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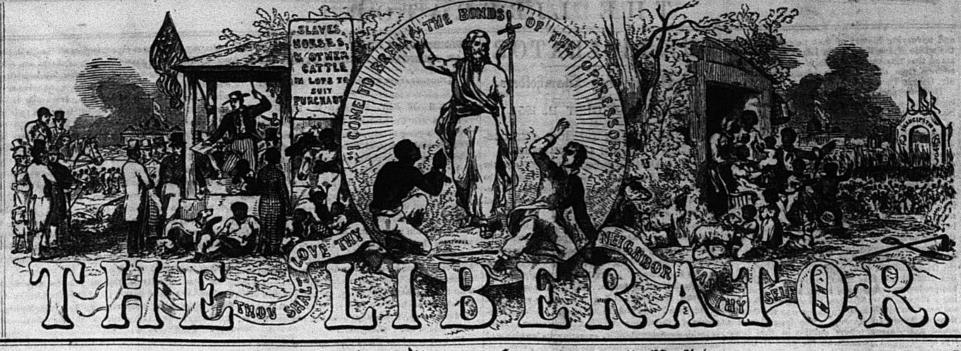
All remittances are to be made, and all letters the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to ed, (FOST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inare times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00.

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts rania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-Pensylvania to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. IF The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts Committee, but an Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray Lenso, LONGAD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and

RECORD PARLIES.

THE LIBERATOR, both sides of very question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union mith. Slaveholbers!

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

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the sisvehold rds of the South prescribed, as a condition of their sent to the Constitution, three special provisions to

CORE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

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

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PROTTIVE 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 merchandize, under

the name of persons in fact, the oppressor repre-

senting the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-

stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of

mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

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

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANDMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'-John Quincy Adams.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 32.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 11, 1854.

WHOLE NUMBER 1047.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SOUTHERN PATRIOTISM !

The following were among the 'regular toasts,' which, it is said, were read and received in a betion in Tallapoosa County, Alabama :-

Abolitionism, Fanaticism, and all the schizms and eas of the day. -Great obstacles in the way of progress and the peaceful relations of communi-ies. May their advocates, aiders and abettors, a treated as they deserve by every honest patriot

John Mitchel, the Irish Patriot .- One of Ireland's oblest sons. Groaning under the hand of British oppression, he was a patriot. Breathing the free imosphere of America, he is still so. May he restmesphere of America, the street of the serve that patronage and encouragement from the serve to which his manly bearing, enlightened siers, and liberal sentiments upon the great ques-tions of the day so pre-eminently entitle him.

Foreign Connivance and Abolition Contrivance .-We of the South fear neither. Our hearts are toul, and our resources great; foreign blinks cannot slarm, nor can abolition winks intimidate us.

Somer, Wade of Co .- The people of the South thew you, sirs. Your traitorous designs upon the Union and upon the institutions of the South are minifest. You invite your deluded followers to and bloodshed, but skulk like cowards in the dark yourselves, to avoid the just indignation of an

Our relations with Spain .- May they be speedily adjusted by a cession of Cuba to our government for a quid pro quo. Her proximity to our shores and our political relations makes her the apple of our eye and the darling of our hearts. The by a large and respectable number of sovereigns that we are of the Saints.

Alaband.—May her policy ever be such as to ene permanency of her institutions.

The Abolition, Fanatical, Hypocritical, Anti-Nebraka, 'Nigger'-loving and strife-stirring Clergy-neas the North and elsewhere.—Sirs, by your long es ye are known. It requires but little penetra tim to see into the designs of your wicked and corrupt hearts. Traitors and cut-throats may for but all true friends to their ountry do now, and will ever condemn you.

The Memory of those who fell on the battle-fields of Mexico.—Brave souls, you died in the cause of four country. In the hearts of your countrymen you will ever be cherished, and by them your chivalry appreciated. Green be the turf that covers your distant graves, and palsied the hand 'that

The late demonstrations of the North .- The best widence of an unsound state of public morals.
The good and true of all parties deplore them. What reason does not accomplish, the bayonet can. The laws must be executed.

Here are some volunteer toasts :

By C. T. STRONG, Esq. - The Hon. Caleb Mass.-The scholar, the patriot, and the soldier. For his just and manly defence of Southern rights, before a rabid abolition audience on a certain occasion, and his pointed rebuke of their hyporrisy, he deserves the thanks of the whole country, and especially the South.

By - Scroogins .- Gen. His Highness Antonio Lope: de Santa Ana. - First in war, then out of it; first in peace, then out of it; first in the hearts of then out of it. The soldier to-day, the cock-fighter to-morrow. The man of vicissitudes and one leg. One more slice of your territory, General, and then a long farewell to thee forever!

At the same celebration, as if to burlesque all the other proceedings, and to make the oddest contrast imaginable, the following toasts were drank :

By N. D. SHIELDS, Esq .- The Country we live in. -iler hand is pointed to the East, beckoning the oppressed of all nations to come and take shelter under the Tree of Liberty. (!!)

Righteourness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach upon any prople. - A good, wise and juditious administration of a government will always insure a willing obedience on the part of the gov-

True Liberty and true Religion .- Not incompatible with each other, or the genius of our institu-tions, but a death-blow to all priesteraft and

The World, the whole World .- A happy reconciliation of all differences—civil, religious and politi-ol—a speedy downfall to Satan's reign, succeeded by the ushering in of the millenium morn, ' when nation shall cease to strive against nation, and there shall be war no more."

The following were among the, toasts drank at a 4th of July celebration in South Carolina :

South Carolina-The unruly member of the nion; insulted and contemned by an arrogant and presumptuous Abolition faction, she yet wears the chains in deference to her sister Status.

Virginia-The recent outrage perpetrated upor e of her citizens will no doubt urge her to desccrate the unboly thought of a longer continuance

We detest and despise the Union, and openly declare our allegiance only to a Southern Confed-

The following were among the volunteer toasts, the first being offered by the President of the

The Abolitionists of Boston-Language fails to

give an adequate expression of our contempt for By one of the Committee of Arrangements-

ces to the Missourians in obtaining and maintaining the possession of every foot of land in the territories of Nebraska and Kansas—may they be men of determined bravery, to tar and feather every Yanksa who will be the second to the second to the second territories of the second territories and the second territories of the second territories and the second territories of the seco sakee who may dare pollute the air with hi eastly presence. Cula-May the insidious machinations of Great

Britain to emancipate the slaves of Cuba to give her strength against American acquisition, prove abortice, as did their attempts to enslave America in times of the Dr. Cuba to give her strength against America in times of the Dr. Cuba to give her strength against America in times of the Dr. Cuba to give her strength and the strength and the strength against the strength and th es of the Revolution. The Fuguire Slave Law-Carried out in the case

Burns; it cost the United States \$50,000 and owner \$3,000; full enough to buy the freedom of all the ragged mobs in shape of Yankee Aboli-

The New York Herald-Its Editor, a Northern man with Southern principles: May he still continue to resist cowhides and fines—continue in the work of a noble mind, till rascality from every quarter he exposed to public view.

RELIGION AND THE NEBRASKA BILL! tors to their country; and it would be that they [From a North Carolina Baptist newspaper.]

We have been denied the leisure to examine with We have been denied the leisure to examine with For the credit of the New England States, we would fain hope that such Sabbath-day descra-Lord's vineyard, in which we are an humble labor- tions, and treasonable emanations, do not meet with er, has demanded so much of our time, and has so entirely absorbed the powers of our mind, that we have not bestowed more than a very hasty glance at what is denounced in the North as the 'bill of ascendency throughout that whole section. abominations.' Nor do we expect ever to trouble ourselves about the matter. When the question was under discussion in Congress, it created no nterest-certainly no excitement, in the whole South. When it passed, the South shot no guns and kindled no benfires. The North has had all the excitement. The measure was conceived in the lowing extract:
North. The leading statesmen of the North were

sweetness than 'the city which hath foundations, whose builder and enaker is God.' The name of a negro seems to have become more precious, certainly more conducive to excitement, than the name of Jesus which ought to be above every name.'

The ready been in the Territory, and staked out claims in the names of men whom they have taken along to erect a log-cabin on each pre-emption.

It is reasonable to suppose that Kansas will soon present to Congress her Constitution, with a slavery clause. Then Southern men will be re-

the States South-whose heroes and statesmen were the chief architects of this great Republic-than upon 'principalities and powers, and wicked spir-speaks editorially : its in high places.' They seek, with maniae valor, to pollute with the blood of civil war, the graves Territory' sets forth the result of the writer's perof Washington, Jefferson, Marion, Munroe, Madison, Sumpter, Jackson, Clay, and others, the most illustrious champions of our country's greatness and renown—the men who purchased by their blood and their wisdom, even the liberty which these fanaties abuse in scattering political and religious fire-brands, arrows and death broadcast these fanatics abuse in scattering political and re-ligious fire-brands, arrows and death broadcast over the land; yes, with mad daring they seek the disruption of our Republic, while they shrink with mean poltroonery from any rencounter with the hosts of the prince of the power of the air. 'the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience,' against whom they pretend it is their chief business to wage unceasing battle.'

The following extract will show how the abolition rayings of some infuriated preachers at the North are viewed in the latitude of Richmond. We fully concur with the Whig in regarding such preaching as a desecration of the Sabbath, the pulposition of the Sabbath, the pulposition of the sabbath, the pulposition of the sabbath of the success of our native mechanisms as a desecration of the Sabbath, the pulposition of the sabbath of the sabbath of the sabbath and the sabbath of the sabbath are sabbath and the sabbath of the sabbath of the sabbath of the sabbath are sabbath, and the sabbath are sabbath a it, and of the ministerial profession; but the Whig does injustice to the Northern clergy as a oody, when it groups them in such wretched com-This Higginson, if we mistake not, has een indicted as one of the rioters whose operaions resulted in the murder of constable Batchelder at Boston. From all that we have heard about oim, we judge that he is another Theodore Parker, bating the talents and perhaps also the infidelity of the latter. He is not to be taken as a fair specmen of the New England Orthodox clergy, the a good many of them are more or less tinctured with the same weakness and folly. On the other hand, there are great numbers of them who disapprove and lament such pulpit demoralization, and are not partakers of the sin, either in sympathy or act .- N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

From the Richmond Whig.

DESECRATING THE SABBATH. It is no uncommon occurrence, of late days, for

the Puritans of New England to descerate the Sab-bath in listening to the rantings of infuriated abolitionists, on that day, done up in the form of ermons. The descendants of our strait-laced pu ritanical forefathers now substitute a morbid political creed for the Bible, from which they draw their texts, the political hustings for the pulpit, and a set of outcast political hacks, clothed in the livery garb of Heaven, the better to enable them to serve the devil in, for Orthodox ministers of the gospel. We have recently had an illustration of this by the reception of an incendiary pamphlet with the following imposing title-page: Massawith the following imposing title-page: chusetts in Mourning: A Sermon preached in Worcester on Sunday, June 4th, 1854. By Thom-as Wentworth Higginson, Minister of Worcester Free Church.' The Reverend divine proceeds to deliver himself of a load of hypocritical cant in

You have imagined my subject beforehand, for there is but one subject on which I could preach, or you could listen, to-day. Yet, how hard it is to say one word of that! You do not ask, at a fueral, that the bereaved mourners themselves should speak, but you call in one a little farther removed, to utter words of comfort, if comfort there be. But to-day is, or should be, to every congregation in Massachusetts, a day of funeral service—we are all mourners, and what is

The above is the introductory paragraph to the delectable Sabbath-day sermon that follows. It is a tissue of hypocrisy, blasphemy and treason throughout. We make but one more extract to how the character of this nefarious production low sent to the South for circulation. It is as

Do not despair of the Republic, says some one, remembering the hopeful old Roman motto. But they had to despair of that one in the end—and why not of this one also? Why, when we are going on, step by step, as older republies have done, should we expect to stop just as we reach the brink of Niagara? The love of liberty grows stronger every year, some think, in some places. Thirty years ago, it cost only twenty-five collars to restore a fugitive slave from Boston, but now to costs \$100,000—but still the slave is restored. know there are thousands of hearts which stand pledged to liberty now, and these may save the State, in spite of her officials and her military; but can they save the nation? They may give us disunion instead of despotism but are potism, but can they give us anything better? Can they even give us anything so good?

son, in discoursing to his pieus New England audience, consoles them with the idea that the South can give them disunion instead of despotism, but they can give them nothing better, and, before descending from his eloquent flight, on that occasion, asks, 'Can they even give us any thing so good!' We think we could suggest a more deserved fate for all such religious reprobates and trai-The miscalled Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higgin-

be furnished with rope enough to hang them, on Boston Common, until they meet a traitur's doom.

'SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY.'

The Jackson Mississippian of July 11, contains a letter from Dr. D. O. Williams, who has just returned from Kansas, from which we make the fol-

. All the best locations its nursing fathers. It was understood to be a fa-vorite measure of the President, one of the most the foundation for a log cabin laid, by hundreds and distinguished of Northern Patriots. At all events. thousands of slaveholders from the border slave counit became a law in accordance with the forms pre- ties in Missouri, who have entered into solemn, pledges scribed by the Constitution. It has the image and to protect each other in this claim, and to keep all Abosuperscription of Caesar, and let Caesar attend to litionists from the Territory. There remains no Ministers of the Gospel have nobler objects to longer a doubt but that Kansas has already made a claim their attention and employ their talents. beginning which insures it a Slave State. Greeley and They are engaged in a great work, and should not the Abolitionists may flounder and flutter until they come down to mingle in the melee of such paltry are satisfied; Kansas is now a slave Territory, and will and petty feuds. 'Let the potsherds of the earth be a slave State. There are already enough of slave strive with the potsherds of the earth.'

'The Nebraska bill is now discussed, instead of the awful retributions of eternity. Negro eman, cendiary feet. The slave-owners of Kentacky, Virtuella and the state of the slave-owners of Kentacky, Virtuella and the state of the slave-owners of Kentacky, Virtuella and the state of the slave-owners of Kentacky, Virtuella and the slave-owners of cipation is urged, to the utter forgetfulness of re-demption from sin. 'Free territory' is a locality will soon seek that delightful country, and, would of more frequent mention and more enchanting you believe it, Mr. Editor, Mississippians have al-

name. These spiritual knights-errant, who appear to think they have a divine commission to correct all the wrongs, real and imaginary, in our nation, are infinitely more chivalric in their onslaughts upon ton, Houston, Bell, and their Free-Soil allies.

Of the author of this letter, the Mississippian thus

sonal observations. It is from the pen of Dr. D. feel a lively concern in whatever relates to the future of the South.'

NORTHERN MECHANICS, READ THIS! The Spartanhurg Express compliments the mechanics of the North—and the merchants also ! in the following unequivocal manner :-

A large proportion of the mechanical force that migrate to the South, are a curse instead of a grate southward-we mean that class known as merchants—they are generally intelligent and trust-worthy, and they seldom fail to discover their true interests. They become slaveholders and landed ctors, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, they are better qualified to become constituents of our institutions, than even a certain class of our native born, who, from want of capacity, are perfect drones in society, continually carping about slave competition, and their inability to acquire respec-table position and employment, when in fact their natural acquirements and ambition do not excel the wisdom of the mole. They never look beyond the point of their nose, or aspire to anything be youd the capacity of drudge in society.

The intelligent mercantile class who come among us from the North, and settle, are generally value ble acquisitions to society, and every way qualified to sustain our institution,' but the mechanics, most of them, are pests to society, dangerous among the slace population, and ever ready to form combi nation, against the interest of the slaveholder against the laws of the country, and against the peace of the commonwealth.

SELECTIONS.

TRIUMPHS OF THE SLAVE POWER. Extracts from 'A Sermon of the Dangers which breaten the Rights of Man in America; preached at the Music Hall, on Sunday, July 2, 1854, by THEODORE PARKER ':-

See the steady triumph of despotism! years more like the ten years past, and it will be all over with the liberties of America. Everthing must go down, and the heel of the tyrant will h on our neck. It will be all over with the Rights of Man in America, and you and I must go to Austria, to Italy, or to Siberia, for our freedom; or perish with the liberty which our fathers fought for and secured to themselves, not to their faith-less sons. Shall America thus miserably perish!

But are the people slarmed! No, they fear nothing, only the tightness in the money market! Next Tuesday, at sunrise, every bell in Boston will ring joyously; every cannon will belch sulphurous Welcome from its brazen throat. There will be processions,—the Mayor and the Aldermen, and the Marshal and the Naval Officer, and, I suppose, the 'Marshal's Guard,' very appropriately taking their places. There is a chain on the Common to-day; it is the same chain that was around the Court House in 1851; it is the chain that bound Sims; now it is a festal chain. Beware the chain! it is the Father of Lies! There are mottoes about the Common—'They mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.' I suppose it means that the mayor and the kidnappers did this. 'The spirit of '76 still lives.' Lives, I suppose, in the Supreme Court of Fugitive Slave Bill judges. 'Washington, Jeffer-son, and their compatriots!—their names are sa-cred in the heart of every American.' That, I suppose, is the opinion of Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns. And opposite the great Park Street Church,—where a noble man is this day, I trust, discoursing noble words, for he has never yet been found false to freedom,— Liberty and Independence, our Fathers' Legacy!—God forbid that we their sons should prove recreant to the trust!' It ought to read, 'God forgive us that we their sons

Well, is this to be the end? Was it for this the Pilgrims came over the sea? Does Forefathers' Rock assent to it? Was it for this that the New England elergy prayed, and their prayers became the land for a hundred years! Was it for this that Cotton planted in Boston a little branch of the Lord's vine, and Roger Williams and Higginson—he still lives in an undegenerate son—did the same in the city which they called of Peace, Salem? Was it for this that Chauncey and the Gospel to the Indians? that Chauncey and fathers fought—the Adamses, washington, hancock! for this that there was an eight years' war,
and a thousand battle fields! for this the little
monuments at Acton, Concord, Lexington, West
Cambridge, Danvers, and the great one over there
ored man on board is directly arrested by the po-Cambridge, Danvers, and the great one over there on the spot which our fathers' blood made so red! Shall America become Asia Minor! New England, Boston such as Athens—dead and rot-Yes! if we do not mend, and speedily

mend. Ten years more, and the Liberty of America is all gone. We shall fall—the laugh, the by-word, the proverb, the scorn, the mock of the nations, who shall cry against us. Hell from beneath shall be moved to meet us at our coming, and in derision shall it welcome us;

The heir of all the ages, and the youngest born of

We shall lie down with the unrepentant prodigals of old time, damned to everlasting infamy and

Would you have it so! Shall it be! of gamesters and brawlers; reeking with wasting his substance in riotous living; in the lap of harlots squandering the life which his mother gave him. Shall he return? Shall he perish? One day may determine.

