denomination, and thus showing his willing ness to knew the truth. Mr. Silver may be safely reckoned SILVER, but not yet GOLD as tested in the

assay-furnance of anti-slavery. But there is a moral alchemy being developed, that will ultimately transform all the baser metals to the pure gold of immediate and unconditional emancipation. For this, let us continue to labor and pray. I have not quite finished my report, but my shee

is full, and I must leave off here.

Yours for humanity, ALONZO L GROVER.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

CORNVILLE, (Me.,) Aug. 26th, 1852. DEAR GARRISON-Yesterday, I attended a Free Soi Convention at Scohegan, the object of which was to choose State officers. When I returned home, I told my friends that I was a stronger 'Garrisonian aboli tionist' than ever before, and I thought that was impossible five years ago. I did not expect much when I went, but thought I would go to see if the cause of truth had advanced in that party. Had l not known, I should never have suspected it was an anti-slavery convention, but concluded it was a temis this a proper work for Sunday? Yes, (I reply,) it is up in discussing the question, whether they should the very work for the Sabbath-provided this day be vote for their own candidate, Dr. Holmes, editor of this the Lord's work? Were all this company to leave Now, who is Gov. Hubbard? It was fairly proved on the spot, that, in signing the liquor law bill, he and go into their closets, and there, in solitude, kneel had no principle in it; that he drinks as often as he down and pray to God in secret, and seek to commune chooses; and only a short time since, in taking a short journey, he took a bottle of spirits with him. But this doing? I do sincerely believe that it is more pleasing is not the worst of Gov. Hubbard. He is on the track of the hunted fugitive, with the rest of his party; i. c. he is a supporter of the infernal Fugitive Law. Now, is not this a fine man for abolitionists to vote for? It was very evident to me, that no one seemed to care anything about his pro-slavery qualities. After the debate had gone on a thort time, I arose

and inquired if Gov. Hubbard was not in favor of the Fugitive Slave Law. They said he was. Still, no one seemed to care anything about his pro-slavery, if by him they could save the liquor law. After the debate had gone on about an hour in the afternoon. I thought the cause of liberty demanded a word from some one, as this was an anti-slavery gathering. I therefore arose and said, that I was not a Whig, nor Democrat, or Free Soiler, but a Garrisonian abolitionist-did you ever hear of such a thing? A which several responded yes. I told them that perhaps it was not in order for me to speak, but my stron love of liberty must be my spology. I asked, who are the Whigs and the Democrats? Slave catchers! And who is Gov. Hubbard? A slave catcher too! I told them that the man who is a temperance man must be so from principle, and asked who would trust a man that would go for the Slave Power.

It seemed something like a bombshell thrown into the meeting, and I hope it did good. Not an allusion was made to slavery, except incidentally, while I was there; certainly not a speech. So much for Free Soil anti-slavery in this region.

The all-absorbing subject in this State is the Maine scriber, and every body else. I was not aware that Liquor Law. I have no faith in law to redeem the world. Until mankind have their right to the soil without money and without price-until the piratical speculation in other men's property is stopped, s that the people will not be forced into our corrup cities, but will be brought to live according to the laws of nature, it is all in vain to think of making laws for the poor. And this is it :- the rich can and do have as much liquor as they want.

Cannot you send us an abolitionist, to give a few lectures on slavery in this vicinity? My house shall be his home if any one will come, and I shall be glad to help in getting up meetings.

Yours for freedom, S. MITCHELL.

FATAL RAILROAD ACCIDENT. - Warren Cloutm formerly of Portland, Me., was killed on the P., S. P. Railroad, on Tuesday morning last, at the South & P. Railroad, on Tuesday morning last, at the South Berwick Junction. He attempted to jump on the train while in motion, and was thrown down. The cars passed over his body, and caused death almost instantly. He was a landscape-painter by profession.

Mr. James Ellison, a resident of Mill Village between the cars. The wheels of the baggage-ca passed over his left leg, just below the knee, mang ling it in a shocking manner. The sufferer was im-mediately conveyed to the hospital, where he expired the same evening. He was 23 years of age, and leaves wife and child.

LT A public dinner to Hon. J. R. Giddings, th noble old chief of the Reserve, comes off on the 18th inst. Hon. John P. Hale is expected to be present.

The Commonwealth publishes letters from Hon. Charles Allen and Hon. Henry Wilson, declining to be candidates before the Free Soil State Convention, for nomination to the post of Governor.

Hon. Stephen C. Phillips declines being considered a candidate, for Governor by the Free Soil State Convention, and hopes to have the pleasure of supporting the nomination of Mr. Palfrey. The Commonwealth office has sold 31,000 co ies of Gidding's speech, 24,000 of Mann's, and 19,000 of Sumner's, and the demand for them continues una-

Cassius M. Clay is stumping the State of Ken tucky in favor of Hale and Julian

Hon. Ben Hardin, of Kentucky, is at the VERMONT ELECTION. - 218 towns in Vermont show that Fairbanks, the Whig Candidate for Governor, is

defeated by the people.

96 Whigs and 83 Democratic Representatives are elected; and probably 25 Whig Senators to 5 Demoeratic.

Messrs. Mencham and Tracy, Whigs, are elected to Congress; and Sabin, Whig, is defeated.

MAINE ELECTION .- Additional returns confirm the defeat of Hubbard (Dem.) for Governor; he will lack, from present appearances, some 4000 votes. The vote for Chandler, the Anti-Maine Law Candi-

date, will probably reach 20,000.

Three Whig and three Democratic members of Congress are elected.

Thus far nine Democrats and seven Whigs have

been elected to the State Senate.

