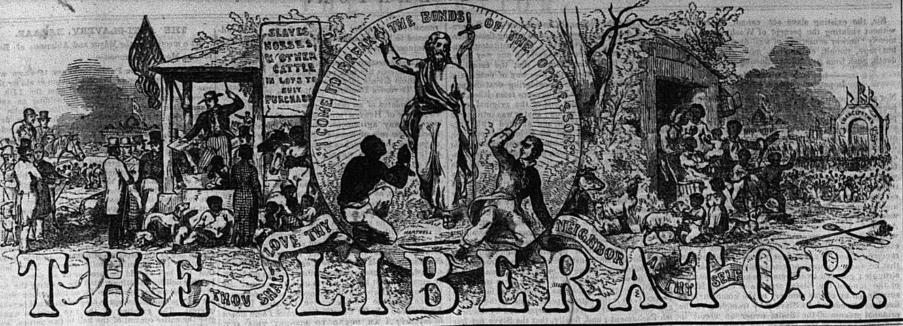
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NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT 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 er-

gagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,

delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fara

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 constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of

mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the

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

AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VI-

TAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NA-

TIONAL GOVERNMENT !- JOHN OWINCY ADAMS.

TH. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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

WHOLE NO. 1131.

TOL. XXII. NO. 39.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1852.

RIEDOM NATIONAL, SLAVERY SECTIONAL.

SPEECH HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

ON HIS MOTION TO REFEAL THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW, [CONCLUBED.]

strance to the argument. Now, first, of the power of Congress over this

Constitution contains powers granted to Conemparts between the States, and prohibitions ged to the Nation and to the States. A comprohibition may be accompanied by a power; not necessarily, for it is essentially distinct in ascure. And here the single question arises, the the Constitution, by grant, general or all confers upon Congress any power to legislate The whole legislative power of Congress is desehiert of fogitives from labor.

from two sources; first, from the general grant bower, attached to the long catalogue of powers, ake all laws which shall be necessary and or for the carrying into execution the foregoing or said all other powers vested by this Constitu-ia the Government of the United States, or in department or officer thereof; and secondly, pescial grants in other parts of the Constituon special grants in other parts of the Constitu-ia. As the provision in question does not appear able citalogue of powers, and does not purport to ust any power in the Government of the United Sies, or in any department or officer thereof, no wer to legislate on this subject can be derived in the general grant. Nor can any such power ed from any special grant in any other part of the Constitution; for none such exists: The con-cionaments be, that no power is delegated to Con-ces over the surrender of fugitives from labor. lad contemporary discussions and comments, Constitution was constantly justified and recomneeded, on the ground that the powers not given to ne Government were withheld from it. If under henzinal provisions any doubt could have existed

a this head, it was removed, so far as language wild remove it, by the Tenth Amendment, which, as we have already seen, expressly declares that, the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, e reserved to the States respectively or to the peo-.' Here, on the simple text of the Constitution, might leave this question. But its importance in this are extended examination in a two-fold ight; first, in the history of the Convention, reveniby the unmistakeable intention of its members; and secondly, in the true principles of our Political System, by which the powers of the Nation and of

System, by which the powers of the Nation and of the States are respectively gnarded. Look first at the history of the Convention. The articles of the old Confederation, adopted by the Continental Congress, 15th Nov., 1777, though containing no reference to fugitives from labor, had provisions substantially like those in our present Consistent and the contraction of the c station, touching the privileges of citizens in the tes, and the credit due to the public records of Sates. But, since the Confederation had no powers not 'expressly delegated,' and as no power was delegated to legislate on these matters, they were Afterwards, at the National Convention, these three provisions found a place in the first reported draft of

a Constitution, and they were arranged in the very seler which they occupied in the Articles of Conleteration. The clause relating to public records shed lest. Mark this fact.

When this clause, being in forth merely a compact,

tame up for consideration in the Convention, various efforts were made to graft upon it a power. This was on the very day of the adoption of the clause reading to fugitives from labor. Charles Pinckney moved to commit it with a proposition for a power to establish uniform laws on the subject of bank-ripkr and foreign bills of exchange. Mr. Madison was in favor of a power for the execution of judg-ments in other States. Gouverneur Morris also on the same day moved to commit a further proposition for a power 'to determine the proof and effect of such acts, records, and proceedings.' Amidst all these efforts to associate a power with this compact, it a cier that nobody supposed that any such al-mady existed. This narrative places the views of

the Contention beyond question.

The compact regarding public records, together which these various propositions, was referred to a committee, on which were Mr. Randolph and Mr. Wilson, with John Rutledge, of South Carolina, as carman. After several days, they reported the Compact, with a power in Congress to prescribe by green laws the manner in which such records shall be proved. general laws the manner in which such records shall be proved. A discussion ensued, in which Mr. handles complained that the 'definition of the powers of the Government was so loose as to give a opportunities of usurping all the State powers. It was for not going jurther than the report, which tables the Lagislature to provide for the effect of julganata. The clause of compact with the power thurshed was then adopted, and is now a part of the Constitution. In presence of this solicitude for the preservation of 'State powers,' even while considering a proposition for an express power, and also of rigation of 'State powers,' even while considering a proposition for an express power, and also of the datnet statement of Mr. Randolph, that he 'was bot logoing further than the report,' it is evident that he idea could not then have occurred, that a base was the could not then have occurred, that a power was coupled with the naked clause of com-

pact on fegitives from labor.

At a later day, the various clauses and articles serrally adopted from time to time in Convention were referred to a committee of revision and articles are referred to a committee of revision and articles. angement, that they might be reduced to form as a connected whole. Here another change was made. The classe relating to public records, with the power stacked, was taken from its original place at the bottom of the clauses of compact, and promoted to stand first in the article, as a distinct section, while the other clauses of compact, concerning citizens, for clauses of compact, concerning citizens, for instance and fugitives from labor, each tad all without any power attached, by a natural association compose but a single section, thus:

ARTICLE IV.

ARTICLE IV.

"Sterior I. Pull faith and credit shall be given in man State, to the public acts, records, and judicial inceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general lane, prescribe the manner in which such ma records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effectiveness.

SETTION 2. The citizens of each State shall be en-titled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the serval States.

the averal States.

It is a privileges and immunities of citizens in the averal States.

It is proon charged in any State with treason, fellow, and the state in the proon charged in any State with treason, fellow, and the state in the state from the state in the st

SECTION 3. New States may be admitted by the Con-gress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed ed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned, as

ennent of the legislatures of the desired and excelles of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so onstrued as to prejudice any claims of the United

States, or of any particular State.
Section 4. The United States shall guaranty to SECTION 4. The United States shall guaranty to every State in the Union a republican form of govern-ment, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Exe-cutive, (when the Legislature cannot be convened,)

Here is the whole article. It will be observed that the third section immediately following the triad section of compacts, contains two specific owers, one with regard to new States, and the other with regard to the Public Treasury. These are naturally grouped together, while the fourth section e article, which is distinct in its charac ter, is placed by itself. In the absence of all specific ter, is placed by itself. In the absence of all specific information, reason alone can determine why this arrangement was made. But the conclusion is obvious, that, in the view of the Committee and of the Convention, each of these sections deflers from the others. The first contains a compact with a grant

of power. The second contains provisions, all of which are simple compacts, and two of which were confessedly simple compacts in the old Articles of Confederation, from which, unchanged in letter or spirit, they were borrowed. The third is a two-fold grant of power to Congress, without any compact. The fourth is neither power nor compact merely, nor both united, but a solemn injunction upon the

National Government to perform an important duty.

The framers of the Constitution were wise and careful men, who had a reason for what they did, and who understood the language which they employed. They did not, after discussion, incorporate into their work any superfluous provision; nor did they without design adopt the peculiar arrangement in which it appears. In adding to the record compact the express grant of power, they testified not only their desires for such powers in Congress, but their conviction, that without an express grant, it would not exist. But if an express grant was necessary in this case, it was equally necessary in all the other cases. Expressum facil cessare lacitum.—
Especially, in view of its odious character, was it necessary in the case of fugitives from labor. In abstaining from any such grant, and then, in group-ing the bare compact with other similar compacts, separate from every grant of power, they have most gnificantly testified their purpose. They not only decline all addition of any such power to the com-pact, but to render misapprehension impossible, to

make assurance doubly sure, to exclude any con-trary conclusion, they punctiliously arrange the clauses, on the principle of noscilur a sociis, so as to distinguish all the grants of power, but especially to make the new grant of power, in the case of pub-lic records, stand forth in the front by itself, severed from the mere naked compacts with which it was originally associated.

Thus the reco ds of the Convention show that all

the founders understood the necessity of powers in certain cases, and on consideration, most jealously granted them. A closing example will strengthen the argument. Congress is expressly empowered to establish an uniform rule of Naturalization, and uniform lines on the subject of Bankruptcies, throughout the United States.' Without this provision these two subjects would have been within the control of

Bankruptcies, and to empower [Congress TO Es-TABLISH AN UNIFORM RULE FOR THE SURRENDER OF TABLISH AN UNIFORM RULE FOR THE SURENBEAU FUGITIVES FROM LABOR THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES. Then of course, whenever Congress undertook to exercise the power, all State control of the subject would have been superseded. The National Government would have been constituted, like Nim-rol, the mighty Hunter, with power to gather the huntsmen, to halloo the pack, and to direct the chase huntsmen, to halloo the pack, and to direct the chase of men, ranging at will, without regard to boundaries or jurisdictions throughout all the States. But no person in the Convention, not one of the reckless partizans of Slavery, was so audacious as to make this proposition. Had it been distinctly made, it would have been distinctly denied.

The fact that the provision on this subject was adopted unanimously, while showing the little importance attrached to it in the shape it finally assumed, testifies also that it could not have been regarded as

estifies also that it could not have been regarded as a source of National power over Slavery. It will be remembered, that, among the members of the Con-vention, were Gouverneur Morris, who had said that he 'never would concur in upholding domestic slavery'; Elbridge Gerry, who thought 'we ought to Sherman, who was opposed to any clause 'acknowledging men to be property;' and Mr. Madison, who 'thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution, the idea that there could be property in man.' In the face of these unequivocal statements, it is absurd to suppose that they consented unanimously to any provision by which the National Government, the work of their hands, dedicated to Freedom, could be made

the most offensive instrument of slavery.

Thus much for the evidence from the history of the Convention. But the true principles of our Political System are in harmony with this conclusion of history; and here let me say a word of State Rights.

Secrior 3. New States may be admitted by the Conthereto, they constituted a General Government for special purposes, delegated to that Government certain definite powers, reserving each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government, and that wheresevere the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthorized, void, and of no force.

But I have already amply shown to-day that Slaery is in no respect national—that it is not within the sphere of national activity—that it has no positive' support in the Constitution,—and that its founders. Slavery is a local institution, peculiar to the States, and under the guardianship of State Rights. It is impossible, without violence at once to the spirit and to the letter of the Constitution, to attribute to Congress any power to legislate, either for its abolition in the States, or its support snywhere. Non Intervention is the rule prescribed to the Nation. Regarding the question only in its more general aspects, and putting aside, for the moment, the perfect evidence from the records of the Convention, it is palpable that there is no national fountain out of which the existing Slave Act can be derived.

which the existing Stave Act can be derived.

But this Act is not only an unwarrantable assumption of power by the Nation; it is also an infraction of rights reserved to the States. Every where within their borders, the States are the peculiar guardians of personal liberty. By Jury and Habens Corpus to save the citizen harmless against all assaults is among their duties and rights. To his State the citizen when oppressed may appeal, nor should be find that appeal denied. But this Act despoils him of his rights, and despoils his State of all power to of his rights, and despons his State of an power to protect him. It subjects him to the wretched chances of falge onths, forged papers, and facile commissioners, and takes from him every safeguard. Now, if the slaveholder has a right to be secure at home in the enjoyment of Slavery, so also has the freeman of the North—and every person there is presumed to be a freeman—an equal right to be secured at home in the enjoyment of Freedom. The same principle of State Rights by which Slavery is protected in the slave States, throws its impenetrable shield over freedom in the free States. And here, let me say, is the only security for Slavery in the slave States, as for Freedom in the free States. In the present fatal overthrow of State Rights, you teach a lesson which may return to plague the teacher. Compelling the National Government to stretch its Brisrean arms into the free States, for the sake of Slavery, you show openly how it may stretch these same hundred giant arms into the slave States for the sake of Freedom. This lesson was not taught by our fathers.

And here I end this branch of the question. The

true principles of our Political System, the history of the National Convention, the natural interpretation of the Convention, all teach that this Act is a usurpation by Congress of powers that do not belong to it, and an infraction of rights secured to the States. It is a sword, whose fandle is at the National Capi-tal, and whose point is everywhere in the States. A weapon so terrible to Personal Liberty, the Nation has no power to grasp.

(2.) And now of the denial of Trial by Jury. Admitting, for the moment, that Congress is intrusted with power over this subject, which truth disowns, still the Act is again radically unconstitutional from its denial of Trial by Jury in a question of Personal Liberty and a suit at common law. Since on the one side there is a claim of property, and on the other of liberty, both property and liberty are involved in the issue. To this claim on either side attached Trial by Jury.

is attached Trial by Jury.

To me, sir, regarding this matter in the light of
the common law, and in the blaze of free institutwo subjects would have been within the control of the States, the Nation having no power to establish an uniform rule thereupon. Now, instead of the common law, and in the blaze of free institutions, it has always seemed impossible to arrive at any other conclusion. If the language of the Conadd this case to the clause on Naturalization and the presumptions of law, all the leanings for Freeany other conclusion. If the language of the Constitution were open to doubt which it is not, still all the presumptions of law, all the leanings for Freedom, all the suggestions of justice, plead, angeltongued, for this right. Nobody doubts that Congress, if it legislates on this matter, may allow a Trial by Jury. But if it may, so overwhelming is the claim of justice, it must. Beyond this, however, the question is determined by the precise letter of the Constitution.

Several expressions in the provision for the surrender of furtives from labor show the essential

render of fugitives from labor show the essential character of the proceedings. In the first place, the character of the proceedings. In the first pace, the person must be, not merely charged, as in the case of fugitives from justice, but actually held to labor in the State from which he escaped. In the second place, he must be 'delivered up on claim of the party to whom such labor is due.' These two facts, that he was held to labor, and that his labor was due to the party to whom such labor, and that his labor was due to the party to was due to the party to whom such labor is due.' that he was held to labor, and that his labor was the to his claimant, are directly placed in issue, and must be proved. Two necessary incidents of the delivery may also be observed. First, it must be made in the State where the fugitive is found; and secondly, it restores to the claimant his complete control over the person of the fugitive. From these circumstances it is evident that the proceedings cannot be regarded, in any just sense, as preliminary, or ancillary to future formal trial, but as complete in

themselves, final and conclusive.

And these proceedings determine on the one side And these proceedings determine on the other the the question of property, and on the other the sacred question of Personal Liberty, in its most transcendent form; not merely Liberty for a day or reassement form; not merely Liberty of generations a year, but for life, and the Liberty of generations that shall come after, so long as Slavery endures. To these questions, the Constitution, by two specific provisions, attaches the Trial by Jury. One of these is the familiar clause, already adduced: "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; that is, without due proceedings at law, with Trial by Jury. Not stopping to dwell on this, I press at once to the other provision, which is still more express: 'In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of Trial by Jury shall be preserved.' This clause, which was not in the original Constitution, was suggested by the very spirit of Freedom At the close of the National Convention, Elbridge Gerry refused to sign the Constitution, because among other things, it established 'a tribunal, without juries, a Star Chamber as to civil cases.' Many onited in his opposition, and on the recommendation of the first Congress, this additional safeguard was adopted as an amendment

Now, regarding the question as one of property.

But this provision has been repeatedly discussed by the Supreme Court, so that its meaning is not open to doubt. Three conditions are necessary. First, the proceeding must be 'a suit;' secondly, 'at common law;' and thirdly, 'where the value in controversy exceeds twenty dollars.' In every such case, 'the right of Trial by Jury shall be preserved.'
The decisions of the Supreme Court expressly touch

each of these points.

First. In the case of Cohens vs. Virginia, (6 Wheaton, 407,) the Court say: What is a suit?

We understand it to be the prosecution of some claim, demand, or request? Of course, then, the claim' for a fugitive most be 'a suit.'

Secondly. In the case of Parsons vs. Bedford, (3)

ceers, 456,) while considering this very clause, the court says: 'By common law is meant not merely suits which the common law recognised among its old and settled proceedings, but suits in which legal rights were to be ascertained and determined. In a ost sense, the Amendment may well be construed to embrace all suits, which are not of Equity or Admirelty jurisdiction, whatever may be peculiar form which they may assume to selle legal rights. Now, since they may assume to settle regain rights. It is, since the claim for a fugitive is not a sait in Equity or Admiralty, but a suit to settle what are called legal rights, it must, of course, be a suit at common law."

Thirdly. In the case of Lee vs. Lee, (8 Peters. 14.) on a question whether 'the value in contro-persy' was 'one thousand dollars and upwards,' it versy' was 'one thousand dollars and upwards,' it was objected that the appellants, who were petitioners for Freedom, were not of the value of one thousand dollars. But the Court said: 'The matter in dispute is the Freedom of the petitioners. This is not susceptible of pecuniary valuation. No doubt is emertained of the jurisdiction of the Court.' Of course, then, since liberty is above price, the claim to any fugitive always and necessarily presumes that 'the value in controversy exceeds twenty dollars.'

