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Of in the columns of The Linerator, both sides of

every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. VOL. XXIV. NO. 35.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE R. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DEXIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

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

THE STIPULATION TO SURBENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES—AR

engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God. delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fittal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under

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

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

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the

government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.' - John Quincy Adams.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1854.

## WHOLE NUMBER 1050.

# SELECTIONS.

### CELEBRATION OF W. L EMANCIPATION AT MANCHESTER, ENGLAND.

EVENING SESSION. After a very brief speech by the President, (Rev. Prof. Sourt, of Airedale College,) in which he maintained that the anti-slavery cause was 'founded on the principles of humanity, of reason, of politics and of religion, and the reading of letters from the Rev. G. W. Conder, of Leeds, who expressed his belief that the time for the abolition of slavery throughout the world had arrived, Dr. Stowell, of Chesham College, advocating the encouragement of Hindoo labor, as opposed to slave labor, R. G. Milne, of Tintwisle, and Dr. Jenkin, late President of Coward College, London,-the Rev. Dr. BEARD, of Manchester, (who was received with loud cheers,) addressed the audience as follows-(we quote from the Manchester Examiner and Times, Aug. 5th) :

# SPEECH OF REV. DR. BEARD.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I must, in the first place, congratulate my fellow-workmen in this very important cause, on the very successful and happy day that we have et, on this occasion, some sixty or seventy, more or less, clergymen and ministers of different denations, from various parts of the country. homeations, from various parts of the country.

And we have had an opportunity of bearing a testimony which must, I am sure, be felt in every part of the habitable globe, so distinct and so emphatic has it been. And yet I judge, sir, so exessingly well tempered, and proceeding from quar-ters whose names must command respect wherever the Christian church prevails. (Hear, bear.) I am delighted, too, to see so large a meeting this erening. It is true, that our meetings this morning and this afternoon were rather more powerful than numerous, but this meeting this evening is not only respectable, but highly numerous, and, you will allow me to add, worthy of the city in which it takes place. (Cheers.) Sir. the resolution which I am about to submit to the meeting is a resolution which might with great propriety have been presented at the very commencement of our proceedings, this morning. I am about to ask my friend and co-operator, Mr. Parkes, to read it to you, for he has the advantage of having better eyes than I possess, and the resolution is printed in small type. (Hear.) [Mr. Parkes then read the resolution, which was as follows]:—

That since a community of sentiments, a community of principles, and a community of interests, combine with the great teachings of Christianity to demonstrate that there is but one human family, of which nations are severally members, and, consequently, to require from every man an earnest, active and practical concern in the well-being of every other, especially of such as suffer any kind of wrong, this Conference de-plores and condemns the anti-social, illiberal, narrow and selfish doctrine, that persons not being citizens of the United States are forbidden to take steps for the remeval of the curse of slavery from that Common-

This resolution recognizes the negro race as brethren. I take this as my position, and in any audience assembled in this city, it is a position which I do not think would be disputed. (Hear bear.) But, inasmuch as we trust that our say ings will go forth in other parts of the world, it may be as well to add a remark or two on the point. (Hear, hear.) We, then, in this resolutio assert, that there is an identity of brotherhood as between the negro slave in America and ourselves, on several independent grounds. (Hear, hear. One of these grounds is, that there is a communi ty of sentiment between them and us. (Hear, hear.) I might argue this question of brother had on the general ground of ethnology, or on the ground of physiology. I might enter into considerations connected with the development of the brain, with the general make and contour of the form, and the descent of families from one common stem; I might take up the biblical statement, that all men are brothers, in the sense not only that they are one species, but that they are the descendair-(hear;) and I think I could easily, do so, for I have, in writing, sustained that thesis upon grounds historical, ethnological, physiological, and religious; but I will not do that or this platform. There is, however, an evidence upon which I think I shall obtain a decided 'Yes' from every one present. The resolution I have to propose ventures to assert that there is a community sentiment between the negro and the Europe an-the African and the Englishman-which makes the two into brothers. (Hear, hear.) Let me, then, ask this question, whether, when the negro mother clasps her child to her bosom, hoping there-by not only to conceal it, but to shelfer it against the man-stealer, she does not feel identically same emotions, the like delicacy, deep, noble, di-viae, which would be felt under similar circumstances by the British mother, by the Christian mother, the most highly educated! (Loud cheers.) Some slight difference, indeed, there may be, sir, between the two; but, it is a difference of degree, and not a difference of kind. (Hear, hear.) this is a point upon which I need not to appeal to the imaginations of the meeting. Sir, I would ask you whether, this very day, we have not had dislayed before this Conference emotions of the highest, the purest, the noblest kind, which stamp as men the utterers, dark though their complexion is ! thee of men, and addressing human beings? cause I am quite sure that the feelings which I myself entertain—whether of indignation at op-pression and injury, or whether of delight at the pessession of liberty and truth-are emotions as ey are felt by me so shared by every one of you. (Hear, hear, hear.) So do I know that human beings are here before me, and that you are every identified with me by an identity of nature Well, then, do you not recognize a brother when there is presented before you one with negro blood is his veins, who will, perhaps, make me ashamed ir the feeble utterance I give, by the noble, the many sentiments of which he shall be the utterer? [und cheers.] I say, then, that when the lash de-sends on the negro's back, he feels what I and you should feel under similar circumstances; and when the child is torn away from the negro father's arms, he feels as I and you would feel if our children dren were carried away into bondage, and to be subjected to stripes. [Hear, hear.] There is, then, an identity of sentiment between us, and, in conse-

As to the question of degree, sir, we need enter into that. It is very possible that the Eu-ropean may have some faculties superior by endowment or culture to those of the African, yet the ments—and I speak from experience, for I have had the honor of having them at my table—and I am

quence, the negro is a man, even as I am a man.

from holding up your hands in lawor of it! Am I to that man has been recreant to his principles of feel a sympathy for an African going about the streets of Manchester, and not feel a sympathy for an African going about the streets of New York! I have said, sir, that he was a man: the negro is a [Hear, hear.] No interference with slavery in America! Why, what interference is meant! The interference of reason, most undoubtedly; not the interference of reason, most undoubtedly; not the interference of barsh words and misrepresentation, there were more so—a fugitive man. Surely, then, most assuredly not, but the interference of sound they are in very much the same circumstances, and logic, sir. Am I to be told that the slave-master you would expect Louis Kossuth to have a very is afraid of that! [Hear, hear.] Will he be afraid deep and prominent, and all-pervading, sympathy of the interference of kind feeling and generous with the cause of the negro, would not you! I am emotion-will any inhabitant of the British sorry to say that such is not the case. I am here islands tell me that I am not to have recourse to this evening to tell Louis Kossuth, and I trust that islands tell me that I am not to have recourse to this evening to tell Louis Rossuch, and I trust can such interference, and will the slave master find the words I utter will reach him, that if he ever expects to be received in Manchester again with the if we were to trace the grounds of complaint about interference, we should find that the reason is, that Austrian tyranny, he must be true to his princithe arguments against slavery make the slave-masters uneasy, make them feel their sin, and A Voice.—Wh place them before the world in unfavorable colors. Well, then, the way to prevent such interference is to do away the evil complained of, and when that is done, the interference will at once cease, [Cheers.] But so long as the evil exists, I will, for one, take leave a every fitting occasion to give ut-terance to my occessation of slavery in all its relations, and most particularly my hearty detestation against slavery as sustained in and by Christian churches. [Loud cheers.]

Sir, the resolution not only recognizes the African as a brother, but it goes further, it says that we ought to extend aid to him; and the reason is, that he is not only a brother, but a suffering brother. Now, it is a very strange thing that, in the nineteenth century, we should have to rise to succor the needy, and to give a helping hand to the oppressed. Will any one say that the negro in America is not an injured or oppressed man, or will any one say that a man's own daughter should be carried away, for the vilest purpose, by force of arms! [Hear, hear.] And yet these are things that are taking place hour by hour, and minute by minute, under the daily sun. You would not endure these things, and, therefore, I am quite sure you would not hear me for a moment, were I ashamed to give utterance to my abhorrence of the conduct of the oppressor, and the wrongs of the oppressed. [Cheers.] Though cotton may be strong, good sense and kindred feelings are strong-[hear, hear] -and therefore I do not despair, and the results of our proceedings to-day show that we have no reason to despair, but that

pears to me that here again the argument is only too easy; but if I should look for an argument, sir, I should merely point to your ships, which are on every wave—to your railways, which run not only over England, but over Europe, and which unite different parts, the most distant the one from the other; I have only to refer to the electric telegraph, which combines all the families of men into one huge family; and then I ask you, in addition to this, whether it is possible now, at this time of the day, with these means of intercourse one with the other,-you sending forth your manfactures to the remotest ends of the earth, and receiving back the produce of those parts, here re-ceiving cotton, here converting that cotton into cloth, and sending that cloth to foreign shores, and ecciving in exchange their own natural prolucts,-whether it is possible not to discern that here is now growing up in the world, and becoming more and more potent every day, a great community of interests, which ought to be attended and will be more and more attended, by a community of feeling ! But, Mr. Chairman, I am desirous of putting this simple representation before you. You say, how are our interests concerned our own individual interests, in the question of negro slavery in the United States! Show us that, if you can! Well, my friends, did you ever know a nation, in the possession of a very large number of slaves in its bosom, that was really and truly a nation of freemen! Sir, you know very well, and any one who has studied human nature knows very well, that if there is slavery in a nation. there is something else. The correlative of slave what! What is the correlative of light? Darkness. And what is the correlative of slavery yranny. A nation of slaves makes a nation of yrants; and if the United States has in its soul large tyrannical element,-and I am not sure, ir, that slavery has not done something to brand No, no, my friends, feel assured that if a far-stretching cloud, there in the west, we here ple of intervention. Our breasts were n the east are not free at least from the possibilthe whole of the world, and therefore he looks with

Now, just in proportion as you recognise that com-munity of sentiment, will you also feel that sympa-thy; and it is because the community of sentiment is so perfectly acknowledged in this country, es-pecially on the part of some, to whom I am now more particularly about to refer, that this commu-nity of sympathy is an facility mean the more particularly about to refer, that this community of sympathy is so faulty, upon the vigorous prevalence of which we must depend for the great resources to aid the American slave to throw off his chains. Now, I dare say there are persons present who hailed, as I did myself, with great satisfaction, the coming to the country of the late Governor of Hungary, Louis Kossuth. [Cheers.] Why did I hail his coming among us! Why did I listen with delight in public to his aloquent tones?

Well, then, if the African is my brother, I want no doubt watched his career with very deep interto know what law there is to prevent my giving ex-pression to the sentiments of the resolution, or you occasion join with me in lamenting most bitterly from holding up your hands in favor of it! Am I to that that man has been recreant to his principles!

A Voice. - What has he done!

I will tell you, since my friend there asks it, what he has done. At the beginning of this year, it was intended to hold the meetings, or something like them, which have been held to-day; and I was requested by the committee having the origination of this movement to write to Mazzini. I undertook to write to him, because I had been in correspondence with Mazzini, and I believe Mazzini had no reason to regret the liberality of Manches ter. I wrote to him, and asked him to come and give us his support at our meetings, the same we have held to-day. He was unable to come, but he sent me a letter. That letter is now in my hand; in it he distinctly avows his sympathy in the anti slavery movement, the abolition movement in England, of which I stood before him as the representative. And what has Kossuth done! That letter of Mazzini having been transmitted to my friend, Mr. Chesson, the Secretary, was sent by him to the papers. Mr. Sanders, the representative of the American slave interest in London, grew alarmed, when he saw Mazzini's name given to support the anti-slavery cause, and he wrote to Kossuth, saying to him, 'Oh, surely, Mazzini does not mean this, does he? We should be very sorry to find his name given to the anti-slavery cause. And then what does Kossuth do, this fugitive, oppressed man? He comes forward and says: 'No, Mazzini does not mean it; that letter of his has nothing to do with the anti-slavery movement.' Kossuth does more; he attempts to throw discredit on the letter of Muzzini, and says it was an old letter, one with-out a date, and Kossuth sends a copy of this state-ment to America. What has he done! He has, there will be exhibited in this city of ours a very vivid and practical feeling in behalf of the negro, our suffering brother. [Cheers.]