The Democrats will probably have the House and Senate by a small majority.

The Liquor Law has a large majority in the House.

ANTI-MAINE LAW OUTRAGES .- Bold attempts were ANTI-MAINE LAW OUTRAGES.—Bold attempts were made in Worcester, on last Saturday night, to kill two respectable citizens. About 9 o'clock, two men called at the residence of Mr. Edwin Draper, who, upon opening his door, was struck on the temple by one of the men with a stone, inflicting a severe wound. The ruffishs then fled.

Shortly afterwards, two men called at the house of Mr. Lowis Theorem.

Mr. Lewis Thayer, and having obtained an entrance, they knocked Mr. T. down in his parlor, when, frightened by the screams of the females, they made off.

Messrs. Thayer and Draper are active friends of the Maine Law, which is supposed to account for the

A MURDERER SENTENCED. -- Judge Dewey, on Thursday alternoon, last week, sentenced Richard Walk-ley, who has just been convicted at Deerfield of the murder of his own father, to be hung at such time as the Governor and Council shall appoint. The case of Walkley is the first under the new law, by which a person convicted of murder goes to the State Prison for a year, after which, the Executive may issue a warrant for his execution if they see fit, otherwise he remains in prison for life.

Temains in prison for life.

For John P. Norton, professor of agricultural chemistry, in Yale College, died at Farmington, Conn., on the 5th instant.

A SLAVE CASE.—Oscar R. Mitchell, lately from Cincinnati, was arraigned before the City Court of Louisville, on Saturday, 7th inst., upon the charge of holding in Slavery, and attempting to sell, a free woman of color, call Elizabeth Kane.

By the evidence, it appeared that the girl was a free person, said to have been born at Portsmouth. Ohio; that she resided in Cincinnati, at the house of the accused, who was a marging man, and was always as a superior of the state of the state of the state of the secured, who was a marging man, and was always. accused, who was a married man, and was always reputed free; that they had a quarrel, and the girl left; that Ann Holley, a woman of ill-farre, made a bill of sale for the girl to Mitchell, without receiving any compensation, but after wards said that it was for the purpose of enabling Mitchell to sell her in the South, and she (Ann Holley) was to have half of the

money received. The girl, it appears, got to know something of the bill of sale, and atterwards, when Mitchell tried to get her to go to Louisville with him, she refused, until he assured her, in presence of winnesses, that he had no claim upon her, and that the bill had been

The proof further showed that in Louisville, The proof lutther showed that in slave, and Mitchell and his wife seized the girl as a slave, and exhibited the bill of sale as evidence of title. Mitchell was held to bail in \$1500. The punishment for the offence is confinement in the Penitentiary not less than

five, nor more than ten years.

This case was not tried before the worse than Star This case was not tried before the worse than Star Chamber Court of one of our Pugitive Slave Bill Commissioners at the North, but at the South, where, with all their slaveholding, they have some sense of decency, if not of justice and common humanity, still

ATTEMPT AT KIDNAPPING.—The Cincinnati Gazette of the 6th, reports a recent bold attempt in that city to kidnap a free colored boy. In coming off a steamer, the boy was assailed by two rufflens from Kentucky, accused of being a runaway, seized, and without a shadow of a warrant, dragged to the watch house and locked up. The transaction being seen, a writ of habeas corpus was procured, and the kidnappers becoming alarmed, dropped their proy. An intelligent and honorable police officer informs the Gazette that within the past three months there have been not less than a dozen attempts at kidnapping free colored people from the Ohio side of the river.

CORRECTION.

MR. GARRISON-I wish to correct an error in my Treasury Report, published in the Liberator of the 3d instant, in regard to the amount collected at 1st of August celebration at Framingham-which should have been \$85 84, instead of \$52 43-the latter sumbeing the balance over all expenses-an account of

which I had not then received. My next Report will contain the further sum of \$33 41, which was collected and paid away for ex-SAMUEL PHILBRICK. penses.

Treas. Mass. A. S. Society. Brookline, Sept. 10, 1852.

DANIEL FOSTER

An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will Manchester, (E-sex Co.) on Saturday and Sunday evenings, September 18th and 19th; and at Gloucester, on Wednesday and Thursday, September 22d and 23d.

SALLIE HOLLEY,

An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows: Port Norfolk, Friday evening, September 17. Weymouth, Surday " 19.
Fall River, Wednesday " 22.
New Bedford, Friday " 24,
and will attend the Convention at New Bedford, on the 25th and 26th.

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.

Among the speakers engaged to be present are W.
Among the speakers engaged to be present are W.
L. Garrison, Daniel Foster, and Charles L. Remond.
JOSEPH MERRILL, Rec. Sec.

MARLBORO', (Middlesex Co.) STEPHEN S. POSTER and ABRY K. POSTER, Agents

of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in Mariboro' Town Hall, on Saturday evening, Sept. 18.

Also—on Sunday evening, Sept. 19, at usual hours morning and afternoon, at FEITONVILLE.

NEW BEDFORD, (Bristol Co.)

An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in New Bedford, at Liberty Hall, commencing on Saturday Redford, at Linesty Hail, commencing on Saturday evening, September 25, and continuing on Sunday, 26th, at the usual hours, day and evening. Miss Sallie Holley of Rochester, N. Y., Stephen S. Foster and Abby Kelley Foster, Agents of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will attend this meeting.

ARINGTON MERTING A. B. ALCOTT will speak in the Town Hall, fore-noon and afternoon, on Sunday next, Sept. 19.