Shall America thus die! I look to the past,-Asia, Africa, Europe,—and they answer, 'Yes!'
Where is the Hebrew Commonwealth; the Roman
Republic; where is liberal Greece.—Athens and
many a far-famed Ionian town; where are the Commonwealths of Medizval Italy; the Teutonic free cities—German, Dutch, or Swiss! They have all perished. Not one of them is left. Parian tatues of Liberty, sorely mutilated, still remain : but the Parian rock whence Liberty once hewed her sculptures out—it is all gone. Shall America thus perish! Greece and Italy both answer,

we have taken for Slavery; on that seven-fold clandestine corruption. I forget the Whig party; John Russell made his statements, a fugitive has been taken from the streets of Boston by the ludges of the Courts; I remember the few n men that there are in society, Church and State; I remember the grave of my father, the lessons of my mother's life: I look to the Spirit of this Age,
—it is the nineteenth century, not the ninth: I look to the history of the Anglo-Saxons in Amerilook to the history of the Anglo-Saxons in Amerislave power was too great: and a friend of ours, ca, and the history of Mankind; I remember the who left Boston a week recall to mind the greatest, noblest, purest soul that ever blossomed in this dusty world ;—and I say, 'No!' Truth shall triumph, Justice shall be ! And if America fail, though she is onefaw! And if America in the fortieth of God's family, and it is a great loss, there are other nations behind us; our Truth shall not perish, even if we go down. But we shall not

I look into your eyes, young men and women, thousands of you, and men and women far enough from young! I look into the eyes of fifty thousand months, I have spoken to, face to face, and they

I remember the women who were never found faithless when a sacrifice was to be offered to great

shall not lail:

This, at my side, it is the willow! it is the symbol of weeping:—but its leaves are decideous; the autumn wind will strew them on the ground; and beneath, here is a perennial plant—it is green all the year through. When this willow branch it is with America.

one day she will wake! Massachusetts will stir sagain! New England will rise and walk! the vanished North be found once more, queenly and majestic! Then it will be seen that Slavery is weak and powerless in itself, only a phantom of the law forbidding the Congress.

Notwithstanding facts like these, our Government is will be not still the seen of the same than the Slavery is a 'Finality,' is it! There shall be no

children as Slaves. All the Cassandrian elequence of Demosthenes could not rouse degenerate Athers from her idle sleep. She also fell—the fairest of all free States; corrupted first—forgetful of God's Higher Law. Shall America thus perish, all immature!

RIGHTS OF BRITISH COLORED SUBJECTS.

The Anti-Slavery feeling of this country has always been met in the United States with the argument that every nation must control its own internal affairs, without the interference of any other power; and when this argument is applied.

SIR—I have just read, with great surprise, in mature?

So was it in the days of old; they ate, they drank, they planted, they builded, they married, they were given in marriage, until the day that Nosh entered into the Ark, and the Flood came and devoured them all!

Well, is this to be the end? Was it for this the Well, is this to be the end? Does Forefathers'

other power: and when this argument is applied to Government has no right to interfere in the institutions which it may please the United States to sanction within their borders. In the Southern States they may breed allowes and sell cattle; and although every man and woman in the world, other power; and when this argument is applied

the Gospel to the Indians! that Chauncey and liberties, and are continually being made, and yet Edwards and Hopkins and Mayhew and Channing no active steps are being taken by the authorities and Ware labored and prayed! for this that our fathers fought—the Adamses, Washington, Han-from wrong and injury of the darkest dye.

lice authorities of the town, and imprisoned during the time that the vessel remains in port, simply because the Almighty has seen fit to create him with a dark skin. The jail fees are heavy in Charleston, and the charges for maintenance in prison are placed exorbitantly high; so that it is a profitable thing for the gaoler to keep the negroes or mulattees in durance. When the vessel is about to sail, the prisoner is required to pay all the ex-penses incurred; if he is unable to pay, the cap-tain is called upon for them, and if he cannot give the money, or is unwilling to give, the innocent man is sold into slavery to pay these iniquitous charges. Every year subjects of Queen Victoria are thus sent into bondage, for no crime against either human or Divine law. The matter has from time to time been brought under the notice of Her To-day, America is a debauched young man, of Majesty's Government, who have always promised good blood, fortune, and family, but the companion to give the matter their most serious attention. The matter has been brought before both Houses of Parliament, and the Government have in every case been successful in postponing the presentation of despatches or a full discussion of the ques tion. During the present session, Mr. Kinnaird, the member for Perth, introduced the subject, and Lord John Russell stated that hopes were enter-tained that the State of South Carolina would ameliorate its laws, and thus prevent the necessity of any further steps being taken. Mr. Kinnaird allowed himself to be satisfied with these hopes,

and the subject was dropped. and the subject was dropped.

We cannot imagine upon what ground Lord
John Russell could give utterance to any expectations such as those here quoted. At the very time
he did so, the slavery party in the States were
urging on a measure which throws open the whole
territory of Nebraska and Kansas—a district nearthus perish! Greece and thaty both answer, 'Yes!' I question the last fifty years of American history, and it says, 'Yes!' I look to the American pulpit, I ask the five million Sunday School scholars, and they say, 'Yes!' I ask the Federal Court, the Democratic Party, and the Whig, and the answer is still the same.

Government: and now this measure is carried, But I close my eyes on the eleven past missteps and the villany is accomplished, and slavery is oblest United States Government and sent back into bondage. The same day on which this occurred, four after the riot, tells us that now the people say, It was folly to make such a riots; I recall the dear words of those greatminded Greeks-Ionian, Dorian, Ætolian: I re- was caused at all. But, notwithstanding all this, member the Romans who spoke and sang and fought our Government hopes!—and when Lord Elgin for truth and right; I recollect those old Hebrew was sent to Washington to negotiate a treaty by Prophets, earth's nobler sons, Poets and Saints; which the question of the fisheries was to be settled, and peace guaranteed by mutual concession, it does not appear that this question of the injustice systematically committed at Charleston was alluded to. We do not wish to depreciate the value of an agreement upon a subject, which, not long ago, threatened us with serious difficulties, but we do most emphatically protest against this ignoring of a great question of human rights. And what is the result of our tacit endurance of this wrong? We read in the New York Enquirer, that when the treaty negotiated by Lord Elgin is to be laid before the Senate, some southern Senato be laid before the Senate, some southern Sena-tors intend to propose that, before it is ratified, a clause shall be inserted by which the British Government pledges itself to give up the fugitives from slavery now living in Canada, and also to faithless when a sacrifice was to be opered by principles; I look up to my God, and I look into extend the provisions of the American principles; I look up to my God, and I look into extend the provisions of the American my own heart, and I say, We shall not fail! We Slave Law to our possessions in North American The United States Senate has carried the Fugitive Slave Law, has passed the Nebraska Bill, has been successful in every attempt which it has made to extend the slave power: why should it not pass these clauses !

From our files of American papers, received by is leafless, the other is green with hope, and its the Arabia, we find that Senator Slidell, as a membuds are in its bosom; its buds will blossom. So ber of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in secret session in the Senate, has lately moved to give no Did our fathers live! Are we dead! Even in the Senate, has lately moved to give notice of the termination of the treaty stipulation our ashes live their holy fires! Boston only sleeps; with Great Britain, binding the United States to

Slavery is a 'Finality,' is it! There shall be no 'Agitation,'—not the least,—shall there! There is a Hispaniola in the South, and the South knows it. She sits on a powder magazine, and then time that more energetic steps should be adopted Agitation, —not the least, —shall there! There is a Hispaniols in the South, and the South knows it. She sits on a powder magazine, and then plays with fire, while Humanity shoots rockets all over the world. To mutilate, to torture, to burn to death revolted Africans whom outrage has stung to crime—that is only to light the torches of San Domingo. This Black Bondage will be Red Freedom, one day; nay, Lust, Vengeance, redder yet. I would not wait till that Flood comes and devours all.

When the North stands up, manfally, united, we can tear down slavery in a single twelve month; and when we do unite, it must not be only to destroy Slavery in the territories, but to uproot every fragment of Slavery throughout this whole wide land. Then leanness will depart from our souls; then the blessing of God will come upon us; we shall have a Commonwealth based on righteousness, which is the strength of any poople, and shall stand longer than Ægypt.—National Fidelity to God our age-outlasting Pyramid!

How feeble seems a single nation; how powerless a solitary man! But one of a family of forty, we can do much. How much is Italy, Rome. Greece, Palestine, Ægypt, to the world! The solitary man—a Luther, a Paul, a Jesus—he our weighs millions of coward souls! Each one of you take heed that the Republic receive no harm!

your paper of yesterday's date, a correspondence between Mr. G. N. Sanders, the American Consul, and M. Kossuth, relative to M. Mazzini's letter on American Slavery, which I forwarded to you for

publication some time ago.

Mr. Sanders states that 'the letter is without date; and, as Mazzini is not now in London to answer for himself, we are left to guess at the time it was written. It speaks against slavery in genewas written. It speaks against slavery in general; but not a word occurs in it about American affairs in any way. • • I regret, therefore, to see the letter so introduced by the gentleman giving it publicity as to lead to the impression that it was intended by Mazzini to bear upon the slave controversy now convulsing the United States. M. Kossuth, in reply, after expressing his views against foreign interference with American slavery, concludes by saying, 'You are quite right in your belief that Mazzini's letter has no reference to the present agitation in the United States.'

to the present agitation in the United States.'
I deem it to be my duty to reply to these statements, inasmuch as they put both Mazzini, the Abolition Society, and myself, in a wrong position. I will take up each point seriatim. 1. In March last, the Committee of the Anti-Slavery League contemplated holding a public meeting in Manchester, and through their Chairman, Dr. Beard, invited Mazzini to be present, with the knowledge that he had expressed sympathy with the most radical section of the American anti-slavery party, and warm admiration for William Lloyd Garrison. The reply of Mazzini, which now lies before me, is dated London, March 25th. I should before me, is dated London, March 25th. I should have sent copies of it to the newspapers at the time, but being desirous that it should be read at our contemplated meeting. I kept it back for two months, with the hope that the excitement of the public mind on the war question would so far abate as to render it prudent for us to hold the meeting. We were, however, obliged to abandon the project; whereupon I at once forwarded you a copy of the letter.

2. Mazzini's letter is something more than a de-nunciation of slavery 'in general.' He expresses his 'gratitude' at being invited to attend our meeting; his 'earnest sympathy' with our 'noble aim;' his determination to help us, if 'he can'; and dehis determination to help us, it 'he can'; and de-clares that 'no man ought ever to inscribe on his flag the sacred word 'Liberty,' who is not prepared to shake hands cordially with those, whoever they are, who will attach their names to the Constitu-tion of the Association.' The Constitution, in its fourth article, states that the following are among the agencies to be employed by the Society :-

To circulate correct intelligence in Great Britain, in regard to the evils of slavery and the slave trade; to inform the public mind as to the objects and principles of the abolitionists, especially those of the United States; to correspond with the friends of the cause in various countries; and to sympathize with and sustain them in their arduous labors, as far as is consis-tent with the principles of this Society.

To demand that the colored subjects of the British crown, who visit the slave States of America, shall have the same measure of freedom as is accorded to American citizens who visit this country; and

principle into full and complete effect.

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

Moreover, the address which precedes the Constitution (a copy of which I enclose) recognizes the American Anti-Slavery Society, of which Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison is President, not as the only anti-slavery party in the United States, but as the great vital organization in which the hopes of the abolitionists must for the most part centre,' so that however Mr. Sanders and M. Kossuth may lament the facts, at which I rejoice, they must hereafter believe that Mazzini, unlike some of his associates, sympathizes actively not only with the oppressed in ying and Hungary, and throughout Europe, but with the down-trodden victims of republican op-pression, who are as much entitled to his pity and

pression, who are as much entitled to his pity and his help as the suffering in his own land. The 'policy' of Kossuth may be advanced, but it is a grave question whether his fair fame will be im-proved by his asking for our interference in the af-fairs of Hungary, while, at the same time, for the purpose of gaining the support of the pro-slavery party, he is strenuously advocating 'non-interference, on our part, with that 'peculiar institu-tion' which John Wesley justly stigmatized as be-ing 'the sum of all villanies.'

Mr. Sanders makes some very extraordinary state-

ments relative to American slavery. He has great faith (and wishes the democrats of Europe to have an equal measure of it) in 'the honor, and justice, and generosity of the Southern States'; and thinks an equal measure of it) in 'the honor, and justice, and generosity of the Southern States'; and thinks that the question of slavery may be safely left to them. Does Kossuth act upon the principle of confiding the cause of freedom in Hungary to Francis Joseph, and in Naples to the Bourbon tyrants! But if the slaveholders have 'honor, and justice, and generosity'; if they really desire the abolition of slavery, how comes it that, step by step, since the Declaration of Independence, they have added the following slave States to the Union—Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Arkanas, and Texas, and that in flagrant-violation of the Missouri compromise, and of the wishes of the great majority of the people of the North, they have just added the enormous Territory of Nebraska to their dark domains! If they prize 'honor and justice,' why do they break solemn compacts, and openly advocate robbery and murder,—for the seizure of Cuba or Mexico would occasion both,—with no other object than to incoasion both, with no other object than to inrease the Slave Power! Yours, very respectfully,

FRED. W. CHESSON,

Hon. See'y to Anti-Slavery League.

Manchester, July 2, 1854.

Mr. Cursson, in a recent letter to the Syracuse, N. Y.) Wesleyan, says-

The Kossuth and Sanders correspondence, to The Kossuth and Sanders correspondence, to which I called your attention last week, has produced a magnificent letter, in the London Daily News, from (I have no doubt,) Miss Martineau, who employs the nom de guerre of 'A Republican.' She exposes with the faithfulness of an Apostle the immorality of Kossuth's non-interference doctrine, and with the skill of a true logician, she utterly demolishes his weak and insingers assuments.

terly demolishes his weak and insincere arguments.

It is remarkable, says she, that Kossuth does not appear to see as Mazzini does, that the owners of men can never be effectual champions of human freedom. Now, M. Kossuth may freedom.

Now, M. Kossuth may
write to the Americans that he will not recognize
my divisions, but not the less, nor the less publicly,
do these divisions exist. He may say that he looks

Cause, either in Europe or America.'

There is some good talk for you. I wonder how that precious Republican, Mr. Sanders, liked it. He is quite silent.

F. W. CHESSON.

Fr Mulou mill

From the Boston Post.

THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EMANCIPATION OF NEGRO SLAVES IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

Messrs. Editors-Permit me to call your attention to a few facts in connection with the above anniversary. There are two sorts of anniversaries, joyful and sorrowful. There are some anniversaries, also, that partake of both these qualities; for instance, the anniversary of a great victory will be a source of joy and merriment to the victor-rious party, and a source of sorrow to the victims. Of the latter character is the anniversary now before us. In order to make my meaning plain, let us calmly review the facts in the case.

On the 28th of August, 1833, an act passed the British parliament for abolishing slavery in the British colonies in the West Indies, (viz: 3 and 4 William IV.) and came into operation on the first of August, 1834. This act provided that £20,000,-000 sterling should be applied to the liberation of the slaves. By this act, 770,280 slaves, of all ages and both sexes, were made free. Looking at this side of the picture all seems pleasant and desirable; but unfortunately it has a reverse side. Let us look

at that for a moment.

It having been voted that the immense sum of \$100,000,000 should be paid for the slaves, the next question was bow it should be raised! I am not certain how the first five million of pounds was raised; in all probability it was by the issue of exchequer bills, which would amalgamate in the national debt. We have, however, in Lawson's History of Banking, a full account of the borrowing of the remaining £15,000,000 sterling of the Bank of England.

Mr. Lawson says-By virtue of the act 3 and 4 William IV., c. 73, the sum of £15,000,000 was in the year 1835 borrowed for the compensation to the owners of slaves in the British colonies, upon the following terms, viz :-

The contributors were entitled for every £100 £75 in the 3 per cent. consols, or £11,250,000 £25 in the 3 per cent reduced annui-

101.875 £15,101,875

And 13s 7d per cent. per annum, long

The annual charge in respect of the annuities created by the above act, is as follows :-Interest of £11,250,000, three per cent. an-

nuities, including £3,375 paid to the Bank of England, at the rate of £300 per million for management, is Interest of £3,750,000 three per cent. re-duced, including £1,125 for manage-340,875

118,625 ment, is
In respect of 13s 7d per cent long annuities,
expiring January 5th, 1860, including
£764 for management, is 102,630

£557,130

Total charge, Same proportion for the five million,

Total annual charge for the £20,000,000

Now, if we multiply this by 20, the number of years the debt will have been contracted when the next dividends become due, we have the enormous amount of £14.857,040! Very near seventy-five millions of dollars already paid for the interest and management of this 'black debt.'

Every child born in Great Britain since the

passing of the above act has been born a slare to this black debt, and for the payment of the interest and annual charges for management, its labor is mortgaged, its food is taxed, and its life is bur-

The abolition writers describe in glowing colors the feelings of the people of the West India Islands on the 31st of July and 1st of August, 1834, the great day of treedom for the black slaves. I well remember what me and my fellow-sufferers experienced at this period; weary and tired with ex-hausting labor, many of us were scarcely able to walk to our houses. We rose to work on the folwalk to our houses. We rose to work on the fol-lowing morning with an additional debt of £20, 000,000 upon our shoulders, for which our labor the labor of our children and our children's children, were pledged; and for which our food, ou clothes, and all that we could in any way consumor enjoy, were to be taxed to the amount, as above of £742,852 per annum through all time or until some 'glorious' first of August shall liberate us and our children.