The resolution says further, that there is also a community of interests, as between you and every other portion of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the protection of the great family of man. It appoints the great family of man. It appoints the great family of man appoints the great family of man. It appoints the great family of man appoints the great family of and I think I can understand the reply which he wrote to me. I know what I wrote to him for,-his support of the anti-slavery cause; and I believe that, in the letter Mazzini returned to me, I received that support to the anti-slavery cause and as an anti-slavery letter, it was put before the public. Well, now, there are two questions raised upon this. Is it an anti-slavery letter? That is disposed of not only, I think, by my own statement, but by the general tenor of the letter itself, which some of you may have seen. But there is another question, as to the spirit manifested by Kos suth in this matter. Why does Louis Kossuth, of all men in the world, come forward to take part against the slave, and in favor of the slaveholder! Let that question be answered, if it can. Why is he made a willing instrument in a case thought be one of some exigency for the slaveholder! Maxzini's name is a tower of strength; it was felt that it would very powerfully appeal to the United States; and the fact of Mr. Sanders making that application to Louis Kossuth only showed how galled jade winced beneath the censure of Maz zini's letter, which contained most admirable and

> The letter of Kossuth to Sanders, Mazzini's letter to Dr. Beard, and also the letter addressed by Mazzini, in 1853, to Wm. H. Ashurst, Esq., of Londou,-the substance of which letters is undoubtedly fresh in the minds of all our readers,-were then read to the meet-

Dr. BEARD continued : Now, could anything be more noble than this declaration by Mazzini, on the universal truths of human rights and liberty! And how far has Kossuth fallen short of that example I do not wish to bear hard upon him, but I want him to know that, if he expects the support of Manchester, he must be consistent. I have a memthem with that curse,—then, I ask you, how are ory; and I know very well what the state of the other nations safe? What, will even England tell liberal feeling in Manchetter was when Kossuth me that she is safe from a republic where the common mind has so much power as it has in Ameriand social men were opposed to what was called ca, and where that common mind has, and must intervention; and I know very well, for I heard it have, received from slavery so deep a brand of ty- with my own ears, that Kossuth did then advocate intervention on the part of Britain for the sake o there is a dark cloud, and a very heavy cloud, Hungary, and that he asserted the general princiagainst such an appeal at that time, and in symity of being overshadowed by it. No; the real lov-er of freedom knows perfectly well that he bas an did myself, rather restrain our principles with reinterest in the prevalence of freedom throughout gard to intervention, that we might receive Kossuth the whole of the world, and therefore he looks with to our hearts. Then, if Kossuth was for an interdarm sometimes, and always with dislike, at the ference on behalf of Hungary, I want to know what alarm sometimes, and always with distince, at the prevalence of slavery; and those who listened to inconsistency with his principles there would be, the statements that were made to-day have only if he interfered a little now on behalf of the oppression to know, that the cloud to which I sed negro! (Cheers.) And I think I know something cloud, and, what is more, it is a very threatening cloud. and social world of Manchester, at least in the radical portion of Manchester society; and I do believe it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, as liberty, all lieve it recognises the love of liberty, al and Lancashire, but the whole country, is indebted for the real promotion of civil and religious liberty, —each of those men would say to you for himself, is I say for myself now, 'I love liberty in England

Mr. George Thompson said he would obtrude upon the notice of the meeting for a moment, in order that they might not be strangers to the past history of his friend who was about to address them. He was an American abolitionist, of the radical or ultra school-(cheers)-and he was a ast thirteen or fourteen years of his life to the cause of the oppressed bondman. He would be able to tell them, if his modesty would allow him, of the toils he had gone through, and the successes he had achieved; but if he did not, he (Mr. Thompson) hoped an occasion would come when some one who knew and loved him would give them some idea who knew and loved him would give them some idea of the life of the abolitionist in America, by point-ing to the labors of Parker Pillsbury. He came-here with the best love and most profound commen-dation of the abolitionists of the United States; for he stood amongst the first of the advocates of aboition there. For sincerity he was excelled by none, for abundance of labors he had scarcely an equal. If there ever was an advocate of the slave, in any part of the world, who deserved at the hands of any audience a warm welcome, Parker Pillsbury demanded it to-night at the hands of a liberty-loving Manchester audience. (Lond cheers.)

Mr. PARKER PILLSBURY, of the United States, then rose, and was received with great enthusiasm.

#### SPEECH OF PARKER PILLSBURY.

I am very sorry that I shall have to disappoint this audience to-night, if they suppose it possible that I can justify the encomiums which have been bestowed upon me. However, I am consoled with the reflection, that I would, were it in my power, not only justify all that has been said, but even exceed it; for the subject on which I am to speak is one that, I am sure, might well engage the at-tention and utmost ability of the loftiest scraph that bows before the Eternal throne. I am not an American citizen, for the reason that I would not be voluntarily recognised as properly associated with a crew of pirates. I am one of the disfranchised Americans; and, however I may have been educated under democratic influences, and however my parentage, for two centuries back, has breathed the air of New England-and however my ancestry were among the first who emigrated from this country—and however I still possess a love for every republican principle—(hear, hear,)—yet, in order that I might remember those who were in ands as bound with them, I have voluntarily dishe sun, I will stand outside and demand its overthrow, in the name of justice and in accordance with the principles of the admin-

land of liberty. I come from no such land. 1 now it is our boast, and has been now for more han three-quarters of a century, that we are free. know it was laid down by the American goverhent, at the time of its formation, that 'all men re created equal, and endowed by the Creator with suit of happiness.' I know that on every 4th July ince 1776, our country has echoed and re-echoed re-created a sixth part of God's freely-created creawere yet under the government of Great Britain. I know this, however,—that we threw off many of the rigorous demands and exactions of the British government; many of those evils which we sup-posed evils, and which had been entailed upon us, we threw off; but slavery did not happen to be one of those evils of which we took care so soon to that her daughter might not be sold till the m

went so much: but I tell him, he must be consistent in the cause he was a man; I did so, because deals and oppressed man; I ma interfering in any way whatever with that traffic. And even then, the Constitution did not say the slave trade should cease at the end of twenty years: it only forbade the government to interfere with i in that time; and although it has since been abol ished by the statute law, there is at the present time a determination on the part of the people to re-establish that traffic, in order to people the immense new territories, which, by the passage of the Nebraska bill, the Mexican war, and the Mexican

purchases, have been added to our country.

Another mistake, Mr. Chairman, is this: that the slave population of our country are black, and that they are Africans. It is not so. Whoever has travelled in the Southern States, will have been struck, perhaps, with the fact that slavery is most aggressive in its demands on its victims, and, not content with robbing man of marriage and social joys, and everything that renders life a blessing, it joys, and everything that renders life a diessing, it is absolutely robbing the African of his color and native complexion. You would be astonished, Mr. Chairman, in travelling in the Southern States, to see how fast,—even hot and sultry as that climate is,—how fast the African complexion is bleaching out. Our newspapers are full of advertisements like this I hold in my hand, from the Tuscalosa Beacon, in the State of Alabama—an advertisement for a runaway slave :-

'Run away, from the subscriber, a woman named Fanny, who is about twenty years old, rather tall, can read and write, and so can forge a pass for herself. She carried with her a pair of ear-rings and a Bible with a red cover; she is very pious, prays a great deal, and was supposed to be contented and happy. She is as white as most white women are, with straight, light hair, and blue eyes, and can pass anywhere for a white woman. I will give five hundred dollars for her apprehension and delivery, so that I canrecover her.

It is signed, 'Joseph Balch,' dated 'Tuscaloosa, May 29th,' and is taken from the Alabama Beacon, of the 14th June following. Now, Mr. Chairman, it is true that the African complexion is fast disappearing. I cannot tell you the process. The abominations of slavery are not fit to be named. (Hear, hear.) I could not tell you the secrets of the slave's prison, or I should

'A tale unfold, whose lightest word Would harrow up your souls, freeze up your blood. And make each particular hair to stand on end, Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.'

So it is. In the States of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, and some others, the business is not the growth of cattle and sheep, as among the farmers of your country, but the business is the growth of franchised myself, and only live in my own coun-iry a stranger and a foreigner there. (Cheers.) human beings for the more Southern of our slave the price of citizenship, in the United States States. A large number of women are kept, and For the price of citizenship, in the United States States. A large number of women are kept, and of America, is too high for me to pay. (Hear.) small numbers of men, and the proportion is most Much as I love American citizenship—glad as I should be to participate in the affairs of government—willing as I should be, not only to vote, but, posgrower's family, the fullest assurance, that the sibly, like some others of my countrymen, to be children that are born in his own house, and the voted for—yet, for the sake of the slave, I have not children that are born in his slave cabins, owe their been to the polls for the last ten or twelve years; existence to the same paternity. A few years ago and, until our country shall have dissevered itself the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church from the vilest system of oppression that ever saw in their zeal to promote the practice of infant bap of the government, tism, passed an ordinance, that not only should parents bring their children to the altar for baptism, but they went so far as to say, that planters and stration of the Most High. (Cheers.) slaveholders should bring their infant slaves, and Sir, I would that I could stand before you, as have them also baptised on the faith of their masome of your fellow-subjects have stood before auters. It was an awful satire; but, Mr. Chairman. iences in America, boasting that they came from it was undoubtedly very often true that they were baptised not only on the faith of the master, but on the faith of the father, too. So that, I say, slavery is not now confined to the African complexion, but, on the contrary, it is very fast robbin African of his complexion; and let me tell this, for I may declare so much, that the white he inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pur- the slave, if the slave be a female, the higher price she commands in the market; and that is

why this man offers 500 dollars for the recovery of that sentiment from the Atlantic to the Allegha-nies, and across the Alleghanies to the Father of I wish I had time, and I would like to bring be-Waters in the West; but yet, Mr. Chairman, al-hough it was uttered in 1776, and has been re-af-of a few white slaves, whose affecting, whose most firmed from that day down to the present time, yet afflicting cases have come before the American it was a lie in the beginning, as we embraced it; public. Poor Emily Russell was advertised in our and it has been a lie adhered to from that day down national capital two years since,—in the city of to the present. (Hear, hear.) Notwithstanding Washington, while the Congress of the United we claim that all men are created equal, we have States was in session, while the President was an occupant of the White House there, ready to sign tures, base chatteled slaves, under the Constitution whatever bill or decree the Congress might enact and laws of our country. We have now existed Emily Russell, a young slave of only nineteen years more than three-quarters of a century as a nation: of age, was advertised by her owners, and was de-we began by asserting the doctrine that all men are clared to be, I know not but with the strictest truth. created free and equal; we began by stating to the she was declared to be, and acknowledged, the world our grievances, as inflicted by the government of Great Britain; we threw off the British yoke, and established what was then called, and what has ever since been called, a free and republican government; but in the formation of the Constitution, we laid the foundation for a system of slavery, which has cursed our country, and cursed the same of the State of New York. Her mother made the most vigorous efforts, and caused a letter to be adsavery, which has cursed our country, and cursed to her owners demanding to know the price. humanity, ever since. It has often been said, I In the most insolent manner possible—to show you know, that slavery was entailed upon us by Great how slavery can thus trifle with the tenderest afknow, that slavery was entailed upon us by Great how slavery can thus trifle with the tenderest af-Britain. I know that slavery was there while we fections of our common nature, in the most insolent manner possible—they wrote to that heart-broken woman: 'We will sell your daughter to any Southern gentleman who wishes to purchase her for 1,800 collars; but if the Northern abolitionists want to buy her, our price is 2,100 dollars to them.' Such was the answer that mother obtained to her request rid ourselves; yet it has been our boast, from that day to this, that your British government, that your George III. with his parliament, entailed the slave system upon our country. (Hear.)
We have had time, however. Mr. Chairman, to set off with her to his seraglio in New Orleans. We have had time, however. Mr. Chairman, to set off with her to his seragio in New Orleans, throw it off, had we been so disposed; but, unfortunately for its tunately for us, and still more unfortunately for its outlines on the contrary, it is not too much to say, that, especially for the last twenty-five years, the grand and engressing subject of the American government, has been the extension and perpeture. say, that, especially for the last twenty-five years, the grand and engressing subject of the American government, has been the extension and perpetuation of that same slave system which you have so often been told was entailed upon us by the government of your country.

Now, Mr. Chairman, there are several mistakes which I would correct if I had time, and I will run over a few of them as fast as I possibly can. One of them is that we are as we are so often representations. over a few of them as fast as I possibly can. One of them is that we are, as we are so often represented to be, a free and democratic government. I said we began our government seventy-five years ago. At that time, we were importing slaves from Africa; the middle-passage, with all its horrors, was then well-known to the American people, and one of the first things done by the American government was to secure to the slave States of the South the means of perpetuating that system, by tying up the hands of the government against the abolition of the African slave trade, for the first thousands of alaves are brought from Africa to our thousands of alaves are brought from Africa to our man, is the slave system of our country, such its havor upon human affections. I was speaking of the progress our government had made,—I said it had prohibited the African slave trade; and it has

country every year, and, though a number of American slavers have been captured and brought into our ports, yet the first man of all those engaged in the traffic has yet to explate the crime in accordance with the command of the statute. For, though we have executed men for various crimes, though we have hanted and punished men for befriending a fugitive slave, we have never yet hung any man for the crime of making it his business to bring slaves from Africa. Several have been tried and found guilty, but in every instance they have been pardoned. I wish you to see, Mr. Chairman, that ur morality in America is a morality of latitude and longitude. It does not matter what the crime , but it matters very materially where the crime s committed. If I go to Africa to import slaves, am to be hung in the United States as a pirate, though I should be in little danger of being hung. I should be twice as likely to be bung for making this address to you in Manchester—(bear, hear); but, then, by the laws of the country, I should be hung as a pirate. But, if I wished to be President of the United States,—to be chief magistrate of our nation,—the first thing I should do would be to a into one of our plays beading States. go into one of our slave-breeding States, and carry on the business of raising slaves, supplying, by the domestic slave trade, the foreign market. We have scarcely had a President for the last twenty-five years, who was selected for any other reason under heaven but his connection with the slave system of the country, by being a holder or a breeder of slaves, and generally both. Now look at it. James K. Polk, for instance, one of our late Presidents, grew rich, mainly by raising slaves in Tennessee for the Louisiana market, and never would have een President, Mr. Chairman, but for his connection with the slave system: for, although he was a man of very small ability, he had ability enough o know he was not fit to be President, and honesty enough to say so; but still he was connected with slavery, a breeder of slaves, and grow rich by that business, and thereby became eligible to the highest office in my nation's gift. My friend, Mr. Thompson, has put into my hands a list of the Presidents of the United States. I am sorry begin the list with George Washington. George Washington was our first President. He fought bravely and heroically for his own liberty against the tyranny of this country, as it was called, wad-ed eight years in blood to achieve his own liberty, and then went home, and to the day of his death drove hundreds of his fellow-men to unpaid and unpitied toil. I am sorry to make the announcement, but, when I speak at all, God helping me, I must speak the truth. (Cheers.) I am glad to say this, however,—Washington, when he died, emancipated his slaves. (Hear, hear.) Washington was a slaveholder. John Adams, of Massachusetts, was not a slaveholder. (Cheers.) Thomas Jefferson was a Virginia slaveholder; James Madison was a Virginia slaveholder; James Munroe was a Virginia slaveholder; John Quincy Adams was not a slaveholder—(cheers.) but, to his credit be it spoken, was threatened with assassination by slaveholders in the halls of Congress, and the won-der was that he did not fall there, pierced with more wounds than fell on Casar in Rome. General Jackson was a slaveholder from Tennessee; Martin Van Buren was of New York; and the South said,-and for once I honor the South for telling the Northern man, he was a Northern man with Southern principles. He demonstrated the truth most strikingly of what they said of him in the South, by declaring to the country, in one of his official procla-mations, that he would veto any bill that might pass our Congress demanding the abolition of slavery, even in the national capital. Then came Gen. Harrison; he was a Northern man, and, as was thought, a man of Southern principles; my own opinion is, that he was a Northern man, but without any principles whatever. (Cheers.) The next President mentioned here was accidentally President, and succeeded General Harrison, and that was John Tyler. John Tyler was a slaveholder of Virginia. Probably there are quite a large number of this audience who remember the protest against American slavery issued by the Duchess of Sutherland, two or three years since, and the lady of this John Tyler was selected to reply to it. This lady was a damsel of about twenty years old, and John Tyler was about sixty, when she was by some means or other inveigled into this alliance; and they put it on her as a sort of degradation,—as it seemed to be a sort of assurance that by coming to the South she had become a Southren,—to attempt a reply to the document that issued from Stafford House, and it came to this country signed by the wife of Ex-President Tyler. I think it never made much noise in your country. I am sure it made very little in mine. (Hear, hear.) The next was James K. Polk, who grew rich by breeding slaves in Tennes-see, and then came Zachary Taylor. The whigh party of our country, opposing the democratic party in the annexation of Texas and the Mexican war, it seems to me, almost corrupted the English language, by inventing new curses with which to load the Mexican massacre, for God forbid that I ever call it a war—the Mexican massacre—when 00,000 Mexicans were put to death by my counrymen, that they might seize their land perty for the purposes of sl. cholding. This General Taylor was a whig, and was selected by the whigs as their candidate for the Presidency, after they had sat up nights, for at least four years, one might think, to invent new curses with which to load the war, out of which he had reaped

is harvest of laurels that availed to make him the

chief magistrate of his country. He died, too—and it has been said by a waggish friend of mine, when

the whig party got a candidate who succeeded, he almost immediately died—whilst the unsuccessful candidates were not only very numerous, but apparently immortal. (Laughter.) General Taylor died, and then succeeded Millard Fillmore, who

was President when the fugitive slave law was en-acted, which was now in full force, and had been

recently executed in Boston, under circumstances I am sure which would best do honor to any reign of terror recorded in the pages of history. (Hear.) The present occupant of the office is General Pierce,