TO LYCEUM COMMITTEES. Prof. W. S. BROWN, Author of 'Chemistry for Beginners,' &c., is now ready to enter into en;

tures on Chemistry and Physiology. His stock of Chemical Apparatus is large, and specially adapted for illustrating Popular Lectures,
Prof. B. would direct particular attention to his new lecture, prepared for the approaching season, entitled 'Poetry and Magic of Science.'

Address W. S. Brown, Blackstone, Mass.

NOTICE. Mrs. MARY BROWN is desirous of proaving immediate employment, at washing and iron-ing, house-cleaning, &c. &c. Those who may wish her services will please inquire of R. F. Wallour, at 21 Cornhill. We believe that she can be depended upon as a capable and trusty woman.

MARRIBD-In Trenton, N. J., Sept. 2, by Rev. T. L. Cuyler, Alfred Gibbs Campbell, of Paterson, N. J., to Annie C. Hutchinson, of the former place.

DIED—In New York city, on Sunday, in the 71st year of his age, Stephen Holt, Eq., formerly of Salem, and well known as former proprietor of Holt's Hotel. His body was embalmed by Doctors Pilate-

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> POWLERS & WELLS & CO., Phrenological Rooms, 142 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON.

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CLASSES for giving practical instructions in the science are taught at the rooms, and private lessons given to students when desired.

This is the principal depot in the Eastern States for works on Phrenology, Physiology, Water Cure, Phonography, Magnetism, Physiology, and all kindred subjects, a large assortment of which is always on hand, and agents and booksellers will be supplied with such publications on more liberal terms than at any other publications on more liberal terms than at any other place is New England. Also, all other books in the Boston and New York markets will be turnished at the lowest prices, wholesale and retail. Agents or other individuals sending for one or more books, will receive them by return of first mail or express, with the same faithfulness as though they selected them personally. them personally.

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THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY. Tell us no more of Slavery's power, Tis weakness when compared with ours : Tis Satan's power, condemned to die: Proedom is strengthened from on high. Tyrants now quail, their courage fails, But ours, inspired by Heaven, prevails; Thrice armed are we in righteousness, And this our foes themselves confess. Then onward, onward, onward still, See how our ranks with freemen fill ! Soon o'er the world will all men see, Triumphant, glorious Liberty.

For years have freemen bravely stood, And breasted persecution's flood; With Justice armed, they've kept the field, No threats nor flattery made them yield. Their flag so fair still floats in air. And, mark! next year 'twill still be there, Inscribed on letters bold and free, With one great Idea-LIBERTY! Then sound it, sound it, sound it strong. That FREEDOM'S RIGHT, that SLAVERY'S WRONG; And soon this truth will all men see, And shout for GLORIOUS LIBERTY!

From the London 'Quarterly Journal of Prophecy HOW LONG!

. Behold, I make all things new.'-Rev. 21: 5. Still do they linger,—these slow-treading ages! How long must we still bear their cold delay? Streak after streak the glowing dawn presages; And yet it breaks not,-the expected day !

Each tossing year with prophet-lip hath spoken, Prepare your pages, earth, awake and sing! And yet you dome of blue remains unbroken; No tidings yet of the descending King!

Darkness still darkens; nearer now and nearer The lightnings gleam; the sea's scorched billows

And the sere leaf of earth is growing serer; Creation droops, and heaves a bitterer groan. O storm and earthquake, wind and warring thunder

One other day of war, and wreck, and plunder,-

Your hour is coming ; Cone wild outburst more,-

And then your desolating reign is o'er. These plains are not your battle-field forever; That glassy deep was never made for you; These mountains were not built for you to shiver; These buds were not for your rude hands to strew

Flee, and give back to earth its verdant gladness, The early freshness of its unsoiled dew; Take hence your sackcloth, with its stormy sadness And let these wrinkled skies their youth renew.

Give back that day of days, the seventh and fairest. When, like a gem new set, earth flung afar Her glory of creation's gems the rarest, Sparkling in beauty to each kindred star.

Come back, thou holy love, so rudely banished, When evil came, and hate, and fear, and wrong Return your joyous light, so quickly vanished; Revive, thou life that death has quenched so long

Re-fix, re-knit the chain so harshly broken, That bound this lower orb to you bright heaven; Hang out on high the ever-golden token, That tells of earth renewed and man forgiven

Withdraw the veil that has for ages hidden That upper kingdom from this nether sphere; Renew the fellowship so long forbidden; O God, thyself take up thy dwelling here!

From Dickens's Household Words. BREAD OF LIPE.

Albeit for lack of bread we die. Die in a hundred nameless ways-'Tis not for bread alone we cry, In these our later days.

It is not fit that man should spend His strength of frame, his length of years, In toiling for that daily end-Mere bread, oft wet with tears.

That is not wholly good or gain Which seals the mind and sears the heart, The life-long labors to sustain Man's perishable part.

His is the need, and his the right Of leisure, free from harsh control, That he may seek for mental light, And cultivate his soul;

Leisure to foster into bloom Affections struggling to expand; So shall his thought, with ampler room, Improve his skill of hand.

And he should look with reverent eyes. Sometimes, on Nature's open page ; Not solely are the wondrous skies For school-man and for sage.

Earth's flower-hues blush, heaven's star-lights burn Not only for the happy few; To them the toiling man should turn For lofty pleasure, too.

But if ye take his blood for bread, And drive him in one dreary round, Since he and his must needs be fed, Ye crush him to the ground.

His mind can grow no soaring wing, His heart can feel no generous glow; Ye make of him that wretched thing, A slave, and yet a foe.

SMILES.