By these successive steps, sustained by decisions of the highest tribunal, it appears, as in a diagram.

of the highest tribunal, it appears, as in a diagram, that the right of Trial by Jury is secured to the fugi-

This conclusion needs no further authority; but t may receive curious illustration from the records of the common law, so familiar and dear to the framers of the Constitution. It is said by Mr. Burke, in his magnificent speech on Conciliation with America, that ' nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries were sold in America as in England carrying thither the knowledge of those vital princi-ples of Freedom, which were the boast of the ples of Freedom, which were the boast of the British Constitution. Imbued by these, the earliest Continental Congress, in 1774, declared 'that the respective Colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law. Thus, amidst the troubles which heralded the Revolution lution, the common law was claimed by our fathers as a birthright. Now, although the common law may not be ap-

roached as a source of jurisdiction under the National Constitution—and on this point I do not dwell—it is clear that it may be employed in determining the meaning of technical terms in the Constitution berrowed from this law. This indeed, is expressly specifically by Madison in his calculated approximation of the Madison in his calculated approximation. anctioned by Mr. Madison, in his celebrated report law, and its associate Chancery, we learn what are the master, the watchful law secured to

nal Latin, forms of judicial proceedings, nativus, implying slavety by birth. The incidents of this condition have been minutely described, and also the mutual remedies of master and slave, all of which were regulated by the common law. Slaves sometimes then, as now, excaped from their masters. The claim for them after such escape was prosecuted by a 'suit at common law,' to which, as to every suit at common law, the Trial by Jury was necessarily attached. Blackstone, in his Commentaries, (Vol. II. p. 93,) in words which must have been known to all the lawyers of the Convention, said of villains: 'They could not leave their lord without his permission, but if they run away, or were purloined from him, might be claimed and recovered by action, like beats or other cattle.' This very word action of itself implies 'a suit at common law,' with Trial by Jury.

From other sources we learn precisely what the action was. That great expounder of the ancient law, Mr. Hargrave, says, 'the Yoar Books and Books of Entries are full of the forms used in pleading a title to villains.' Though no longer of practical value in England, they remain as monuments of Jurisprudence, and as mementoes of 'a barbarous institution. He thus describes the remedy of the masters at common law:

'The lord's remedy for a fugitive villain was either by seizure or by suing out a writ of Native Habendo, or Sity, as it is sometimes called. If the lord seized the villain's most effectual mode of recovering liberty

due process of law; 'that is, without due proceeding and here let me say a worl of State Rights.

It was the purpose of our fathers to center the process of law; 'that is, without due proceeding at law, with Trial by Jury. Not stopping to the purpose of our fathers to center the purpose of the purpose of our fathers to center the purpose of the

the value in controversy exceeds twenty dollars.'- place out of the manor, to which he is regardant, the (Debates in National Intelligencer, June 15, 1818.) | ord shall have a Nativo Habendo. And upon such a place out of the manor, to which he is regardant, the ford shall have a Native Habendo. And upon such a writ, directed to the sheriff, he may seize him who does not deny himself to be a villain. But if the defendant say that he is a free man, the sheriff cannot seize him, but the lord must remove the writ by Pone before the Justices in Eyre, or in C. B., where he must count upon it.—(Comyns' Digest—Villainage, C. 1.)

An early writer of peculiar authority, Fitzherbert, n his Natura Brevium, on the write of the common

. The writ of de Nativo Habendo lieth for the lord who claimeth inheritance in any villain, when his villain is run from him, and is remaining within any place out of the manor unto which he is regardant, or when he of the manor unto which he is regardant, or when he departeth from his lord against the lord's will; and the writ shall be directed to the sheriff. And the sheriff may seize the villain, and deliver him unto his lord, if the villain confess unto the sheriff that he is his villain; but if the villain say to the sheriff that he is frank, then it seemeth that he sheriff ought not to seize him; as it is in a replevin, if the defendant claim property, the sheriff cannot replevy the cartle, but the party ought to sue a writ de Proprietate Probanda; and so if the villain say that he is a freeman. banda; and so if the vill in say that he is a freeman, so, then the sheriff ought not to seize him, but then the lord ought to sue a Pone to remove the plea before the justices of the Common Pleas, or before the justices in evre. But if the villain purchase a writ de Libertate Probuda before the lord hath sued the Pone to remove the plea before the justices, then that will set Thorate Probuda is a Supersedeas unto the writ of Libertate Probanda is a Supersedeas unto the lord, that he proceed not upon the writ Natice Habendo till the eyre of the justices, and that the lord ought not to seize the villain in the mean time. — (Vol.

These authorities are not merely applicable to the eneral question of freedom; but they distinctly ontemplate the case of fugitive slaves, and the suits at common laws' for their rendition. Black-stone speaks of villains who 'rnn away;' Hargrave of 'fugitive villains,' Comyns of a villain 'who flies from his lord against his will;' and Fitzherbert of the proceedings of the lord when his villain is run from him. The forms, writs, counts, pleadings and from him." The forms, writs, counts, pleadings and judgments, in these suits, are all preserved among the precedents of the common law. The writs are known as original writs, which the party on either side, at the proper stage, could sue out of right without showing cause. The writ of Libertate Probanda for a fugitive slave was in this form:

Libertate Probanda.

The king to the sheriff, &c. A. and B. her sister, have shown unto us, that whereas they are free women and ready to prove their liberty, F. claiming them to be and ready to prove their liberty, F. claiming them to be his neifs unjustly, vexes them; and therefore we command you that if the aforesaid A. and B. shall make you seeme, touching the proving of their liberty, then put that plea before our justices at the first assizes, when they shall come into those parts, because proof of this kind belongeth not to you to take; and proof of this kind belongeth not to you to lake, and in the mean time, cause the said A. and B. to have peace thereupon, and tell the aforesaid F. that he may be there if he will, to prosecute his plea thereof against the aforesaid A. and B. And have there this writ. Witness, &c.'—(Fitcharbert, Vol. I. p. 77.)

By these various proceedings, all ending in Trial by Jury, Personal Liberty was gnarded, even in the early, unrefined, and barbarous days of the common law. Any person claimed as a fugitive slave might invoke this Trial as a succed right. Whether the sanctioned by Mr. Madison, in his celebrated report of 1799, while restraining the extent to which the common law may be employed. Thus by this law we learn the nature of Trial by Jury, which, though secured, is not described by the Constitution; also of Bills of Altainder, the Writ of Habeas Corpus, and Impeachment, all technical terms of the Constitution, borrowed from the common law. By this to borrowed from the common law. By this transfer the master of the real master of the fight. Whether the master of right. Whether the instead as a sacred right. Whether the instead of the master of proceeded by a seizure, as he might, or legal process, the Trial by Jury in a suit at common law, see quality secured. In the case of seizure, the fight, or legal process, the Trial by Jury in a suit at common law, see quality secured. In the case of seizure, the fight control of the realm, the fight control of the realm, the fight control of the realm, and the process against his master, and appear to the fight control of the realm, and the fight control of the realm.

tution, borrowed from the common law. By this law, and its associate Chancery, we learn what are cases in law and equity to which the judicial power of the United States is extended. These instances I adduce merely by way of example. Of course, also, in the same way we learn what in reality are suits at common law.

Now, on principle and authority, a claim for the delivery of a fugitive slave is a suit at common law, and is embraced naturally and necessarily in this class of judicial proceedings. This proposition can be placed beyond question. And here, especially, let me ask the attention of all learned in the law. On this point, as on every other in this argument, I challenge inquiry and answer.

History painfully records that during the early days of the common aw, and down even to a late period, a system of slavery existed in England, known under the name of villainage. The slave was generally called a villain, though, in the original Latin, forms of judicial proceedings, nativis, implying slavery by birth. The incidents of this condition have been minutely described, and also the mutal remedies of master and slave, all of which

secondly, as a denial of Trial by Jury in certain

cases of property.

The public feeling was variously expressed. A Boston, on the arrival of the stamps, the slops were closed, the bells of the chirches tolled, and the flags of the ships hung at half mast. At Portsme New Hampshire, the best were tolled, and notice given to the friends of Liberty to hold themselves in readiness to attend her funeral. At New York, a letter was received from Franklin, then in London, written on the day after the passage of the act, in which he said:— The sun of liberty is set. The obnoxious Act, hewded 'Folly of England and Ruin of America, was contemptionally hawked through the streets. The merchants of New York, inspired then by Liberty, resolved to import no more goods from England until the repeal of the Act; and their example was followed shorly afterwards by the merchants of Philadelphia and Boston. Bodies of patriots were organized everywhere under the name of 'Sons of Liberty.' The orators also spoke,

Charta.

Of all the States, Virginia-whose shield bears the image of Liberty trampling upon chains—first declared herself by solemn resolutions, which the timid thought 'treasonable;' but which soon found a response. New York followed. Massachusetts came next, speaking by the pen of the inflexible Samuel Adams. In an Address from the Legislature to the Governor, the true grounds of opposition to the Stamp Act, coincident with the two radical objections to the Slive Act, are clearly set forth :

James Otis with fiery tongue appealed to Magna

objections to the Slave Act, are clearly set forth:

'You are p'eased to say that the Stamp Act is an act of Parliament, and as such ought to be observed. This House, sir, has too great reverence for the Supreme Legislature of the nation to question its just authority. It by no means appertains to us to presume to adjust the boundaries of the power of Parliament; but boundaries there undoubtedly are. We hope we may, without offence, put your Excellency in mind of that most grievous sentence of excommunication, solely denounced by the Church in the name of the sacred Trinity, in the presence of King Henry the Third and the estates of the realm, against all those who should make statutes on observe them, allow MADE, contrary to the liberties of Magna Charta. The Charta contrary to the liberties of Magna Charta. The Charta of this province invests the General Assembly with the power of making laws for its internal government and taxation; and this Charta has never been forand taxation; and this Charta has never been forfeited. The Parliament has a right to make all laws
within the limits of their own Constitution.'

'The people complain that the Act vests a single
judge of Admiralty with a power to try and determine
their property in con roversies arising from internal
concerns, without a jury, contrary to the very expression of Magna Charta, that no freeman shall be
amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of
the vicinage.'

" " We deeply regret that the
Parliament has seen fit to pass such an act as the Parliament has seen fit to pass such an act as the Yeinage. \* • • We deeply regret that the Parliament has seen fit to pass such an act as the Stant Act; we flatter ourselves that the hardships of it will shortly appear to them in such a light, as shall induce them in their wisdom to repeal it; in the mean time, we must beg your Excellency to excuse us from doing anything to assist in the execution of it.

Thus, in those days, spoke Massachusetts! The parallel still proceeds. The unconstitutional Stamp Act was welcomed in the Colonies, by the tories of Act was welcomed in the Colonies, by the fories of that day, precisely as the unconstitutional Slave Act has been welcomed by large and imperious numbers among us. Hutchinson, at that time Lieutenent Governor and Judge in Massachusetts, wrote to Ministers in England: 'The Stamp Act is received with as much decency as could be expected. It leaves no room for evasion, and will execute itself.' Like the judges of our day, in charges to grand juries, he resolutely vindicated the act, and admonished the jurors and the people to obey. Like governors, of our day, Bernard, in his speech to the legernors, of our day, Bernard, in his speech to the legislature of Massachusetts, demanded unreasoning submission. 'I shall not,' says this British governor, 'enter into any disquisition of the policy of this act. I have only to say that it is an act of the Parliament of Great Britain; and I trust that the supremacy of that Parliament over all the members of their wide and diffused empire never was and never will be denied within these walls.' Like marshals of our day, the officers of the Customs made 'application for a military force to assist them in the execution of their duty.' The military were against the people. A British major of artillery, at New York, exclaimed, in tones not unlike those now sometimes heard: 'I will cram the stamps down their throats with the end of my sword.' The elaborate answer of Massachusetts—a paper of historic grandeur—drawn by Samuel Adams, was pronounced 'the ravings of a parcel of wild enthusiasts.'

Thus, in those days, spoke the partisans of the

drawn by Samuel Adams, was pronounced the ravings of a parcel of wild enthusiasts.'

Thus, in those days, spoke the partisans of the Stemp Act. But their weakness soon became manifest. In the face of an awakened community, where discussion has free scope, no men, though surrounded by office and wealth, can long sustain injustice. Earth, water, nature, they may subdue; but truth they cannot subdue. Subtle and mighty, against all efforts and devices, it fills every region of light with its majestic presence. The Stamp Act was discussed and understood. Its violation of constitutional rights was exposed. By resolutions of legislatures and of town meetings, by speeches and writings, by public assemblies and processions, the country was rallied in peaceful phalanx against the execution of the act. To this great object, within the bounds of law and the Constitution, were bent all the energies of the land.

And here Boston took the lead. Her records, at this time, are full of proud memorials. Informal instructions to her representatives, adopted manimous-ly, having been read several times, in town meet-ing at Fancuil Hall, the following rule of conduct was prescribed:

We, therefore, think it our indispensable duty, in We, therefore, think it our indispensable duty, in justice to ourselves and posterity, as it is our undoubted privilege, in the most open and unreserved, but decent and respectful terms, to declare our greatest dissatisfaction with this law. And we think it incumbent upon you by no means to join in any public measures for countenancing and assisting in the execution of the same, but to use your best endeavors in the General Assembly, to have the inherent, inalienable rights of the people of this province asserted, and vindicated, and left upon the public record, that posterity may never have reason to charge the present times with the guilt of tamely giving them away.

Virginia responded to Boston. Many of her justices of the peace surrendered their commissions, 'rather than aid in the enforcement of the law, or be instrumental in the overthrow of their country's liberties.'

As the opposition deepened, its natural tendency was to outbreak and violence. But this was carefully restrained. On one occasion in Boston, it showed itself in the lawlessness of a mob. But the town, at a public meeting in Fancuil Hall, called without delay, on the motion of the opponents of the Stamp Act, with James Olis as chairman, condemned the outrage. Eager in hostility to the execution of the act, Boston cherished municipal order, and constantly discountenanced all tumnit, violence and illegal proceedings. Her equal devotion to these two objects drew the praises and congratulations of other towns. In reply, March 27, 1766, to an address from the inhabitants of Plymouth, her own consciounces of duty done is thus expressed:

ry Waisicture of View of the r, Mass.
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ENT, TION. D-BIRTS

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Learn, now, from the diary of John Adams the re-

. The year 1765 has been the most remarkable year of my life. That enormous engine, fabricated by the British Parliament, for battering down all the rights and liberties of America—I mean the Stamp act—has raised and spread through the whole raised and spread through the whole continent a spir-it that will be recorded to our honor with all future generations. In every colony, from Georgia to New Hampshire inclusively, the stamp distributors and in-spectors have been compelled by the unconquerable rage of the people to renounce their offices. Such and so universal has been the resentment of the people, that every man who has dared to speak in favor of the stamps, or to soften the detestation in which they are held, how great seever his abilities and virtues had heen esteemed before, or whatsoever his fortune, con-nections, and influence had been, has been seen to sink into universal contempt and ignominy."

The Stamp act became a dead letter. At the meeting of Parliament, numerous petitions were premeeting of Parliament, numerous petitions were presented, calling for its instant repeal. Franklin, at that time in England, while giving his famous testimony before the House of Commons, was asked whether he thought the people of America would submit to the Stamp act, if modified. His emphatic response was: 'No, never, unless compelled by force of arms.' Chatham, yet weak with disease, but mighty in eloquence, exclaimed in ever-memorable words: We are told America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments We are told America is obstinate: Amerto make slaves of all the rest. The Americans have been wronged; they have been driven to madness. I will beg leave to tell the House, in a few words, what is really my opinion. It is that the Stamp Act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately. It was repealed. Within less than a year from its original passage. ginal passage, denounced and discredited, it was driven from the statute-book. In the charnel-house of history, with the unclean things of the past, it now rots. Thither the Slave act is destined to follow.

Sir, regarding the Stamp act carefully and cau-tiously, free from the animosities of the time, it is impossible not to see that, though gravely unconstierty only, not of personal liberty. just tax of a few pence, with the chances of americanents by a single judge without a jury; but, by no provision of this act was the personal liberty of any man assailed. Under it no freeman could be seized as a slave. Such an act, though justly obnoxious to every lover of constitutional liberty, cannot be viewed with the feelings of repugnance enkindled by a statute which assails the personal liberty of every man, and under which any freeman can be seized

as a slave. Sir, in placing the Stamp act by the side of the Slave act, I do no injustice to that emanation of British tyranny. Both, indeed, infringe important rights; one of property—the other the vital right of all, which is to other rights as the soul is to the body, the right of a man to himself. Both are condemned; but their relative condemnation must be measured by their relative characters. As Freedom is mo carns; as Heaven, to which we all aspire, is higher than the earth, where every accumulation of wealth must ever remain: so are the rights assailed by an American Congress higher than those once assailed by the British Parliament. And just in this degree st history condemn the Slave act more than the

Sir, I might here stop. It is enough in this place. and on this occasion, to show the unconstitutionality of this enactment. Your duty commences at once. All legislation hostile to the fundamental law of the land should be repealed without delay. But the argument is not yet exhausted. Even if this act could claim any validity or apology under the Constitution, which it cannot, it lacks that essential support in the public conscience of the States, where it is to be enforced, which is the life of all law, and without

which any law must become a dead letter.