The present occupant of the office is General Pierce, a Northern democrat, but a Northern man with Southern principles, in so far as he has any principles at all. (Laughter.) Now, Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison, Munroe, and Jackson, and Tyler, and Polk, and Taylor, eight of them, had all been slaveholders: the remainder were Northern men—with the exception of the Adamses—with Southern principles; and another fact worthy of note is, that the slaveholders have been re-elected, and have filled the office a second term, whilst never in a single instance, has a Northern man been

in a single instance, has a Northern mun been counted worthy to fill the office but four years;

counted worthy to fill the office but four years; and since the existence of our government, the Southern slaveholders have had the Presidency for 48 years, while the Northern men had had the office only 16 years. (Hear, hear.) And yet the popular vote of the North is twice as large as the popular vote of the South: the free population of the North is twice as large as the free population.

popular vote of the South; the free population of the South; and the revenue of the country is paid at the rate of ten dollars from the North to three dollars from the South.

I mention these things, because they go to show

y u how slavery contrives to control the interests of our country. No man is ever selected for the Presidency until he has been tried on the subject of slavery—until he has been weighed in their unrighteous balace—whether he is ready and willing to how low enough; and they

t) bow low enough; and then, once in about

plause.) Yes, and he has not a single ounce of p wer which he is not required to use on behalf of s avery, and pledged to use beforehand. Take our hist presidential election as an illustration. Gen. Pierce, of New Hampshire, was elected. He was a near neighbor of mine, and I slo not know whether I should be a become a conversed had not

mocratic party, and some others of a similar character, who had exerted themselves to the utmost

to procure the enactment of the Fugitive Slave

Law, were doing it for Southern votes, as Webster and Clay, of the Whig party, had done the same. Now, the policy of the slaveholding States is to get these influential men to aid in the performance of all such inflamous work as the enactment of

the Fugitive Slave Law, the annexation of Texas, the Mexican massacre, and all that. Our North-

ern politicians are green enough to suppose, after they have stooped and done the slaveholders' fil-thiest work, that then the slaveholders will take

them for Presidents of the United States. They always find out their mistake, however, and neither

MANCHESTER CONPERENCE AND GREAT

Mr Dran Sir-I will now conclude my notice of the two important meetings held in this city on the lating

At the conclusion of the brief discussion upon the charge of Sabbath desecration, preferred by the 2 Mr. Guest against the American Anti-Slavery Speint, The Rev. Dr. Mokernow moved a resolution of on sure of the pro-slavery, and of praise of the salida very, American churches, and also warmly approxi

percent of the Neverted saleulated to convey a false impress

'You have listened to the resolutions proposed 14.

say, sanctioned by persons who have named the nms

of Jesus Christ, and who profess to be ministers as

followers of Him, who declared his mission to ben

preach the gospel to the poor, to proclaim libers a

the captive, the opening of the prison door to them the

are bound, to bind up the broken-hearted, and pre-

claim the acceptable year of the Lord. Oh, I came

understand with what light those men read their E.

bles, who can quote scripture in support of slaver

But as our time has expired, and as there are one

two persons to speak in support of these resolution,

will now merely state, that I shall make amends for the

very short speech by promising that I will bring this est-

capacty, the throne of the Divine grace. I trust thaten

believe that every one amongst us has been roused to

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING. [Continuest from last week.]

MANCHESTER, (Eng.) Aug. 5, 1854

messares, and the trenty-five, I need not say, who are share corners themselves, do not represent, but misrepresent their proporty, and these leave-owners themselves, do not represent, but misrepresent their proporty, and these leave-owners are considered to the purpose of spreading the system of salvery over the land.

America is called a free and independent country, and yet there is not a foot of soil owner, and the trenty owner, and the trenty of the liked states and the stripes wave upon which is could stank suppose the constitution would give me any protection; and left me return to the linted States, I am like to be seized at any moment, and conveyed in chains to the Southern States, there has do not so made the stripe of the southern States, and post will be collected when the southern States, and post will be collected and the striped of any moment, and conveyed in chains to the Southern States, trop and the striped of any moment, and conveyed in chains to the Southern States, trop and the striped of a state when the striped of a striped striped to the striped of the striped of a striped striped to the striped of the striped striped striped to the striped of a striped st ty bow low enough; and then, once in about twelve or sixten years, they consent to give a Northern man the Presidency. (Hear, hear.) And behind this dispreportion they have contrived, for you may not be aware of it, to retain the entire power of government in their own hands; for the ugh you are a Monarchy, and we a Democracy, the President has more power in his little finger than Her Majesty and all her cabinet have. (Applause.) Yes, and he has not a single course of gardener been nominated, than I was at the nomination of General Pierce, and I am quite sure that my gardener was the honester man, and I should prefer to give him my vote for the Presidency. He was, however, selected. General Cass, of the Democratic cast, is as the negroes upon the coast of Africa; and, as men become more enlightened, the separation of families, and the buying and selling of them to slavery, is so much the worse. They feel it the more, and therefore I think that when we look and see that 100,000 slaves are annually taken from the slave-raising States, to supply the Southern markets—the cotton, sugar, and rice plantations of the far South—we must be satisfied that the internal trade that is carried on by the people of the ternal trade that is carried on by the people of the United States is as grievous in its effect as the United States every year, and they ought to under-African slave trade when carried on by the people stand the matter. If nothing else could be acof that country.

I know that some suppose that the evils of slave-

Webster, nor Clay, nor Cass, nor any of these men, were thought worthy of the nomination to the Presidency. But they went into the obscure State of New Hampshire, and selected General Pierce, for the very reason that nobody knew anything bad of him—because nobody knew anything of him at all—(laughter)—and they pledged him in the most solemn manner to the work of executing the Fugican exaggerate the workings or the evils of the systive Slave Law in particular; and, when they had solemnly pledged him to that work, then they made tem of slavery as it is carried on in that country. him a candidate for that high office. (Laughter.) The fugitive slave law, that by many people here is considered a great evil, is at present the law in America, and it is the most atrocious law ever concected by the human brain or human Now, we had read 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' for more than eighteen months, and our nation had shed more tears over ' poor Tom' than over Washington legislation—a law that sets every other statute in the shade when we look at the barbarous provisor any other President who had died since. (Applause.) From one end of the country to the other there was nothing but weeping and wailing, and our nation became, as in the Hebrew history, Bokim, a place of weeping, because 'Uncle Tom' had died miserably in the cabin of 'Simon Legree.'
'Uncle Tom' was dramatised, and carried into our theatres; it was played 100 nights in Boston; it had been played over 160 nights in one theatre in New York, besides for months in two or three others; and after this weeping over that tale of sor every man who wishes to go into the slaveholding row, and after cursing slavery with all the sympa-thy of our inmost souls, General Pierce, pledged business, has now only to find some one who shall participate in the gain, and to swear that the colerson whom he means to enslave, is the proto the execution of any other on the American perty of that man whom he has brought forward for that purpose, and so the poor colored man is carried away to the South. In the State of Illinois, statute, received at the end of eighteen months the largest vote ever given to any President. That is the character of the American people in during the past few months, a colored man was arreference to this subject.

I will tell you to what the Democratic party rested under the fugitive slave law, who had lived in the same town some fifteen years, and had by his industry accumulated 1,500 or 2,000 dollars worth of property; and the man who came upon this man, and claimed and seized him as a slave,

was not only a professing Christian, but was a

minister of the gospel, and one who belongs to the

same denomination as the man, whom he claimed

for his property. It was in vain this colored man

the running waters. The slave-hunters came up,

and many people gathered around, sympathising

with the hunted fugitive. He exclaimed to his per-

secutors, 'If any of you come near me here,

The slave-hunters answered him, 'If you don't

will drown him in this water that flows about m

of the slave-hunters raised his gun or pistol, aim

and if any two persons came into a town of Eng-

land, and dared openly to ill-treat a human being

villains who should do such an outrage would in-

Mr. PILLSBURY : My friend will allow me to in-

terrupt his narrative with the addition of one or two circumstances which he has forgotten to men-

tion. While that poor fellow stood up to his neck in water, they fired three rifle balls at him, two of

which took effect npon him, and dyed the river with

his blood. He escaped across the river, however,

but fainted and fell from the wounds he had re

ceived, the moment he reached the opposite shore Some of his friends assisted him, and he was deliv

ered; but those ruffians who shot him were ar-rested and tried, and were acquitted of having committed any crime in what they had done.

Mr. Wells Brown [continued]: Well, now, you will recollect that all this was perpetrated in the State of Pennsylvania, in one of those which are called the free States. We hear people speak of free and slave States; but I hold that there

is no such distinction; for now there are n

are none of them free, because that cannot be

inhabitants; and there is no State in the

free State which cannot protect the freedom of its

now which can give liberty, or even secure his lib-erty, to the colored man. His rights are nothing, if the slaveholder pursues him. The courts of justice in some of those 'free States' have been converted into prisons, in which the fugitive slaves of the Southerners have been kept for them; and

very recently, in Boston, a slave was arrested, and confined for six or seven days in the court-house, which was guarded by muskets and cannon to prevent his rescue; thence he was put on board a vessel in the harbor, and carried away to the far South.

to a life of slavery. The boast of the free States

that people there enjoy perfect freedom, is most un true: for under the Fugitive Slave Law, the slave

owners of the South are empowered to enter those free States,' and employ not only the marshals of

the Union, in arresting any of the colored people whom they choose to claim, but compel the inhab-itants of the place, under severe penalties, to abe

the seizure of the slave. I cannot exaggerate, sir the effect of this Fugitive Slave Law, and, indeed

the effect of this Fugitive Slave Law, and, indeed of every thing else that is connected with slaver; in the United States. If you had been, as I have been, for twenty years of your life in the Souther. States of America, and had seen there, as I have seen, the workings of slavery, the trading in hu man beings, the buying and selling of them, the whipping and abusing of them, as I have seen all that carried on there,—and if you had seen the dear ones torn from you, and taken to be sold at

free States in the United States of America. There

stantly be compelled to fly the spot. (Cheers.)

it at the fugitive, and fired at him.

pledged themselves, and to what their candidate was pledged. The Fugitive Slave Law must be familiar to most before me; the Democratic candidate was pledged to this-that he would resist all attempts to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law; that he would exert his utmost influence to prevent all further agitation of the subject; and the party platform required him to discountenance all agitation on the subject of slavery, whenever, whereever, and however it should exist. But I must not detain this audience. There are

solemnly to the execution of that law,

others who have a better claim upon your atten-tion than I can possibly have. ['No,' and ap-plause.] I have simply shown how our government contrives to maintain slavery; I have shown that slavery is not now confined to the African race, and that in the present order of things in our country, the African complexion may disappear, while slavery itself shall continue to grow stronger and stronger. Now, there is a voice that th English people can lift up that will be heard. I have alluded to the remonstrance that came from Stafford House, and that single appeal,—no matter what may have been said or felt in regard to it here,—that single appeal had more effect on the American conscience and American feelings, and had really more effect on the American nation, than all the state documents of all the monarchs of England since the reign of George the Third. ('Hear, hear,' applause.) And all I wish is, that you would continue to utter these protests. Let every church utter its protest; let every town and village after its protest throughout the kingdom; and I tell you that that voice, however feeble it may sound here, will go thundering along the Alle. ghany mountains, and will reach the caverns where three millions of our countrymen lie bound and bleeding in the very midnight of despair. [Hear.] I tell you that our country, though it professes to be free, and to have proclaimed itself independent of Great Britain, is at this moment at your feet in this matter; and never had the monarchs of England, prior to our revolution, such power over th American people as you have to-day, if you will but exercise it. And, Mr. Chairman, I leave that subject for your consideration. I hope from this country, during the present year, there will be a succession of protests and remonstrances that shall strike as the force of the earthquake, and go through the slaves' prisons in the South. [Great applause.] Mr. W. W. Brown, a fugitive slave, next ad-

dressed the meeting. He said : Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, I would much have preferred that my friend Mr. Pillsbury should have occupied the time that is intended for myself. As has been said, he is not only thoroughly acquainted with the workings of slavery in the United States, but he is one of our oldest and best He has had the advantage of early edueation, he has the advantage of me at the present time, and I feel confident could not only claim your attention, but could give you better information in a better manner than I could possibly hope to do. stand here to-night without ever having had a day schooling in my life. You have been called together to hear men speak to-night—I am here as a piece of property. I am a slave according to the I ws of the United States. Something has been said this afternoon about my having been purchased by the liberality of the English people; I know not that such a purchase has taken place; I know it is in contemplation, and many suppose it may have been accomplished by this time, but I do not know that such is the case. I stand here, this evening, therefore, not only a slave, a piece of property according to the laws of the United States but I am here without education or without having but I am here without education or without having received a day's schooling in my life, and what e lucation I have, has been of my own seeking in my my own way; and, therefore, I can hope to say but little that shall go to aid in making up the testimony that is intended by the holding of this conference. (Applause.) No one can read, Mr. Chairman, the declaration of the American independence, and compare that document with the history of the legislation of the federal government of the United States, without being struck with the marked inconsistency of the theory of the peopl and their acts; the one declaring that all men ar created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and the other is the history of the eneroachment of slavery upon liberty, or legislation in favor of slavery in that country against the cause of freedom. From the very hour that the convention was held to forn the Constitution of the United States down to the the Constitution of the United States down to the present time, the acts of the government have been for the perpetuation and the spread of slavery in that land. As has been said, slavery was introduced into the Constitution by allowing the African slave trade to be continued for twenty years, making it lawful and constitutional, which it had never been before; and then the slave-owner was allowed representation for this slave property, and

er been before; and then the slave-owner was allowed representation for this slave property, and every man that would go to the coast of Africa, and steal five negroes and bring them to the United States, was allowed by the Constitution, then, three votes for the five slaves. And it is carried down to the present time, as the American Congress has more than twenty-five representatives based upon

more than twenty-five representatives based upon this slave representation. And that is one of the reasons why in the national Congress the slaveown-ers have the power of carrying so many of their

is the present leader of the anti-slavery movement in the United States-William Lloyd Garrison. [Great cheering.] I know there are some who would be afraid to utter that sentiment, because they would be afraid of losing caste. I, sir, have

nothing to lose, but everything to gain. [Cleers.

