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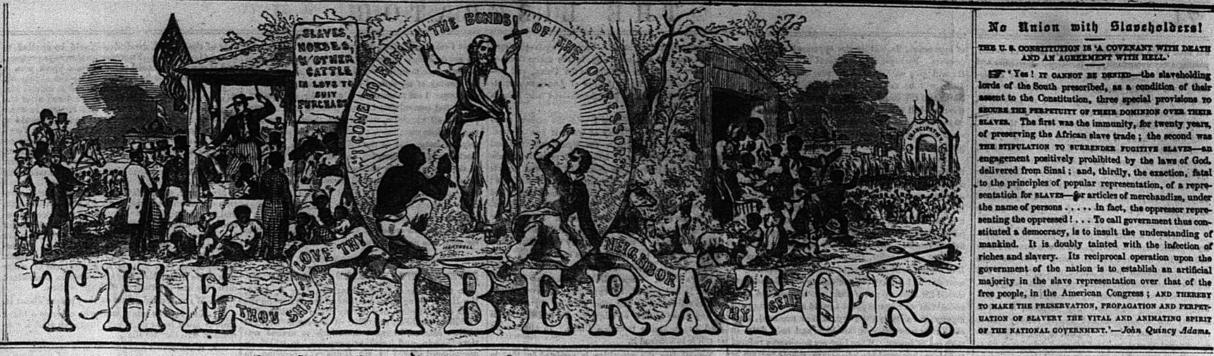
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WESDELL PHILLIPS.

In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholdera!

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

Tes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholdi

lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under

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

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.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1854.

WHOLE NUMBER 1034.

NO SLAVERY IN NEBRASKA-NO SLAVERY IS

THE NATION-SLAVERY AN OUTLAW.

SPEECH OF GERRIT SMITH. ON THE NEBRASKA BILL.

In the U. S. House of Representatives, April 6, 1854. So, Mr. CHAIRMAN, the davery question is up again! up again, even in Congress! It will not keep down. At no bidding, however authoritative, will it keep down. The President of the United States commands it to keep down: Indeed, he has, hitherto, seemed to make the keeping down of this question the great end of his great office. Members of Congress have so far humbled themselves, as to pledge themselves on this floor to keep it down. National political conventions promise to discountenance, and even to resist, the agitation of slavery, both in and out of Congress. Commerce and politics are as afraid of this agitation as Macbeth was of the ghost of Banquo; and many titled divines, taking their cue from commerce and politics, and being no less servile than merchants and demagogues, do what they can to keep the slavery question out of sight. But all is of no avail. The saucy slavery question will not mind them. To repress it in one quarter, is only to have it burst forth more prominently in another quarter. If you hold it back here, it will break loose there, and rush forward with an accumulated force, that shall amply revenge for all its detention. And this is not strange, when we consider how great is the power of truth. It were madness for man to hid the grass not to grow, the waters not to run, the

winds not to blow. It were madness for him to assume the mastery of the elements of the physical world. But more emphatically were it madness for him to attempt to hold in his puny fist the forces of the moral world. Canute's folly, in setting bounds to the sea, was wisdom itself, compared with the so much greater folly of attempting to subjugate the moral forces. Now, the power which is, ever and anon, throwing up the slavery question into our unwilling and affrighted faces, is ruth. The presion-blinded and the infatuated may not discern this mighty agent. Nevertheless, Truth lives and reigns for ever : and she will be, continually, tossng up unsettled questions. We must bear in mind, oo, that every question which has not been disposed of n conformity with her requirements, and which has not been laid to repose on her own blessed bosom, is an unsettled question. Hence, slavery is an unsettled question ; and must continue such; until it shall have fied for ever from the presence of liberty. It must be an entirely unsettled question, because, not only is it not in harmony with truth, but there is not one parti-

sle of truth in it. Slavery is the baldest and biggest ie on earth. In reducing man to a chattel, it denies that man is man , and, in denving that man is man, it denies that God is God-for, in His own image made He man-the black man and the red man, as well as the white man. Distorted as are our minds by prejudice, and shrivelled as are our souls by the spirit of caste, ily may not be apparent to us all. Were we delivered om this prejudice and this spirit, much of the darksess which now obscures our vision would be scattered. In proportion as we obey the truth, are we able to distern the truth. And if all that is wrong within us were made right, not only would our darkness give place to a cloudless light, but, like the angel of the

Apocalypse, we should stand in the sun.

But to my argument. I am opposed to the bill for organizing the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, which has come to us from the Senate, because, in the first place, it insults colored men, and the Maker of all men, by limiting suffrage to white men. I am opposed to it, because, in the second place, it limits suffrage to persons who have acquired citizenship. The man who omes to us from a foreign land, and declares his intention to make his home among us, and acts in harmony with such declaration, is well entitled to vote with us. He has given one great evidence of possessing an American heart, which our native could not give. For, whilst our native became an American by the accident of birth, the emigrant became one by choice. For, whilst our native may be an American, not from any

reference for America, the emigrant has proved that he prefers our country to every other. I am opposed to the bill, in the third place, because t is so drawn as to convey the deceptive idea, (I do not asy intentionally deceptive,) that the bill recognises the doctrine of non-intervention. I call it deceptive

idea; for, in point of fact, the bill does not recognise the doctrine of non-intervention. It dictates to the territories the form of their government, and denies to them the appointing of their principal officers. The bill is itself, therefore, the most emphatic intervention. One-hundredth as much intervention on the part of the Federal Government with a State Government, would be condemned as outrageous and intolerable interven-

But I must be frank, and admit that, if the bill did really recognise the doctrine of non-intervention, I should still be opposed to it-ay, and for that very reason. This whole doctrine of Congressional non-interrention with our territories I regard as perfectly absurd. Congressional intervention with them is an imperative and unavoidable duty. The reasoning to this end is simple and irresistible. The people of the United States acquire a territory. Being theirs, they are reponsible for its conduct and character; and, being hus responsible, they not only have the right, but are biolutely bound, to govern the territory. So long as he territory is theirs, they can no more abdicate sovreignty over it, than a State can abdicate sovereignty er one of its counties. But the people of the United tes govern through Congress ; and hence, in respect what is the people's, there must be Congressional inrention. In the nature of the case, this must be so. at the Constitution also shows that it must be so. se Constitution declares the fact of the government of he nation by itself; and it also recognises the fact of the government of a State by itself. But nowhere it so much as hint at the government of a territory

egulation or government of territories to Congress, I add, incidentally, that in the light of the fact of the erican people's responsibility for the conduct and aracter of their territories, it is absurd to claim that Mexico and Utah are to be exempt from slavery

by itself. On the contrary, it expressly subjects the

tories turns solely on the character of the Constitution sible for the present agitation. turns solely on the question whether that paper is anti-slavery or pro-slavery. Again, in the light of this same fact, we see how absurd it is to claim that there ould, under the continued force of the French or Spanish laws, be slavery in the territory of Louisiana, after we had acquired it. If, after such acquisition, there was, or could be, legal slavery in the territory, it was solely because the Constitution-the only law which then attached to the territory-authorised it. What if, when we acquired the territory, there had been in it, among the creatures of French, or Spanish, or other aw, the suttee, or cannibalism-would it not have been held that these abominations were repugnant to the Constitution, and, therefore, without legal existence?

I spoke of the Constitution as the only law which attaches to our territories I was justified in this, because it is the only law of the people of the United States, when they are taken as a whole or a unit. When regarded in sections, they have other laws also. The people of a State have the laws of their State, as well as the laws of their nation. But, I repeat it, the to return to my original assertion, that the pro-slavery people of the United States, when viewed as one, have o other law than the Constitution. Their Congress and Judiciary can know no other law. The statutes of the one and the decisions of the other must be but applications and interpretations of this one organic law.

Another incidental remark is, that it is wrong to charge the opponents of this bill with denying and dishonoring the doctrine of ' popular sovereignty.' Holding, as we do, that to the people-the whole peopleof the United States belong both the land and the soy ereignty of their territories, we insist, that to shut them out from governing their territories, would be to deny and dishonor the doctrine of 'popular sovereignty.' It is the friends of the bill, who, provided it is, as they claim, a bill for non-intervention, are to be charged with violating the doctrine of ' popular sovereignty,' and the principles and genius of democracy. I close, under this head, with saying, that should real non-intervention obtain in regard to these territories, it would be a very great and very astonishing change from our present policy. The inhabitants of a territory have no the purpose of cheering them onward, that, when they vote in Congress. Nevertheless, real non-intervention would vest them with the exclusive disposal of important affairs, which are now at the exclusive disposal of Sir, you must permit me to indulge some hope of the Congress. It would compensate them for their present conversion of these gentlemen. Indeed, when I heard political disabilities with an amount of political power the honorable gentleman of North Carolina speak of

To prevent misapprehension of my views, I add, that officers of the territory. As far as practicable, I would

slavery in these territories, and provides safeguards for around him, save, of course, my own apprehensive, beit. In other words, Congress does, by the terms of the cause kindred and sympathizing, spirit, to that fraterbill, open the door for slavery to enter these territories. The right of Congress to do so I deny. I deny it, however, not because the compromise of 1820 denies it. Believing that compromise to be invalid, I cannot honestly claim any thing under it. I disclaim all rights under it, for the simple reason, that a compromise conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity can impart no rights-for the simple reason, that a compromise which annihilates rights cannot create rights. I admit that the compromise of 1820 concedes the indestructibleness of manhood north of the line of 36 30, excepting in Missouri. But, on the other hand, it atones for this concession to truth and justice by impliedly leav- claims, as we see in the present bill, equal right with ing men south of that line, and in Missouri, to be classed with brutes and things. I admit, too, that they who are enjoying the share of slavery under this compronise, and who, now that freedom was about to enter nto the enjoyment of her share under it-I admit, I say, that they are estopped from joining me in procouncing the Missouri compromise invalid. They must first surrender their share under the compromisethey must first make restitution to Freedom-ere they existence whatever, on any terms whatever, any where can, with clean hands and unblushing faces, ask her whatever. This is a proper stage of my argument for to forego the enjoyment of her share. 'But this conlition is impracticable ! ' will some of my hearers say ? O, no! nothing is impracticable, that is right. Exclude slavery from Missouri and Arkansas for thirtyfour years, and then freedom and slavery will be on an equal footing, and they can make a new bargain.

Nor do I deny the right of Congress to open the door or slavery into these territories, because the compronise of 1850 virtually denies it. I say that compronise virtually denies it, because it distinctly and apr provingly recognises the compromise of 1820. The comise of 1850 is as rotten as the compromise of 1820, and as incapable of imparting rights. And here et me say, that I rejoice to see the pro-slavery party ouring express contempt on the compromise of 1820, nd virtual contempt on the compromise of 1850. And why should not all men pour contempt upon these comromises, and upon all other compromises, which aim 'split the difference' between God and the devil? [Great laughter.] By the way, we have striking proof, n the instance of this bill, that, in the case of such ompromises, God's share and all are, in the end, very ikely to be claimed for the devil. [Renewed laughter.] I have said on what grounds it is not that I deny the ight of Congress to open the door for slavery into se territories. I will now say on what ground it is. deny it on the ground that the Constitution, the only aw of the territories, is not in favor of slavery, and that slavery cannot be set up under it. If there can be lawful slavery in the States, nevertheless, there cannot e in the territories.

In the fifth and last place, I am opposed to the bill, ecause it allows that there may be slavery in the States shich shall be formed from these territories.

Hitherto, when the slavery question has been brought up in Congress, it has been alleged, (I say not how truy or untruly,) that the anti-slavery party has brough up, and for the purpose of checking slavery. But, new, it is confessedly, on all hands, brought up by the pro-slavery party, and for the purpose of extending slavery. In this instance, the pro-slavery party is, manifestly, the instrument which Truth has wielded to subserve her purpose of reawakening the public mind is now intent on getting this decision reversed.

because the Mexican Government had abolished slave-, to the demands and enormities of slavery. Most sin- because the Mexican Government and whilst stigmatizing there is no Government on the face of the earth so quick ry. Whether there can be legal slavery in those terri- cerely do I rejoice that the pro-slavery party is respon

A MEMBER. I do not admit that it is.

Mr. Smirit. Strange! Here is a movement for the immense extension of slavery. Of course, it is not the work of the anti-slavery party. And if the honorable member who has just interrupted me is authorised to speak for the pro-slavery party, it is not the work of that party either. I took it for granted that the proslavery party did it. But, it seems it did not. It puts on the innocent air of a Macbeth, and looks me in the face, and exclaims: 'Thou canst not say I did it!' [Laughter.] Well, if neither the anti-slavery party, nor the pro-slavery party, did it, who was it, then, that did it? It follows, necessarily, that it must be the work of the Lord, or the devil. [Laughter.] But it cannot be the work of the Lord-for the good book tells us : 'Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty' -liberty, not slavery. So, this Nebraska business must be the work of the devil. [Great laughter.] But, logical as is this conclusion, I am, nevertheless, too polite to press it. I prefer to repudiate the alternative that puts the responsibility on the Lord or the devil, and party, and not the anti-slavery party, is responsible for the present agitation. Do not understand that I would not have the anti-slavery party agitate. I would have it agitate, and agitate, and agitate for ever. I believe that the agitation of the elements of the moral world is is essential to moral health, as is the agitation of the elements of the physical world to physical health. I believe in the beautiful motto, ' The agitation of thought is the beginning of truth.' I was very happy to hear the honorable gentleman of Pennsylvania [Mr. WRIGHT] express his faith and pleasure in agitation. Not less appy was I to hear the honorable gentleman of North Carolina [Mr. CLINOMAN] approve of the discussion of slavery. Such good abolition doctrine from such surprising sources was very grateful to me. Perhaps these gentlemen will continue to move forward in that blessed upward way, on which they have happily enered; and, perhaps, ere the session shall close, they will have reached that table-land of abolition, on which it is my privilege to stand. Let me assure them, for arrive there, they shall not lack my warm greetings, and the cordial grasp of my hand. [Great laughter.] greatly exceeding that enjoyed by an equal handful of himself as 'an independent'—as a party of one—as in that lone condition in which he had so recently heard me say that I find myself-was I not at liberty to imagine I am not opposed to making inhabitants of the territory that he was throwing out a sly, delicate hint to my ear, have none others for its officers. But, whilst the terrimake up a party of two? [Repeated roars of laughthat he would like to 'join teams' with me, and so tory is the nation's, all its officers should be acknowledged to be officers and servants of the nation.

I proceed to say, that I am opposed to this bill, in litionists. But how could I be sure that he did not say these hard things for no other purpose than to blind all nal union with me, which I have supposed his heart was then meditating?

I said, a little while ago, that I rejoice that the proslavery party is responsible for the present agitation I add, that I am half reconciled to this attempt to extend the dominion of slavery, because it affords us so inviting an opportunity to inquire into the title of slavery. If my neighbor tries to rob me of my farm, he, at least, affords me an occasion for inquiring into the tenure by which he holds his own farm. Freedom having been driven by slavery, until she has surrendered to her pursuer nine new States, and until slavery herself to overspread all the unorganized territory of the nation, it is, in my judgment, high time for her to stop, and to turn about, and to look slavery in the face, and to push back the war,-ay, and to drive the aggressor to the wall, provided she shall find that slavery, in all its progress and history, is nothing but an aggression upon liberty and law, and upon human and divine rights; and that, in truth, it has no title to any saying, that we all know enough of freedom and slavery to know, that they cannot live together permanently. One must conquer the other. American slavery lacks but two things to make sure of her victory over American liberty : and, from present indications, she is determined to lack them no longer. One of these two things is its conceded right to overspread all our unor ganized territory; and the other is its conceded right to carry slaves through the free States. Let slavery succeed in these two respects :- let the bill we are now onsidering become a statute ; and let the final decision in the Lemmon case\* sustain the claim to carry slaves through the free States-ay, and even to drive coffles of slaves through them, whip-in-hand; thus breaking down the public sentiment of those States against slavery, and debauching and wasting it, by familiarizing it with the demands and exhibitions of slavery ;-and then, I admit, the way will be clear for slavery to make a quick and easy conquest of liberty.

I, again, acknowledge my partial reconcile this attempt of slavery to get more—this bold push for all that is left, so far as unorganized territory is concerned. We have now the best of opportunities for trying the title of slavery, not only to more-but, also, to what it already had. And, now, if slavery shall come off as badly as the dog, who, in opening his mouth to seize another piece of meat, lost, in the decetful and shadow-casting stream, the piece he already had, it will have no one to blame for its folly but its own voraious self. It should have been content with the big hare—the lion's share—which it already had.

But to return from this digression. I said, that I m opposed to the bill, because it allows that there may be slavery in the States which shall be formed from hese territories. Why, however, should I be, therefore, opposed to it? I will, without delay, come to the eason of my opposition. My time, being so precious,

circumlocutions, or skirmishes. But I will, at once, and persecuting the handful of men who have the inthe right of Congress to look to the existence of slavery that handful fly as swift to the rescue of their brother, is the States that shall be formed within these territo- who is in peril of being reduced to slavery, as to the ries, because I deny that there can be constitutional sla- rescue of their brother who cries-' Murder'? Ten very in any of the States of the American Union-fu- thousand enactments for murder would not hinder them ture States, or present States-new or old. I hold in the latter case. Ten thousand enactments for slavery that the Constitution not only authorises no slavery, should not hinder them, in the former. In each case ut permits no slavery ; not only creates no slavery in any part of the land, but abolishes slavery in every oo law for American slavery.