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Butler]
was right, when, at the beginning of the session, he
pointedly said, that a law which could be enforced
only by the bayonet, was no law. Sir, it is idle to
suppose that an act of Congress becomes effective,
merely by compliance with the forms of legislation. Something more is necessary. The act must be in harmony with the prevailing public sentiment of the community upon which it bears. Of course, I do not suggest that the cordial support of every man or of every small locality is necessary; but I do mean that the public feelings, the public convictions, the public conscience must not be touched, wounded, lacerated, by every endeavor to enforce it.

With all these it must be so far in harmony that like other laws by which property, liberty and life are guarded, it may be administered by the ordinary process of the Courts, without jeoparding the public od men. If this be true general rule—if the public support and sympathy be essential to the life of all law, this is especially the case in an enactment which concerns the impo and sensitive rights of personal liberty. In conformity with this principle, the legislature of Massachu formal resolution, in 1850, with singular unanimity, declared:

. We hold it to be the duty of Congress to pass such laws only in regard thereto as will be maintained by the sentiments of the Free States, where such laws

The duty of consulting those sentiments was cognized by Washington. While President of the United States, at the close of his administration, he sought to recover a slave, who had fied to New Hampshire. His autograph letter to Mr. Whipple. the Collector of Portsmouth, dated at Philadelphia, Nov. 28, 1796, which I now hold in my hand, and which has never before seen the light, after describ ing the fogitive, and particularly expressing the de-sire of 'her mistress,' [Mrs. Washington,] for her return, employs the following decisive language:

'I do not mean, however, by this request, that such MOB OR RIOT, WHICH MIGHT BE THE CASE IP SHE HA ADBLERANTS, OR EVEN UNEASY SENSATIONS IN THE MINDS OF WELL-DISPOSED CITIZENS. Rather than either of these should happen, I would forego her services al-together; and the example also, which is of infinite more importance. more importance. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Mr. Whipple, in his reply, dated at Portsmouth, Dec. 22, 1796, an autograph copy of which I have, recognizes the rule of Washington: 'I will now, sir, agreeably to your desire, send her o Alexandria, if it be practicable without the conse-

to Alexandria, if it be practicable without the consequences which you except—that of exciting a riot or a mob, or creating uneasy sensations in the minds of well-disposed persons. The first cannot be calculated beforehand; it will be governed by the popular opinion of the moment, or the circumstances that may arise in the transaction. The latter may be sought into and judged of by conversing with such persons, without discovering the occasion. So for a Latter without discovering the occasion. So far as I have had opportunity, I perceive that different sentiments are entertained on this subject."

The fogitive never was returned, but lived in freedom to a good old age, down to a very recent period, a monument of the just forbearance of him, whom we aptly call the Father of his country. It is whom we aptly call the Father of his country. It is true that he sought her return. This we must regret, and find its apology. He was at this time a slaveholder. Though often with various degrees of force expressing himself against slavery, and promote the state of the state of

staveholder. Though often with various degrees of force expressing himself against slavery, and promising his suffrage for its abolition, he did not see this wrong as he saw it at the close of his life, in the illumination of another sphere.

From this act of Washington, still swayed by the policy of the world, I appeal to Washington writing his will. From Washington on earth, I appeal to Washington in heaven. Seek not by his name to justify any such effort. His death is above his life. His last restauent cancels his authority as a slave-holder. However he may have appeared before man, he went into the presence of God only as the liberator of his slaves. Grateful for this example, I am grateful also, that while a slaveholder, and seeking the return of a fugitive, he has left on permanent record a rule of conduct, which, if adopted by his country, will make slavehunting impossible. The chances of a riof or mob, or 'even uneasy sensations among well-disposed persons,' are to prevent any such purl-disposed persons, are to prevent any such pur-

Not a case occurs without endangering the public peace. Workmen are brutally dragged from em-ployments to which they are wedded by years of successful labor; husbands are ravished from wives pulpits trembled and the whole people, and thereby the shameful catastrophe.

| Anneasy, but swelling with ill-suppressed indignation, for the sake of order and tranquility, without ington require.

| Sir, thus far I have arrayed the objections to this state of which it has violence witnessed the shameful catastrophe.

With every attempt to administer the Slave Act,

t constantly the influence on the agents it enlists. Pitch cannot be touched without defilement, and all who lend sciously to lose the better part of man. The spirit of the law passes into them, as the devil entered the swine. Upstart commissioners, the mere mush-rooms of courts, vie and revie with each other. Now by indecent speed, now by harsbness of man-, now by a denial of evidence, now by crippling defence, and now by open, glaring wrong. they make the odious Act yet more odious. Clemency grace, and justice, die in its presence. All this i bserved by the world. Not a case occurs which does not harrow the souls of good men, and bring tears of sympathy to the eyes, also—those other tears which 'patriots shed o'er dying laws.'

Sir, I shall speak frankly. If there be an excep-tion to this feeling, it will be found chiefly with a peculiar class. It is a sorry fact that the 'mercan-tile interest,' in its unpardomble selfishness, twice in English history, frowned upon the endeavors to suppress the atrocity of Algerine Slavery; that it sought to baffle Wilberforce's great affort for the abolition of the African slave trade; and that, by a sordid compromise, at the formation of our Constitution, it exempted the same detested, Heaven-defying traffic from American indoment. And now representatives of this 'interest,' forgetful that commerce the child of freedom, join in hunting the Slave. But the great heart of the people recoils from this enactment. It palpitates for the fugitive, and/rejoices in his escape. Sir, I am telling you facts. The literature of the age is all on his side. The songe, more potent than laws, are for him. The poets, with voices of melody, are for Freedom. Who could sing for Slavery? They who make the permanent opinion of the country, who mould our youth, whose words, dropped into the soul, are the germs of character, supplicate for the Slave. And now, sir, behold a new and heavenly ally. A wo-man, inspired by Christian genius, enters the lists, like another Joan of Arc, and with marvellous power ing to tears, and now inspiring to rage, her work everywhere touches the conscience, and makes the Slave Hunter more hateful. In a brief period, near-ly 100,000 copies of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have been lready circulated. But this extraordinary and sudden success—surpassing all other instances in the records of literature—cannot be regarded merely as the triumph of genius. Higher far than this, it is the testimony of the people, by an unprecedented act, against the Fugitive Slave Bill.

These things I dwell upon as the incentives and

tokens of an existing public sentiment, which renders this Act practically inoperative, except as a tremendous engine of terror. Sir, the sentiment is just. Even in the lands of slavery, the slave trader is loathed as an ignoble character, from whom the countenance is turned away; and can the Slave Hunter be more regarded while pursuing his prey in a land of Freedom? In early Europe, in barbarous days, while Slavery prevailed, a Hunting Mas-ter nach jagender Herr, as the Germans called him, was held in aversion. Nor was this all. The fugi-tive was welcomed in the cities, and protected against the pursuit. Sometimes vengeance awaited the Hunter. Down to this day, at Revel, now a Russian city, a sword is proudly preserved with which a Hunting Beron was beheaded, who, in vio-lation of the municipal rights of this/place, seized a fugitive slave. Hostile to this Act as our public sentiment may be, it exhibits no trophy like this. The State laws of Massachusetts have been violated in the seizure of a fugitive slave; but no sword, like

love Freedom. The endeavor, though unsuccessful, of employment these processes have slumbered in reveals courage, manhood, character. No story is our country, still they belong to the great arsenal of read with more interest than that of our own the common law, and continue, like Lafayette, when, sided by a gallant South Carolin- writs, languam gladium in vogina, reian, in defiance of the despotic ordinances of Austria, kindred to our Slave Act, he strove to escape from the bondage of Olmutz. Literature pauses with exultation over the struggles of Cervantes, the at common law, with Trial by Jury; and it would great Spaniard, while a slave in Algiers, to regain the liberty for which he says, in his immortal work, we ought to risk life itself, Slavery being the greatest evil that can fall to the lot of man. Science, in all her manifold triumphs, throbs with pride and in all her manifold triumphs, throbs with prior and der cross-examination that the person claims der cross-examination claims der sons. Religion rejoices serenely, with joy unspeakable, in the final escape of Vincent de Paul. Exposed in the public square of Tunis to the inspection posed in the public square of Tunis to the inspection of the traffickers in human flesh, this illustrious frenchman was subjected to every vileness of treating to just rules of interpretation, the phrase per ment, like a horse, compelled to open his mouth, to ment, like a horse, compelled to open his mouth, to show his teeth, to trot, to ren, to exhibit his strength in lifting burthens, and then, like a horse, legally ter, after a protracted servitude, he achieved his freedom, and regaining France, commenced that resplendent career of charity by which he is placed among the great names of Christendom. Princes and orators have lavished panegyrics upon this fugitive slave; and the Catholic Church, in homage to his extraordinary virtues, has introduced him into

Less by genius or eminent services, than by suf-ferings, are the fugitive slaves of our country now-commended. For them every sentiment of humanity is aroused:

- Who could refrain That had a heart to love, and in that heart Courage to make his love known?

Rude and ignorant they may be; but in their very efforts for Freedom, they claim kindred with all that is noble in the Past. They are among the heroes of our age. Romance has no stories of more thrill-ing interest than theirs. Classical antiquity has will proscribe you through all time. Sir, already judgment is beginning. A righteous public senti-

will proscribe you through all time. Sir, already judgment is beginning. A righteous public sentiment palsies your enactment.

And now, sir, let us review the field over which we have passed. We have seen that any compromise, finally closing the discussion of Slavery under the Constitution, is tyrannical, absurd, and impotent; that as Slavery can exist only by virtue of positive law, and as it has no such positive support in the Constitution, it cannot exist within the National jurisdiction; that the Constitution nowhere recognises property in man, and that, according to favore the desired under the National Government was first organized under Washington, himself an Abolitionists, surrounded by Abolitionists, while the whole country, by its Church, its Colleges, its Literature,

Sir, the existing slave act cannot be enforced without violating the precept of Washington. Not merely uneasy sensations of well-disposed persons, but rage, tumult, commotion, mob, riot, violence, death, gush from its fatal overflowing fountains:

—hoe fonte derivata clades In patriam populumque fluxit.

The sense results and agenciars the public of the surrender of fugitives from labor, we Not a case occurs without endangering the public peace. Workmen are brutally dragged from employments to which they are wedded by years of successful labor; husbands are ravished from wives and parents from children. Everywhere there is disturbance; at Detroit, Boffalo, Harrisburg, Syracuse, Philadelphia, New York, Boston. At Butfalo the fugitive was cruelly knocked by a log of wood against a red hot stove, and his mock trial commenced while the blood still oozed from his wounded head. At Syracuse he was rescued by a sudden mob; so also at Boston. At Harrisburg the fugitive was shot; at Christiana the Slave Hunter was shot. At New York unprecedented excitement, always with uncertain consequences, has attended every case. Again at Boston a fugitive, according to the received report, was first falsely seized under protext that he was a criminal, arrested only after a deadly struggle; guarded by officers who acted in violation of the laws of the State; tried in a Court House surrounded by chains contrary to the common law; finally surrendeded to Slavery by trampling on the criminal process of the State, under an escort in violation again of the laws of the State, under an escort in violation again of the laws of the State, while the pulpits trembled and the whole people, not merely pulpits trembled and the whole people, not merely and which prudence and the processed indignated to be accounted, which is the life of all law, and which prudence and the process of Washhave seen that it was not one of the original co pulpits trembled and the whole people, not merely where it is to be executed, which is the life of all innessy, but swelling with ill-suppressed indigna- law, and which prudence and the precept of Wash-

y attempt to administer the Slave Act, Act, and the false interpretations out of which it has becomes more revolung, particularly in sprung. But I am asked what I offer as a substitute on the agents it enlists. Pitch cannot for the legislation which I denounce. Freely I will answer. It is to be found in a correct appreciation this discussion occurs. Look at it in the double light of reason and of Freedom, and we cannot mistake the exact extent of its requirements. Here

No person held to service or labor in one State 'No person neid to service or inportin one claus, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

From the very language employed, it is obvious that this is merely a compact between the States with a prohibition on the States, conferring no power on the nation. In its natural signification, it is a compact. According to the examples of other countries and the principles of jurisprudence, it is a compac All arrangements for the extradition of fugitive have been customarily compacts. Except under the express obligations of treaty, no nation is bound t surrender fugitives. Especially has this been th case with fugitives for Freedom. In mediava Europe, cities refused to recognise this obligation in favor of persons even under the same National Government. In 1531, while the Netherlands and Spain were united under Charles V, the Supreme Council of Mechlin rejected an application from Spain for the surrender of a fugitive slave. By express compact alone could this be secured. But the provision of the Constitution was borrowed from the Ordinance of the North western Territory, which is expressly declared to be a compact; and this Ordiborrowed in its distinctive features from the earl institutions of Massachusetts, among which, as far back as 1643, was a compact of like nature with New England States a compact, in language, in nature, in its whole history; as we have already seen it is a compact, according to the intentions of our Fathers and the genius of our institutions.

As a compact its execution depends absolutely up-

As a compact its execution depends absolutely upon the States, without any intervention of the nation.
Each State, in the exercise of its own judgment, will
determine for itself the precise extent of the obligations
assumed. As a compact in derogation of Freedom,
it must be construed strictly in every respect—leaning always in favor of Freedom, and shunning any
meaning, not clearly obvious, which takes away important personal rights; mindful that the parties to whom it is applicable are regarded as 'persons.' course with all the rights of 'persons' under the Constitution; and especially mindful of the vigorous maxim of the common law, that he is cruel and im-pious who does not always favor Freedom. With this key, the true interpretation is natural and easy.

Briefly, the States are prohibited from any or regulation' by which the fugitive may be dis-charged, and on the establishment of the claim to his service, he is to be delivered up. But the mo by which the claim is to be tried and determined is not specified. All this is obviously within the con-trol of each State. It may be done by virtue of express legislation, in which event any Legislature, justly careful of Personal Liberty, would surround the fugitive with every shield of the law and Constitution. But such legislation may not be necessary. The whole proceeding, without any express stitution. sary. The whole proceeding, without any expres forms of the common law, familiar to the framers of the Constitution, and ample for the occasion. If the figitive be seized without process, he will be en titled at once to his writ de Hamine Replegiando that of Revel, now hangs at Boston.

I have said, sir, that this sentiment is just. And is it not? Every escape from Slavery necessarily and instinctively awakens the regard of all who of employment these processes have slumbered in writs, lanquam gladium in ragina, ready to be employed at the first necessity. They belong to the safeguards of the citizen. But in any event, and in be the solemn duty of the court, according to a the forms and proper delays of the common law, try the case on the evidence; strictly to apply a the protecting rules of evidence, and especially t require stringent proof by competent witnesses ut der cross-examination that the person claimed wa such service was due, and also proof of the laws of the State under which he was held. Still further to the Courts of each State must belong the determin

Such is this much-debated provision States, at the formation of the Constitution, did no propose, as in the cases of Naturalization and Bank rupicy, to empower the National Government fo establish an uniform rule for the rendition of fugitive from labor, throughout the United States; they did and ask the National Government to charge itself in any way with this service; they did not venture to offend the country, and particularly the Northern States, by any such assertion of a hateful right They were content, under the sanctions of compact to leave it to the public sentiment of the States There, I insist, it shall remain.

Mr. President, I have occupied much time; bu point yet remains, which I should not leave untouched, and which justly belongs to the close. The Slave Act violates the Constitution, and shocks the Public Conscience. With modesty, and yet with firmness, let me add, sir, it offends against the Divin-Law. No such ensctment can be entitled to an port. As the throne of God is above every earth names will be treasured in the annals of their race. By the eloquent voice they have already done much to make their wrongs known, and to secure the respect of the world. History will soon lend them her averaging pen. Proscribed by you during life, the will proscribe you through all and the proscribe will be authors infallibility. To assume that human laws are beyond question, is to claim for their fallible authors infallibility. To assume that human laws are beyond question, is to claim for their fallible authors infallibility. To assume that they are always in conformity with those of God, is presented by the proscribe will be authors infallibility. To assume that they are always in conformity with those of God, is presented by the proscribe will be authors infallibility. To assume that they are always in conformity with those of God, is presented by the proscribe will be authors infallibility. To assume that they are always in conformity with those of God, is presented by the proscribe will be authors infallibility. To assume that they are always in conformity with those of God, is presented by the proscribe will be authors infallibility. To assume that they are always in conformity with those of God, is presented by the proscribe will be authors infallibility. To assume that they are always in conformity with those of God, is presented by the proscribe will be authors infallibility. throne, so are His laws and statutes above all the laws and statutes of man. To question these is t always in conformity with those of God, is pre-sumptionedly and impiously to exait man to an equal-ity with God. Clearly human laws are not always in such conformity; nor can they ever be beyond question from each individual. Where the conflict

country, by its Church, its Colleges, its Literature, and not laws. And here again the consciences, and not laws. And here again the conscience of and all its best voices, was united against Slavery, and the national flag at that time nowhere within the National Territory covering a single slave; still the National Territory covering a single slave; still philosophy in early Europe, a name of intellectual

renown, the eloquent Abelard, in Latin verses ad-dressed to his eon, has clearly expressed the univer-

Jussa potestatis terrenæ discutienda Cœlestis tibi mox perficienda scias. Siquis divinis jubeat contraria jussis Te contra Dominum pactio nulla trahat.