I have now been five years in this country.
have travelled through Great Britain, and am al asserted that he was a free man, and had a right to be free; that no one had any right to take him the public sentiment here; and I say, the people the public sentiment here; and I say, the pe Ohio. The only respite he could obtain was, that he was allowed, as a favor, to go to prison, and to he was allowed, as a favor, to go to prison, and to stay there for a while, until he could get his property and other affairs in the place disposed of; and in the meantime he was obliged to find security, and to pay anofficer three dollars aday to watch him and see that he did not run away. He agreed to this, but after a while he had collected evidence by which he proved himself to be free, and was enabled to demand his release. But a debt had been can comply with an invitation to speak on Thursaccumulated during his detention, to the amount of day, (and I am afraid that I cannot do so;) my last \$3,000, so that, although he had thus escaped be-ing sent into slavery, he was utterly ruined. This but I shall return to the United States, after being is the history of a free colored man in the State of five years in England, conscious that I may safely Illinois. There is a more atrocious case I can tell give to the free colored people of the North, and you. Within the last year, two villains from a to the abolitionists of the United States, the as you. Within the last year, two villains from a southern State arrived in a certain town of Pennsylvania, and attempted to seize a colored man, who was employed there as a waiter in one of the inns. They approached him in a clandestine manner, and threw their chains upon his limbs; but the man, whom they would have made a slave, es- any language, unbecoming Christians ; but we ask caped from his pursuers: he ran out of the house, he ran to the nearest stream, and plunged into it, and there stood at bay, immersed up to his neck in it. [Mr. Brown sat down amidst hearty cheers.]

Anti-Slavery Reporter, as now conducted.

come out of the river, and surrender, we will shoot you where you are. And then, suddenly, to the astonishment of all the bystanders, one Mr. George Thompson rose amidst much cheer We are told to the meeting some information how the water then ran red with the blood of the proceedings of the conference, which had held two slave; and how a crowd of four or five hundred people, who stood by and saw this thing done, did nothing more than cry 'Shame' upon those who had done it, because it was the law. Sir. I do feel confident, that if in this country such a law existed,

the subject of American slavery, to have overlook ed the claims of the American Anti-Slavery Society. in that way, there would not be three or four hundred Englishmen standing by so dead to the feelings of humanity as to let such a thing be done in ing, and Christian character, and its spirit as eath That society was formed in 1833, on the return their presence, and content themselves with crying olic and unsectarian as the object for which the Shame!' I feel certain, that, in England, the society was instituted. For twenty-one years it had pursued a career of undeviating consistency There was no time to dwell upon the history of this society, but the results of its labors were seen in the present state of public opinion in the fre States. The conference finally directed attention to the various methods by which individuals migh render aid to the cause which the conference sough to promote. The chairman had mentioned the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and he (Mr. Thompson) would mention another publication, the Anti-Slavery Advocate, a monthly periodical, which might e procured for one penny, and would be found to most important information. It richly deserved to be extensively supported. The ladies might de much good, by sending annually to the Anti-Slave ry Bazaar their contributions, which would no nly assist the funds of the American Society, bu would greatly sustain, by their sympathy so evin ced, their sisters who were engaged in the great struggle on the other side of the Atlantic. After expressing his hope that the proceedings of the inference and of that meeting would largely con tribute to advance the freedom of the slave, Mr Thompson resumed his seat amidst much applause having moved the following resolution :-

Resolved, That this meeting cordially confirms the

Mr. J. C. Dyez seconded the resolution.

The Rev. CHARMAN briefly replied, mentioning its intention of preaching on the subject of slavery text Sunday evening. The meeting then separated.

tion to injustice, of human liberty in oppo

why all men, irrespective of sect or party, should

maintain that matters of faith lie between every man's conscience and his Maker; and it is grati-

fying to think, that if an erroneous creed be held,

it has not eradicated the virtues of pity for the

wretched, and of patient labor for the freedom of

the enslaved. Happy would it be for the interests of pure Christianity were it not dishonored and injured by the selfishness, the cold-hearted-

ness, and the cowardice of not a few of those who

are the possessors of what they term 'an orthodox creed.' The 'infidelity' from which the religion of Christ has ever suffered most, is that which has

assumed his name, and yet perverted his truth; while, for the sake of worldly ease or wealth, it

has either committed or connived at the most fla

grant outrages on the justice, the mercy, and the brotherly love of the Gospel. It is, no doubt, pleas-ant to associate with those who agree with us in all our religious as well as political opinions; and we should be because the second of the second of

we should be happy to see those who are too con-

scientious to stand on the same common ground of humanity and benevolence, and who confine them-

selves to the selectest company, uniting on their own religious basis, to assist the Anti-Slavery

cause. It appears to us, however, to be nothing but the most miserable cant and hypocrisy to ob-

ject to general organization, on the plea of dislike to the professed or supposed creed of this man or of that, while no special effort is made to abolish a

displayed at the Conference, and the unsparing re

monstrance with the American churches, on ac-

count of their gross inconsistency of conduct, can

not fail, we trust, to be productive of some salu-tary result. If it be the Christianity of America

to support ministers and missions by the labor and

sale of slaves-to mutilate books and tracts-de-

priving them of all reference to liberty and equality in the sight of God, lest offence should be given

to the heathen abroad, while it is criminal to teach

of Christ,' and the churches on the other side of

the Atlantic must be treated with the practical ap-

plication of their own argument against those

whom they call infidels.

It is said that such speeches and resolutions as

those of the Conference only exasperate the people

of America. This may be true to some extent. The worker of any kind of iniquity is always dis-

pleased with the exposure and denunciation of his

evil deeds. But was Christ unwise when he re-

duty by the degree of anger which their teachings were likely to excite! Was ever any good done by

to the interests of humanity-nothing more de-

pressing to the hopes of the friends of freedom

From the Glasgow 'Commonwealth.'

he same time, indicate the course

THE MANCHESTER CONPERENCE.

can churches, the magnitude of their crime in re-

raining in cruel, degrading and disgusting bondage three and a-half millions of their fellow humans;

levelop the all but illimitable cotton-producing

hurches, and is again sheltered under ec-

lesiastical connivance, the more do we deplore and abominate this most vile pollution in the polit-al and social fabric in the United States—and

nat we are resolved to let them hear of this mon-

ter contradiction on their soil-till, by American

nergies, it be lifted up and done away for ever he latter method of aggression is to be by trans

erring gradually our dependence for cotton supply com the Southern States of the Union to the great

lains of Hindostan and other possessions of Great

Now, whatever feasibility lies in the British-In-

ritain in the eastern hemisp

esources of that vast territory. The

complished, yet meetings like these and lecturing would be worthy objects of the efforts of this As ry are exaggerated. I have been asked again and again if certain portions of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' were not exaggerations. Of the working of slavery, in my opinion, I don't think anything can exaggerate that infamous system. When we look and the contract that infamous system. When we look and the contract that there are at the version time england by see that there are at the present time enslaved be-tween three and four millions of God's children, fact, sir, that speeches like those which were made who are put upon the auction stand and sold to in the Conference to-day, or to-night upon this plat-the highest bidder, no language which we can use form, would not be tolerated on the platform of the form, would not be tolerated on the platform of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in Lon-don. (Cheers.) It may be said of us, that we have used very strong language. Why, sir, has not the time come for strong language? Those who want milk and water, let them go to London at anniversary time, and they will get it there, in homeopathic doses. (A laugh.) Probably, the fact of my having once been a slave, and of my every colored man in that country is liable to be arrested and carried off to the far South, and made arrested and carried off to the far South, and made be uttered. (Cheers.) People want something to hear it: then I say, feeling upon this subject so intensely, having relations of my own still dragging out the life of slave Massachusetts, Vermont, or any free State. The gate of separation which has hitherto kept the inhabitants of the Northern States from participatassociation in this country, which shall expose to habitants of the Northern States from participating in slaveholding, is now thrown down; and the British nation the working of slavery in Amer ica, and the fact as it is; which shall give a true representation also, and not merely a partial account, of what the abolitionists in America are doing: [Cheers.] I am identified, as you may well believe, with the most ultra of the abolitionists. ists, who are, I consider, speaking the truth more effectually than any other party or association in the United States; and I consider also, that the greatest of the champions of human liberty there

> The CHARMAN said he was sorry to hear such as recount given of the meetings of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. He did not know how far it might be correct, but he knew that So ciety was doing a great deal of good by its publications. He paid a compliment to its organ, the

> ng, and said that he had been requested to give

Mr. Garrison from his first mission to this country. contain not only the soundest doctrines, but the

Resolved, That this meeting cordially confirms the proceedings of the anti-slavery conference this day held, and would express its earnest hope that the publication of its protests, and the carrying out of its plans, will contribute largely to the success of those high and holy objects, for the attainment of which that conference was convened; and this meeting expresses its determination theartily to support the North of England Anti-Slavery and India Reform League, under whose auspices the concernes was held. erence was held.

The resolution was then put to the vote, and car

ried unanimously.
The Rev. J. A. Steinthal, of Bridgewater, moved vote of thanks to the chairman, for presiding that day. He took occasion, at the same time, to re-commend the Anti-Slavery Advocate, published monthly in Dublin; and he also requested the la-dies to render whatever aid they could to the Anti-Slavery Bamar.

Mr. G. Thompson, in seconding the resolution, acknowledged the attention and assistance which the Conference, that day, had received from the press; and especially, he alluded to the very ample report which was being prepared for the Manchester Examiner and Times.

of the abolitionists. The details given by the Rev. Mr. Bisnor, of Liverpool, respecting the slave auction which he recently witnessed in Richmond; and the atrocities described by Mr. Pillsbury as occurring everywhere throughout the slaveholding States of a country boasting of its free institutions, and baptized with the merciful name of Christianity, occasional evil, but the daily returning traffic of Columbia's human shambles. No wonder traffic of Columbia's human shambles. Christianity, occasioned in the auditory to which influence of familiarity with great crimes, there the speakers addressed themselves, a thrill of hor-was not a heart on the soil of Virginia, which, if ror which shall not soon be forgotten. We be-lieve that many a silent resolution was formed be-fore the public resolutions were passed, unceas-ingly to protest against American slavery, and to employ every legitimate agency and influence to hasten the time of its overthrow. The platform, on Toesday, was occupied by influential ministers wrong inflicted by slavery; and how terrible must and Christians of various religious denominations. the deadening process be, when Christian men and We are aware that diversity of religious creed has Christian ministers can stand by, in all meckness We are aware that diversity of religious creed has become a disturbing element in reference to 'The American Anti-Slavery Society,' and to those who in our own country are auxious to promote the great object which it seeks to accomplish. It was remarked, however, by Dr. M'Kerrow, that he considered the question before the Conference to be one, not of theological creeds—not of any form of theoretical belief—but of human right in opposition to injustice, of human liberty in opposition and Christian ministers can stand by, in all meckness and gentleness, without a shout of indignation as God's redeemed creatures are made the sport and but, and vile commodity of a drunken auctioneer! Mr. Pillsbury's reference to the tutoring which the aboriginal tribes—Choctaws, Cherokees, and so forth—have received at the hands of their republican slaveholding in characteristic colors. These linds in initiators of the white man have passed Indian imitators of the white man have passed to bondage, of human happiness in opposition to laws analogous to those which obtain in the slave oppression and misery, and that he saw no reason holding States. No teaching for the slave; no holding States. No teaching for the slave; no shelter for the runaway slave; no mercy to African not unite to deliver humanity from the terrible flesh. Setting up a government for themselves, evils which slavery entails. We understand that these tribes of the far West join hand in hand with the churches' in America have advanced the charge of 'infidelity' against some of the most woolly-headed Indians of another clime. So that zealous and self-denying abolitionists in that countries are the forest and the prairie are taught try, and have thus endeavored to weaken their influence everywhere. Were their opinions even such as they are represented to be, still, we would maintain that matters of faith lie between every Bill, we can scarcely wonder that the darkest and most indignant apprehensions arise as to the foul evil which taints the social and political action of the federal Union. No wonder that such a conference was held; no wonder that such resolutions were passed; and no wonder that such earnest expostulations were emitted by the various speakers who

drew attention to America's wrong inflicted on her three millions of slaves.