Smiles melt the hate of foemen into love, Smiles banish anguish from the sorrow-smitten; Amongst the millions of the blest above, Perennial smiles on every brow are written

In this our world, where care and grief are rife, How sweetly beams the smile of tender kindness Without its light how darksome oft were life, Through which to grope our weary way in blind-

Yet some there are, who seldom wear a smile. Whose hearts are charged with bitterness a malice;

Who, in the thirst of selfishness and guile, Drain the foul dregs of envy's poisoned chalice. Others but smile on those they would cajole, To cheat the simple with a show of feeling; As fishermen attract a finny shoal,

By torehlight o'er the teeming ocean stealing.

Brighter by far than brightest gems of earth, Smiles shed soft radiance on the brow of beauty; Decking our loved ones with a wreath of mirth, That cheers the heart amid the toils of duty.

TO A DEPARTED PRIEND.

I know that here I never more shall meet thee, For thou hast passed to brighter worlds above; And there dost wait, an angel fair, to greet me

But, oh ! thy token, by fond Mem'ry given. Of love unchanging, softens all my wo; And the sweet hope of joining thee in Heaven Is bliss below!

THE BIBLE QUESTION. (Reply to Joseph Barker-Continued.)

We will give a small specimen of the charges Joseph Barker prefers against the scriptures. He says, 'The Bible abounds with errors. It contains indecent, obscene, and revolting fables. It gives false views of of the impartiality and veracity of the Bible. Their God. It gives false accounts of the origin and history of man. It contains an abundance of things foolish, and false, and injurious. It tells impossible stories; amples for us, just so far as they came up to the di-it blasphemes God; it libels man. It represents God vine standard, and no further. What might assist in as doing what the worst of men would not do; and it giving this new book credence is, to predict some furepresents men and nations as sinking to a state of ture event, which no human observer, unassisted by suunnatural filthiness, to which men and nations are not capable of sinking. In short, there is scarcely a erally transpiring in due time. For example, it has been crime which Mr. B. does not charge the Bible with thought by some, that the present state of the Jews, tosustaining. From its character, it might be suspected gether with the fulfilment of other prophecies, is a it was a production issued from Pandemonium, interspersed with some things true, good and beautiful, to entrap the unwary. In J. Barker's extreme rage Jews is unprecedented-scattered throughout all civagainst the scriptures, he has overpainted his picture. ilized countries, through so many centuries, yet still It takes an enormous amount of credulity to believe remaining a distinct people. that he, by his dogmatisms, can convince any person of common intelligence, that the Bible is such a production as he has characterized. That a Bacon, a Boyle, a Locke, an Addison, a Pascal, a Rowland, a his opinions are generally all the arguments he produc-Hale, a Newton, and the great and good Wilberforce, es. This is an age of investigation. Opinions must and many others, men pre-eminent for their talents and erudition, (who were no 'interested priests,') be received as governing principles, particularly on so could honor and revere, and acknowledge its influence on their hearts, and frame their lives according to the precepts of such a book as the Bible, a ridiucutics have passed encomiums on the majesty of its style, and acknowledged the purity of its morals had an influence on their hearts. Thomas Paine, besotted infidel as he was, highly characterized some portions of scripture, and pointed to them-said that Jesus Christ preached most excellent morality, and the equality of man, and that the great trait in his character was philanthropy.

those places. They must be some beautiful speulative ticularly the priests, at that trying crisis, bitterly theories, which are of no practical utility. It is so positively evil, that there is no room even for negative goodness. He says, 'The Bible props up almost eve- tiated their hearts and corrupted their lives; goaded to ry evil.' Joseph Barker employs all the ingenuity with which God has endowed him for better purposes, to conceal and mar the beauty of those good and true and beautiful passages, which he is forced to acknowl- they fire to infidelity as their anchor of hope, sure edge to make a display of candor, to give some color and steadfast. One solitary case, approximating to of truth to the unfounded charges he has brought the above description, will answer the purpose. We against the Bible. We are speaking on an important can give a goodly number of cases, of the above desubject, and we speak our mind plainly. We have scription, on the opposite side of this question, if it learned, since we became abolitionists, to call things will be any accommodation. We will give one,by their proper names-tlet God be true, though Monsieur Voltaire. Stung with remorse, at a dying man be made a liar.' J. B's testimony is that of a ma- hour, for his ribaldry against the Bible, he fled to the lignant foe. He regards the destruction of the Bi- Church of Rome for the forgiveness of his sins, and ble as the principal work to which he is called; has a passport to heaven. pledged himself to make this his chief work as long as he lives. We read in olden times of some persons bar. B. says, 'The Bible represents men and nations, who bound themselves, under a curse, that they would as sinking to a state of unnatural filthiness, to which neither cat nor drink till they had killed Paul. So men and nations are not capable of sinking.' The Bi-Mr. B. will not die till he kills the Bible. Oh! portentous omen !!! 'Horror of horrors! what will become of religion-what will become of the churchwhat will become of ourselves '! The inquisitorial decree has gone forth, the auto da fe is at hand, the cul- sented as possessed of every evil propensity. People prit (the Bible) is attired, robed in the habilaments of the irreclaimable heretic, on whose garments flames If B's lot had fallen in one of the dark corners of the are painted together with its own picture, surrounded with devils. J. B. has painted the Bible in inquisito- ble has never shown, he might have been prostrating rial style. Many have combined against the Bible, himself before some obscene, filthy idol, if his organ but it has survived them all. It has survived the of veneration is well developed. machinations of the Illuminati, with other societies subsequently sprung up, and still continuing in existence, which are its offspring. Kings and princes have combined against the Bible and its adherents; REPLY TO H. C. WRIGHT. ON 'UNCLE they were made to walk through the fire, yet were not consumed. Blood has flowed in torrents, and the blood of the martyrs has been the seed of the church. But Ichabod is now written upon it. The glory is departed. The book of God is to be blotted out of existence, the flame is now to kindle upon it, a potent arm is raised against it! Alas, alas! the portentous

