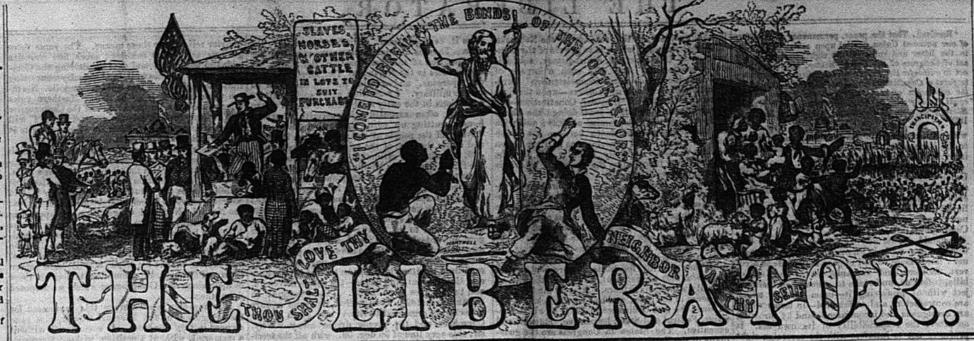
All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square setel three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts.

Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au Pennsylvania and the control of the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financia Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILDRICK, and

WEXDELL PRILLIPS. very question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 18.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH.

IF 'Yes! IT CARNOT BE DENIED the slaveholding

lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the Praparcity 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—ah engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God. delivered from Sinal; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

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

the name of persons . . . . in fact, the oppressor repre-

senting the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

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

majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'- John Quincy Adams.

# BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 5, 1854.

WHOLE NUMBER 1033.

# SELECTIONS.

PROF. ALLEN IN LEEDS, ENGLAND. PROF. ALLEN IN LEEDS, ENGLAND.

He has already delivered a course of three lectures in the Stock Exchange Hall, Leeds, at the request of the Anti-Slavory Association of that town. The subject of the first of these lectures, on November 20th, 1853, was on 'American Slavery, and the Prejudice against Color.' The Mayor (John Wilson, Esq.) in the chair.

The Mayor, on entering the Hall, accompanied by Professor Allen, was received with applause, and on taking the chair, said that it gave him much pleasure to find on this, the first time he came before his fellow-townsmen in public, after they had invested him with the office of chief magistrate, it was for the purpose of promoting an object in which

invested him with the office of chief magistrate, it was for the purpose of promoting an object in which he so thoroughly sympathised. (Hear, hear.) American slavery in every form, and under every feature, he utterly detested. (Applause.) The object of the learned lecturer, to whom they were about to listen, was to enlighten them upon various about to listen, was to enlighten them upon various points of American slavery, and the prejudices connected therewith, and to enlist the sympathy of the British public against this unrighteous system. (Hear, hear.) Happily they had set their American brethren a noble example, and it was quite natural that such gentlemen as Professor Allen should appeal to the sympathies of this country. He thought he could promise Professor Allen a hearty welcome in Leeds. (Hear, hear, and appealance)

Professor Allen (an intelligent gentleman of color) then came forward, and was received with applause. He said he certainly felt very much obliged by this kind reception; it showed to him their kind feeling, which, hower, he must accept more as a tri-bute to the cause he stood there to advocate. He would (for the sake of this cause) he were an orator ; but, unfortunately, he was not a speech-maker by profession, having lived in the main the quiet life of a teacher. He had not come there to deal out indiscriminate abuse of America and her institutions. But while he should not deal in indiscriminate.

abust, neither should he indulge in fulsome flattery. American slavery was one of those great evils which require to be attacked by all the efforts of mind and licart, and the man that threw a lance at it should see that it is charged with fire as well as with truth. He acknowledged the greatness of Amwith truth. He acknowledged the greatness of Amics in energy, intellect and activity. Look at her; —a nation born in a day! Look at her giving culture and education to her people,—and here there was something sublime, something great. But if he acknowledged her to be great, he condemned her the more. (Hear.) He had heard it said that America would abolish slavery, if she could. Why, if America willed to march her armies into Why, if America wheat of that country, she did it: and if she willed, she could abolish slavery. (Hear, hear.) But what was American Slavery? The lecturer then gave a brief, but clear and lucid definition of negro slavery as it exists in the United States, and a graphic picture of one of its results in the social and political disabilities to which the colored race are subjected in that country by the white population. Having referred to the recent other matters, he said that this prejudice against color would have its day, and then it would pass away. The colored people are increasing every year in numbers, strength, power, intelligence, and virtue, and he had hope of them and of the Ameri-can people yet. He had seen enough to make him think that this prejudice could not exist long. He hoped it was dying out, because the indignation of the world had really forced the American people to a sense of their propriety. Look at the world's fair at New York. Did they think that colored people would have been admitted there but for fear of the Europeans, who, it was expected, would ven-ture on the shores of America? Then, there was Mrs. Stowe, the renowned authoress of 'Uncle Tom,' she gave it a blow. Oh! what a book was that! Every page was that of genius on fire of truth, (Applause.) She had sprung a mine, out of which would issue prayers and sympathies for the colored race, and in the language of an eloquent man, he was almost induced to exclaim, 'Now has the star of our hope arisen above the horizon.'-(Hear, hear, and applause.) In conclusion, he asked the audience to do all they could to break down this iniquitous system of slavery, by protest-ing against it, and shaming the people of America

out of it. (Loud applause.)
Mr. Wilson Armistran, President of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Association, said that in rising to move a vote of thanks to the Mayor for presiding on this occasion, he felt as though he could not re-frain from expressing, very briefly, the deep inter-est, with which he had listened to the lecture of his friend, Professor Allen, who was himself a suf-ferer from the prejudicial feeling existing towards the race with which he was connected, and who had therefore a strong claim on our sympathy.—
(Hear, hear.) What a strange and unaccountable anomaly was it, that the United States of America, a country so loudly boasting of its liberty and free dom, should not only continue to hold in slavery's most servile and degrading bondage three to four millions of her people, but that she should also, by law as well as by the force of popular prejudice, deprive of many of their rights and privileges, a further half million of her citizens, who are nomi-nally, but very improperly, called her free colored population. This unfortunate class, whatever intelligence, refinement, or piety, they may possess are excluded from political and social privileges and are marked in the house of God. They must even sit in a corner, or behind the screen when they meet to worship in the temple of the living God, who 'hath made of one blood all the nations of men; ' who is himself ' no respecter of persons, but who accepts those of every clime and color, of every nation, kindred, and tongue, that worship Him and work righteousness. Surely we had heard enough from the lecture of Professor Allen to convince us, if we have not been convinced lon, ago, that the treatment of our colored brethren is the United States of America was entirely at variance with every principle of justice, humanity, and religion. But let us remember, whilst it is our duty unhesitatingly to protest against the prejudice which precludes this class of people from the enjoyment of their social and political rights and privileges, that it is still more our important the enjoyment of their social and political rights and privileges, that it is still more our imperative duty to labor for the extinction of slavery, which gives rise to this prejudicial and exclusive feeling. Whatever be our opinions, political or religious, on the common ground of humanity let us combine in one united effort, in one earnest prayer, and in one determined struggle, to effect the overthrow of this floorstrous system of oppression and cruelty. He was glad the lecturer believed the unrighteous prejudice towards the colored people was decreasing. Certain it was that, eventually, it was doomed to pass away as the principles of the gospel spread and prevail; being utterly irreconcilable with that law of love and good will, by which our blessed Redeemer requires us to be governed in all our inter-

thanks-be given to the Mayor for his kindness in tell what the result would be; but, if instead of

Professor Allen's second lecture was held in the Stock Exchange Hall, Leeds, Dec. 1st; Rev. Wm. Sinclair, M.A., Incumbent of St. George's, took the Storgeon, Incumbent of St. Andrew's, Rev. Mr. Wilson, Rev. Mr. Thomas, the Mayor (John Wilson, Esq.), Wilson Armistead, Esq., Joseph Lup-ton, Esq., Hamilton Richardson, Esq., &c., &c. The subject of the lecture was \* The Social and Political Condition of the Free Colored People of the Northern States of America. The CHAIRMAN having introduced the lecturer,

he was received with applause, and after a very interesting discourse, concluded by saying, that from the effects of prejudice, he had been driven out of his native country, and forced to seek a home in a strange land. He resumed his seat amidst ap-

The Mayor moved a vote of thanks to the Rev. ofr. Sinclair, for taking the chair, which was seconded by Hamilton Richardson, Esq., and carried

The Rev. Mr. SINCLAIR briefly acknowledged the vote, and spoke of the degrading laws of American slavery, and the still more degraded feeling which pervaded that country on that subject, and said he could not but think the Christian Church had fallen hort in this respect; for if the churches of America had spoken out as they should have done, he felt that the result would have been different.— ments of the Mayor, and begged to second the vote (Hear, hear.) He complimented and acknowledged of thanks, which was carried by acclamation. is obligation to the Anti-Slavery Society for givhis obligation to the Anti-Slavery Society for given them an opportunity to hear such men as Crumnel. Ward and Professor Allen. (Hear, hear.) He was glad to see evidences of improvement, and to learn that the opiscopal church had decided to re-

be very valuable information as to facts, and currous and interesting speculation as to the future destiny of a large portion of the colored race—a race which formed the population of one entire continent, whilst many millions more occupied other parts of the earth. The next object they had in view was to express their sympathy for a gentleman in the circumstances in which they found Professor Allen d in the face of the United States of America, to show that they in England received gentlemen of color, who came here with testimonials of character showing that they were gentlemen, scholars, and Christians,—that they would receive them into their houses, would mingle with them at public neetings, and would treat them as in every whit on a perfect equality with themselves. (Hear, hear, and applause.) He did not know how the prejudices of the United States were to be otherwise met than by the open manifestation of that feeling on the part of Christians in various parts of the world; and he said this, while at the same time he knew there was the possibility, nay, a proba-bility, and perhaps certainty, that by so doing an amount of provocation would be given to those Americans, who would attribute it to bad feeling towards them. But he was sure no such feeling existed here, and he could not see how a cause, resting on such clear grounds of reason and human-ity could ultimately fail, if those who advocated the right, and knew their duty, manfully discharged it. (Hear, hear.) He was gratified to ice against their brethren, he would call them, across the Atlantic, on the ground of any political. or other matter whatever; and they had not come there with any intention to undermine any of their commerce: they honored them for their enterprise, and wished to be enlisted with them in the great cause of civil and religious liberty, but they could not refrain expressing to them their deep disappro-bation of that institution of slavery which exists in

quent, and to the point. Strongly opposing the expatriation scheme of the Colonization Society, he expatriation scheme of the Colonization Society, he advocated the immediate abolition of slavery on American soil. How was that to be accomplished? There were two means, amongst others, which he commended to their attention. The one was the utmost extension of education amongst the free colored people of America; and the other was the constant agitation of the question in England.—Say what they would, the Americans were very sensitive about the opinion of England in this matter, and if Englishmen continued to speak out. ter, and if Englishmen continued to speak out, they would be exercising a most potent means of abolishing slavery in the United States.

Mr. Joseph Lupron wished to ask the learned lec-

turer a question. It had often been asked both here and in America, and he now wished to have Professor Allen's opinion upon it, whether the present slave population, if emancipated immediately, would continue their present occupations, they being able to work beneath a sun under which it was impossible for a white population to bear.

Professor Allex thought, if the slaves were

Professor ALLEN thought, it was go-emancipated immediately, they would, he was go-ing to say, as a matter of course, remain just where the are, and would engage in the occupation which they had hitherto followed; or he might say there would be no rebellious spirit manifested by them. they had hitherto followed; or he might say there would be no rebellious spirit manifested by them. The slave is to this prejudicial and exclusive feeling. Whatever be our opinions, political or religious, on the common ground of humanity let us combine in one united effort, in one earnest prayer, and in one determined struggle, to effect the overthrow of this mediantous system of oppression and cruelty. He may as glad the lecturer believed the unrighteous prejudice towards the colored people was decreasing. Certain it was that, eventually, it was doomed to pass away as the principles of the gospel spread and prevail; being utterly irreconcilable with that law of love and good will, by which our blessed Redemer requires us to be governed in all our intercourse with each other. Having made these remarks, he had pleasure in moving that a vote of the slaves would desire, if paid for their labor, to remain. Of course, if the present oppressive spirit of the slavesholder continued, he could not spirit of the slavesholder continued, he could not

thanks-be given to the Mayor for his kindness in presiding over this meeting.

Mr. Joseph Lupton, Vice-President of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Association, having seconded the vote of thanks, which was carried by acclamation, the Mayor briefly acknowledged it, and the audience separated.

Professor Allen's second lecture was held in the accompaniment of a swarthy skin, but he thought that they would all agree in the opinion that Pro-fessor Allen had completely refuted and settled that point. (Applause.) Professor Allen, though a quadroon, was a man of genius, of letters, and of taste; he had touched on subjects of a delicate nature with a good taste and a sound discretion, which entitled him to the greatest credit. (Hear, hear.) He had, therefore, great pleasure in mov-

> . That this meeting desires to record a vote of thanks to Professor Allen for his interesting lectures 'On American Slavery, and Prejudice against Color:' 'On the Social and Political Condition of the Free Colored People of the Northern States of America: and On the probable Destiny of the Colored Race. That this meeting also wishes to Colored Race. That this meeting also wishes to express its strong abhorrence of the whole system of slavery, as well as of the prejudice existing against the colored people of the Free States of America, which exhibits itself in various ways, in direct opposition to every right and Christian Teeling, as is strongly examplified in the case of the learned leatures where with his table learned leatures. learned lecturer, whom, with his truly heroic wife, we feel to have a large claim on our sympathy, under the peculiarly trying circumstances into which this prejudicial feeling has brought them.

Mr. C. Makins said he fully agreed in the senti-

Professor ALLEN thanked the audience for this very The third and last lecture of the series, by Professor Allen, was delivered in Leeds, in the Stock Exchange Hall, on December 5th. On the Probable Destiny of the Colored Race.' Edward Baines, Eq., presided.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said, they were met that evening for two purposes. In the first place, to receive what he was sure would be very valuable information as to facts, and curious and interesting speculation as to the future destiny of a large portion of the colored race—a race which

and applause.) Mr. Joseph Lurron moved, and Mr. Wilson Armistead seconded, a vote of thanks to the chair-man, which was carried with great cordiality.

Mr. Baines, in acknowledging the compliment circumstances in which they found Professor Allen in this country. (Hear, hear.) Many of them had already had an opportunity of manifesting their sympathy at the two previous lectures, which he (Mr. B.) had been prevented from attending; and now he with them wished, in the face of the world, he will be the found that was within him. But what he was the singularly was the singular was the s calm, sedate, and reflecting and Christian tone o his address. (Hear, hear.) The answer he gave to Mr. Lupton's question seemed to him to be borne out by all the facts known; it was a discriminating answer, for he said if the present slaves were released and well treated, they would undoubtedly remain in their own homes, but that whatever was cruel and oppressive, they would no longer submit to; and they in England would not say that they ought to submit to more than was right. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

During his stay in Leeds, Professor Allen receivan invitation to the Conversazione of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and, on that occaon, read a short but very interesting paper on

American Poets.' On Thursday, the 8th of December, Professor Allen delivered a lecture in the theatre of the dechanics' Institute, at Bradford. The Rev. Dr. odwin occupied the chair, and was supported by Mr. Alderman Beaumont, Mr. Alderman Brown, Mr. John Priestman, and Mr. D. Harris Smith. The following notice of this lecture is from the Bradford Observer :-

'The story of the lecturer, which is well known to our readers, is a touching one; he is an exile, having been expelled from his country because he, a colored person, though highly cultivated, aspired to marriage with a lady of a white skin, who reciprocated the sentiment. He presented a graphic picture of the social disabilities under which the bation of that institution of slavery which exists in the United States, and of the prejudice against men of color which was so closely connected with the question of slavery. (Hear, hear.) He begged, then, to introduce Professor Allen to the meeting. (Applause.)