But prudence, and political sagacity, and noninterference of other States, and a thousand other lazy, temporising shams, will arise and attempt to choke the utterance of right. Look at home ; your own drunkenness, starving needle-women, and prowling, savage, untaught myriads—attend to these-remove your own fetters, set your own so-cial and political fabric aright, and then look over the waters. No doubt our delinquencies are many and grave, and the work to be done in all our great towns sufficiently appalling. To that work we urge attention. But with all our poverty, vice, ignorance, crime, and other evils, there is not any-thing on the earth sanctioned by public law, protected by public opinion, and smiled on by the teachers o the Christian faith, that for a moment stands parallel with a Virginia slave mart. Here it is that Jonathan stands without a peer. The Moloch of Richmond slave-dealing, as being a Christian Moloch, beats all creation.

# crime against God, Christianity and humanity, the most atrocious on which the light of heaven continues to fall. The union of Christian ministers THE LIBERATOR

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 1, 1854.

THE MANCHESTER CONFERENCE.

We make no apology-our readers, we are sure, will present number, as well as last week's, with the spiritmistaken of national interests-to send the Gospel ed and impressive proceedings of the Grand Anti-Slavery Conference, which was held in Manchester, Engthe colored bondmen at home to read and write- land, on the glorious 'first of August.' The fusion of then Christians in England must declare, as was all parties, sects and opinions, in that Conference, forsaid by Mr. WARD, 'This is not the Christianity getful of all other points, excepting the duty of seeking the overthrow of chattel slavery throughout the world, and especially in the United States, is an event to be hailed by all on this side of the Atlantic, who are yearning to see the day when not a slave shall tread our soil, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is an event, too, that we have hardly dared to hope for; be cause strong and antagonistical as is the spirit of religi ous sectarianism in this country, it is still more unbuked the Scribes and Pharisees and hypocrites yielding in England; and because, the nature of the of his day! Did either he or his apostles measure anti-slavery struggle in America differs so widely from that of the conflict in England for the overthrow of West India slavery,-requiring a direct attack alike any patriot or reformer, who did not utter his sen-timents boldly! But the anti-slavery party in rifice little apprehended abroad,—we had come to the America need to be encouraged by the expression of English sympathy and approval. This is certain, that nothing could be more unfaithful to 'the Christianity of Christ'—nothing more disastrous and endorsed by our trans-Atlantic well-wishers, and that they would still continue to sympathize (as they throughout the world—nothing more encouraging to the mammonism and cruelty that make mer-chandise of the bodies and souls of men, than the have hitherto done) far more with superficial than with radical anti-slavery men and measures in the United

silence of the British public on the subject of The utmost harmony appears to have prevailed on American slavery. The work of agitation has again been commenced in this quarter. It has our the occasion, excepting in the case of our friend Joseph best wishes for its prudent, uncompromising, and zealous prosecution, and for its speedy and com-BARKER, who, being pressed for time, and wishing to leave his testimony behind him against that ' sum of all villanies,' American slavery, endeavored to make himself heard, but was declared by the Chairman to be out of order, as the Rev. Samuel R. Ward had been selected as the next speaker. Mr. W. being similarly pressed for time, having an engagement to fulfil elsewhere, was al-An Anti-Slavery Conference has just been held so naturally desirous, as a colored man especially, to n the great cotton capital of England, the object of has been to utter an indignant condemnation record his protest against the same great abomination of the great Republic's most glaring evil, and, at The particulars may be found in another column.he same time, indicate the course of economical procedure which ought by Great Britain to be purued. The object aimed at is two-fold—first, to and unworthy efforts made by the meeting to prevent and unworthy efforts made by the meeting to prevent of economical In itself considered, as a matter of Parliamentary orwhatever Mr. BARKER might be disposed to say from being heard, clearly indicated on their part something more, in our opinion, than a due regard for any techni nd, secondly, to stir up in this country a demand cality of that kind. It is true that the Chairman, and rom the Government of the United Kingdom, that he administration of affairs in India be such as to two or three of the clerical speakers, positively and repeatedly declared that, in insisting upon Mr. BARKER taking his seat, they were actuated solely by a regard these methods of demonstration is intended to let our for the rules of order, and not by any religious prejuransatlantic cousins know that, while we admire dice-and they should be allowed the benefit of this heir country, their go-ahead freedom as Anglo-disclaimer; still, as Mr. Banken is at present exciting axons, their commerce, their almost everything a good deal of religious opprobrium in England, by his campling in the dust of their African kindred hat the more we look at their position in respect perstitious dogma of the plenary inspiration of the Bi-f slavery, and especially as it mingles in the blood ble, and is every where abusingly branched as a life. ble, and is every where abusively branded as an 'infidel' of the worst kind, it is apparent that the Man chester Conference treated him far less respectfully than they would have treated any clergyman of that body endeavoring to make himself heard under the same circumstances. Indeed, it was confessed by the Rev. Dr. Beard, that the Committee had put their heads together, prior to the meeting, to determine what should ! done with Mr. BARKER, in case he should take th platform; and they had graciously concluded that h should be allowed to speak, as long as he confiner himself to the object the meeting had in view in comin Now, whatever feasibility lies in the British-In-ian scheme, or whatever amount of exertion is de-anded to work it out, the matter lies within our-anded to work it out, the matter lies within our-plies. It is but the action of a just and fostering think thus to sit in judgment upon?

of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In the reyou received last week in the Manchester paper, in speech of the Reverend gentleman was emitted, sale of the Doctor's expressed sentiments. As he is a cler man of great influence, and a writer in a paper to second largest in circulation in the provinces, it is in portant that you should know what he really did as I therefore subjoin a verbatim report of his reary so far as they appertain to the American Anti-Sine Society :-Thompson has expressed an opinion in one of then and I am not clear whether I can commit myself and regard to that opinion of the American Anti-Slaten Society. However, I shall not enter upon any dission in regard to the matter, with reference to view there may be some diversity of opinion amongst be have already stated that I stand on this as a compa platform, because I recognize the Anti-Slavery platfor to be one of human liberty. We have not met to de cuss religious creeds. (Hear.) I fully accord with he sentiment of Mr. Pillsbury, when he he said, "Im disbeliever in American Christianity." I love the Christianity of the Bible; but I consider that the praciples and the conduct of the members of the America churches are utterly at variance with the spirit of the Bible, and an outrage upon all that is true, just, parlovely, and of good report in the gospel of Jesus. low tainly have resolved, under the influence of much feling which I have experienced since I came to this ment ing, to be more faithful to the anti-slavery cause that have been. I must confess, that my attention has no been turned to the subject of late years as it should have been. I have been melted, this afternoon, pale the influence of the most pathetic statements which m have heard. My spirit has been excited with hely is dignation while I listened to those details of the meastrous atrocities which are perpetrated in that had calling itself the land of freedom, and, it grieves nets

ject annually before my congregation, and that I stall bear the sorrows and the wrongs of the poor slatein as prayers more frequently when I approach, in my oficial meeting shall not have been in vain this afternoon. I more thoughtfulness upon the subject, and to the maifestation of more energy and activity than hithers we have displayed. I regret that there has ben amongst us here the most trifling difference of opinia I think it is right, however, that every individual should have an opportunity afforded him, in a mane of conscience, to express his sentiments. I perhaps ucord with the opinion propounded by Mr. Guestvin respect to some little matters; but I quite agree sit Mr. Thompson's expression, that here we must spreto differ on these matters, and concur in doing what at can to promote the interests of the gospel of Chris,

Rev. J. H. SMITHSON (Swedenborgian) said that with regard to the abolition of slavery, there could be but one opinion, namely, that it was their duty to hall, in every form in which it could be exhibited to then. every kind of assistance which would enable them eventually to carry the great object before them. They exact none-for occupying so large a portion of our should therefore vote the thanks of the meeting to the brethren in America who had rendered their valuable services so far in the great and good work of abolishing

and the welfare and happiness of the human family

slavery. (Hear.)

(Cheers.)

THE CHAIRMAN, in reference to the objections that had been made to uniting with certain abolitionists, or the ground of their heterodoxy in theological opinions, said- I was present at a Bible Society meeting lately, and a very excellent clergyman present uttered this sentiment : " If the devil himself were to come forward, and advocate the diffusion of the Bible throughout the world, I would not object to it." (' Hear,' and laughter.) So is it with reference to anti-slavery, we do not attend to men's sentiments on other things, if they will only join us in this great work of abolishing slavery.' ('Hear, hear.')

Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL, of Bridgewater, (delegate from the anti-slavery society of that district, and also from the Clifton Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society,) expatiated upon the practical means of aiding the anti-sivery cause, namely, by diffusing information, supporting the American Society's agents and papers, through the medium of the Boston Bazzar and personal subscriptions. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Steinthal entered his protest against the refusal to hear Mr. Barker, who he considered was in order.

Rev. W. PARKES, as one of the Honorary Secretaries denied that the refusal to hear Mr. Barker was bard upon any other ground than that of his being out of order in respect to time. Had his request been grasted, an injustice would have been done to Mr. Ward. who had informed the Committee of the necessity be was under of leaving Manchester by a given time, which time had then nearly expired. Mr. Barker had given no such information as to his being about to leave Manchester, and the Committee had not, there fore, been able to make any arrangements to comply with a convenience to that gentleman of the existence which they were utterly ignorant. Mr. Ward he clearly a prior right, from having made his request is regards time, which Mr. Barker had not done. Only one of the two could be heard within the time that remained before the train starting, and independent of any right as acquired by previous application from Mr. Ward, the voice of the meeting was unequivocally expressed in favor of that gentleman.

THE CHAIRMAN made a similar statement. Rev. JOHN LEE considered that if Mr. Barker had shown a proper deference to the Chair, there would have been no difficulty in his being heard.

Mr. STRINTHAL, however, still contended that Mr. Barker was in order, as the resolution had been moved

Mr. Thompson then submitted two resolutions to the necting. The first, upon the important topics of sisvery and the slave trade in Brazil, and which was accidentally omitted from the Manchester paper, I now forward you :-

Whereas, it appears, by returns laid before Parlis ment, from the slave trade correspondence with foreign powers, annually printed by government, from the evidence taken before Mr. Hume's committee on elave-trade treaties, in the session of 1853,—as well as from trustworthy information derived from unofficial sources, that the importation of slaves from Africa into the empire of Brazil, which, previously to the year 1850, ranged from 25,000 to 70,000 annually, has, 1850, ranged from 25,000 to 70,000 annually, assince that period, entirely ceased; and that there is also reason to believe, that a very general change of opinion on the subject of the slave trade has taken place amongst the native Brazilian population:

And, whereas, the legislature of Brazil, in the session of 1850, passed severe laws against parties earry-

BAT

f the inst. the Rev. the con-sla. the sport the selon trg. the selon trg. the selon trg. the very very

Mr. een; with with wetry sens-chieb a I imon form the sens the sens the principal of the sens the sens I neet to seld in the sens I neet to seld in the sens I neet to seld in the sens I neet to sens I sens

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raffic in slaves between Africa and Brazil, and me time roted a large sum of money for the feerablishing a suppression squadron on the

f the empire:
whereas, it further appears that the executive
whereas, it further appears that the executive
whereas, it for the property of the second of Brazil seems to have honestly, zealously,
sent of Brazil seems to have honestly, zealously,
sent of Brazil seems to have done in these enactments, by
parillan legislature in these enactments, by
parillan legislature in these enactments, by Brazilian legislature in these enactments, by away or prosecuting the most notorious among perters of slaves, by releasing slaves when found and slave ships on the coast, and by taking measure ships on the coast, and by taking measure the embouragement of free emigration from

whereas, in many important official quarters in he opinion that free labor is cheaper than y appears to have taken root and to be ex-

therefore, 4. That this Conference records with joy and therefore, therefore, the content of the second with joy and seeded, That this Conference records with joy and seeded, That this Conference records with joy and seeded with the friends of estimate the fact, so grateful to all the friends of estimate the seed of the abolition by Brazil of matter and armself implores the sovereign, the legisder, and the people of the Brazilian empire, steadily are, and the people of the Brazilian empire, steadily are, and the people of the Brazilian empire, steadily ere on skink they have entered, and would assure on the sympathy and support, both of the government of the sympathy and support, both of the government and the people of this kingdom, in their present effects of the security and content of the security a tesh; and its never-falling results, security and con-ment, throughout their important and widely-ex-

The second resolution had reference to British India d is included in the report.

Mr. Powers, (a colored gentleman, formerly residen " New York, ) in seconding the resolutions, described the ner of slavery and the slave trade in Brazil, as nessed by himself in that country.

Mr. Pressure called the attention of the meeting to the aggressive designs of the Slave Power of the Amerin States upon the territory on the banks of the instance upon the intrigues to prevent the aboli-

ion of slavery in Brazil. Mr. Thouseon moved a vote of thanks to the Presi-Mr. However more and said :- 'As Mr. Steinthal his given a very decided opinion, and one or two ans given a trace been given by gentlemen upon the complaint respecting Mr. Barker, and as my humble name may travel across the water along with theirs, I wish to give my views upon the subject. I think those who know me must be aware, that I have never shown any very lamentable deficiency of moral courage, fleud cries of "Hear,") and I should not have been canting to-day in the assertion of the right of Mr. larker to speak in this meeting, if I had seen that arker to speak that been really assailed; but as I calmly osked upon the proceedings of the meeting at the time and, guided by the knowledge I have of the forms of blic meetings generally, and of this country in parcular, I cannot say, as an attentive observer of the conlings of this day, that Mr. Barker was denied a ring; and I should be very sorry indeed that such pinion should go forth, unaccompanied by my asion that Mr. Barker was not denied a hearing. hast be permitted to say, however, that I had no symsuthy with the peculiar way in which Mr. Barker was cented from being heard; but was deeply pained by manifestation of feeling which I could not ascribe hogether to the mere circumstance of his having risen forder, but which I was compelled to ascribeerroneously-to a prejudice against him in conse ace of opinions on other matters, and given in other I therefore ventured to say, that I thought an while been committed on both sides ; on the side of larker, in pertinaciously asserting his right to be earl at a particular moment, in contravention of the ales of public meetings; and an error on the part of sadience in not giving way to him, and going to the extreme of liberality, even at the cost of Mr. Ward's ime, to allow him to occupy the five minutes asked for cannot, however, say that he was denied a hearing Had I been in his place, I should have tested the mat er in a very different way. I should have deferred to the dictum of the Chair, and should have been satisfied with the statement that another gentleman was appointed to speak at that particular time-indeed, I know that he was, before any one of us recommenced the pro-ceedings of the day, but I should have stood by and asserted my right at a future stage of the proceedings, and put it out of the power of a public meeting or of a

good part, I shall leave the matter, sorry that any ing should have occurred to mar the harmony of the eting, or bring about any dissension. The Conference broke up at half past six, only half a hour before the great public meeting to be held in he erening, having been in session seven hours, exclu-

fellow-man an undoubted right in a public meeting.