The mandates of an earthly power are to be discus-

of law. This grave responsibility I would not lightly assume. But here the path of duty is clear. By the Supreme Law, which commands use to do no injustice; by the comprehensive Christian Law of Brotherhood: by the Constitution, which I have sucorn to support; I am BOUND TO DISOBEY THIS ACT. Never, in any capacity, can I render volun ary aid in its execution. Pains and penalties I will endure; but this great wrong I will not do. 'I cannot obey; but I can suffer,' was the exclamation of the author but I can suffer,' was the exclamation of the auth of Pilgrim's Progress, when imprisoned for dis-obedience to an earthly statute. Better suffer in-justice than do it. Better be the victim than the instrument of wrong. Better be even the poor slave, returned to bondage, than the unhappy Commis-

There is, siv, an incident of history, which suggests a parallel, and affords a lesson of fidelity. Under the triumphant exertions of that Apostolic Jesuit, St. Francis Xavier, large numbers of the Jesuit, St. Francis Advier, large numbers of the Japanese, amounting to as many as two hundred thousand—among their princes, generals, and the flower of the nobility—were converted to Christianity. Afterwards, amidst the frenzy of civil war, religious persecution arose, and the penalty of death was denounced against all who refused to trample upon the effigy of the Redeemer. This was the Pagan law of a Pagan land. But the delighted historian records, that scarcely one from the multitudes of converts was guilty of this apostacy. The law of man was set at naught. Imprisonment, torture, death, were preferred. Thus did this people refuse death, were preferred. Thus did this people refuse to trample on the painted image. Sir, multitudes among us will not be less steadfast in refusing to

trample on the living image of their Redeemer.

Finally, sir, for the sake of peace and tranquillity, cease to shock the Public Conscience; for the sake of the Constitution, cease to exercise a power which rights expressly secured. Leave this question where it was left by our fathers at the formation of our National Government, in the absolute control of the States, the appointed guardians of Personal Liberty, Repeal this enactment. Let its terrors no longer rage through the land. Mindful of the lowly whom it pursues, mindful of the good men perplexed by its requirements; in the name of Charity, in the name of the Constitution, repeal this enactment, totally and without delay. Be inspired by the example of Washington. Be admonished by those words of Oriental piety—'Beware of the groans of the woulded souls. Oppress not to the utmost a single heart; for a solitary sigh has power to overset a whole world.

## The Liberator

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, SEPT. 24, 1852.

STATE FREE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION This Convention was held at Lowell on the 15th instant, and, notwithstanding the highly unfavorable state of the weather, was attended by one of the largest and most enthusiastic gatherings ever witnessed in and Aldermen will reverse their decision. the Commonwealth. The delegation from Worcester and the West filled fourteen long cars, whose approach was heralded by a variety of elegant banners, bearing appropriate inscriptions. The Convention was called to order by Hon. Henry Wilson, and Hon. Stephen C. Phillips elected to preside. Both of these gentlemen, together with the Hon. Charles Sumner, Hon. Horace Mann, Hon. Amasa Walker, Hon. Anson Burlingame, Rodney French, Esq., and others, very ably and eloquently addressed the great assembly, and

elicited many cheers. On balloting for Governor, the vote stood as folows :- Whole number of votes, 761. Necessary to a choice, 381. Horace Mann had 401; Henry Wilson, 259; Charles Allen, 59; Amasa Walker, 31; J. G.

the candidate for Lieutenant Governor. This was

That no man can own another man-That the Fu-That no man can own another man—That the Fugitive Slave Law must be repealed—That slavery in
the District of Columbia must be abolished—That
grace of manner, a splendor of diction, a breadth o Slavery must be prohibited in the Territories-That all ngw States must be Free States .- That the Independence of Hayti must be acknowledged-That the rights of our colored citizens, going to other States, must be protected - That, in the course of God's providence, nothing can be called final which is

The ' Free Democracy ' of Massachusetts have certainly made a fortunate selection in their candidates for Governor and Lieut. Governor, and appear to be animated by a very hopeful spirit. We expect to see a strong vote polled for Mr. Mann, who deserves to receive the suffrage of every man who shall be found at the polls in November.

### WEBSTER CONVENTION.

A Convention of those favorable to the nomination of a Webster Electoral Ticket was held in Paneuil Hall, Boston, on Wednesday, 15th inst. The Hall was about one-third full. Henry Lyman, of Watertown, was chosen President. A Committee, consist ing of Charles C. Torrey, Archibald Wilson, and Hubbard Winslow, was appointed to prepare an address to the Whigs of Massachusetts.

This address coquettes with the Hunker Demo crats, denounces Scott's nomination as a clique manœuvre, declares Mr. Webster to be the candidate of a majority of the Whig party, shakes Scott down to

a majority of the Whig party, shakes Scott down to the position of a mere soldier, and snarls at the coalition.

At the evening session, a Webster Electoral Ticket was presented, and adopted.

Now that Mr. Webster is nominsted, (says the Worcester Spy.) Rev. Mr. Winslow will have an opportunity to dry his pillow-case.

Course of Anti-Slavery Lectures.—The Salem Female A. S. Society has satisfactorily completed its arrangements for its annual course of lectures, which is to commence early in October. Among the speakers secured is Miss Sallie Holley, whose lecture will be delivered on Sunday evening, Oct. 10. She will draw a much larger audence than an be accommodated in the Lyceum Hall, if the people of Salem are dally apprised of hear many secause the fall industry. Hundrens went away occause the fall made to conceptions of angel cloquence than any we ever heard. She seemed to breathe upon the great assembler. She seemed to breathe upon the great assembler of an igher than mortal sphere. Never have we known an audience so absolutely in the possession of the orator. She threw her voice over the away we known an audience so absolutely in the possession of the orator. She threw her voice over the average we known an audience so absolutely in the possession of the orator. She threw her voice over the average we known an audience so absolutely in the possession of the orator. She threw her voice over the average we known an audience so absolutely in the possession of the orator. She threw her voice over the average we known an audience so absolutely in the possession of the orator. She threw her voice over the average we known an audience so absolutely in the possession of the orator. She threw her voice over the average we known an audience so absolutely in the possession of the orator. She threw her voice over the average we known an audience so absolutely in the possession of the orator. She threw her voice over the average we known an audience so absolutely in the possession of the orator. She threw her voice ov dated in the Lyceum Hall, if the people of Salem are duly apprised of her persuasive eloquence.

SUMNER'S SPRECH. Our readers are now put in en tire possession of Mr. Sumner's speech, with his last revision of it. It contains valuable historical matter and ably demonstrates the unconstitutionality of the Fogitive Slave Law; but it exhibits some false glosses, and, in our opinion, utterly fails to relieve the Anerican Constitution, government and people from the charge of upholding and perpetuating the hideous system of slavery at the South.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR. At a meeting of the Mayor and Aldermen of B

ton, on Monday atternoon—

The Committee on Public Buildings, to whom was referred the petition of Francis Jackson et al., for the use of Fancuil Hall ten days from the 14th of December next, for the purpose of holding an antislavery fair therein; and the petition of John B. Fitzpatrick et al., for the use of said hall seven days from the 25th of December, for the purpose of holding a fair for the benefit of the 'Home of the Angel Carallas', therein, having considered the same The mandates of an earthly power are to be discussed; those of Heaven must at once be performed; nor can any agreement constrain us against God. Such is the rule of morals. Such, also, by the lips of judges and sages, has been the proud declaration of the English law, whence our own is derived. In this conviction patriots have fearlessly braved unjust commands, and martyrs have died.

And now, sir, the rule is commended to us. The good citizen, as he thinks of the shivering fugility, guilty of no crime, pursued, hunted down like a beast, while praying for Christian help and deliverance, and as he reads the requirements of this act, is filled with horror. Here is a despotic mandate, to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law.' Again let me speak frankly. Not tashly would I set myself against any provision of law. This grave responsibility I would not lightly assume. But here the path of duty is clear. By the Supreme Law, which commands we to do no injustice; by the comprehensive Christian Law of Brotherhood: by the Constitution, which I have sucorn to support; I am Bound to Disober This Act.

If the Committee had undisguisedly stated their objection to granting the use of Pancuil Hall, in this instance, it would have been, undoubtedly, mainly if not solely on the ground of their hostility to the anti-slavery movement. It is true, the Catholic application for the Hall was also rejected at the sam ime; but they had no other alternative-for it would have been an act of official proscription too gross and too offensive, to have granted to the latter body o petitioners what they had denied to another. There was this difference, however, in the two cases :-- the Catholics asked that the use of the Hall might be given to them without charge; but the anti-slaver petitioners only in compliance with the scale of price fixed by the city authorities, which would have brough to the city treasury nearly FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS but of which sum the city must be defrauded by this refusal of Faneuil Hall. Will our tax-paying citizens ook at this fact in a sensible and practical manner No favor was asked in regard to the Anti-Slavery Ba caar; but a liberal sum was offered for the Hall, to the full extent deemed sufficient by the powers that be

The plea, that the Hall should be used, as far a possible, for holding political meetings,' and that the granting of the two petitions would interfere with such meetings, is specious but of no force; for both the State and the Presidential elections will be con summated several weeks prior to the time specified in the petitions; so that there is not the remotest proba bility that any political emergency will arise, during the comparatively short period for which the Hall was asked, to require a public meeting to be held within its walls.

During the several periods at which the Hall ha been occupied by the Anti-Slavery Bazaar, in no instance has it ever been alleged that it interfered with any political demonstration. It is held precisely a that period of the year when all political excitement ha

ended, whether relating to State or national objects, We regret that the Hall cannot be obtained, as there is no other building so well adapted to the Bazaar, in regard to size and locality. The Bazaar, in an artistic as well as philanthropic point of view, has always been in the highest degree creditable to the city; and as its object is, to cause that liberty, which Paneuil Hall was erected to uphold, to be dif fused throughout the land, so that no slave shall clank his chains on the American soil, it should have been granted without hesitation. We sincerely hope for the historical reputation of Boston, that the Mayor

## WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Referring to the Address delivered before the A lelphi Society at Williamstown, by Mr. Phillips, the Greylock Sentinel says :-

Although rather late to speak of this address, we must say a word. He opened with a beauty and pathos hat melted even bigots and Webster hunkers. He chanked the Society for their invitation. Not for the honor chiefly, but for the opportunity it afforded of pre-senting Truth to young minds just entering the thicken-ing contests of life. With a subdued yet lofty bearing, with no murmuring spirit, but with the calm, proud consciousness of genius that great principles had been violated, he asked the reason of his exclusion. It could 259; Charles Allen, 59; Amasa Walker, 31; J. G. Palfrey, 8; Rodney French, 2; Charles F. Adams, 1. Mr. Mann was then unanimously accepted as the candidate for Governor. of North Brookfield, be unanimously nominated as the candidate for Lieutenant Governor. This was agreed to.

Among the Resolutions adopted, on the occasion, were the following:

That no man can own another man—That the Fugrace of manner, a splendor of diction, a breadth of generalization, and a moral and intellectual intrepldity unsurpassed—which calmly interrogated all human organizations—he held the vast audience as under the spell of an enchanter. He studiously preserved the neutrality of the occasion, avoided politics, and made no partisan harangue. Yet he did not apologise or conceal that he felt that man was more than consistations. The audience was delighted, and even 'grim visaged' hunkerism 'smoothed its wrinkled front,' and took him by the hand with evident admiration. How true it is, that 'genius is lord of the world'!

### MERITED TRIBUTE.

Our estimable and accomplished co-laborer, Miss LUCY STONE, of this State, appears to have won the respect and applause of all who listened to her efforts at the Woman's Rights Convention at Syracuse. The associate editor of Douglass's Paper (John Thomas Esq.) says- Miss Stone, by the clarion tones of her voice, her touching pathos, the concentration of her ever ready and sparkling intellect, and her occasions transports of oratory, carried her audience above the earth, thrilled their hearts, and made herself their favorite.' The Syracuse League has the following notice of her anti-slavery lecture in that place :-

LUCY STONE'S SPEECH ON SLAVERY.—Lucy Stone, of Massachusetts, made a speech, last Sunday evening in the City Hall, in Syracuse, on the subject of alavery. The whole city gathered to hear her, but only those who could get into the hall, heard her, of course. Hundreds went away because the hall had been filled before their arrival. Hers was nearer our

THE BIBLE DISCUSSION. We give, this week, th

oncluding portion of Mrs. E. Wilson's reply to Joseph Barker, respecting the plenary inspiration and authority of the Scriptures. It lacks condensation and its tone is altogether too sarcastic and contemp uous; nor does it meet the real issue as to plenar; inspiration, though it has some pointed retorts. Mr. W. represents Mr. Barker as an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. This is a mistake. That Society is no more responsible for his Bible views

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION AT R.

FRIEND GARRISON: Your readers have had a bee FRIEND CARREST TO THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY IN THE PROPERTY synopsis of the noings of the recommendation of Convention at Syracuse. I with it were possible trace, on paper, its living spirit. The City Hall by trace, on paper, first to last, with carnest listens a active workers. The Convention protracted in active worsers, tings through three days, commencing at 9 con A. M., and not closing until past 9 o'clock a sa A. M., and Yet, notwithstanding the long resident evening. 1c, not interest continued to here the fee at the nour, the interest common to have until the hall was so thronged as to give page physical discomfort, especially in the evening Rev. Samuel J. May had rendered invaluable to vice by preparing the way. He had done at he could be done beforehand, to make the Carnet worthy of the cause; and when it came butter, was with us co-operating so heartily, that it show was with us though he must have felt, in his say po son, the crushing pressure of those wicked law as son, the crushing present the soul of womahou he centuries has struggled. Indeed, he know the

Woman's cause is man's:
They rise or sink together,
Dwarfed or godilke, bond or free.

We had, also, the benignant presence of 0mg Smith-his words of cheer and his 'material sid. Smith—ms worker voluntarily as helpers, recogning the movement as one for the good of the ran. Of the honorable women' there were 'not a fee': Ma Mott, Mrs. Rose, Antoinette Brown, Parlins W.Ds. Mott, Mrs. Rose, Mindineste Drown, Faunta W. Is-vis, E. Oakes Smith, Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Nichola, and Mrs. Price. Besides these, came others-new m oruits-Mrs. Gage, of Manlius, Mrs. Jeakins, of Wa. terloo, both showing careful study, and a comprehen sive view of the subject. The largest liberty of & cussion was enjoyed, subject only to the law of be nevolence. You can readily see how, under such cicumstances, a cause so holy, with such helper, should have made the occasion one of most intense intense From the ranks of those who, at first, around then selves enemies, we received donations in money, and what is better, a pledge which came from the her of active co-operation.

Before we left Syracuse, a meeting was called to form a mutual improvement society smong the vamen, who recognise the fact, that 'knowledge is perer.' So soon has the good seed taken root! Mark yield an abundant harvest. The only opposition we encountered came from two

men. By far the larger part of the men present, now. ed themselves friendly. Mr. J. B. Brigham expressed his dissent from the positions taken, quite decided, though in a gentlemanly manner. The audience erdently felt, before the discussion closed, that bed is fears and the reason for them had little foundation The other opposer was the Rev. Junius L. Heet.

who, having obtained the floor, under the pretence of wishing to discuss the Bible position of women, be gan by demanding, whether the Convention regarded the Bible as an inspired book! Mrs. Mott restal that as that question had not been before the Convention, no decision had been expressed in regard to it; still he persisted in his demand. Mrs. Mott sein assured him that the Convention was not called tage tle theological questions. At once he began to mail our positions, with some show of decency, at fin: then to ridicule, and at last he descended to the sa of language so gross, that, in the midst of hises and cries of shame from men, Mrs. Mott called him to ader. He said he had only three lines more, but with the quiet dignity natural to her, she replied, 'Ne another word!' So he yielded to one greater tha himself. No one could fail to see, that though he claimed inspiration for the Bible, he knew gothing that religion, which is first pure. Rev. Mr. Had was the only disturber we had, and even he aided itdirectly, by showing how very weak is the opposite to our cause. The discussions, with this single raception, were high-toned, worthy of the commend if the place. Much of its interest was due to our endlent President.

The hospitality of the citizens seemed without in-

it, and to them, too, is the cause deeply indebut-The publishing committee intend to have a full to port of the proceedings ready for circulation in 1 fer weeks.

Yours, for human good,
LUCY STONE

West Brookfield, Sept. 21, 1852.