Now if we suppose that the average earnings of the unskilled laboring classes in England is half a dollar a day, and reckon three hundred working days in a year, it would take the united constant labor of twenty-four thousand seven hundred and sixty one white men, Englishmen, to pay the interest and charges of this black debt. Truly, I think the abolitionists made a grand mistake when they sad dled this perpetual curse upon the hard-worked ill-fed laboring classes of England.

But the strangest matter in the whole affair is, that the planters say they did not receive the whole sum. They acknowledge receiving about 171 millions of pounds, and leave the government and the abolitionists to account for the other 21 millions. No doubt there was some good pickings

expense and trouble. Bishop Kipp, in a letter published a short time ago in the Churchman, at published a short time ago in the congruence Kingston, Jamaica, where the steamer on which he embarked for California stopped to coal, thus describes what he witnessed :— The streets, say the Bishop, are crowded with the most wretches The streets,' says looking negroes to be seen on the face of the earth. Lazy, shiftless and diseased, they will not work since the manumission act has freed them. coaling the steamer is done by women. About a hundred march on board in a line with tubs on their heads. (tubs and coal together weighing about ninety pounds.) and with a wild song empty them into the hold. The men work a day, and then live on it a week. The depth of degradation to which pulation has sunk is, we are told, in-The inhabitants of Sodom were pure the negro population compared with them. 'Once,' said a gentleman to me, 'you did not see an untidy negro in the streets. Now look at them '-pointing to a group of squalid wretches. This is the unvarying testimony of all the residents I have seen.'

You will thus see, gentlemen, why we, who have paid so much money, have cause for sorrow on this AN ENGLISHMAN.

From the Manchester (Eng.) Examiner & Times. ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE IN MAN-CHESTER.

We observe that, on the first of next month, an naum, in commemoration of West India Emanci-pation, the anniversary of which falls on that day. here is no event in the annals of our nationa history more worthy of commemoration than the breaking asunder the fetters which bound the manhood of 800,000 slaves, and the rendering them and their posterity free forever. Twenty years have passed away since the accomplishment of that great act of national justice—since 'that day,' to quote the larguage of Lord Brougham, 'so confidently and joyously anticipated by the poor slaves, and so sorely dreaded by their masters.' One appropriate act of the Conference will be to prove by facts that the noble Lord was right when he further said that, 'if ever there was a picture interesting to look upon—if ever there was manhood of 800,000 slaves, and the rendering picture interesting to look upon-if ever there was picture interesting to look upon—if ever there was a passage in the history of a people redounding to their eternal honor—if ever there was a complete refutation of all the scandalous calumnies which had been heaped upon them for ages, that picture and that passage are to be found in the uniform

and unvarying history of that people throughout the whole of the West India Islands.' We under-stand that this theme will form the subject of an address from that eloquent advocate of freedom,

Mr. George Thompson.

The retrospect of the past struggle will be succeeded by a review of the present aspects of the Slavery Question, especially in the United States of America. The Compromise Measures, and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850; the recent extension rugitive Slave Law of 1850; the recent extension of slavery to the great North West Territory; the contemplated seizure of Cuba and Mexico; the evident design of the slaveholders to obtain permanent control of the Federal Government; the Boston fugitive slave riots; the position of the several political and ecclesiastical parties in America; the principles and policy of the various sections of American abolitionists,—each of these important subjects will, in turn, be discussed by

ing of the cost of transit from the cotton fields to the sea coast, would do much to undermine the foundations of American slavery. The formation of a churches against the unchristian course of the pro-slavery denominations of America, are also deemed of great importance. These questions, together with the shameful violation of the rights

ceive their due share of attention.

We trust that this meeting will be worthy of the occasion—worthy of that cause of which Wilberforce, and Clarkson, and Brougham, were the lead ers-and that being practical in its plans, as well

ure of public sympathy and support.

The period is opportune for the transmission a few words of encouragement from England to the anti-slavery party in America, which is gaining strength since the enactment of the Nebraska Bill. Several State judges have declared the Fugitive Slave Law an unconstitutional encroachment on the rights of individual States; and the Senate of the State of Connecticut has passed a scheme of law, which is likely to be carried, dealing out fine and imprisonment to all who shall falsely declare any colored person the property of any other person, and absolutely prohibiting gaolers, or State officers of the peace, from receiving into custody any colored person on the charge of being the property of any other person. If more of the free States adopt the same action in this matter, the law of Congress will be null and void.

THE PREE COLORED POPULATION.

Some tables relating to the number of free colored persons in the United States at different times having appeared in the newspapers, which, on account of a transposition of figures, give an erroneous statement of facts, the National Era has taken the pains to correct them, and has presented that compensation was due to the outraged slave, not the following result :

FREE COLORED IN ALL THE STATES AT DIFFERENT

Total.	
52.466	
8,345	
6,466	
3,544	
8,599	
66,303	
34,196	

On this subject, the National Era remarks :

'It will be seen that, in the earlier years of the republic, the free colored population, both North and South, increased rapidly—in the former sec-tion by general acts of emancipation, by which slavery was gradually abolished-in the latter by voluntary enuncipations. The latter have now almost ing which prevails in the Southern States; while the source of increase from Northern emancipation has been dried up by the final extinction of slavery. The number of slaves liberated by New York and New Jersey, between 1810 and 1840, was 26,377. Pennsylvania passed a gradual emancipation act in 1780, which was further amended in 1788. All are leclared free, at the age of twenty-eight, who have been born since 1780.

'Slaveholders were forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to remove their slaves beyond the limits of the State; and hence it is evident that the emanpation was slow and gradual. Similar restrictions were contained in the emancipation acts of other States. The following table shows a rapid increase of the free colored population of Pennsylvania, from 1790 to 1829, by which time the greater bulk of the slaves became free. Since that period, the increase

een slo	w:				
1790					6,537
1800		100			14,561
1810		100	100		22,492
1820				W-19	30,202
1830;			Mary H		37,930
1840	14.00				47,854
1850			•		53,626
200		get library			1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 -

· Similar results are observable in other States, and demonstrate, by the bye, that the North did Buren's presence at this interesting period of the anti-not abolish slavery by running their slaves off slavery cause in America as of great good omen. No

A PATR PHOTTIVE STAVE

The editor of the Vermont Tribune gives a thrilling account of a fugitive slave who has just been passed through Vermont to Canada. He says:— She is 20 years of age, tall; well-formed, and of far more than ordinary intelligence, able to read fluently, a member of the Methodist Church, and the daughter of her master! yes, she was running away from her own father, Ruffin Gilchrist, of Easton, because he had sold her to a South Carolinian for \$1100. This Ruffin bad sold his own flesh and blood for so much hard cash, and but for his daughter's shrewdness and heroism would have now b fingering the price of blood. Charlotte, the fugitive, ran away, lay secreted in the woods eighteen days, found a friend in Baltimore, who sent her to a Quaker in Philadelphia by railroad, by a mode we dare not tell, lest it should involve him in trouble Her long exposure and dreadful journey to Phila- Thompson, Mr. Pillsbury, and Mr. Brown intended to deiphia brought on a fever, from the effects of which she had not recovered when here at St. Albans .-From Philadelphia & Boston by sea, thence to Maine, then to avoid some blood-hound Southerners who were on her track, she turned her steps this way, avoiding her pursuers with consummate posed upon by it. It is within the scope of possibility address, and finding excellent friends all the way, that the rollicking 'Prince' has become a convert to good accommodations on the U. G. R. R.; with the money given her here, she went on her hurried way to the only land where she could breathe free. God protect and guide her.

From the Cincinnati Commercial, July 21. AN APRICAN'S WOE

dignified appearing negro, apparently aged sixty-five or seventy years. The white grave blossoms five or seventy years. The white grave blossoms the Atlantic, to show how much necessity there has on the black man's head were stained and clotted been for a bold and comprehensive impeachment of the head and skull, having the appearance of club Water was brought to the sufferer, and when sufficiently recovered, he confessed to being a runaway slave from Kentucky. He had escaped across the river with three daughters, the youngest being fourteen, whom he was anxious to educate in

free State or in Canada.

The party had safely proceeded as far as the foot of Sycamore Hill, when he was suddenly attacked by a gang of rowdies, probably from this side of senseless on the ground, where he was found by the children. When the old man came to himself, he found that his daughters had been kidnapped! His own pockets had also been rifled of six dollars in silver! It was nearly dark when the party was attacked, so that the wretched African is not able to identify the scoundrels; he is only certain that none of them were of the vicinity of his master's estate. They were probably hired bullies from rum holes and brothels, or fellows of like character, who stole the negroes and hurried them across the light for an anticipated. the river for sale, or for an anticipated reward. We learn that a reward of \$1000 had been offered for the fugitives. They were from Lexington, Ken-

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, AUGUST 11, 1854.

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION-THE BOS. TON POST-AN ENGLISHMAN.

"It is a foul bird that dirties its own nest," says the proverb; and he must be a bastard Englishman, who makes one of the most glorious achievements in the history of his country the occasion of bitter reproach and malignant defamation.

We have copied, in another column, from the Bostor the instrumentalities that should be employed by the friends of the slave in this country. There is but little doubt that the development of the cotton-producing resources of India, and the cheapening of the cost of transit from the cotton fields to the cost of transit from the cotton fields to the cot Post, (the appropriate medium for such a contemptible of the Slave Power, and the bribed and pensioned supporter of a thoroughly corrupt Administration. There sound anti-slavery public opinion in this country, and frequent protests on the part of British scoundrelism, which is never wanting. coundrelism, which is never wanting. 'AN ENGLISHMAN' -counterfeit or otherwise, no mat

ter which-thinks the anniversary of West India Emancipation a sad day for the laboring classes in England of British colored subjects who visit the Southern and an event to be located as the States, the connivance of Spain with the African 000 sterling were paid to secure that great event—to States, the connivance of Spain with the African opposite will remillions of dollars already paid for the interest and management of this black debt.' And he very coolly adds. Truly, I think THE ABOLITIONISTS made a grand mistake when THEY saddled this perpetual curse upon the hard worked, ill fed, laboring classes of England.'

Now, in the first place, heavily as the pecuniary tax referred to may be felt by the classes for whom so much sham sympathy is affected, -as between the continuance of the horrid system of West India slavery, and the payment of the sum given for its peaceful termination. the hard worked, ill fed laborers of England ' never hesitated in their choice, though justly objecting to such an alternative. Their sympathies were freely given to the West India bondman; their petitions for his releas were frequently sent up to Parliament; and they loudly rejoiced when his chains were broken, even though their own burden was made somewhat heavier thereby. It was in Manchester, in Birmingham, in Sheffield, in Leeds, in Glasgow, in Paisley, and other noted manufacturing towns, that his cause always found the strongest support-for the operatives knew how to 'remer her them that were in bonds as bound with them '

In the second place, the abolitionists of England had nothing to do with saddling the debt of £20,000,000 sterling upon the laboring classes of that country. It was incurred against their earnest pretestations; they denounced it as uncalled for and unjust; they declared to the tyrannical master. But they were overborne by the government; and if Buxton and his friends finally waived their opposition to it, it was solely on the ground of its resulting in the safe and speedy overthrow of slavery in all the colonies. If their ideas of justice to the planters had been consulted, the slaves would have been set free ' without money and without price.'

But, after all, large as the sum was, thus wickelly exacted by the planters, the blessings of emancipation in due time, even pecuniarily, will strike a heavy balance on the other side, for all classes concerned. Free dom always pays-Slavery always is a swindle.

'An Englishman' shows his American animus, by attempting to prove that emancipation has been a grievous curse-the streets of Jamaica, for example, being crowded with the most wretched looking negroes on the face of the earth,' compared with whom, 'the inhabiceased from the unfortunate state of feelof Bishop Kipp, from the South, on his way to California-a prejudiced pro-slavery witness, incapable of recording or even discerning the truth. And the object of all this vituperation and slander is, the perpetuity and extension of slavery indefinitely by our own government! O. 'cursed spite!'

ANNOUNCEMENT EXTRAORDINARY.

We have not seen, for a long time, an announcemen o laughable and so extraordinary as the following, which we copy from the London Morning Advertiser,

THE GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT MAN August at Manchester, will receive an additional inter prominent American politician, and son of Martin Van Buren, ex-President of the United States. Mr. Van Buren visits this country to be present at the forthcom-ing anti-slavery convention, and to advise with his fel-low-workers in the noble cause of Negro Emancipation low-workers in the noble cause of Negro Emancip in the United States, with which his father, as as himself, has for several years been identified. This is another evidence of the increasing hatred of that peculiar institution gaining ground in the feelings very right-minded man. We shall hail Mr. Van man can better advise his fellow-workers in the noble cause; no man will be listened to with more attention nor, considering his antecedents, is more capable of giving practical directions. In our impression of Saturday, we gave a list of the important subjects to be internal affairs of the several States, as well as the Federal Union. There is none, however, of such vital importance as that proposing the discussion of the fea-sibility of dissolving that great union of States, which it has too often been said is governed by the hearts of a free people, and now stands in its greatness an example to the world. The discussion of this momentous topic will form a new phase of the anti-slavery movement in this country. With compatriots such as George Thompson, W. Wells Brown, and Parker Pillsbury, Mr. Var. Busen cannot fail to render good service to the cause of freedom by instructing his fellow-workers on this sid

It is true, that an anti-slavery convention was to held in Manchester on the 1st of August, and that Mr. be present; but all that is here said about John Van Buren and his father is, on this side of the Atlantic, so palpable a hoax, that we marvel so sagacious and intelligent a journal as the London Advertiser could be imgenuine abolitionism; but if so, we shall be as shy of him as the apostles were of Saul of Tarsus after his notable conversion, until his character be established!

AMERICAN RELIGION.

In the Manchester (Eng.) Examiner and Times, of the 19th ultimo, is a long and valuable communication On Wednesday evening, some scholars from the from our friend PARKER PILISBURY, showing the con-Mount Auburn school were attracted to an alley by the dismal grouns of a respectable and rather It is just such a document as is needed on that side o the Atlantic, to show how much necessity there has with blood, from two or three gashes on the fore- American Church, as responsible for the continuance of the slave system. After noticing the malicious outery of infidelity,' so loudly raised against the American Abo litionists, Mr. Pillsbury says :-. We are only a little band of earnest, and, I trust

honest men and women, who are seeking the overthron of slavery. And we call upon all who love God or man engaging to assail no one for religious opinion's sake, so long as he is true to the fundamental doctrines on which our platform is based. What more or better could we do? or justice and liberty, to aid us in the work, sole

We are indebted to our friend, GERRIT SMITH, fo his speeches delivered on various topics of important in the U. S. House of Representatives. His refusal to vote for the Homestead Bill, (strongly as he was in fa vor of it in all other respects,) because the free people of color were expressly precluded from its benefits, was a noble act, and a sublime adherence to principle, wor thy of the highest commendation.

We have received another letter from Joseph BARKER, now in England, and shall give it a place in our columns next week.

CELEBRATION OF W. L EMANCIPATION AT ABINGTON, AUGUST PIRST, 1854.

[PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY MR. YERRINTON.]

SPEECH OF REV. THOMAS W. HIGGINSON. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I do not know whether my voice is going to help or hinder that centrifugal force which is said to proceed from the contribution-box— this wide land, a thousand men are mobbling one man [the Finance Committee had just entered upon their du- to death, I may not be called upon to go half across the ty.] You know it is said, if you want to disperse a nation to save that man. But if that man is under my crowd, pass the hat round; but I hope it is not so with own roof, and a thousand men attack him and seek him an anti-slavery crowd; and as I stand here one of those life there, I am the basest coward that ever crawled, it made, you must imagine you are in meeting; and of position that makes the difference. Massachusettscourse, you will not go out. And as I am particularly is my house—your house; it is the house of our fathers uncertain how far behind my audience my voice is for ten generations; and if men have made it a 'den reaching now.—for the wind is blowing wrong, and, as of thieves,' will it be no fault of ours that it remains Elias Hicks says, it takes a live fish to swim against the unswept, uncleaned? stream, and live birds to fly against the wind, -if you want to hear what I have to say, perhaps you had bet- views of the evils of slavery; and it is the blessing of ter take the advice of the Irish sportsman to the deer- the meetings called under the auspices of this Society, 'Indade, honey, if you want to be hit, you must come that they never take a superficial view of the evil round behind me. (Laughter.)