With these observations, which I hope will be taken in

Chairman or officers to deny my right on any ground

hope, however, that if there was a feeling of prejudice

gainst Mr. Barker, (cries of ' No, no,') or if there be

now, that such persons will, before they think them-

selves good Abolitionists, worthy to undertake this sa-

erel cause and carry it on, seriously examine whether

GREAT PUBLIC MEETING AT THE TOWN HALL Before the hour appointed for the commencement o s precedings, every seat in the spacious Town Hall we filel, and shortly after the proceedings commenced,

ave of the hour for adjournment.

room was crowded in every part.

By the same mail which brings this letter, you wi Penire the Manchester Examiner and Times of this day's date, giving a report of the evening meeting. It his not, however, convey to you any thing like the pirit of the meeting. Mr. Pillsbury had a most em breastic reception in the evening. The great feature the meeting, however, was the resolution of the Rev. br. Beard, respecting the Kossuth and Mazzini controby. How the great Hungarian will come out of this leal, and preserve his character for veracity, it is difscalt to see. An impeachment of his anti-slavery staracter and veracity, in a town where he has been so lantly fited, and by a gentleman who was foremost is bing him henor, must tend to lower him in public estation, unless he can perform the miracle of exoneraing himself before the world, in the face of such apparently indubitable proofs. William Wells Brown male what, in all probability, will be his final speech

hithful testimony as to who were the true and the also among the anti-slavery professors in this country The public meeting having unanimously confirmed the resolutions of the morning's Conference, it is to be trusted that the North of England Anti-Slavery and alla Reform League is now fairly launched upon a our which will eventuate in the abolition of personal fatery as triumphantly as the Anti-Corn-Law League Salled in the emancipation of the industry of the Brit-

a this country. He left behind him at Manchester a

in people from oligarchical domination. On Thursday last, Mr. Pillsbury and Mr. Powell adwel a large authence in an Evangelical Independent buch in Manchester. One of the immediate practiat results from their preaching was, an intimation tion to Mr. Pollsbury by a lady, that so powerfully al the minds of herself and several other ladies been apreced with the recent anti-slavery proceedings in bachester, that they had come to a determination to ted a large box of articles, which had been destined another direction, to the next Boston Bazaar. Mr. has received an invitation to preach to-mor he (Sanlay) in the pulpit of the Rev. F. Howarth, of Buy. Mr. Pillsbury has also offered his services for te, auti-stavery meetings during the ensuing week Barwol's in arms, and eager for the fray."

On Manday next, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Conference, the Rev. W. Parkes, has been appointed proces a subject for discussion at the next meetas of the Congregational (Evangelical) ministers of

has parely be indicative of an improved state of phys-

Manchester and vicinity. Mr. Parkes, I believe, will choose an anti-slavery topic. I shall endeavor to learn the particulars of this discussion amongst a large number of ministers of the most important religious body in

this part of the kingdom.

I have much interesting matter to communicate, be my time has been so fully occupied in preparing a cor-rected and extended report for publication in a pamphlet, that I am unable to complete it before post time for the American mail.

I am. dear sir. Yours, most truly, W. FARMER. W. L. GARRISON

JOSEPH BARKER AND THE MANCHES-TER A. S. CONFERENCE.

Not having room for it, in our last number, we were obliged to postpone the following portion of Mr. FAR-MER's account of the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Conference at Manchester, in reference to Mr. Ban-

Mr. BARKER suddenly ascending the platform, said-I have only five minutes to remain in this meeting before my train starts; and I wish to speak before I go. (Cries of ' no, no,' ' Ward, Ward.')

The CHAIRMAN - The Rev. S. R. Ward is appointe to address the meeting next. (' Hear, hear.') Rev. S. R. WARD-Let the sense of this meeting-

British meeting-determine what is the next order of the day. To that decision, I am quite willing to bow. Rev. W. PARKES-As one of the Secretaries, I beg to say, that I engaged Mr. Ward to address the Confer-

Mr. BARKER-I have only five minutes left, and wish to make one statement. (Cries of 'no, no.') I have made the offer; that is sufficient. I do not wish to press the matter.

Mr. Powert.-I believe this meeting represents al classes of abolitionists. I hope you will not make an invidious distinction upon your platform. I know that my friend Ward, if a consistent anti-slavery man and a consistent colored man, will waive his right, (I say it with all due respect to the regulations which have been made for the speakers,) and allow my friend Barker to speak. It does not matter what he may be in his religious opinions, if he says anything in behalf of the slave. I know that Mr. Ward will, if a consistent advocate of the emancipation of the slave, waive his right. Let each one judge upon matters of religion for himself.

Mr. BARKER-If the meeting will allow me to speak two minutes, I shall be satisfied. (Cries of 'Hear hear,' met with almost general cries of ' No, no.') Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL-Let Mr. Barker speak, by all

means; he has a right to do so. (Cries of 'No. no." The Rev. Dr. McKerrow-Sir, I rise to order. (The noise and confusion were so great at this moment, that the Reverend gentleman could not be heard.)

Mr. Powert-This is an open platform. We ought to permit every one to be heard, if he agrees in our fundamental principles.

The CHAIRMAN-I must differ from that view of the case. I think the officers of this meeting have the order and arrangement of the public speakers. For my own part, if I we in the place of the individual now attempting to speak, I should think it unbecoming of me, as a gentleman and a Christian, to interrupt the meeting in this manner.

Mr. BARKER (having descended from the platform, and ascended a seat in the body of the room) -No officer has a right to stop a speaker, unless he is excluded from speaking. On the ground of the first resolution passed in this meeting, I claim a right to speak one minute, which is now about the only time I have left. (Cries of 'Chair, chair,' 'Order, order,' and great

Rev. Dr. McKerrow-You can express your sentiments at the proper time.

Mr. BARKER-As long as I have been in the habit of attending public meetings-(The remainder of the sentence was drowned in cries of 'Chair, chair,' and in the general confusion.)

The CRAIRMAN-Mr. Ward will address the meeting Mr. BARKER, still standing upon the seat with Mr. Steinthal by his side, again essayed to speak, but in arising out of order or decorum, or any thing else. I

Dr. McKennow-I rise to a point of order. I have no desire to express my sentiments as to who is

such feeling is in accordance with the great object at which we aim, and is in accordance with that very brought to a close, obtains the permission of the meeting pirit of liberty which we propose to establish in the to address the auditory, then it is all right; but no th; and whether they can be the fittest instruments one has a right to stand up, and interfere with the oror wresting the sceptre from tyrants who are disposed. der of the proceedings, as previously settled. Mr. BARKER-The first resolution states, that all peroscouence of any variance of opinion, to deny a

sons who believe slaveholding to be a sin, and immediduty of the master, shall be eligible to be a member of tion with the anti-slavery movement with so little relthis conference, and take part in its deliberations. This ish; but as it may be contended by the friends of Mr. ing of sticks and umbrellas, and cries of ' Chair,' completely drowned his voice.)

Mr. Powell.-I rise to a point of order. This is most extraordinary course of proceeding.

Mr. BARKER-I am unwilling to allow the subject of this resolution to pass, without endeavoring to give utterance to my feelings against slavery, and in favor of abolitionism. (Cries of 'Chair, chair!' 'Order, order!' Ward, Ward !') My children will read the report of this meeting. (Cries of 'Chair,' and hisses.) The American abolitionists will read the report of this meeting, and will see that I have not been heard.

Mr. OLDRAM-Mr. Barker has a right to be heard He comes within the first resolution. Mr. BARKER-My children will read the report o

this meeting. (Hisses, noise, and great confusion, during which Mr. Steinthal endeavored to speak, but could not gain a hearing.)

Mr. BARKER-This conduct is most infamous. I am sorry that it should take place among abolitionists .-(Cries of ' Chair, chair,' and hisses.) Mr. OLDHAM.—This conduct is disgraceful to the

Conference. The Chairman ought to have allowed him Mr. BARKER again attempted to address the meeting

but except to those who were close to him, the attempt was dumb show. (Cries of 'Chair, chair,' 'Put him fess, and in some cases perhaps feel, in a measure, out.') Mr. Barker then left the meeting. After silence had been restored, Mr. Thompson rose and said-I think we have all of

us committed some little error in this matter. It was an error upon the part of Mr. Barker to insist upon taking precedence of Mr. Ward, simply in consequence of the resolution that we passed this morning, because while that resolution recognizes distinctly the right of every person to speak in this meeting, so long as be the ocean. speaks to the question and to the objects of the meeting, - that is, every person who should subscribe to the fundamental principle of the sinfulness of slavery, and the duty of immediate emancipation,-ye I do not think that mere subscription to that preliminary resolution necessarily gave him the right to set aside th himself between Mr. Ward and this audience. (Hear, to be entertained by that gentleman. We ought to be consistent with the great principles which we laid down as our rule of association, when we came into this meeting. We should not have allowed any differences of veated our hearing him. (Cries of 'No, no!"

Rev. Mr. Rogens-I deny that there has, Mr. Thompson. You are not fairly representing us.

Mr. Thompson-I am only uttering the expression of my views. I hope we shall bear in mind, that we leave he infinitely diversified opinions of men out of doors, and bring into this meeting, and into any other antislavery meeting we may attend, only a simple single-minded desire to serve the cause of the slave. (Cheers.) As it is, the question is broad as humanity itself, and the duty of every man, whatever his opinions may be upon minor points, to help this cause. We should al-low any man, who has sympathy with those in bonds as bound with them, to express his opinion amongst us. I think it due to myself to say this, because, after twenty five years of public life spent in public meetings, I can say with confidence that I have asserted the right of every human being, who ever attended any meeting of my own, to express an opinion, while he expressed it in relation to the subject under discussion.

The CHAIRMAN-I beg leave to say, in vindication nyself and the course I have taken as chairman, that our friend Ward had to leave, for the purpose of a tending another meeting at Leeds this evening. There was very little time for him to deliver his speech be fore the train went. I am as liberal as Mr. Thompson with regard to matters of opinion. I maintain that Mr Barker had no right to come upon this platform, and interrupt the order of the meeting. (Hear, hear.) If he had waited his time, we should all have heard him Speak without interruption.

Mr. Oldham—He only asked for five minutes, and he

was not allowed to have that. The noise which was made to drown his voice was disgraceful.

Mr. STEINTHAL .- Hear, hear. (Cries of 'no, no.') Rev. Mr. Rogens-I deny that any one opposed Mr Barker out of any consideration for his peculiar religious opinious. If he had chosen to speak in order, with proper deference to the chair, I am one who would have supported his being heard. The resolutions were moved out they should have been seconded. After that, it would have been perfectly competent to any one to have risen, but, until then, it was a clear violation of the order of the meeting.

The Rev. Dr. BEARD-As one of the managers of the eeting, I feel myself bound to make a remark. Mr. Barker's presence was noticed at an early period of the meeting. (Hear, hear.) It was thought he might wish to speak, and two or three of the managers of the meeting talked the matter over one with another; and it was resolved that if he wished to speak, he should speak. (Hear.) I beg that I may have the attention of the Conference to this stateme There was no intention whatever to exclude Mr. Barker. and the only requirement or modification in his case was, that, should be enter into matters alien to the business of the Conference, he should be called to order. Now, had Mr. Barker not interfered between Mr. Ward, who was compelled to retire, and who had been asked to speak, I would have been the first to stand up and claim for him five minutes, or a quarter of an hour. If he had intimated that he was desirous of speaking, some arrangement would have been made.

Mr. OLDHAM-An arrangement was made that be vas not allowed to speak.

Dr. Beand-Allow me, sir. I am in possession of the chair. An arrangement was made that he should be allowed to speak, as long as he confined himself to the object the meeting had in view in coming together. My friend Mr. Thompson makes a mistake, if he in any way intimated that there was the slightest possible compromise of the breadth of our platform. I will disown altogether when it is not a free platform. As far as I did anything, I used my influence to keep it free ; but, at the same time, I am not a friend of disorder.

Dr. McKennew-I am an advocate, to the fullest extent, for civil and religious freedom, whatever diversity of sentiment may exist amongst us here, with regard to religious matters. I do not think we have to do here with discussions about creeds. This is a great question of human right, and human suffering, and human liberties, and the platform is broad enough for us all to stand upon. I would not have objected to Mr. Barker addressing this meeting; but I have had some litle intercourse with Manchester people, and know something of the arrangements of Manchester meetings, and I say that it is understood perfectly among us, that when arrangements are made, no one has a right to interfere with them; but that, at the conclusion of the meeting if any one desires to speak, or an amendment is proposed to the resolution, an opportunity may be afforded. I to speak, whether Mr. Ward or Mr. Barker; recollect well when we had a large meeting in the exbut this I say, that it is the custom in Manchester to change upon the education question, that Mr. Holyoake make previous arrangement for the order of the meeting If any individual, after the proceedings have been of the meeting, I refused to hear him, simply on the I intimated that, at the close of the meeting, he might speak. Mr. Holyoake, whatever his sentiments may have been, acted with the courtesy of a gentleman upon the occasion. (Cheers and partial hisses.)