MEETING IN DARTMOUTH. At a meeting held in Academy Hall, South Durmouth, on the evening of the 1st inst., to hear the narrative of Capt. Daniel Drayton, Mr. Jost Gray was called to the Chair, and Jededish Shawap

pointed Secretary. The recital of Capt. D's captant interest. Speeches were made by Rev. J. Brown, a Dartmouth, Rev. L. Collins and E. R. Johnson of the city, who offered the following Resolution, which was unanimously adopted :-Resolved, That we, the citizens of Dartmouth public meeting assembled, do most cordially sized the hand of fellowship to Capt. Daniel Dryss: that we deeply sympathize with him, and sill gri our quota of material aid, and bid him go on his we

rejoicing, always trusting in the potent arm of m nd righteousness, which will crown his labor ril bundant success. The meeting was very fully attended, and a d interest was manifested in its objects and purposes.

Capt. Drayton was the guest of that tried freel to the oppressed, Capt. William Anthony, of Seca Dartmouth.

A CARD. Boston, Sept. 18, 1832

To the Editor of the Liberator :- On the eve of leaving this city for my home Philadelphia, after a short but very pleasant sport among the freedom-loving people of the old he State, I desire to express (through the columns your valuable journal) my heart-felt gratitude-into the Committee who so long and so faithfully exten ed themselves for my liberation; and secondly, to a those who, since my release, have extended to me the fraternal hand, and kindly contributed to relieve the necessities of my family. Wherever I have been in the State, whether in public assemblies or prices circles, among the most humane and virtuous portion of the community, my reception has been warm hearty, as a sufferer in the cause of down-troller liberty. The sympathy thus extended to me, and its verdict thus rendered, (together with the approxivoice of a good conscience,) make my long imprise ment at Washington seem of very little moment, confirm the declaration of a noble port, that

· Stone walls do not a prison make,

My health, which has been so seriously impaire by my confinement, is slowly improving: but said er it will ever again be fully restored is somewhat to certain, and not at all probable.

The following is the amount of pecunist sid have received in Massachusetts - From friends Boston, \$75,00; ditto in N. Bedford, (including \$16.00 contributed at a meeting of colored friends, do. in Nantucket, \$23,00; do. in Dartmouth, \$18,50 do in Lynn, \$21,00; a friend in Dorchester, \$1,0 do in Peacham, Vt., (by letter) \$1,00. Total, \$21,8

ES During his stay in this city and rices Capt. Drayton made a very favorable impression of all to whom he was introduced, as a truly good staand one actuated by humane and upright met We hope he will receive additional pecus grudgingly, as he is in a very depilitated co and has a large family to provide for. He is not a to blow his own trumpet, but modest and retiring He will be at the 'rescue' meeting at Syracus.

BTI-SLAVERY EXPERIENCE IN LEO-

PARSO GARRISON: On Saturday last, I went to see to lecture a few evenings, and work dur select to jecture a ser creating, and work dur Sorday was a stormy day, and the two meet-Sordsy was a solid, and the two meetenergy were notified to meet at the Town a Monday evening. We had engaged the house, Menday creaming. I have engaged the house, regrening, we proposed to the Free Demoto our Monday evening meeting, and their pusiness after we had finished our and this was done. Behold us, then, toor make creams old fashioned abolitionists if the Democrats - holding aweet counsel upon gen of impertial liberty. The lecturer dwelt the character of the U. S. Constitution, showing plarery character by reference to the docubuff; by the manner in which that instrument then interpreted and executed for sixty years; als the admissions of such anti-slavery politicians Q Adams, Joshua R. Giddings, John P. Harrie Mann, and Charles Sumner. 'The tion speed to legalize the piratical slave trade ornity years; to suppress, by the power of the ord Gorenment, any effort which the slaves miles the gain their freedom, as our Fathers had m interest of the despotic Parliament of Great least to give to the slave breeders of the South a majority in Congress, founded on the abhorat proceed of property representation ; and they a to make the Free States bunting ground, on the man-stealer might, without restraint, me, seize, manacle and re-enslave the fugitive because and Browns, whose manliness should imgues to escape from the degradation and woes of head bondage. We are to remember, also, that ele ness provisions have been executed without Estatty years, those provisions of the Constitua shed are noble and worthy of being cherished, or ben disregarded and trampled under, foot by gree, Executive, and Judiciary. The 'jury trial;' Haless Corpus, the 'rights of Massachusetts in the Slave States, &c., &c., provided for in Constitution, have been set at nought by the slaveiling sligarchy to which the American Governset has been committed ever since that compromis-Constitution went into operation. What folly eminality to call this . the Charter of Free-How clear the duty of repudiating this wickempet of 'the Fathers'! How manifest the motion, that we can effectually oppose slavery ers the ground of ' no Compromise and no Union Sarcholders'! Of this compact, John Q. Ad-

T'Ye! it cannot be denied-the slaveholding FYs! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding is at the South prescribed, as a condition of their sent in the Constitution, three special provisions to see the perpetuity of their dominion over their is The first was the immunity, for twenty years, erring the African slave trade; the second was emplation to surrender fugitive slaves—an en-ement positively prohibited by the laws of God, involvem Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatel is the principles of popular representation, of a repreuntof persons. . . To call government thus coneles and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the semment of the nation is to establish an artificial people, in the American Congress, and thereby D PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VI-TOXAL GOVERNMENT.

Sub, also, is the testimony of all the anti-slavery

mbers of Congress, who have spoken on this topic or the commencement of the anti-slavery agitation. Somer admits, in his splendid and profound argumest recently given in the Senate, that the Constituas provides for the rendition of fugitive slaves, on rafficent proof being shown that they had been held erily in slavery, and had escaped therefrom. He ny rgues, with Rantoul, Mann and Giddings, that ares has nothing to do with the matter, because this is one of the rights reserved to the States. It is mater of State jurisdiction. Well, suppose we grant this premises and conclusion are incontrovertibly and, what do we gain? Can the true man promise support a Constitution, which imposes upon the tates the obligation of sending the fugitive back to is chains? That is quite as abhorrent to Justice and sedness as is the attempt of Congress to execute sicked principle. The fact is, the right to life berty and happiness, is mine because I am the child of God and the brother of all God-created intelligences. The Constitution can neither give to me nor take from me a right bestowed upon me by my heavmly father; and whatever Constitution or law atbesterhood, be he or she rich or poor, learned or ignorant, -robs and lies against the Holy Ghosted the feet of those coming to carry to its Gehenna the stricken corpse of the loathsome monster, are al-

Charles Sumner speaks of 'the Fathers' as abolifinites! Statesmen and priests, scholars and artines, as he would have us believe, were then all opposel to slavery! Indeed! Slaveholders opposed to sla my! The framers of a pro-slavery government aboman! Why did they not abolish slavery, if they were opposed to it? By their fruits ye shall know tien, said the Great Tescher. Try men by their pulmions, and each man will make out a very good me for himself-will profess to love and cherish virns. Tried by this measure, all men in the Free Sares are, to-day, abolitionists. Every man is sentibeauty opposed to slavery; the Fathers were noth my more. Their sentimentality did not crystalize principle sufficient to take hold of this horrible thi, and put it forever away. Such anti-slavery sen what as theirs is worth just nothing at all. Give m John C. Calhoun, rather than such anti-slavery promisers as 'the Fathers' were, and as their that of the so called Free States are to-day.

Such thoughts as these were presented to the ' Free merrey of Leominster for an hour. The moral bithed for the overthrow of alavery was also stated, ed they were urged to aid with heart, hand and pass in this moral agitation, which has the 'Rock Age as its foundation, and the universal purifiaton of the heavens of Humanity for its object.

At the close of the lecture, they organized and ap-Pental delegates to attend the State Convention at aveil Some one nominated the Rev. Mr. Bingpastot of the Orthodox church in Leominster, stel to be one of the Whig anti-slavery preachers. a delegate to this Convention. He was voted into as responsible office. Thereupon the said. Reverfair trose, and delivered himself as follows: 'I am ast much of a politician. I must decline the honor strending the Convention of the Free Democraty Levell. At the same time, I wish to say that int not been convinced by the lecturer, this even be in his argument attempting to show that the estitution is a pro-slavery compact. I was born to, with an understanding that the Constitution is a chargery document. In that belief I have lived so is, and in that belief I expect to die. My hope and are dort is to bring the government back to this that charter of freedom. Did you ever hear of markably precocious baby! What may not the wild hope from the maturer efforts of this Rever-

Os Tuesday evening, I invited this remarkable an to a discussion of the character of the American cassistion, and the true method of abolishing Anencan Slavery. He did not then accept, and I designe he will never do so manly a thing as to de bathis views by a fair public discussion.

On Teesday afternoon, it was my good fortune to the anti-slavery sewing circle. A generous

lady opened her rooms, and freely provided more than her share of a liberal entertainment on the occasion. Her only compensation, and all she wishes to receive, was the joy-giving consciousness of doing thus speaking of one in that circle, I do not mean to imply, that there are not others ready and glad to do all they can to advance the anti-slavery work. There are a few self-denying and noble women in Leomin-ster, who mean to do all they can for the Annual Fairby their associated and indvidual efforts to furnish 'material aid' to the funds of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, through their work for the great Bazani. There ought to be a circle of two hundred ladies in terested in this work; instead of which, there are only some twenty-five. Well, let them be earnest, believing, and united in this good enterprise, and their band will be enlarged, and their influence will be felt in the gladdened soul of the poor, suffering slave, whose deliverance they are making sure and

I found a home in the family where Shadrach was sheltered and comforted, when fleeing from republican despotism to the protection of the British monarchy. My very soul was made glad by the devotion I there saw to the cause of humanity, and by the true welcome extended to me.

Leominster sells combs and piano-frames yearly to the amount of a quarter of a million of dollars. To the anti-slavery cause there were given, on this visit, six dollars and three-quarters. They promise to do better some other time.

Yours, fraternally, DANIEL FOSTER.

P. S. I would inform friends who may have occasion to write to me, that I have removed to Cambridge. Cambridge, (Mass.,) Sept. 16, 1852

LABORS IN WESTERN NEW YORK. Belfast, Alleghany Co., (N. Y.) } Sept. 15, 1852.

DEAR FRIEND-Some three weeks since, I left

Ww Lroyn Gammeny !-

Rochester on a bright fine morning by rail-road, for this region of hills and forests-a part of Western New York, but little like the idea one forms of the country from only seeing the level valley of the Genesce. For some two hours, we passed through the rich and beautiful country west of the city, where the eye can range for miles over a series of teeming harvest-fields, tasteful farming houses and thriving orchards, catching transparent glimpses, now and then, of pleasant villages embowered in trees. Soon the hills grew bolder, though still fruitful, and clad to the summits by the heavy crops-the valley narrower and deeper. In another hour we were rolling over the high bridge at Portage Falls, looking down two hundred and forty feet to the rapid Genesee, over which this wondrous bridge gives sure and firm transit at that diggs height for the cars. Not a motion could be seen or felt in its massive framework of timber as the enormous weight passed along : all was solid as the rock of granite. But some twenty rods below the bridge, the stream plunges over a precipice sixty feet high, and the turbid waters at its foot could be seen tossing and foaming three hundred feet beneath us. Sixty rods down the stream is another fall of a hundred fee in plain sight, the water whirling over its brink into a dark narrow chasm, hemmed in by walls of rock rising up sheer and smooth, on either side, nearly four hundred feet. All around is rude, stern, sublime : the terrible gulf, the rough banks rising hundreds of feet to the sharp hill-tops crowned by tall pine trees, the dizzy precipices, once seen, can never be forgotten.

Another hour brought us into the narrow valley through which, in this region, the Erie rail-road passes-a belt of 'right pleasant land,' on either side of can People! which rough hills rise sharply, covered with heavy W. L. CRANDALL, forests, the enormous pines towering high above the other trees. Nevertheless, here are many fine farms, a soil in the valleys and among many of the less pre-cipitous hills better than that of the hill region of New England by far, and an industrious population. When the resources of this section are developed more fully it will be held in higher estimation than now.

I have been holding anti-slavery meetings in se eral towns in this county, and thus far have been able to obtain good numbers of hearers. The Baltimore platforms are not made of the 'clear stuff' people like here-too much knotty, shaky timber. A fear, too, that the underpinning may be rotten, based on sandy foundations which will compromise the safety of those who stand on them.

It seems a favorable time to show that our present position is the inevitable result of a compromising policy, which has sacrificed honor and manliness at the bidding of the Slave Power. The politicians stay away, but the people—the more candid part, at least are quite disposed to hear. Only seven miles from here resides Martin H. Grover, once a member of Congress, of Democratic Free Soil repute, who made some Wilmot proviso speeches, rousing up for a brief space the ire of the woman-whipping chivalry. He is now eating his allowance of Southern dirt, sent him from Baltimore, as daily food-giving his support to Pierce and King. Less than twenty miles from here did Millard Fillmore, in 1848, declare, at a mass meeting at Cuba, his hostility and hatred to slavery.

The better part of the people, who can afford to keep a conscience, do not relish such spostacy as that of the ' two wings of the slavery party ' above named. The anti-slavery feeling here will generally show itself politically in a Free Soil vote-a pretty strong one, too, probably. Since there is no great knowledge of radical anti-slavery, this may be held as a gleam of as Christians, we honor the principles of that religio light, a dawn of a brighter day.

This place from which I write is a new and growing village of some 500 people, on the edge of the Genesee valley, near the Eric rail-road, at the head of the Genesee valley canal; buildings new and somewhat rough, but all life and activity-the pine stumps not yet gone from all the streets, but fast disappearingthe country around filling up-lumber in large quantities turned out from large mills, and sent by canal to market. I have had two meetings here, well attended-one with a church crowded full of hearersspeak again this evening, and go for two days t Rushford, one of the largest, and the most beautiful place in the county; thence northward toward

With earnest good wishes, Yours truly. G. R STERRINS

MISS HOLLEY AT PORT NORPOLK.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

Part Norfolk is a new village in the south-east par Dorchester (Norfolk county) situate at the mouth of Neponset river. Last Friday evening we were favored by a visit from Sallie Holley, who gave us very interesting and instructive address in the new Methodist meeting-house. Although the notice wa very short, and some of our warm-hearted friends who are with the Free Soilers had a previous engagement for that evening, yet we had a very good number of tentively, and we trust not without some benefit to themselves. The minister (Rev. Mr. Manning) himself being present, took part in the services. The congregation sang that well known (but not inappro-

priate) hymn-

A collection was taken up, amounting to nearly ter dollars, the trustees kindly refusing to take any pay for lighting the , house, and the sexton generously refusing any compensation for his services.

We think Miss Holley will do much good in the

anti-slavery field, and hope the friends of the cause Port Norfolk, Sept. 19.

JERRY RESCUE CELEBRATION! At Syracuse-Friday, Oct. 1, 1852. The FIRST ANNIVERSARY of the Rescue at Syracus

on the first day of October, 1851, of the man Jerry, from the custody of Official Kidnappers, is to be cele brated. It was the trumpet peal to the Sons of Liber ty throughout the world. It was an act, which pringing from sacred veneration for Law, defeated the blasphemous attempt of this nation to exalt tself above all that is called God. It was an act whether regarded as a vindication of the unchange able laws of Justice and Humanity, or in its conse quences to the cause of Human Rights, the most sublime in American History. It was the heroism of the Right. It stirred the hearts and quickened the pulse of the Friends of Freedom throughout America; and it is fitting that it should be commemorate in congratulations, in rejoicings, in exultation, in argument and eloquence and song. It is fitting that the 1st of October should be made a Festival Day in the Calendar of Freedom, so long as in America is denied to one innocent human being the exercise of those Rights which are the free gift of the Almighty Pather of us all. It stamped forever with reprobation and with execuation, the atheistical and piratical doctrine, that Robbery of Man's Inalienable Rights can be Law. To the outraged American Slave-to the oppressed Hungarian-to the disfranchised Sons of Erin-to the victims of Might against Right of all lands and all climes, it is the Star of Hope. It is a glorious harbinger of . Peace on earth and good will to man '-for there is greatness, and peace, and happiness, and joy, only where men do to others as they would have others do to them. It was the bold and practical assertion of Truth on which rests the political redemption of mankind-THAT ROBBERT CANNOT BE LAW. Insensible, indeed, to all that makes Humanity glorious-to all that links Man to the Divinity-would the people of New York be, were they to suffer one Anniversary of this mighty event -an event, whose consequences no intellect can comnute-to pass by without such a commemoration as the great hearts which have sworn eternal fidelity on the altar of Freedom alone can give. Such, beyond all peradventure, this celebration will be. By direction, we issue this call, as a response to the deep and irrepressible feeling in the minds of thousands upon thousands of the men and women of our land.

Arrangements will be made, befitting the augus casion. John P. Hale, Gerrit Smith, Lucretia Mott-Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Joshua R. Giddings, Frederick Douglass, Ernestine L. Rose, are among the noble names of those whose eloquent tongues will minister to this ' feast of reason and flow of soul.' Others, as heard from, will be announced.

If possible, the Ohio Tent will be obtained, which vill shelter 5,000 persons. In any event, the best possible preparations will be made; well knowing, that if need be, the descendants of the men who marked their pathway over the frozen earth of Valley Forge with their blood, for Independence, can for one day suffer the inconvenience of an 'October sun,' in ommemorating a practical illustration of the immortal Principles of the Declaration, on which that Independence was won. Americans dwell with just and exultant pride on the fact that cargoes of ter were consigned to Boston Harbor, in defiance of and to degrade a statute in conflict with their subsequent Declaration of Independence. We now invite the lescendants of those heroic men to the Celebration of an act, which, in its vindication of the eternal principles of Right, as far transcends that noble deed, as Man is more valuable than tea. Then, Come One Come All! to this Jubilee of Liberty, with joyful hearts, filled with praise and gratitude to the Giver of all good that the heroic and beautiful Spirit of Freedom is not yet dead in the hearts of the Ameri-

SAM'L J. MAY. C. A. WHEATON. JOHN THOMAS. THOS. G. WHITE, ALANSON THORP. Committee.