nation. This is the Englishman's day. I blush, as an say it, Free Soiler as I am, one always reluctant to American, to own it, but it is. We have to borrow our admit that there is any evil in the world that next noblest festival of freedom, as we have to borrow other year's election cannot cure. I say, it is a melancholy things, from the old countries across the water; and, I truth, that the great majority of the people have not am sorry to say, as some of our States repudiate their yet come to see what this evil of slavery really is other obligations, so some of them would be glad to re- Look at our Constitution. I hear men every day lanudiate this also; but Massachusetts will hold on to it. menting over the Fugitive Slave Law, on account of its (Cheers.) To me now, in the sadness of my mature ex- supposed atrocities, and, for one, I am very glad to perience on this question of slavery, the First of August avail myself of any argument which its terrible fer is a tragical day. And, yet, it is a day we must keep; tures—its denial of the habeas corpus and trial by jury. for without it, our Fourth of July tells but half the story. its investing of mere subordinate officers with judicin The Fourth of July gave freedom to the white popula- power, its bribing a man with five dollars to decide untion of the land : we need now a First of August to justly instead of justly-afford me. I am glad to gain add to that the black population, and give us a land of the opposition of one man to the Law by these considfreedom indeed. The First of August says to us, Amer-erations; but what are all these considerations, comican people, pointing back to the Fourth of July, and pared with the absolute thing itself, in its essence? round upon the results of its own noble emancipation, 'This ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone.' (Applause.) Our friend has spoken to us with a voice from England. It is sad to think, that it is unconstitutional; Free Soiler as I am, I hate it not so deeply has this principle of slavery become interwo- for that ;-but because it is infernal! (Loud cheers.) ven with the whole composition of the American mind. If we only dislike and criticise it, because, in a fev that when we go abroad, we are expected to represent points, it is unconstitutional, we do not, I maintain, see Stavery, as every Englishman is expected to represent the real evil with which we have to contend. The evil Freedom. We say, how strange it is, in these times, is in the object itself. I tell you, that law is less danto see Turkey, the representative of Mohammedanism, gerous to this country for being unconstitutional-it is standing for Freedom, against Russia, the representa- less dangerous to the colored man and woman for betive of nominal Christianity. It is a sadder thing to ing unconstitutional. Every little colored child, playsee the young Republic that could not bear the bonds ing to-day under these pine trees, is so much safer i of a king, not only cradling the bondage that a king has consequence of the unconstitutionality of our presen abolished, but supporting it in its maturity, strength- Fugitive Slave Law; because that enlists on his side ening it in its demoniacal strength, and assisting to make tens, and hundreds, and thousands of men, who have is grow with the Republic's growth, and be strength- not looked to the bottom of this thing, and who, but for ened at the expense of its strength. It is the saddest the obnoxious features of that law, would not oppose it thing of all to me to hear, as I do, from those who have as they now do. gone to other countries, that they, as Americans, are It is a constitutional Fugitive Slave Law that I fear, expected to be friends, not of Liberty, but of slavery; to and I trust never to see one. I trust never to see the hear that Americans in Italy, by natural affinity, affiliate themselves with the cause of despotism there, and clous, to blind honest men to the real character of the defend Austria in Italy, as they defend South Carolina thing. I trust never to see a man in Massachusetts in Massachusetts. A young friend of mine, travelling yielding to a constitutional Fugitive Slave Law, if such He was mistaken for an Englishman, because he adhered to and befriended Liberty. It was a simple ques- chance for freedom, and what more do we need? tion they were discussing, and because he took the side of universal Liberty, they said to him, 'You are an chance for slavery, (applause)—when slavery become Englishman, after all ; we thought you were an American.' As an American, he was expected to be a despot; the instant he became a MAN, he was mistaken for an Englishman! I do not want to be an Englishman. I was born in Massachusetts, and I wish to be a Massachusetts man and a freeman, at the same time. It is this that brings the tragedy home to us on such days as this; because we learn, even while we stand here, that though we call this soil free, because it is agreeable to us to assume that it is so, there is not a spot of free soil within a week's journey of us, unless we travel North, and become the subjects of a Queen. The tragedy is to me to hear, as I heard the other day, of an old black woman,-who, by the blessing of God and the North Star, is in Canada now, -who said that her earliest recollection was that of casting bullets during the Revolutionary war. At eight years of age, she cast bullets to day that another member of the Republican party, in be used against England ;- at eighty, she was off like a

shot herself, to take shelter under the English flag ! Court-House seemed at one moment to be free, when 'publicans and sinners.' (Applause.) Shadrach was rescued. It has been reconsecrated to slavery by the carrying off of Anthony Burns; and there is no other spot in Massachusetts that can be claimed as free, for there is no other spot that has been tested and tried. 'Slavery national, Freedom sectional,' shall

become free the moment they touch our soil; but yet, I acknowledge this, voter as I am, Free Soiler as I am men of our own country cease to be free so long as they and I must either contrive to keep my conscience in are under our own flag. Capt. Ingraham gained the voting, or else come out from all political organizations. praise of the whole country by saving a man from the and stand with our friends here upon the non-voting grasp of Austria, who had merely announced his inten- platform. But I see this thing clearly-there is no tion of becoming a citizen of the United States. An- chance for us, unless we go to the root of the matter thony Burns had announced himself to be a citizen of If we cannot do this, and still vote, why, we must fling Boston, to be a resident of Massachusetts, to be a free- all remaining ballots to the winds, and let them flutter man here; but I have not heard that any officer of the away, to be taken by the waves to some desert land, United States navy volunteered in his behalf, or that where freedom yet remains, and there is no sin in vot any marines were ranged on his side. We claim to be ing. Be this as it may, nothing is clearer than that pofree; and yet, while Massachusetts still retains, and has litical action must tend to the building up of a Northmultiplied a hundred fold, its old prosperity, the only ern Union, a Northern Democracy—a Democracy that step that is claimed in the direction of freedom is, that no longer apologises and cringes when the Constitution hereas it once cost twenty-five dollars to send a slave and the Union are mentioned, but which says clearly to into bondage, it costs thousands of dollars now. But the South- We have justice and right, the truth of remember, it is only because Massachusetts is rich and God, and the sympathies of all good men, on our side; luxurious now, and she can afford to pay for the costly you have only a Constitution and a Union. Let the isluxury of still obeying the Constitution, as she construes it, by sending a man into slavery.

The glory of a State should be, if it has any glory, that the humblest man in it is as safe as the most for that reason, Anthony Burns, and such as he, were selected by God, and the spirit of the age, to test what Massachusetts is. It is no test of Massachusetts that test of Massachusetts that she can protect her own clergymen, for her clergymen have parishes to stand by them-or they had, sometime in the course of their histherefore, do not test the power of her laws and her love of freedom. It is that clergyman in the dungeon the three thousand clergymen of New England, New stand still, and see another man send a man back into England should return good for evil, and stand by that need be. But, Massachusetts does not do that, and that Baptist minister is sent back to the degradation of

Mr. Foss can tell us that two Baptist clergymen have gone out of Massachusetts, for whose departure Massahusetts must blash forever. And as Massachusetts, after having expelled Roger Williams from her borders. had reason to call in his aid again to protect her from the Indians, so she may yet need to call, not upon Anthony Burns, perhaps, but upon her own black me and women, to save her hereafter from a greater day ger than any Indians ever brought.

Men say, you cannot expect to cure all the ills in the world. You know that thousands of slaves are sold every year in Virginia, and sent anew into captivity. Why, then, do you complain of a single one being sent back in Massachusetts? I complain, because he is in Massachusetts! I am not responsible for the evils of preachers out of the pulpit' to whom reference has been I do not die in his defence. (Loud cheers.) It is the

One great difficulty is, that we take too superficia against which they war, but run a subsoil plough We have heard our friend Cluer speak here, and he through all our prejudices, and tell us the truth as i

has a right to speak on this occasion, by virtue of his is. The prophecies they make always come true.

'These are the trappings and the suits of wo, But there is that within which passeth show, I, for one, hate the Fugitive Slave Law, not because

a thing there be, because, as they may say, the forms of law have been complied with, the man has his say, we want a state of things when a man has no impossible-when any Fugitive Slave Law becomes in possible-when we shall pledge ourselves never to send another fugitive back at all ! (Loud cheers.) Then we shall be standing, not on the platform of the Constitution, but on the platform of God and Freedom; and not until then will our efforts to save the slave be availing

I see that, even now, some men-pure-minded politi cians-disguise from themselves the real character of the conflict in which they are engaged. In a speech recently made, in Ohio, by a leading member of the new Republican party, I notice that he offers, as an argument for amending the Fugitive Slave Law, that if it were amended, made more humane, and less atrocious ten fugitives would be given up where one is now. do not want to see the Fugitive Slave Law amended, it this is to be the consequence. It was only the other another State, said distinctly in his speech, that there must be a Fugitive Slave Law of some kind. He would aim to be a land of freedom, and the heart not have it repealed, he said; he only asked that it yearning for freedom, that has a dark skin outside of it, might be amended, because the Constitution provided has to consider the question how it can get furthest from for some such law. When our Republican party in us, and so be in safety. We claim Massachusetts for Massachusetts comes to that, it will be a party of what freedom. I tell you, friends, to-day, there is no spot WENDELL PHILLIPS called, the other day, ' Re-publicans in Massachusetts that is free. The inside of Boston and sinners, and worse than those who are merely

I rejoice to believe that such is not the character of the Republican party here. I rejoice to believe that there is actually spreading, in Massachusetts now, a deeper feeling of the nature of the whole evil than has ever prevailed before. I rejoice to think that Massa-I say : No; freedom is not even sectional; it is not even chusetts men are coming to see that there may be a . peculiar institution'; there is no such institution point in the history of this country beyond the duration here, because there is not a spot that is free; and, at of the Constitution, and beyond the duration of the this very moment, while we stand here, who knows what Union. I rejoice that they are counting the cost at agonies may be beginning, in some other part of this last, if they have not counted it years before. For my very State, in the hearts of some innocent men, who self, I signed the first petition to the Legislature asking have just learned that the slaveholders are in pursuit that Massachusetts should take steps for the peaceable dissolution of the Union. I signed that one then ; l We make it our boast that men of foreign countries am prepared to sign another one to-day. (Loud cheers.)

I do not hold that the Constitution requires that Congress shall pass laws to secure the rendition of fugitive slaves; it may declare that the individual States may; powerful. (Cheers.) Anthony Burns was humble, and it does not require that they shall, and inflicts no penalty if they do not. Let this Fugitive Slave Law be got clear of; let it be recognized that Congress has no part in the matter, and the whole question thrown back she does not enslave her own white citizens. It is no upon the separate States, and then comes your time for nullification, then your time for dissolution; and if the question arises then between a Fugitive Slave Law on the one hand, and Dissolution on the other, as I think tory, until they became abolitionists. Her clergymen, it must, then, if I live to see the day, (as I do not expect to do,) I will take the stump with any of my friends here in behalf of dissolution. (Cheers.) Here in Boston, who tests what Massachusetts is. I claim, in the question becomes at once clear and plain. To send behalf of my brother there, that as the South insulted a man back into bondage is an absolute crime. To bondage, is a crime only second to the other, unless you minister from Virginia, with her laws, and her lives, if are a non-resistant, and then your tongue need not keep silence, if your arm is still; and there are men whose tongues are more terrible to Marhal Freeman than all the arms brought to bear upon the Court House that Friday night. That, therefore, is the first question; all else is secondary to that. At this moment, all hopes of American freedom, all hopes of the future destiny of the nation, hang concentred on this one point :- Can we conquer Slavery, or shall Slavery

sue be tried between them !' (Loud cheers.)

The point immediately presented to us as the battle ground is the enforcement of the slave law in the free States. This thing is only to be settled in the free

States themselves. It is not to be settled in Walla by any body's votes. It is to be seitled in Many setts, by your voices and hands, and by the voice hands of all true men. If they are recreat, the hands of all true back, and the whole war goes again, and you may send out a million colonists to New and Kansas, but Nebraska and Kansas will be at only what Massachusetts is now, without a blood Take part in politics, if you can, friends; I a little while longer—I do not know how long-let he

very hearty part. But do not expect too mack of

men whom you choose of CHARLES SCHARLES SCHARLES

and thank God !- (Cheers.)-for I tell you, who our friends here may have said of him past, CHARLES SUMMER stands now, among then he men at Washington, mentally as well as morals, physically as well as mentally, like a lightly among lamp-posts.' (Applause.) Get as many Oct. Sumners as you can; you will not get better an less you ask for men who will not go into political but do not trust them too far; do not expect the m try to be saved by them or their votes. Corps, like the rock of Gibraltar, and their voices spei against it and leave no mark; the only advantage an to be, that the rock becomes a sounding book to sends their voices through all the nation. To me at a pect them to do the work; it is to be done here, by and me, and such as you and me. Reforms can be carried by votes-by political as I tell you the conflict with Slavery is not a Rein is a Revolution; and for a Revolution, you been with hearts and hands, and women who have been and wish their hands were stronger. We here's midst of a Revolution. Every man is tested by in every day-by what he is doing, what he mean he or what he would do, if he had a chance. Rema tide of excitement passing over the land, and valwhat will come of it; whether it will die away, to the excitements have died away. I do not doubt it will has subsided already. State street talks very dien. ly now from what it did during the ' had Friday's the bad week that followed. John H. Pearson will proclaim himself a disunionist now, as he did as le wharf in those days. Already men are relapsing

their old feeling, and where is the hope? Beng they will not all relapse, and because the oil in will not be just the same as before. Every ner w. slavery crisis that has come up has brought per s with new thoughts and fresh enthusiasm, into these, slavery field; but every time there has been a read and some have gone back. Nevertheless, there had a steady gain, and there will be a gain in this name Very many may fall back, after the time of excited is past; but many, also, will stand firm. Soiten overflowing rivers. There is the Nile; it creis year by year, and the Indians and Arabs lock is lo and longing, to see how much of the desert sil overflowed. The waters come rippling along, into inch, as our anti-slavery tide rises now. But me year the inundation spreads a new coating of me black earth over the desert, and year by me wider and more luxuriant harvest comes. (Applus, It is so with us now. We are going to have that have It is only the seed that is sowing rear Every at those quarter dollars which you give to the antitreasury is one of those seeds. Pray, drop then it; But that is not all. The harvest will come cared to days; and although it may be reasted in blood, in ness and tears, still good will come in the end, God is over all.

It is for you, friends, to do your duty. You m here among these pine trees, the earliest symbi-Massachusetts, before Massachusetts stooped to be one of the stars and stripes. We have got pine a left among our woods, and among our men, and we keep them while we can, though the progress of an does burn them up so fast. We all of us but duty to do; and many of us, I believe, are pleigh do it by a firmer pledge than we ever took belinfirmer by every new trial, and every new erious what slavery is. And to those of you who are less and timid-for I know men do come to occasion these, who think there must be something dangers listening to the voices from this platform, and the linger on the outskirts of the wood, and perhaps a an ice-cream now and then, to cool their excited in (laughter,)-to such men I will give the comfert story, which comes into my head, of a certain fale who had a very fine horse, which his son was extract desirous to ride. The boy was a young radical, will but he brought out the noble horse, and he said to son, as he put the reins into his hands,- 'My si don't drive too fast; don't drive too fast!' And its the enthusiasm of the old horse-jockey rose to his in and he added, 'only don't let anything go by m (Laughter and cheers.) So it is with radicals now.

REMARKS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The day reminds us of the interest which we have the reforms of the old world ; for, as the speaker to has just taken his seat has told us, to-day belong t England, not to us. And this interest in reforms all brings to my mind the names of Mazzini and Kosta and the letters which have recently been publish from these two men in regard to slavery. I desirt, President, that we should take some notice here of recreancy of the one, and the fidelity of the che Kossurn, abroad, as at home, has endeavored to be up Hungary, by silence in regard to the slave; it MAZZINI, true to the principles of universal lib which we profess, has acknowledged frankly, with looking over his shoulder to see what effect it was have upon Italy, that he sympathises in the cfirst the emancipation of the black man, on the same pro ciple that he sympathises in the movement for the emancipation of Italy. Now, I propose, Mr. Chin man, that this meeting should request the President the American Anti-Slavery Society (Mr. GARRING) reduce into the form of a resolution the gratitude visit we feel to the great leader of European Democracy is this frankness and fidelity; and that he should our municate that resolution to him, as the sense of body of American Abolitionists, met on the first day d August, to commemorate the abolition of West less slavery; and that we should add to it our devoted 75 pathy and cordial cooperation, so far as in us lies, 2 his efforts to overturn every throne in Europe, and man is recognised as man. I put it to vote-Stall the President of the American Anti-Slavery Society be to

quested to communicate these sentiments to Manni, d

the response of the American Abolitionists to his re-

buke-for such it is-of the short-comings of Levi

Kossuth? [A simultaneous shout of 'Aye' seat a

from the large assembly. When the negative was pri-

not a voice answered, and it was declared a unanimed vote, amid great cheering.] Mr. PHILLIPS continued-Now, ladies and gentleses. I have no voice, and there are others to foller at. which takes away the inclination, to make a log speech; but there is a single comment I wish to gralf on the speech of my friend Higginson. I agree ad him, that for the present moment, the undivided and tion of the civilized world is turned on this pivot post the question of the surrender of fugitive slaves can make men feel on that topic; you cannot make them feel so deeply on the question of Kansas and Se braska. My friend thinks we should make effects though he has no hopes of success, for the repeal Fugitive Slave Law, He thinks we should attempt " put it down. So do I; and let me tell you, very held ly, the way in which I propose politically to effect set thing in regard to this legislation of the Slave Post Mr. PHILLIPS proceeded to enforce the idea, that the battle-field of the friends of the slave was, for the porent, the State, and not the Nation; that their only her lay in a concentrated State action, that should number the usurpations of the General Government. abridge this portion of his remarks, as the general st gument was the same as that of his speech at Franks

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prints since. He said he thought the time to talk post an anti-slavery or pro-slavery Constitution had instantal Slavery had beaten us. He despaired d beg any thing at Washington. He recognised, s gratefully as any man, the noble position and the ism and fidelity of CHAPLES SUNNER. (Cheers.) He had outlone himself. He (Mr. P.) was glad the lie bol. outputs of the Slave Power had kicked has it was the only thing needed to crystallize him into a good anti-slavery speech. (Applicase.) But it sernel to him that there was nothing possible in Con grees but good spreaches. Something was possible i suchasetts, if they would confine themselves to it Messanderies, it is the old story of Capt. Coffin, as He was remarked in the state of an material about equal to the captain, the mate of thought house. Some day hobbled (for he was stiff in one Coma's supposed him to anchor. The capleg) up to now, and respectively, You take care of your part of the ship, hir, and I will take care of mine.' Se

hat on the Fourth of July, which we printed a few

part of the rape of to the bows, and let go the anthe mate made he hobbied to the captain, and, taking char; then sack as Capt. Coffin, my part of this this is anchored! (Laughter.) So he proposed to or Massachusetts. (Loud cheers.) 'They tell us, and Mr. Phillips, 'that the Ship of State at Washington is drifting to Cuba, to Mexico, to Brazil. I propose to apphor Massachusetts, (renewed cheers)—and then we will take off our hats to Caleb Cushing, and tell him our part of the ship is taken care of!' (Great ap The way in which he proposed to do this was by

originating a party in Massachusetts, the test of which thould be avowed nullification of every constitutional place clause and every slave law ; -a party that should say to Mr A B, their candidate for Governor, 'Sirwe propose to elect you to the office of Governor, and we propose, that when you swear to support the United States Constitution, you shall swear with the proviso that you don't mean to support the fugitive slave clause, or any other stave clause there.' They would choose representatives in the same way; and if the Supreme Court construed it illegal, they would vote the Supreme Court down, and choose another. He thought the time had come for this movement. It had been stated that at the Convention, at Worcester, the people ached for a 'fanatic.' They were ahead of the platform. That would never do. In politics, as every where else, if the leaders drop one single degree below the enthusiasm of the people, the people will drep three degrees behind the leaders. It is necessary to go to the extreme limit of the demands of the popular feeling. He believed that if the leaders of the Free Seil party would propose to the Bay State to form a party that should nullify slave laws, and if the Sapreme Court would not countenance it, make the Suprefix Court elective, and choose a better one, the thing would be done. If we could not find such men bere, we could send out and import a Wisconsin julge, and get an honest man. The race may have run out here, but the new blood of the prairies would do to cross it with.