Thus ended this unpleasant episode in the proceedings ate emancipation to be the right of the slave and the of this Conference. I never wrote anything in connecresolution passed unanimously. I asked only five min- Barker, that the right of free speech was assailed upon utes to speak to this resolution. I shall speak to this the occasion, I have given you such a detailed account meeting to the extent to which my voice will reach as I am able, of a discussion in which half-a-dozen were them. (Mr. Barker then attempted to make himself sometimes speaking at one time, in order that you may heard, but the noise from the stamping of feet, knock- judge for yourself as to which of the parties was to blame, and who was responsible for the waste of such valuable time, and the interruption of the otherwise perfect harmony of so important an Anti-Slavery Con

> LETTER FROM SAMUEL JOHNSON. SALEM, August 24, 1854.

A word as to your comment on my letter to the Ab ington meeting, the report of whose proceedings I have just read. I regret that any slight ambiguity in my language should have made possible such a construction as you put upon it : and had I been aware of the proposed meeting at Manchester, should have been more on my guard against misconceptions. But could you seriously suppose me capable either of believing that the British government desire to hallow the anniver sary of West India emancipation, or of calling George Thompson and his friends, supporters of oppressions in any shape!
Your statement that only the radical lovers of free

dom really rejoice in this glorious anniversary is, of course, perfectly true. But there are, unquestionably, great many people in England who are inconsistent enough to sanction and sustain the government in many of its oppressive features and measures, while they pro wholesome indignation against slavery, an institution safely got rid of and quite unpopular in that country And it is not too much to assume, that very many such persons would attend a celebration of the 1st of August and profess sympathy therewith. These are the 'sup porters of the government, of whom I spoke as celebra ting the day in vain. I cannot think you believe in consistencies of this class to be confined to our side of

With sincere regard, Very truly yours, SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Wm. L. Garrison.

history .- Ed. Lib.

The slight criticism we made upon a passage the letter of our respected friend, has drawn from his arrangements of the officers of the meeting, and to put just such an explanation as we deemed to be necessary on his part, to prevent his language being perversely hear.) At the same time, I think there has been some applied by those who hate England for her many faitherror committed, if the opposition to Mr. Barker has ful anti-slavery testimonies. On hearing his letter arisen out of any dislike to the peculiar opinions known read, the qualifying words 'supporters of' the English government escaped our attention; but, even with this qualification, the case stands as we stated it-for, aside rom a few active abolitionists and reformers in Ingland, there are none who observe the anniversary of opinion with Mr. Barker on any question to have pre- West India emancipation, either in a pharisaical or any other spirit. 'The supporters of the government,' v ho are content with its unjust administration, take no interest in the most honorable achievement in British

LETTER FROM H. C. WRIGHT. SALEM, Ohio, Aug. 19, 1854.

I am far from you and the band of true and faithful that surround you. But I am not here alone; for a band of men and women more truly devoted to the ab olition of elavery, and to the triumphs of freedom, can-not be found, than exists here in Ohio. The friends here are hopeful. Well they may be, for a power is approaching which will sweep slavery away from the earth; but which must also, in all probability, in order to that end, sweep away with the besom of destruction this blood-cemented confederacy, and the graceless inhuman religion that sustains it in all its cruelties There is a shaking of the old political and religiou neaven and earth in Ohio, such as this State neve knew before. The old political and religious sun, moon and stars, are being cast down, and new planets

But it was sad that our noble Giddings,-for noble ie is, and no man in the political world has earned a name on that arena of strife, of compromise, and of tears and blood, so truly deserving a world's gratitude, as J. R. Giddings, -should have so far yielded to the demands of Whiggery as to offer to withdraw his name from the contest, if it should be necessary to conciliate the Whigs, and induce them to unite on a candidate with the Free Soilers. The Whig who cannot vote for J. R. Giddings is not worth having. He would only curse any anti-slavery movement. To sacrifice Giddings for all the Whigs in the nation would be a poor exchange. He has done, for fourteen years, all that any man can do for liberty, while acting as an ally of slaveholders, and bound by his official oath never to defend the fugitive slave against kidnappers. Much have I heard, since I left you on Monday last.

about getting Ohio and other States to pass a law grant ing to fugitive slaves a right of trial by jury. Trial by jury, indeed ! A professedly civilized and Christian people passing a law to give to a man a jury trial on issue-Is he a man, or a brute? No man who respects the nature he bears should ever discuss the ques-tion of a jury trial on such an issue. Better strike It is as individuals that people must learn their duty monster, Slavery, and pass a law that no man shall which supposes that men as Commissioners, or Mar ever be put on trial, on such an issue, before any State or national tribunal. I wonder a MAN can, for an instant, consent to discuss the question—Is a man a of guilt before God and man as if it were not iniquity man, or a beast—a chattel? I will not. There is no framed by law, must be met and exposed. When me crime that a man would not perpetrate, should a fitting give account to God for deeds done in the body, this occasion offer, who would consent to act as a juryman or a judge, in a trial on such an issue. I ask, would you consent to yield the point, that a man is a chattel, duty of individual responsibility, that no man shall say should a jury so decide? 'No!' answers the Free Soiler and the Abolitionist. Why, then, go to the expense of establishing a tribunal, whose decisions you have previously determined to disregard, if they are against you? Have we not settled it—have not Nature sume the right of a man to himself us against the world. and Nature's God settled it-that no decision of any tribunal, in heaven or earth, is to be respected, which decides that a man is a brute-an article of merchandise? My soul spurns all such decisions, be they from whence they may. I despise the authority and defy the power of any being or set of beings in the universe; that can arrest, try, condemn or acquit a man on such an issue. A man is not a man because declared so by a human tribunal; nor is any tribunal, divine or human, competent to declare a man to be a chattel. Away, then, with all juries, judges, commissioners, to try such an issue, and away with all Presidents, Governors, marshals and constables, who are appointed to execute a decision so blasphemous and atrocious! Let every free State legislature be called upon to pass a law forbidding a man to be arrested or tried on such an issue. Let them also be called on to pass a law outlawing any man who shall take any part in the execution of

the Fugitive Slave Law. These questions are all to come before the Western Society, at their anniversary meeting in this town, on the 26th, one week from to-day. The friends here are expecting Quincy, Remond and Burleigh; and they ntend to make it a true inquiry meeting. It is hoped that many will be brought upon the anti-slavery mourning seat, to inquire-What shall Ohio do to be saved ? There are many anxious inquirers, not only in Ohio, but in Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and even in Illian inquiry meeting be held for Massachusetts in Fan- in spirit. euil Hall? Now is the time-the Lord God of the oppressed is come down to plead the cause of the poor, tion closed its labors in Cleveland on the evening of the the despised and down-trodden. His word to the North- 24th ult., after a session of three days. About one ern States is, 'Let my people go, that they may serve hundred delegates from the States and Canada were ters and slave-drivers. Break every yoke, and let my as President. The Convention adopted a platform facombine with the South to shoot down the slave who American Quarterly. shall unsheath the sabre of revolution? What will Sumner, Hale, Chase Giddings, Wade, Gillett, Smith, &c., do, when the slave, with torch and sword in hand, ful duty to record the most disastrous confingration that raises the cry, ' Death to tyrants!' Will these men ever visited Milwaukie. About 12 o'clock to-day, a fire join the slave, struggling for liberty, for wife, child and home—for manhood; or will they join the tyrants, who fight for slavery, for injustice, for realisting for who fight for slavery, for injustice, for pollution, for dehumanizing humanity?

Radical matters are to be agitated at the coming anniversary. Let those who come to it, come prepared to discuss and to hear discussed the rights, not of Church or State, not of creeds, countries, castes, or conditions, not of Bibles, Sabbaths, or institutions, or organizations, but of man-simply man-and nothing else. Is tions, but of man-simply man-and nothing else. Is man a man, or a chattel? We will not discuss the stroying all the buildings from the corner of Huron question. It is an insult to God, and an outrage on street to Narro's bardware store man to discuss it. But we will inquire into our duties . As far as we have been able to learn, the losses are esin regard to all governments and religion, to all creeds and sects, to all books and priesthoods, that tolerate such discussion, and plead that the decision of any tribunal is to be respected, that can assert and try a man on the issue-Is he a man or a thing? Would that two laws might be passed by Ohio or some other State-1. That no man shall be arrested within its limits, or tried, on the issue-Is he a man, or a chattel ?

2. That all who shall attempt to execute the Fugitive Slave Law shall be deemed as enemies to the human race, and declared outlates as such.

Let every friend of God and man bend his efforts to elevate the public heart and conscience fo this standard, and Boston will never again behold in her streets the conversion of a man into a beast-when he must grope his way into the future, feeling after God and immortality amid beasts and creeping things.

God bless all who, at this hour, stand erect before God and their own souls, on the slavery question-the ourstion of the world, for the nineteenth century. In this matter, we cannot serve two masters. He who is for freedom cannot wear the livery of slavery ; no, not even with the delusive hope of benefitting liberty

Yours, HENRY C. WRIGHT.

ANOTHER DASTARDLY OUTRAGE. Here is a fresh specimen of the justice which is meted out to Northern citizens in the slaveholding States. A man named Graham was suspected, in the interior of Kentucky, of causing a number of slaves to escape into Canada. He managed to escape; if caught, summary punishment would have followed, for the planters believed him to be guilty, and that was enough.

A few days ago, Graham, (another man,) of Preble county, Ohio, (the inventor of a new and valuable plow,) visited Cynthiana while the Court was in session, to sell it. Some scoundrel whispered that he was the negro-seducer.' This settled the case. Neither his explanations nor remonstrances were heard. Not ever his demand for trial, nor to produce witnesses against him, or to let him produce witnesses for himself. He was seized by the mob, and more than a bushel of eggs thrown upon him. Nor was this all. The mob bla his face with indefible ink, except a circle around his eves, and then ordered him to leave the State as soon at possi de. He arrived in Cincinnati in a most deplora-

TWENTY-PIRST National Anti-Slavery Bazaar,

TO BE HELD IN BOSTON, MASS., DURING THE CHRISTMAS WEEK OF 1854.

The Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Baraar beg leave to present their appeal for aid and sympathy once again to every lover of Freedom, whose eye this paper shall reach. We do it in the spirit of that hope which is power, pledging our own most earnest exertions in the slave's behalf, and feeling therefore at liberty to mplore the same at the hands and hearts of others. The present is no time for faithlessness, or delay, or

Its thronging events announce that the Hour draws nigh which is to decide, in this nation, the great conflict of Freedom with Slavery. In such an hour shall Men be wanting? Shall it find a people weak timid, selfish, alive only to material success and enjoyment, or shall it be able to summon to its emergency the heroism, the self-sacrifice, the religious faith, that bring in their very nature the assurance of success?

The cruelty, the baseness, the danger of slavery, is fast becoming apparent to the whole North. Her next lesson must be, that no human legislation can sanctify orime; that if, indeed, slavery be a sin against God and an outrage on man, all laws for its support are part and parcel of the original atrocity, and are to be disobryed at all hazards.

The most abominable orimes ever perpetrated agains

humanity have been committed in the name of and under the sanction of Law. The persecutions of the early Christians, the persecutions of all the seceders from the dominant church in centuries gone by, the Inquisition Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Witcheraft Delusio of New England, the recent imprisonment of the Ma diai, are examples of the truth of what we say. The legal enactments of their day gave sanction to them all even as to the Fugitive Slave Law now.

For the authors of these deeds, shall it be more told rable in the day of judgment that they trampled under

deep at once into the very heart, the vitals, of the touching this matter. The impious and shallow folly shals, or Soldiers, or Attorneys, can aid in the execution of atrocious enactments, without the same amoun refuge of lies cannot stand. Let us sweep it away now by such earnest promulgation of light and truth on the he sinned ignorantly.

The diffusion and support of those great principles justice that underlie the universe is the work that now claims our labor. For our foundation principle, we asand we accept every consequence that legitimately flows from this doctrine.

It is in Boston, in the United States of America, i the nineteenth century, where the Declaration of Independence has been yearly read amid public solemnities and rejoicings for more than seventy years, that this language will be esteemed fauatical, perhaps treason able. To stir to their inmost depths our own or other hearts, can we aid a stronger motive than that presented by such a statement?

Hon. Charles Sumner, in a letter to a gentlema

in New Bedford, defends the course of Mr. Eliot, repre sentative from that district, in proposing a repeal of the fugitive slave law at the particular time he did. He maintains that the fugitive slave law, like a wolf or a venomous snake, is fair game whenever and whereever a blow may be aimed at it. The Mayor and several other members of th Seston city government, who visited New Bedford last

week, were pelted with cold victuals, by the colored waiters, at the hotel where they dined. A placard on which was written, ' Authory Burns earried back into slavery,' explained the cause of the salutation.

For a fortnight past, we have been absent on visit of recreation among our friends in Brooklyn, Ct. nois-the land accursed with an Arnold. Should not and have just returned to the city, greatly refreshed

COLORED EMIGRATION CONVENTION. This Convenoppressed ones go free.' How true it is, 'There is no vorable to the segregation of the colored race, to estabpence to the wicked '! Is it too late! Must this Re- lish a Board of Commissioners, and reported a plan for public receive a baptism in blood? And will the North issuing a quarterly periodical, to be called The Colored

Tremendous Conflagration .- It is our pain

in a few moments the whole row of buildings from Davis's to the Tremont House was in flames. The wind then shifted to the East, and in an incredible space of time, the United States Hotel, and the whole block, extending from Huron to Michigan street, including the whole square bounded by Main, Huron, East Water and Michigan streets, was in flames.

The destruction of this valuable property was o

paratively but the work of a moment. The flames ther

timated variously from a quarter of a million to a million of dollars.—Milwaukie News, 20th.

A most destructive fire broke out in Troy N. Y. on Friday last, and spread with irresistible fury over a space equal to about eight blocks, consuming not less than two or three hundred buildings, and destroying properly amounting to not less than one million of dollars. Owing to the dry state of everything, it was almost impossible to check the fury of the flames. The burned district is bounded on the west by a river,

on the east by the river to Division Sts., and from thence by the ally between First and Second Sts., and on the th by Jefferson street.