ble, before he would destroy the old, which would be substituted in its place-one that would be all . good, necessity of the case demands it. People are become so accustomed to it they must have it. These are important matters, concerning which the common herd 'The Scriptures are merely human compositions, abilities.) to excel those 'merely human compositions, that were written in the dark and savage ages." The prevailing opinion is, that the Bible speaks as orators borrow psssages from it, to embellish their orations; anti-slavery orators, in particular, draw heavily on its resources, both for principle and cmbellishment: they employ it as an 'instrument for the destruction of slavery,' as in days of yore. Now, Mr. B's new work might prove that Bible admirers are a set of blind dupes, stupid dolts, to be thus dehistory. The Bible could be used as a foil, to increase speak correctly concerning its contents. the attractions of his New Directory. He says, 'The Bible gives false views of God. This new treatise Does it claim to be a radical, 'no union with will remedy that. Joseph Barker has spoken to the Almighty face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend; no Sabbath' production? By no means. It come he has by searching found out God, he has found out before the public not as a thoroughgoing abolition pro the Almighty unto perfection. We challenge Joseph duction, the object of which is to preach the gospel of man will be permitted to hold communion and inter- not hesitate to use this incident as an illustration as the common herd of mankind.

to his moral, intellectual, accountable creatures, vents a slave from being a Christian? * Uncle Joseph Barker's new book will remedy this omission. means, but only the best character that slavery could It will contain a perfect system of morality-it will produce. I believe with H. C. W., that no person

*It is a matter of notoriety, that Mr. Paine was a but as soon as God's Spirit takes up his abode in the drunkard. The principal meaning of 'infidel,' in our language, is, one who rejects Christianity. Words are but signs of our ideas. Mr. Paine being an avowed enemy to Christianity, his caudor in speaking so truthfully of its great Author is an honor to him.

The Liberator. show the impurity of the precepts of the Decalogue, and the precepts and examples of Jesus—which we have always considered pure and perfect, and are the Bible standards of morality; not the lives of Abraham. or of Isaac, or of Jacob, or of Joseph, or any other fallible men-they were not perfect. The Bible keeps no secrets on them, not even are the worst of their words and actions chronicled, but the thoughts and intents of their hearts are laid open, which is a proof misconduct is not given for our imitation, but to beware of the rocks on which they split. They are expernatural influence, could foresee, and this event litproof of the divinity of the Scriptures, as the predictions have been literally fulfilled. The case of the We think it would be necessary for Mr. R. to give

some arguments and examples to show why the Bible should be demolished, and the benefits accruing be supported by arguments or facts, before they can momentous a subject as the one we have under consideration. He must prove, by at least one example that abolishing the Bible has produced reformation in lous combination of folly and wickedness! Even skep- the morals, and improved the condition of society. He must prove that agriculture, mechanics, manufactures, commerce, all useful sciences, and all profitable arts, flourish most in countries where the Bible never enter ed; and that the inhabitants excel in knowledge, in learning, and in the virtues and adornments of human ity. And what is of the most momentous importance he must prove that the Bible fails to comfort and suppor men in their sorrows and afflictions, and to sustain B. says, 'The Bible contains many things good and them at the hour of death, (witness 'Uncle Tom' true and beautiful.' But he has never shown us any of in his cabin. That many of its ardent votaries, parcurse the day, in their incoherent ravings, that they ever embraced the doctrines of the Bible; that it vi phrenzy by the upbraidings of an awakened conscience, they became a terror to themselves and all around them. At last, as a refuge from the storm,

> Another charge of lying against the culprit at the ble does not represent men and nations as sinking to a greater state of unnatural filthinesss than the gods they worshipped. Many of their deities were disgusting, filthy emblems of debauchery and cruelty, repreare generally no better than the gods they worship .earth, in the present day, where the light of the Bi-

> > ELIZABETH WILSON. (To be concluded.)

TOM'S CABIN!

Springfield, Mass., Aug. 20, 1852. FRIEND GARRISON-I am aware that you are overburthened at this time with communications for the Liberator, particularly those of a theological character; but having seen no reply in your columns to what I deem a very unfair attack on one of the very best anti slavery instrumentalities of the age, I trust writing a new book better authenticated than the Bito it. While perusing H. C. W's article on 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' I was filled with astonishment that such a sterling friend of the poor slave as he, could true and beautiful.' A work of this kind seems in- find it is his heart thus to deride and oppose a book dispensable, and it is the only plan, in our opinion, to that has done more for the anti-slavery cause, probablot the Bible out of existence. J. B. may say, that bly, than any half-dozen others that have been pubhe is opposed to having any book of the kind, but the lished since the commencement of this enterprise. To be sure, it does not pretend to be an ultra production, nor do its friends claim for it such merit as they attribute to severer rebukes of slavery as a sinful inof mankind would need correct information. This stitution; but as a picture of the terrible institution. may be thought burlesque, but we are perfectly in drawn with the skill of a perfect artist, and painted carnest, taking B on his own principles. He says,— with a faithfulness that defies the criticism of one who has gazed on its counterpart all his life-time, they written in the dark and savage ages, their authors erring and imperfect men.' He is certainly qualified, in slavery enterprise. It seems almost like justifying benevolence, or defending virtue, to attempt to plead ir favor of such a work : and I should not undertake to do so, did I not know that some minds who have no read the book have been prejudiced against it by H. never man spake, that it is inimitable in the majesty C. W's article. I am sure that H. C. W. would be and sublimity and beautiful simplicity of its style, the last man, knowingly, to oppose any anti-slavery and purity of its doctrines. Congressional and other instrumentality—much less, so powerful an one as this; and therefore I am forced to conclude, that he i honest in his opposition to the book, although it i difficult for me to conceive how one, usually as clear sighted as he, can be so blinded in this instance. Hav ing perused the book in course three times, and once since the appearance of H. C. W's article, that I migh be able to detect the faults of which he speaks, beceived by a fabulous, lying, foolish, polluting production, written in the benighted ages of the world's friends and others, I think I am sufficiently able to