Professor Allen then addressed the audience in a speech as closely logical, as it was calm and eloquent, and to the point. Strongly opposing the sion, Mr. Alderman Beaumont, who paid a high compliment to the lecturer, moved a vote of thanks, mont appeared amongst a large deputation that went to the Government in Downing street to present a protest,—the late Sir Fowell Buxton, Lord Suffield, and Mr. Z. Macaulay being also of the deputation; and Ald. Beaumont stated, that in the intercourse with Lord Suffield, on one of these memorable days, his Lordship freely acknowledged to him that his having been induced to take a part in the advocacy of emancipation, (his Lordship being the only peer that had done so in the House of Lords,) was to be solely ascribed to his reading of the Rev. Dr. Godwin's inimitable lectures on colonial slavery. The motion of Mr. Beaumont was seconded by Mr. Ald. Brown, and carried unani-

At one of Prof. Allen's lectures at Newcastle-on-Tyne, the Mayor in the chair, the following res-olution, moved by the Rev. James Everett, and sec-onded by the Rev. J. Pringle, was carried by ac-

'That this meeting, having listened with much pleasure to the eloquent address of Prof. Allen, expresses its deep sympathy with himself and his heroic wife in their exile, and with the colored peonerote wife in their exile, and with the colored peo-ple of the Northern States of America, and its ab-horrence of American slavery, and wishes him God

speed in his mission.

Prof. Allen has also delivered lectures at South Shields, and other places; and is now engaged in the same vocation in various parts of England and

From the Syracuse Wesleyan. EE IRISH TRAITOR-ADDRESS OF THE NORTH OF ENGLAND LEAGUE.

MANCHESTER, February 3, 1854. With disgust unutterable, I have just been reading a part of a pro-slavery article written by the ish 'patriot.' John Mitchel, in his paper, the Citizen, in reply to the remonstrances of that good and true man, James Haughton, who, unlike his apostate fellow-countryman, is world-wide in his love of liberty and equal rights. What an infinity of atrocity, meanness, falsehood and scoundrelism there is in the brief sentences in which Mitchel proclaims to the world that he is ready to lick the dust at the feet of the slaveocracy, and to perform the vilest offices that man-stealing and negro-hunting ingenuity can devise, while at the same time he tells us that he is engaged in a Holy Crusade against European despotism! Such a fel-low would almost sell his Savior for less than thirpieces of silver. Why, even now, has he not asphemously placed the name of the great foe of oppressors on the side of their friends ! Yes! the oppressors on the side of their friends? Yes! the name of Him, who, were he now on earth, would put Mitchel in the category of those to whom he applied the name of 'hypocrites.' Mitchel has many friends in Great Britain—many who, like myself, sympathised with him, while they were not repeared to sanction are physical forced-men. repared to sanction any physical force demonstra-on, such as that which sent him to a convict settlement. But I am sure these Democrats—the Duffys, the Haughtons, and scores of others whom I could mention—will now ever loathe the name of Mitchel, as being associated with the most execrable perfidy and wickedness.

The 'Manchester Anti-Slavery and India Re form League, of whose existence I apprised you in my last letter, has altered its designation, and rill hereafter be known as . The North of England A. S. and I. R. League. Its address has just been issued. It is signed by the Rev. Dr. Beard, as the Chairman, and the Rev. W. Barker and myself as the Hon. Secretaries of the Provisional Committee. After rapidly sketching the leading facts which show the frightful power of the 'peculiar institu-tion,' and after arging the importance of the friends of freedom everywhere rallying to the rescue, and ridding the world of this monstrous curse, the address thus describes the policy of this Society:—

'We have the best evidence to warrant the be American Abolitionists, especially of those who, under the hatred of a corrupt State, and of a time-

churches which practically teach the sublime doc-

all nations of men.

Recognizing the American Anti-Slavery Society,
of which WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON is President. not as the only anti-slavery party in the United States, but as the great, vital organization in which the hopes of the abolitionists must for the most part centre, the League will promote its funds by contributions to the Boston and other Bazaars, feeling the most perfect assurance that its help will be scrupulously employed for the advancement of the

cause.

Believing that a deadly blow may be struck at American Slavery by the development of the cotton-producing resources of British India and by improving the mode and cheapening the cost of transit from the cotton districts to the sea-coast, transit from the cotton districts to the sea-coast, the Loague regards this question as the primary point of its policy; and after consultation with men eminent for their experience and wisdom, it will introduce its plans to the notice of the public through the platform and the press. In this part of its contemplated operations, it appeals confidently, not only to those who consider the subject as it fects the 'peculiar institution,' but to those, lso, who wish to do justice to India, and to give ermanent security to the most important manu-

ectures of this country.

With a platform broad enough to admit all who With a platform broad enough to admit all who love the cause of freedom, and with objects second in importance to no others in the world, the League confidently appeals to the British public, but especially to the inhabitants of the manufacturing istricts, for a large measure of active sympathy

The Constitution, which has been drawn up with

MR. BENTON ON THE NEBRASKA BILL path. And when he saw his master coming, h

SPEECH OF MR. BENTON, Delivered in Committee of the Whole of the House of Representatives, April 25, 1854.

Mr. BENTON.—If any bill to impair the Missouri Compromise line of 1820 had been brought into this House by a member from a slave State, or under the Administration of a President elected under the Administration of a President elected from a slave State, I should have deemed it my doty to have met it at the threshold, and to have made the motion which the parliamentary law prescribes for the repulse of subjects which are not fit to be considered: I should have moved its rejection at the first reading. But the bill before us, (for the two may be considered as one.) does not come from that quarter. It comes from a free State, and under the Administration of a President elected from a free State; and, under that aspect of its origin. I deemed it right to wait and hear what the members of the free States had to say to it. It was a proposition, from their own ranks, to give up their half of the slavery Compromise of 1820; and if they chose to do so, I did not see how Southern members could refuse to accept it. It was a free States were the majority, and could do as they pleased. So I stood aloof, waiting to see their

the free States were the majority, and could do as they pleased. So I stood aloof, waiting to see their lead, but without the slightest intention of being governed by it. I had my own convictions of right and duty, and meant to act upon them. I had come into political life upon that Compromise, and intended to stand upon it to the end—solitary and alone, if need be; but preferring company to solitude, and not doubting for an instant what the result was to be.

I have said that this bill comes into Congress

under the Administration of a free State President: but I do not mean to say, or insinuate, by that remark, that the President favors the bill. I know nothing of his disposition towards it; and if I did, I should not disclose it here; it would be if I did, I should not disclose it here; it would be upparliamentary, and a breach of the privileges of this House to do so. The President's opinions can only be made known to us by himself, in a message in writing. In that way it is his right, and often his duty, to communicate with us. And in that way there is no room for mistake in citing his opinions are a meanth and of the second of the ions; no room for an unauthorized use of his name : no room for the imputation of contradictory opinions to him; and in that way he becomes We have the best evidence to warrant the belief; that the expression of a just and enlightened public opinion in Great Britain, on the question of slavery, must tell with powerful effect in those countries in which it exists, but especially in the United States. The League will endeavor to do its part towards the formation of such a public opinion; and will scatter abroad reliable information of the privileges of this House. It is any attempt to operate upon a member's vote by any consideration are forbid to him, as tending to an undeation are forbid to him, as tendin to operate upon a member's vote by any conside-ration of hope or fear, favor or affection, prospect of reward, or dread of punishment. This is par-liamentary law, as old as English Parliaments. serving Church, have, for twenty years and more, bravely fought the battles of the slave. The constantly maintained by the British House of Commons, and lately declared in a most signal Commons, and lately declared in a most signal with those noble men and women, and its desire to cooperate with them through 'good report and evil report,' with faithfulness and efficiency.

The League will seek to evoke the voice of the religious denominations of this country against.

Commons, and lately declared in a most signal manner. It was during the reign of our old master, George the Third, and in the famous case of the League will seek to evoke the voice of the in Parliament by one of the lords of the bed cham-

the pro-slavery course pursued by the great bulk of the American churches; and to secure their out-spoken sympathy with the few anti-slavery churches which practically teach the sublime doctory of the course of Christienity. (God both made of are blood

'That to report any opinion, or pretended op of his Majesty, upon any bill depending in either House of Parliament, is a high crime and misdemeanor, derogatory to the honor of the Crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of Parliament, and subversive of the Constitution of the country.

This resolve was adopted in a full House, by a majority of seventy-three votes, and was only de-claratory of existing Parliamentary law—such as had existed from the time that English counties and boroughs first sent knights of the shire and and boroughs first sent knights of the shire and burgesses to represent them in the Parliament House. It is old English Parliamentary law, and is so recorded by Hatsell, and all the writers on that law. It is also American law, as old as our Congress, and, as such, recorded in Jefferson's Manual. It is honest law, and, as such, existent in every honest heart. Sir, the President of the United States can send us no opinions, except in written messages, and no one can report his opinions to influence the conduct of members upon a bill, without becoming obnexious to the censure which

without becoming obnexious to the censure which the British House of Commons pronounced upon the lord of the bed chamber, in the case of the King and the Fox East India bill.

Nor can the President's Secretaries,—his head clerks, as Mr. Randolph used to call them,—send us their opinions on any subject of legislation de-pending before us. They can only report, and that writing, on the subjects referred to them by law, or by a vote of the Houses. Non-intervention is their duty in relation to our legislation; and if they attempt to intervene in any of our business, I must be allowed, for one, to repulse the attempt, and to express no higher degree of respect for it than that Mr. Burke expressed for the opinions of The Constitution, which has oeen drawn up with great care, and revised by most of the leading riends of the cause in the country, states that the ollowing are among the leading agencies to be imployed by the League:

1. To circulate correct intelligence in Great Mr. Burke expressed for the opinions of a British Lord Chancellor, delivered to the House of Commons, in a case in which he had no concern. Sir, I suppose I can be allowed to repeat on this floor any degree of comparison or figure of speech Mr. Burke could use on the floor of the British 1. To circulate correct intelligence in Great Britain regarding the evils of slavery and the slave trade; to inform the public mind as to the objects and principles of the abolitionists, especially those of the United States; to correspond with the friends of the cause in various countries, and to sympathize with and sustain them in their arduous labors, as far as is consistent with the principles of this Society.

2. To encourage the growth of free labor cotton, and other produce, in Iudia and other parts of the world, and to promote, as far as is practicable, every reform and improvement, in the former country especially, whereby its cotton may be enabled successfully to compete with slave labor cotton in the European markets.

3. To demand that the colored subjects of the British crown, who visit the slave States of Ameri-

commenced roaring, as he thought; but he only brayed, and the master knew it was his ass: so he went up to him with a cudgel, and beat him nearly to death.'

, 'a caution to all asses to take care how they ndertake to scare their masters.' Mr. Chairman, this House will have fallen far below its constitutional mission, if sit suffers itself to be governed by authority, or dragooned by its own hirelings. I am a man of no bargains, but act openly with any man who acts for the public good; and in this spirit, I offer the right hand of political friendship to every member of this body that will stand together to vindicate its privileges, protect its respectability, and maintain it in the high place for which it was intended—the master branch

place for which it was intended—the master branch of the American Government.

The question before us is to get rid of the Missouri Compromise line; and to a lawyer, that is an easy question. That Compromise is in the form of a statute; and one statute is repealable by another. That short view is enough for a lawyer. To a statesman, it is something different; and refers the question of its repeal, not to law books, but to reasons of State policy—to the circumstances under which it was enacted, and the consequences which are to flow from its abrogation. This Compromise of 1820 is not a mere statute, to last for a day; it was intended for perpetuity, and so declared itself. It is an enactment to settle a controversy, and did settle it, and, cannot be abrogated without reviving that controversy.

It has given the country peace for above thirty years; bow many years of disturbance will its abrogation bring! That is the statesman's question; and without assuming to be much of a statesman, I claim to be enough so to consider the consequences of breaking a settlement which pacified a continent. I remember the Missouri controversy, and how it destroyed all social feeling, and all capacity for beneficial legislation; and merged all political principle in an angry contest about slavery—dividing the Union into two parts, and drawing up the two halves into opposite and confronting lines, like enemies on the field of battle. I do not wish to see such times again, and therefore am against reee such times again, and therefore am against re-iving them by breaking up the settlement which nieted them. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was the par-itioning between the free and slave States of a

great province, taking the character of a perpetual ettlement; and classing with the two great Com-romises which gave us the Ordinance of July 13, 787, and the Federal Constitution, of September 1787, and the Federal Constitution, of September 17, of the same year. There are three slavery Compromises in our history, which connect themselves with the foundation and the preservation of this Union. First, the Territorial Partition Ordinance of 1787, with its clause for the recovery of fugitive slaves; secondly, the cotemporaneous constitutional recognition of slavery in the States which chose to have it, with the fugitive slave recovery clause in the same instrument; thirdly, the Missouri partition line of 1820, with the same clause annexed for the recovery of fugitive slaves. All three of these Compromises are part and parcel of the same policy; and neither of them co-have been formed without the other, nor either them without the fugitive slave recovery clause in-corporated in it. The anti-slavery clause in the Ordinance of 1787 could not have been adopted as was proved by its three years' rejection) with out the fugitive slave recovery clause added to it the Constitution could not have been formed with the Constitution could not have been formed with-out its recognition of slavery in the States which chose it, and the guarantee of the right to recover slaves fleeing into the free States: the Missouri controversy could not have been settled without a partition of Louisiana between free and slave soil; and that partition could not have been made with-out the addition of the same clause for the recovout the addition of the same clause for the recovery of fugitive slaves. Thus, all three Compromises are settlements of exciting questions, and intended to be perpetual. They are all three of equal moral validity. The Constitutional Compromise is guarded by a higher obligation, in consequence of its incorporation in that instrument; but it in no way differs from the other two in the circumstances which induced it, the policy which wards it are the consequences which would which guards it, or the consequences which would flow from its abrogation. A proposition to destroy the slavery Compromises in the Constitution, would be an open proposition to break up the Union; the attempt to abrogate the Compromises of 1787 and 1820, would be virtual attempts to destroy the harmony of the Union, and prepare it for dissolution, by destroying the confidence and affection in which it was founded.

The Missouri Compromise of 1820 is a continu-ation of the Ordinance of 1787—its extension to the since acquired territory west of the Mississippi, and ne way differing from it, either in principle or detail. The Ordinance of 1787 divided the then territory of the United States about equally between the free and slave States; the Missour between the free and slave States; the Missouri Compromise line did the same by the additional territory of the United States, as it stood in 1820; and in both cases, it was done by act of Congress, and was the settlement of a difficulty which was to last for ever. I consider them both, with their fugitive slave recovery clauses, and the similar clause in the Constitution, as part and parcel of the same transaction—different articles in the same general settlement.

The anti-slavery clause in the Ordinance of 1787

could not have been put in (as was proved by its three years' rejection) without the fugitive slave recovery clause added to it. The Constitution could not have been formed without the recognition could not have been formed without the recognition of slavery in the States which chose it, and the right of recovering slaves fleeing to the free States. The Missouri controversy could not have been settled except by the prohibition of slavery in the upper half of the Territory of Louisiana; and that prohibition could not have been obtained without the right to recover fagitive slaves from the part made free. Thus, the three measures are one, and the Ordinance of 1787 father to the other two. It led to the adoption of the fugitive slave clause in the European markets.

3. To demand that the colored subjects of the British crown, who visit the slave States of America, shall have the same measure of freedom as in accorded to American citizens who visit this country, and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

4. To employ every suitable effort to enlighten the consciences of alareholders and their supporters, as to the moral turpitude and unchristian character of the system which they uphold, and to endeavor to clicit the testimony of the religious denominations of this country against the conduct of the ecclesiastical bodies of the United States which countenance slavery.

Of the importance of this movement, I need say nothing. It will speak for itself, and that, too, with volcanic ulterances.

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was remodelled, the anti-slavery clause, with the fugitive slave recovery clause, as they now stand, were inserted in it; and in that shape, the Ordinance had the unanimous vote of every State present—eight in the whole—and an equal number of slave and free States present. Thus, it is clear that the anti-slavery clause in the Ordinance of 1787 could not have passed without the fugitive slave recovery clause annexed. They were inseparable in their birth, and must be so in their life, and those who love one must accept the other.

This was done in the month of July, in the city of New York, where the Congress of the Confederation then sat. The National Convention was sitting at the same time in the city of Philadel-

No Union wis Stancholde

eration then eat. The National Convention was sitting at the same time in the city of Philadelphia, at work apon the Federal Constitution. The two bodies were in constant communication with each other, and some leading members (as Mr. Madison and General Hamilton) were members of each, and attending by turns in each. The Constitution was finished in September, and received the foreities alone measure places immediately. the fugitive slave recovery clause immediately after its insertion in the Ordinance. It was the work of the same hands, and at the same time, in both instruments; and it is well known that the Constitution could not have been formed without that the constitution could not have been formed without that clause. Thus, the compromise clause in the Ordinance is father to the compromise clause in the Constitution; and all three stand before me as founded in the same circumstances, induced by th founded in the same circumstances, induced by the same considerations, and directed by the same policy, that of the peace, harmony and perpetuity of this Union. In point of moral obligation, I consider them equal, and resulting from conditions which render them indispensable. Two of them have all the qualities of a compromise—those of the Ordinance and of the Constitution. They are founded in agreement—in consent—in compact— and are as sacred and inviolable as human agree ments can be. The third one—that of the Misson ri anti-slavery line—was not made upon agreement. It was imposed by votes—by the South upon the North—resisted by the North at the time, acquiesced in afterwards: and by that acquiescence, became a binding covenant between both parties; and the more so on the South, because she imposed it.

it.