That was his theory of politics. We should have to come to it at last. Even Dr. Gannett, in that pulnit where he preached to George T. Curtis, had proposed, in one part of his recent sermon, to become a Disunionist, if the slave-hunters came here too often. Who knew how much too often was, in the opinion of Dr. Gannett ? The slaveholders did not, and might yet make even Dr. Gannett a Disunionist. There was, in his opinion, no politics short of this.

The difficulty of Free Soil politics was illustrated by the position in which our eloquent friend CHARLES SCHOOL was placed, the other day, when Mr. Benjamin, of Louisiana, questioned him. Ably, eloquently and appropriately as he answered him, there was one question he could not answer, namely-what he proposed to do with the Constitution itself. There was one of two things fur him to do. One was, to proclaim it anti-slavery, and support it; the other was, to nullify it, if it was pro-slavery. He (Mr. P.) proposed to take the last position here at home. It mattered not whether the Fugitive Slave Law was constitutional or not. If it was unconstitutional, he had a right to nullify it; if it was constitutional, if the Constitution provides for the return of fugitive slaves,

then he would nullify the Constitution itself. (Cheers.) This, said Mr. Phillips, is the only message I have for the voter: Dig down deep-go to the granite of God's law, not to the Constitution. will have a Massachusetts Governor who dares to obey Gol when slaves are shut up in Boston Court-House, and that you went ask him to swear to support the slave clauses of the Constitution. Then we can have a political party that shall unite all the anti-slavery sentiment of Massachusetts, and make no man ashamed of his creed or his faith. Then voting will be an unmixel good. Massachusetts is not a large State-a very small plot of ground-not much bigger than s Western farm ; but I tell you she will serve for the fulerum of the lever, if she is not the lever itself, that shall thove the nation, and bring the Slave Power to the ground. Give me a spot no bigger than Massachusetts, ready to nullify that Fugitive Slave Law, and disunion is begun. Men ask where it will end. I cannot tell you. But if you will give Massachusetts, Ohio, New York, Wisconsin, Iowa, Vermont and Maine will soon swell her company, and we will have a North

LETTERS FROM H. W. BEECHER, O. B.

in which it is decent to live. (Applause.)

PROTHINGHAM, AND S. JOHNSON. The following letters were read by Rev. Mr. May at the First of August Celebration at Abington :-

BROOKLYN, July 18, 1854.

In reply to your invitation to be present at Abington upon the 1st of August, and speak, I would say, that I shall not be able to do so.

I leave town the last week in July, with an invalid wife, for the country, and shall spend the time till September among the mountains, at rest. I have worked during the past nine months so hard, at home and abroad, that I feel entitled to a vacation.

If I were to employ my time in speaking at all, I certainly know of no subject which I should rather speak upon, than that which will engress your attention on that occasion.

I am, very truly, yours, H. W. BEECHER.

SALEM, July 15, 1854. GENTLEMEN ;

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your invitation to assist in the commemoration of the 1st of August at Abington Grove. I am indeed with you-in mind and heart-and should be glad to bear my testimony, as I am able, in behalf of the righteous cause; but I must beg you to leave me out of account in the arrangement of your exercises, and to reckon only on the pos sibility of my coming. Not that any known engagements are likely to prevent me from being present. But I am wholly unaccustomed to addressing such audiences as yours, or any audiences under such circumstances and have therefore a natural misgiving of success or effeet in-attempting it. If I came, it would be only for the purpose of showing my hand and taking my position; and this, I trust, is quite unnecessary, at least with

With renewed thanks for the honor you have done me I remain Yours, most truly,

O. B. FROTHINGHAM. Messrs. Francis Jackson. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Samuel May, Jr.

Mr DEAR SIE : Your letter finds me on the point of starting on journey, which will occupy some weeks. It will therefore be impossible for me to be at Abington on the 1st

SALEM, July 15, 1854.

hear. But let me repeat the assurance of my sympa-thy, and say, that in my judgment there was never a excursion, on board steamer Ruby, between Amherst time when the steadfast adherence of abolitionists to burgh, C. W., and Detroit, Michigan, August 1st, 1854 the principles with which they have been so long striv- in commemoration of the anniversary of the emancipa ing to inform the public conscience, was so directly tion of 800,000 human beings from chattel slavery and profoundly effective as now. The ploughing and the British West India Islands, George de Baptist, sowing time has been long and disheartening, perhaps, Esq., announced to the assembled company the decease

but the white harvest is nigh. It is a moment of unparalleled public confusion, W., at 8 o'clock this morning, (August 1st.) and sugwatchfolness and fear. But we believe with the noble Fichté, that ' the misery which lies most open to view to a meeting to express their sentiments in relation to is not the frue misery : that as things are, this misery this melancholy event. Whereupon, Rev. William C. is the best of all that is in the (political) world; and Munroe was called to the Chair, and J. Theodore Holly that since the (political) world has not improved at all. we may justly conceive that there is not yet enough misery in it. That the image of God should be sullied, degraded, trodden in the dust, -this is the true misery. And when this begins to be felt, there begins at last to be hope, and promise also.

The recent events have certainly given a mighty im petus to that rebellion of the people against their political leaders and party organizations, which we have been yearning for many years to see. Even in Massachusetts, which thus far has seemed to lag behind the other States in the movement for a Northern union against slavery, I cannot believe that the desperat struggles of a few Whig politicians to save their person of HENRY BIBE, which occurred at 3 o'clock this (Tuesday) morning, at his late residence in Windsor al influence at the expense of the public liberties, will thwart the generous project now afoot to forget all old issues in a new band for the defence of Freedom. Indignant instincts of humanity are striving at last in the heart of the people, demanding State Rights, and Laws for the protection of personal liberty. And the most radical abolitionist is at least bound to recognise the right impulse, to hail it with welcome, and to treat it with respect. It is a great thing for people to have American slavery, and the free colored emigrants now in Canada, have lost their chief pillar, and one of their learned that they have been bitterly cheated by North and South, by priest and politician, by compromise and and South, of priest and pointed and, by compact with slavery, by a whole tribe of idols, and by all the 'idols of the tribe': that the extremest penalities are exacted for even the most serviceable paltering; it is are exacted for even the most serviceable paltering; occasion is marred by this melancholy bereavement, and subjumes the state of the state compact with slavery, by a whole tribe of idols, and by and that he who sows the wind of compromise must reap the whirlwind of broken faith and reckless villany; a great thing for them to be calculating the value
of the Union, and confessing it to be more less than
the was appropriate that such a great data was appropriate that such a great data.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the bereaved widow, disconsolate mother and grief-stricken
brothers, who mourn his loss; but we would comfort gain. The remedial steel is driven deep into their souls, and I firmly believe that the public conscience was never so open as at this moment to anti-slavery convictions (who was lately associated with the deceased in editing the editing the deceased in editing the ed of the most radical kind.

You meet to celebrate a great popular uprising against the iniquitous moral indifference and recreancy at his carliest convenience.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be presented two things: that governments, though created as the servants of the people, will inevitably tend to become their oppressors; and that they can only be States and Canada. become their oppressors; and that they can only be brought to reason by whirlwinds of popular protest which sweep away vested interests and political plotters like the dead leaves of autumn. How eminently such a calculation befits the crisis at which we stand! It is forth into delitious exultation on its Fourth of July, while the cries of beart-broken and trampled slaves appeal to Heaven from its streets against its infernal laws, and while the Angel of Judgment cries, ' Wo unto you, murderous oppressors!' as he passes over the guilty land. And it is scarcely less shameful for the supporters of the English government to be celebrating the First of August amidst England's enslaved operatives, soldiers, cultivators, in the face of her spoiled and bleeding India and Ireland. But it is indeed a timely and becoming act for men, who are standing erect amidst the general subserviency, and rebuking the wickedness of this government of ours to-day, to commemorate the uprising of a people to compel their rulers into the emancipation of a million slaves. We have a profounder revolution to effect than that of the English Reformers. It concerns the very basis of our Union as a nation hitherto. It concerns interests theroughly inwoven with the education and habits of the people. It is ten times more vast, momentous and awful in its possible processes and results. But the instrumentality sional friend. is the same. It is the roice of the people, thundering forth the vindication of its long abused and perverted thie of the 'roice of God.'

And may God speed the glorious hour, when the people shall rise as one man, like England in the days of Buxton and Wilberforce, and rending apart the chains that fill North and South alike with their horrid clanking, hurl them right and left into the Atlantic and Pacific seas; and when we shall have an anniversary at last, that shall stir our souls like the sound of ten thousand trumpets to all pure satisfactions and noble re-

And for this the time ripens. 'I commanded thee,' said the angel to Esdras, 'to go into the field where no foundation of any building was: for in the place where the Highest begins to show this city, there can no man's building be able to stand. Let the Slave Power be taken at its word. It has served God in spite of itself. It has left no single stone of the old structures of Compromise standing upon another. There are no foundations in the field. Now may the new Temple rise eternal,-of the living stones that cannot be overthrown !

Yours, very truly, SAMUEL JOHNSON.

PIRST OF AUGUST AT HOPEDALE. FREE GROVE, HOPEDALE, } August 1st, 1854.

DEAR GARRISON-I came here from Boston this morning, to attend the Twentieth Anniversary of West India Emancipation. I love to visit this place; it is very dear to me. I have sacred and pleasant memories connected with it—not only for Humanity's sake, but

friends of Humanity are here. I am here on a platform, in a sweet, pine grove, noting down what is transpiring around me. Some 1500 these last failed by reason of disagreement between the or 2000 persons are before me; and a more intelligent and interested assembly could not well be found. The Hopedalers are posted up on all questions of radical Reform, as no community of the same number, within my knowledge, is. The meeting was organized by appointed E. D. Draper Chairman, and others for Secretaries obliged to leave the work to the fillibusters. He is reand Committees. Adin Ballou read some Resolutions, presented as being 'much hurt' by this 'want of countries and made a very lucid, concise, and most interesting and made a very lucid, concise, and most interesting statement of the facts respecting West India emancipation. It was of deep interest to all, and made in the

happiest of his happy style. conclusion of his speech, I made some remarks, on the necessity of a dissolution of the Union.

We have had an intermission of one hour, and our Hopedale friends supplied those who needed with a lunch on the ground, and we formd little groups, to eat and to interchange our thoughts and feelings in sweet social sympathy. It is good and pleasant to be here. We have had an intermission of one hour, and our social sympathy. It is good and pleasant to be here. There is an intellectual, social and spiritual develop-

of August, either to lecture (as you kindly invite) or to TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HENRY BIBB. of HEXRY BIBB, Esq., which took place at Windsor, C. gested that the excursion party organize themselves in was appointed Secretary. The Chairman made a few remarks on the solemnity of the occasion, and the trenendous loss we all had experienced in having the manly voice of so noble a champion as HEXRY BIBB closed in death, and suggested the appointment of a committee to draft suitable resolutions, expressive of the feelings of this meeting in relation to this bereave-

ment. Whereupon, Messrs. Lambert, George de Baptist and Peter Thomas were appointed said committee The committee retired, and after a short absence returned, and presented the following preamble and reso-Whereas, We have heard of the melancholy deceas

C. W.; therefore,

Resolved, That in his death, freedom has lost one of its bright its noblest champious, and humanity one of its brightest ornaments.

Resolved, That we recognize in our deceased com-panion, a true friend and brother, and one who stands among the first on the page of history as the elevator of his race.

Resolved. That the emancipated bondmen from

most brilliant advocates.

Resolved, That to his indefatigable labors is to b

yet it was appropriate that such a grand and them with the recollection of the Imperishable legacy

and publishing the Voice of the Fugilire,) to delive an eulogium on the life and character of the deceased

On motion, the above preamble and resolutions wer received by the meeting, and adopted unanimously.

[Resolutions were also unanimously adopted, expres sive of their hearty and sincere thanks to Capt. Ward mortifying and disgusting to see this Union breaking the officers and crew of the steamer Ruby, for their gen tlemanly conduct and generous hospitality during the excursion, and recommending that boat to the patronage of all who may travel on that route.]

WILLIAM C. MUNROE, Chairman J. THEODOBE HOLLY, Secretary.

COLORED GENIUS.

Calling in, a few evenings since, at the study of Di J. V. De Grasse, (whose practice, by the way, we ar happy to record as in the ascendant,) our attention was directed to a beautiful oil painting, executed by Mr. Edward Bannister. Its subject-The Ship Outward Bound-for fidelity in design, coloring and shade, re fleets much credit on the young artist. It is safe to pre which should reward such self-taught exertions.

The elaborate gilt frame by which it is adorned is th work of a young mechanic, (Mr. Jacob Andrews,)the whole being a joint presentation to their profes

May the trio be successful in their chosen tions, remembering that such tributes of genius and skill blend gracefully with every good effort for the elevation of those in this land with whom they are identified by complexion and condition. W. C. N.

Connection. The article on our first page, entitled Religion and the Nebrask Bill,' is erroneously credited to a Baptist paper in North Carolina. It is from the pen of the senior editor of the Louisville Western Recorder, (Baptist) Rev. Dr. Waller, and is & choice specimen of religious cant and pro-slavery scoundrelism. See if our judgment is not correct.

THE WICKED CONGRESS-where all are wicked, this is most wicked—has adjourned. From the New York and Washington papers we proceed to gather some particulars of the bad things it has done, and the good things it has left undone. If, in examining the record, we find any good things done, or bad things left undone, we shall hasten to make prominent mention of

The bill to extend slavery into Kansas and Nebraska Ine bill to extend slavery into Kansas and Nebraska is the most important achievement. Among the bills passed are the one to appropriate ten millions of dollars for the Mesilla Valley, to establish slavery in; the regu-lar appropriation bills (which never fail); the extend-ing the warehousing system; a homestead bill for Kan-sas and Nebraska; the bill to give effect to the Recipro-city Treaty; and the bill to provide accommodations for city Treaty; and the hill to provide accommodations for the Courts of the United States in Massachusetts.

The bill to tax the Northern people for the purpose of supporting post offices in the slave States was lost; the River and Harbor bill was vetoed—the Missouri restriction of the slave of connected with it - not only for Humanity's sake, but ing against it; the bill to grant aid to the States for personal considerations. True, earnest, devoted the relief of the insane was vetoed; the bill to pay \$8,000,000 Texas debt was lost, so was the French Spoilation bill, and the Pacific Railroad bill, Pacific Telegraph bill, and four or five Ocean Steamship bill

The New York Courier & Enquirer, in noticing the veto of the River and Harbor Bill by Pres. Pierce, observes that the President can ask for ten millions of He was followed by James T. Woodbury, formerly orthodox minister at Acton, now of Milford. At the conclusion of his speech, I made some remarks, on the constitutional power to declare war; he can give his consent to the enormous appropriation for the purchase of barren acres, fit for nothing but to fight Indians on

cent for Commerce!

ment and freedom among these Hopedalers with which all hearts must sympathire, and which, one can but wish, may yet extend to all of human hind.

C. C. Burleigh has made a thrilling speech on the duty of the North—all tending to rouse the people to duty of the North—all tending to rouse the people to orious Attorney who has been so sealous in aiding the C. C. Burleigh has made a thrilling speech on the duty of the North—all tending to rouse the people to come out of this kidnapping Union. Several others have spoken, nearly all directing their remarks to the duty of this State to protect its citizens from the great kidnapper—the General Government. A feeling pervaded the assembly that political parties could do nothing with the General Government; and that they could serve this cause in no way but by arraying the State against the Fugitive Slave Law—on the issue that that law shall not be executed on its ferritory.

The day is all our hearts could wish. I know nothing that could have made this meeting more interesting and efficient than it has been, unless you and some others and efficient than it has been, unless you and some others. This is a consecrated grove, to hear, had been present. This is a consecrate

The Louisville Journal publishes by the year the advertisement of a slave-dealer in that place, named—Garrison! We do not—we can not understand why this gentleman does not move the Legislatu his State in this matter. One would think that a son engaged in a respectable, legal and patriotic traffic, based on the perpetuation of the great National Institution of Human Slavery, would shrink with instinctive delicacy from associating with his business a name made loathsome and hateful by its connection with the damnable heresy of Human Freedom.—Commonwealth.

Excitement at Washington .- As President Pierce was leaving the Capitol on Saturday afternoon, he was accosted by a drunken Southerner, who invited him to take a drink, which he declined. After shaking hands, the President turned to enter his carriage, when hands the President turned to enter his carriage, when his hat was knocked off by a hard boiled egg, thrown by the Southerner, as testified by several witnesses. Being arrested, the fellow declared he would not live if sent to arrested, the fellow declared he would not live it sent to jail, and thereupon drew a small knife and stabbed him-self in the leg, expressing a determination to bleed to death; but the flow of blood soon sobered his courage, and he surrendered. The Attorney General informed the police that the President did not wish to prosecute the Southron, and he was discharged.

Capture of a Slaver.—Extract of a letter from H. M. S. Linnet, 8 guns, Commander Henry Need, dated west coast of Africa, May 3:— We captured a fine barque at Cabeeda on the morning of the 30th of ril. She is 250 tons burthen, and was going to Black nt, about 37 miles to the northward, to ship a cargo April. of slaves. We saw her a few days previously unde American colors, but when taken she had neither color American colors, but when taken she had neither colors nor name; she is supposed to be called the Millander, of New York. On our approaching her, the crew jumped overboard, with the exception of the captain, who hailed us, and requested we would not fire; he quietly gave up his vessel, saying, 'I'm glad she is taken, for I'm almost tired.'