In the first place, what does the book pretend slaveholders,' 'no church, no ministry, no Bible Barker to give one true, or beautiful, or good charac- repentance to the pro-slavery sinners of our land; but teristic of God, that is not contained in the Bible. He simply as a tale, a story, the scenes of which lie, as says, 'The Bible gives false accounts of the origin and the author says, 'among a race hitherto ignored by history of man.' Now, here is a loud call for a new the associations of polite and refined society, and as history, if the old is false. It is of momentous im- such is it to be tried. It would be exceedingly unfair portance to have a well-authenticated history of the to subject all of H. C. W's writings to one unvarying origin of man and his future destiny, before we reject standard of criticism. For instance, in relating th the Bible account. It would immortalize Mr. B., to admirable story of the Quaker and the man who stol give a good and beautiful and true account of the his wheat, how unjust it would be to condemn H. C. creation of man, and to penetrate the dark vista between this and the other world, with his unerring op- after, when he feared to pray, 'forgive us our tres tics, his skeptical telescope, and give us a correct account of that undiscovered country, from 'whose us.' H. C. W. does not believe that the doctrine of bourne no traveller returns.' We want to know if punishment by the Almighty is true, and yet he does course with his Maker, and if so, "wherewith will he true Christian practice. In a novel, we surely do no come before the Lord, and bow himself before the look for correct action, on the part of all the charac most high God.' We want a pure moral standard, a ters, for that is to portray men and women as they are transcript of God's moral character, to direct our steps and not as they should be. If 'Uncle Tom' had been represented as one possessing perfectly true ideas These are all reasonable requisitions, which we morals, then what would have become of the oft would expect God, our Creator, would have revealed repeated assertion of abolitionists, that alavery prewhich he has omitted to do, if the Bible is not true. is not the highest type of Christian perfection, by any

can be a Christian and consent to remain a slave

tion of our friend's own doctrine of non-resistance; that any book has furnished us with, and as a nonresistant, is worthy of all praise; although more enlightened views of religion would have made him s less submissive one. Can we not admire sincerity, faith and love, even when error accompanies their manifestation? A bright landscape may be sullied by several It is a damning one. If this book teaches Colonizaobnoxious objects, and yet, do we gaze at it any the tion, I would ask, why is it that the colored people less rapturously? No! forgetting the specks upon its almost to a man, as far as my observation has extendotherwise fair surface, we drink in, with all our soul, ed, are enthusiastically in favor of it? I have heard the beautiful prospect before us. Suppose we should great numbers of them speak of it in the warmest cast away all our friends who had one fault, however terms, which they would not do, if they supposed it perfect they might be in other respects, where would actual life, why should we look for its delineation on and tastes of the colored race, than this book contains. the pages of a novel, when the design of a novel Take, for instance, the remarks on the 236th and 239th is not to create imaginary human beings, but to paint pages of the first volume, and the 115th of the second. them as they really exist? What would be thought St. Clare on the 257th page, volume 1, certainly The only question in regard to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' is, is it a true representation of slavery! This is all dom. Does Mrs. Stowe teach any such idea? By no the authoress claims for it, and this is the only rule of means. On the contrary, she advocates such existbeauty that flash abroad in the world-sometimes in places where we would hardly look for them. I think ant to reject truth because it is connected with error, whereas we should be eclectics, always choosing the ent. good, no matter in what company it may be found.

The Apostle John, in his most sublime delineations of Christian brotherhood, recognizes as Christians a great multitude of persons that we with our light would all reject, as not entitled to the Christian name For instance, he declares that . Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God': and . Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God'; both of which allegations we should pronounce untrue; but would any of us therefore cast away his beautiful doctrines of the brotherhood of the race? Christ himself calls his disciples clean,' or pure, and yet 'they all forsook him and fled, which we should regard as pretty good evidence that they were not 'clean,' but on this account we none of us reject Christ's teachings.

H. C. W. seems to suppose that Mrs. Stowe, so to speak, fathers all the characters of her work. A novel read the 'Age of Reason.' writer necessarily introduces many characters of whom he disapproves; and who can determine his sentiments from perusing the incidents daguerreotyped by him? As well might a painter or sculptor, or still more, a poet, be accused of teaching a wrong morality, because, forsooth, his pencil, chisel or pen has invested with new charms the actions of some dead hero, whose morality was in some respects questionable. Would H. C. W. object to the whole of Milton's Paradise Lost, because of the gross caricatur es of God and Christ contained therein ? or to Walter Scotl's charming contain matters shocking to humanity, to decency, to creation of the 'Lady of the Lake,' because King James is represented as a worthy character, and royalty and war are upheld? Or, to come nearer home. does he reject J. R. Giddings's last speech in Congress, because of his remarks respecting holding up slavery, so that he and his friends can sit in Congress inpeace?