This brings us to the question of repeal or ab This brings us to the question of repeal or abrogation of these Compromises. The one in the
Constitution cannot be got rid of, without an
amendment to that instrument, and is, therefore,
beyond the reach of Congress. The other two,
being in the form of statutes, are subjects of legislation, and legally repealable by Congress.
Efforts were made to impair one, that of 1787,
some fifty years are. An effort is now made to resome fifty years ago. An effort is now made to re-peal the other, and the history and fate of the first attempt may be advantageous in the consideration of the second. It was in the consideration of the second. It was in the year 1803. The then Territory of Indiana had been slave territory under the French Government, and continued so under the American until 1787. It extended to under the American until 1787. It extended to the Mississippi, and contained many slaves. Vincennes, Cahokia, Prairie de Rochia, Kaskaskie, were all slaveholding towns. The inhabitants were attached to that property, and wished to retain it, at least, temporarily: and also to invite a slaveholding emigration, until an increase of population should afford an adequate supply of free labor; and they petitioned Congress accordingly. The petition came from a convention of the people, presided over by Governor Harrison, and only asked for the suspension of the anti-slavery part of the Ordinance for ten years, and limited in its application to their own territory. The petition was referred to a select committee of the House—Mr. Randolph was chairman—and received its answer Randolph was chairman-and received its answer in a report, in these words :-

in a report, in these words:

'That the rapid population of the State of Ohio sufficiently evinces, in the opinion of your committee, that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonists in that region. That this labor, demonstrably the dearest of any, can only be employed to advantage in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known in that quarter of the United States; that the committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the Northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will, at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and emigration.

This was the answer of the select committee, and it became the answer of the Bouse—of this House just fifty years ago—when the South was about as ably represented here as it ever has been since, and when its relative strength was greater than it has ever been since. The answer is a peremptory refusal to yield to the petition of the people of Indiana. Indiana, even for a ten years' local suspension of this anti-slavery clause. 'Highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair that provision.' Yes, to iminexpedient to impair that provision. Yes, to impair! that is the word; and it is a refusal to weaken or lessen, in the smallest degree, an act which the committee calls a 'benevolent and sagacious act,' and which they recommend to maintain un-impaired, because it is 'calculated to increase the impaired, because it is 'calculated to increase the happiness and presperity of the Northwest, and to give strength and security to its frontier.' That Congress, and that without division between North and South, would not impair an act of so much future good to posterity, not even upon the mista-ken application of a few present inhabitants.

But this was not the end of the petitions. The people of Indiana were not satisfied with one re-pulse. They returned to the charge; and four in the course of as many years, renewed their application for the ten years' suspen-sion of the Ordinance. It was rejected each time, and once in the Senate, where the North Carolina Senator [Mr. Jesse Franklin] was chairman of the committee which made the report against it. Five times, in as many years, rejected by Congress; and the rejection was more emphatic, in some in-stances, because it was the reversal by the House of a fasorable report from a committee. And now, what inhabitant of Indiana does not rejoice at the deliverance which the firmness of Congress

at the deliverance which the firmness of Congress then gave them, in spite of the request of its inhabitants, fifty years ago?

Thus, five times in the beginning of this century—five different times, and without any distinction between Northern and Southern members—did Congress refuse to 'impair' the slavery Compromise of 1787, notwithstanding five times asked for by the people of the Territory. O, squatter sovereignty! where were you then! It was a case for by the people of the Territory. O, squatter sovereignty! where were you then! It was a case for you to have shown your head—to have arisen in your might, and established your supremacy for ever. It was a case of a convention of the sovereigns themselves; and neither this Convention nor Congress had a dream of their sovereignty. The Convention petitioned Congress as a ward would its guardian, or children under age would petition their father; and Congress answered, like a good guardian, or a good father, that it would not give them an evil, although they begged for it. Benighted times those, and infinitely behind the present age. The mare's nest had not then been found in which has been laid the marvellous egg out of which has been hatched the nondescript fowl, yelept' squatter sovereignty.' The illustrious principle of non-intervention had not then been invented. The ignoramuses of that day had never heard of it, though now to be learned in evnever heard of it, though now to be learned in every horn-book; and, I believe, no where else but in the horn-books.

in the horn-books.

Five times in the beginning of this century did Congress refuse to impair the slavery Compromise of 1787; and now, in the middle of the century, and after thirty years of peace under the Missouri Compromise—the offspring and continuation of that of 1787—we are called upon, not merely to impair for a season, but to destroy for ever, a far greater Compromise—extending to far more territory—and growing out of necessities far more pressing. And how called upon! Not by the inhabitants—not by any one human being living, or expecting to live, on the territory to be affected; but upon a motion in Congress—a silent, secret, limping, halting, creeping, squinting, impish mobut upon a motion in Congress—a silent, secret, limping, halting, creeping, squinting, impish motion—conceived in the dark, midwifed in a committee-room, and sprung upon Congress and the country in the style in which Gey Fawkes intended to blow up the Parliament House, with his five hundred barrels of gunpowder, hid in the cellar under the wood.

My answer to such a motion is to be for My answer to such a motion is to be found in the whole volume of my political life. I have stood upon the Missouri Compromise for over thirty years, and mean to stand upon it to the end of my life; and in doing so, shall set, not only according to my own cherished convictions of daty, but according to the often-declared convictions of the General Assembly of my State. The inviolability of that Compromise line has often been declared by that General Assembly; and as late as 1847, in these words: they all be whiten.

'Resolved, That the peace, permanency and welfare of our national Union depend upon a strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the eighth section of the act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act to authorise the People of the Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union, on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit Stavery in certain Territories," approved March 6, 1820'—

with an instruction to the Senators, and a request to the Representatives in Congress, to vote accord-

not locally inapplicable; and that comprehends all that are not specially made for other places: also, it gives them the Constitution of the United States, but without the privilege of voting at Presidential or Congressional elections, or of making their own judiciary. This is non-interference with a vengeance. A community to be buried under a mountain of strange law, and covered with a Constitution under which they are not to have one sin-gle political right. Why this circumlocution! this extension of a mountain of irrelevant law, with the exception of the only one relevant and applicable! Sir, it is the crooked, insidious and pusillanimous way of effecting the repeal of the Missouri Compromise line. It includes all law, for the sake of leaving out one law; and effects a repeal by an omission, and legislates by an exceprepeal by an omission, and legislates by an exception. It is a new way of repealing a law, and a bungling attempt to smuggle slavery into the territory, and all the country out to the Canada line and up the Rocky Mountains.

The crooked line of this smuggling process is this: ' Molish the Compromise line, and extend the Constitution over the country the Constitution over the country.

the Constitution over the country; the Constitu-tion recognizes slavery; therefore, slavery is es-tablished as soon as the line is abolished, and the Constitution extended; and being put there by the Constitution, it cannot be legislated out.' This is Constitution, it cannot be legislated out.' This is the English of this smuggling process: and certainly nothing more unworthy of legislation—more the prairie. It has an intent, and a true intent: which is neither to legislate slavery into nor our derogatory to a legislative body—was ever attempt tainly nothing more unworthy of legislation—more derogatory to a legislative body—was ever attempted to be made into law. Sir, the Constitution was not made for Territories, but for States. Its provisions are all applicable to States, and cannot be put in operation in Territories. They cannot vote for President, or Vice President, or members of Congress, nor elect their own officers, or prescribe the qualifications of voters, or administer their own laws by their own judges, sheriffs and attorneys; and the clause extending the Constitution to them is a cheat and an illusion, and a trick to smuggle slavery into the Territory. Nor is it intended that they shall have any legislative right, under the Constitution, even in relation to slavery. They may admit it, because it is to be there by the Constitution: they cannot exclude it, because that, and error the proper to be spoken from a stump in the prairie. It has an intent, and a true intent; which is neither to legislate slavery into nor out of any State or Territory. Then why legislate at all! Why all this disturbance, if no effect is produced, and things to remain just as they were? Let well enough still better, is the doctrine of progress; and that in spite of the Italian epitaph, which says, 'I was well, and would be better: took physic, and here I am.' But the States must be greatly delighted at the politeness and forbearance of this bill. It puts States and Territories upon precise equality with respect to the must be greatly delighted at the politeness and forbearance of this bill. It puts States and Territories upon precise equality with respect to the man to put slavery in or out of any State or Territory. To all that polite abnegation I have to say that, in respect of the States, it is the supererogathe Constitution: they cannot exclude it, because that, in respect of the States, it is the supererogation of modesty and humility, as Congress happeners. ment; and it is a juggle worthy of the trick of one to have the power to put slavery in them, or out egg under three hats at the same time—and under of them; and in respect of the Territories, it is an neither at any time. . Besides, the Constitution is an organic, not an administrative act. It is a code of principles, not of laws. Not a clause in it can very in the Territories, and its duty to do so when executed, except by virtue of a law made under it-not even the clause for recovering fugitive

laves.

But I am not done yet with the beauties of this lative. It is not parliamentary. It is not manly But I am not done yet with the beauties of this mode of repealing a law by an exception. There is a further consequence to be detected in it. The Missouri Compromise consists of two distinct parts: first, an abolition of slavery in all the ancient Louisiana north and west of Missouri; secondly, a provision for the recovery of fugitive slaves in territory made free. By the omitted extension of this section, both these parts are repealed. A tract of country larger than the old thirteen Atlantic States, and bordering a thousand miles on the British dominions, is made an asylum for fugithe British dominions, is made an asylum for fugi-tive slaves. There will be no law to recover a slave from all that vast region. The constitutional pro-vision is limited to States; the provision in the act of 1787 is limited to the North West Territory; is the second part of the Missouri Compromise ex-tonded this right to all the territory north and west toneed this right to all the territory north and west of Missouri; and that being repealed, that right of the State of Missouri—the State to be most injured by sovereignty. It is also new of the Territories. Heretolore they have been held to be wards of quite out of the British line, into an asylum for the Mandar cannot be corrected. runaway slaves. The blunder cannot be corrected, (at least, in the opinion of those who deny the con-

stitutional power of Congress to legislate on slavery in the Territories.) by an act of Congress.

Then comes the reason for excepting the Missouri Compromise from the extension which is given to a mass of laws which are not there, and denied to itself which is there. If the reason had been power in Congress to legislate upon slavery in because it was already there, it would have been a Territories. And this bill asserts the whole three, or and beautifully illustrates the whole three, by to itself which is there. If the reason had been the cause assigned; and those which are assigned are actually numerous and curious, and worthy of examination. First, because it was superseded by certain acts of 1850; next, that it is inconsistent with those acts; then, that it is inoperative; and, finally, that it never was there, being dead in its birth under the Constitution, and void from

Let us look into these reasons, scriptim, as the lawyers say: and, first, of supersession. It is said that the measures of 1850 superseded this Compronise of 1820. If so, why treat it now as still existing, and therefore to be repealed by an exception, in order to get rid of it! If it was repealed in 1850, why do it over again in 1854! Why kill the dead! But it was not superseded; but acknowledged and confirmed by every speaker in 1850 that formally with montered by every speaker in 1850 that formally wi mise of 1820. If so, why treat it now as still existing, and therefore to be repealed by an exception, in order to get rid of it? If it was repealed in 1850, why do it over again in 1854? Why kill the dead? But it was not superseded: but acknowledged and confirmed by every speaker in 1850 that referred to the subject, and by every act that mentioned it. This being matter of fact, and proven by all sorts of testimony,—parole, written, and record,—it had to be given up, (though a test of political orthodoxy as long as it stood,) and something else put in its place. Thereupon, supersession was itself superseded by 'inconsistent.' Out of the frying-pan into the fire! Inconsistent signifies inability to stand together—two things which cannot stand together—two things which cannot stand together—from con and sisto. Now, what is the fact in respect to the Compromises of 1820 and 1850? Can they not stand together? And if not, why knock the one down that is already down! It is now four years since this inability to stand together took effect; and how do the two sets of measures make out together at the end of this time? Perfectly well. They are both on their feet—atanding bolt upright—and will stand so forever, where a continuous continuous and its already down! It is now four years since this inability to stand together took effect; and how do the two sets of measures make out together at the end of this time? Perfectly well. They are both on their feet—atanding bolt upright—and will stand so forever, where a continuous continuous and its already down! It is now four years since this inability to stand together. The president read it, and could make at the expense of the peace and harmony of the Union, and to the superiod the uprison. Amphibological bill, stoff-d with monstrosities, hobbled with contradictions, and Badgered with a provise.

Amphibology is a cause for the rejection of bills, not only by Congress, but by the President, when carried to him or his approval. Gen. Jackson rejected one for that cause, and it Perfectly well. They are both on their feet—standing bolt upright—and will stand so forever, unless Congress knocks one or both of them down. This is fact, known to everybody, and admitted by the bill itself; for, if the first is inconsistent with the second, and unable to stand, why all this trouble to put it down! Why trip up the heels of the man already flat on his back on the ground! Then comes another reason—that this Compromise act of 1820 is inoperative and void. If so, those who are against its operation should be content.

is the analysis of the reasons for the Nebraska bill—that part of it which is to get rid of the Compromise of 1820: untrue, contradictory, suicidal, and preposterous. And why such a farrago of nullities, incongruities and inconsistencies! Purely and simply to throw upon others—upon the Congress of 1850 and the innocent Constitution—the blame of what the bill is itself doing; the blame of destroying the Compromise of 1820; and with it, destroying all confidence between the North and the South, and arraying one half the Union against the other in deadly hostility. It is to be able to throw blame upon the innocent, that this farrago is served up to us.

with an instruction to the Senators, and a request to the Representatives in Congress, to vote accordingly.

The peace, permanency and welfare of the Union depend upon a strict adherence to the Missouri Compromise of 1820.' So resolved the General Assembly of Missouri as late as 1847. I believed the Assembly of Missouri as late as 1847. I believed the Assembly was right then: I believe it now: and, so believing, shall 'adhere' to the Compromise now, as then.

I should oppose any movement to impair that Compromise, made in an open, direct, manly manner: much more shall I oppose it if made in a covert, indirect, and unmanly way. The bill, or bills, before us, undertake to accomplish their object without professing it—upon reasons which are contradictory and unfounded—in terms which are contradictory and unfounded—in terms which are ambiguous and inconsistent—and by throwing on others the responsibility of its own act. It professes not to interfere with the sovereign right of the People to legislate for themselves; and the very first line of this solemn profession throws upon them a horse-load of law, which they have no right to refuse, or time to read, or money to purchase, or ability to understand. It throws upon them all the laws of the United States which are not legally inapplicable; and that comprehends all that are not enecially made for other places: hot incubation of a Presidential canvass, and re-volting to the beholders when first presented. Well do I remember that day when it was first shown in the Senate. Mark Antony did not better remember the day when Cæsar first put on that mantle through which he was afterwards pierced with three-and-twenty 'envious stabs.' It was in the Senate in 1848, and was received as nonsense—as the essence of nonsense—as the quintessence of nonsence—as the five-times distilled essence of po nonsence—as the five-times distilled essence of po-litical nonsensicality. Why, sir, the Territory itself is the property of the States, and they do what they please with it—permit it to be settled or not, as they please; cut it up by lines, as they please; chase white people from it, as they please; After this farrago—this olla-podrida—comes a lit-tle stump speech, injected in the belly of the bill, and which must have a prodigious effect when recited in the prairies, and out towards the fronrecited in the prairies, and out towards the fron-tiers, and up towards the heads of the creeks. I will read it, and I hope without fatiguing the House for it is both brief and beautiful, and runs thus:

'It being the true intent and meaning of this act At being the true intent and meaning of this act, not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, nor to exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

This is the speech, and a pretty little thing it abdication of a constitutional power and duty; if being the right of Congress to legislate upon slathere is occasion for it-as in 1787 and 1820. I object to this shilly-shally-willy-won'ty-

But this clause is not accidentally here; it is to keep up the dogma of the Constitution in Territories; but only there in relation to slavery, and that for its admission—not rejection.