But I must, before entering upon it, beseech the Comf you prefer that epithet-fall on myself only. Blame with me. I feel her inspirations. She glows in my work of Government. oul: and I stand in her strength.

mit this portion of it.]-Ed. Lib.

I must say a few words to protect what I have said all wrong legislation. I am very far from giving such ounsel. Ne wrong legislation, that is at all endurable. would I resist. And I add, that I would be patient with almost every degree of wrong legislation, provided it is competent to legislate upon. Imprisonment for debt is wrong legislation—very wrong and very cruel legislation. But, inasmuch as the relation of debtor and creditor comes within the cognizance of the legisature, I will not treat such legislation as void. The egislature has a right end in view. It is to help the editor get justice. Its error consists in selecting wrong means to this end, and in putting a wrong emedy into the hands of the creditor. I am to treat this action of the legislature as a mistake-and a misake which I am not to go beyond the limits of persuaion to seek to correct. The paying of one's debt is stice-is law. Enactments to enforce this justice and this law may, some of them, be improper-such as ompelling payment by the terrors of imprisonment. no law. So, too, if my Government declare war against nation, I am not to treat the Government, nor the eclaration, however unjust it may be, with contempt. must remember, that Government has jurisdiction of national controversies, and that the redress of national wrongs is instice—is law. Government may err in its nodes of redress. It may resort to the sword, when it hould confine itself to the exertion of moral influence. The cause, nevertheless, which it is prosecuting, may e one of unmingled justice. Like every good cause, it may itself be law, and, therefore, Government would ot be chargeable with impertinence and usurpation for aking it in hand. But, how different from all this is when Government sets up slavery! In that case, he subject matter of its action is, most emphatically, not law. In that case, most emphatically, it has gone beyond its province. To Government belongs the adstment of the relations between creditor and debtor and it is for government to dispose of national contro But when Government undertakes the crime nd absurdity of turning men into things-of chattelizig, instead of protecting, a portion of its subjectsis, then, as far out of its place as it can be. To ch an outrage, no submission is due. It is to be resisted, at every hazard. To trample upon such lawlessess is to be law-abiding, instead of law-breaking. To ebel against such a Government is not to be revoluonary and mobocratic. The Government itself is the evolutionary and mobocratic party. If the decree hould go forth from our Government, that our Irish pulation be murdered, the decree would, of course, e trodden under foot. But who denies that it should be s promptly and indignantly trodden under foot, were

a decree for their enslavement? My argument to show THAT THERE NOT ONLY IS NO W FOR AMERICAN SLAVERY, BUT THAT THERE CAN BE O LAW, EITHER FOR AMERICAN, OR ANY OTHER SLA-ERY, IS ENDED. It is in place, however, to say, that he recognition, by the American people, of slavery as aw, is, of itself, sufficient to account for their loss of erence for law. This reverence is, necessarily, detroyed by the habit of confounding sham law with true law-by the habit of accepting, as law, the mere forms of law, where justice, truth, reason, and every element which goes to make up the soul of law, is lacking This reverence must soon die out of the heart of the peo ple, who treat, as law, that which they know is not law; who, in the holy and commanding name of law, buy and sell, or sanction the buying and selling, of their fellow-men ; and who, in all their life, live out the debasing lie, that so monstrous and diabolical a thing as slavery is entitled to the shelter and honor of law. This reverence is little felt by those who yield to the absurdity, that law and nature are opposite to each other, and that whilst, by nature, a man is an immor tal, by law, he may be but a thing. It is little felt by nose who regard law as a mere conventionalism, which may be one thing in one place, and another in another; one thing at one period, and another at another. They, and they only, have adequate and adoring conceptions of law, who believe that it is one with nature, and that it is the same in every part of the earth, in every period of time, and 'eternal in the heavens.' They, and they only, have such conceptions, who, instead of regarding law as synonymous with all the enactments of lish and wicked men, identify it with unchangeable nd everlasting right.

the rescue would be not by a mob, but from a mob.

It has now been shown that the American Governpart of the land. In other words, I hold that there is ment has authority, both inside and outside of the Constitution-as well in natural and universal law, as I had not intended a moment's further delay in en- in conventional and national law-to sweep away the ering upon my argument to prove, that the Constitu- whole of American slavery. Will it avail itself of this ion calls for the suppression of all American slavery, authority to do this work? I ask not whether Government will show pity to the slave-for I look not to Govnittee to hold no other member of Congress responsible ernment to be pitiful to the slave, or to any other man. for it. Let the reproach of this argument -of this foolish I look to Government for sterner qualities than pity. argument, if you please-nay, of this insane argument, My idea of a true Government is realized only in proportion as the Government is characterized by wisdom, o other member of Congress for it. I stand alone. I integrity, strength. To hold even the scales of justice m the first, and perhaps I shall be the last, to declare among all its subjects, and between them and all other within these walls, that there is no law for slavery. I men, and to strike down the hand that would make say that I stind alone ; and yet, I am not alone. Truth them uneven-this, and this only, is the appropriate

I asked whether the American Government will abol-[Mr. Smith proceeds to argue, at considerable length | ish slavery. I confess that my hope that it will is not d with unusual ability, that slavery in this country strong. The slave-owners have the control of this nais an illegal institution; that it finds no support or tion, and I fear that they will keep it. It is true, that countenance is the U. S. Constitution-commending to they are a comparative handful in the vast American embers of Congress the arguments of William Goodell population; and that, numbering only three hundred nd Lysander Spooner on this subject ; but as the read- thousand, their calling themselves 'the South' is an ers of THE LIERATOR are familiar with Mr. S's treat- affectation as absurd and ridiculous as it would be for ent of this view of the case, and as we are obliged to the manufacturers of the North to call themselves 'the urtail his speech on account of its great length, we North,' or the rumsellers of the North to call themselve 'the North.' It is true, that their interests are alien as well from the interests of the South as from com the misapprehension that I counsel trampling on the interests of the North, and that slavery is the deadly foe, as well of the white population of the South as of its black population. Nevertheless, in the present corrupt state of the public sentiment, the slave-owners are able to control the nation. They are mighty by it is legislation in behalf of what is lawful, and of what their oneness. Divided they may be in every thing else-but they are undivided in their support of sla-

very. The State and the Church are both in their hands. A bastard democracy, accommodated to the demands of slavery, and tolerating the traffic in human flesh, is our national democracy; and a bastard Christianity, which endorses this bastard democracy, is the current Christianity of our nation. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man-ideas so prominent in a true democracy and a true Christianity-are quite foreign to our sham democracy and our sham Christianity. American religion is a huge hypocrisy. Whilst to the immeasurable sinfulness of that system which forbids marriage and the reading of the Bible, and which markets men as beasts, it is blind as a bat, it, nevertheless, draws down its stupid face, and pronounces the But, as they are enactments to enforce justice, and what shuffling of the feet to music to be a great sin. The to come to America to learn this lesson? And, if he ilization and the knowledge of human rights, are, one after another, putting away slavery. Even the Bey of Tunis puts away this most foul and guilty thing; and says that he does so, ' for the glory of mankind, and to distinguish them from the brute creation.' But America, poor slavery-ridden and slavery-cursed America, retrogrades. Whilst other nations grow in regard for human rights, she grows in contempt for them. Whilst other nations rise in the sunlight of civilization, she sinks in the night of barbarism. Her Congress sets up slavery in her very Capital. Her Congress regulates and rotects the constwise trade in slaves. Her Congress wages unprovoked and plundering wars for the extension of slavery. Her Congress decrees that slaveholders shall have the range of all America in which to reduce men, women and children to slavery. And her President, who calls slavery an 'admitted right,' was shameless enough to say, in his Inaugural, that the Fugitive Slave Act, which his predecessor was shameless enough to sign, should be ' cheerfully enforced.' In short, the Federal Government is now, and long has been, at work, more to uphold slavery than to do any thing else, or even all things else. The great slave-catcher! the great watch-dog of slavery!-these are its most fitting names, in its present employment and degradation. And, yet, notwithstanding all this devotion of the Federal Government to slavery, and the iron determination of the slave-owners that the power of the whole nation shall be exerted to uphold it; there, nevertheless, can be no remonstrance from the North against slavery, which is not immediately followed by the truthless and impudent reply, that the North has nothing to do with slavery! That the American people and American government have fallen to what they are, is not to be wondered at. It is but the natural and necessary result of their having fostered and fed, for more than half a century, the monster slavery. Time was, when we might have crushed this monster. But now, it has crushed us. It has corrupted us to such an extent, that there is scarcely a sound spot left in us, at which to begin to rally opposition to it. On no cheaper condition than this can slavery be clung to. If we will be slaveholders-and such are the Northern as well as the Southern people-for, if the slave-owners are at the South. the people of the North are, nevertheless, more emphatically, because more efficiently, the slaveholders, than are the people of the South-if, I say, we will be slaveholders, we must take the evil consequences upon our own understandings and hearts, and not be surprised at them. Men cannot bind the degrading chain of sla very around their brothers, without at the same time binding and degrading themselves with it. How melancholy upon our country, and, through her,

apon the world, has been the influence of American slavery! In the beginning of our national existence, we were the moral and political light-house of the world. The nations ' which sat in darkness saw the great light,' and rejoiced. Sad to say, we were the first to dim that light! The principles which we then enunciated electri-fied the nations. Sad to say, we were ourselves the first American slavery, has gathered darkness upon that light. Nothing, so much as American slavery, has brought disgrace upon those principles. All other causes com-bined have not stood so effectually in the way of the progress of republicanism, as the glaring inconsistent our deeds with our professions. In the house of friends, Liberty has received her deepest stabs. All our asts and falseboods to the contrary notwithslanding, shall not wage direct, deep, and fatal war upon him,

as our own to dread and to oppose popular movements in behalf of liberty and republicanism. On our Government, more than all other causes put together, rests the responsibility of the stopping of the Revolution in the Spanish American States. We were wont to say, that the people of those States were incompetent to perfeet that Revolution. This is a place of our hypocrisy. The instructions of our Government, and the disc in our National Legislature, in regard to the Congress of Panama; our threat of war against Colombia and Mexico, if those States persevered in carrying forward the Revolution; and, above all, our base supplication to Russia and Spain to join us in stopping the wheels of that Revolution; prove conclusively, that though our lying lips were for liberty, our bearts, all the time, were concerned for the protection of slavery. And, in the case of Hayti-how deadly, from first to last, has been the enmity of our Government to the cause of liberty and republicanism! To learn the extent of that enmity, we must not confine our eyes to the haughty nd persevering refusal of our Government to recognize the Independence of Hayti. We must look at other things also, and especially at the servile compliance of our Government with the impudent and arrogant denand of Napoleon to carry out his plan of starving the Haytiens into submission.

Our Government made a display of sympathy with the European Revolutions of 1848. But who is so stupid as to accord sincerity to that display, when he recollects that the very first fruit of the very first of these Revolutions was the unqualified abolition of all French slavery-and a part of that slavery in the neighborhood of our own? So eager was our Government to appear to be on the side of Hungary, that it sent out a ship for Kossuth. But, long ere he had reached our shores, and, especially, whilst he was making his speeches in England in behalf of the equal rights of all men, our government found out that it had got more than it contracted for. Kossuth's principles were too radical. Their scope was quite too sweeping. They no more spared slavery than any other form of oppression. Yet, Government could not stop Kossuth on his way. Having started for America, he must be suffered o come to America. But how great his disappointment, on his arrival! 'He came unto his own, and his own received him not.' The poor man was willing to compromise matters. A thousand pities that he was. He was willing to ignore slavery, and to go through the whole length and breadth of the land, seeing, in every man he met, nothing else than a glorious freeman. las, what a mistake! The policy of the government to 'give him the cold shoulder' was fixed ; and no conssions or humiliations on his part could suffice to repeal it. Kossuth left America, and he left it, no less bundantly than painfully convinced, that America is one thing in the Declaration of Independence, and another in what has succeeded it; one thing in her professions, and another in her practice. Will Mazzini need Thank God! Mazzini has already identified himself with the American abolitionists. May he find himself rewarded by their cordial identification of themselves with the oppressed of Europe!

I confessed that my hope is not strong that the American Government will abolish American slavery. Far otherwise would it be, however, did none but slaveowners justify slavery. They would soon be convertd, were it not that the mass of the American people all in with them, and flatter them, and cry peace, when there is no peace. This is our great discouragement in the care. The advocates of total abstinence are not disouraged; they would be, however, if they found the hass of the sober justifying drunkards, and telling hem that drunkenness is right.

I said, at an early stage of my remarks, that the resent attempt of slavery to clutch all the unorganized erritory of the nation affords a favorable opportunity freedom to push back the war into the realm of slarery. I, however, did not add, that the opportuniwould be improved. Nor do I add it now-for I am ar from certain that it will be. For many years, I ave had scarcely any better hope for American slavery than that it would come to a violent and miserable end. Their habit of courting and worshipping the Slave Powr, and of acquiescing in its demands, has corrupted and aralyzed the American people to such a degree as to eave little room to hope that they will bring slavery to peaceful and happy termination. I confess some lite hope of such termination has been kindled in me by this new, surprising, and enormous demand of the Slave Power. I confess, that I have thought it possible that this demand might arouse a spirit which could be ppeased by nothing short of the overthrow of the sole system of slavery. Should, however, such a spirit be aroused, I fear it will not pervade the masses, but will be confined to a few. It is true that meetings are held all over the free States to protest against the assage of this Bill, and that the press of those States is almost universally against it. But neither in the nectings nor in the press do I see repentance. They abound in indignation toward perfidy-but they reveal o sorrow of the North for the crimes of the North against liberty. On the contrary, the meetings and the press do well nigh universally justify the Compromise of 1820, and, in the great majority of instances, Compromise of 1850, 'Fugitive Slave Act' and all. even in sermons preached against the Nebraska Bill, I have seen the Fugitive Slave Act justified. Now, the idea that they who can approve of either of these Compromises, and especially that they who can, possibly, equiesce in the chasing down men, women and children, for the purpose of casting them into the pit of lavery-the idea, I say, that such persons will persoeringly and effectively resist slavery, and do faithful battle for its overthrow, is, to my mind, simply absurd. They, and they only, are to be relied on for such serice, who so loathe slavery, that they would rather perish than do any of its biddings, come those bidd from Congress, or from any other sources.

Am I bid to strengthen my hope by looking at he rapidly multiplying abolitionists? I do look at the rapidly multiplying applications: I do look as them; and this cheering sight is all that, under God, keeps my hope alive. But I fear that they are too late. I fear that the disease is past cure. And I fear, too, that, even if we are yet in time to kill the Der Slavery, our false and pro-slavery education makes us so hesitating and timid in his tersific presence, that we

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but shall waste our energies, and our only and swiftly passing away opportunity, in ineffectual skirmishes and diegraceful designs. A few abolitionists are consistent; and, were they not so few, they would be formidable; they know no law for any fraud; and, therefore, they will not know it for the most stupendous fraud. They know no law for any oppression; and, therefore, they will not know it for the most sweeping oppression. Such abolitionists are Garrison and Phillips Goodell and Douglass. But most abolitionists impliedly, if not directly, tacitly if not openly, acknowledge that slavery can have, and actually has, rights; and they are as respectful to these supposed rights as if the subject of them were one of the greatest earthly blessings, instead of one of the greatest earthly curses.

It is true, that there is a political party in our country organized against slavery, and that it numbers some two hundred thousand voters, among whom are some of the noblest men in the land; and yet, I look well nigh with as much sorrow as hope to that party; for, so long as it recognizes slavery as law, I fear that, notwithstanding its high and holy purposes, it will do scarcely less to sanction and uphold slavery than to reproach and east it down. Again, so long as this party is swaved by such words of folly and delusion as 'SLA-VERY SECTIONAL: FREEDOM NATIONAL,' its admissions in favor of slavery cannot fail to go far to outweigh all its endeavors against slavery.

A law for slavery ! What confessed madness would it be to claim a law for technical piracy, or a law for murder? But what piracy is there so sweeping and desolating as slavery? And, as to murder, who would not rather have his dearest friend in the grave-ay, in the grave of the murdered-than under the yoke of slavery?

'SLAVERY SECTIONAL: FREEDOM NATIONAL!' And, therefore, according to the friends of this motto, the nation, as such, must not concern itself with the great mass of slavery, because that great mass, instead o being spread over the whole nation, exists only in sections of it. Not less foolish would it be to neglect the small-pox, because it is only in sections of the city that it prevails. Indeed, it would not be less mad to leave the fire unextinguished, because, as yet, it rages but in sections of the city. Slavery, if not extinguished, is as certain to spread, as is the fire, if not extinguished. The past attests this; and the present exhibits very glaring proof of it. If we would save the city, we must put out the fire. If we would save the nation, we must put out slavery-ay, put it out in all the nation. I said that slavery is now spreading. It may not go literally into Nebraska and Kansas, either now or ever. Nevertheless, slavery will be spreading itself over our country, at least, in its influence and power, so long as the nation forbears to aproot it.