But, in these remarks I have admitted, for argu-

ment's sake, what I by no means believe, with one exception, that the book is not a thorough-going antislavery production. On the contrary, show me a Bible exactly as he would if it were in any other more clear, convincing and decided condemnation, not of the abuses of slavery, but of the institution itself, than this book contains. Take the case of St. Clare, a slaveholder, and did ever more burning, or even radical rebuke of slavery proceed from H. C. W's lips? Read for instance, the whole of his remarks to Miss Ophelia, on the death of old Prue. And then what abolitionist, even that prince of logicians, C. C. Burleigh, ever used better logic than St. Clair uses in his argument with his brother, on the occasion of Henrique's ride with little Eva? Where will you find more hearty denunciation of slavery, in its mildest form, than that administered by Mrs. Shelby, who believed it a sin in itself, and if she could have had her way, would have emancipated her slaves? Who ever drew a more terrible picture of the realities of the slave system, than George did in his memorable interview at the tayern with Mr. Wilson? or than Cassy does, in her never-to-be-forgotten conversation with Uncle Tom, on that dreadful night when he lay bleeding in the old gin-house, after his godlike refusal to beat the old woman at the command of his master? Can H. C. W. offer a more convincing proof of the horrid creatures, Haley, Marks, and Tom Loker, int whose hands the 'well-bred' and 'well-treated' slaves of Mr. Shelby were about to fall. Is it not most clearly shown here, as also in the cases of Uncle Tom after St. Clare's death, and of Cassy at her father's decease, that slavery, in its best estate, results, upon a change of masters, in horrid and dreadful abuses In short, what portion of slavery is defended in the book? H. C. W. says that slaveholders are represented as Christians? Pray tell us in what instance. Mrs. Shelby, I believe, is the only Christian spoken emancipate her husband's slaves, or she would quickly have done the deed.

So far from slaveholders being represented as Christians, St. Clair expressly denounces the whole system as of the devil, and says 'it is a pretty respectable specimen of what he can do in his own line'; and in his admirable religious discussion with his church-going wife, he talks in a way that even Parker Pillsbury would not despise. Hear him : 'If I was to say any thing on this slavery matter, I would say out fair and square, "We're in for it, we've got 'em, and mean to keep 'em, its for our convenience and our interest"that's just the whole of what all this sanctified stuff amounts to. This religious talk on such matters, why don't they carry it a little further, and show the beau ty in its season of a fellow's taking a glass too much, and sitting a little too late over his cards? We'd like to hear that those are right and godly too.' 'When any one speaks up like a man and says, "Slavery is necessary to us, we can't get along without it, and wards human redemption from oppression and blood we mean to hold on to it," this is strong, clear, welldefined language; but when he begins to snuffle and stacle were removed. It shall be REMOVED. quote scripture, I incline to think he isn's much better than he should be.' 'Suppose that something should bring down the price of cotton once and for ever, and make the whole slave property a drug in the DEAR MR. GARRISON : market, don't you think we should soon have another I can hardly refrain from sending you a few lines light would pour into the church, all at once, and lectures in this vicinity; and yet I can say nothing now immediately it would be discovered that every that will convey any adequate idea of her rare qualithing in the Bible went the other way! It appears ties as a public speaker. I have heard her on severa to me that it is clearly shown in the book, that slavery occasions, and I have no hesitancy in saying that she itself is utterly inconsistent with Christianity; but is not surpassed, if equalled, in my estimation, by even if it admitted that the effect of Christianity was any speaker that I have ever listened to. Her perto make the master kinder, would that condemn the sonal appearance commands at once admiration and book? Does not H. C. W. believe Christianity to be respect, and before she has entered upon her subject, only another name for doing right? and if so, cannot a every listener is impressed in her favor. Her voice person change gradually, from gross sin to perfect ho- is, what is unusual for a female voice, capable of fillliness? Is not a rumseller who refuses to sell to ing the largest hall, without any particular effort o drunkards more under the influence of Christianity, the speaker; while it is always full and smooth, and or of doing right, than one who sells to all? Is not a varied in its tone according to the sentiment to be immoral voter more of a Christian than a pro-slavery pressed, and never loses those peculiar feminin drunken one? It appears to me that there are degrees intonations, which distinguish the truly feminine in religion; and although a true Christian would emancipate his slaves, yet a man who, like St. Clare, above criticism; it is always well chosen and appro never beats his slaves, and hates the system, is nearer Christianity than Tom Loker and Simon Legree are.

Uncle Tom never 'refused to run away because he as a Christian, as H. C. W. will perceive on a reperusal of the book. On the contrary, he advised

In regard to its being wrong for Cassy to take Lepower and success. I know of no worthy compet.

son to her in this respect. I know not the gree's money, I get a different impression from H. C. W. It seems to me to be taught there that Cassy did

not do wrong, as far as any thing is taught. As it respects Colonization, I am aware that an er ror has been committed here, but I do not believe that much in favor of Colonization. I have never read. be the remainder of them? If perfection is so rare in any where, more touching tributes to the capacities of a novel, whose characters were merely the author's condemna that principle which lies at the foundation ideal either of virtue or vice? Such a story would of the Colonization scheme. What is Colonization lose all its force, as being unheard of and incredible. If I understand it, it teaches the impossibility of the co-existence of the two races here in a state of freecriticism by which we have a right to try it. It is not ence in full, for a season, at least, and condemns the for us to complain because our theological or moral Colonization doctrine of sending the slaves to Africa ideas are not all taught in its pages. If we can ap- as soon as emancipated. George grants that this Lipreciate nothing but what squares with our higher beria may have subserved all sorts of purposes, by conceptions, we shall lose a vast deal of truth and being played off in the hands of our oppressors against us.' I think Colonisation derives but little. if any support from this book. If my article were not reformers sometimes err in this respect. We are too too long already, I would like to allude to the good even now effected by the book; but I desist, at pres-

'FAIR PLAY.' Yours, for

PAINE'S AGE OF REASON, AND NIHIL NOVUM.