Three dogmas now afflict the land; videlicet:

squatter sovereignty, non-intervention, and n knocking each one on the head with the other, and knocking each one on the head with the other, and trampling each under foot in its turn. Sir, the bill does deny squatter sovereignty, and it does intervene, and it does legislate upon slavery in Territories; and for proof of that, see the bill; and see it, as the lawyers say, passim; that is to say, here, and there, and everywhere. It is a bill of assumptions and contradictions—assuming what its unfounded and contradictions what it assumes is unfounded, and contradicting what it assumes

from it, as they please. This has been always the case. There is a proclamation now extant of the old Congress of the Confederation, describing the first estitlers in the Northwest Territory as "disorderly persons," and ordering them to be driven off by the military. I remember many such military expulsions in the early settlement of the Western country, often executed with everrity; burning houses, cutting up corn, destroying fences, and driving off the people at the point of the bayonet, and under the segge of the salre. As late as 1835-36, and after the extinction of the Indian title to the Platte country, in Missouri, similar orders were given to the then colonel of dragoons commanding on that frontier, the now Senator in Congress, Henry Dodge, to expel the people from that purchase; orders which he executed in gentleness and mercy going alone, and explaining his business, and requiring them to go away; which they did. like good and orderly people; and when he was gone came back like sensible and industrious people, and secured their pre-emptions. Not only settled but organised territory has been so treated by the Federal Government, and worse—the people driven away. Why, sir, this very line of 36 deg. 30., with all the territory on one side of it, and two degrees on the other raises, when twelve thousand square miles of her organized territory was given to the Cherokees, and the people driven away. Why, sir, this very line of 36 deg. 30., with all the territory on one side of it, and two degrees on the other office of the Government—to treat the Territories as property, and their homes given to Indians or Spaniards.

It is now four months since this movement for the military, and their homes given to Indians or Spaniards.

It is now four months since this movement for the movement professes to have been made; and the people as uninvited guests, to be entertained, or turned out, as the owner of the bouse chooses. Fine sovereigns, these! chased off by the military, and their homes given to Indians or Spaniar

scouted from Congress when it at first appeared in the Senate, contradicted by the Constitution, and the whole action of the Government, in all times; and contradicted by the bill itself, which is to seand contradicted by the bill itself, which is to secure it. The provisions of the bill are a burlesque upon sovereignty. It gives to the people, instead of taking from them, an organic act. And what an organic act! One in which they are denied every attribute of sovereignty. Denied freedom of elections; denied freedom of voting; denied choice of their own laws; denied the right of fixing the analysis of votage; subjected to fixing the analysis of votage; subjected to a fixed to the secure was the secure of the s qualifications of voters; subjected to a foreign su-pervision; and controllable by the Federal Government, which they have no hand in electing: and only allowed to admit, not to reject, slavery. Their sovereignty only extends to the subject of slavery, and only to one side of that—the admitting side: the other half of the power being held to be denied rest is legislation, which settles nothing, and pro-duces contention at every election. Sir. this prin-He argued that Congress had not, under the Con

of providing for the government of Territories, all founded upon the clause in the Constitution which authorizes Congress to dispose of, and make rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States. This mode of government has consisted of three grades, all founded in the right of Congress to govern them. First grade: a Governor and judges, appointed by the United States, to adopt laws from other States, to be in force until discounted. be in force until disapproved by Congress. Second grade: a Territorial Legislature, when the inhabitants shall amount to twenty-five thousand menitants shall amount to itants shall amount to twenty-five thousand men above the age of twenty-one, composed of a council partly appointed by the United States, and a House of Representatives elected by the People, at the rate of one Representative for every five hundred voters, its legislation subject to the approval of Congress. Third grade: entrance on the State Government, in full equality with the other States. This is the way these Territories have been govern-ed for seventy years; and I am for adhering to it. And now, what is the excuse for all this distur-bance of the country; this breaking up of ancient compromises; arraying one-half of the Union compromises; arraying one-half of the Union against the other, and destroying the temper and business of Congress! What is the excuse of all this turmoil and mischief! We are told it is to The question was settled and done with. There was not an inch square of territory in the Union on which it could be raised, without a breach of compromise. The Ordinance of 1789 settled it in all the remaining part of the Northwest Territory beyond Wisconsi the Compromise line of 36 deg 30 min. settled it in the country north and west of Missouri to the British line, and up to the Rocky number of slave States to be formed out of that State, settled it there: and California settled it for

herself.

Now, where was there an inch square of territory within the United States on which the question could be raised! Nowhere! Not an inch! The question was settled everywhere not merely by law, but by fact. The work was done, and there was no way to get at the question but by undoing the work! No way for Congress to get the question in, for the purpose of keeping it out, but to break down compromises which kept it out.

What advantage do the slave States expect from this bill! Cortainly they arrest the state of the state of the slave of the state of t

What advantage do the slave States expect from this bill! Certainly they expect the extension of slave power and slave population. That may prove a fallacious expectation. The question of slavery in these Territories, if thrown open to territorial action, will be a question for numbers—a question of the majority for or against slavery; and what chance would the slaveholders have in such a con-test! No chance at all. The slave emigrants will be outnumbered, and compelled to play at a most be outnumbered, and compelled to play at a most unequal game, not only in point of numbers, but also in point of stakes. The slaveholder stakes his property; and has to ran it off, or lose it, if outvoted at the polls. I see nothing which slaveholder stakes his property; and has to ran it off, or lose it, if outvoted at the polls. I see nothing which slaveholders are to gain under this bill—nothing but an unequal and vexatious contest, in which they are to be losers.

It was so in Louisiana law, but since the abolition excitement commenced, the law is entirely the reverse of this.

Mr. Gidding this doctrine. It was so in Louisiana law, but since the abolition excitement commenced, the law is entirely the reverse of this.

Mr. Gidding the Louisiana law, but since the abolition excitement commenced, the law is entirely the reverse of this.

to be losers.

I deprecate such a contest, and did my part to keep it out of the State of Missouri when her Constitution was formed. I was not a member of the convention, but was a chief promoter of the clause which forbid the Legislature to emancipate slaves without the consent of their owners. I promoted that clause for the sake of peace—for the sake of keeping the slavery question out of our elections and legislation—for the sake of preventing perpetual strife among the pecuple. What I did for Missouri, I would do for the Territories; and if it was an open question, would vote one way or the

dered to it by Northern members under a Northern President. It is the response of silence—more em-phatic than words—and worthy of special note in this debate. It argues well for the harmony of the Union, and goes to show (what in fact has often been seen) that the troubles of the country came from uneasy politicians-its safety from the tranquil masses.

ANOTHER SCENE IN CONGRESS. U. S. House of Representatives, April 27. Mr. Smith, of Virginia, arose and addressed the Committee on the Nebraska bill. He said that he felt deeply interested in this subject. When a wrong and outrage upon the Constitution has been committed, time cannot allow it. He was at a loss to imagine how it was possible that men from hi own region of the country could oppose the bill. Slavery, he averred, had not been introduced into this country by legislation. Slaves had been brought to the country and sold, and nobody by the Constitution which is extended over them, and which (according to the reading of the supporters of this bill) forbids any law to be made which will prevent any citizen from going there with his slaves. This is squatter sovereignty, non-intervention, and no power to beginker in Terror where the country and sold, and nobody the came into the country as other property came in, and no one disputed the title of their non-intervention, and no power to beginker in Terror. with his slaves. This is squatter sovereignty, non-intervention, and no power to legislate in Territories upon slavery. And this is called a principle—letting the people alone to settle the question of slavery for themselves. And how settle it! That can only be done in an organic act; and they have no such act, nor can have one till they make a Constitution for a State Government. All the ginia had never recognized the principle it embraced, reat is logislation, which settles nothing, and proowners. Slavery existed in every State up to the ple of non-intervention is but the principle of constitution,—a bone given to the people to quarrel and fight over at every election, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, the same power over the Territories that it possesses over the District of Columbia, forts, dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution, and at every meeting dock-yards, &c.; and he hence inferred that Constitution are constitution. fight over at every election, and at every meeting of their Legislature, until they become a State Government. Then, and then only can they settle the question.

For seventy years—since the year 1784, when the organizing mind of Jefferson drew the first that it had. For the last twenty years it had been that it had. For the last twenty years it had been that it had. For the last twenty years it had been that it had. For the last twenty years it had been that it had. the organizing mind of Jefferson drew the first that it had. For the last twenty years it had been territorial Ordinance—we had a uniform method a constant subject of strife here. An Ex-President came down from his place to declare a war of Aboitionism here. The gentleman from Ohio once had

his master.

Mr. Giddings. Will the gentleman—
Mr. Smith. I can lose no time. The gentleman will remember a resolution that sent him out of this House Mr. Giddings. And my constituents sent me

Mr. Smith. Yes, by a majority diminished by two thousand. Mr. Giddings. By an increased majority.
Mr. Smith. He had been elected by a majority
of three or four thousand, and—
Mr. Giddings. And was returned by a larger

majority.

Mr. Smith. Well, he came back, and asked this donse to permit him to take his place here. Mr. Giddings. Did the gentleman assert that

Mr. Smith. He did—
Mr. Giddings. Never. I never asked anything.
Mr. Smith. Then his colleague asked it for

him: and-Mr. Giddings. Oh! [waving his hand.] Mr. Smith resumed, and proceeded to review the the slavery question out of Congress! To history of the country, to show that a contest had slavery out of Congress! Great God! It was always existed between the North and the South,

out of Congress! completely, entirely, and forever out of Congress, unless Congress dragged it in by breaking down the sacred laws which settled it.— In the House of Representatives on Friday last-Mr. Giddings rose to a personal explanation,

This was the signal for the gentlemen to crowd around him. After having accused Mr. Smith o unmitigated misrepresentation concerning John Quincy Adams, he defended the character of the deceased statesman, saying his fame was beyond the puny arm of his assailant. He then proceeded Missouri to the British line, and up to the Bocky Mountains; the organic act of Oregon, made by the people, and sanctioned by Congress, settled it to reply to the following expression used by Mr. in all that region: the acts for the government of Utah and New Mexico sottled it in those two Tergentlemen from Ohio, when I was in Congress some years ago, offered a resolution, in effect assistants. serting slaves have the right to slay, the wives and children of their masters ! For this the gentleman was rebuked by the House, and retired to his costituents; but, after having been returned, we afraid to continue his experiments.' It would I recollected that in 1842, during the administration recollected that in 1942, during the administration of John Tyler, a demand was made by this government for compensation in dollars and cents for blood, muscles, bones and nerves, of certain persons on the "Creole," which sailed from Richmond for New Orleans, but which was driven by stress of weather into a British port, where the slaves were liberated. Seeing that an attempt was made to en-volve this government in the traffic in human flesh which is held in detestation in the North, he offer ed resolutions, the gist of which was that slave when taken without the jurisdiction of slave laws came free under a law of nature, and have right to assert their freedom wherever they ma not proclaimed this doctrine. It was so in Louisi

the reverse of this.

Mr. Gippings replied it did not matter, the principle stands, and he could prove this by going back to decisions for hundreds of years. It was for as serting this principle that he was censured by the House, not because what he had asserted was un true.

Mr. PERKINS said the decision in Louisiana wa

not to the effect of the gentleman's resolutions. It was, that a slave being voluntarily carried into a free State, the owner lost all power over him.

with a message to the Senate refusing to sign the This is fact, known the everybody, and admixed by the Bullitaclf; for, if the first is isconsistent with the second, and mashed to stand, why all this the second, and mashed to stand, why all this the second, and mashed to stand, why all this the second, and mashed to stand, why all this the second and mashed to stand, why all this the second and mashed to stand, why all this the second and mashed to stand, why all this the second and the second to stand the second to sta

Mr. Taylor (Tenn.) wished to ask the chirt question. He believed in the freedom of special but was taught to believe, in a deliherative body this sort, they were governed by rules of decrease. Was the gentleman in order! (Cries of go on, p

PROPERTY OF STREET

on.)
Mr. Giddings said he had nothing to say lie might stand here till to-morrow, and he could be command language to reach the gentleman from

Mr. Smith obtained general consent to reply.

The crowd around Mr. Giddings now shifted to the immediate vicinity of Mr. Smith—much confusion during this moving process. Quiet at last bing

during this moving process. Quietat last being restored,

Mr. Smrm said, the gentleman from Ohio had as hausted the vocabulary of vulgarity, and had slows that his tirade of defamation and scandal was an learned from association with gentlemen, but wis free negroes. Having repeated what he had an yesterday, he remarked he had referred to M. Adams and Mr. Giddings as illustrations of the abolition spirit, and had no occasion or design he misrepresent them. Parliamentary courtery had quired him to say 'the honorable gentleman' be he meant in using this term to refer to the meaner from Ohio. As to John Quincy Adams, he declared in debate on the 22d of February, 1841-1 Let abolition come, even at the expense of the stire slaveholding section of this Union.' This was an outrage on every element of humanity, and we moral treason to the constitution of the an outrage on every element of humanity, and we an outrage on every element of humanity, and we moral treason to the constitution of the Republic The sentiment finds a response only in the loss of the member from Ohio, who, though professing good nature, has shown the malignity of a country ly fiend, when the member, the House having each him, was about to go home, he went associated the contraction of the member of ly fiend, when the member, the House having caused him, was about to go home, he went around bidding the members good bye. He offered me hand, when I said, I shake no hands with you, in Just as you please, he replied. That's the way treated him, and that's the way the members generally should have treated him. Mr. Smith referred to his own retirement for ten years, saying hand not sought a seat in Congress, and that with the contrary solicitation on his part whatever here. had not sought a seat in Congress, and that will out any solicitation on his part whatever, he was elected Governor of Virginia. Referring to the ob-noxious resolutions which Mr. Giddings of the twelve years ago, he said that Horace Everett from Vermont, asked to be excused from voting on them and expressed his deep abhorrence of the firebase which had thus been thrust on the House. Wis the member from Ohio could act to provoke sad condemnation from a man engaged in the same common cause, what must have been the damas tion of the conduct of the member from Ohio, who, amid the howling storm which his foul and arrcious conduct provoked, withdrew his resolution! cious conduct provoked, withdrew his resolution!
He went home to get the rebuke of his people, as to get double mileage. It was supposed that is obtained it, of course. No moral force could restrain him from it. He comes from a quarre where all the money got in that way is a clar gain. (Laughter.) But the House was not satisfied with the cowardly retreat of the member—They passed a resolution, saying that the restrains of Mr. Giddings justified rapine and marke, and that he deserved not only the censure of the country, but of that body in particular. Mr. Smith alluded to other proceedings in this consec-Smith alluded to other proceedings in this connection, and quoted from Mr. Gidding's last speech, b show that he justifies bloodshed in behalf of the slave, and in conclusion said, I believe in my sel that slavery is neither a moral, social, or political evil. I believe the white race is elevated by the institution, and that it is necessary to the negoto make use of him. I believe that it is God's into make use of film. I believe that it is God's is-stitution. Has there ever been a prosperous auton without slavery! If we get young men from the North before they are spoiled, we make men of them. This institution acts like a charm on the nogroes; many of them are worthy of confidence and respect. We have black family servants who put to blush white servants. They are valueless the moment you knock the shackles off. I can favorably contrast the well raised slave of the South with the free negro of the North. Free a well raised slave, and nine chances out of ten that he will become a vagabond. I would say to gentlemen, spare us from language eloquent and polished like that of the member from Ohio. Let not this hall be again disgraced by such remarks as re have heard to-day. I appeal to Northern gettle men, in the name of God and our common coartry to give us our equal rights, and they shall need bear a word of complaint from us.

EXTRA-BILLY SMITH. [Correspondence of the Philadelphia Daily Register.]

WASHINGTON, April 27. Mr. Smith, of Virginia, made a speech in the House to-day in support of the Nebraska bill. This is 'Extra-Billy Smith,' who in Jackson's or Van Buren's day, unburthened the Treasury of a mag little sum, for extra mail service, and hence acquired a title of which he will never be deprived. He is also the Fr. Georgene Stith. is also the Ex-Governor Smith rial recommendation of the banishment of free ne-

groes from that State, excited the indignation of every humane American, some five or six years Mr. Smith's attack upon Mr. Giddings, to-day, was unfortunate for himself. He was floored agos each of his three allegations so completely that asy man with an ordinary share of becoming modesty would have been overwhelmed with confusion. He rallied, however, but, in turning his advance upon Mr. Collom and the National Intelligencer, he was

not more successful.

But Mr. Smith has great persistence, and the cunning of the fox: and, reserving his grand effect for an attack on Mr. Benton, he made it, and, for the moment, with much more apparent effect. The Union had yesterday supplied him with certainers tracts from a speech of Mr. Benton, which, in is-lated extracts, is capable of being interpreted as construed by Mr. Smith. I will not at present attempt any particularity about this matter, for it is probable that before your readers shall peruse my letter, the telegraphic wires will have placed '0id

Ingot' in his true position.