SLAVERY SECTIONAL: FREEDOM NATIONAL! poor flag would ' Murder sectional : Anti-Murder national!' be to go forth with against murder. But not less poor is the other to go forth with against slavery. Very little inspiration could be caught from either. Nay, would not their limited toleration of the crimes neutralize their influence against the extension of the crimes? How unlike to these poor words would be, "No MURDER-ANY WHERE!" "No SLAVERY ANY WHERE!" Under such earnest and honest words, men could do battle with all their hearts. But, under the other, they are laughed at by the enemy; and should be laughed at by themselves.

There is a political party at the North, called the Liberty Party. It aims to go for every political truth, and to realize the idea of an every way righteous civil Government. It is a little party. Its handful of members are scarcely more numerous than were the primitive disciples, who were gathered in the upper room at Jerusalem. That little party will not disown what I have said on this occasion. Every-other party will. That little party has, already, lived some fifteen years. It will continue to live. Perhaps it will not grow. Perhaps it will. The 'little cloud, like a man's hand, may yet spread itself over the whole heavens. Of this much, at least, do I feel certain, that no party of essentially lower or other principles than those of the Liberty Party, will suffice to bring down American slavery. Happy country this-happy North-happy South-if the present aggressive movement of the Slave Power shall result in bringing triumphant accessions to the Liberty Party !

My fear that the American Governments, State or National, will not abolish slavery, is, in no degree, abated by the fact, that several European Governments have, in the present generation, abolished it. It must be remembered, that those Governments were exterior to, and independent of, the Slave Power ; and that they were not trammelled by slaveholding constituencies. It is true, that slavery in Mexico was abolished by the Government in Mexico; and that slavery in the South American States was abolished by the Governments in those States. But it is also true, that all this was done to promote the success of their Revolution, and their deliverance from the Government of Spain. I doubt not that even we, closely as we cling to slavery, would, nevertheless, abolish it, if urged to do so by the exigencies of war.

To hope that, because the English Government abolished slavery, our Governments will also, is unwise, in another point of view. Comparatively disentangled with slavery as was England, slavery, nevertheless, exerted well-nigh enough power over her Government to prevent its successful action against slavery. The party in the interest of slavery was barely defeated. Let me not be misunderstood. Let me not be suppos

ed to fear that American slavery will not come to an end. My fear is, that it will not be brought to an end by Government. I have no fear that it will not be abolished. It will be abolished -and at no distant day. If the Governments fail to abolish it, it will abolish it self. The colored people of this nation, bond and free, number four millions, and are mutiplying rapidly They are all victims of slavery ; for if the free are not in the umbra, they are, nevertheless, in the penumbra of slavery. Hence, then, as well as by identity of race they are bound together by the strongest sympathy Moreover, if not carried along as rapidly as others, nev ertheless, they are carried along in the general progres sive knowledge of human rights. Such being the case it is not to be supposed that they can be held in their present condition for ages longer. They will deliver themselves, if they are not delivered. He must be blind to history, to philosophy, to the nature of man, who can suppose that such a system as American slavery can have a long life, even in circumstances most favorable to its continuance. In the most benighted portions of the earth, the victims of such a system would, in process of time, come to such a sense of their wrongs, and their power also, as to rise up and throw off the system. But that, here, such a system must be hurried to its end, is certain. For, here, it is entirely out of harmony with all the institutions around it, and with all the professions of those who uphold it. Here it is continually pressed upon by ten thousand influence adverse to its existence. Nothing, so much as American slavery, stands in the way of the progress of th age. A little time longer, and it must yield to this progress, and be numbered with the things that were The only question is, whether it shall die a peaceful o a violent death ; whether it shall quietly recede before advancing truth, or resist unto blood

God forbid that American slavery should come to violent end. I hold, with O'Connell, that no revolutio is worth the shedding of blood. A violent end t American slavery would constitute one of the bloodles chapters in all the book of time. It would be such reckining for deep and damning wrongs-such an outbursting of smothered and pent-up revenge-as living man has never seen. Can this catastrophe be averted Perhaps it cannot. Perhaps God will not let off thi superlatively wicked nation on any easier terms than servile war a war, we must remember, that will be very likely to bring within its wide sweep, the whole black population of this continent and the neighboring islands-a population already numbering some ten twelve millions. Perhaps, since we would be a nation

There will be no such catastrophe, however, if the North and the South, equal sinners in the matter of slavery, shall hasten to mingle the tears of their penitence; to say from the heart, 'We are verily guilty concerning our brother;' and to join their hands in putting away their joint and unsurpassed sin.

I shall be blamed for having freated my subject in

monical views of it would have been more suitable that prompted to the Declaration of Independe try, from the abolition of slavery. I confess that, had tion, as the objects of the Constitution. I prize it, for range of my thoughts, and the course of my argument. this power shall be exerted to this end. But I have been speaking of men-of millions of im-mortals: and I have been claiming that Government to such a Union. Such a Union is not assaited, and should lift them up out of their chattelhood and their cannot be endangered, by opposition, however streng association with brutes ; and I could not disparage the ous, to slavery, or to any other form of oppression, or dignity, and so sully the glory, of their manhood, as to to any other system of iniquity. To attack what is the name of money. When I see my fellow-man reduced is evil is to befriend it. to a slave, I demand his deliverance, simply because he is a man. I cannot so wrong his exalted nature and my attack slavery is to attack the Union. How are we to as to argue that money can be made by such deliver- is easily accounted for. The position is not absurd ance, I would as soon think of making a calculation There are two Unions. There is the Union of early of pecuniary gains my argument in dissuading from times-that which our fathers formed, and the most au-

ing the slave to turn upon the question of pecuniary ation of Independence and the Federal Constitution gains and economical advantages, I utter no peculiar This is the Union openly based on the doctrine of the doctrine. Who would suffer it thus to turn, in any equal rights of all men. This is the Union, the avoxcase, where he regards such victims as men? But, ed purpose of which is 'to establish justice and secure with me, all men are men. Are the skin and the mind the blessings of liberty.' Then, there is the other of my fellow-man dark? 'A man's a man, for a' Union-the Union of later times-of our times-manuthat.' I still recognise him as a man. He is my factured, on the one hand, by Southern slaveholders, who have light hair, to slavery. Would Congress let the present week expire without seeking their release? slavery, on the one hand, and political and commercial No! Would Congress stoop to ply that Government gains on the other. The bad character of this new with arguments drawn from political economy, and to Union is not more apparent in its aims than in its coax it with prospects of gain? No ! no !- a thousand fruits, which prove these aims. Among these fruits are times no ! Alt would demand their release, and it would Union Safety Committee Resolutions ; Baltimore platdemand it, too, not in virtue of feeble arguments and forms ; pro-slavery pledges of members of Congress humble authority, but, Ethan Allen-like, in the name Resolutions of servile Legislatures ; contemptible Inauof God Almighty and the Congress.

for getting rid of slavery. I confess that I have no rather, below all, Union-saving and slave-outching ser other plan for getting rid of it but its abolition-its mons of devil-deluded and devil-driven Dectors of Diunconditional, entire, and immediate abolition. The vinity. To this list is now to be added the stupendous slave is robbed of his manhood, of himself, and, conse-breach of faith proposed in the Bill betre us. This quently, of all his rights. There is no justice then- Bill, which lays open all our unorganized territory to there is no God then-if the restoration of his rights slavery, is a legitimate fruit of the new Union. The and his restoration to himself can be innocently conditioned on any thing, or innocently postponed.

compensation. I do not repudiate - I never have ye shall know them. repudiated - the doctrine of compensation. Compensation for his services and his sufferings would be due from the slaveholder to the slave; but, clearly, no compensation for his restored liberty would nature of its subject. O no, it is not a misinterpreta be due from the slave to the slaveholder. I admit, tion; but it is distinctly and entirely another Union however, that a great debt would be due, from the with which its manufacturers are endeavoring to sup American people, both to the slaveholder and the slave. plant the Union given to us by our fathers :- and this The American people are responsible for American slavery. It is the American people who, in the face of darkness is unlike light, as falsehood is utlike truth. the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, have made themselves the responsible enslavers of millions. Departed generations of slaves have gone to the Union, it is, indeed, pretended by those, who make bar of heaven with this accusation upon their lips; and the charge, and for the sake of effect, that we are hesnothing short of the repentance of the American people tile to the original and true Union. Our hostility, nev can prevent its being carried there by the present gen- ertheiess, is but to the conjured up and spurious Union eration of slaves. There is, then, a great debt due Our only offence is, that we withstand the base ap they owe one to the slaveholders also. Men become cause for the abundant reproach which has befallen us their investments in human flesh, on the faith of the by that good old Union, which is a Union for justice interpret their Constitution and religion. Again, non-slaveholders, as well as slaveholders, feed and clothe up Union is identical with that good old Union. Yes, themselves upon the cheap (cheap, because extorted and wicked, artful, impudent indeed must they be, who can unpaid for) products of slave labor. They enrich their claim that this dirty work of their own dirty hands is unite in making slavery the cherished and overshad- of our fathers. owing interest of the nation. Now, for the American the slaveholders, would be well-nigh unparalleled inthem in their wickedness-for of that both they and I people, after they shall have abolished American slaveand, far more, would I that they should provide libepacred needs of the emancipated, 'Then,' my now forth as the movning, and thy health spring forth peedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee: the glory of the Lord shall be thy rereward.'

shole duty to which we are called. We will not have done our whole duty, when we shall have abolished all ernments also, has been fostered and established by the whole American people and the American Government: and I add, by the way, that, had it not been so fostered and established, there would, at this day, have been no her heart. She may, it is true, (Heaven spare he slavery in the land.

If John Smith has built a distillery; and if he has, also, encouraged his neighbors to build half a dozen more; and, especially, if he has patronised and profit-ed by the half dezen distilleries; then, his work of repentance is not all done when he has broken up his distillery :- and, none the more is it all done, because it was contrary to law that he had a part in getting up and sustaining the half dozen distilleries. The de-Smithing of all this distillation, and of all the drunkenness, that has resulted from it, obviously fails to cover the whole ground of his duty, unless, indeed, as is proper, the de-Smithing is interpreted to mean the breaking up of all these distilleries and their resulting drunkenness. So, too, the denationalizing of slavery, unless it be thus broadly and justly interpreted, falls short of the measure of the duty of the nation. The nation, whether constitutionally or unconstitutionally, has built up slavery ; and, therefore, the nation should

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in age, philanthropy and piety of which it was begotten.

I prize it, because I prize the signal sufferings and sacrifices which it cost our fathers. I prize it, because the light of so severe a morality. It will be said, that I prize its objects-those great and glorious objects and statesmanlike; and that I should have dwelt upon that were cherished through a seven years' war; and the gains to the slaveholder, and the gains to the coun- that were then recited in the Preamble of the Constituhorses and oven been the subject of my speech, the the great power it has to honor God and bless man. I field of economy would have been wide enough for the prize it, because I believe the day will come when

claim the performance of this high and holy duty, in good is to be hostile to such a Union. To attack what

Nevertheless, the opposition is persisted in, that to own, and the Great One who made us in his own image, account for this persistence in this absurd position ? It thentic record of the formation of which, and of the In saying that I would not suffer the duty of deliver- spirit and objects of which is to be found in the Declarbrother, and I still have a brother's heart for him. and, on the other, by Northern merchants and North-Suppose the Government of Pennsylania had, the last ern politicians. The professed aims of this new Union week, reduced all the white people of Pennsylvania, are, of course, patriotic and beautiful. Its real, and gurals, in which, now a Governor, and now a Presi-I shall be blamed for not having brought out a plan dent, go all lengths for slavery; and, above all, or consecration of all the national territory to freedom, sixty-five years ago, was the legitimate ruit of the old I shall be especially blamed for not having proposed Union. Which is the better Union? By their fruits

> Now, the matter is not explained by saying that this new Union is but a misinterpretation of the old. Misinterpretation cannot go so far as to change the whole supplanting Union is as unlike the precious gift, as

When, then, we, who are laboring for the overthro as well as of religion and reason, God and humanity, of slavery, and for the practical acknowledgment of the equal rights of all men, are charged with hostility to from the American people to the American slaves. But peals and seductive influences of the day., The only slaveholders, and continue slaveholders, and extend is, that, in our honesty and patriolism, we still stand professions, legislation and policy of the American peo- and liberty; and that we bravely oppose ourselves to ple, and, I may add, on the faith of the Constitution those artful and wicked men, who would substitute for and religion of the American people, as that people it a Union for slavery, and place and gain; and who serce with these products; and, in a word, they that veritable work of our fathers, which is the glory

I have done. Methinks, were I a wise and good man people, in these circumstances, to abolish slavery, and and could have the whole American people for my aurefuse to ray damages to the slaveholders, would be a dience, I should like to speak to them, in the fifting surprise upon the slaveholders full of bad faith. For phrase which such a man commands, the words of truth the American people to share with the slaveholders in and soberness, remonstrance and righteousness. And the policy and profits of slaveholding, and then termi- yet, why should I ?-for, in all probability, such words nate it, and devolve the whole loss of its termination on would be of little present avail. The American people are, as yet, in no state ' to hear with their ears and un justice and meanness. If I have encouraged and drawn derstand with their heart '-for 'their heart is waxed men into wickedness, I am, it is true, not to stand by gross, and their ears are duil of hearing.' Yet awhile, and he who should speak to them such words, would, are to repent ; but I am to stand by them in their loss, like Lot, seem as one that mocked.' This is a nation of and share it with them. The English people gave to oppressors—from the North to the South—from the the masters of eight hundred thousand slaves a hundred millions of dollars. I would that the American successful oppressors; and, hence, there is but little room to hope that she will listen and repent. This nary, might give to the masters of four times that number tion holds, in the iron and crushing grasp of slavery, be of slaves, four times the hundred millions of dollars ; tween three and four millions, whose poor hearts writh and agonize no less than would ours, were their fate rally for the humbler and cheaper, but infinitely more our fate. And yet, she is not content even with these wide desolations of human rights and human happines darkened and guilty country! ' shall thy light break On the contrary, she is continually seeking to extend the horrid realm of slavery. It is not enough that she purchased Louisiana, and gave up by far the most valuable part of it to slavery : nor that she purchased I am well aware that, in reply to my admission, that Florida, and gave up all of it to slavery : nor is i the American people should thus burden themselves, it enough, that there is so much reason to fear that the will be said that slavery is a State, and not a National mighty and sleepless efforts to overspread with slavery concern, and that it is for the State Governments, and the whole territory of which she plundered Mexico, wil not for the National Government, to dispose of it. I prove extensively, if not, indeed, entirely successful certainly do not deny, that if slavery can be legalized Nor is it enough, that there is imminent danger that n our country, it must be under the State Governments Nebraska and Kansas will be wrested from freedom mly. Nevertheless, I hold that every part of Ameriand added to the domain of slavery and sorrow. Al can slavery is the concern of every part of the Ameri- this is not enough to satisfy the desire of this nation to can people, because the whole American people and the extend the reign of slavery. Her gloating and covemerican Government have, though in defiance of the tous eyes are constantly upon the remainder of Mexico; Constitution, made it such. And, as they have made upon Cuba, St. Domingo, and other 'islands of the t such, the denationalizing of slavery (as the phrase sea.' All these she is impatient to scourge with that s with the Independent or Free Democrats) is not the most terrible of all forms of oppression—American sla

Said I not truly, then, that there is but little ground the slavery which exists within the exclusive jurisdic- to hope for the repentance of this nation? Must she tion of Congress. For slavery, under the State Gov- not be well-nigh dead to every conceivable attempt to bring her to repentance? But she will not be so a ways. The voices of trathful, tender, faithful admoni tion, now unheard or despised by her, will yet reach from the need of such discipline !) have, first, to pas through foreign wars, and servile wars, and still other borrors. But the day of her redemption-or, in other words, of her broken-hearted sorrow for her crimes-(for such sorrow is redemption, whether in the case of an individual or a nation)-will, sooner or later, come And when that day shall come, the moral soil of Amer ica, watered with the tears of penitence, shall bring forth fruits to the glory of God and the welfare of man rivalling in abundance, and infinitely surpassing reciouspess, the rich harvests of her literal soil. It hat day, our nation shall be worthy of all that Go and good men have done for her. Her material wealth surpassing that of any other nation, shall be no greate than her moral wealth: and her gigantic and unmatch ed power shall be only a power to bless.