Syracuse, Sept. 13, 1852.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

A meeting of the friends of humanity was held in Fairfield Township, Crawford Co. Penn., on the evening of the 4th ult. The meeting being called to order, -Shaw, Esq., was called to the Chair, and Mr. Gibson appointed Secretary.

Mr. D. C. O'Daniels, of Meadville, then delivered in cornect and eleganent lecture on the evils and in justice of Southern slavery. During his whole ex position of this subject, he was heard with the mos marked attention and interest. The lecturer discusso. his theme in an original and attractive manner.

After the lecture, the following resolutions were resented by T. J. Connatty, and adopted unaning

Whereas, we believe that all men are born free and equal, and are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are liberty' and the privilege of pursuing happiness in a legitimate manner: that God made all men of one blood; that the great object of their being here, on earth, is improvement, progress in knowledge, goodness, holiness; and

Whereas, personal slavery, as it exists at the South denies, nullifies, and wantonly violates these sacreand eternal principles of our being; therefore,

Resolved, That as children of a common Paren we feel deeply aggrieved in view of the repeated in justice under which three millions of our Souther brethren are bowed down.

Resolved, That, as men, we reverence the law kindness written by a divine finger on our hearts; and for whose establishment a merciful Saviour shed his

Resolved, That so far as human enactments agree with the higher laws of our being, so far as they are founded on the everlasting principles of love an justice, we bow, in reverent observance before them also : but so far as they abrogate and annul those, w

disregard, despise, and trample upon them. Resolved, That it is our earnest purpose never hate mercy, despise charity, trample upon brotherly love, no matter how urgently may press motives of expediency for such a course; no matter how menacingly the laws of the land and policy may command.

Resolved. That we solemnly promise, come wea come wo,' never to turn a fainting fugitive unharbor ed and unulmsed from our doors; never to give, bu in all required cases refuse, our personal aid and in fluence in the rendition of helpless women, halples children, and aged, worn out men, into a worse than Egyptian bondage.

[Signed by the Officers.]

SLAVERY NOT INPIDEL Mr. Kniron-I am both an Infidel and an Abolition

ist; and the fact that I am both, and that others of my acquaintance are both, convinces me that there no inconsistency between the two. I believe that man can be just as good an Abolitionist, whether h be a Christian, an Infidel, or an Atheist. The only respectable persons present, who listened very at- difference that I can see is, that the minds of the two latter are more free from restraint of creed, and, con sequently, more liable to form just conclusions on th great question of the Rights of Man. Believing this I see with pain, and sometimes with indignation, the attack of 'Christian' Abolitionists on Infidelity. The doctrine of 'no higher law' has been charged as Infidel and Atheistic by some of these scalous Christians. I believe in the higher law, although I am an Infidel; and I have a friend who believes in it, although he is an Atheist. I believe it to be a law God, precisely as our Christian brethren do. My believes it to be a law of humanity, which demands that no man shall do that which is wrong and, consequently, injurious. Thus it will be see that, although not Christians in the usual acceptation

say, endeavor, at least, to live up to it. I therefore protest against every crime in the Decalogue being charged against Infidelity and Atheism. An Infide has as much right to his opinion in regard to the Bible as a Christian has; and it is just as reasonable to charge the favoring of slavery upon Christianity, as upon Infidelity, and a thousand times more so; for slavery is expressly sanctioned by the Book upon which Christianity is said to be founded; and it comes with a bad grace for the Bible believer to call slavery Infidelity or Atheism. It was an institution established by the express command and sanction of the Deity of the Bible, and those who believe in that Book had better call Slavery and no-higher-law-ism, Biblical. They would come much nearer the truth H. R. H.

Murder in Natick.—Saturday morning, Israel Taylor, shoemaker by trade, in Natick, was found murdered in his shop, having received at least two blows from an axe. Mrs. Taylor was found in an adjoining room, weltering in her blood, and in a dying condition, she evidently having been struck down with the same weapon. Suspicion rests upon an Irishman, who had worked for Mr. Taylor, as being the murderer. His name is Thomas Casey, who was soon arrested by citizens who overtook him on the road to Framing-fam.

Traces of blood were found in various parts of the house, indicating that a severe struggle occurred be-tween the murderer and his victims. Casey is scarcely 20 years old, five feet eight inches in height, sandy 20 years old, five feet eight inches in height, sandy complexion and hair, and is thought by some to be of quite low intellect. He was committed on Monday, after a preliminary examination, for trial at the next session of the Supreme Judicial Court, to be holden

Taylor was about 40 years old, and his wife 30, a daughter of Charles Davis, of Sherburne.

Mrs. Taylor died on Monday, about 4 o'clock, P.
M., without being permitted to reveal the name of

The Traveller says of Mrs. Taylor, that 'a slight pressure of the hand, in several instances, when asked if Casey was the person who attacked her, was all that could be obtained.'

Fearful Retribution.-We have seldom heard of tragedy so truly revolting to human nature as one that occurred last Friday night, at Brownstown, Indiana. occurred last Friday night, at Brownstown, Indiana. The details given below are principally gleaned from the Madison Banner. It seems that two brothers, named Hiram and Warren Francisco, and well known as respectable and peaceable citizens, followed the occupation of clock peddling. They usually travelled different routes, but made a practice of meeting each other frequently. They agreed to meet at a public house in the vicinity of Brownstown, on Friday last. One of the

the vicinity of Brownstown, on Friday last. One of the brothers reached the tavern, about 9 o'clock, and inquired if his brother had arrived, and was informed by the landlord that he had not.

After eating his supper, he called for a light, and wished to be shown to hed. The landlord informed him that he had no candles about the house, but if he would follow him, he would take him to his bed. Francisco followed the landlord into a dark room, and undressed himself, and retired to rest. The bed seemed to be wet, and having some matches about him, he struck a light. Upon examining the bed, he found it was wet with blood! Discovering a candle on a table near by, with blood I Discovering a candle on a table near by, he lit it, and looking under the bed, he saw the body of his brother with his throat cut from ear to ear, and perfectly lifeless! Fastening the door immediately, he proceeded to load a revolver which he had, but before he could do so, there was an effect product. he could do so, there was an effort made by several men to enter the room. Pretending not to be alarmed, he asked them to wait until he dressed himself. As soon as he had finished loading the pistol, he opened the door, and the landlord and two other men rushed on him, when he fired two barrels of his pistol, immediately killing the landlord and one of his accomplices; after which, the other man fled.— Toledo Repub., 7th.

Fatal Rail-Road Accident.—The Springfield Republican gives the following account of a fatal accident at the Cabotville junction on Friday:—
'Stephen Stone of Northampton was killed near

Stephen Stone of Northampton was killed near the Cabot junction, while coming from Northampton on the cars, to attend the Friemen's muster here on Friday. He seated his wife and children, who accompanied him, in a regular passenger car, and went himself on to a platform car that had been fitted up for the occasion. He did not occupy one of the regular seats with which the car was provided, but carelessly sat upon the edge of a board that was put around the top of the car, with his back towards the space between that and another car. The train slacked up before coming to the Cabot depot, and in starting off again, caused a slight jerk to the cars, which threw Mr. Stone off his balance; he fell between the cars, was run over, and his body cut in two near the lower part, and he died in about an hour. He was lower part, and he died in about an hour. He was about 40 years old. His family did not know of their shocking bereavement until after the train reached Springfield.

Fatal Railroad Accident .- At East Boston, on Fri Fatal Railroad Accident.—At East Boston, on Fri-day alternoon, an Irishman, name unknown, who came passenger in the ship North America, fell from the platform of a car, on the Eastern Railroad, as the train was going out for Portland, and the whoels passing over his head, he was instantly killed.

An accident occurred on the Eric Railro Tuesday morning, a few miles this side of Sufferns, caused by the breaking of a wheel of the baggage car, by which the locomotive, the baggage car and two passenger cars were thrown down an embankment. The fireman and another employed on the road were

A collision occurred on Wednesday afternoon on the Eric Railrond, between Dunkirk and Hornells-ville, between the passenger train which left New York on Tuesday, and a freight train. Four passen-gers and one brakeman were killed instantly, and about thirty wounded.

Switch Tender Killed.—The flag man and switch tender at the first station house in East Albany, was literally cut to pieces this morning on the road.

At a late hour Wednesday night, while the down passenger train of the New Haven Railroad was passing through the village of Morrisania, one of the passengers saw a young man instantly killed by an up train of the Harlem Road, the cow-catcher of which struck him in the legs, threw him into the air with great force, and mangled his body in the most shock. ing manner. The remains were taken to the hotel in the village of Morrisania.—Alb. Reg.

The At Reading, Pa., four young women, while walking upon the track, were run over. Two of them were instantly killed, and the other two were mortally injured. A little child was run over at Buffalo o Monday evening, and shockingly crushed.

Patrick Coughlin, a laborer, was run over, a 8 o'clock on Thursday night, while on the track the New Haven Railroad, near 79th street, and i stantly killed.

Dr. Landreaux, who was mortally wounded by secident on the Carrollton (La.) railroad, is dead.

LANCASTER, Pa. Sept. 20.

The Westward mail train ran over a man named Thomas Whelan, employed in repairing the State road near Parksburgh, killing him instantly.

On Saturday afternoon, a teamster at Greenbush was run down by the Hudson river railroad train, and fatally injured.

A lad named John Murphy, 10 years of age, was fatally injured on Sunday evening last, by being run over on the Hudson river railroad.

The Tribune of the People, is the name of a weekly Hale and Julian paper in Philadelphia. The sum of \$8496 00 has already been coected in Boston for the Montreal Sufferers.

The Maine Law Triumphant.—A correspondent of the New York Tribune, writing from Portland, says that every Senator elected is pledged to the Maine law, and at least three fourths of the House of Representatives are supporters of the law. In strong Democratic towns, Maine Law Whiga have been elected, and vice versa. The leaders who took ground sgainst the law have been terribly beaten.

Melancholy Family Visitation.— Vesterday accounts were received of the death of Capt. Alfred M. Coffin, of this city, master of ship Visula, of Boston, of dysentery, at Bangor, on the morning of the 16th inst. Arrangements were made to have the body brought up and buried from the residence of his brother, Capt. John M. Coffin, High street. Last evening, at seven o'clock, intelligence was received from New Orleans, of the death of Capt. John M. Coffin, on the evening of the 15th, a few hours before his brother at Bangor.— Newbhryport Herald, Sat.

Cincinnari, September 6th.

Murder and Suicide.—A man named Peter Redding killed a woman named Christina Kramer, on Saturday evening, by cutting her head open with an axe. He afterwards cut his own throat. The cause was disappointment in love.

Trouble in Illinois.—Considerable excitement has been caused in Carlisle, Ill., between some citizens and a party of free colored men. It grew out of a fight between a colored boy and a son of ex-Senator Breese. The father of the former took Breese's son, and gave him a beating. This caused the excitement to become general. The St. Louis News says:

general. The St. Louis News says:

'The citizens then took the negroes who had first offended, tied them up and whipped them. Three other negroes, who had somehow signalized themselves in the difficulty, were served in like manner. Some of the citizens, in the course of the excitement, loaded a cannon with several pounds of buckshot, and fired it at a negro house. There were only two occupants in it at the time, one of whom received a slight injury. The negroes were ordered to leave the place in three days, and threatened with similar treatment, if they failed to comply. When our informant left, the excitement had subsided, but it is possible it was renewed at the end of the three days' truce which had been granted the negroes.'

Another Colored Seaman's Case.—It seems that the law of South Carolina relating to colored seamen, is to be tested in more forms than one. The habeas corpus was refused to Manuel Persiera, and his case in pus was refused to Manuel Persiers, and his case is under appeal. And now, Reuben Roberts, one of H. B. Majesty's colored subjects, has sued out a writ against Sheriff Yates, for false imprisonment. He no doubt expects to recover in this action before a Carolina jury, heavy damages for the indignity which he has suffered. We suppose the British government chooses two forms of action, simply because it doubts whether one would be strong enough.—South Carolina Standard a Standard.

The editor of the Sparta Journal was mobbed by a gang of rowdies on the 13th inst., because he was guilty of publishing a Free Soil paper and being a friend of humanity. After having his head severely bruised by a brickbat, he was rescued from the hands of the villains by the interference of several order-loving citizens, one of whom was paid for his interference by having his own house assailed with brickbats, by the same mob, on the same night.

Alexandria Nearly Destroyed.—A terrible conflagra-ion occurred at Alexandria, Louisiana, on Saturday, the 28th ult., which nearly consumed the entire place

imboal Explosion .- The Steamboat Dr. Franklin on the 21st ult., burst one of her boilers on the Mis-sissippi River, soon after leaving St. Louis. It ap-pears that when she was about six miles down the pears that when she was about six miles down the river, one of her boilers burst, with a tremendous report. We learn from Mr. Virden, one of her clerks, and the officer in command, that up to the hour of leaving St. Genevieve—10 o'clock, Monday—29 bodies of her crew and deck passengers had been buried, and from 10 to 12 more are missing.

Ossian B. Dodge, the editor of the Boston Museum. offers a prize of \$300 for the best original story offered previous to the 15th day of October next.

that Capt. Philip D. Evans, of the American schooner Sally Evans, was arraigned for the murder of a negro named Thomas Wolcutt, on board his vessel while lying in that port. Evans is to be tried at the next session of the Court.

To The colored people of Ohio held a jubilation in Cleveland, on the 9th inst. They had a procession with music, and an address in Mr. Nervins's church, by Wm. H. Day, which is highly spoken of. Durin the movement of the procession, salutes were fired b the Cleveland artillery, in, reference to which the or ator, Mr. Day, said: They are the first thunders of artillery that ever awaked the echoes of these hills, in honor to the colored people; but they shall not be the last.

Negro Stampede. — On Tuesday night last, eight slaves, (five men, a woman, and two children,) belonging to sundry citizens of Mason county, (Ky.) made their escape, and have not been recovered.— There is strong ground of suspicion that a portion, if not all of the fugitives, fied in concert, and that they were aided by white confederates in crossing the rivwere aided by white confederates in crossing the riv-er. The outrages thus inflicted on the owners, loud-ly demand redress; and the slaveholders of this region ought to devise for themselves some practical and efficient remedy.—Maysville Eagle. Quio State Fair. This Fair took place at Cleve

Onto STATE FAIR. This Fair took place at Cleve-land, Sept. 16th and 17th, and was very fully attend-ed. The manufacturing department was well filled with contributions from all parts of the Union. The departments of stock, farming implements, horticul-ture, &c., were well filled, and mostly by specimens from Ohio. Some 75,000 people were present, and the total receipts of the Fair were some \$6000 more than those of any reviews Fair in the State. Four than those of any previous Fair in the State. Four thousand dollars worth of premiums were awarded;

Gen. Grenville T. Winthrop, brother of Hon R. C. Winthrop, died at his residence in Watertown on Wednesday, last week.

The deaths by cholera in this city, from the 1st to the 12th inst., are reported at the large number of 305. Since the latter date, it has almost entirely dis-

Southern Kidnapping.—In Norfolk, Va., on Tuesday, a negro was kidnapped from a British schooner and sold by Charles Brown, of the schooner Alexander.— Brown was promptly jailed. The slaveholders are careful not to offend the British forces. Hence, perhaps, their promptness.

The Kidnappers .- Tuesday afternoon, officers Ashley and Kimball proceeded to Hampton Roads, and ar-rested Capt. George Frazier, master of the British rested Capt. George Frazier, master of the British schr. Medway, on a charge of being concerned in the kidnapping case of the day before. Captain F. was examined yesterday, but there was no evidence to show that he was concerned, and together with his crew, and Isaac Johnson, one of the seamen of the Alexander, he was discharged. The boy was taken charge of by Mr. Cridland, the acting British Consul. -Norfolk Beacon, Thursday.

Norrolx, Sept. 16,

The Kidnopping Case at Norfolk.—The negro kidmapped yesterday, was named William Allen, belonging to Kingston, Jameics. He was shipped there in
the British brig Deillah, of Halifax, and then shipped
in the schooner Medway, for Baltimore. He was enticed away under the pretence of going to market.—
Brown, his kidnapper, belonged to Rappahannock,
and has since confessed that the captain of the Medway was engaged in the matter, and was to receive
part of the money.

Congressional Nomination in the room of the late Rob-ert Rantoni.—George Hood, Ex-Mayor of Lynn, (a Free Soiler) was nominated for Congress by the Demo-crats of the Second District in Convention last week, at Salem. He received 82 out of 135 votes cast. Mr.

Staces Freed.—A gentleman, lately deceased, in Amherst county, Virginia, by his will left \$6,000 to settle his negroes in one of the non-slaveholding States; the heirs of the gentleman are willing that these liberated slaves should be sent to Liberia, and application will be made to Judge Thompson, at the present term of the Superior Court, for permission to do so.