ADRIAN, (Michigan,) Aug. 10, 1852. DEAR GARRISON-I have just seen a note in the Liberator, signed 'NIHIL NOVUM,' touching my remarks on Paine's 'Age of Reason.' He says he was induced to read it by what I said about it. I wish every man and woman in the Church would read it. Every one who wishes rightly to estimate the Bible in its influence on the character and destiny of the race, should read that book. It contains one side of the question; the Church presents the other. 'Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good, is a safe and just motto. No man should contribute to send the Bible to heathers as the word of God, till he has 'Nihil Novum' thinks my 'commendation too inclu-

sive,' and states what he thinks 'objectionable features; and says his 'objections are often coarse, and even indelicate.' I would ask your correspondent-Has Paine one allusion that can begin to compare in coarseness and indelicacy with some stories and scene in the Bible? Paine believed that book to contain many 'grovelling tales and doctrines, and 'wild con ceits.' . What (he asks) is it the Bible teaches? Rapine, cruelty and murder.' He believed the book to justice, and ruinous to morality. Were a woman in the situation of Mary now, to report the same thing of herself that she did; or were the same story of marvellous conception, word for word, found in any other book, what would the Church and clergy say of it? There is not a priest in Christendom who would not ery out against it in terms of severer condemnation than Paine speaks of it, as it now stands in Matthew and Luke. Paine speaks of a story in the book. So he should. Were a man to select certain portions of the Bible, and publish them now by them selves in a tract, he would be excluded from every church in Christendom: but the same things are respected as pure, as the word of God, when found in the Bible. Does the story of the miraculous conception, or any other story, change its character and tendency according to the book in which it is found?

Paine spoke, and justly, of every thing recorded in the Bible, as he would if he found it in any other book. Were not Abraham, Jacob, Gideon, David and Solomon adulterers, before the God of nature, as really as those who keep their mistresses, besides their legal wives, in New York or Boston? If so, it is right to speak of them as you would of these. Paine, justly, so regarded them; as violators of the law of marriage, and he so treated them. Paine did indeed speak strongly, and even coarsely, of those terrible Bible stories; but nothing which he ever wrote could compare in coarseness and obscenity with the Bible stories which he condemns.

But the question between Paine and the priests was not one of spirit, or style, but of FACT. Did God criminality of the whole system, than the whole story sanction all the Bible says he did ? It is disgusting to from beginning to end offers? Take the cases of those hear the priests and Christians cry out against Paine's obscenity and vulgarity, who believe all the stories of polygamy, concubinage and incest, related of Abraham Jacob and David, to have been approved of God.

But I must stop, and go on my way to Toledo. I understand 'Nihil Novum' to think of the Bible essentially as I do-as a book, like other books, containing truth and falsehood, good and evil; and he re ceives the good, and rejects the evil. I passed no commendation on the Age of Reason, but for one thing : its effort to vindicate God from what its author of as connected with slavery, and she had no power to believed to be blasphemous libels on his character. Is my commendation of this effort too inclusive? I think HENRY C. WRIGHT.

> P. S. 'Nihil Novum' asks, 'Do you still adher to your rigid non-resistance ideas? I will answer him in due time. I wish he would give his true name : it is never pleasant to write to a nameless correspondent. I can write more freely to a living, know

> During my stay at the Water Cure, I have writter several things to you, touching the relations of the Bible to Human Progress. I have sent some of them, and will in due time the rest. Do with them a seemeth good to thee. It is horrible that a book, which the priesthood say is the word of God, should be, by them, made to sanction every outrage that man can perpetrate on man; for of all obstacles to teeto talism, anti-slavery, anti-war, anti-death-penalty, to universal love and brotherhood, none have been so formidable as the Bible. Not a step can be taken to but we must encounter the Bible. It is time this ob-H. C. W.

MISS HOLLEY.

ersion of the scripture doctrine? What a flood of expressive of my admiration of Miss Holler's from the masculine voice. Her language is eminently priate, or rather it does not seem to be chosen at all, but flows spontaneous and profuse from her lips, in periods of the most exquisite beauty and the most touching pathos. Her appeals in behalf of her suffering sisters in bonds at the South are absolutely irresisboth Eliza and Cassy to go; and Eliza told her hus-band to pray to God to help him escape. She addresses herself to the feelings with wonderfu

son to her in this respect. I know not the extent of son to her in this respect. I know not the ering of Miss Holley's experience as a public speaker; ay impression is, that it has been but slight, and ye lay speeches and lectures have all the merit of the most experienced orators. And with the rethe most experienced orange. And with the figure talent as a public speaker, which the proofes with envy, Miss Holler is extremely modes, distant and unassuming as a child. No one can tay of be, and unassuming as a chief, 200 one can say at he, that she divests herself of that 'chief of weary graces, modesty, to fit herself to occupy the position which she has chosen. She must effectally disarm criticism in this respect, against her own to pearance, at least, as a public teacher. Let the limit and foes of the Anti-Slavery, and especially of the Woman's Rights reform, avail themselves of my mi every opportunity of hearing this eloquent street of the cause of the oppressed. East Abington.



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