What I have just said is, indeed, but prophecy-a the prophecy, too, of an ignorant and short-sighte man; and it may, therefore, never be fulfilled. My anticipations of a beautiful and blessed renovation fo I said, that I shall be blamed for speaking unwisely my beloved country may never be realized. She may on the subject of slavery. I add, that I shall be blambeleft to perish, and to perish for ever. What then?

of oppressors, He will let the oppressed smite the oppressors. Perhaps, since we would be a bloody nation, He will give us 'blood, even unto the horse-bridles.' eils, is construed into hostility to the Union, and hos-Must I cease my efforts for her salvation? Happily, I am not dependent on prophecy for the interpretation of my duty, nor to sustain my fidelity, nor to encourage the opening of my lips. I am cast upon no such uncertainty. I am to continue to plead for my country, and to feel assured that I do not plead in vain. If prophecy is all uncertain, nevertheless, there are certainties, gracious certainties, on which it is my privilege to rely. I know, that in the Divine Economy, no honest discharge of the conscience, and no faithful testimony of the heart, shall be suffered to go unrewarded. I know, that in this perfect and blessed Economy, no sinphecy is all uncertain, nevertheless, there are certain-ties, gracious certainties, on which it is my privilege to rely. I know, that in the Divine Economy, no honest discharge of the conscience, and no faithful testimony of the heart, shall be suffered to go unrewarded. I know, that in this perfect and blessed Economy, no sin-cere words in behalf of the right are lost. Time and

In the House of Representatives, May 3, 1854, the House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration a hill to establish the office of Surveyor General of New Mexico, to grant donations to tlers therein, and for other purposes, to which an amendment offered by Mr. Howe was pending, to strike out of the second section the words 'white' and 'American,' and so modify the clause as to

'That to every male citizen of the United States, or to such person as shall declare his intention to become a n of the United States,' &c.

Mr. Disney moved to amend the amendment, by

over the age of twenty-one years, who has declared his ntention to become a citizen, ' &c.

The question pending being upon the adoption of

e latter amendment
Mr. Suith, of New York, said: I have not risen make a speech. There are several subjects comg before us, on which I wish to speak at considerable length. Among them are the Post Office Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, wished to ask a question and the Pacific Railroad. Hence I do not feel at of the gentleman from South Carolina If white liberty to consume more than a few minutes on this men do not intermarry with the blacks of South

the hill in its present shape, and I wish my constitu-ents to have my explanation for my vote. I cannot vote for the bill, if the word ' white' is retained

I believe that every person is bound to esteem his religion above everything else. Be his religion it as such. As to South Carolina morals, his antrue or superstitious, rational or spurious, he must swer was this: If there are so many mulattoes in give it this preference. My own religion is very simple. It consists in the aim to deal impartially and justly with all men. On the authority of the Savior, the commandment to do unto others as we would have others do unto us, comprises the whole sum and substance of Christianity. I hold, sir, that we should regard the whole

world as before every man, and every man entitled to seek his home in any part of it. If I wish to make my home in Africa, I am to be allowed to do.

The bill was then laid aside, to be reported by the second sec so; and if I am there shut out from benefits made common to others, I am wronged, deeply wronged. Under the Jewish ceremony, even the fugitive servant (fugitive slace as many render it) was to be allowed his choice of a home anywhere within the gates of Israel.

There is but one true standard of conduct, and

that is the Divine conduct. We are to make our own moral character resemble that of our Maker as nearly as we can. But, surely, no one believes that our Maker can approve of the odious and guilty distinction under consideration. No one believes that the incarnate Son of God, were he sin, upon the subject of spiritual manifestations, among us, would vote for this distinction. Says He said that he had the highest respect for the the Apostle Peter-and I am sure that my learned right of petition, but, in presenting the petition, he and Catholic friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. Chand-desired notto be understood as expressing anyopinion ler] will not disparage the authority of that Apos-upon its merits. Like the memorial upon the same

passions! Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed with the same means warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter as a Christian is! If you prick us, do we not bleed! If you tickle us, do we not laugh! If you poison us, do we not die! If you wrong us, shall we not revenge?'

How careful, sir, should we be, not to commit

wrongs: seeing that revenge so naturally follows And if we have committed them, how careful should we be to prevent revenge by repent-ance! Let it not be said, sir, that Shylock is poor authority, because he loved money. His having loved money is one proof that he belonged to the human brotherhood, and had experience of our common nature.

I would, sir, that some black Shylock might h allowed to enter this hall, and to plead for the striking out of this word 'white.' He might be ore successful in his plea than was the white hylock. I would, sir, that that noble man, Fredhylock. I would, sir, that that no hour in here, rick Douglass, could be allowed to stand up here, in his great heart, in his and pour out the feelings of his great heart, in his rich, and mellow, and deep voice. I refer to him, sir, because I regard him as the man of America. He was held in cruel bondage until he was twenty-one years old. Then he escaped from his tormentors. He was never at school a day in his life; and now he is, confessedly, one of the ablest public speakers and writers in this country. I feel sure, sir, that, could he be heard, he would be able to bring the Committee to repent of its purpose (if such is its purpose) to retain the word 'white.'

Shall we never cease from this prejudice <sup>†</sup> Born and bred, as I was, among negroes and Indians, as well as whites, and respecting and loving allequally well, this insane prejudice is well nigh incomprehensible to me. I am happy to recognize in every man my brother—ay, another self; and I would that I could infuse my education at this point into

very one who is without it.

But, sir. I promised not to make a speech.
When on this prolific theme of our wrongs against the colored man, I hardly know where to stop.

Mr. Howe said it would be unjust to discrimi nate against color, whether pure Castilian or mixed mate against color, whether pure Castlian or mixed races, provided the people were citizens of New Mexico at the time of the treaty of Guadaloupe Hid-dalgo. But whether citizens or not, he was not dis-posed to discriminate against them; because we deny political equality to colored men, it did not follow that they should be denied the right to live. The discrimination proposed was unworthy of the age. He understood colored men are citizens of Vermont, Massachusetts and New York. If in his ower, he would extend the provisions of the bill to all persons.

Mr. Disney, of Ohio, said it seemed to thim all this discussion was about mere phraseology, and that it was a small affair. The gentleman ought to know it was not competent for Congress by act to deprive the people of New Mexico of rights guaranteed by the treaty, because our organic law declares treaties shall be the supreme law of the land. In reply to what was said about negroes be-ing citizens, he would content himself with remarking, that it was not competent for a State to declare negroes citizens within the terms of the Constitution of the United States—although a State may extend citizenship within its own jurisdiction. He believed with the gentleman from South Carolina. Mr. Keitt, that this is a Government of white people, and made by white people for white people

Mr. Hane inquired will this bill operate practieally to exclude any persons formerly Mexican sub Mr. Disney replied it was intended to extend t

very white citizen, as contemplated by the treaty. Mr. Wane, of Ohio, did not suppose this govern-Mr. Disney (in his seat) said, yes it has.

Mr. WADE, resuming, remarked he supposed this o be a human government, extending to and throw-ng its shield of protection around all. He did not now what this government has to do with the olor of any man, and could not say that he himself would be pronounced orthodox, if the strict

sham it is!
Mr. KEITT, of South Carolina, said a certain se truth will save them from falling ineffectual. To time and truth, therefore, do I cordially commit all that I have said on this occasion; and patiently will I wait to see what uses time and truth shall make of it.

INTERESTING DEBATES IN CONGRESS

In the Have of Presentation May 2, 1854.

Mr. Kerr, of South Carolina, said a certain section of this country violated the rights of the Foundation of their slaves under the pretence of freedom, and after doing this, now ask public lands for the fugitives to settle on. Southern men claim the right to carry their slaves to territories as property, not as citizens. No argument could be platner. He repeated, that this is a government of white men. He asked Mr. Wade whether in Obio black men vote and intermarry with the whites.

Mr. Wane replied, Just as they please about it. Mr. KEITT-The white man who marries a black woman must be so degraded, that even such a con-nection will elevate him.

Mr. WASHBURN's amendment was rejected

Mr. Gidding moved one, adding the words, 'or Mr. Giddings moved one, adding the words, 'or more than half white.' He said a number of democrats of the Union, descendants of Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of American democracy, have not more than half white blood. These should be permitted to settle on lands in the territory. In Washington to-day, there are descendants of the much venerated Martha Washington, with black blood in their veins and are as white as he and his Mr. Disney moved to amend the amendment, by striking out the words, 'or who has declared his intention to become such,' and to insert after the word 'years' the words, 'who has declared his intention to become a citizen,' so that, if the amendments prevail, the section will read:

'That to every white male citizen of the United States, over the age of twenty-one years, who has declared his

Mr. KEITT-No.

Mr. Giddings resumed, saying the gentleman held his seat more by the aid of colored men than by white, and would be exclude the former from participation in the benefits of the territory ! It would be unjust to do so.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, wished to ask a question occasion. Carolina, in what way, consistently with a corr I have risen, sir, to say that I must vote against state of morals, came so many mulattoes there? Carolina, in what way, consistently with a correct Mr. Disney's amendment adopted.
Mr. Keirr, in reply to Mr. Campbell, said in his

legislative experience he had ever extended to gentlemen the utmost kindness and propriety, but when an indecent inquiry was made, he would treat Soilers.
The CHAIRMAN, Mr. Phelps, said the gentlema

was not in order.
Mr. CAMPBELL-I hope he may have full latitude

The CHAIRMAN-I must enforce the rules.

Mr. CAMPBELL-I should like to understand th

Tae bill was then laid aside, to be reported to the

SENATE, Thursday, May 4, 1854.

Mr. Seward presented a remonstrance, numer ously signed by citizens of the city of New York against the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise Also, a similar remonstrance, signed by 800 cit

izens of Otsego county, New York. Mr. Chase presented a similar memorial from citizens of the city of New York.

Mr. Sumner said he had been requested to pre-sent a memorial of citizens of Missouri and Wiscon

terj will not disparage the authority of that Apostle, on whom his church is built—'God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righeousness, is accepted with him.' 'In every nation'—in nations of red and black men, as well as white men.

I often meet with gentlemen who appear to believe that black men have not the same nature, the same sensibilities, as white men. On such occacasions, I am wont to recall the words of Shylock, the Jew: 'Hath not a Jew eyes! Hath not a Jew eyes! Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions! Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed

committee, as was the case when the Senator received the memorial which he moved to lay on the

The subject was then laid on the table. House of Representatives, May 4, 1854.

The Speaker laid before the House a communi

cation from somebody in New York, tansmitting a book, and asking aid in its circulation, the countenance of the House, &c., as a patriotic measure in those days of fanatacism

Mr. Cobb-If it is a spelling-book, I am for it The Clerk, (reading)-It is a book on oratory Mr. Cobb-We have too much of that already Mr. Richardson, from the Committee on Terri

tories, reported a joint resolution authorizing the proper accounting officer of the Treasury to adjust and settle the expenses of a Board of Commissioners appointed by the Territorial Assembly of Utah to prepare a code of laws; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole, and ordered to be

On motion of Mr. Lane, the House, at fifteen minutes past twelve, went into Committee of the Whole, and resumed the consideration of the bill to amend the act approved September 27, 1850, to create the office of surveyor general of the public lands in Oregon, &c., and also the act amendatory thereof, approved February 19, 1853.

After a brief time, this bill was ordered to be re-

office of surveyor general of Utah, to grant dona tions to actual settlers therein, and for other purposes, reported by Mr. Latham, from the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. Bernhisel moved to strike out a proviso ex cluding any man baving more than one the benefits of the bill.

Mr. Haven was opposed to the proviso. He would not recognize the existence of a plurality of wives.

Mr. Letcher.-Leave it out. The proviso wa not applied to the three thousand dollar offices Mr. Davis, of Rhode Island, saw no morality in making the restriction in the proviso, as the word white had been inserted in the bill, thus legislating against the colored man. He would as soon that Utah with its poligamy should come into the Union as that a slave State should be admitted. The former was not so great a concentration of evil as the latter, which allows promiscuous concubinage.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, said it surprised him to hear a gentleman who was never in a slave State, discoursing ex cathedra on the character of the in-stitution of slavery. The gentleman spoke as though a common and indiscriminate sexual inter-course exists. He would have the member know the tie of marriage is in many respects, and to a greater extent sacredly observed among the negroes of the South, than among the people from whom the member comes. He did not hesitate to say the crime of incontinence was as rare in any Southern States as in the great State of Rhode Island. If the member was prepared to justify a man having a many wives as he can maintain, let him go home

and justify himself before his constituents. Mr. Cobb desired to propound a question to the delegate from Utah: Did the gentleman think that this proviso would impose a hardship on any con-siderable number of people residing in the Terri-tory! He believed it was a wholesome provision, that no man could have more than one wife at the

Mr. Bernhisel replied it would operate on a con siderable number of the people of Utah. The more wives a man has, the more lands he needs to sup port them. (Laughter.)
Mr. Giddings said they should deal out the same

measures of justice to all. For weeks and month from the commencement of the discussion on to Nebraska question till now, not a Southern au Nebraska question till now, not a Southern and had spoken but who had censured, condemned and repudlated all attempts to interfere with the domestic institutions of any territory. He did not under the institutions of any territory. stand this changing of position, first to the right then to the left, at the command of some drill to then to the left, at the command of some drill segeant. He was in favor of the provise taken as a
independent question, but he never would expect
for a slave territory to form its institutions as a for a slave territory to form its institutions as a pleases. Why permit persons to go to Nebrah with bundreds of concubines and not let the peple of Utah do as they choose! The Morans were respectable—some of them had been his castituents. (Laughter.) When a Moranon mania, he does it openly, acknowledges the legitimate of his children, and schools them. He does not all his wives and children. No—God forbid! To member from Virginia, Mr. Smith, said negre in the South contract marriage. Was he to under the South contract marriage. Was he to under stand three million of slaves can enter into this blation? The man that made that declaration would sell his slaves to-morrow, or do worse. There's sell his slaves to morrow, or do worse. There a no law to protect colored families from the curren of a brutal master. If you will exclude all their moralities, I will go with you, but I will never an investment of the color o sent to admit a slave State, or legislate to give s limited power over slaves in the territories, with

Mr. Philips would not reply to the language of Mr. Giddings. Respect for himself and for the House would forbid it. He opposed the restriction, as tending to centralization. Congress he no power to control the morals of the people.

Mr. Gener Sarra was gratified when any h existed to protect the marriage institution; and it the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Smith] could be gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Smith] could be gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Smith] convince him that the marriage of slaves is a legi thing in the slave States, he would waive hi jections to slavery.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, could tell the genis man that recently he had known of a case when slave-owner in Maryland refused to sell three four negroes, unless the priest who married the

Mr. Smith. And I can point the gentleman to trial in Maryland, on record, in which a slave wa acquitted of the charge of bigamy, because, as i was ruled, a slave was incompetent to enter in the marriage covenant. To the benevolence and justice of slave-owners, and not to the laws of the slave States, is to be ascribed all the praise that slave States, is to be ascribed an the praise that due to whatever regard is paid to the sacredoes of the marriage tie among slaves.

But, it has been argued by the honorable geats man from Georgia, that we have no right to question of a Territory of a Territory of the reaches of a Territory of the reaches of a Territory of the reaches of the reache

tion the legal right of the people of a Terribry a this particular. Polygamy is an infraction of the natural law. God has created the human family male and female, and has so clearly indicated to a our duty under the order of his government, the Mr. Disney had carefully examined the laws

Utah, and was satisfied that polygamy had a legl existence in Utah. He was not present in m Committee when this proviso was inserted. Mr. Millson was astonished to hear the gentle man so declare. He had never heard that an laws authorizing such an institution had ever be approved by the Committee on Territories, and le

lieved that that Committee would not approved such a law. Mr. Disney said the people of Utah had no enacted a law positively legalizing polygamy, in that it was recognized in many of their enactment

Mr. CAMPBELL, alluding to the remarks of Mr. Phillips, contended that centralization was the natural tendency of the conduct of the present A4-ministration in its dictation to Congress, and of Congress itself in permitting Executive dictation Mr. STEPHENS, of Georgia, quoted the Constitution to prove that Congress had no right to just

tude a religious test.

Mr. Millson would strike out the provise, because marriage with more than one wife com legally exist, and he would not recognise its en-

tence by any declaration. Mr. PARKER would retain the proviso. He would embrace all opportunities to condemn polygan We had already discriminated. An unmaris man is allowed a quarter of a section, while a married man is allowed half a section. He would

give to the man having more than one wife, non. Mr. Benson argued in favor of condemning the laws or usages of Utah permitting polygar. He thought Congress was now about to approve or disapprove of them. His choice was made.

Mr. MIKE WALSH made some remarks about bachelors marrying, and preventing others from having more than one wife each. He denomed those members whose Abolition notions were obtruded into everything, and who are always processing the control of to be stricken out. It would only serve to made and alienate the Mormons, who had already bea greatly persecuted, but are now prospering. In thought their prejudices ought not to be insuled. and was sure that in a dozen years they would be the largest sect in the Union

We have great pleasure in calling attention to the visit to Leeds of a colored Professor, W. 6, Alla (of New York Central College,) who is engaged by the Leeds Anti-Slavery Association, to delet three lectures at the Stock Exchange. The Mayor will preside at the first lecture. Professor Alles is an accomplished speaker, a fine writer and scholar In spite of the strong prejudice existing against is colored people, (a legacy which slavery in the United States is bequeathing to Freedom,) and the almost insurmountable barriers it places before the proscribed race, impeding their progress politically, morally and socially, be has raised himself by the force of his genius to an honorable position the world of letters. Yet, notwithstanding qualifications and acquirements as a man of lear ing, and his strict moral integrity, strange to s Professor Allen is now in this country. a refer from American despotism! Being on the point being married to a white lady, he was beset by a armed mob, several hundred strong who was have done him severe personal violence had he make the property of the taken means for escaping from their venguis.