Auful Casualty—Seven Young Women Drowned.—
As a pic-nic party, consisting of a large number of young ladies and gentlemen, from the town of Stockton, were crossing Casadaga Lake, in a soow and a skiff, owing to the breaking of a row-lock in the skiff, the ladies became frightened, and it upset. Those in the scow seeing the accident, also became panie stricken and rushed to the side, upsetting it, and all were thrown into the water. There were five persons in the skiff, all of whom were saved; but of nineteen in the scow, seven young ladies were drowned, with the boatman, who, after rescuing several, perished in endeavoring to save the lives of the others. The ladies were all from 16 to 20 years of age. were all from 16 to 20 years of age.

Dreadful Casualty—Six Children Burned Up.—The house of Peter Moore, in Wardsboro, Vt., took fire on Wednesday night, and was burned, together with six of his children. The fire took, it is supposed, from boiling swill near the house. Mr. Moore had ten children, three of whom were from home; of the seven in the house, six were burnt up.—Brattleboro States—

Capital Conviction of a Siave.—The Richmond (Va).
Republicans of Wednesday, reports the trial of John
Williams, a negro slave, for the murder of his mistress, Mrs. Virginia B. Winston, on the 26th of July
last. The Hustings Court unanimously pronounced
the prisoner guilty of murder, sentenced him to be
hung on the 23d of October next, and assessed his
value at \$800. The wife of the convict was executed
a few days ago for participation in the same offence.
No wilnesses appear to have been examined for the
defence.

13º Henry H. Puller, Esq., of Boston, died in Concord, Mass., at the residence of Rev. B. Prost, of the 15th inst., aged 62.

LF Cornelius Kollock, Esq., who died at Wre tham last week, aged 96, was the oldest justice of t peace in Massachusetts, having been commissioned 1796. the readon of the block of the Mile to the section of

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.

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

DWO NEW BEDFORD, (Bristol Co.)

An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in New Bedford, at Liberty Hall, 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. Poster and Abby Kelley Foster, Agents of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will attend this meeting.

SALLIE HOLLEY.

An agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will give a series of lectures in NANTUCKET, commenc-ing on Wednesday evening, Sept. 29.

DANIEL FOSTER

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

Tuesday, Pepperell, Fitchburg, Friday, Monday, Gardner. Thursday,

N. B. In each case it may be expected that Mr. F. will remain in the place named until the date of his next following appointment, closing at Gardner, on Sunday, Oct. 10.

A quarterly meeting of this Society will be held in the Universalist Church at Hanson, on Sunday, Oct. 3, at the usual hours of religious services. In view of the national and State elections, we hope to see a goodly number of the friends of the Society present, that our duties in relation thereto may be thoroughly and duly considered.

BOURNE SPOONER, President. H. H. BRIGHAM, Sec'ry.

BROOKFIELD (Worcester Co.) An anti-slavery meeting will be held at the Podunk meeting-house, in Brookfield, on Sunday, Oct. 3d, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and will be attended by Stephen S. Foster and Samuel May, jr.

CONVENTIONS IN NORTHAMPTON AND SPRINGFIELD.

An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Northampton, on Sunday, Oct. 17, and another in Springfield, on Wednesday, Oct. 20—both Conventions to be attended by Wendell Phillips and Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Further particulars hereafter.

TO LYCEUM COMMITTEES.

TO LYCEUM COMMITTEES.

Prof. W. S. Brown, Author of 'Chemistry for Beginners,'&c., is now ready to enter into engagements with Lyceum Committees and others, to deliver Lectures on Chemical Apparatus is large, and specially adapted for illustrating Popular Lectures,

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PROSPECTUS OP

THE NEW ERA:

OR, REAVEN OPENED TO MAN. Behold, I make all things NEW. 'Hereafter ye shall see Heaven Opened.'

I propose to issue a weekly paper, with the above title, devoted to Spiritual Pacra, Philosophy and Live—to be published in the city of Boston, on each successive Wednesday morning. It will be printed on good paper, with fair type, in a folio form, with a beautiful vignette at the head of it, of Heaven opening, and the angels descending ! a picture which shall correspond with the title of the publication, and be eminently significant of the New Age on which our world is entering. It will be a medium for the higher order of Spiritual Communications—a vehicle for the facts, philosophy and practical suggestions of human correspondents, and for such editorial matter as the changing circumstances of the times and the needs of changing circumstances of the times and the needs of the public shall seem to demand. It shall be a page the public suali stein to distance of the word: free for the utterance of all worthy and useful thought—rars as Life and Love and Wisdom are rars! It will spontaneously avoid all sectarianism, (except to give it criticism,) and will be the unswerving advocate of

Jniversal Truth.
Friends of Humanity, and lovers of Spiritual Communion—are you ready for such a paper in this lo-cality? If so, will you do me and the cause the favor to send in your NAMES? I want no money now. All I want is your names, pledged to pay in advance on the receipt of the first number. And when the list reaches the least number requisits for its support, the first number will be issued.

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PREE AMERICANS-A NEW SONG. BY W. MILNE.

Tune- Scots schae hae. Free Americans! how long, Calmly, will ye suffer wrong-See the feeble by the strong Held in chains and slavery?

Ye to whom a freeman's lot Is so dear, have ye forgot How your sable brother fought, By your side, for liberty?

Every moment he remains, Held by you in servile chains, Deeper, darker makes the stains Of your guilt and knavery.

Rise! and with a giant's might, Freedom's moral battles fight; Lest the sword of Justice smite Down your Eagle, suddenly ! Sable cheeks are wet with tears,

And a wailing fills His ears, Who in mercy ever hears The faintest cry of misery.

Heavy burdens haste undo, Lest in wrath He visit you, And the yengeance justly due, Be requited fearfully. Helpless infancy invokes,

Hoary age with snowy locks, Woman, too, for justice knocks At your doors beseechingly. Shall their tears to pity move, Tears observed by God above,

God, whose justice, truth and love, Never sides with tyranny ? .... Blush, Americans! for shame; There a blot upon your fame-

Wipe it out, and get a name For justice, truth and equity. Then the Union, all around,

Songs of Jubilee shall sound, And a State no more be found, Strined with human slavery.

#### For the Liberator. A DAGUERREOTYPE.

BY AN ARTIST OF THE OLD COLONY. They call thee 'godlike'-ah! their empty praise For thy departed honor poorly pays! They call thee 'patriot'-lo! the vain profession No heart to feel for victims of oppression! They call thee 'great expounder of the law'-No man, no fiend one more depraved c'er saw ! They call thee 'statesman'-hast thou ' lost thy soul' Whate'er thou 'st gained, no profit's in the goal !

### LEND A HAND.

Working 'mid the world's commotion, Fighting up life's thorny road, Patriots, with a high devotion, Struggle in the cause of God. And to us that band is praying, And their griefs before us laying. And to us that band is saying, Brethren! lend a hand!

Men of freedom ! men of daring ! Blest with health, and strong in youth, Come, with all your noble bearing, Fight the battle-fight of truth. Former friends reject and slight us, Fiends and men resist and spite us, Earth and hell combine to fight us-Heroes! lend a hand!

Men of wealth, and men of station, Vice has had your aid too long; Come, then-from their degradation Help to raise the wretched throng. Of a doom of woe unthinking. From a poison cup they're drinking. In a sea of death they are sinking-Rich ones! lend a hand !

Men of genius, high and sonring, Cease your flights past human ken Y and your mighty aid in pouring Knowledge round the paths of men Round you is a solitude-Minds with higher powers endued, Perishing for lack of food! Genius! lend a hand!

Men of God! whose noble calling Has come down from Heaven above, Cease your scheming and caballing-P cach in truth a Savior's love. While but trifles you're decrying, Millions for the truth are sighing, And the second death are dying-Christians! lend a hand!

Men of every mind and station, Sow the seed and strike the blow ! Rise in honest indignation, Rise to fight the common foe! There's a field for all your working, Vice is reigning, sin is lurking; Let there be no dastard shirking Patriote! lend a hand!

colf arrised

#### From the National Bra. CHRIST AND MARS, OR CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

· Trust in the Lord, and keep your powder dry," Said Cromwell, when along the darkened sky Flew forth the swift-winged messengers of fate, Which sent a legion down to Pluto's gate! Trust in the Lord; and pray, 'Our Father, God.' Then smite his children with a demon's rod ! Breathe forth that prayer, 'Most hallowed be the Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, the same

In earth as heaven, then ope the cannon's mouth, Let slip the dogs of war, from North to South, From East to West let fiends incarnate rage, And make mankind in hellish scenes engage ! Trust in the Lord to 'Give us daily bread.' . Then cat your food with hands by murder red ! Forgive us, Lord, as we our fees forgive. Then rob them of those joys for which they live! Into temptation lead us not, Oh! Lord, But give us heart to kill with grape and sword ! From every form of evil set us free,'

Yet help us flood the earth with crimsoned sea! And unto thee shall glory, honor, power, For aye be given, when in a direful hour The lights of heaven shall fade smid the glare Of universal fires, and demons wear
- The crown of undisputed right and sway! Such is the scene where Chonwells rule the day. And such the part that CHRISTIAN WARRIORS play MAVIJO MHOL D. M. KER.

Geneve, Illinois, 1852. WHEN OF PRINTE STREET, PRECEPTIVE.

Think what is just; 't is not enough to do, Die id the truth; for that who will not die, A coward is, and gives himself the lie.

BUREST TOP

# The Liberator.

HOPE ON, HOPE EVER!

London, August 1, 1852.

DEAR GARRISON : Your steady persistance in your great and good work has, by the sight of a Liberator, been called to my mind; and I feel encouraged not to despair of human progression. I had begun to rest from voluntary exertion, satisfied to leave Kings to God-forgetting that, as to human things, he works dress. through human agents, that all our faculties were given to promote his purposes, and that each is bound in his circle to use them actively; and that we must the difficulty inherent in the subject, because it has not hope to escape moral and just retribution, if we hide our talents, though but one, in a napkin. This is beautifully illustrated by Jesus in the parable of the talents. How much, it seems, at times, it is to be regretted that his teachings had not come down to us unattended with the writings of the ardent Paul; though as they have come down so, I am satisfied it is for the best that they so came. The fact that a thing has happened is, to me, sufficient to justify the con-

our business and duty is to correct, or aid in correcting, what we think wrong. We cannot get rid of the past facts; they have gone down the stream of time, and we must be content with fatalism, or infer that we have a duty to perform in this life; and that is, to aid in improving the effects which may be made to flow by the active energy of the wise and the good. It is from the whole stream of facts that men, in the ages that have passed, have derived and transmitted their knowledge to after ages; and that increasing knowledge has enabled us to see the good which Na-

ture (God) is ever educing. Electricity, which aforetime was deemed to be a visitation of vengeance, is now turned by knowledge to the mighty blessing of transmitting and increasing intelligence by almighty wings, and in the end will strengthen the power of the masses against despotism.

from darkness and ignorance, and to that darkness they will return.

All nature is chemistry; man himself is a laboratory and the knowledge of nature, which is the knowledge of the laws of God and his works-the knowledge of the comprehensive and beautiful philosophy of Jesus, which teaches the love of God and man, and acting towards our brother, and judging him as we would that he should act towards and judge us-will be found to accord. We shall be fitted for higher being, and find our reward.

Your perseverance in your good work heartened me up again; that is, it suggested a train of thought which did so, at a moment when my view of the political aspect of things here had thrown a wet blanket over me. It is never long with me before it dries, as my view, that all things work together for good, is that changes, not the perfect. It is man's power of stendy, though I, as others, occasionally find myself puzzled to reconcile things that happen contrary to the way in which I wished. This thought, I have no doubt, or something like it, occurred to the abolitionists when the iniquitous Fugitive Slave mind, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.' They Bill passed; but the discussion to which that bill has given rise has done more, and will do more for the ab- who shut up the words of the kindest philosopher, and olition of slavery, than we at first saw connected

Take an instance : 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was printed here at 2s. 6d. It sold so rapidly, that it was soon printed for a shilling; and it is now printing in penny numbers. It is largely contributing to diffuse the abolition of slavery, which you had made a world-wide question, reach the meanest in circumstances, and it will tend to strengthen the poor and ignorant against slavery, ere they embark for your country. It is a narrative which brings the sufferings of the slave home to the heart and the feelings, in a form in which hundreds and thousands can appreciate them, and are made to abhor those who inflict or advocate them. The work enlists the feelings of all who read it, and the feelings lead the majority; and if there is reasoning power, and it is awakened, the feelings in the end lead the judgment. The judgment is pretty sure to enter the same regiment in which the feelings have enlisted. Go on, then, my earnest, good friend ! Be assured you will reap, if you faint not. It will be an honor, in a future day, to have labored with you in

What an amazing number of progressive movements a man sixty years old might record as movements, the fruits of which he has seen! And when he remembers how often he has grieved himself at the influences which appeared to oppose the rapid advance and fully does it prove that society, notwiths these influences, is a growth, and is ever impelled onward-that it is a process of adaptation, and that Every man has his errors; but, inasmuch as all have the same errors, truth progresses, though the errors impede. If ten is taken as representing society, only one of the ten would be found riding the same hobby; and though the other nine should have their hobbies, there will always be nine against each particular hobby, and the stream would still run in the right direction.

Hence the purposes of God, or nature, are worked out, independently of the will of man, yet through his agency. We are creatures of necessity, creatures of the great first cause. Man has what to the world has appeared, and what to many still appears to be, a free will; yet is he a creature of necessity. His language has been formed out of what to men has appeared to be their state and position, namely that of free agency: they form their own language Higher views of God's providence show, that all thing proceeding from Him are governed by him, and are overruled to his purposes. He works through the agency of creatures; and, notwithstanding their misapprehension or non-apprehension of the laws of nature, the laws of nature act and govern and influence whether we understand them or not-they control, and we enjoy or suffer, as we conform or err. We are compelled to submit to them, whether knowing them or not, or suffer the consequences of disobedience or non-conformity.

bedience. Wise or ignorant, man cannot suspend or use them, and profit by their use.

The laws which govern and control us, as individuals, are as certain, physically, mentally and morally, as the laws which govern external nature. We canno control the tides or the plants; neither can we refuse our being. We are not consulted as to receiving or going out of life, or as to the laws which control it. We cannot but breathe, and that brings sensation into action, and we cannot resist our sensation.

The eye, it cannot choose but see ; We cannot bid the ear be still; Our bodies feel, where er they be, Against or with our will.

We cannot suspend the gastric juice; and fr this proceeds our motives to action, to labor, to learn and thence our intellectual and artistic attainments our moral convictions, our intelligent obedience, our love for excellence, our enjoyment of high and pure motive. These sensations, which are independent of ourselves, compel us to act. Let every man act in conformity with or against these laws, and he will neither miss the reward nor escape the consequences, whether he sins from ignorance, or against knowl-

Whether we call this obedience to the law of na ture, or the law of God, is but a difference in words, him! crucify him! Away with such a fellow from the not in essence. If we say with the secularist, those earth, for it is not fit that he should live !'
who obey the law of nature will reap the reward of If the above will be of any use to Mr. B., for the

if we say with the Christian, all things work together for the good of these who love God, we express the ame thought in different words. The one form is conceived in the language suggested by those who reverence power as evidenced in the law of nature, but have not imagined a being or person; the other is language conceived by those who have found or embodied an idea of person, connected with the su-

We should endeavor to arrive at the essence of the thoughts expressed, treating the words as the mere

have arisen from the words used, but much more from relation to the infinite, and the agent is finite; bu man can see enough to know that the power that creates is greater than the thing created, and has not subjected his laws to the creature's will. Man's charac er is formed for him, not by him.

This doctrine, that God rules all things, is put by the Evangelists into the mouth of Jesus- Are no two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall to the ground without your Father's no ice. But the very hairs of your head are all numpered : fear ve not, therefore, ve are of more value than many sparrows."

This is a faithful saying. It is one of the leaves o he tree of life appointed for the healing of the nations and is able to make us wise unto salvation, and horoughly furnished unto all good works. It is a great ruth, and must not be suffered to fall to the ground That is the cause of a thing, without which it would

The character of a man flows from his life and ormilestion. His life he cannot help receiving; his organization he cannot help obeying. Man's organization is sustained and controlled by his Creator, a is evinced by the language we have quoted from the great Christian Philosopher, whose philosophy would, ere this, have pervaded the world, if the dogma of credists had not been taught in its stead, and This despotism and priesteraft will be dismissed to in his name, by priests, who built arches over his docthe darkness from whence they came. They sprung trine, and then pretended they were founded upon his

We receive our thoughts and coin our language brough the senses. Without the senses, there is no thought; without these, no words-for words are but the symbols having conventional meaning only, These senses are put in action by the material things surrounding us, which are the types of all new ideas to which they give rise; and as we increase in knowledge, we multiply our desire of symbolizing-extending our view of God through his works.