STATUE TO DANIEL WEBSTER! STATUE TO DANIEL WEBSTER!

To Last Saturday, the Massachusetts Senate passed resolves appropriating \$10,000 to build a monumental statue to Daniel Webster. There were only four votes against it—Alvord, Field, Holland, Wilbur—while every Whig present voted for the resolves. Moses Bar—Kimball dodged; or, as the Boston Courier express it, 'absented himself upon this occasion.' There is just as much propriety in voting a statue to Stephen Arabid Donglase, by anti-slavery men, as there is in voting on to Daniel Webster. A thousand Donglases, in a thetand years, could not accomplish one tithe the amount for the Slave Interest, which Daniel Webster did in two short years. The recording non above will hold Daniel webster. sand years, could not accomplish one tithe the amount for the Slave Interest, which Daniel Webster did in two short years. The recording pen above will hold Daniel Webster responsible, not only for the conversion of this mighty heritage of freedom into a vast hunting ground, and its freemen into yelping bloodhounds on the track of their human prey, but for all the devolating consequences which shall result to humanity in the passage of the Nebraska bill. It was he who initiated the policy which gave life to that last damning Slave plot. It was his gigantic efforts which concentrated public cdian upon and paralyzed the strength of the movement which might have defeated the Compromises. It was his ensaring sophistry which lulled the public distrust, and drugged the public conscience as with an opiate. It was he who prostituted the Church, and forced her to endorse his sneers against God's Higher Law. It was his success in debauching and betraying the North which has tempted Stephen Arnold Douglas to imitate his. It was his treachery that confirmed Southern belief that all Northern men are hypocrites, and would be traitors. And now, for Massachusetts, when there is reason every hour to fear the passage of the Nebraska bill—for a Massachusetts Legislature to vote honors to him who did more than any mah, living or dead, to pave the way for it, will be simply an ineffsceable diagrace and shame.—Greylock Sentinel. Tun
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The Webster Monument. - The project of The Webster Monument. The project of appropriating ten thousand dollars of the people's money to erect a statue to Daniel Webster, was killed yesterday in the House. After passing through the Seiate by a party vote, the dominant party began to see the gathering storm of popular indignation, which their monument project would bring down upon their heads. They dare not meet the people on the issue. They therefore, after allowing some of the 'enthusiastic, but not far-seeing' men of the party to commit themselves by making speeches in favor of the monument, the shrewder men found they could not bring all the Whigs up to the mark, and suddenly backed down, and put the matter at rest on the table. The speeches of Messrs Clark, Thayer, Warren, and Frye, were able and foreible. ter at rest on the table. The speeches of Messrs, Clark, Thayer, Warren, and Frye, were able and foreible. They told with great effect upon the candid and prod at members of the House, and convinced the authors of the project that it would be imprudent for them to incur the responsibility of answering these arguments before the people. The people of the Commonwealth may rejoice that the Webster monument scheme is rejected.—Commonwealth.

BOSTON, MAY 5, 1854. TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twentieth Anniversary of the American Anti-

The I wentern And be held in the City of New York, in the REV. DR. CHAPIN'S CHURCH, in Broadway, in the Ally. Dr. Charles Streets, on WEDNESDAY. May 10th, 1854, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

May 10th, 1804, at 10 Cook, R. M. The meeting will be addressed by Rev. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, of Philadelphia; Rev. THEODORE PARKER and Wexpell Phillips, Esq., of Boston; Miss Lucy and WENDELL Brookfield; and ROBERT PORVIS, Esq., of Byberry, Pa. of Byberry, Pa.
The Society will hold meetings for Business and Dis-

the society and non- acting for Desiness and Discussion, (in some nair yet to be procured,) on the evening following the public REIDAY, May 11th and 12th. The members and friends of the Society, far and near, are earnestly invited to be present at the public hear, are earnessly instead to be present at the public and co-operation at the subsequent meetings. The condition of the country in relation to the Anti-Slavery Agitation will present, for the consideration of the So ciety, topics of the gravest importance, affecting its future action; hence a large attendance is desirable.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President. EDNUND QUINCY, S. H. GAY, WENDELL PHILLIPS,

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### NEW YORK ANNIVERSARY.

On Welnesday next, the Twentieth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society will commence in Dr. Chapin's Church, at New York, and be continued for three days, by adjournment, in Hope Chapel, Broadway. The speakers on Wodnesday forenoon will be Rev. Dr. Furness, Rev. Theodore Parker, Robert Purvis, Esq., Miss Lucy Stone, and Wendell Phillips. This is an attractive programme, and we anticipate grand meeting, in all respects such as the present national exigency requires. Let all get to it who can, for the rake of the cause, which should receive an unwonted impulse from it by the presence and self-sacrificing efforts of its friends. The opening of the Crystal Palace, under such brilliant auspices, we hope may furnish an additional inducement for persons at a distance to visit the city at that time.

#### PORTRAIT OF MR. GARRISON. Mr. WILLIAM C. NELL, of this city, has just had exe-

cuted, by Grozelier, a likeness of Mr. Garrison, in the same style with that recently issued of Mr. SUMNER. We are glad to say, that not only is it a fine work of art, but a striking and excellent likeness-giving one of Mr. G's best expressions, and such a head as his best friends would be willing to point his severest critics to, and say, 'That is the great Anti-Slavery Pioneer.' riend suggests that it is so good, Mr. NELL might send one to Georgia, and claim the five thousand dollars still offered by that State for Garrison's head. To give it a chance for greater circulation, and also to secure the suppression of the very poor likenesses of Mr. G. exnt, it is put at the low price of one dollar-only half that charged for the portrait of Mr. Sumner. Persons at a distance will have an opportunity of obtaining it at our May anniversaries, here and in New York. At present, it is for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill .-- w. P.

SPEECH OF THOMAS H. BENTON. To the exclusion of many articles, we lay before our readers the speech of homas H. Benton against the Nebraska Bill, delivered n the U. S. House of Representatives on the 25th ult. It has all the characteristics of its distinguished author -boldness and terseness of expression, biting sarcasm, contempt for political tricksters, and a manly adherence to the Missouri Compromise. It is full of sharp points and mortal thrusts, and has made a great fluttering in the camp of the Administration. True, there are some things in it not to be admitted, for one moment; it indicates no sympathy with the anti-slavery movement; its opposition to the Nebraska Bill is, first, that it is a breach of faith, and, next, that it will create agitation adverse to the slave system; still, its ten ncies are in the right direction, and it gives a staggering blow to the Douglas perfidy. The speech, acording to the Journal of Commerce, was not fully empleted when Mr. Benton's time expired. It adminsters a timely and potent rebuke on the score of Executive interference with Congressional freedom of action.

STEECH OF GERRIT SMITH. We have been looking with much interest, for the speech of Mr. Smith, made in the U. S. House of Representatives against the Nebruska Bill, and have now received it, but not in season critically to examine it before our paper goes to press It occupies more than seventeen columns of the Nation al Era; consequently, the greater portion of it was not delivered under the one hour rule. Its great length will prevent our publishing it entire, but we mean to make copious extracts, so that our readers may be refreshed by its boldness and fidelity.

THE RUSSIAN CZAR. Of all living despots, no one casts so large and formidable a shadow, or so threatens the liberties of the world, as Nicholas E. As he is now about kindling the flames of war throughout Europe, in his fell designs on Turkey, all eyes are eagerly turned to him to scan his projects, measure his resourees, and prognosticate what are to be the consequences of this tremendous issue. On our last page may be found a Psychometrical Examination of the Character of the Czar, by Andrew Jackson Davis, which impresses us as remarkably graphic, and will prove specially interesting at the present time. It appeared some time since in the New York Reformer.

THE NEW YORK INDEPENDENT. No exchange paper n our list is so irregular as the ' Independent.' get a copy only once in the course of several weeks; at one time, we sent our paper regularly for several months, without receiving a single number in return, If the exchange is not desired, so be it-we can make ourselves 'Independent' of it, much as we wish to peruse it; otherwise, let the reciprocity be honorably

It is several months since we received a copy of the Cincinnati Christian Press. Our paper has been reg ularly sent all that time. Are we to understand by this mission that an exchange is not desired by Mr. Boynton? Has he come to the pious conclusion that it would be as bad to receive our 'infidel' paper at his office, as it would to appear on the same platform with us at an Anti-Slavery Convention-or is it an oversight?

THE DIFFERENCE. If any American wishes to learn how widely different is the treatment awarded to an accomplished and educated colored gentleman, as between this country and England, we advise him to read the sketch of sundry meetings held abroad by Prof. W G. ALLEN, (formerly of McGrawville College,) which we have copied on our first page from the English journais. It will be seen with what readiness the Mayors of various cities presided, how promptly the most respecta ble and intelligent citizens took part in the proceedings and how uniformly Prof. A was received with the warm est sympathy and heartiest applause. An exile from tions of usefulness, we rejoice that he meets with so theering a reception abroad, and is able practically to realize the truth, that colorphobia is unknown across the Atlantic, being the product exclusively of Amerilished by Dewitt & Davenport. 1854. pp. 252.

tion of those extraordinary 'Manifestations' which are under an optical delusion ! matters of daily occurrence in all parts of this country, in England, and on the Continent of Europe, in some form or other; which have to this hour defied any scientific explanation ; and which are sincerely believed. by a great multitude of intelligent and upright persons, to have a purely spiritual origin, and to furnish demonstrative evidence of the immortality of the soul Mr. Dods was formerly a Universalist preacher, but for several years past, he has travelled extensively in the the United States as a lecturer on Electrical Psychology, experimenting in public as well as in private on persons of an impressible temperament, and astounding his audiences by his absolute control of the minds of those on whom he has operated, so as to make them helieve that the moon was a green cheese, that they could see what was not to be seen, and a thousand other marvels, the record of which may be found in the pres

The spirit of this treatise is, on the whole, courteou dispassionate and candid, though occasionally it degenerates into ridicule and denunciation quite incompatible with its admissions as to the honesty of the medium generally, and the reality of the phenomena declared to have taken place, and also with the theory of the auther as to the so-called manifestations. Mr. Dods says of this strange outpouring that ' it is not a humbug, sustained by collusion, deception, or trick, but the effect of a rational cause.' Of the mediums (with exception al cases, of course) he says, 'I am perfectly satisfied that they are honest. . . . They are by no means entirely among the ignorant and obscure, but pervade all ranks of society. There are rapping and writing me diums among the judges of our courts-among those who hold high stations in the community - among church members, male and female, and even smong ministers of the gospel.' As to the supposition of many, that the believers in this spiritual intercourse are con fined to the low and ignorant classes of society, and is therefore unworthy of serious consideration, Mr. Dods pertinently says that 'this is no objection to its truth, because it was the same with regard to the disciples and followers of our Savior, in the days of his persona ministry on earth '-and he candidly adds, that 'i embraces an.ong its advocates many of the best intellects in our country, and those, too, who have drunk deep at the fountains of science ; not only some of the finest talents of the land, but those, also, whose moral and religious reputation is unsuspected, and spotless beyond reproach; not only thousands of professing Christians of all sects on earth, but many ministers of the gospel, and of every denomination under heaven; men who stand in the council-chamber, at the bar, and the altar.' This is to be equally just and truthful.

Now for the solution of this great mystery, and th removal of this unparalleled hallucination of mind! It is summed up by Mr. Dods, confidently and summarily, thus :- ' I now say, that all the so-called spirit manifestations are produced by the involuntary powers of the human mind, through the nervous force of those persons only, who are either in the electro-psychological state, or in the mesmeric state, or in an entire or partially cataleptic-state-these three. All my arguments centre here, and hinge on the involuntary pow ers of the mind. To illustrate and sustain his position, Mr. Dods re-

cites many interesting facts and makes many ingenious suppositions; but not to our satisfaction, though we are far from a partisan state of mind on this subject Here we beg leave to say, that what detracts greatly from the value of his book is, that it is characterized quite as much by a sectarian and theological bias, as it is by a scientific and philosophical spirit; nay, so manifestly strong is the former, that it seems to make the whole matter a foregone conclusion in the mind of the author, as to its physical origin. He is greatly concerned lest the Bible shall be brought into disrepute ; he is ' sensible that many of the ministers of the gospel feel and deeply realize the dangers that are thickened around their dearest religious interests, but do not know what to do to avert the gathering storm '-the storm produced by the involuntary powers of the mind ! How very alarming ! He 'most sincerely and earnestly advises all rapping and writing mediums to abandon their present silly and foolish enterprise, before they are irrecoverably lost and confirmed in the jerk !sustains the sincerity and honesty of all true mediums, and the advocates of the spirit manifestations,' and therefore it 'ill-becomes him, or any other man, to denounce them, merely because they cannot see with his eyes nor understand with his intellect.' This is not very coherent or logical. Again-he sees no use in these manifestations 'but to drive men to insanity, to suicide, to disturb the repose of society, to break the charm of peace in many a happy family, to bereave husbands of their companions, to make wives widows, children orphans,' &c. &c. !! How it happens that ' the involuntary powers of the human mind' are so prone to infidelity on the one hand, and to anarchy and utrage on the other, especially in such estimable perons as the mediums and believers are admitted to beclergymen, church members, lawyers, physicians, legislators and the like-Mr. Dods has neglected or forgotten to explain. If they will operate, notens rolens, -now rapping, then tipping, now writing, then speaking, now personating the dead, then creating an optical illusion,-pray, who is to blame ? And if they can do all these things-if they have done all the phenomena recorded for the last five years in this line-pray, how could we believe, even though one should rise from the

tion from one state to the other '-a very convenient

Sometimes, however, a table is lifted, and no mistake! How? Thus, we are told :- 'The millions of pores in the table are filled with electro-magnetism from human brains, so that with the slightest united effort from the fingers of the surrounding circle, it can be raised as high as their hearls, but no higher.' Now, it is only last week that we were assured, by as reliable witnesses as ever testified in a court, that the dining-table at which we sat had been taken from the floor to to which speeches are usually limited had expired, the wall, by an invisible power purporting to be spiritual, in the presence of the family, without any person ual, in the presence of the family, without any person touching it. Mr. Dods says, that 'no man ever rose

will he reply, that it was only so in appearance, as persons in a meameric state can be made to see, and thear, and taste, and handle many things, falsely, as sick.' though they were realities? Yes, he says, 'I believe

SPIRIT MANIPESTATIONS EXAMINED AND EXPLAINED. In the air, without the intervention of human hands or Judge Edmonds refuted. Or, an Exposition of the physical aid, and I am a firm believer that spirits are Involuntary Powers and Instincts of the Human here, and that I can commune with the sainted spirits Mind. By JOHN BOVER DODS. New York: Pub- of my departed father and mother.' But, in that case, lished by Dewitt & Davenport. 1854. pp. 252. it would only be necessary to apply to him the argu-Here is another attempt to find a satisfactory solu-

Though Mr. Dods has no faith whatever in the mod ern spiritual manifestations, which are far better au thenticated than any in past ages, because the witnesse are living, and confessedly intelligent and of unit peachable veracity, yet he gives entire credence to all that is recorded of them in the Scriptures ; though his 'involuntary power' theory is just as applicable in the one case as in the other. The man of science here gives place to the priest and the theologian.

Mr. Dods' refutation of Reichenbach's Odic-force

theory strikes us as very plausible, if not conclusive. We commend his book to all interested in this subject.

#### LETTER PROM REV. J. W. LOGUEN. SYRACUSE, April 28, 1854.

My DEAR FRIEND-I want you to set me down as a Liberator man. Whether you will call me so or not, I am with you in heart. I may not be in hands and head—for my hands will fight a slaveholder—which I suppose THE LIBERATOR or some of its good friends would not do. But I do not say but they are doing more good in their way than I am in mine. I am a fugitive slave, and you know that we have strange notions about many things. But, notwithstanding, I will love THE LIBERATOR and its poble editor, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, ecause he has been for many years a standing and true friend to my poor people in slavory. His name is now known and loved by them even in the slave pens of the South. So let the name of WM. LLOYD GARRISON be borne on every breeze, until the chain shall be knocked off of the last slave !

I am, yours for liberty, J. W. LOGUEN.