Expected Outbreak among Slaves .- Great ex- H. B. Draper citement prevails among the planters near Campte and Crapps Bluffs, arising from rumored insubordination and intended outbreak among the slaves. Sixteen of the State hands have been arrested and confined in jail at Natchitoches, but there is no charge against them.

There appears to be a conviction in the minds of the citirens that there is some truth in the reports, but as yet we can see nothing positive to cause alarm.—Natchi-toches (Miss.) Chronicle, July 24.

A Giant Dead .- The Scotch Giant who has been exhibited in different parts of the country, died suddenly at Laporte Ia., last week. His remains were taken to his late residence in Wisconsin for interment.

Fiendish. — The Taunton, Mass., Gazette P. Doby Richard Brinkley states that two stones, one weighing upwards of 20 pounds, were found securely wedged on the track of the Boston and Providence Railroad, at a curve a short distance south of the 'Tin Bridge,' above Central Falls, M. Sawin on Sunday evening.

The whole number of deaths in New York last week was about 1137, of which 286 were by R. Clapp, Jr., cholera, including 93 newly arrived immigrants at T. Clapp Ward's Island

waukie Free Democrat is still imprisoned in Milwaukie
J. Bradbury
County Jail, Judge Miller still refusing to take bail.
A. Proctor Infantile Mortality .- In the cities of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, last week, out of a total of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four deaths, one thousand and twenty-five, within a fraction of two-thirds of the whole number, were of children un-

der five years of age. There was a terrible and destructive storm in the vicinity of Fairmount, Virginia, on Thursday. Several buildings were unroofed, trees were thrown across the railroad track, the crops completely prostrated, and an immense amount of damage done.

One of the most notable events during C. D. Marcey the past two weeks is the great fire which took place in San Franciso, Cal. on the morning of the 11th July. The fire broke out in or near the kitchen of the Golden Gate Hotel, at 6 o'clock in the morning. The flames spread so rapidly, that many of the inmates of the build-ing were compelled to jump from the upper storica in-to the street, in order to save their lives. Several persons were severely injured. The whole number of buildings burned is between sixty and seventy, some eighteen of which were hotels and large boarding houses. The whole loss is estimated at from \$250,000 to \$300,-

A large fire also broke out in Columbia, Calaveras co., A large fire also broke out in Columbia, Cataveras co., on the morning of the 10th July, which resulted in the almost entire destruction of that town. All the property bounded by Broadway, Fulton, State and Washington streets, was entirely consumed, except a single fire proof building. The loss is estimated, we are informed, Jonathan Buffum

at \$500,000.

On the evening of July 8th, the mining town of Minnesota was burned entirely to the ground, with the exception of three houses. ception of three houses.

Sacramento City has again been the victim of a de
A. B. Glesson

Dester Whitn structive fire, which, it is estimated, has destroyed property to the amount of nearly half a million of dollars. The fire broke out at 11 A.M., July 12th, in the block Christian F. Geist Susan Barret bounded by 3d, I, 4th and K streets, and spread with blocks were more or less destroyed. The number of houses burned is estimated at two hundred. J. O. Baker S. D. Tourtelett

Fatal Affray.-New York, Aug. 2.-An N. H. Whiting affray occurred at the St. Nicholas hotel this morning, between a Southerner, named Dr. Graham, and a Californian named Loring. The latter was stabled by Dr. Graham with a bowie-knife, and expired after lingering.

Boston last week, and while here his conduct was most outrageous. He was one of the worst specimens of the w. Bates "chivalry" our citizens have seen this long while. It was entirely owing to the forbearance of parties he gross- J. W. Manson was entirely owing to the forcearance of parties ne gross-ly insulted here, that he was not put in charge of the police. As the result has proved, it was mistaken kind-ness to a stranger, who took every occasion to damn the Yankees, and to exhibit the most odious features of over-Hugh Nott Yankees, and to exhibit the most offices of moral excel-seerism to his superiors in every point of moral excel-Wendell Phillip

The Cincinnati Gazette of Tuesday M. H. Pool says—'Two negro women, one mulatto girl, one negro M. B. Perry man, and two black boys, slaves belonging to Esquire E. Y. Perry Beall, of Covington, escaped from their servitude on Philander Sh. Thursday night last, crossing the suspension bridge to P. W. Porter Newport, thence to Obio.' Newport, thence to Ohio.'

Another Rum Murder.—Last Wednesday A. Barstow evening, Mr. J. N. T. Tucker, editor of the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Daily Freeman, cut the throat of one of his children with a razor, causing instant death; and at-tempted to do the same by his wife, who is shockingly J. C. Johnson children with a razor, cauchy wife, who is shockingly tempted to do the same by his wife, who is shockingly tempted to do the same by his wife, who is shockingly tempted to do the same by his wife, who is shockingly tempted to do the same by his wife, who is shockingly to many the control of the same by t

EMANCIPATION DAY. The first of August, the anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, was duly celebrated by the colored people of Warren and vicinity, by a ball at Empire Hall in the evening. It is said to have passed off very creditably, so far as the parties were concerned; but we are sorry to say that some of the white outsiders did not demean themselves with equal decorum. A colored man named Carter, from Newton Falls, who had given umbrage to some of the aforesaid white individuals, upon leaving the Hall during the evening, was knocked down with a brick, and his head severely cut. We did not hear of any other serious occurrence attendant on the occasion.—Warren (Ohio) Chronicle.

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION IN ELIOT, Me. The Portsmouth Messenger gives an account of the celebration at Eliot on the first of August. Twenty-five hundred people were present, seven hundred of whom were from Portsmouth. In the forenoon, speeches were made by Rev. W. H. Brewster, of Lowell, Austen Wiley of Portland, and Mrs. Daggett, of New Vineyard. Then there was a collation, served up by the ladies of the town, and in the afternoon Seth Webb, Jr., Esq., of Boston, delivered an address of about an hour in length, which was listened to throughout with rapt attention. Mr. Brewster and Mr. Wiley again spoke, and the meeting closed with music. ing closed with music.

PLEDGES To the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, at Abington, Aug. 1, 1854.

John Lobsitz, Kingston, James Seymour, Plymouth, Z. Nash, Abington Centre, Sylvanus E. Sewall, N. Bridgewater, Harriet Tillman, Charlestown, M. A. Barnett, Boston, Hiram Fitzgerald, John Tittle, Hanover, Hannah M'Gill, S. Weymouth, M. C. Woodman, Hanover, Hannah Williams, Plymouth,

PLEDGES To the Mass. A. S. Society, made at the Framingh Grove meeting, July 4, 1854.

Wendell Phillips, Charles F. Hovey, 25 00 5 00 Asa Cutler, Wm. Sparrell, Dr. Wm. Wesse John C. Haynes, Boston, Wm. H. Gray, South Acton, Cyrus Houghton, Holliston, Abijah Allen, Millbury, C. B. Moseley, Francis Cutler, Holliston, Hervey Dyer, Pembroke, D. W. Baker, Boston, Clark Aldrich, Westboro', Joel Knight, Charlestown, J. G. Gleason, Plymouth, H. V. Pond, South Weymouth, Ellis Allen, Medford, W. U. W. Washom' Ellis Allen, Medford, Wm. Harrington, Westhoro', Asa Fitz, Boston, John Scott, Boston, Jonathan Rice, Marlboro', 1 00 1 00 1 00 U. S. Baldwin, Boston, Wm. Bailey, Boston, Clara Vant, Boston, Sarah A. Henshaw, West Brookfield, Robert H. Moorehend, Marshfield,

Received at the Framingham Grove Meeting, July

1854, by the Finance Committee. \$5 00 Z. Ober 5 00 Josiah Wood Francis Jackson 5 00 Josiah Wood Wendell Phillips 5 00 H. V. Pond C. L. & A. M. Remond 5 00 L. S. Graves 0 50 S. A. Harrington Geo. W. Simonds Richard W. Henshaw Geo. A. Noves C. G. Munyan J. H. Hero Wm. Hurdson rbert Gleason C. A. Sawin 2 00 F. Hanchett Charles Brighau A. Sulf R. Webb S. Hardy Sam'l Taft J. L. Wooden C. A. Bliss E. Crowell John W. Kett M. A. Thayer W. J. Hero R. Holbrook Eliz. Annetts 00 John Thomas L. Maynard 1 00 W. N. Hale 00 L. H. Gibbs A. H. Thompso N. B. Spooner 00 F L Rabecck J. G. Haynes 1 00 Geo. Bowers M. Pitte C. Hunt An Editor in Jail .- Mr. Booth of the Mil-- Mulliken Whittemore Ellen Pitts M. A. Greenwood 1 00 N. Mason 1 00 J. Diggs M B. Goodrich N. T. Allen 1 00 1 00 O. O. Johnson Rev. Mr. Coe P. Caswell J. G. Gleason 1 00 Wood E. Bailey Mr. Warden 1 00 | S. B. Maynard Whipple Jesse Despeau R. Folger H. Mellen G. T. Bailey Wright E. M. Marshall Alice H. Hunt 1 00 Mary Mowrey H. L. Munys W. Marsh L. Whiting 1 00 R. Rockwood Homer Darling E. T. Mulliken S. Wood R. Dowse M. Fairbanks M. Fish C. C. Johnson David Howland S. May, Jr. E. L. Capron John Swift O. S. Swift Mr. Wetherbee S. P. Hodges C. C. Perham Mr. Miller W. Whiting L. Coolidge M. A. Cutler S. H. Gay

0 50

0 25

0 25 0 25

1 00

1 00 T. Black

00

Dexter White

D. Sengraves

S. A. Rice

M. Peck

J. Hubbard

E. Partridge M. Harrima

1 00 H. W. McDonald 1 00 H. J. Hubbard

Persis Burdit

Elizabeth Brown R. V. Meriam

1 00 F. Cloyes 1 00 S. W. Tibbetts

COLLECTIONS Ai Abington, August 1, 1854, made by the Finance Committee, for the Mass. Anti- Slavery Society. 0 50 | Harriet Turner Wm. Spooner Wm. Whiting

1 00 L. B. Convers

1 00 Edwin Lewis

1 00 Mrs. Jane Wright

1 00 | W. G. Cambridge

1 00 Mr. Blackmer 1 00 D. Josselyn 0 50 S. Wallerman 5 00 Mr. Perry 1 00 G. Bates D. F. Goddard 1 00 Charles Brown 1 00 A. F. Turner Leonard Pratt Parker Bates 1 00 1 00 W. H. B. C. H. Young Mrs. Birmingh 1 00 M. A. Birmingham 1 00 E. E. Bennett Lewis McLaughlin G. A. Bradford 0 10 S. T. Birmingham 0 25 J. G. Dodge 0 50 Johnson Davee 0 35 H. Tomlinson 0 55 H. W. Blanchard 0 50 Mr. Butterfield Francis Jackson Sam'l May, Jr. J. M. W. Yerrinton 0 25 W. L. Garrison Caleb Stetson Caleb Stetson
C. H. A. Dall
Jona. Buffum
Thos. Pugh
P. Blackmer 0 25 J. Harlow o 50 J. B. McCres. 0 25 D. H. Briggs 0 25 C. H. Collins 0 25 J. H. York 1 00 Wm. Ashby 1 00 Sam'l Reed 1 00 Martin

0 50 E. H. Bradford 0 50 H. W. H. Adams Frances A. Watkins Elias Richards Mehitable Reed J. Corthell Harriet Gilmore A. M. Gilmore E. A. Newhall Susan Allen Mrs. R. Bates

R. Bates

Job Luther

Nath'l Pool R. Loan E. B. Moulton Milton James Jacob Leonard C. Taylor Mr. Brown 0 25 L. D. Sturtevant 0 25 J. G. Knapp 0 25 Benj. White 0 25 B. T. Burgess 0 25 M. W. Stetson M. C. Nickerson 0 25 M. C. Nickerson
0 50 Wm. Brown
0 25 Francis Jones
0 50 Luther Glover
2 00 B. Mann
1 00 Geo. Macomber
2 00 Susan Meserre
0 25 Friends, and Cash,
0 12 in different sums, Seth Chandler B. Fowler
L. M. Cutcheon
Thos. P. Hunt
H. A. Hebbard
Mary Lewis
Hannah Hollis

Martin Leonard

DIED—At Windsor, C. W., Tuesday, Aug. 1, HERRY Bins, aged 39 years.

Mr. Bibb was born a slave in Kentucky, in the year of our Lord 1815, and was reared under the blighting influence of that American Curse, to the age of 25; but his noble spirit could no more be circumscribed by its haneful and tyrannical influence, than the mighty cataract of Niagara could be by a mill dam.

With a firm determination to be free, he followed the course of the North Star, through the intricate mazes of the forest, until he reached a land where the grasp of the man-stealer could not reach him.

Since his liberation from the charnel house of American Slavery, Mr. Bibb has been prominently connected with the Anti-Slavery, movement of the country as a Lecturer, Author and Editor, and in his demise that cause has lost one of its brightest ornaments and most

DIED-At Windsor, C. W., Tuesday, Aug. 1, HENRY

The short career of Mr. Bibb as an emancipated The short career of Mr. Bibb as an emancipated bondman was truly a grand life, but in a still higher sense may his demise be called a sublime death. During a long and severe illness of sixteen weeks, he bore his physical sufferings without a murmur, and with a truly Christian resignation awaiting his approaching dissolution, seemingly conscious that it was not to be for a moment averted, knowing that he had fought the good fight, and was ready to go in the presence of the good fight, and was ready to go in the presence of the Great Father Spirit, with the evidences of a life well

His life seems to have been providentially prolonged His life seems to have been provided on the Anniversa-to come to a grand and sublime close on the Anniversa-ry of the emancipation of 800,000 of his brethren in the British West Indies, an occasion in which he always took a lively interest during life. Requirescat in pace! J. T. H.

ANNIVERSARY NOTICE.

The Twelfth Anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Salem, Ohio, commencing at 10 o'clock, on the morning of the 26th of August, and continuing probably three days. EDMUND QUINCY, of Boxlon is award the sale of Boxlon in the sale of Boxlon in award the sale of Boxlon in the sale of Boxlon in award the sale of Boxlon in the sale of Boxlon in award the sale of Boxlon in the sale of Boxlon in award the sale of Boxlon in the sale of Boxlo

BARNSTABLE COUNTY A. S. CONVEN-TION.—The Annual County A. S. Convention will be held in HARWICH, commencing on FRIDAY, August 25th, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing on SATURDAY and SUNDAY.

are determined never to yield another step to the arrogant demands of the Slave Power, is desired and hereby earnestly invited from every part of the Cape.

Further particulars, as to speakers, &c., will be given in future papers. ELKANAH NICKERSON

GILBERT SMITH, JOSHUA H. ROBBINS, NATH'L ROBBINS, Committee Z. H. SMALL,

OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

the Iown Hall, at Kingston, on Sunday, the 18th inst., at the usual hours of religious worship.

We are happy to announce that Wm. Lloyd Garrison and N. II. Whiting are expected to address the meeting. We trust our friends throughout the county will be present in goodly numbers, remembering that the times demand prompt and energetic action.

MANCHESTER, N. H.—CHARLES L. REMOND and ANDREW T. Foss, on behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings in Manchester, on SUNDAY, August 13, at the usual hours of meeting.

LORING MOODY will lecture on the Encroachments of the Slave Power, and the Relations of the

Essex.....Sunday.....Aug. 13. 16. Beverly.....Thursday.....
Danvers Plains...Friday.....

MEETING AT BELKNAP STREET CHURCH. A public meeting will be held on Monday evening next, Aug. 14, in Belknap Street Church, to hear a re-

P. FREEMAN. WANTED—A colored woman as Housekeeper in a Water-Cure Establishment. Apply, immediately, to WM. C. NELL, 21 Corphill.

BY RICHARD HILDRETH, ESQ.

TF any man doubts the fact, that the most grinding I tyranny upon which the sun shines, exists in the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, let him read this

GREAT BARGAINS IN PIANOS.

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SUNNY MEMORIES FOREIGN LANDS.

BY MRS. H. BEECHER STOWE, Author of ' Uncle Tom's Cabin.'

0 50

Illustrated with highly finished wood Engravings, from designs by Billings.

The First Edition of the above work was published on the 15th of July.

The Publishers are aware that they need do no more than to announce this work, for thousands who have read 'Uncle Tom' will welcome any new production from the same pen. Yet it is but just to say, that these volumes are written in the author's happiest vein; and that they would have created a great sensation, and would have met with a very large sale, if published enonymously. anonymously.

The public, who have been wearied with the perusal of countless books of travel taking the same beaten paths, will be surprised at the freshness and absorbing interest with which this gifted author has invested the

THE PARK PROPERTY.

cause has lost one of its brightest ornaments and most efficient laborers, and it will send a thrill of sorrow throughout the whole Anti-Slavery ranks of the most poignant character, that will be felt to their extremest limits.

of Boston, is among the speakers expected to be present.

A full delegation of the friends of Freedom, of all who

The Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Old Colony (Plymouth County) Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Town Hall, at Kingston, on Sunday, the 18th inst.,

mand prompt and energetic action.

BOURNE SPOONER, Pres. H. H. BRIGHAM, Sec.

of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will hold a meeting at Arnoldtown village, WOODSTOCK, Ct., on Sunday, August 18, at usual hours.

C. L. REMOND will hold a meeting at READ-ING, on Sunday, August 20.

North to Slavery-in

FF A MASS UNION CONVENTION of the friends of Temperance in Plymouth and Norfolk Counties will be held in the Grove in Abington, on Tuesday next, August 15, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. Rev. John Pierpont and others will address the meeting.

port from William C. Nell, respecting the proceed-ings of the National Council at Cleveland, Ohio. A report of the doings of the State Council, recently held at New Bedford, will also be presented by NESTOR

WANTED—A good place for two colored children, one a boy seven years old, and the other a girl of five years—until they become of age.

Apply at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill.