Mind is ever growing as it sees more of science. Phough the physical types—that is to say, the works of God, as spread out before man, are the same, and the eye visual may be the same-the eye mental is not the same : its power of vision is increased. The omnipotent type is ever the same. It is the imperfect comprehension and appreciation that enlarges; and as it goes on enlarging, he is enabled to see more of God in all things; and ultimately he will, as I think, see all things in God. And yet priests have dared to say to who compelled Gallileo to bend the knee to a lie; the most comprehensive philosophy from the world and burnt and destroyed those who sought its diffusion, by the Inquisition, were the great enemies o man; and those who partake of the disposition to repress thought are of the same spirit. The world will not know true religion until we get rid of priestcraft. I had almost said, until we get rid of priests. EDWARD SEARCH.

> THE BIBLE QUESTION. (Reply to Joseph Barker-Concluded.)

If our opinion is correct, Joseph Barker is a man f war. He considers the New Testament as tame servile and pusillanimous, because its doctrine is, \* Re sist not evil, overcome evil with good, and recom mends patience and resignation under afflictions, i the sufferers cannot better their condition. J. B would overcome his cnemies and oppressors with powder and lead. He says- 'It seems extremely difficult to annihilate European tyranny, or American slaveholding, as long as the Bible is considered of Divine authority. The scriptures represent it as a mat ter of little importance whether men be slaves or free men. The scriptures sanction political tyranny an despotism, forbid rebellion against tyrants, and sentence to damnation all who resist existing authorities requiring men to be subject both to ecclesiastical and political rulers, on pain of eternal ruin; and when of the good, or what he thought so, and now looks they find you proving that the scriptures even require back and takes note of the progress made, how truly you to obey every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, without regard to its character, upon it they will tremble. The world will have hear the truth and the sooner they hear it, the better onward' is a law of our being, and is for good .- The hypocrites will tremble for their calling and their hire. (Did you, Mr. B., just occupy the position of priest for the sake of the hire? Were you then hypocrite?) And the honest, but deluded, will tremble for the honor of their religion and the salvation of men's souls.' True enough, this makes us have fearful forebodings! as we acknowledge our-selves to be among the number of the deluded. But we have already troubled our readers with an accoun of such a paroxysm of horror, that we will not again trespass on their sympathies. If Mr. B. goes on t make one discovery after another, of the iniquitous teachings of the scriptures, what shall we do! He has now discovered that the Apostles were the tools and lick-spittles of the despots of their day, preaching submission to their behests, be they right or wrong viz., they were to obey man rather than God. It is easily discovered, when B. puts us on the track, wha the reason was why the great folks treated the Apos tles with such distinguished attention. They scarcely ever visited a country or city, but a reception meeting was got up through the influence of the big folks Some orator or orators would make an adulatory reception speech, addressing them on behalf of their country, or city, of which the following is an example : 'These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also; and these all do contrary to the decrees of Caser, saying there is another king, on There is no liberty, so to speak, but the liberty of He boasts of his distinction in this way, 2d Cor. 11: 23-27. They greeted him thus: "What will this control their action ; though, knowing them, he may babbler say? He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods. For we have found this man a postilent fellow a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughou the world. He teacheth customs which are not lawful for us to receive, neither to observe, being Romans. They conferred the distinguished honor on Paul, o giving him the privilege of displaying his prowess h fighting with wild beasts at Ephesus. Not only would the Apostles be addressed in a flattering manner, bu

they would also be presented with tokens of respect not gold medals, indeed, but something in the shape of were accommodated, at the expense of the communi ty, as the people's guests, in public houses, denomina ted jails, with special orders to the officer in attendance to make their feet fast in the stocks. And as a fina reward for their loyalty to the despots, they would not allow them to die as ordinary mortals; thus no subjecting them to the risk of encountering the infir mities of old age, but removing them by a violen death, in the comparative vigor of life; not stretche on the couch of death, in a private chamber, au rounded by a few weeping friends, but they were hon ored by dying on a public scaffold, or extended on cross, or broiled before slow fires, their death witness ed by thousands of spectators, vociferating, 'Crucif

but the widow's mite was accepted.

It pains us to the heart to hear agents of the Am

persons, did obey every ordinance of man for the war against the Bible, thus divesting themselves Lord's sake, without regard to its character, and that the despots in their day considered them their friends Bible had much time to retard the abolition of slavery. You have informed us, that it had not been covered that the Bible justified slavery, until after British West India emancipation. Now, we do pray olitical despotism, and it will do no harm. Do not, by your superior wisdom, enlighten the world. Ignoce is bliss, in this case. What good will it do you ed, on account of your opposition to the Bible; but you are amply compensated by having the approbaion of your own conscience. We hope you will not be called to seal your testimony with your blood! Your class of men has not as yet produced many martyrs. It would be a poor thing to be a martyr for on which they can rely; no support but the vagaries

of the community, to represent them as a set of igno- And, indeed, no infidel writer to whom we have had rant dolts, not knowing what the scriptures teach, but access, is deserving of honor, even admitting the subas he informs them.

being condemned by Scripture. He has a Cromwell, ed its meaning, which has given people reason to say Hampden, Milton, Pym, Washington, Franklin, Kos- that it is either ignorance of the Bible, or malice presuth, and Mazzini. The men he has mentioned considered the Bible the palladium of their liberty; and that it forcibly taught the equality of the human the attack, and not the love of truth. Recent writers family. The reason is plain : it had not then . been distinguished man himself expounded the Scriptures The soldiers spent their leisure hours in reading the Bible.' Kossuth professes to be a firm believer in the Divine authority of the Scriptures. He says, 'The doctrine of Jesus Christ is sublime in its majestic simplicity,' and regrets that no Christian nation is governed by its precepts. All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' The observance of this rule would banish all oppression from the world. The great Magar has not discovered that the Bible is an obstacle in the way of 'annihilating European tyranny.' It is only a chosen few that can unfold the mysteries of the Rible. We do hope they will keep this secret on the Bible! It was not discovered in Washington's day : the revolutionary struggle went on triumphantly-the Bible was no obstacle in the way of the car of liberty. Washington, and a great majority of the revolutionary fathers, reverenced the Bible. Washington had religious services in his camp; and many ministers of the gospel went to the field of battle, with their Bible in their hand. How far they acted with the true spirit of Christianity, we will not now stop to inquire. However, of one thing we are sure Christianity ever sympathises with the oppressed and down-trodden, and gives oppressors no quarters, and trample in the dust Divine revelation, one of the and its weapons are mighty through God. People pedestals upon which the Society has declared it is who wish to play the tyrant always wish to exclude the Bible from their victims.

It would be impossible to make a Bible to please the different schools of anti-Bible divines. Daniel Foster and Henry C. Wright call themselves Christians. They consider Christ's example and teachings perfect. Mr. Poster says : "I receive Christ's teachings as infallible; give me the words of Christ, and I receive them as wholly true. He occupies to my soul a position which no other teacher does,' [Libera-tor, Nov. 14, 1851.] Henry C. Wright has expressed substantially the same opinion. Joseph Barker sims his malignant shafts particularly at the leachings of the New Testaments, and charges Christ with teaching or approving of gross immoralities! He says: 'Christ allowed of slavery, that is, he considered it lawful.'-From J. B's manner of reasoning, in charging Christ with considering slavery lawful, his intention is to charge him with considering lying, treason, highway robbery, fornication, adultery, thieving and murder to be lawful! It is discouraging to see the discrepancy in the opinions of anti-Bible men. They agree in one point, that is, to demolish the Bible; but there is a poor prospect of their agreeing on a new Bible.

We suppose a majority of anti-Bible preschers are non-resistants. Henry C. Wright, Daniel Foster, Old Testament to be diabolical; one principal reason tism, Psychology, Psycaurism, &c. they give is, in their opinion, it justifies war. They peremptorily assert that God never gave a revelation to man that would justify war, war being contrary to the nature of God. Henry C. Wright says: 'God never authorized one of his children to kill another; He must blot out man's present nature, and relations and obligations, before he can, without injustice, invest him with the power of life and death over his brother, to slay him as a penalty for crime in self-defence.' Daniel Foster has expressed the same opinion very pointedly, [Liberator, Nov. 14, 1851.] We have already seen, that Joseph Barker rejects the New Testament as being a revelation from God; one principal reason for which is, if not the only reason, in his opinion it justifies slavery, and other oppressions, be-cause it forbids all war, or the shedding of blood even for the purpose of obtaining liberty. Henry C. Wright and Daniel Foster would not worship the ideal God of Joseph Barker, because he is a God of war; his messages sometimes splendid messages! — all time-hands were stained with human blood. They would tured, more or less, with the imperfections and peculiarities of the earthern vessels through which we reof Joseph Barker, because he is a God of war; his call him a great many bad names; they would say ence. He might be Joseph Barker's God, but he was not theirs. Daniel Foster's and Henry C. Wright's ideal God is a being all love, who inflicts no penalties on offenders, pats the cheek, and looks as complacently in the face of the wicked as in the face of the rightsous. What would please the former gentleman's Drity, would be an abomination to the latter gentle man's Deity. Bible men de differ in opinion, but no radically and essentially; they all acknowledge and believe in the same God and in the same attributes.

We see there is no prospect of anti-Bible divines agreeing on the basis of a new Bible, (not Bible Directory); they differ in the most essential matters they cannot even worship the same God, and their standards of duty are antagonistical, nor could they live amicably together. Which are right? Both theories cannot be right. If people were left without any final arbiter, in which they could place confidence, to act according to the dictates of their own understandings, the suggestions of their own affections, instincts and consciences, they would soon have as many gods, with different attributes, as are represented in the heathen mythology, and no settled moral standard. We cannot know the essential character of God, but as he reveals himself. All is uncer tainty and doubt respecting the moral attributes God, without revelation. The manifest tendency o infidelity is, to render unstable the foundation of true religion and good morals, and to introduce universe skepticism. Yet such assuming mortals proclaim themselves the benefactors of mankind. And wha benefit has mankind received from infidelity? or who reformation has it ever promoted? We most empha ically answer, none; and call for the proof that it ha

We must bring our remarks to a close; we have performed what we considered a duty, and a verpainful one, and tt has been very imperfectly done

their principal weapon of warfare against slavery As a fellow-laborer in the abolition cause, fin our and allies, it is at his disposal. But if the discovery own humble way,) we do most affectionately admonsupport political tyranny and despotism, it has done doing-refrain from waging warf against the Bible, no harm. How has it corrupted the public mind, lest haply you be found to fight against God. You if it has not been discovered till now? Nor has the cannot overthrow it. 'No weapon that is formed against it shall prosper.' If the Bible had been or men, it would have come to nought long ago; it could not have withstood the investigation of the enlightened ages through which it has passed. You deceiv you, Mr. B., don't let it out that the Bible sanctions yourself, when you suppose you will 'make pro-sla political despotism, and it will do no harm. Do not, very priests tremble," by your attacks on the Bible They rejoice at your course; they consider your at tacks as infidel ebullitions, designed to operate on the to frighten a set of hungry ' priests,' and a class of Bible, and they will fall harmless at their feet. And deluded mortals, keeping them trembling and qua- they also know you will defeat the cause you profess king? And if you don't let it out, it will evert perse- to advocate, as far as your instrumentality goes; but culion. It seems you have been grievously persecut- you cannot defeat the anti-slavery cause, for it is of God and will ultimately prevail. But that your principles will have a tendency, in some measure, to re ard it, there is no doubt. And your principles and position will have a tendency to divest the American Anti-Slavery Society of some of the laurels it has s deservedly won. No man has ever got any honor to they know not what. No promise to support them himself, or to any association to which he may belong, by assailing the Scriptures. God is true to his threatenings. 'Those who honor him, he will honor, Mr. B. most egregiously insults the understanding and those who despise him shall be lightly esteemed. ject was justifiable. They have never investigated Mr. B. brings up a host of warriors, who resisted the question with candor and honesty, but have reunto blood against oppression, and represents them as sorted to misrepresentation of the Bible, and pervert-

pense, or a desire to show superior wisdom and inde pendence of thought and expression, which instigated have not even the honor of a claim to originality, but discovered, that the Bible was in favor of political bring up old stale objections, which have been reoppression, or despotic tyranny. In the army of futed over and over again. And, indeed, some are so Cromwell, religion was exceedingly popular; that much in the habit of repeating the same objections. and telling the same story, that a glance at their proto his troops. Profanity was unknown throughout ductions is sufficient to discover the author, without secing the signature. J. B., as an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, you occupy a very inconsistent position. I highly becomes the members, more particularly the active agents of the Society, to defend the truths of Divine revelation as far as the anti-slavery question is

concerned. The Society in its declaration of sentiment says, 'Slavery is not only an infringment on the law of nature, but is also'a presumptuous transgression of the holy commandments.' As to its basis, it says, ' With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of Independence, and on the truths of Divine revelation, as upon the everlasting rock. Now, Joseph Barker you are the only person, to our knowledge, who has publicly recommended and urged the repudiation of the Divine authority of the Bible, to be adopted on the anti-slavery platform as an anti-slavery measure. How can you charge the people of the United States with inconsistency with their Declaration of Independence, when you have recommended it as an anti-slavery measure to endeavor to prove the holy commandments to which the Society alludes are forgeries, and say you will exert your utmost ability to drag down and trample in the dust Divine revelation, one of the based, as upon the everlasting rock?

With prayers for Mr. Barker's welfare, both temporally and spiritually, we affectionately bid him ELIZABETH WILSON. Cadiz, (Ohio,) Aug. 28th, 1852.

> From the East Boston Ledger. 'UNDERSTANDEST THOU?'

PHRENOLOGY. Several years ago, a something began to be talked of in our country, which had been called Craniology. Phrenology, Cerebrology, &c. The public knew almost nothing about it; but one thing they were agreed upon; that is, that the whole affair was 'a contemptible humbug, and no mistake'! But this opinion has met with a change.

And yet I am bound to assert, that even to this day, very few persons can give a correct and complete answer to the initiatory question—What is it? And the very best of our books seem to me poorly adapted to rectify the popular misconceptions of its very iden-

to rectify the popular misconceptions of its very iden-

PSYCAURISM.

A few years after the introduction of phrenological art and science, another something began to be much talked of; a something which was unciently called talked of; a something which was anciently called magic, fascination, 'the coult means of healing, & Two hundred years ago, Helmont, of Germany, and Maxwell, of England, called it, (as Mesmor did sev-enty years ago,) 'Animal Magnetism.' Since then, it has had a variety of names, as Mesmerism, Pathe-

But, whatever name its friends might give it, the public did not fail to christen it Humbug, till it was preve! to be a legitimate child of nature; and then

they recorded it Horn'ag.

But, what is it? And here, again, is a question which the public needs an answer; and they can WHY MISCONCEIVED.

And why are these subjects so generally misunder stood? I answer, it is because no encouragement is afforded to him who would prepare himself to instruct us. The lecturers, and publications, and exhibitions that are decently paid for, or that even get a hearing must be adapted to amuse, rather than instruct. People of the content of the c ole will pay for wonderments, when they will no take useful knowledge as a gift.

SPIRILOQUY. And similar difficulties attend the subject of spirit intercourse. We attend circles to witness wonderful manifestations, which are generally 'few and far between.' We read books that tell of the prizes, but not of the blanks—books of mysterious facts and loving marities of the earthern vessels through which we re ceive them. We are charmed with almost superhu man poetry, and beautiful allegories of the very new est of the New Jerusalem.

And, in fact, we have books of moral instruction.—

We have access to the 'Sacred Roll' of the Shaker And cur own Hammond has given us books of inest And our own Hammond has given us books of inesti-mable value, purporting to come from the convertes spirit of Paine and others. And in Davis' work or 'Spiritual Intercourse,' we can find excellent instruc-tion upon the nature of the manifestations.

But my present purpose is, respectfully to recom-mend to all who wish to have something more than a superficial understanding of the subject, the peru-sal, also, of a little book just published by Bela Marsh. I refer to the Rev. Adin Ballou's Exposition.

The over-skeptical should read it, and especially the over-skeptical should read it, and especially the over-credulous should read it. It will help them to understand the limits and modifications of spiritual phenomens. Every person who has anything to say for or against the doctrine of spiriloquy, should read this little fifty cent book for or against the doctrine of spiriloquy, should reach this little fifty cent book.

Indeed, I do not mean that it gives the whole phi

losophy of the subject; or that it says as much, by way of facts or arguments, as a larger book might say. But I am sure it is just about the thing at present needed; and, being very small, it is all the cheaper bought, the quicker read, the easier understood, and The name of the author on the title page is a re

commendation to the book; but the succeeding pages bear on their face still higher recommendations.

In conclusion, I remark, that if the excitable portion, on both sides of this question, will carefully attudy Mr. Ballou's book, it may save them all from that fearful disorder, called 'Rappo-manis;' a disorder which seems to manifest more alarming symptom that the seems to manifest more alarming symptom that the seems to manifest more alarming symptom. der which seems to manifest more alarming symptoms in some of our opposers, in the religious and irreligious zewspapers, than have been hitherto observed in any or our friends in this part of the nation.

W. FELCH.

East Boston, Aug. 26, 1852.

of lectures on the Glory of Christ. They will be issued in a large and handsome volume, in a few days, from the press of M. W. Dodd.—N. Y. Observer.

This is the same Dr. Spring who supports the Pugitive Slave Law, and says if, by offering a single their wisdom or obelience to the higher power; or purpose of proving that the Apostles, in their own ican Anti-Slavery Society, declaring an exterminating prayer, he could abolish slavery, he would not do it!



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