This tribute from 'a fugitive slave,' in the per son of our esteemed friend Loguen, is of course very gratifying to us. 'A true friend' to the colored popuation of this country, whether bond or free, we trust ever to remain. We are not surprised that Mr. Lo-quen, educated as he has been, is unable to accept the doctrine of non-resistance, while hourly in danger of being seized by prowling slave-hunters, and carried back to the South; but he will yet realize the truth, we hope, that it is solely because of war and violence that slavery exists; because the slaveholders and slavehunters are not non-resistants, that they can hold and hunt slaves; and because there are so few disposed to return good for evil, that injustice and oppression are so universal. The principle which disarms the slave, at the same moment disarms his master also, and therefore renders the enslavement of any human being impossible. But while men claim the right to kill their fellow-men at discretion, to subserve their own interests or protect their own rights, the spirit of usurpation will continue to prevail in the world. Rely upon it, the philosophy of Jesus, in regard to the treatment of enemies, as taught and exemplified by him, is divinely adapted to all exigencies, and effectual to the overthrow of all forms of oppression. In comparison with Uncle Tom,' for real moral grandeur of character and the spirit of unconquerable goodness, how low is the plane on which they stand who believe in the war principle! Such are our views-but, 'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind,' and true to his own convictions of duty.-Ed. Lib.

## NORPOLK COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the Norfolk County Anti-Slavery Society was held in Stoughton on Thursday,

The meeting was called to order at 2 o'clock, P. M. by the President, EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham. A Committee on Nominations was appointed by the President, which made the following report of officers for the ensuing year :-

President-EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham.

nel Philbrick, Brookline ; Increase S. Smith, Dorchester : Samuel A. W. Parker, Stoughton ; 'Abner Belcher Wrentham ; Edwin Thompson, East Walpole ; Albert

Vice Presidents-Richard Clap, Dorchester; Sam

Corresponding Secretary - William L. Bowditch,

Recording Secretary-Anne W. Weston, Weymouth Treasurer-Cornelius Cowing, West Roxbury. Counsellors-Elias Richards, Weymouth ; William Veranus Wentworth, Stoughton; Franklin Williams, Roxbury ; William Dunbar, Canton ; Ellis Allen, Med-

field; John C. Wyman, Dedham. The report was adopted.

H. Chase, Canton.

til 7, P. M.

The audience was addressed, during the afternoon by Edmund Quiney, W. L. Garrison, Mrs. Brown, and Wendell Phillips, in a very able manner. At a little past 5 o'clock, the meeting adjourned un

Evening Session. Mrs. Catharine S. Brown open the evening session by a song.

Messrs. Garrison and Phillips then addressed an au dience as large as the house could contain, with much earnestness, zeal and eloquence. It was an occasion of deep and absorbing interest, not soon to be forgotten. S. A. W. PARKER, Jn., Sec. pro tem.

A notice of Miss Leslie's New Cook Book, and also of 'The Beggars of Bagdad,' by Paul Creyton, -Despotism in America, by Richard Hildreth, and Voices of the Dead, by the Rev. John Cumming, D. D., will be given in our next number.

Ward Acquitted .- A telegraph despatch, in another column, says the trial of Ward, in Kentucky,
Mr. Dods has more than two strings to his bow, and
for the murder of Mr. Butler, has resulted in his acquitis very expert in the use of it. Sometimes he attempts to explain how the various rappings, tippings, liftings, &c., are made: anon, the mediums and believers are honestly self-deceived, and neither see nor hear any thing only they think that they do not be sufficiently self-deceived, and neither see nor hear any class. If Butler had killed Ward, he would have been the second of the second o thing—only they think that they do! They are all in a mesmeric state! And, reader, 'you will please to bear in mind, that a person often passes into the mesmeric state instantly, and just as suddenly passes out of it, without being conscious in himself of any transition from one state to the ather. in the presence of the children, he insulted Butler, and deliberately shot him down. Butler had given him no provocation. This malignant and savage secondrel has been tried in Kentucky for this murder, and acquitted!! God save the Commonwealth of Kentucky, for it needs saving!—Commonwealth.

Col. Benton's Speech .- The Tribune says

The editor of the Hartford Republican touching it. Mr. Dods says, that 'no man ever rose to the ceiling, as some have stated, without being in contact with human hands.' But whose word is to be taken—Mr. Dods, or the witnesses, in such cases?

though they were realities? Yes, he says, 'I believe that persons have seen apparently a table rise from the floor to the ceiling, but they were in the electro-psychological state, and I have produced that impression upon hundreds, yet the table never stirred from the spot where it stood.' Then, why does he ask for any further evidence, and promise to be a believer, if it be granted? His theory of self-deception is as applicable to himself as to others. Yet he says, 'Let mediums step into a room, and not touch the table at all, and then cause it to be tipped, raised, or moved, and their work is done. For one, I am a convert, and will unflinchingly face a sneering and sooffing world.' He says, further, 'Let me see a piece of metal suspended Melancholy Catastrophe.-Last week, four

C. C. Burleigh, since the close of the Cincinnati Convention, has gone to Wisconsin to spend several weeks, passing through and lecturing in Indiana and Illinois, on his way. The people of Wisconsin are just now wide awake to the subject of elavery, and we doubt not they will give him a welcome worthy of their free spirit. That State is now a most promising field for anti-elavery labor. It is a field truly white to the harvest.

A colored man, named George R. Roberts, over seventy years of age, a well-known resident of Baltimore, is on a visit to Washington, in quest of a pension for services rendered during the last war with England. He was a privateer, and served with Capt. Boyle, who blockaded the ports of Great Britain with a little brig! He was taken prisoner, carried to Jamaica, and, with half a dozen others, barely escaped the honors of 'yard-arm promotion.'

Emancipation of Slaves in Venezu In relation to the recent emancipation of slaves in Venezuela, it is stated that there are only about 10,000, the greater part of them being old. Their average value will not exceed \$200, which gives a total of two million dollars. The proposition of the President for the abolition of slavery was received by Congress with acclamations, as he himself had set the example by freeing all his own slaves. They resolved upon such a method of indemnifying the slave-owners, that in three years all their claims will be satisfied.

A New City .- The inhabitants of Fall River voted lately on the question of adopting the city charter recently granted by the Legislature. Whole number of votes thrown, 776; in favor of accepting, 528; against it, 247. It was thus accepted by a large majority, and adds the thirteenth city to our State.

Twenty-one German country girls, from fourteen to seventeen years old, were lately taken from a steamer on the Rhine, which they were descending in company with three men, who were taking them to New York to be placed in houses of ill-fame. They were sent to their homes, and two of the men were arrested.

Wrecks on the Coast of Great Britain .-Wrecks on the Coast of Great Britain.—
The official report on this subject states that, as far as can be ascertained, nearly 800 wrecks, with the loss of about 870 lives, occurred on the coasts and within the seas of the United Kingdom in the year 1853.

In the terrible gale of January, 1854, 257 wrecks occurred on the coast, with the loss of 486 lives. In the year 1852, the total number of wrecks was 1100, and the loss of life upwards of 900.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Express says—'The speech of Mr. Harris, a Mississippi Democrat, against the Nebraska bill, staggers the supporters of that measure. The speech was humorous and witty to a high degree, and completely destroyed the effect of the speech of Mr. Phillips, which are called it.'

Town consumed by Fire .- The town of War

About thirty negroes came down on the Community. Frankfort train yesterday from Lexington. They are on their way to Liberia, and were emancipated by parties in Fayette. The railroad companies carried them free of charge.—Louisville Journal, 20th ult.

James Montgomery, the Sheffield poet now in his 82d year, is editing a volume of Mis The number of members of Parliamen

who are going out in the expedition to the East, to take part in the war, is fourteen or fifteen. There are ten or twelve frightful cases of

ip, tongue and face cancer in the London Cancer Hos-pital, all resulting from excessive smoking. The Execution of Clough .- Clough was

ung at Taunton, on the morning of April 28th, in the all yard, in the presence of about fifty persons, at five ainutes past 11 o'clock. He met his fate with the nost perfect composure and coolness. Heavy Verdict. - On Wednesday of las

reek, in the Supreme Court at Boston, Mrs. Sarah ihaw, of Needham, recovered a verdict of \$15,087 50 igainst the Boston and Worcester Railroad, for damages sustained by the death of her husband, &c. The total loss of property wrecked on the Bahamas, during the last three weeks, is estimated at from \$690,000 to \$1,000,000.

On Thursday of last week, Ex-Presi lent Filmore was publicly entertained at Charleston, yan excursion around the harbor, and a public diner. On Friday, he left for Augusta, Ga., and from thence will proceed to Nashville, Tenn.

The Massachusetts Legislature was pro regued on Saturday last, after a session of 116 days being 25 days less than that of last year.

Another Revolutionary Patriot Gone. Daniel Ross, of Ipswich, died April 24, 1854. He was born on the 18th of June, 1757, and was, therefore, nearly ninety-seven years old. He was the oldest inhabitant of Ipswich, and the only surviving soldier of

The Washington Union says that Indiana is strong for the Nebraska bill. The Madison Courier replies, by stating the fact, that 'not a Demo-cratic paper in Indiana, from the State Scattinel down, lares to advocate the bill,' in the form in which it now

Ex-President Filmore had a public re eption at Savannah, Ga., on the 24th ult., after which

Extraction of St. Paul's Church Ballimars.

Destruction of St. Paul's Church Ballimars.

Lance of the exhibition.

The exhibition.

The exhibition was temporarily closed on the 15th ult., to be reopened on the 4th inst., by a popular reinauguration. During the interval, large additions that been made to most of the departments, including large and elegant consignments of rare and valuable articles, from Europe and Japun.

The managers announce that facilities will be extended to achibitors, among which will be the important right to affix the price to any article which they may wish to dispose of, to direct visitors where duplicates may be obtained, and remove their contributions, at any time, by giving one week's notice in advance. They say, also, that the machinery department will be much faller and more effective than hitberto. There were poplications denied, and forty-three cases were reserved or further advisement.

Destruction of St. Paul's Church Ballimars.

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Destruction of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore -At an early hour last Saturday morning, the fine ed-fice known as St. Paul's Church, in Baltimore, was fice known as St. Paul's Church, in Baltimore, was ntirely destroyed by fire. Loss, about \$50,000; no asurance. The fire is believed to have been the work of an incendiary. The church originally cost over \$100,000.

Estate of Mr. Webster .- According to an dvertisement in a Concord (N. H.) paper, George V. Nesmith, Esq., of Franklin, (Old Salisbury,) is ppointed a commissioner to allow the claims of cred-lors against the estate of Hon. Daniel Webster, which

Spunky.—Thomas H. Benton notifies his riends and constituents in the city of St. Louis that he cill not receive letters through the St. Louis post-office, ecause an anti-Benton man is postmaster. He tells is correspondents to use Adams & Co.'s express.

Death for a Blow.—A negro man, Merritt, he property of H. T. Street, of Charleston, has been ried before a court composed of magistrates and free-cliders, and convicted of an assault and battery upon white woman. The penalty is death, by the laws of he State, and the convict has been sentenced to be ung on the first Monday in May.

Arrival of a Slaver.—The brig Glamorgan, of New York, arrived at that city on the 28th ult., under command of Lieut H. Downs, of the U. S. Navy, aving been seized on the coast of Africa, by the U. S. rig Perry, on suspicion of being a slaver. Cappar chrimann, Captain of the Glamorgan, the mate and we seamen have been examined before U. S. Commissioners in Boston, (where the brig has been brought,) and committed for trial.

Crystal Palace.—The Board of Directors of the Urystal Palace have decided to fix the price of addession, at all times, and on all occasions, at twenty

MARRIED—In Brighton, April 27th, by Rev. Mr.

Swasey, Mr. John M. Lenox and Miss Lucretta Communication.

Of Receipts, from March 1 to May 1, 1854. Rec'd from C. A. Whitney, proceeds of A. S. fair at Leominster,
Rec'd from Jonathan S. Morse, Methuen, on
account of legacy from Amos P. Morse,
Rec'd from Chas. C. Burleigh, collections by

him—
In Foxboro' \$7 17, Medfield 2 22,
Walpole 3 05, Essex 5 12, \$17 56
from a friend 5, Rockport 5 35,
Manchester 7 53, Plymouth 3, 20 88
Daxbury 87c, Marshfield 71c, West
Duxbury 90c, Hanson 3 12, 5 60
Abington 4 45, S. Abington, 28c,
Bridgewater 1, Joppa 88c, 6 61
W. Bridgewater 1, Joppa 88c, 6 61
W. Bridgewater 1 52, F. Porter, to
redeem pledge 2, S. Hingham 5, 8 52
Weymouth Landing 1 42, E. Stoughton 1 50, Stoneham 4 20, 7 12
Stoneham Female A, S. Society 3, S.
Acton 10c, Bradford 1 20, 4 30
Haverhill 10, Waltham 2 40, Marlboro' 1 39, Berlin 1, Feltonville 3, 17 79—88 3
Bee'd from S, May, Jr., for collections

o'd from S. May, Jr., for collections

by him—

From Prudence Rockwood, Upton, 2 00
S. F. Tappan, Jr., Boston, pledge 3, 5 00
David Hinckley, Hyannis, 5, T.
Hinckley, Hyannisport, 2, 7 00
E. W. Thwing, Springfield, 1, Worcester Co. North A. S. Society 4, 5 00
Bourne Spooner, to redeem pledge, 20, Mary F. Littlehale, Boston, 10, 30 00
J. T. Sargent, Boston, 5, Wm. Jenkins, Andover, 5, 10 00
Levi Bartlett, Charlestown, 1 00Bee'd from Bey F. A. Stockwan, for color ec'd from Rev. E. A. Stockman, for col-

In Ashfeld, 1, Windsor 1 93, Cheshire

10, Plainfield 1, 18 98

Williamsburg 4 1 m sundry persons 7, 11 00—24 93

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer.

Brookline, May 1, 1854.

### Natices of Meetings, &c.

· NEW ENGLAND

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION. The undersigned respectfully invite

All citizens of New England who believe in the right

laborers to control their own earnings; All who believe in a fair day's wages for a fair day' 'All who believe in the equal right of all children i

The ship Tonawanda, which arrived at Philadelphia, from Liverpool, recently, had about fifty deaths on board during the voyage, of a disease resembling cholera. The ship Blanche, arrived at St. John, N. B., from Liverpool, had thirty-five deaths on board, of cholera and diarrhoza.

All who believe in the equal right of all children is the community to all public provisions for education; All who believe in the right of human beings to determine their own 'proper sphere' of action; All who believe in the right of all to a trial by a jury of cholera and diarrhoza. All who believe in the right of human beings to determine their own 'proper sphere' of action ;
All who believe in the right of all to a trial by a jury of their peers ;

All who believe that ' taxation without representation rington, Georgia, was nearly consumed by fire on the is tyranny';
23d ult. All the business houses were burned. Loss, All who believe in the right of adult Americans have a voice in electing the Government whose law

control them ; since, in Trimble county, Ky., on a charge of abducting slaves, and acquitted, there being no particle of 2d of June next, to consider whether these rights shall evidence against her. continue to be limited to one half the members of this

> Paulina W. Davis, Sarah H. Earle, Samuel W. Wheeler, David A. Wasson, Asa Fairbanks, Anna Talbot Fairbanks, S. Crosby Hewitt, Harrietta C. Ingersoll, Tho. Wentworth Higginson, Joseph Henry Allen, James Freeman Clarke, Amory Battles, Mary Ann Laughton. Lucy Stone, A. D. Mayo, Harriot K. Hunt, B. P. Dearne, Mary F. Dearne, Sarah H. Pillsbury, Anna O. T. Parsons. Wendell Phillips. P. B. Cogswell, Ann G. Phillips, C. I. H. Nichols. William I. Bowditch, Gertrude H. Burleigh, Paulina Gerry, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Adin Ballou, Lucy H. Ballou,

N. B. Will editors friendly to the cause please copy · CASE OF MR. WEAKLY.

The following additional donations, for the relief of Mr. Weakly, have been received :-

James Jackson, Hollis st., Boston, Eli Hinckley, Hyannis Port, A, Beach, East Otto, N. Y.;

SAMUEL MAY, JR. Boston, May 1, 1854.

TO YOUNG MEN .- PLEASANT AND PROPITA BLE EMPLOYMENT.—Young Men in every neighborhood may obtain healthful, pleasant and profitable employment, by engaging in the sale of useful and popula Books, and canvassing for our popular Journals. For terms and particulars, address, post-paid,

FOWLERS & WELLS. 808, Broadway, New York. April 28

THE NEW YORK CRYSTAL PALACE. The Crystal Palace has been revived again, or, rath er, brought fully to life, as it never has been yet. Mr. Barnum, the new President of the company, has taken hold of the work in earnest, and, as the first step, to clear itself from embarrassments and difficulties in which it has become entangled, he has procured subscriptions to the amount of \$100,000 from steamber. which it has become entangied, he has procured sub-scriptions to the amount of \$100,000 from steamboat, railroad and hotel companies, and private individuals, who will indirectly derive large profits from the contin-uance of the exhibition.