Their lives being imperilled in their own main land, immediately after their marriage, Profess Allen and his youthful bride sailed for English. We recommend our readers to attend Professional Allen's lectures on 'American Slavery, and on the Social and Political Condition of the Free Courts People, which his education and personal exp rience so eminently qualify him to treat upon-Leeds Mercury

THE NEBRASKA EMIGRATION CONVENTION. learn from the Worcester Spy that notwithstanting the drenching rain of yesterday, the Nebrasia Emigration Convention in Worcester was attended by a considerable number of delegates. This many ing was chiefly occupied in an informal discussion of the subject. In the afternoon the meeting of ganized by the choice of John M. Earle, of Me cester, for President, and A. A. Cleveland, of Not Salem, for Secretary. A series of resolutions were reported and passed. They declared the necessity of neutralizing the efforts of the slave power it causing the Territories to be occupied by freementhat the incorporation of an Emigrants' Aid Science of the power of the slave power in the slave po that the incorporation of an Emigrants' Ald sciety for promoting this object was a noble step at the right direction; and that, regarding justed, as well as policy, nothing should be done by this Association to attain their object, which was not strictly in recordance with the principles of instruction of the christianity, and therefore the natural and guaranteed rights of the aboriginal inhabitants should it sacredly regarded. sacredly regarded.

Rev. Edward Hale, of Worcester, supported the resolutions in an able speech. He said, that of direct step to be taken was to advertise for proposals to take 20,000 emigrants in companies in panies of not less than the said of the sa panies of not less than 200 cach, from essen cities to the sites of their future homes. In us way their expenses of emigration might be lessed one half. Again, the Society would construe spacious boarding-houses for their accumodal in Nebraska, at cheap rates, until their own devilings were erected. They would also send est steam engines, saw mills, grist mills, printing presses, and other implements, and would as agents there to guide and assist the new settles. He believed that 2000 Massachusetts men weill settle in Kansas hefers the semant of 1856. settle in Kansas before the commencement of Rivand in was not improbable that within three year both Nebraska and Kansas would ask to be sumbted into the United States. ted into the Union as free States.

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THE LIBERATOR. No Union with Slaveholders. BOSTON, MAY 12, 1854.

NEW ENGLAND

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. The Annual Meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Boston, in the MELOpers, on Torsday, Wednesday and Thursday, May 30th and 31st, and June 1st, commencing at 10 o'clock.

No trumpet-call, especially in a crisis like the pres ent, is deemed necessary in order to bring together, on ent, is decision, those who are sincere, earnest and uncompromising in their hostility to slavery, and also guch as are honestly inquiring, for the first time, what are their responsibilities and duties in regard to that hideous system. Knowing that the platform of the Convention is free for all, whatever may be their pecu-Convention is tree to all, and rejoicing that another far views on the far and the f Northern mind, and to give a staggering blow to that Demoniac Power which rules the land, they will rally after the manner of '76, but with no sectional or personal feelings, and with a desire to save all, to destroy · Up, then, for Freedom !- not in strife.

'Up, then, for Freedom!—not in strife,
Like that our sterner fathers saw—
The awful waste of human life—
The glory and the guilt of war:
But break the chain—the yoke remove,
And smite to earth Oppression's rod,
With those mild arms of Truth and Love,
Made mighty through the living God,' FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Sec.

## LETTER PROM EDWARD SEARCH.

Not having received any thing, for some time, till now, from the pen of our old, attentive, and highly valned London correspondent, we have been apprehensive that his health has been seriously affected; and we find confirmation of our fears in the following letter, which has just come to hand, though it is gratifying to learn that he is now on the recovery. We specially appreciate his kindness in seizing the first available opportunity to communicate with the readers of THE LIBERATOR.

LONDON, April 21, 1854.

I have been, since I last wrote, and am now, very much indisposed, and I write to say so. I am reading, which is all I can do now, and taking an interest in what appears in the Liberator and Anti-Slavery Standard, and in the cause of Abolition and the Woman's Rights Question, and can only sympathize in the efforts of the friends of the slave, and in the general cause of progress.

Lam glad that you have dealt with the brawling Irishman Mitchel. He and those like him have long been understood, by the judicious here, as men who were doing their country harm, by looking at every movement as intentionally wrong, and inquiring only as to who originated measures, and not into the measures themselves.

Mitchel found himself in possession of the gift of words, and he exercised it without reflection, and prevented his countrymen from seeing the truth, by eloquence, and shutting out deliberation, which, with an impulsive people, is the sure way to mislead them.

He looked at what might be said against any mer sure, not at what should be said ; he looked, as all mere politicians do, at measures politically, and not also socially-how they would tell for party, and not how they would tell for man. The politician, merely as such,— at least, so it has been in Ireland,—merely looks at the authors of a measure, and not at the thing itself. Can any good come out of Nazareth? is their cry, instead of looking at the thing; and they assume its quality and tendency, and condemn it as bad; they look at it with green spectacles, instead of looking at it socially, and asking if there is any good in it. Ireland has had the worst of a bad Government, and one that had driven all patience out of the impulsive blood of the people, and when that blood was chasing through a brain like Mitchel's, to whom God had given more than a usual quantity of words, the words came first, the reflection wards and lot him wrong, and those w

Your country supplies to man the great test, because to all, except the poor African, who are, as it will vet be found, a superior race, it gives political liberty, and then men soon manifest the root that is within them, and test each other; they show into what soil the seed has fallen, and are soon put in their own place by the operation of political liberty, upon others who try them, as the abolitionists have tried Mitchel, and have showed him wanting, and in what. I am glad to see Henry C. Wright acting in this.

We English had the same bad Government to struggle up under, but though not a quiet people, we were not so impulsive, and therefore not quite so rash; nor had we the same knowledge to struggle with, and to raise our sense of right and wrong, before we had the wisdom to poise it.

Many of our English errors, during the eighteenth century, could be pointed to, that would show us guilty of many political sins; but we had to be made perfect through sufferings, so far as we have been made so.

Dating from the Union of Ireland with England (1800,) we had not had the flood of principles before the mind's eye of the world, which the French Revolution of 1789 set affort. That Revolution was the result of ignorance and the antecedent injustice of man had engendered, and then exploded amongst the aftercomers, leaving them the task of leavening the lump of society, and gaining the knowledge it was intended that man should gain from it, through suffering, and the consequent experience.

Mitchel was not born then, and his race had not read in their boyhood and adolescence by the glare of principles which they could not apply distinctly, because the lurid light by which they read them was not chastened. It was not subjued by religion. I do not mean theology or priesteraft, but Christianity as taught and practsed

We, very few of us, understand the philosophy re quired to act out the wisdom of . Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you."

But I am getting into a strain of reasoning that would lead me to the vexed question in morals, whether permission and causation are not the same thing with God. I think I am, and I do not mean to enter upon it, for I have not found, and I have made up my mind that I shall not find, a writer who knew the beginning and end of things, and who can in my judgment salve it. We must therefore guide ourselves by the best light our reason gives us here, and wait the great teacher, death; feeling assured, that if we honestly guide ourselves by the light given to us here, we shall find ourselves in the right path, when our perceptions

are enlarged to see more of God's works and purposes We, the mass of us, are all very busy urging on each other the war with Russia ! The present active generation know not of its miseries practically.

Our aristocracy, all of whom are fearing the conse quences of a much longer continued peace, the pro gress of mind, and of the desire of reform and of ratio al views of it which are rapidly spreading amongst the people, would, therefore, in the hope of arresting the spread of equal rights, rather resort to war, and seel to cover the advocates of peace with ridicule and abuse and in this I fear they will be successful; at all events they have got us into the expense, and they know a must pay it when it is incurred; and the greatest por tien goes into the pockets of the officers, who are o their class, and comes out of the pockets of the masses who pay it in taxes upon what they eat and drink, for

here the taxes are not raised out of the wealth realized, but out of what the people eat, drink and use. And that you may have a specimen of how the system is used by the aristocracy, who have the appointments, I mention that we have two and a half Generals to each regiment, and besides their pay as Generals, each, it is well understood, gets £1000 from the clothing of his men, when made colonel of a regiment, and those who have most interest get them. Prince Albert has

You abolitionists, most of whom abominale war, necessary not wonder at the madness of the many for the gain of the few, seeing that the few are the influential, and have the power and the interest.

EDWARD SEARCH.

A PAREWELL EPISTLE. My dear friend, farewell! I am sorry I cannot

with you and share your labors ; but my heart is with you. I shall watch the battle from afar, and rejoice in friends wherever I may go. I will try to make them known, entitled 'Directions for Cooking,' and claims feel the importance of the struggle in which you are and freedom while I have been in the country; but it is no light matter to change worlds-to tear up a famiy from the spot where it grew, and plant it afresh in a foreign soil. Besides, my operous work in England to make them look equal to new, preserving autumn had destroyed my health; and rest, or a change of labor, was needed to its renewal. I am better now, and &c. &c. It is an elegantly printed duodecimo volum cause of humanity. It shall have my all; my tongue, thousand new receipts. Price \$1.00—for which a copy my pen, my property, my life. I know nothing else will be sent by the publisher to any new receipts. but the freedom, the improvement, and the happiness of mankind. I despise not the man who plows the field, or plants the corn, or cuts the grass; but I should look on the labors of the field with much more pleasure if I saw them undertaken with an eye to the general good. If I saw the farmer, the manufacturer and the merchant toiling, not merely to gain a living, or to make a fortune, but to obtain the means of spreading truth, and blessing the world, I should look on their labors with ten-fold pleasure. For long, all labors have seemed to me to be but low and little, unworthy of man, which aimed at nothing higher, or at nothing farther, than a man's own earthly interests. For long, the only men that have seemed to do honor to humanity, or to deserve the approbation of their fellows, are the philanthropists and reformers, the men who live and labor for the freedom, the elevation, the happiness of their race. I love and honor such men above all others. I love and honor none else compared with them. They are the good, the great, the glorious. I court no higher honor myself,-I desire no greater good, no richer heritage for my children,—than the consciousness of having served the oppressed and plundered, and helped on the improvement and welfare of the world. My greatest grief is, that I have done so little for mankind, and that I have done that little so ill. My greatest joy is, that I have done something,-that I have done what I could. It makes me sad when I think of the years I spent groping my way out of the darkness and herrors of sectarianism and superstition. Oh! how happy it would have been, had I been born near the realms of light, instead of coming into being so far away back in the regions of darkness ! Here I am, old and grayheaded, and I have only just begun to live. The best of my days are past. . The freshness of my life and the fulness of my strength are gone; yet the work of life seems only to be just begun. Oh! young men and young women, born in a happier age, and blest with a would give the wealth of a continent to begin my life afresh, with the light that shines on you

· O terque, quaterque beati, sua si bona norint.' How happy should I be, if might I but see you giving up yourselves to the cause of human improvement, and realously working for the salvation of the world. How happy shall I be, if spared to return to this country, now my home and the home of my children, and to spend what is left of my life and strength in the cause of the neglected and wronged ! Sickness and pain and losses I will count as nothing, if I may but live, and have the pleasure of aiding, to a good old age, the cause of human progress. No other cause shall divide my mind, no other toils shall share my strength, but the cares and toils of philanthropy. My plowing and plant-

Once more I say, Farewell! I commit myself to the devouring sea, and to the raging elements, not knowing what awaits me. But I go, a believer in the power of truth, and in the progress of humanity. I carry with me the assurance, that superstition, slavery and wrong shall fell, and knowledge, freedom and righteousness prevail over all If I go down to the depths, I shall die in hopes of a glorious lot for man in the future, hearing, by anticipation, while the waters of the ocean close upon me, the joyous shouts of an emanci-pated world. If I cross the deep in safety, then shall I toil as well as hope, and live in expectation of seeing the fall of error and iniquity, and sharing with my friends the joy their downfall shall awaken. Amen.

I hope, if spared, to write to you every week while away. The world is all excited, the old as well as the new. On both sides the Atlantic, and on every continent, humanity is struggling for a better lot. It Asia, as well as in Europe and America, freedom and tyranny, truth and error are battling. The old and the new are striving for the mastery; and in all, the old is giving way and the new is gaining ground. There never were times more stirring. Never did they seem big with greater events. The pen of the chronicler need never lie idle. The scribe can never want subjects. Strange tales are ever reaching us, from every part of the world; and new discoveries and wondrou deeds come thick and fast upon us. And greater and more startling things are near; and good in all.

With a heart overflowing with love to you, and to all who are toiling for the salvation of mankind, I am,

Yours, for ever, JOSEPH BARKER

P. S. We leave in the Arabia on Wednesday, the 10th inst. We hope to land at Liverpool before the 24th. If we can get through our work, we shall start back early in August. Who can tell what changes The Hebrew Prophets; Grandpierre on American Un shall take place in those three months? Where will be ident? Where will the armies of Russia and Turkey be? Where the armies of France and England? -Where will be their fleets? Where will Kossuth and ited by Rev. Dr. Putnam and Rev. George E. Ellis. Mazzini be? Where the crowns of Europe? Where Australia? Where the British power in India? Will Russia conquer? Will the rulers of France and England let loose the people? Will the people break loose, Mn. GARRISON : mocks men's expectations! How much he promises. and how little he gives ! How often he is like the mountain, shaking with throes, then bringing forth a mouse How sternly things move on! A year is wasted in fruitless negotiations. A quarter of another goes in and a skirmish only takes place. And thus are the who looks only for opportunities of telling the truth and doing his duty, quietly waiting Nature's own time for the birth of great events.

An excellent discourse on 'The Signs of the Times,' preached at Scituate, Fast Day, April 6, 1854, by Rev. FISKE BARRETT, will appear in our next paper

ERRATUM. In Treasurer's Report, in Liberator o May 5th, for Levi Bartlett, Charlestown, read Levi B. NEW PUBLICATIONS.

NEW RECEIPTS FOR COOKING. BY MISS LESLIE. COM prising all the New and Improved Methods for pre paring all kinds of Soup, Fish, Oysters, Terraping Turtle, Vegetable, Meats, Poultry, Game, Sauce Pickles, Sweetmeats, Cakes, Confectionary, Pud dings, Corn Meal, Pies, Rice, &c. With lists of ar ticles in season suited to go together for breakfasts dinners and suppers; and many new receipts, and much valuable information on all subjects whatever connected with general housewifery. Philadelphia T. B. Peterson, 102 Chesnut street. pp. 520.

Handsomely printed, bound and lettered as this volume is, it will present no attractions to our vegeta rian friends, who, happily, will find nearly all tha they can desire in the excellent Hydropathic Cook-Book by Dr. R. T. Trail, recently published by Messrs. Fow lers & Wells-a book worthy of careful consultation and a wide circulation. The present volume is a seque your successes. I shall bespeak for you the aid of my to a former book by Miss Leslie, which is extensively be 'the best and most complete Cook Book published engaged, and to enlist their sympathies in your behalf. in the world, as, in addition to Cookery, of all kinds and I am sorry I have done so little in the cause of truth descriptions, its receipts for making cakes and confectionary are unequalled by any other work extant.' It also gives directions in regard to perfumery, laundry work, needle-work, washing thread laces of all kinds leaves, Chinese embroidery, letters, additional receipts, if spared to return to America, I hope to do more for the of 520 pages, in which may be found more than one worth toiling for-I know nothing else worth living for, of mail, free of postage, on that sum being remitted to him in a letter post-paid.

It is for sale by Phillips, Sampson & Co., Wash ngton street, Boston.

Phillips, Sampson & Co. have commenced the publication of a new serial novel, in semi-monthly numbers of 36 pages each, by Paul Crayton, author of 'Fathe Brighthopes,' 'Burreliff,' &c., entitled 'Martin Merrirale, his | mark;' illustrated with Engravings from original designs by Billings and other artists; to be completed in about fifteen numbers. The first number is exceedingly promising, the characters of Martin Mrs. Dabney, Cheesy, the beggar and his child, being very skilfully delineated, and the whole terminating a point of absorbing interest. The principal character n this story is an ambitious youth from the country who, coming poor and inexperienced to the city, attempts to earn a livelihood, and to win a name in lit erary pursuits. 'In following his varied fortunes, the author will give sketches of life and society, drawn with a free hand, with touches of humor and satire, and with igorous strokes portraying the tragedy of human passion.' Should the subsequent numbers equal the first, the work will prove highly interesting.

DESPOTISM IN AMERICA. An Inquiry into the Nature Results, and Legal Basis of the Slaveholding System in the United States. By RICHARD HILDRETH, Author of the History of the United States, &c. Bos ton: John P. Jewett & Co. pp. 807,

Reserving for another occasion a more particular otice of this masterly work, we copy the following from the Salem Register :-

'This is a solid, substantial, and handsomely printed olume. The writer is a gentleman of great ability and indefatigable industry, and he throws all his powers into the discussion of the subject, with an anti-slavery happier lot, how gladly should you give yourselves to bias of the most ultra stamp. Prefixing to his array of the cause of truth and freedom! Oh! my children, I solid pages an extract from Hayne's reply to Webster, bias of the most ultra stamp. Prefixing to his array of wherein he declares the readiness of the South to meet promptly and fearlessly, and make up the issue as to the influence of slavery on individual and national character-on the prosperity and greatness either of the United States, or particular States-Mr. Hildreth accepts the challenge, and brings all his guns to bear gainst the "peculiar institution." He enters minutely into the consideration of the relation of master and slave; the political, economical, and personal results of the slaveholding system; and its legal basis, considered as a Colonial Institution, as it is in the States and under the Federal Constitution-of course, not forgetting the Fugitive Act of 1850.