Despotism in America.

masterly work.
August 11. 6wis

THE Subscriber has at all times a large number of Pianofortes, Melodeons, Seraphines and Parlor Organs for sale or to let, to persons residing in the city or at a distance. Many of these instruments are from the best makers, and either new or been in use but a short time. The great variety from which individuals can here select, will insure them perfect satisfaction.
Persons hiring, who may conclude to purchase within
one year, will receive a reduction of rent. An excellent opportunity is thus presented to those who may wish to give an instrument a full trial before purchasing.

August 4. MRS. H. B. STOWE'S NEW WORK.

A BOOK OF TRAVELS.

COMPRISED IN TWO VOLUMES, DUODECIMO.

PRICE, TWO DOLLARS.

subject. From the voyage to the return, the reader follows her guidance with unquestioning delight. TO Orders from the Trade respectfully solicited. PHILLIPS, SAMPSON & Co. PUBLISHERS,

POETRY.

For the Liberator. THE PIRST OF AUGUST. All hail! thou glad, auspicious day, When Freedom's rising band Swept Slavery's blighting curse away,

Throughout the Briton's land. A nation slowly gathered strength, As light gleamed on her way : Her fatal bands she burst at length, Upon this hallowed day.

The first fruits of that coming time,

The bright millennial day, When Jesus' precepts, so sublime, Shall every nation sway; When right and truth, throughout the earth, Shall reign in every breast, And sorrow shall give place to mirth,

And all be truly blest. Before a new, untried ideal, A theory of right. A mighty nation's pride did real. And vanished in its might. Her golden treasures she poured forth, To cleanse her moral stain; With Freedom's boon of priceless worth Abolished Slavery's reign.

We bless to-day each noble name. That strove this prize to win, And wiped off from their country's fame This taint of deadly sin. May their example move our hearts To work while yet we may; And, spite of Slavery's demon arts, End here her guilty sway.

Yes-press we on !- in God's own might We wage this holy war ;-Firm in the cause of truth and right, Hell's weapons we abhor. No 'Compromise' our flag doth stain, No 'Union's' sinful bands,

Forged in its flames of woe and pain, Shall e'er restrain our hands. Salem, Aug. 1st, 1854.

> From the Quincy Patriot. INDEPENDENT DAY. BY P. M. ADEINGTON-WETMOUTH.

Tis Independent Day, mamma-Why don't they ring the bell? Why don't they shout, and cry huzza? Dear mother, can you tell? I asked my pa to tell me why The bells had not been rung; With angry looks he passed me by. And bade me hold my tongue, And mutter'd 'twixt his grinding teeth-'I blush to tell the chap, The head for which we twin'd the wreath, Deserves a motley cap.

Last year, they hang'd the colors out, And rang the bells like hum. And all the people inarch'd about, And had a fife and drum; And now they all look cross or sick-I wish somebody 'd tell-Why is it, mother, tell me quick, Why don't they ring the bell?

Alas! my son, we have no cause For such rejoicing now; Vile traitors have made wicked laws, To which we all must bow. Old Massachusetts feels the stroke.

Her hills and valleys groan; She cannot bear a Tyrant's yoke, And bow submissive down. A voice is heard along her strand. And echo'd o'er the waves,-' Curs'd be the fiend who doom'd this land A trap for hunted slaves !" Yet Fillmore wolves and Douglas hounds. Have made it Slavery's hunting grounds. Why weeps my boy ?- why don't he play? Oh, mother, need I tell? They've murdered Independent Day !

We ought to toll the bell. July 4, 1854.

> From the National Era. ICHABOD.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER. I heard the train's shrill whistle call, I saw an earnest look beseech. And, rather by that look than speech,

And as I thought of Liberty, Marched hand-cuffed down that sworded street, The solid earth beneath my feet Recled fluid as the sea.

I felt a sense of bitter loss-Shame, tearless grief, and stifling wrath. And loathing fear, as if my path A serpent stretched across.

All love of home, all pride of place, All generous confidence and trust, Sank smothering in the deep disgust And anguish of disgrace.

Down on my native hills of June. And home's green quiet, hiding all. Fell sudden darkness, like the fall Of midnight upon noon ! And Law, an unloosed maniac, strong,

Blood-drunken, through the bl ckness trod. Hoarse-shouting in the ear of God The blasphemy of wrong. Oh, Mother ! from thy memories proud,

Thy old renown, dear Commonwealth Lend this dead air a breeze of health. And smite with stars this cloud ! Mother of Freedom! wise and brave, Rise awful in thy strength !' I said ;

Ah, me! I spoke but to the dead; I stood upon her grave!

From the National Era. TIS THE WORST AND THE BEST. BY THE WORKSHOP BARD.

. This bill is, at the same time, both the worst and the best bill ever acted upon by Congress.'-Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner, of Mass., on the final passage of the Kansos and Nebraska Bill.

'Tis the worst and the best of the deeds ye have done, And destiny's angel the records shall trace; It shall tell that the race of the traitors is run, And that freemen henceforth shall be found in the

From New Hampshire's tall peaks, frowning darkly and

To the valleys which sleep by the far Western Flood

sall be echoed the deeds of her recreant son, Who hath bartered in shame what was purchas Too long, like the ravenous vultures of war,

Have the traitors been fed, while our rights have Those rights, which, to freemen, were dearer by far

Than the gems of a crewn in their settings of gold. Tis written ! ay, written ! for, lo ! on the wall, The pale finger of doom hath engraven it deep; And a voice, which presages your ultimate fall, Is awakened at last, and shall never more aleep

It shall thrill through the land like a wall from the are expected to endure, and do submit to, in the civi-

And a voice shall reply from our forefathers' graves That ' the soil where the blood of the martyrs was shed, Shall be evermore free from the footfall of slaves." All hail to the Future ! Its promise is ours,

Though the storm and the tempest should herald it Ye shall look, but in vain, for a spirit that cowers

Ye shall learn, for a truth, that there yet is a North. 'Tis the worst and the best'; for abroad through the

The pent fires of Freedom at last shall break forth; And Liberty yet shall have whereon to stand, Till she shatters the thrones of the tyrants of earth Marietta, Ohio, June 14, 1854.

THE LIBERATOR

A JOURNEY TO CHARLESTON. No. II

BY THE WANDERING GENTLE

COLORED CONTENTMENT IN VIRGINIA.

WASHINGTON HOTEL, WILMINGTON, N. C. April 1, 1854.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON : SIR :- I will devote this letter to the narration of few facts in relation to the subject of contentment with slavery,' in Virginia, which will, I carnestly hope, disabuse the minds of many Northern men of the belief that the majority of the colored citizens of the South prefer their present bondage to the freedom enjoyed by the African population of the Northern States and the British Provinces. I will relate, with equal willingness whatever I see of evil or of good in slavery as it exists bere ; because I regard the question of slavery as a moral question, and therefore to be determined by pure reason, and neither by social nor historical con tions, nor by the deductions of experience. If Slavery is right, then are the sufferings of the slaves-and sufferings exist-of no moment whatever; and if, on the other hand, it is a wrong, then, also, are the content ment and happiness of the slaves-if they are happy and content-of no importance whatever, as far as the settlement of the question of slavery is concerned.

In walking along one of the streets of Richmond was suddenly overtaken by a shower. I entered the store of a fruiterer and confectioner. He was a free man of color. I soon entered into a conversation with him, ascertained his history, and learned several facts which materially altered some of my opinions on the condition of the slaves of Richmond.

He was a mulatto, of about thirty-five years of age His eye and his demeanor showed that he was a kindhearted, yet a resolute man ; the tone of his voice and the expression of his face proved that he had been long and practically acquainted with grief. He was very intelligent, and spoke, -a few colored collequial expres sions excepted, -the language of 'our best society.'

He had been a slave, but had bought his freedor and since that time had purchased his wife, his brother, his wife's sister, her husband and two children. He was only waiting, he said, until he could buy his sisterin-law and her child, before proceeding to the North, where a man might live without being persecuted on every hand on account of his color.'

'You've done very well, indeed,' said I, 'to buy sev en persons beside this property'-the house he lived in was his own property-' you're an Abolitionist of the first water !" 'Ah! sir,' said the good man in a sad tone, 'I wisl

I could do something more effectual. It's all I live for." Before proceeding farther, I may state that, before questioning any of the slaves, or free men of color whom I have hitherto spoken with on the topic of slavery, have invariably informed them that I am a Northern abolitionist, travelling in the South for the purpose of ascertaining the real sentiments of the African population on the subject of involuntary bondage. By show-ing myself to be their friend, I have elicited replies that could have been obtained by no other method:

'No one,' said he, ' has any idea of how our people are persecuted here, only on account of their color.' . Indeed !' I answered, 'I wish you would name ! few of the methods employed by the white people in persecuting you ; I will avenge you by publishing them.'

He named a host, from which the following items are selected :-1. The oath of a colored man, whether free or a slave,

is not admissable at courts of justice ; the courts commonly, but most erroneously so-called, I mean. There-

If a white man owes a debt to a man of color, it is impossible for the creditor to resort to legal remedies, if he refuses to pay it.

If a white man, from any cause or motive, such, for example, as the motive of extorting money, chooses to swear that any colored man, whether free or a slave, was impertinent to him, he can have the unfortunate object of his malice whipped by the public officers.

If a worthless vagabond with a white skin chooses enter the store of a free man of color, and to steal any articles from it, the owner of the property dare not complain, for fear of the municipal lash.

Thus the blacks are always at the mercy of the whites, a position which no uncolored man, I am certain, would be very willing to occupy.

In stating these facts, my informant related an incident, which I shall parrate here, as it is at once a striking illustration of the injustice practised toward our colored fellow-creatures by some of 'our southern brethren,' and serves to show the practical working of the law relating to the oaths of persons of the African race.

Some time ago, a white man went to the green market, and was proceeding to put some vegetable (parsely, I believe it was,) into his basket, when the colored man in attendance asked him if he had measured it. He insulting him ! Next day he took out a warrant, had the woman brought before the Mayor, and swore, as did his son also, that she had used insolent and abusive language to him. She would have been whipped as usual, if several men who were present at the time, and knew the old woman to be an honest, inoffensive soul, had not stepped up and sworn that she was guiltless of the offence charged by the complainant. She was according-

2. Although free men of color pay all the municipal taxes levied on the white citizens, they are prohibited not only from exercising any influence in elections, but from entering the public square or the cemetery !

ly discharged; the white man, however, was not even

3. Colored men are prohibited from carrying any offensive or defensive weapons. 4. They are not allowed to go abroad after sunset without a written permit from their owners, or their

papers of freedom If they violate these regulations, they are imprisoned until claimed by their masters, or visited by their friends. If they are free, but without friends to attend to their interests,-hear this, and defend it, if you can or dare, ye "Northern men with Southern principles!" the city. He paid a visit to New England, and came they are kept in jail for a certain period, and then (God back a Christian. He had been a mere theologian be help them !) are sold into slavery, to pay for the ex- fore that time.

pense incurred by keeping them incarcerated ! Not many years ago, a free girl from the opposite side of the river incautiously entered the city of Rich- that he had lately visited the scenes of his childhox mond, without her certificate of freedom. She was ar- and his early love; had stood in the church where he rested, kept in prison for forty days, and then sold into perpetual bondage for the Southern crime of 'being at the walls of the college where he had been trained to

6. All assemblages of colored men, consisting of more than five persons, are illegal. This ordinance is strict-

ly enforced. 6. Women of color are compelled to endure every species of insult. White boys often spit on their dresses as they are going to chapel; and if they meet a colored female out of doors after sunset, they act still more

lised, Christian, church-adorned city of Richmond, in the middle of the nineteenth century. Strange, is it not? Yet, in the free North, the word Abolitionist in often used contemptuously as a nickname. Strange still, is it not?

In the course of the conversation in which these fa were mentioned, I stated to my colored companion tha I had heard the Southern wrongs men of the North very frequently declare that the slaves were perfectly contented with their lot, and would not willingly ex-change it for freedom. I asked him if the slaves of nd were contented

" No, sir, they are not. I know the most of them I've lived here for thirty years ; first, in a hotel where I used to meet dozens of them every day; and in m store here, where I see hundreds from every part of the city and country all the time. They are as discontentes as they can be. There's a few of them who're poor ignorant creatures, and have good masters, don't car anything about freedom.'

' How many do you suppose,' I interposed; 'one quan ter of them ?" 'No, sir,' said the store keeper energetically, 'no

more than one-tenth." 'What !' I exclaimed, 'you don't mean to say tha not more than one-tenth of the slaves have good mas

' No, sir,' he answered, ' but I do say, that those wh have good masters are as little contented as those who hare bad masters. Kind treatment is a good thing, bu it isn't liberty, sir ; and colored people don't want that

kind of privileges; they want their rights.' Do you think that this feeling of discontent is a strong in the country as in the city?' I inquired. "No, not so strong," he rejoined. "In the city the are more intelligent, and the discontented sentimen

is stronger, because the colored people have more chance

of talking to one another about their hardships." 'Do you think,' I asked, 'that the feelings of dis ontent have increased during your recollection?" 'Oh! yes, sir,' he replied, 'it has increased a hun

dred times, especially within the last eight years." When I was a boy, the colored people did'nt thinl nuch about freedom, because they were allowed a good deal of liberty; but now it seems as if the laws were becoming worse and worse for us every day; we can' enjoy anything now; we can't have the social meetings as we used to have ; and now I tell you, sir, the colored people do think about it a good deal. They run away every good chance they can get. I know about a hundred that's gone North since last new year; most of them got away altogether, and plenty's ready to follow

'Do any of them return ?' I asked.

' No, sir,' said the freeman, ' they've too much sens or that. You can't tell anything at all about the colored people from what the papers say. Whenever one comes back, they make a long string of remarks about it'-he measured about half a yard with his right hand on his left arm-'but they don't say nothing about them that run away-hundreds-and never come back again ! And just look at the paragraphs about the trials at the courts here ! It'salways 'a worthless pegro.' r 'a worthless free negro;' they always say that, no difference what his character may be, nor what the character of the white man who appears against him is," He pointed to a paragraph of this kind in the Disoutch, and gave me a proof that the white accuser of the 'worthless free negro' named in it, was a man of a

most disreputable character.

'I was advised by a slavery man to visit your Afri an Church here—is it a splendid concern?'

Yes, sir,' he replied, 'it's a very fine church. hought they would tell you to go there ! They always do. That's an old game of theirs. 'Go to the African Church,' they always say to strangers, 'and see how sappy our slaves are, and how well they dress!" When was living at the hotel, I've often heard them say so o travellers. Once, a gentleman from the North said to me, 'Well, your people of color seem very happy. I was at your church to-day, and I really never did see a better dressed nor a happier looking congregation.

Yes, massa,' I said, 'but appearances are deceitful. You don't see their hearts. Many of them that you saw there with happy looking faces had heavy hearts and raw backs. They are not all slaves either, as they tell you they are ; one half of them's free people.' 'But they look happy,' the gentleman said. 'Very true, massa,' said I, ' so they do, and Sunday's the only happy day they have. That's the only time they have a to 'sociate together on any other day.' '

' By whom,' I inquired, ' is this African Church sup ported ?"

* By the colored people." 'You have a colored preacher, of course?' 'Ok, no," said the storekeeper, 'colored people are not allowed to enter a pulpit in Virginny.

(I have forgotten the name,) a colored clergyman, once attempted it, but they put him in jail.' · How much do you pay your minister?' 'Six hundred dollars a year,' he replied, 'but we don't elect him-we have nothing to do with the church but to go there, pay all the taxes, and listen to sermons

bout submission to the will of God.' Does he often expatiate on that duty ?'

Very often, very often. One day I heard him say that God had given all this continent to the white man, and that it was our duty to submit."

'Do the colored people,' I asked, 'believe that sort of things?" 'Oh! no, sir,' he said, 'one colored man whispered

to me as the minister said that, - He bed-d. God am not such a fool."

Who elects your minister?"

He explained at great length, but I lost the greater part of his answer, in thinking about his negative defisition of Deity. I understood him to say that the turned round fiercely, and asked her what she meant by by all the churches in the city. Certain it is that the people who pay the church expenses have neither part nor lot in the church government.

Some time since,' said the storekeeper, 'they told us we might have the church for - thousand dollars. (I have forgotten the amount he named.) . Well, we raised it, some how or other, and got the building ; but then, we didn't get the right of choosing our own minister, as we expected.'

Does your white minister always preach to suit the 'Yes, sir,' he answered, 'always. He wouldn't be allowed to preach at all, if he didn't."

His wife then told me the history of a norther preacher, at present officiating in the city of New York, Baptist divine, -- who was forced to leave Richmond because he once selected as a text that heavenly command- Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you. He is loved by the colored people of the city ; let him be proud of the hatred of the human flesh-

When this clergyman first came to Richmo said nothing offensive to the human property holders of

The first text he selected on his return to the city wa the Golden Rule. He commenced his sermon by saying first experienced the spirit of religion; had looked upon fight the good fight of faith ; and had stood at his old mother's grave. He had felt, he said, that, hitherto, he had not done his duty as a Christian elergyman; but he was determined, with the aid of the Holy Ghost, to atone, by his future seal, his short-comings in by-gone days. He spoke of the case of the free white girl sold into slavery, which I have related above, which at that time was a news item. 'Brethren!' he exclaimed this is not doing unto others as we would that other These are a few of the things that colored freemen should do unto us.' Before retiring to rest that night

he received forty letters from members of his congrega-tion. He was obliged to leave the city; Richmon-would not submit to be spoken to by a Christian cler-

The wife of the storekeeper asked me if I was ac 'I am not; perhaps, though, I may have seen him is

She went up stairs, and brought down his portrait which she handled with a delicacy, and looked at with an affection, of which any public man might well have been proud. Such a testimonial, O Douglas, Iscariot, is worth ten thousand Presidencies; such a testimonial

thou mightest have won, if thou hadst not basely sold thy soul for the chance of an office ! I asked the freeman if he knew whether or laboring and poorer white population of Richmond were

in favor of slavery or against it. 'That's a question,' he replied, 'that can't be an swered very easily. Hundreds have said to me, when they came into the store, that they detested slavery; but they never talk about it to white people; they're

afraid to do so." (I may state, that, as far as I have had an opportu nity of judging hitherto, I am of opinion that the ma-jority of the Southern people in the cities of Richmond

and Wilmington are secret abolitionists.)