The exhibition was temporarily closed on the 15th

in the manufacturing of various fabrics will be exhibited.

Steam power and space will be gratuitously furnished for the most interesting processes in art and industry, and inventors and exhibitors will be permitted, under certain judicious regulations, to run the machinery for their own benefit.

No one can doubt that, under the management of so sagacious and enterprising a business man as Mr. Barnum, the Crystal Palace Exhibition will yet be a credit to the country, and fulfil the hopes of the most sanguine of its proprietors, which have been so sadly disappointed by the miserable management that has here-tofore characterized the whole concern.

REV. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in WORCES-TER, at Horticultural Hall, on Sunday A. M. next, May 7th, at the usual hour of meeting, and at such other time during the day, or evening, as shall then be announced.

REV. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the . Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows .-Millbury,..... Friday evening, May 5

# ELIZA J. KENNY, of Salem, Agent of the Ass

of Governmentizers, will give a discourse, or discourse on Sanday Evening, May 7, at Lyceum Hall, Salem, 174 o'clock.

To defray expenses, an admittance fee will be expected of 10 cents.

Several colored girls in smilles out of the city.
A journeyman barbor in a neighboring city; one with
good references will find a desirable place.
Men on Farms.
A portor's situation in the city.
Please apply to
WM. C. NELL,
At his Registry for Help, 21 Carabill.

## To Young Mothers!

OLD UNCLE JERRY Has at last permitted the compiling and publishing of his celebrated and valuable Letters to YOUNG MOTHERS. The volume is edited by Mrs. Ann E. Porter. It is a book of most excellent counsels, which, if heeded by all young mothers, would save infinite trouble and sadness, and innumerable family discom-

1. Trials of Young Mothers.

forts. Its contents are as follows:

Bathing and Dressing of Infants.
 Physical Training of Children.
 Food best adapted to their Growth.

4. Food best adapted to their Growth.

5. Fresh Air, why necessary.

6. Treatment of Diseased Infants.

7. Moral Treatment.

8. Importance of forming the Habit of Obedience Early.

9. Punishments—what kinds should be avoided.

10. Danger of Frightening Young Children.

11. Going to School.

12. Intellectual training of Children.

13. How to Enforce Habits of Order, &c.

14. Religious Instruction of Children.

Religious Instruction of Children.
 Letter from an Aged Lady on Training Little

Ones.

16. Little Carrin, his Life and Death.

17. A Few Days in Uncle Jerry's Family.

18. A Few Thoughts for Husbands and Wives.

19. Neglect of Wife and Family.

20. Self-Reproach.

21. Reunion.

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Despotism in America. BY RICHARD HILDRETH, ESQ., AUTHOR OF 'HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES,

This is a new edition, very much enlarged, and brough own to the present time, of a work published ten years dince. It is a most timely publication, showing, as it sdoes, in a manner not to be gainsaid, the regular, sys

NEBRASKA INIQUITY. Reader, would you know what despotism may exist under the stars and stripes of a Republic, peruse with

> PUBLISHED BY JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., BOSTON.

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40,000 the First Year!

OR, LIFE IN A COUNTRY PARSONAGE BY A PASTOR'S WIFE. WE have published the above number of copies of

work of which 40,000 COPIES HAVE BEEN SOLD

And for sale by all Booksellers. 800

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Whis excellent and highly interesting work, during the year, and the demand continues unabated. It should be in every family. It cannot be necessary, at this late day, to publish the opinions of the Press, of a

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THE PEOPLE'S JOURNAL:

From the London Punch THE CHOLERA PAST: THE PRESETTERS TO PALMERSTON.

The Plague has come among us, Fear and remorse have stung us, Miserable sinners! We ask the State to fix a day, Whereon all men may fast and pray, That Heaven will please to turn away The Plague that works us sore dismay,

PALMERSTON TO THE PRESSYTERS. The Plague that comes among you, To effort hath it stung you Miserable sinners!
You ask that all should fast and pray; Better all wake and work, I say: Sloth and supineness put away, That so the Plague may cease to slay

For Plagues, like other evils, Miserable sinners! Are God's, and not the devil's, Miserable sinners ! Scourges they are, but in a hand

Which love and pity do command And when the heaviest stripes do fall, 'Tis where they're wanted most of all, Miserable simera! WHO Look around about your city,

Arouse to shame and pity, Miserable sinners

Pray : but use brush and limewash pail; Fast : but feed those for want who fail ; Bow down, gude town, to ask for grace, But bow with cleaner hands and face. Miserable sinners !

All Time God's Law hath spoken, That Law may not be broken, But he that breaks it must endure The penalty which works the cure; To us, for God's great laws transgressed, Is doomsman Pestilence addressed Miserable sinners!

We cannot Juggle Heaven, Miserable sinners ! With one day out of seven, Miserable sinners! Shall any force of fasts atone

For years of duty left undone? How expiate with prayer or psalm, Deaf ear, blind eye, and folded paim ? Miserable sinners! Let us be up and stirring.

Miserable sinners! 'Mongst ignorant and erring. Miserable sinners! Sloth and self-seeking from us cast, Believing this the fittest fast, For, of all prayers prayed 'neath the sun. There is no prayer like work well done, Miserable sinners !

From the same. BCENE PROM THE 'RUSSIAN GENTLE MAN! AN UNFINISHED DRAMA.

Scene-St. Petersburg. A room in the Palace. Enter the Emperor Nicholas, Sir Hamilton Seym following.

EMP .- Seymour, come hither -- now we are alone, And I can talk to thee. I like thee, Seymour, I note thy real and thy alacrity,
Thy diligence—and, I will add, discretion,
Shown in thy service to thy sovereign mistress, Coupled, I think, with what therewith consists In every way, good-will towards our own. SEYM .- Sire, it rejoiceth me that mine intent

Should be apparent to your Majesty. EMP .- Seymour, thou bear'st a brain. Now mark me, Seymour;

I love thy Queen, and love thy countrymen, Her subjects, loyal as they are, yet free! Would every prince-in Christendom-had such ! We have a common interest, gentle Seymour; England and Russia should be hand and glove. SEYM.—England is bounden to your Majesty With Russia's glove that would protect her grasp. EMP .- Ha! Well, so take the figure, an thou list. Hark in thine ear. Look yonder, Seymour, look! See'st thou yon Turk? Seymour, he's very ill.

SEYM .- But that your Majesty's more keen disc Did graciously correct my grosser sense, I should have blindly deemed you Turk in health,

Rade as my speech. Exp.-Oh! but he's ill, good Seymour, He's dangerously ill, and time it is The disposition of his property—
For he will die intestate—should be thought on By his next heirs. Now, therefore, Seymour, list: To his estates in Candia and in Egypt,

England is freely welcome to succeed, If England will but cleave to my consent. SETM.—But how, an't please your gracious Majesty Will the co-heirs therewith be satisfied? Exp.-That which suits me will Austria suit likes

Prassia is nought; then, if but England side With us, at France I snap my fingers so ! Saya. So please you, sire, unto my sovereign lie I will transmit, by way of Downing street, The weighty matter you have broached to me Exr. But, Seymour, mind; all this is said at

In strictest honor, and in confidence. Let's have no scals, no parchment, no red tape; I merely want a quiet understanding, And make my offer as a gentleman.

Sarn.—But, under pardon of your Majesty Returning to our muttons, may I ask, Is it so certain that the Turk will die? Exp .-- Oh! he will die-no doubt of that, good Se

No hope for him; convey thus much to England, And so good night. Mind this, the Turk must die

THE AT REAL PROPERTY LINE IReit. Says .- The Turk will die? Of that I'm not so sur The Turk must die! so Nicholas declares. His mind is made up for the poor Turk's death. Pray Heaven that he hath not resolved thereon !

E'll straight to mine hotel, and ere night's cap My temples shall infold, in black on white, I will reveal this plot to Clarendon. [Scene closes.

MARRIAGE Oh, if there be one hour, which, more Than any other craves a parent's presence,
"Tis that which gives his child away from him! She should go with his blessing warm upon

With an attending kiss; then may she go With perfect hope, and cheerily take with her The benisons of all kind wishers else!

Heaven will watch the flower and fruit.

### THE LIBERATOR.

THE CHARACTER OF THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS.

PSYCHONETRICALLY EXAMINED. BY ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS.

Amid the millions of human beings, this man, Nich olas, the Czar of Russia, is attracting especial attention The Muscovite autocrat is a stranger to Americans, except through his public life. Perhaps it may be interesting to all who know him as a public man, to see him more familiarly, as it were ' face to face,' and learn thereby the secret of his movements in reference to the

From what the world has thus far seen of the char acter of Nicholas, the inference is strong against him that he is a determined enemy of liberty and human rights. If this impression is correct, I, for one, desire to know the cause of it. Why does he oppose equality and the republicanization of the governments in the North? Why is he not mild and peaceful? I desire to know, and I will proceed to the investigation. There is something in him which will explain all the tyranny and despotism that reign so nakedly in the Russian em-

Impressions on viewing him objectively .- His for is composed of excellent material; is capable of enduring much labor, and, were it not for disease, his nervous and muscular systems could even now sustain great efforts. The conformation of his body is attractive. He is very tall and straight; carries his head at least six inches above his ordinary companions, and walks with the air of one who was born ' to threaten and command.' There is an austere beauty about his countenance. His face is round and full. His nose is straight; his forehead is broad, proportionably elevated, but retreating; his mouth is well formed, and shows the traces of mental courage and physical firmness. There is a nobleness and a stiffness in his deportment. His presence imposes awe and respect. He is not pompous or egotistical in his walk; yet he seems never to lose sight of himself as the object of all observers. igilant and self-possessed amid all circumstances, he never fails to receive the homage and admiration of the boyards and nobles who move in his

The art of self-control he has cultivated into a sple did accomplishment. His bearing is dignified, selfcomplacent, and military. No mechanism can exceed his precision. Stiff, upright, unbending, he treads the spacious room like an engine in human shape. Beneath his well-formed brows, you see large eyes which never smile. They look earnest, commanding, severe, and erated diplomatists, as any person living. His nobl sometimes mysteriously restless. When he speaks, you hear a grave, imperious, resolute voice : it is flexible clear, and at times melodious. There is a German air about him ; he is thoughtful and meditative ; but he never permits himself to exhibit, in company, an air of absent-mindedness, or forgetfulness of self and the high position he occupies.

Impressions on viewing him socially .- In the bo of his family, the Emperor is rather inclined to be kind, affectionate, and jovial. And yet the ease and grace with which love adorns the human character are wanting. You see nothing of childhood in him. To his wife, the Empress, he is elegant and tender in his manners; and yet in this tenderness and elegance there is something cold, reserved, and manufactured. To the princes and princesses, he shows much attachment, but never forgets to exhibit a certain sternness in their presence; he inspires them with fear, timidity, and

To the world, he feels no especial social relation. H began life, however, with a fondness for society, and regarded tenderly the friendship of friends. But now, he stops not to consider the principles of mere social brotherhood. The idea of living to manifest friendship for mankind is foreign to his organization. Philanthropy is a sentimentalism-fit for sickly religionists and plebeian fanatics. Impulses are measurably indicative of intellectual weakness. He has social love and religious charity for no man ; his fraternal affection is in-

He is exceedingly fond of female beauty. When in company, his conversation is precise and guarded. Being well-educated, intellectual and polite, his words are correctly and elegantly adjusted into short and smooth sentences. No lawyer can be more ingenious in what he puts on paper or communicates orally. He religious duty, a sacred mission, acts upon him and his foe. This springs from secretiveness, and not from the perstition influenced any minds in ages previous .fear of committing himself to any proposition. At times, he is fluent in speech, but only in the presence of watchword in all the dominions of Nicholas. The Em particular persons. Taken altogether, this man has peror is fully convinced that there can be no permanen not a social nature, and realizes but little enjoyment power in a country where the people are permitted t from the parental and fraternal ties, though this was act out their depraved wills. He feels that Pope and not the fact in the earlier periods of his life.

Impressions on viewing him intellectually. - His brain is large and well-developed, but its substance not of that fine, elastic, impressible quality which gives brilliancy and remarkable capacity. His intellect, therefore, is not of the superior mould. Of order and regularity he is exceedingly fond. His memory is excellent. If there is one charm for him in life, it is music. He loves and writes music; and yet, his inspiration must take the military direction, and be admired by his troops.

The Emperor is talented and skilful in obtaining knowledge of geography, military discipline, political government, and the laws of nations. In the conformation of his intellect, he is an excellent lawyer. His mind is thoroughly versed in the policy of autocratic government. He is very methodical in his arrangement and classification of laws-public, administrative, civil, judicial, commercial; and in all other rules and codes of the Russian policy, the same order is visible. In this particular, Nicholas is endowed with consumate skill and practical intelligence.

But he cannot argue. Reasoning from cause to effect is felt to be both impracticable and unnecessary. He takes his intellectual positions with much con and order. He lays down propositions, and proceeds to expatiate upon and expound them, with all the precision and regularity of a skilful logician. Yet fie is no all plans and decrees. He is a victim as well as King reasoner; never attempts to carry conviction by virtue of argument. The statement, the affirmation, of a matter by himself, is, in his opinion, sufficient reason why it should be believed. Of all Kings and Emperors. this man is the most accomplished intellectualist and lawyer. But this peculiarity in his mind-this devotion to law and to its extremest application to every emergency—is a development of his later years. There are manifested two distinct epochs in the life of Nicholas; one when he was a Duke-a fine, affable, gallant, noble, sociable, and even fashionable man; the other, when he became Emperor—a stiff, mysterious, imperious, cold, and reserved man—a judge, a priest, a des-

Impressions on elewing him morally.-His moral organization, phrenologically speaking, is evenly develop-ed. His conceptions of justice are, nevertheless, huge and arbitrary ; not fine, and springing from an idea of to a select committee, which made thereon the following universal distribution of rights.

Nicholas is a cynic in some particulars. He sees no Nicholas is a cynic in some particulars. He sees no really good thing in man; but the openly or secretly tion on 'Women's Rights,' wherein they ask to be bad is every where existing and manifested. He is not relieved from the many and various legal disabilities.

States; for he is 'fully persuaded in his own mind,' that he is doing God a genuine service, when he entraps and subjugates other nations, and provides the Church with rich and numerous adherents. He considers himself as much an 'agent' for the Almighty as grievances imposed upon them by the present

any Yankee teacher of the faith once delivered to the aints. He firmly and conscientiously believes that he has a 'mission' to fulfil; it is right and essential to order, in his opinion, that he should place himself at he head of both Church and State.

And there is another peculiarity in his character-i. e., a vigilant and jealous secreticeness. He is fond of trusting only his own eyes and ears. In certain conditions of this feeling, he will disguise himself as a cour mon soldier or messenger, and visit his troops or fami-ly, and learn just what is thought of some recent strokof policy or necessity of his government, or see who meets his most intimate associates. He is fond of rapid travelling—would like to fly to different places, and appear in different costumes, because his mind delights in giving shocks and surprises. This trait of character would be exhibited in his dealings with nations, I would lead to treachery, and to sudden changes in policy. But to accumulate property and true religionists let the cost to others be what it may, is the constan suggestion of his conscience.

Nicholas possesses strong heroic feelings. His lov of country is strong, but his national pride is weaker far than his pride of power. He is a worshipper o power. The Almighty inspires him with reverence because He is All mighty. In this respect, Nicholas is morbidly ambitious. He prays to extend his dominions his power and government. He studies hard to out general the world. His firmness in this direction is unwavering and indomitable. He thinks strongly steadily, indignantly. He cannot consent to be weat enough to forgive an enemy; his love of power maker him indignant and unforgiving.

His moral organization is so constituted, that suspicion of human nature is inevitable. He is enough superstitious to believe himself the spiritual and legal ble to form a clear and steady belief in the intrinsic goodness of any fellow-being. This silent conviction-I might say skepticism-tends to render him cruel, de spotic, absolute. To his moral nature it sometime

Deception is the warp and thread of being; The sky is fickle, and the elements Are traitors all. The spider plots his living In deceit, and in the air, the kingly birds, With cruel art, on weaker ones descend, And gorge their appetite. The beasts and fish Who have some lordly sway, turn land and sea Who have some lordly sway, turn land and sea Into a stage for drama treacherous, Whose plot th' Almighty laid. Therefore do I Stand up in Nature's centre, and my foot Feels her heart beat, while I scheme.'