'This is to be followed by a second treatise, to which the present is an introduction, entitled, "An Inquiry into the Feasibility, Expediency and Necessity of the ing shall have no more of my time than is necessary to health. The pulpit, the platform and the press shall with outlines of a Practical Plan for its Acco ment."

'Mr. H. is a powerful writer, and feels at home arguing the slavery question.'

VOICES OF THE DEAD. By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING. D.D., Minister of the Scottish National Church, &c &c. 12 mo., 302 pp.

Jewett & Cf. have just issued the above, as anothe olume of the series of Dr. Cumming's books, announce ed by them. It contains a series of biographical ser mons, relating especially to those faithful persons me tioned in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews. It is char acterized by that glowing eloquence and peculiar un tion for which the author is so widely celebrated.

LAYS OF LIBERTY; OF, VERSES FOR THE TIMES. BO ton : Bela Marsh, 1854.

This is a neat and very meritorious little work, o 4 pages, containing twenty-six different poetical-pieces based chiefly upon various incidents in 'Uncle Tom' Cabin.' The authorship belongs to a gifted young lady of this city, the daughter of a deceased Baptist cler gyman; but as she' has chosen to suppress her name we do not feel authorised to be more specific. We con dially recommend these 'Lays of Liberty' to old and young. For a sample of them, see the two first effusions in our poetical department, this week.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, for May, is received. The contributors to this number are Rev. Mr. Ellis, of Charlestown, C. C. Smith, Esq., of Boston, and Rev. Messrs. Hill, of Waltham, Frothingham, of Boston. Allen, of Bangor, Parkman, of Staten Island, and Hale, of Worcester. The subjects are: The Popular use of the Bible; The Valley of the Amazon; Miss Martineau's Compend of Comte's Positive Philosophy; Poetry; tarianism; Judd's Discourses; Notices of Recent Pubthe Nebraska Bill in August? Where will be the Pres- lications; Objtuary Notice of Dr. Young, &c. This is a very interesting and valuable number. The Examiner is published by Crosby, Nichols & Co., Boston, and ed-

## SCRIPTURE INTERPRETATION.

without imperial or royal leave? Will Hungary rise? I suppose that a controversy about the meaning and Will Italy? Will Poland? What strange events three force of Greek participles will not be acceptable to the months may bring forth ! How few of the events which readers of THE LIBERATOR, and will therefore only reply many are looking for may happen! How often Time to your correspondent 'M.,' that his criticism upon Cor vii. 21, though plausible, is incorrect. The literal translation of the disputed words is, but if also thou be able to become free, take advantage of it.' This can be sustained by better Greek authorities than Robinson, or even St. Chrysostom, to say nothing of the Commentaries tardy preparations. Now a decisive battle is looked for, of Clark, Heury, Scott, Benson, &c., who all sustain the common translation. Quotations are omitted for hopeful and the timid disappointed. Happy the man the reason above given, and because, also, they could not so conclusively settle the question as to preclude

further discussion Please correct the first line of the 8th verse of the Song for the Kitchen Fireside,' which should read, 'Now, pilgrim gray, what's that you say,' &c.

SLAVES FREED. The N. V. Journal of Commerce states that the Maryland slave family, of seven persons for whose emancipation \$4000 was recently collare now all unconditionally free.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF JAMES W. WALKER

At a meeting of the Rootstown and Edinburgh (Ohio) Anti-Slavery League, on Sunday, the 16th ult., the following preamble and resolutions were unanimouslandopted, in regard to the recent decease of James W

Whereas, a zealous and highly-esteemed co-labo in the cause of anti-slavery and human progress has departed this life, in the person of J. W. WALKER

Resolved, That we are deeply impressed with a se of the great loss sustained by us, who are lovers of and laborers in the great work of human redemption, and that not only have we lost one of the most affectionate companions, but the slave has lost one of his ablest and most earnest friends, Humanity a noble advocate, and

the world a savior of whom it was not worthy. Resolved, That the loss the Anti-Slavery Society h sustained in the decease of our brother, is more to b regretted than the failure of any political scheme, or the breaking up of any or all ecclesiastical organiza

Resolved. That if consistency be commendable, o self-sacrifice a virtue, or devotion to an unpopular cause for conscience sake be a mark of rare purity and goodness, then do we have, in the life and character of

JAMES W. WALKER, an example worthy of imitation Resolved, That as an Anti-Slavery, Temperance an Peace lecturer, he was talented, faithful and discreet and well calculated to fill the post assigned him.

Resolved. That we tender to the bereaved family our warm sympathy, and, should circumstances require it, we will gladly render them assistance, both out of respect for the deceased, and from that higher considera tion of duty that we owe to the widow and fatherless. ERASTUS CASE, Chairman.

ARIEL CASE, 2d, Secretary.

### A GOOD MAN DEPARTED.

We have lost an old and valued subscriber in the decease of the venerable STEPHEN SMITH, on the 23 ultimo, at Syracuse, N. Y., in the 78th year of his age. He was honored and beloved by all who knew himfriend to the friendless, a foe to injustice and superstition, a believer in human progress and mental independence, an advocate for the widest range of thought and inquiry, and an excellent specimen of modern ' infidel-The Syracuse Chronicle, edited by the Rev. Mr. Referred, pays the following merited tribute to his

'Uncle Stephen' is no more. We are sure his neares relative will not resent this free public use of a soubriquel which was in everybody's mouth—from the oldest to the youngest,—and constitutes one of the best indica-tions of the respect and affection with which, in the days of his life, he was universally regarded. From a sens of the impropriety of a comparative stranger adopting a term of endearment, which seemed only to befit the most familiar lips, we long resisted the tendency to join in this tribute of affection to the white-haired, kindly, beautiful old man,—but the distant and formal 'Mr. Smith' thawed out and melted from the tongue in his

Smith' thawed out and melted from the tongue in his genial presence, and gave place to the more affectionate address that would go forth to greet him.

'Yes, he was everybody's "Uncle Stephen," and we doubt not that, to-day, while a whole community are mourning his death as an appreciable loss, they who stand nearest his bier will find their chief consolation in the thought that there are so many to claim the privilege of mingling their tears in this tribute of sorrow to one who was a father and a friend to all. It is needless to dwell upon the virtues of the deceased. Hundreds, we trust, will have caught by personal acquaintance with him the inspiration of his public and private virtues, and will emulate the spotless probity, the cheerful urbanity, the uniform serenity which lit up his life with a memorable beauty, and crowned its close with such tributes of love and sorrow as are only shed upon the good man's grave. The life of Stephen Smith may be safely imitated; the speculative peculiarities of his mind are neither to be lightly pronounced upon nor taken as a rule, when they were so obviously exceptiontaken as a rule, when they were so obviously exception-

al and inexplicable.

'For more than thirty years he has been among us and of us; pursuing steadily and steadfastly a life of remarkable correctness and noble liberality. His unswerving integrity and irreproachable morals have rendered him proverbial for honor and rectifude, while his unpretending and kindly manners have endeared him to all who knew him. The announcement of his death will send a pang to the heart of all who knew him, and bring a fear to the eye of many, to whom he has been a benefactor and a friend.

'His death, like the latter years of his life, was peaceful and eath. Patiently and quietly suffering much.

'His death, like the latter years of his life, was peaceful and calm. Patiently and quietly suffering much,
without a murmur, he has been for many weeks waiting for the grim messenger—but showing no signs of
dread or fear of the change, which he knew was approaching. Although his mind was so constituted that
he was unable to embrace the usual belief in a future
state of existence that is professed in the Christian
churches, he believed that all things were well and of death, was the consciousness of an invariable recti tude of intention, which had been his unswerving guide

The Nebraska Villany .- In the House of Representatives, 8th inst., Mr. Richardson moved to go into Committee of the Whole, avowing his intention to be, should the motion succeed, to move to lay aside all

be, should the motion succeed, to move to lay aside all preceding business, and take up the Nebraska bill. Carried, by a vote of 100 years to 88 nays.

The House then went into Committee, Mr. Olds in the chair. After some discussion, all the preceding business, including the Deficiency Bill, was laid aside, by an average vote of about 99 to 33 on each bill, and after the preceding business, including the Deficiency Bill, was laid aside, by an average vote of about 99 to 33 on each bill, and after the preceding business. ter some tumultuous proceedings, and several ineffectu-al motions for the Committee to rise, the Nebraska and Al motions for the Cambridge Mr. Richardson said he proposed to offer a substitute for the bill, which would be substantially the Senate bill, with the omis-

sion of the Clayton amendment, and the addition of a few other immaterial amendments.

A debate ensued, in which Mr. Hibbard supported A decate ensured, in which Mr. Hibbard supported the bill, and Mr. Lyon, of New York, opposed it in a long and characteristic speech, during the delivery of which he was frequently applauded.

A motion to lay the bill on the table was defeated by

a vote of 105 to 85.

A change of six votes in favor of the bill is generally conceded, but still, its opponents are sanguine that their chance is the best on any vote that may be taken.

The Cincinnati papers contain an ac of the arrest, at Louisville, Ky., of a free colored count of the arrest, at Louisville, Ky., of a free coinciping of that city, as a fugitive slave. She had visited New Orleans with her uncle, and was on her return, in charge of a Mr. Anderson of Cincinnati. At Louisville, several police officers boarded the steamer, and without authority, they seized the girl as a fugitive slave, and, against the protestations of the clerk, and without Mr. Anderson's knowledge, dragged her off the boat, and to the jail. Her freedom was subsequently established by witnesses, and an attorney sent from Cincinnati, but at considerable expense to her

The Flood .- In consequence of the flood a Hartford, from one to two thousand persons have been thrown out of employment, and the damage in the city has been roughly estimated at \$100,000. By the fire in Broadway, New York, or

the night of Tuesday of last week, it is now ascertained that thirteen lives were lost, and twenty-one person were wounded, many of them seriously. News from Hayti reports that the Em peror Soulouque is eniisting men, and making great preparations with his fleet and army, for his invasion of the Dominicans, both by sea and land.

ing letter in the New York Times, addressed to John Noank, "Noank, "

Late Mexican advices say that Madan Sontag was received, on her arrival in that country, amid great cheering, and that she was escorted through the streets in a carriage drawn by six horses.

A Mr. Bayne is in court at Petersburg Va., charged by Miss Williams with having 'black-guarded her, villified her reputation, and ruined her character and the front door of her residence.'

Brigham Young, in his Message, say, that there have arrived 10,000 immigrants into Utal during the last year. A person named Sidney Bailey has bee arrested at Milledgeville, Ga., on a charge of abductin

"Uncle Tom' in Drama has been per

Batices of Meetings, &c.

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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's All who believe in the equal right of all children he community to all public provisions for education;
All who believe in the right of human beings to de

termine their own 'proper sphere' of action;
All who believe in the right of all to a trial by a jury

All who believe that ' taxation without representation is tyranny';

All who believe in the right of adult Americans have a voice in electing the Government whose laws control them :

To meet in Convention, at Boston, on FRIDAY, the 2d of June next, to consider whether these rights shall ontinue to be limited to one half the members of this Community. Sarah H. Earle,

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

### PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE PRIENDS.

N. B. Will editors friendly to the cause please copy

This Association will convene for mutual help and edification, and for the discharge of its appropriate duties as a religious body, in the meeting-house at Old Kennett, Chester County, on First day, the 21st of Fifth month, 1854, at 114, A. M., and continue, by adjournment, from day to day, as long as necessity may re

Creed-making forms no part of the objects of this Society. Disclaiming all ecclesiastical authority, and avoiding the tangled controversies by which the popular churches are perplexed and bewildered, it seeks to unite mankind, not by agreement in theological opinions, but through oneness of spirit in respect to the practical duties of life, the communion of soul with soul, in a com-mon love of the beautiful and true, and a common aspiration after moral excellence. Its platform is broad and comprehensive. It invites the cooperation of all who recognise the equal brotherhood of the human family, without regard to sect, color or condition, and who acknowledge the duty of defining and illustrating their faith in God by lives of personal purity, and works of beneficence and charity to mankind.

We therefore affectionately invite all sincere inquirers after truth, who may be attracted by the principles of our organization, and who, weary of the strifes of sect, are looking for higher and purer manifestations of the religious sentiment, to meet with us at the time above specified, and to give us the benefit of their counsel and cooperation.

WILLIAM BARNARD, JOSEPH A. DUGDALE. C. M. BURLEIGH. THOMAS GARRETT, SIDNEY PEIRCE, BENJ. C. BACON. B. FUSSELL, ROWLAND JOHNSON, JONATHAN LAMBORN, EDITH PENNOSK, HENRIETTA W. JOHNSON.

Committee of Arrangements.

THE GUARDIAN OF FRIENDLESS GIRLS We ask your cooperation in a work of great imporance. Our streets are full of children, wholly idle, or engaged in trifling occupations. Many of these are girls. Experience shows that idleness and vagrant habits lead them into temptation, and they soon become guilty of slight offences against the laws. If left unmolested by the police, they ripen into profligate and degraded offenders. If arrested and committed to jail or the House of Correction, they are, after a few months. rendered back to the community worse than before.

For boys, the State has provided fitting and ample succor in the WESTBORO' REFORM SCHOOL, of whose ahundant success we need not speak. This Association aims to protect the girls, until something of the same kind, or something equally effectual, be set on foot by the State. Its object is to take charge, where it is possible, of those who have not yet become offenders, and with permission of the Courts, to take possession o those arraigned for crimes; to provide them a tempo rary home in the city, instruction in some means getting a living, and obtain homes, for such as need them, in families residing in the country towns of New

Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT will act as Agent of the Asso ciation in the Courts and elsewhere, becoming bail for such as he thinks proper subjects for his assistance. The Committee solicit from their fellow-citizens, interested in the object, funds to support the movement. An Agent, a home, means for clothing some of the girls for sending them into the country, for correspondence with friends out of the city, willing to cooperate in the object,-all these, and similar expenses, must be incur red; and for these, the Association rely on the liberali ty of a community never appealed to in vain in behal of a worthy object.

We ask your aid, either by counsel, by pecuniary con tributions, or by making known to the Agent the name of worthy persons disposed to aid us by receiving any o these neglected children.

Address REV. JOHN T. SARGENT, Pecuniary contributions may be sent to L. B. MER

IAM, 35 Indfa street. Furniture will be sent for, notice be given to any of the Committee. TO YOUNG MEN .- PLEASANT AND PROPITA

BLE EMPLOYMENT.-Young Men in every neighborhood may obtain healthful, pleasant and profitable employ ment, 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.

308, Broadway, New York.

Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows.—
At Seventh Day Baptis Comment Meeting. Saturday, May 13 At Seventh Day Baptist Meeting Saturday, May Service, Conn.,
At Floral Hall, Mystic River, Sunday, "14.
Head of Mystic, Baptist meeting Monday eve'g, house, May 15.
Groton Centre, Coun., Tuesday eve'g, May 16.
Poquonnoo Bridge, "Wednesday "17
Noank. "18

NOTICE

An address will be delivered by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, on Monday evening, 15th inst., in Belknap Street Meeting-house, at 8 o'clock.

After the address, there will be a Levee for the benefit of the Church and Society. Tickets 50 cents. A collection will be taken to help pay for the use of the house. The public are invited to attend.

In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements,

GEORGE W BROWN Chairman.

GEORGE W. BROWN, Chairman.

WANTED, WANTED,

Several colored girls in families out of the city.

A journeyman barbor in a neighboring city; one with ood references will find a desirable place.

Men on Farms.

A porter's situation in the city.

Please apply to

At his Registry for Help, 21 Cornhill.

IMPROVED METHOD OF

MADAME CARTEAUX having established herself over the Comb, Toilet and Perfumery Store of A. S. Jordan, No. 191 Washington street, (entrance in Norfolk Avenue,) would avail herself of this medium for tendering thanks to the Ladies of Boston and vicinity for the liberal patronage awarded her, and would respectfully assure them that, by unremitting endeavors to please, she hopes for a continuance of their favors.

Her arrangements for cutting and dressing Ladies' and Children's Hair, for Dyeing and Champooing, are such as win the tribute of praise from all.

She has a Hair Restorative which cannot be excelled, as it produces new hair where baldness had taken

place.

Her chemical researches have developed an inimitable Hair Dye, warranted not to smut, (a desideratum looked for. (Her Ne Plus Ultra, for renovating the complexion, removing freckles, &c., is fast commending itself to favor. For all her compounds and their application she warrants satisfaction, or demands no pay.

Ladies can be waited on at their own residences, or

At her room, which will be open from 8, A. M., to 7, P. M. She has numerous recommendation from the fashionable circles of Boston, Providence, and elsewhere, which can be seen by those who desire. Boston, May 13.

## 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 discomforts. Its contents are as follows:

1. Trials of Young Mothers.

Bathing and Dressing of Infants.
 Physical Training of Children.
 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 Obedi-

ence 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.