'They're afraid to do so!' Think of that, ye New England sons of the Revolutionary sires; in America, the land of Liberty, free men, of the Saxon race, are afraid' to express their opinions ! Southern Rights, my friends !

The Abolitionists of the North are often accused of malignantly misrepresenting the sentiments and the character of the people of the South.

I was informed by the store-keeper whose remarks l have been relating, that the citizens of Richmond very zealously inculcate on the minds of their slaves, that all that the Northern abolitionists want with them is to sell and cruelly treat them. The North is pictured almost as a place of punishment, where negroes are abused, starved and kicked about, for the amusement of the vile and odious in human nature.

Southrons ! no good ever came of a lie ! Desist from giving us false characters; for the slaves, be assured, do not believe you; and, perhaps, hy continuing to misrepresent us, you may annihilate that party in whom is your only hope of safety-the Northern men with the Bouthern want of principles. The free man of color asked me the true character of

the people of the North. I answered him as a friend of the North, and an ad-

I love the North, but I worship truth. Why will you, men of the North, close the lips of you

Southern eulogists, by your conduct to the free men of Ah! If you knew what affectionate natures, what

noble aspirations, what warm, loving hearts beat beneath the bosoms of the negroes of the North, you would not harbor much longer the social and political prejudices that disunite you from them. Remove them fellow-northmen ! for our character's and liberty's sake. I will not extend this report of our conversation any further. I will merely mention, that I was advised by

my colored friend to associate as much as possible with free colored people, if I wished to ascertain the real sentiments of the colored population on the subject of sla-Some of the slaves, sir,' he said, ' will distrust you and so will some of the free people. But don't form your opinions until you ask lots of them. You'll soon

see, sir, how discontented they all are.' I have followed his advice-with what results, I wil relate in due time. But, before closing my account o Old Virginny's' slaves, I will relate another incident -which Stephen Iscariot and Company are at perfect liberty to use, if they chose,

As I was going to the theatre, in ascending Monument street, I overtook a negro boy, of about eight years of Come here, Bobby,' said the Wandering Gentile.

I had almost passed him. As he did not come immediately, I turned round. The boy was leaning on the rails of the public park, grinning from ear to ear, looking, in fact, like an Incarnate Grin. 'He-he-he-e-e-he-eh-e-e-e !' grinned Bobby.

ome here, Bob,' I repeated. Bobby approached, and took hold of my extended

'What's your name, Bobby?'

' Patrick,' quoth Bobby. 'What's your other name ?' I asked. Jeames,' answered Patrick.

'Are you a free boy?' 'No, I'se a slave,' remarked young Patrick Jeames Have you a father and a mother?'

'Yes, he-he-e-e-he!" answered Patrick Jeames. 'Are they slaves too ?" ' Yes, he! eh! he-e-e!' said Jeames, surnamed Pat

"Who do you belong to?"

'Mrs. Snooks,' answered Patrick. " Would you like to be free, and go North?"

* No; I wouldn't go North; I don't want to be freehe ! eh ! he-he-he ! he !' replied Patrick Jeames. Were you ever sold?' I inquired.

'No; Mrs. Snooks never sold her slaves all her life I don't see what good sellin' slaves does,' was the very remarkable reply of the young slave. 'She never sold a slave?' I repeated. 'Patrick,'

asked solemnly, will you tell her that a Northerner said she was a trump?" 'Yes,' quoth Patrick, 'I'll tell her-he ! eh ! he ! he !

JOHN BALL, JR. . He gave the real name; of course, I have not imi-

> KANSAS AUBURN, (N. Y.) July 28, 1854.

Please find \$5.00 enclosed, to pay for THE LIBERATOR

any one who is not outspoken against that fraud.

DEAR SIE :

I think the pro-slavery rascals have laid a rather heavy load this time. It makes a great difference whether they tell white folks that they shall not settle in Kansas, or ask them to turn bloodhounds and hunt colored folks. There is all the difference in the world principie. No one who believes in an Almighty who is true, who regards all his children alike, who is Father of all and Lord over all, can doubt the final success. To be sure, it seems slow work to us, poor mortals, who can live but a little while, and would gladly see a half dozen milleniums in a single life-time. Yet we must wait for the good time coming, and work the best we the traitor Anthony Burns can to hasten its dawning, and having worked the best we may, wait as patiently as we can for its coming.

Yours, truly, DANIEL WRIGHT. The ravages of the vomita in Havana. were dreadful. Out of 72 passengers who arrived out in the last Spanish mail steamer, scarcely three weeks

since, but twelve were living. Up to the 25th of June the deaths from in Barbadoes, amounted to at least 5000—it is

THE NAVAL OUTRAGE

The destruction of San Juan de Nicaragua, by the American sloop-of-war Cyane, as chronicled in the Era of yesterday, is one of the most brutal, cowardly and infamous actions that have ever disgraced a civilized nation. What greater cruelty and crime could be perpetrated by a band of pirates? If this wholesale destruction has been authorized by the Federal Government. rederal Government, ages will not wash out the stain from the national escutcheon. The guilty

stain from the national escutcheon. The guilty parties, whether high or low, who have authorized this cowardly act, should be degraded from the stations which they diagrace.

We care not which party was in the right, in the trifling affair which led to the demand of an apology. It is immaterial. There could, under no circumstances, be the slightest justification of the cowardly vengeance which has been taken. It is preposterous to pretend that the hoppy of the American preposterous to pretend that the honor of the American nation demanded such satisfaction from an in significant village. The pretence is as false and base as the action is infamous. We predict that the affair will be found to be merely a pretext for the annexation of the town and the adjacent coast.—National Era.

This outrage was doubtless performed by order of the United States Government, and will cover the Administration with merited disgrace.

The following account of the place destroyed i

taken from the New York Tribune:—
Greytown consisted of about eighty houses, nearly all built of wood, and by far the greater proportion of them constructed in the United States, and taken there on shipboard. One of these (Lyon's hotel) cost \$15,000. Not more than one fourth of the houses in the new part of the town, which has been built since 1850, were occupied. They have been heretofore occupied, but were deserted from business considerations sometime previous to this affair. The population of Greytown vious to this affair. The population of Greytown consisted of about 500 persons altogether; o which number, ten or twelve were from the United States, shout twenty-five were Englishmen, and twelve Frenchmen and Germans. The remainder of the population were Jamaica negroes and na-

When the Cyane appeared before Greytown, an starved and kicked about, for the amusement of the demanded satisfaction to the amount of \$24,000 white race. Abolitionist is the synonym for all that is given hour, it was not believed by the inhabitants that the town was to be demolished, pillaged and burned.

Capt. Hollins fired about two hundred shots. but not burning up the town as he desired, he sent ashore a launch, with a lieutenant and about twenty-five men, who proceeded to set on fire all that remained of Greytown. While doing so, they are said to have inspected the interior of the buildings rather closely, and pillaged as much as they pleased. Before finishing this work, they were pretty thoroughly intoxicated with wines and liquors, mirer of her energy and principles, would be expected and were constantly cheering. The amount of to answer.

He asked me if there was any disrespect shown to mated to be half a million of dollars.

We give below the comments of leading jour nals. The Journal of Commerce, always unwilling to censure a Democratic Administration, while it carefully keeps out of sight how Mr. Borland came to be 'insulted' and 'arrested,' is compelled to express condemnation, although it does it with all possible gentleness:

There are many beside ourselves who will doub the wisdom of proceeding to such extremities as the bombardment and burning of the village; cspecially as a considerable portion of the loss of property will fall upon our own citizens. Considered as a naval achievement, the act confers not honor, as the place was without fortifications, we believe, and the entire population not above 400

The New York Herald says :

Had the gallant Hollins come into the North river, and bombarded and burned Hoboken, he could not have damaged his own countrymen more effect ually. Those who instructed him-the Administration—could not have struck a more deadly blow at American influence or American enterprise in that quarter of the world. Excepting the natural feelings of irritation, caused by a disregard of the interests of a few of their own countrymen, we imagine the sardonic joy of the Englishmen on board the British war schooner Bermuda, in witnessing the extermination of the Americans by their own countrymen.

The Evening Post, whose devotion to Democracy who can doubt, styles the proceeding 'The siege and final destruction of an uninhabited city by a United States frigate-a great naval victory."

It was probably the first place that was ever taken after a bombardment, whether by land or by sea, without the loss of life on either side. In that point of view, the fall of Greytown will doubtless. the Administration, under whose auspices it was

The Tribune indignantly and truthfully remarks : The more this memorable act, ordered by President Pierce and executed by Commsdore Hollins, is examined, the more unaccountable, unjustifiable and base does it appear. And apart from the fact that the town had no means of resistance, and that its overthrow could yield no other glory than may be reaped by any big bully who will be a defenceless woman or little child, the origin of the whole difficulty is one which gives to the final event a discreditable and monstrous character.

The Courier and Enquirer thus alludes to the out-It is with pain and mortification we are compelled to comment upon this act of savage cruelty, committed under the deliberate instructions of the

United States Government upon a helpless isolated village.

The New York Mirror says The Federal Administration has won its crown ing victory, and as death in the embrace of victory is honorable, a cotemporary suggests that the Ad-ministration should die. Such a victory ought to

We shall await with interest the issue of this heroic(!) naval exploit, and wish the President and his Cabinet all possible joy in their settlement with the American public, and the French and English claims that will pour in directly for damages to the property and trade of our citizens.

The Commercial Advertiser closes a long review of the whole proceedings with the following com-

If no facts are brought to light to relieve the enormity of the transaction, we trust that there are yet pride, manliness, and patriotism enough in as far as it will go. I do not believe slavery will be Congress, to disavow before the world their approvabolished before that will be used up in my subscripal of such a disreputable mode of making reprisals. This is due to the honor of the country, which nevals to the country with the country which nevals to the country which nevals to the country with the country which nevals to the country with the country with the country which nevals to the tion. We are just beginning to hear the first hum of the coming political fall campaign. I think the propa- so set aside those high principles of honor and hugandists will meet with but small favor in this State. manity which ought to govern nations as well as manity which ought to govern nations as well as individuals; and if President Pierce desires to come forth out of the universal disgrace into which this act has plunged him, he cannot do better than immediately send out vessels with lumber and car-penters, and rebuild the town thus wantonly de-

The whole transaction on the part of Mr. Borland colored folks. There is all the difference in the world in the two cases. The one is a matter of interest; the and openly-declared piracy. Just think of the Cy other is merely a matter of principle;—for the one, and openly-declared piracy. Just think of the Cyother is merely a matter of principle;—for the one, and sent against a little community of some 500
white folks will fight; but for the other, they will only men, women and chidren, and firing some six or talk. We, the people, mean to have Kansas, any how; eight hours at the empty houses and shops from peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must; and while others jar and jangle about questions of interest, please others jar and jangle about questions of interest, please able to destroy the empty town, sending men ashore to set it on fire! Who doubts that we are 'the smartest nation in all creation'! THE FAMOUS VICTORY. The 'exploit' at Grey

town is universally condemned by all, except the pensioned presses of the Administration, who con-sider it very 'glorious.' On the whole, it is the greatest victory achieved by the Government since it sent the Army and Navy to Boston to put down THE DESTRUCTION OF SAN JUAN. The New York

Journal of Commerce, condemning the bombard-ment of San Juan, remarks: * We understand that ment of San Juan, remarks: We understand that a considerable quantity of goods, sent out by some of our merchants for houses in New Grenada, were left at San Juan for greater safety, while the revolution in New Grenada should be in progress. They are doubtless destroyed, together with perhaps an equal amount of English and French property. perty. Its destruction by a government vessel of the United States will, of course, give rise to recla

MOTORPATHIC CARD. MOTORPATHIC CARD.

DR. H. HALSTED, formerly of Halsted Hill, Rod. ester, N. Y., well known as the author of the property of Motorpathy, and by his great success in the sun of chronic and female diseases, has recently purchase and removed to the celebrated ROUND HILL WAILL CURE RETREAT, at Northampton, Mass. Was with improved facilities, he will continue the Practice of his peculiar system, in connection with the lipts, nathic Treatment.

of his peculiar system, in connection with the Hyds.
pathic Treatment.

Dr. H. was one of the earliest advocates, and in
been and still is one of the most successful practitions
of the Water-Cure system. Nevertheless, in the trument of Chronic Diseases, and especially these incise
to Woman, experience has taught him that Moroaram,
combined with the Water-Cure Treatment, is in a
cases much more effectual, and will restore many intients who are beyond the reach of Hydropathy also
this has been made apparent in the cure of very sunnervous and spinal affections heretofore unreached, an
of Dyspepsia and Paralysis, and the numerous as
complicated diseases of the liver and kidneys.

Dr. H. is confident in saying, that in many instanding diseases, Motorpathy is the only availablem,
edy. More than seven thousand persons have he
successfully treated in his former Institution; and, wa
the improved facilities of Round Hill, Dr. H. lock is
ward to increased success. Physicians are respectad
invited to call, and test for themselves the respectadinvited to call, and test for themselves the respectadinvited to call, and test for themselves the respectad-

ward to increased success. Physicians are repetily invited to call, and test for themselves the muit of h

As a summer retreat for the friends of patient a others seeking relaxation or pleasure, Round Hill that alone and unrivalled. Its mountain air, limpid the and delightful scenery have given it a world-widerm.

tation.

His former Institution at Rochester is for sale. Es work on Motorpathy can be obtained by remitting to postage stamps.
Address H. Halsten, M. D.,
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WORCESTE & HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTION

NO. 1 GLEN STREET. THIS Institution is under the medical direction of h.
SETH ROGERS, and is well arranged for treatment

t all seasons.

TERMS.—Usually from S7 to S9 per week. For the omice hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

CAPE COD WATER-CURE

A N Establishment of this character is commencing Harwich, under the direction of Gilbert Sam Proprietor, W. FELCH, Physician, and Miss Ellin N

Shiffi, Assistant.

Miss Smith is a young lady of medical education and Dr. Felch has, for many years, been extensive known as a popular teacher of the whole Science of Man, and a successful Practitioner of the Natural Traiment of Disease, (the Hydropathic in concurrence with Managaica). the Mesmeric.)

se Mesmeric.)
Several patients can board in Capt. Smith's family in a pleasant, rural, healthful location, within a miled the sea shore on Vineyard Sound. Terms, from \$6 per week to \$9. Address, Dr. V. FELCH, Harwich Port, Mass.

WATER-CURE AT NEW IPSWICH, N. H.

MRS. LUCINDA HATCH, having had long expel-M ence in Water-Cure treatment, now announces a the public that she has lately made additions to herse the public that she has lately made additions to her accommodations, and is prepared to treat successfully attents that may place themselves under her care. He residence is three miles from Mason Village, the presenterminus of the Peterboro' and Shirley railroads.

Terms, more favorable than at most establishmen of the kind. New Ipswich, June 9.

> New Era in Healing. CURE BY NUTRITION.

DYSPEPSIA, Consumption, Headache, and all form of Diseases, successfully treated by NUTRITION, without medicine. To LAROY SUNDERLAND :

To Laroy Sunderland:

Dear Sir.—I take this opportunity to inform you have completely cured me of chewing and smoking tobacco. I am now in perfect health, having gainst thirty pounds during the three months I have been under your treatment by Nutrition. It is worth any amout of money to me, and I thank you a thousand times H. H. CLARE.

South Adams, Mass. May 16, 1854. Pamphlets of Information, respecting this see method of Cure, for sale at the office of this paper, and sent by mail, free, for one dime, prepaid.

DR. NICHOLS'S NEW WORK ON MAR

RIAGE MARRIAGE: its History, Character, and Results. its Facts. Demonstrating its influence, as a civilised institution, on the happiness of the Individual and the Progress of the Race. By T. L. Nichols, M. D., and Progress of the Race. By T. L. Nichols, M. D., and Mrs. Mary S. Gove Nichols. Price \$1. Just published and for sale by BELA MARSH, 15 Franklin st.

THE BIBLE DISCUSSION. OR sale at the Liberator Office, 21 Cornhill, and by Bela Marsh, 15 Franklin street, the 'Great Discusion on the Origin, Character and Tendency of the Bible, between Rev. J. F. Berg, D. D., of Philadelphia, and Joseph Barker, of Ohio, in January last' Price, 31 cts. single—\$1.00 for 4 copies.

THE RELIGION OF MANHOOD: or, The Age of Thought. By Dr. J. H. Robinson. Price, 50 cts. The Philosophy of Creation: unfolding the Laved the Progressive Development of Nature, and embracing the Philosophy of Man, Spirit, and the Spirit World. By Thomas Paine, through the hand of Horace G. Wood, Medium. Price, 38 cents.

Free Thoughts concerning Religion : or, Nature versus Theology. By Andrew Jackson Davis. 15 cts.
Just published and for sale by BELA MARSH, No. 15
Franklin street. April 14.

WHITES' DAGUERREOTYPE ROOMS.

No. 36 WASHINGTON ST., ESTABLISHED A. D. 1840. STILL continue in successful operation; and having D been recently refitted and improved by the addition of a large northern sky-light, (the only one of the list in the city.) the proprietors feel confident that they can

now offer inducements unsurpassed, if not unequalled, elsewhere. No person is expected to take a likeness that is not perfectly satisfa-Remember the old place, 36 Washington street. near Cornhill.

IMPROVED METHOD OF Champooing and Hair-Dyeing.

ADAME CARTEAUX having established herself III 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 endertors to please, she hopes for a continuance of their factors.

Vors.

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 haldness had taken Her chemical researches have developed an inimita-

ble Hair Dye, warranted not to smut, (a desideratum looked for.) Her Ne Plus Ultra, for renovating the complexion, removing freekles, &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, of 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.

REV. THEODORE PARKER'S GREAT SER-MON ON THE NEBRASKA QUESTION. UST published and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Of-

Also, for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 'An Ad-Also, for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 'An Audress delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, Feb. 24, 1854, by William Lloyd Garrison.' Price, 6 cents, single—60 cents per dozen—\$1 00 for 25 copies. March 17.

ice, and at the Commonwealth Office.

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