Impressions on viewing him individually .- When view this Emperor altogether, with all his characteris tics taken in combination, I see a man who is as much an instrument, or circumstance, in the hands of confed form, 'big, manly voice,' and severe, but handsom countenance, render him a valuable personage or pres ence at any court. Every thing is done over his shoul

This flatters his love of power, and gives him a repu tation for great skill and courage, which he seldom really works to earn ; hence he enjoys the position he occupie extremely well. Nicholas has so much pride in the sagacity and diplomacy of his public officers and chie nobles, that he affirms them to be superior to the mos civilized nations, whom he spurns to copy or imitate i any particular. From strangers, the Emperor will con sent to learn or borrow nothing.

There is something extremely anomalous in this

mind. Nicholas is master; he knows it; all acknowledge it in his nation ; but he never claims such absolute prerogative or control. Church and State are both beneath his governmental regulations. He makes the ecclesiastical patriarchs and bishops swear unequiv ocal allegiance and obedience to himself: yet, when meeting the higher clergy in public, he devoutly kisse the archbishop's hands, and displays other evidences of religious reverence and submission. With the populace, this policy operates like magic. They behold the agents of God-all organized, and maintained at incal culable expense and ceremony, for the sake of th dear people ' themselves, and indirectly for the world To all outward seeming, the Emperor is a consciention Christian, a devout priest, a careful king, a despot from the force of religious necessity; a chief ruler among

The Emperor is invincible in the conviction that h is designed by God to spread the Muscovite governmen over territories of the heathen. Russia is moved by its chief toward the East. The idea of Heaven's decree, chief officers and ministers as powerfully as ever a King should exist only in one man, as religion and in tellect belong to one organization. Actuated by hi constitutional skepticism in regard to the tendencies of human natures, he watches this focal concentration o ecclesiastical and political power in himself and future Emperor, as jealously as did Othello the virtue of Des demona. And you cannot persuade him, with his in tellectual and moral organism, out of the plan to mak war upon heathenish nations, and convert them and their possessions to the saving ordinances and govern ment of the Greek Church. He is sly and skilful in managing a conquest; bold, combative, courageous hopeful, firm, and supremely ambitious of power, and being, withal, so religious in his wars, though employ ing other motives as pretexts, you may be sure that h will spring his trap when and as least expected.

Under the moral and intellectual operation of thi mind, I can see no escape for the serfs of Russia. The Russian Ministers are, I think, more fond of war, triumph and subjugation, than the Emperor himself They do much toward bringing about pretexts for mak ing war upon the East; and the Czar gets all the prais and condemnation. He is master, his will is supreme but his nature coincides with the legislation or sugges tion of his chief nobles and public officials; yet it mus be seen, that the Emperor's own peculiar mind acts clearly and powerfully enough in coloring and shaping a subject as well as Emperor. The pobles, as a class ceedingly submissive. The Crar, as a man, is extreme ly ambitious. All are superstitious, and actuated an bound together by absurd religious convictions; and there is no greater civilization possible in Russia, n more freedom to be expected in the Empire of Nicholas till he passes away to the spirit land; till the heir t the crown—the timid, charitable, polite and benevole Alexander Nicolaiewitch-shall ascend the throne, re lax severe laws, and introduce general education amon the ignorant and stultified peasantry.

### A DOGBERRY REPORT.

A petition having recently been sent to the House Assembly of New Jersey, by sundry women of that State, asking for a redress of grievances, it was referred REPORT.

certain of any thing in man; yet he treats his immediate associates with great respect.

The Emperor is mysteriously inclined to religion. He is actuated by a peculiar reverence for the sacred institutions of God. He thinks the Greek Church to be the especial emporium of the designs of Deity. In this particular, Nicholas is as conscientious, and superstitious, too, as any orthodox clergyman in the United States; for he is 'fully persuaded in his own mind,' attention which they conceive its character and importance demands, coming, as it does, from the

ghted age, engrafted upon the spirit and ins ons of the present. It has long been a subj ng been a sub sopher and

benighted age, engrafted upon the spirit and institutions of the present. It has long been a subject
of anxious inquiry to the philosopher and the
philanthropist, to attain that aeme of perfection
so long dreamed of, and to carry into practical
operation the great end of human progress, which
would not only furnish adequate remedies for existing evils, but, in all future time, secure to
mankind, without regard to sex or color, a panacea
for all that should follow.

Other and important considerations, specified in
the 'Bill of Rights,' have claimed the respective
attention of the undersigned, to all of which a
due respect for social and domestic duty, based
upon convictions derived from past history and experience, recommends and enjoins upon us the propriety and necessity of a strict adherence to those
feminine duties upon which the well-being of society depend, and which sheds so pure a halo around
our firesides. By these 'firesides,' our statesmen, philosophers, men of letters, men of genius,
receive their first impressions, and the impetus to
a faithful discharge of their after callings, as patriots and Christian servants of the State. Happy
is the country—contented are its people—where triots and Christian servants of the State. Happy is the country—contented are its people—where the laws of nature, religion and reason are held in reverence, where each sex fulfile its peculiar duties, and renders its sphere a sanctuary! Surely, such harmony is blessed. For, while there are those who writhe in imaginary slavery, our institutions extend with wide-spread arms to receive all who seek protection or need repose.

Admitting there are instances of celebrated women, who, inspired either by circumstances or the

men, who, inspired either by circumstances or the irresistible restlessness of genius, go forth to mingle amid the theatre and strife of public life, and battle with the world—a few of whom we are justly proud—women of such well-balanced minds, that their labors in public and perilous paths have not interfered with domestic and social duties, but, on the contrary, have been fulfilled with a diligent and faithful care, as though the world had never enjoyed the labors of their feminine wisdom. Yet, this does not shake our belief, that, despite all this the well-arrand resortation. this, the well-earned reputation they enjoyed, they would have been happier had they continued en-shrined in the privacy of domestic life and domes-

ic duty.

In conclusion, then, your Committee would express their belief, and, with all due deserence to the opinions of those whose fair hands penned and and future prosperity of America, depends, and is in the keeping of the wives and mothers of its men. And when the question is asked touching our 'celebrated women,' we may refer with just pride to those who have watched over, moulded and inspired our 'celebrated men.'

With reflections like these, your Committee

deem it inexpedient, at the present time, to recommend the revision or enactment of any law that would remove from the legitimate sphere of social duty those who were destined and ordained, after manner in the old time, to 'learn in a meek and quiet spirit, with all subjection, which becom-eth women professing godliness, with good works.

H. ELWOOD LAFETRA. JOB H. GASKILL, JACOB M. MERSELES, AUGUSTUS A. HARDENBERGH, DAVID RIPLEY.

To this illiterate, incoherent and ridiculous Report, one of the petitioners makes the following spirited rejoinder in the Newark Daily Mercury.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS AND WRONGS.

To the Honorable Gentlemen who composed the House Committee of the Legislature of New Jersey, to whom was referred the Petition on ' Woman's

GENTLEMEN-Being one of the above petitioners, take the liberty thus publicly to address you, on the subject of your report upon the prayer of said petition. You will doubtless recollect that several of the women of the State of New Jersey, many of whom are owners of property and tax-payers, sent a petition to the Legislature, asking to be relieved from various legal lisabilities from which they suffer, and that all laws and statutes operating against them, unequally and more unjustly than against men, be repealed, and just and equal laws enacted in their stead.

Your report is before me. In it you say, that 'in view of past precedents (as if a precedent could be any thing but past) and present convictions, and after careful, deliberate and respectful consideration, you gave our prayer that 'attention its importance demands.' You proceed by informing us that 'it has long been a and to carry into practiadequate remedy for existing evils, and a panacea for ings in the same manner and to the same exten

eased, by legislative enactment, from those same haloshedding, feminine, fireside duties ? Trust me, not one of those female petitioners is so ignorant as not to know that all the said social, domestic, fireside duties have their origin in the very nature of men and women, and such controversy shall be decided by the prop rest upon the eternal law of God, and that if, therefore, they desired ever so much to be discharged from them. no human authority is competent to grant such discharge. No one of your petitioners, however, has any such desire, and it is not just in you, gentlemen, so unwarrantably to imply that they have.

The Report continues, informing us that 'our states men, philosophers, men of letters, men of genius and what not, receive their first impressions and the impetus to the faithful discharge of their after callings by these same firesides.' 'That where the laws of nature, reason and religion are held in reverence, where each sex performs its peculiar duties and renders its sphere a sanctuary, there the country is happy and the

people contented. reverence,' and where each sex actually 'performs its eculiar duties'? If so, your petitioners will be thankful to be informed, with a view to migrate. Your reply to our earnest prayer for an amelioration of the unjust and unequal laws from which we suffer, itself proves ours is not that country. Instead of righting our wrongs, redressing our grievances, and amending the unjust statutes, you gravely tell us that where the laws of nature, reason and religion ' are duly reverenced, and all duties actually performed, there the people are happy-as if that might be pleasant news to ple are happy—as if that might be pleasant news to dices, and carnest beliefs of ages. Prayin us. Why, gentlemen, had we not been fully convinced duty, his Lordship admits, but cleanliness of that, we should not have petitioned. It is because we do know this, and desire it may be brought about in our own native land, that we address our prayer to you. Our sole desire is that the 'laws of nature, reason and religion' may be duly reverenced and complied with; that all human laws inconsistent with these higher laws may be repealed.

We know that we women possess essentially the same We know that we women possess essentially the same nature as men. Our happiness and welfare depend upon essentially the same conditions. We possess the same number of natural and inalienable rights, requirthese rights rests upon the same conditions. Men can-not trust each other to do voluntary justice. They find it necessary to combine, politically, to obtain protection against the general selfishness. Experience every where proves it unsafe to entrust the power to make laws exclusively to a part only of a nation. Wherever this is done, that part having such exclusive power always make the laws so as to favor themselves. See the lawess shows itself at all points! See its exclusive privileges—its monopoly of the ho and distinctions connected with social life.

tter, only because the law-making power is relatively as restricted,) this power is possessed exclusively by nen, and, as a matter of course, the non-participant find the laws unequal and unjust. Our rights of prop erty, rights of action, rights of equal participation in honors and distinctions, are not secured to us by law, further than the interests of men require it. Since the chief advance of modern times consists in extending the power to assist in making the laws to which al are to submit, we think it is not unreasonable to ask still further extension to the half of mankind still ex cluded, and we think you may trust us to use this power as discreetly and wisely, at least, as those who now

the due development of all spiritual qualities, whether intellectual or moral. But such development depend upon exercise, and this upon the incitements alone fur aished by appropriate spheres of action.

It is a matter of common remark, that the mind o woman, in general, exhibits less power to think, and ossesses less knowledge than that of man. Well, what does the sphere of action to which she is restricted incite her to think about? Suppose men shut out from all participation in law-making, governing, building houses, ships, in commerce, and, in general, all the grea business of life, and condemned to act upon frills and laces, and to spend their lives in the arts of personal decoration, knitting, sewing, and other mere feminin ways, would their minds show great power to think, and be filled with varied and important knowledge? Let the real business of woman's life require her to think, and she will become a thinker. Give her a chance to display her courage, sense of justice, and

other moral qualities, and these will shine forth gloriously, proving the intrinsic wealth of the female spiritnal constitution, and you will no longer have occasio to taunt her with mental imbecility, or confine your admiration to her fair hands and bright eyes. You tell us in your Report, that though certain cele orated women, impelled by resistless genius to mingle in the scenes of public life, may have acted their part

so as to deserve admiration, without having neglected their domestic and social duties, yet this does not shake your belief that these same women would have been happier, had they continued enshrined in the privacy of domestic life. Gentlemen, does not your happiness result from the

free and varied use of the powers inherent in your naures? Are not these powers unfolded in very different degrees in different individual men, thus making the happiness of one to consist in something very different from that of another? And do you suppose it is not the same with us women? Give us freedom to pursue severally our stronger

bent, as you pursue yours, and do not require us to regulate our conduct by your idea of our happiness It may well enough be that happiness is not the sole end of human existence. Intellectual and moral development may constitute no inconsiderable part thereof and the realization of this depends upon our having an equal chance in life with our brothers. We will risk the appiness part ; give us the chance. You conclude your Report by saying you deem it is expedient, at the present time, to recommend the re-

rision or enactment of any law that would remove from the legitimate sphere of social duty, those who were destined and ordained, after the manner in the old time, to ' learn in a meek and quiet spirit, with all subjection, which becometh women professing godliness with good works.' Well, gentlemen, who asked you to repeal, revise or

nact any such laws as that? Not the petitioners whose prayer you were appointed to consider, and whom you by implication, have grossly misrepresented. We prayed that unequal laws might be made equal,

injust statutes replaced by just ones. Do you think there are no such unequal and unjust laws in existence and that our prayer is based on a misconception Why not say so, then, plainly, and enlighten our igno rance by pointing out to us how laws which seem to our feeble minds unjust are really just? FEMALE PETITIONER.

OHIO.

Senator Townshend has reported, from a Selec Committee, a thorough Woman's Rights bill. It provides (says a Columbus paper) that hereafter You proceed by informing us that 'it has long been a subject of anxious inquiry with philosophers and philos great end of human progress, which would furnish an and maintain and defend all actions and proceedall future ills. 'That certain important considerations' as male persons; and hereafter, no husband, by reason of marriage, shall have or acquire any right specified in the "Bill of Rights" had claimed your attention, and that a due respect for social and domestic duty, based upon convictions derived from past history (not future history, of course) and experience, recommends and enjoins the propriety and necessity of a commends and enjoins the propriety and necessity of a commends and enjoins the propriety and necessity of a commends and enjoins the propriety and necessity of a commends and enjoins the propriety and necessity of a commends and enjoins the propriety and necessity of a commend and enjoyed an each other, and sue and be sued by each other, the well-being of society depends, and which shed so pure same as other persons. That married women hereafter shall have the same rights of persona liberty and locamotion, to all intents and purpose well gentlemen, did your petitioners pray to be reses, as male persons; and no husband shall, i any manner, by any proceeding in courts or oth erwise, restrain or interfere with the same. That in all cases of contracts respecting the cus tody of minor children and their guardianship

guardianship court now or hereafter having jurisdiction; an no husband, as such, shall have any preference, other or greater right than the wife; but such controversy shall be determined according to right and justice, having due regard to the situation, circumstances and qualifications of the parties in That no father shall bind out as an apprentic

or servant any child or children of such father during the lifetime of the mother of such children being the wife of such father, unless such mothe shall assent thereto, and, with the father, execut

the indenture or covenant of service.

That upon the death of any husband, leaving a wife surviving heir, such wife shall succeed to and have the same rights of property in the estate and property of her husband by way of descent, distribution dower and otherwise as a comment. people contented.'

Do you know of any country, gentlemen, where the be conferred by law upon husbands in the proper laws of 'nature, reason and religion' are 'held in due ty of the wife, in case of the death of the wife.

> LORD PALMERSTON AND CHOLERA. Lord Palmerston's refusal to order the people Scotland to fast on account of the cholera, was one of the nohlest acts in the life of a statesman who disdains to seek for popularity with sectarian bigots and Janus-faced hypocrites, at the expense of his imperative duty as a great officer of the nation—which was to warn the people of the true causes of the cholera, truly advise them how to stay its ravages, and combat the passions, prej a duty—and a populous city ought not to be all lowed to overflow with filth, in order that state paid parsons may be enabled, through London ap pointed fast days, to attempt to work miracles. Lord P. was denounced from their pulpits by the city priesthood, the Rversons and the Jenningse of Scotland, as an Infidel, but he did not swerve from his course-and the wise and the good mired his opportune firmness, and despised the Globes and the Witnesses for slandering him.

In the preface to four sermons, entitled, 'Whe causes postilence?' by the Rev. Charles Kingsley a clergyman of the Church of England, well known ing the same governmental protection. The security of as the author of 'Alton Locke,' 'Yeast,' 'Hypse rights rests upon the same conditions. Men can-

'As a clergyman, I feel bound to express my gratitude to Lord Palmerston for having refused to allow a National Fast Day on occasion of the reappearance of Pestilence, and so having preven fresh scandal to Christianity, fresh excuse for resh scandar to Christianity, fresh excuse for the selfishness, laziness, and ignorance, which produce pestilence, fresh turning men's minds away from the real causes of this present judgment, to fanci-ful and superstitious ones.'—Mackenzie's Message

For the Palmerston correspondence 'done int rhyme,' by Punch, see our Poetical Department.

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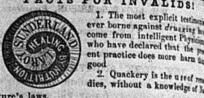
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