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

16. Little Carvin, 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.

20. Senson. 21. Reunion. Price, 38 cents.

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40,000

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JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY.

PUBLISHERS, CORNHILL, BOSTON. And for sale by all Booksellers. April 28.

Despotism in America.

AUTHOR OF 'HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.' THE WHITE SLAVE, &c. &c. This is a new edition, very much enlarged, and brought down to the present time, of a work published ten years since. It is a most timely publication, showing, as it

does, in a manner not to be gainsaid, the regular, sys tematic and constant encroachment of THE SLAVE POWER, From the adoption of the Constitution to the

NEBRASKA INIQUITY. Render, would you know what despotism may exist under the stars and stripes of a Republic, peruse with care this masterly work.

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BY A PASTOR'S WIFE. WE have published the above number of copies of W this 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

work of wh 40,000 COPIES HAVE BEEN SOLD In one year. Published by

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., Boston, JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON, And for sale by all Booksellers.

March 24.

Ohio.

BOSTON ATHENÆUM EXHIBITION. THE EXHIBITION of PAINTINGS and STATUARY I is now open, comprising, among many beautiful Ancient and Modern Works of Art, Colk's series of Pictures, 'THE COURSE OF EMPIRE,' and several of the finest paintings from the collection of Joseph Bonaparte.

CHARLES FOLSOM, Librarian.

May 5. epistf

epistf May b.

MARRIAGE AND PARENTAGE: or, the Reproductive Element in Man, as a means to his elevation and happiness. By Henry C. Wright. The Present is the Child of the Past, and the Parent of the Future. Price, 50 cents. Just published and for sale by ture. Price, 50 cents. Just published an BELA MARSH, No. 9 Franklin street.

JAMES SCOTT, BOARDING AND LODGING, No. 3 Smith Court,

Belknap Street, : : : : : : Boston.

Permanent and transient Boarders accommodate in the most reasonable terms. PUBLIC PUNCTION OF WOMAN.

JUST published, and for sale by ROBERT F. WALLCUT, 21 Cornhill, 'A SERMON OF THE PUBLIC FUNCTIONS OF WOMAN, preached at the Music Hall, March
27, 1853. By THEODORE PARKER, Minister of the
Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society. Phonographically reported by J. M. W. Verrington and Rufus
Leighton.' Price 6 cents single—50 cents per dozen,
Boston, April 14.

Champooing and Hair-Dyeing.

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## POETRY.

# O! WHEN SHALL SLAVERY'S CURSE RE

O! when shall Slavery's curse remove, And Freedom's songs be sung, And the broad banner that we love, Be o'er the captive thrown?

When shall the poor slave-mother fold Her infant to her breast? Nor white men, for the love of gold, Its slumbers dare molest?

Rend, rend the chains that cling so fast To Afric's exiled sons; O, realm beloved, in mercy haste, To save the ruined ones

Then, native land, thy light shall be As evening's silver star; And millions shall thy glory see, And hail thee from afar

UNCLE TOW'S GRAVE Beyond the boundaries of the plantation, Georghad noticed a dry, sandy knoll, shaded by a few trees there they made the grave. — Uncle Tom's Cabin Vol. II., p. 283.

> Waves the pine-tree o'er the grave Of the faithful martyred slave, But he dwells his Lord beside, Saved, and blest, and glorified. Stately monument may tell Where of kings the ashes dwell;

But for thee there needs no sign, Marble shaft or breathing line. Well He knows thy resting place, Who to thee revealed his grace; Christ shall raise thy sleeping dust,

He will own thee with the just. Heir of grief and child of thrall, Shortly thou shalt hear his call. Robes of glory wait for thee,

Sweet thy heavenly rest shall be. Grieve not o'er the martyr's bed. Not for him should tears be shed; Weep for those who wear the chain, But for him thy tears are vain!

For the Liberator.

CLAIM OF THE SLAVE. . The World's in debt to me.'-SOJOURNER TRUTH. For all the years that I've been scourged To unrequited toil,

For all the blood and tears I've poured-Upon my native soil. Say you that boast that you are free, Is not the world in debt to me?

For all the hopes within my heart That rising have been crushed, For all the aspirations there That Slavery's power has hushed, Say you that boast that you are free, Is not the world in debt to me?

For all the gropings I have made Through Slavery's darkest night, For all the dear ones from me sold, And banished from my sight, Say you that boast that you are free, Is not the world in debt to me?

For wisdom in ten thousand books, The freeman's boasted hoard. Which Slavery has closed to me, Nor lets me read a word, Say you that boast that you are free, Is not the world in debt to me? Springfield, April, 1854.

PRIZE ODE

Sung at the re-inauguration of the Crystal Palace, New York, May 4, 1854. BY WM. ROSS WALLACE.

Lo! the transitory darkness From our Palace floats away Lo! the glorious gems of Genius Glitter in the rising day.

See again the mighty Nations Meet and grasp each other's palms, And by Labor's glowing altar Lift on high according psalms.

Here behold the true Evangel Not from War may Earth increase; God has stamped his shining patent Only on the brow of Peace.

Only by the arm of Labor. Swinging to Invention's chime Can the Nations build their Eden In the wilderness of Time.

Nations! hear that mighty music Rolling through the mountain-bars-Planting deserts, britiging oceans, Marrying the choral stars :

Telling that our Crystal Palace Glorifies the joyous sod-Making Man, with Art and Nature, Worthy of the Builder-God !

Nations ! then rejoice that darkness From our Palace floats away, And the glowing gems of Genius

Glitter in the light of day!

TO UNTIMELY WINTER. BY THE LATE MARY SHELDON, OF WISCONSIN. Begone, old Winter! thou white-bearded thing, Blustering tormentor of the lovely Spring; A dreaming poet said, that on the lap Of rosy Spring thou once did take a nap; And now it seems, forsooth, that thou dost take The fiction in good earnest, and dost make Thy daily court to her; and thou wouldst woo Bright Spring to kiss those lips so cold and blue! Old Winter, thou art vain-dost thou not see The maiden flies whene'er approached by thee? Thy look, thy whistling voice wings her light feet, With terror, to some sunny far retreat, Where thy cold breath can never chill again The birds and flowers rejoicing in her train. All the fair things that brighten in her smile Vanish away at thy cold presence. While Thou walkest through the park and down the street. The little children who went out to meet The Spring with merriment, run back and say, With tears and sobs, that Spring has flown away, And dreadful Winter has returned once more. And paces up and down before the door. Whene'er you go afield, across our hills, And through the meads and valleys, e'en the rills That laugh'd like infants 'neath the Spring's soft eye, Grow cold and dull-all dark and still they lie. Go, Winter, go! for ye can only fright Warm Spring before ye, dropping, in her flight, The tender blossoms, nourished by her breath, To meet, beneath thy feet, a cruel death. Go. Whitebeard ! to thy lonely home on high, Where snow-capp'd mountains pierce the northern sky-Howl in thy solitude, but ne'er again Trespass upon our gentle Spring's domain.

STANZA-PROM THE CHINESE. To seek relief from doubt in doubt, From wee in wee, from sin in sin, Is but to drive a tiger out, And let a hungrier wolf come in.

## SELECTIONS.

From the New York Tribune. THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

The Southern Convention, sasembled at Charleston, has at length adjourned. We had a reporter present during its sessions, who diligently forwarded an account of everything said and done, including the debate with regard to his own exclusion as the reporter of the Tribune, but we have not found substance enough in the proceedings to make them worth inserting in our columns, except as they were indicated by the brief telegraphic dispatches we have published from day to day. But now that the comedy is over, it really seems no more than proper that we should pay a little attention to a body which honored us so much, constituted as it was of so large an array of gentlemen of distinguished ability and eminent worth, and adorned as it was by all the genial hospitality for which Charleston is so justly famous. In so doing, we desire to speak with the gravity and punctilio be fitting the solemn assemblage of the chosen representatives of a dozen sovereign States. But this, we are sorry to say, is no trilling task. Really it is hard to discuss with seriousness the proceedings of a body of speech-makers which gave so little evidence of seriousness in itself, as our readers may judge by recalling the propositions harangued upon. Of these, the following were among the more important: 1. To exclude the reporter of the Tribune, had advanced to teach the South its duty and interest, not only as touching these frequent epileptic fits of aimless and useless Conventions, but also as regards the green. men think in their hearts, and endeavor to teach the South its duty and interest, not only as touching these frequent epileptic fits of aimless and useless Conventions, but also as regards the great curse of Slavery; 2. To build a railroad to the Pacific by special southern combination—as though the railroad could be helped forward an hour by all the palayer of the score of declaimers of the Convention; 3. To trade directly from the South with Europe—as though such direct trade were not wanting simply because capital is wanting, and capital and slavery cannot go together in sufficient quantities to build up commercial cities—New Orleans forming no exception, being simply an outlet for the great free western valley; 4. To print their own books and make their own tools and machinery—when Arts cannot flourish with Slarery, and inventive genius sickens and dies amid Chivalry—see that whether it he a Fitch Eyans Fulton Whith American content of the content when Arts cannot flourish with Slavery, and inventive genius sickens and dies amid Chivalry,—so that whether it be a Fitch, Evans, Fulton, Whitney, or Blanchard, the inventor must come from the North—the South meanwhile having the monopoly of 'great men,'—that is, politicians with ex-orbitant influence, growing out of the existence of an ignorant white population; 5. To 'open up' a trade with the region of the Amazon, a river which, flows parallel with the Equator, and whose banks are nearer like Danto's Inferno than anything else we know of, except that they are less populous— hot, pestilential, serpent-haunted, insect-infested, death-dealing, nasty, and ridiculous to think of outside of the tropical poetry of a Southern Con-vention; 6. To establish a Commission of Three, —composed of Gen. Scott, 'who has more brains than he gets credit for,' and is 'a tall man, taller than the Emperor Nicholas, —of Millard Fillmore, and of Judge Butler, of S. C., to proceed forthwith to Europe to act as mediators between Russia and to Europe to act as mediators betwen Russia and her opponents, England and France; 7. To hear a scientific exposition from Parson Brownlow of Ten- also; and they will learn, that to be a firm, decided, scientific exposition from Parson Brownlow of Tennessee,—informing the world why 'young gentlemen chew cloves and cinnamon'—which is to disguise the smell of liquor when they sit next their
sweethearts in pews,—and also, a story from the
same politico-economical orthodox expounder of a
young lady who would not put her arm through a jughandle, as she called a certain Young America who
was intermediated S. 2 and 10 the Tenesse who was intemperate; 8, 9 and 10, &c. To cause water to run up hill,—the Gulf Stream to go the back ws of gravitation to cease, the canons of political economy to come to an end, the virtue of the Declaration of Independence to vanish, the value of Industry and the respectability of Labor

to be forgotten.

Alas, for human infatuation! We can smile at the absurdities of other countries and other ages, and moralize over political or religious delusions;
—but here is a Convention which resolves that the

and has sworn a new fealty to Slavery, and pover-

eers refuse to see it. She languishes for want of varied industry—mechanics alongside of farmers, artists, inventors, savans—but such men will not seek a slave-doomed country when liberty beckons them or holds them to free soil. And up to the time that the South seriously prepares to abolish Slavery, she will remain inferior to the North in self-supporting power and all the elements of the progress she would emulate without adopting its conditions. The great secret of the astonishing growth and the immense resources of the free States is nothing else than liberty and democracy. Where is nothing else than liberty and democracy. Where to us yesterday:

'If the people knew the rottenness of this Contact of the public than accellity of nine-tenths of the public than accelling the contact of the public than accelling the contact of the con they exist, fussy Conventions to encourage and at-tract trade by long-winded and shallow speeches are not needed; where they do not, a whole nation of orators might spout forever without the slight-

### J. R. GIDDINGS AND GERRIT SMITH. [Correspondence of the Philadelphia Register.]

Washington, April 28, 1854. A new kind of whale has been made known to the world by the Scientific Convention now in session in this city. Last evening, Lieut. Maury read a paper on the subject. This whale is about thirty feet long. Lieut Maury had never heard of it unworth of cattle for beef, and who received in pay a til recently, old sailor as he is. Naturalists had certificate, or due-bill, to the amount from the Comnever described it; yet are whalemen perfectly famissaries of the Army, and yet that debt, though miliar with it. It is one of the sixteen varieties miliar with it. It is one of the sixteen varieties of the whale well known to them. It is insignificant in size compared with other whales, and is remarkable chiefly on account of its diminutive size, and for the quality from which it takes its name of Killer. It is the competitor of war in the control of cant in size compared with other whales, and is remarkable chiefly on account of its diminutive size, and for the quality from which it takes its name of Killer. It is the competitor of man in the business of destroying those monsters of the deep, the Kamscatka and Sperm whales. It does not attack the great whale in single combat, but marshals his force and attacks him in numbers, assailing his head, seizing his lips, and at length tearing out and eating his tongue, of three or four

tons weight!
This subject is interesting in itself; but I name it here, because I was forcibly reminded of it in the House of Representatives to-day. Joshua R. Giddings, a huge giant in his moral stature, and little less in his intellectual or physical, stood almost alone in the midst of a multitude of time-serving pigmies, who pressed closely upon him, and seem

his dorsal fin, applauding, advising, and 'crau

tics, and with as much self-approbation as he could have evinced, had none of his ancestors ever swallowed poor old Jonah!

The success of the Slave Power in the House, in the way of brow-benting and bullying, has thus far been shockingly meagre, and confidence in its efficiency is decidedly weak. Richardson is even bland; Clingman spouts his diminutive nothings in ineffensive though supercilious accents; Keith, who fights against nature to make a ferocious fellow of himself, fails of late to be very accinomious; the truly gentlemanly Orr is even amiable to abolitionists, as to all others; and that fearful Southern pro-slavery Hotspur, Mr. McDonald, of Maine, seems, in the magnanimity of his soul, to forgive a few scores of his fellow-members for their unintentional crime of being Yankees, and for the almost as unavoidable offence of refusing to prostrate themselves at the feet of every Southern slaveholder, or of the President, who is the tool and parasite of the slaveocracy, that will no more requite his servility with votes for a re-election than they will move for a restoration of the slave will move for a restoration of the services.

ever manifested by a boy of twelve. Yet, when he speaks, none are inattentive to him. No man ne speaks, none are inattentive to him. No man-can prove regardless of the deep, rich, and thril-ling tones of his voice. No man can for a moment fail to appreciate the thoughts he utters, in lan-guage all simplicity and dignity. Many smile at, and some deride the 'ultraism' of the sentiments he utters; but these very men are among the foremost to acknowledge the greatness of his intellect-ual and moral nature. His 'ultraism,' however is a matter of opinion among men. The speech to which I have allude; contains by no means inapt specimens of this quality. Will not the readers of the Register obtain it, and read it attentively, and learn from it what it is to be an ultraist in these latter days! It will be profitable for them to do so. They will learn that not only the early and purest teachers of Christianity were ultraists, but that George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and

honest man, is ever to be ultra.

I never beheld Gerrit Smith until the assembling of the present Congress, and I was then prepared, from what I had heard, to look upon an ascetic dogmatist, an arbitrary man of cranks, and notions, and eccentricities. Never did I realize a more complete or a more gratifying disappointment. I found in him a man whose identity I would not exchange for that of any other man upon whom

my eyes have ever looked.

[Correspondence of the Hartford Republican.] WASHINGTON, April 28, 1854.

Yesterday, Mr. Smith of Virginia, made a most unwarrantable attack upon the character of John Quincy Adams, in the House of Representatives. He also insulted Mr. Giddings, lied about him, —but here is a Convention which resolves that the South must preponderate! That she must have capital! Must have industry! Must trade directly with Europe! Must build up cities as the North has! Must trade with distant lands, and especially with Amazonia—that perennial Jack-and-hisbean of the ineffable Lieutenant Maury! Must have a railroad to the Pacific—when her present curse is the want of a concentrated and industrious population! Must annex Cuba—steal it, according to Parson Brownlow!

Well, the Convention has met and has parted: has twaddled about capital and trade and progress; and has sworn a new fealty to Slavery, and poverance is a Convention which the distant the Virginian blackguard had deliberately uttered falsehoods in reference to himself. Smith is one of Pierce's whippers-in, and was one of the memorable set of scoundrels who voted to censure Mr. Giddings—but did not return to Congress for ten years. Mr. G. reminded the House of this, and gave it the true history of the vote of censure, and and has sworn a new fealty to Slavery, and poverty, and weakness, and deterioration. So they will go on. They will meet, and meet—and Norfolk and Charleston will remain villages; and the 40,000 people just shown by the Virginia journals to exist in that State ignorant of radiations. nals to exist in that State ignorant of reading and dings in language too renomous ever to be used in writing will increase; and the people of small a pot-house; begged the pardon of the House for means, who must live by labed, will continue to desert the soil of Slavery for that of liberty; and North; lauded slavery to the skies, and himself the 400,000 immigrants will pour into the North-west and avoid the South more and more; and the trade of the North-east and West will augment along with their arts and manufactures, and polish and civilization.

Such is the sad and simple truth of this matter. Such is the sad and simple truth of this matter, and we utter it accordingly. We are sorry to have so disagreeable a duty to discharge, but it cannot be helped. It is plain what ails the South, but her politicians and journalists and conventioneers refuse to see it. She languishes for want of varied industry—machanics alongside of farmers.

The universal corruption which prevails here is astonishing. Said one honest member of Congress

gress-the rascality of nine-tenths of the public officers here—they would rise en masse, and tear the secondrels from their seats.' The morality of many of the members, whatever it may be at home, is here belowepar. Gambling, cheating, licentious ness, and hard-drinking are their characteristics. While all manner of fraudulent claims are swindled through Congress each day, there are in Washington to day, hundreds of poor, honest men, who ask in vain that their just claims be attended to. A rich man with a forged claim stands a far better Congress show themselves possessed of no uprightness of character, that a weak and unprincipled President (for alas! he has proved himself to be such,) should attempt to bribe, threaten and cajole them into support of his favorite measures. No President ever yet lived, who would dare try to coax or scold such a man as Chase or Giddings-Gerrit Smith or Tom Benton.

JOHN MITCHEL In the slave States, mysterious silences suc ceeded the original brazen blast which announced the entrance of John Mitchel into the lists in deence of slavery. The heralds of the Southern ed to seek to devour him!

The chief killer was the renowned Ex or Extra Governor Smith, whom Giddings had yesterday twice repelled, discomfitted and disgraced. Today the Governor came forth, prepared to face his intended giant victim. To each of his hundred accomplices, a duty appeared to have been assigned. Keith, of South Carolina, stood within sweep of this devand, application, application, and terms of the Southern tended to greet with a flourish of the stood ungreeted—unacknowledged—with no facturned towards him that was not alive with co his dorsal fin, applauding, advising, and 'cramming' the ferocious killer.

Perkins, of Louisiana, made a few badly aimed thrusts at the head of the great adversary, and all the killers created a vast commotion in the waters. But the great whale was not destined to be destroyed and devoured on this startling occasion; and when the vanquished army had retired, and the waters were stilled, he rode upon the billows and basked in the sun with as much complacency as though there were no killers in the ocean of political

necessity—alarmed expediency—may take notice of him, and all base men, and things that wear the form of men, join to do him the empty honor of their applause; but there is a Future, and no man has more reason to quake at heart, and dread the searching judgment of that incorruptible tribunal, where humanity may fearlessly assert her outraged claims, and demand gibbets for the blackened fame of every knave who was cruel to the Human Cause, than John Mitchel.—Commonwealth.

The times demand more courage, more fidelity and more enthusiasm.

The signs are propitious that a better day is dawning. It is always darkest just before day. The Church must come and take sides against wrong and evil. Christianity is not selfish—it is universal. Nations must be made to feel its powers. It must be felt, and in the halls of legislation.

AN EXPERIMENT THAT PAILED.

They hung a man in Pittsburgh last month, under the mistaken notion that the State could stop people killing each other by killing one itself. The experiment proved a dead failure, as we could have told them it would before they tried. The subject of the experiment was a hard drinker, who, being drunk, got into a fight last year in behalf of a friend, and killed a man with very little jdea of what he was doing. So they had him arrested, tried, convicted, sentenced, reprieved, exhorted, prayed for, and finally hung. The Dispatch gives the following account of the sequel:

Our people are now pretty thoroughly constituted.

THE GLORIOUS RESCUE.

The Keneska Telegraph proposes that either Mr. Watkins, Mr. Booth, or some one occupying a similar position, should be chosen as the next Representative of the Milwaukie district in Congress. We heartily second the suggestion.

The following letters, among others received by the Editor, are published in the Free Democrat:

Washington, March 23, '54.

My Dear Friend and Brother:

God bless you, and He will bless you. Your letter, this morning, has filled me with joy. You are aware what a responsible part I took in the resour of Jerry. I determined

Our people are now pretty thoroughly convinced that hanging a man will neither prevent rog shops selling liquor to madden others, young men from drinking it, nor drunken ruffians from cutting the throats of their fellow-men.

On Friday, 24th ult., David Jewell was hanged for murder—and before two weeks had elapsed, our columns recorded no less than seven persons stabled, one of them since dead, and another mortally injured! In Birmingham, one man was killed, and two others cut; on the very night of Jewell's execution.

Of Jerry. I determined, from the first, that, were indicated, I would not give bail.—I would go to juice. I trust that you will not give bail. I trust you will avow the whole extent of your participation in the rescue of Glorious Rescue!

Truly, yours,

GERRIT SMITH.

To S. M. Booth.

Washington, March 31, '54. two others cut; on the very night of Jewell's exe-cution; in the same borough, Officer Smiley, while in the execution of his duty at a fire, received a wound from a knife from some ruffian. Soon after, in the Fifth Ward, a man cut his friend's throat by mistake, in his drunken fury. Again, in day time, a negro let out another's bowels, in the Sixth Ward; and on Thursday night of last week, in a grog shop in the First Ward, a notorious rowdy in-flicted nearly a dozen stabs upon an acquaintance, because he declined drinking with him.

'Such is an outline of the cutting and slashing in our city, during the two weeks immediately following an execution—which thousands really be-lieved would strike terror to the rowdies of this community! It is useless to repeat, that the hang-ing of Jewell has had no effect whatever in checking the crime of which he was convicted, nor need we enlarge upon the reason of such a result.— When will the community understand, that it is the promptness, and especially the certainty of punishment, which can alone restrain the hand that is ready to imbrue itself in a brother's blood —and that no such promptness, no such certainty can be had where the punishment is death?

In every one of the cases of stabbing we have been called upon to record, since the execution al-luded to, the perpetrator had been drinking intoxicating liquors until maddened."

We often hear grave, prudent, conservative citizens shake their heads over the folly of conceited youngsters, who will try experiments aimed at the improvement of social relations or conditions which they ought to know will fail, because such always have failed; yet here is this oldest of all disastrous experiments—the Licensing of men to sell Rum, and then Hanging those who drink it, and are maddened by it into imbruing their hands in blood—which has always failed, always will, always must fail; and yet some people will persist in having it repeated and persevered in, as though it were certain to succeed next time! Nay: we have a Governor in this State, who of himself upholds the Licensing and superintends the Hanging! Was there ever before such fatuity!—Tribune.

CHRISTIAN FORGIVENESS. In Pittsburgh, Penn. a man named Jewell was recently hung by the neck till he was dead, for killing another man while drunk. For twenty days before his execution, he was kept in irons that weighed ninety pounds; so say the papers; and the same powers that con-demned and murdered him, went through with the solemn mockery of appointing a priest to prepare him for heaven: and though they did not get him so far converted but that they thought it best to keep him in irons to the last, they took upon themselves the terrible responsibility of cutting short the time for repentance which God gave him, by launching him into eternity! This is the kind of forgiveness practised by modern Christians—men who profess to make the forgiving Nazarine their pattern! Nearly all the various churches in the nation believe in dealing thus with their erring brethren : and ministers are the most strenuous ad vocates of the gallows! The churches unite in liunite to murder or otherwise punish those who commit crimes under the influence of strong drink! The members of churches do this as much as other people, and then call me a blackguard only because I say that, notwithstanding all their Southern contribution—resolved to trade direct high professions, their practices prove them to be Europe—declared it would print its own booksthe synagogues of Satan.

How long will such ignorance, and such worse

than barbarous practice, prevail? What horrible mockery, to profess to be the followers of Christ, naving power to cast out devils, then sell to their brethren liquors that fill them with devils, and then punish them for crimes which the devils instigate them to commit! From such religion, may the Lord deliver us .- Portland Pleasure Boat.

### THE PUNCTION OF THE GOSPEL In a Discourse recently delivered at Washington, by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, the speaker said-

It is the function of the Gospel to remove all evil in the moral world. True, it begins with individuals, but nations can be made to feel its power. If there is no medicine in the Gospel for nations, then they must die. Faithful ministers must preach If there is no medicine in the Gospel for nations, then they must die. Faithful ministers must preach this Gospel in all its power. And they must expect to meet trouble. If they fear it, then they had better die at once, and go to Heaven—if they can. A true minister must know no fear. He must be a warrior. He must not preach to please the Justice of the Peace or the Senate. He must go forth and attack wrong wherever he finds it. Does he say that is perilous! Why, it is perilous to live. When preachers shall do their duty faithfully, there will be less dogs to bark. They are told to mind their own business, and not be meddlers. But the minister who never creates any agitation, is like the husbandman who never plows, because he may rip up some old roots. It is a peculiarity of the Gospel, that if don't mind its own business. It is aggressive. It don't wait for Man to come to force is a great of provision, and some fifty each conclusive of provision, and some fifty each conclusive of provision, and some fifty each on board a large amount of provision, and some fifty each of provision, and some fifty each conclusive of provision, and some fifty each and a large amount of provision, and some fifty each conclusive of provision, and some fifty each can be a suite of provision and some fifty each can be a suite of provision. It is aggressive. It don't wait for Man to come to it for relief, but it goes out to find Man, wherever e is. A Church may have all truth in its creed, but if it sets on its eggless nest and never incubates, it is just as dead as its opposite neighbor, that be-

lieves in all manners of error.

Preaching is substance in life. A bullet must laf inst.
have powder behind it, or it is dead matter. If Sena men needed only argument, analysis, and deductions, then the Bible alone would be enough. But the object of preaching is not to build up a creed or a system, but to remove sin and evil. The Churches of the present day, disputing about the correctness and tendency of different articles of faith, reminded him of a number of workmen assembled to erect a building. They begin to compare their saws, disputing which has the best temper—their chisels, contending which is the sharpest—and their axes, hoasting of the skill and fame of the makers -but never strike a blow or make a tenon towards

the erection of the edifice.

The ministers of these churches think it so sweet and genteel to attack sin indirectly. There was meaning in the declaration of Jesus, that he came to send a sword, and not peace. The Savior wants stout, brave men, not gentlemen in silk stockings and kid gloves. Their preaching must be bold and applicatory. The Gospel, it is true, is very inconvenient to sinners, but it must be preached, so that drunkards, atingy crabbed souls, unjust men, and oppressors, will feel that it is after them.

Sometimes the men in the pews are impelled to speak out against wrong, but their pastor tells them it is not prudent. If I (said Mr. B.) had a Gospel like that, I would throw it overboard. would never preach to please the pews. There are congregations of men who build splendid edifices, with rich pulpits, handsomely carpeted aisless well cushioned pews, splendid organ, and have very respectable choirs—butdon't call such Churches of Christ—call them Odd Fellows—Mutual Insurance Companies - anything respectable, bu

The preachers to these congregations batter away at erroneous creeds, but let drunkenness and op-pression go. A true minister should understanthe people, and should preach to them as a lawye pleads with a jury, having a point always in view

ter, this morning, has filled me with joy. You are aware what a responsible part I took in the rescue of Jerry. I determined, from the first, that, were I indicted, I would not give bail—I would go to

My DEAR SIR : . . With my views of the unonstitutionality and inhumanity of the Fugitive Slave Act, you are well acquainted. For me, its provisions have no more validity than those of the Alien and Sedition Acts, or the Stamp Act It is

an exercise of power nowhere granted by the Constitution, in derogation of the rights of the States, and full of danger to personal liberty.

Truly your friend, S. P. CHASE.

A New Underground Railroad to Canada. Mrs. Mary Afflick was arrested in Louisville on the 7th ultimo, and tried on a charge of aiding a negro to escape. The slave belonged to Dr. Gross. The Courier gives the following account of the method of procuring passage over this new underground railroad:—Tickets are bought at the Jeffersonville railroad office, then handed over to the near that is ready to element the handed over to the negro that is ready to elope; the omnibus calls for him about daybreak, and, ensconced in that, he rides to the ferry and across the river to the dept, whence he is rapidly whirled away by steam into the interior of Indiana. This is the latest and outest abolition dodge, and appears to have worked successfully until the arrest of the woman in question. Mrs. Afflick had, it appears, aided in the escape of sev-eral slaves from Louisville. She was committed for forther examination.

The Toronto Globe says : 'Serious apprehensions are entertained respecting the safety of Capt. Collinson, who went out to Behring's Straits, in company with Captain McClure, to search for Sir John Franklin. Search is now being made for him, as well for the long-lost Sir John, both on the Eastern and Western coast of North America. If Captain Collinson be found soon, all the vessels are to return: if not, discretionary orders are given to Captains Maguire and McClure to continue the search for one year

"An honest confession is good for the soul." The Hon. Samuel Houston, Ex-President of Texas, and now one of her Senators, in his great speech says: "Was the acquisition of Texas constitutional? No, sir, it was not. It was a mere act of legislation on the same of the Government of the Constitution of the same of the s the part of this Government—a compromise—precisely such as the compromise which this bill proposes to repeal. But Texas is in, and you cannot thrust us out; and that is the whole of it. But it is not constitutional. Spiritual Barber .- Joseph Brydle, a Metho-

dist local preacher of Kelloggsville, Ashtabula Co., O., in a letter to Messrs. Partridge and Brittan, published in the Spiritual Telegraph of April 15th, relates that the spirit of his deceased wife, through the medium of their little daughter, [eleven years of age,] did many curious things, and, among the rest, cut his hair, as she had been accustomed to do for thirty years! What next? Fan-aticism .- The author of a work recently

Fan-aticism.—The author of a work recently published in New York, entitled, 'Reverence in the Sanctuary,' says the use of the fan should be positively prohibited in church, as a gross desceration of God's sanctuary. He aids, that the use of a fan 'at any time during the worship of the Most High, is a sight which no right-minded worshipper can behold without deep regret.' The above doctrine may answer in a cold climate, but it would be vain to advocate it here in dog-days .- Boston Transcript. Southern Convention .- This body, in its ac-

tion, was a comedy. It talked largely, and acted smally. It excluded a reporter of the New York Tribune—determined to build a railroad to the Pacific by Southern contribution—resolved to trade directly with mined to have the Amazon river open—advised a commission, composed of Gen. Scott, Senator Butler, o South Carolina, and Millard Fillmore, to act as peace-makers between Russia and the Western powers—and ended with propositions as full of farce as ever genius invented. The Convention was a silly affair.—Clereland Leader.

The newspapers have given currency to a rumor that Henry Ward Beecher was about to take charge of a Congregational church in Washington. In noticing this rumor, the Star, a newspaper published in that city, threatens him with a coat of tar and feathers, if his sermons should be similar to those he has preached elsewhere. That would be a rather singular proceeding for the capital of a free country, in the las half of the nineteenth century. — Wheeling (Va.)

The Dublin Nation has quite turned or

mitment for trial at the United States Court.

The testimony of Lieut. Downes was quite conclusive as to the destination of the Glamorgan. She had a new flush deck fitted up, and had on board a large amount of provisions, and some fifty casks of water. When her flush deck fitted up, and had on board a large amount of provisions, and some fifty casks of water. When her captain was taken before Lieut. Downes, on learning that he was a United States officer, he coolly remarked, 'Then I'm caught '—a statement which appears to be abundantly verified. The trial will probably be had the last of the present month.—Boston Transcript, let inc. Senator Douglas's Letter .- It is stated that

Senator Douglas's Letter.—It is stated that Senator Douglas's letter to the clergymen of Chicago was a decided faux pas, it being published to soon. The protest has not been sent to Congress. The correct resolutions, as published, did not protest in the name of Almighty God, but simply as Ministers of the Gospel. The words, 'war and policy,' as commented on by Mr. Douglas, were a misprint for 'mere civil policy;' and lastly, the Memorial is now in circulation, and will receive many signatures besides the original twents for ceive many signatures besides the original twenty-five before it is sent.

Perjury .- In a case recently tried at Lowell, in the Supreme Court, while charging the jury, Judge Metcalf complimented some of the witnesses as follows :--Gentlemen, this case has developed some of th

most painful manifestations of depravity which it has ever been my lot to wirness. God only knows who lies —but somebody does! This assertion of the Judge created a sensation in the

court room. We learn that Johnson, the clergyma

of Saugerties who has recently been deposed by his church, has been arrested and committed to prison, for drowning his wife and child last fall. Circumstances are brought to light which render the case clear enough to warrant a commitment. — Catskill Whig. A Polish physician at Kalafat has mad

a curious and important discovery of a species of camera, or optical telegraph, by which a perfect reconnoisance could be effected at an incredible distance. It could be used on horseback, and the Turks had as many as four hundred persons employed in this way about Railroad Accident .- A man named R

White, a wealthy farmer from Darien, Genesee Co., N. Y., while crossing with his team the Canandaigua and Niagara Falls Railroad, May 1st, was struck by the engine, and his skull fractured so badly that he cannot recover.

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Dr H. was one of the earliest advocates, and in been and still is one of the most successful practitizen of the Water-Cure system. Nevertheless, in the tresment of Chronic Diseases, and especially those incide to Woman, experience has taught him that Mcoraram combined with the Water-Cure Treatment, is in all cases much more effectual, and will restore many attents who are beyond the reach of Hydropathy also This has been made apparent in the cure of tryingal nervous and spinal affections heretofore unreached, and of Dyspepsia and Paralysis, and the numerous and complicated diseases of the liver and kidneys.

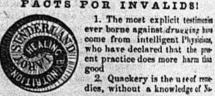
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