Cincinnati, Aug. 28.—A terrific tornado 'clock.
The Fourth Presbyterian church was blown down

during the service, twenty-five of the congregation were killed instantly, and a large number wounded. Nu-merous other buildings were unroofed and blown down. The pine woods near London, Canada West, are on fire, and the inhabitants of the district are fleeing for their lives. The smoke is so dense along the track of the Great Western Railroad at this point, and also at Chippewa Creek, that the trains will have to be

Death of Prof. Woods .- The Rev. Leonard Woods, late of the Theological Seminary at Andover died at his residence in that town on Thursday, Aug 24, at the advanced age of 84.

The residence of Mr. Abraham Simpson at Beekman, Duchess County, N. Y., was destroyed by fire, on Friday, and five children perished in the flames. Mrs. Simpson was also badly burned. The Second Party for Kansas .- The second

party of emigrants from New England for Kansas, started from the Boston and Worcester depot on Tuesday at quarter past two. The party numbered staty-seren in all—eight or ten of whom were females, and about a dozen children from the age of infancy to that een or sixteen years.
learn from the Worcester papers that as the above

party reached that place, they were joined by 21 of the farmers and mechanics of Worcester county. Cholera at Fall River .- The cholera broke out among the Irish in Fall River on Saturday morning, and nineteen deaths occurred in the course of a few hours. It was the result of an Irish 'wake' over the body of one of their number who had died of the

The King of Saxony was thrown from his carriage, near Inspruck, on the 9th ultime, and kicked by one of the horses, had his skull fractured, and died within half an hour.

Natices of Aleetings, &c.

The Seventh Annual Term will commence Nov. 1, 1854, and continue four months. Provissors—Wm. M. Cornell, M. D., Enoch C. Rolfe, M. D., Stephen Tracy, M. D., John K. Palmer, M. D., Henry M. Cobb, M. D., Wm. S. Brown, Chemist. Free—To each Professor, \$10; Practical Anatomy, \$5; Graduation Fee, \$20.

The Massachusetts Legislature having appropriated funds to pay the tuition of forty pupils annually for five years, from the different counties of the State, according to the number of Senators, applications can be made, personally or by letter, and particulars be learned, at the College, 274 Washington street, Boston.

44 SAMUEL GREGORY, Secretary. EF N. E. FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION.

The Provisional Committee, appointed by the Convention of the People, held at Worcester en the 20th ult., call upon the Republicans of each of the towns and cities of the Commonwealth of Marsachusetts, to elect a number of Delegates, equal to three times the number of representatives to which they are entitled in the General Court, to attend a STATE CONVENTION at WORCESTER, on Thursday, the 7th day of September next, at 11 o'clock, A. M., to nominate candidates for State officers, and to take such action as may be thought proper, in order to promote the cause of resistance to the Slave Power.

NATHANIEL H. WHITING and LEWIS FORD. day, Sept. 3d, at the usual hours of meeting.

They will also hold meetings in PLYMOUTH, on Sunday, Sept. 10th, and at SOUTH SCITUATE, on Sunday, Sept. 17th.

NEW BEDFORD.—S. S. and A. K. FOSTER will hold a meeting in New Bedford on SUNDAY, SEPT. 3d, at the usual hours of meeting.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON will lecture on slavery in the Rev. Mr. Alger's meeting-house, in Marlboro', Middlesex county, on Sunday afternoon next, at the usual time of service. Also, at 5 o'clock, in the evening, at the same place.

MISS FRANCES ELLEN WATKINS will deliver a lecture in Belknap Street Baptist Church, on Monday evening next, at half-past 7 o'clock.

WANTED—A colored woman as Housekeeper as Water-Cure Establishment. Apply, immediately, WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

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.

A competent person wishes a situation as porter in a store, or to travel with a gentleman.

Apply to WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornbill.

MARRIED-On the 14th of June, at the church of Pentemont, Paris, by M. le Pasteur Martin-Paschoud, M. ANTOINE AUGUSTE LAUGEL, Ingénieur des Mines, to Miss Elizabeth Bates Chapman, eldest daughter of the late HENRY GRAFTON CHAPMAN, of Bosto In Syracuse, N. Y., by Rev. S. J. May, ALPRED WIL-

KINSON, Esq., to CHARLOTTE COPY the officiating elergyman. to CHARLOTTE COFFIN, only daughter o

DIED—In this city, August 23, Thomas Cumminos, aged 52, formerly Secretary of the New England Freedom Association.

dom Association.

In Newlin Township, Chester Co., Pa., on the 25th of Seventh month, James Meredith, aged nearly 86 years. The deceased was a man of remarkable purity of life, and sound, discriminating judgment. He retained his faculties to the close of his long and useful life. Many years since, he identified himself with the Anti-Slavery movement, and, although occupying the station of an Elder in the Society of Friends for a long period, and regarded by all who knew him as one 'worthy of double honor,' yet, when the conflict arose in the Society, originating in great measure in that subject, he gave his influence decidedly with Progressive Friends. The writer of this brief notice has many times been deeply affected with the impressive and touching words of encouragement and blessing uttered by the dear old of encouragement and blessing uttered by the dear old saint, as the tears moistened his furrowed checks. It was rare indeed to witness such a beautiful blending of manly decision of character with so much womanly gentleness and tenderness of spirit. Mark the per-fect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that

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THOMAS CURTIS,
134 Arch Street above Sixth.
Philadelphia, August 16. Despotism in America.

BY RICHARD HILDRETH, . ESQ. If any man doubts the fact, that the most grinding tyranny upon which the sun shines, exists in the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, let him read this

FOF A FRESH SUPPLY.

THE BIBLE DISCUSSION.

FOR sale at the Liberator Office, 21 Cornhill, and by Bela Marsh, 15 Franklin street, the 'Great Discussion 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 HOUSE OF CLOUDS BY MES, BROWNING I would build a cloudy house

For my thoughts to live in, When for health too fancy-lose, And too low for heaven, I sleep, and talk my dream aloud, I build it fair to see-

I build it on the moon-lit cloud,

To which I look'd with thee. Cloud walls of the morning's grey Faced with amber column Crown'd with crimson cupola

From a sunset soleme For casements, from the valley fetch May-mists glimmering,— And a smell of spring. Build the entrance high and proud.

Darkening and eke brightening. Of a riven thunder-cloud Veined with the lightning, Use one with an iris stain, For the door within, Turning to a sound like rain,

As we enter in.

For the fair hall reach'd thereby, Walled with cloudy whiteness, Take the blue place in the sky, Wind-work'd into brightness Whence corridors and long degrees Of cloud-stairs wind away-Till children wish upon their knee They walked where they pray.

Be my chamber tapestried With the showers of summer Close and silent, glorified When the sunbeams come Sudden harpers, hanging on Every drop as such-Drawing colors like a tune, Measured to the touch

Bring a shadow green and still From the chesnut forest-Bring a purple from the hill When the heat is sorest; Spread them out from wall to wall, Carpet wove around : And thereupon the foot shall fall In light, instead of sound.

Bring a gray cloud from the East, Where the lark was singing-Something of the song at least Lose not in the bringing,-And that shall be a morning chair For poet dreams,-when with them No verse constraint—the floating air Their only, lovely rhythm. Bring the red cloud from the sun-

While he sinketh, catch it .-Bring it for a couch, with one Side-long star to watch it,-Fit for a poet's finest thought, When things invisible are brought More near him than the seen Poet's thought, not poet's sigh!

Alas! they come together! Cloudy walls divide and fly, As if in April weather. Hall, corridor, and column proud-My chamber fair to see-All pass, except the moonlit cloud To which I look'd with thee.

Let them !- Wipe such visionings From the fancy's cartel; Love secures some frailest things Dower'd with his immortal; Suns, moons may darken, -heav'n be bow'd, But here unchanged shall be, Here in my soul, that moonlit cloud To which I look'd with thee.

From the Hartford Republican. AN INVOCATION.

WRITTEN BY MISS MARY HUBBELL, A FEW WEEKS

Where, on thy kindly pinions, tarriest thou, O soft, celestial breath? Sent to my spirit from the Infinite. Why should I call thee, Death?

On my white couch all day I wait for thee, And through the dewey hight; Hath He commissioned thee to wing And calm thy solemn flight?

In velvet fields I know the lambkins play, And infant violets peep; Come swifter, e'er my almost parted heart

Return, for these to weep Where, still and pale, I fade from hour to hour. Eyes, keeping watch like stars,

Make earth so dear, that still my spirit rests Without the crystal bars. Should I repine, while here in arms of love,

Just under heaven's bright gate. Until the angel of the Lord come down, A little while I wait? This lower sky is gloriously fair-

I am not tired of earth; From other spheres I shall look love to thee. Land of my mortal birth. But I have caught a vision of the palms

Around the mount of God-That mystic tree, whose branches spread the way Which Christ, the prophet, trod.

And underneath their shade my soul must dwell

I heard it whispered in the holy night, By angels at my side. Then where, on thy slow pinions, tarriest thou

O soft, celestial breath? Sent to my spirit from the Infinite, Why should I call thee—Death?

#### DYING THOUGHTS. BY THOMAS HOOD.

Farewell, Life! my senses swim. And the world is growing dim: Thronging shadows cloud the light. Like the advent of the night-Colder, colder, colder still, Upward steals a vapor chill : Strong the earthy odor grows,-

Welcome, Life! the spirit strives! Strength returns, and hope revives; Cloudy fears, and shapes forlorn, Fly like shadows at the morn-O'er the earth there comes a bloom; Sunny light for sullen gloom, Warm perfume for vapor cold— I smell the rose above the mould!

MUTATION. God fills the scrip and canister. God fills the scrip and canister,
Sin piles the loaded board;
The lord is the peasant that was,
The peasant the lord that shall be;
The lord is hay, the peasant grass,
One dry, and one the living tree.

## THE LIBERATOR.

A JOURNEY TO CHARLESTON. No. III.

BY THE WANDERING GENTILE

NORTH CAROLINA.

CHARLESTON HOTEL, S. C., April 4. In my last letter, dated from the Washington Hotel in Wilmington, North Carolina-written as I was about to depart from that city and State-I concluded my remarks on Richmond, and on the discontentment of th slaves of Virginia. In this communication, I shall impart all the information I obtained from the colored population of North Carolina, and give a brief account of Wilmington, its metropolitan city.

I left Richmond early on Friday morning, and arriv ed at Wilmington about nine o'clock in the evening On Saturday forenoon, I took a stroll into the country. or, rather, into the fir-tree forests by which the city is surrounded. After walking a few miles, I came upon a ties, a neat frame house, newly erected, and a large barn in the yard, formed what in the free States would be termed the farm or homestead, but which must go unnamed by me, as both the barn and the cabins con tained the same substance—property, namely—consist ing of rice and slaves.

I was extremely thirsty and extremely curious to know something about the place, too; and so, to satisfy both cravings, I climbed over the fence-a rather disagreeable task, as well as a dangerous, in the present style of gent's nethern garments-and knocked at the door of the new wooden house. It was of no use knocking at the door. There was no one in. " Massa, you needn't knock dar : open it."

I looked round and saw-let me see, I'm a judge of the price of colored people now-a 'leven hundred and fifty dollar nigger, standing between the Wandering Gentile and the fence, with his hat in his hand, and very respectful face on his shoulders.

'Look'e here, old boy,' said I, suiting my language to my companion, ' what d' ye take me for-

Oh-e-c-h! Oh no! no! massa! Oh, no no !' said the chattel, timorously. 'You don't-eh?' replied the Gentile of peram

bulating propensities, 'then put your hat on as quick as you like. Never lift your bat to any one but a lady, and never do that if your wool is n't all fixed people on the subject of slavery.) The slave at once dismissed his dismal expression o

countenance, and grinned rather than laughed aloud-'Ah, massa! he! he! he! you is'nt a slave-you can do as you like ; but oh can't do dat,' said Sambo 'Are you a married man?'

'Oh! yes, massa; ah was married, but ah did like my own woman, and I lives wid anoder now.'

'Is your wife living?' 'Yes, oh ! yes, massa.'

'You believe in the Sovereignty of the Individual, ch, old boy ? ' Does n't know, massa, what dat mean,' said Sam-

(Stephen Pearl Andrews ! do you hear that? Here

means, 'massa' Stephen !) 'Have you ever been at the North?' I asked. The eye that had looked frivolous but a moment fore was suddenly flashed with earnestness-it paid, I

thought, a very eloquent compliment to the freedom of 'No, ma-asa, no,' he said, in a sad tone, 'and I never specks to be dar.'

You would like to go there?' I remarked. It is very easy to read the opinions of ignorant people

from the expression of their eye : I saw that my colored companion was struggling with the suspicion that he might be speaking to a spy. You come from de North?' he asked, cautiously.

'I am a Northern abelitionist-do you know what that means ? ' 'Oh! yes, massa,' said Sambo ; you 's for the slave.

Do you tink, massa, dat we'll all get out of bondage 'I hope you will, my boy, very soon.'

'Dunno, massa ; I's fered not. I'se always heard dem talking about freedom coming, ever since I was a little shaver, but it amn't comed yet." ' You wish you were free?'

'Oh, yes, massa, we all does.'

. Do all the colored people you know wish to be · Yes, massa, dey all does, indeed.

I spoke with him a little longer; looked into the barn, where about a dozen persons, of both sexes, were kies already, to run away to the North at the very earthreshing rice with cudgels; and then I addressed liest opportunity. another man of color.

'This man,' I soliloquized, as I cast my eyes on the mulatto, 'if he were an educated gentleman, would be state the result of each interview. a secret sceptic in religion, and a professor of Orthodoxy; he would naturally prefer the law as a profession; and if he took to polities, he would be as noncommittal as Jones of Tennessee, or even perhaps as the editor of the New York Daily Times."

'How do you do?' I began. He instantly imitated the conduct of all colored persons away down South, by removing his hat when addressed by a white man. He was very well.

I talked irrelevantly awhile : I knew it would be o no use to cast my frankness away on him; and therefore I tried to put him through a course of Socratio

He admitted dat freedom am a great blessing; da de colored pop'lation in general-in fact, nine tenths of those whom he knew-would like berry much to be free ; but as for himself, he allers had good masters, h did n't see how he could better himself by being free ; -no-he didn't care about freedom, he did n't. no-no-no-he didn't care about freedom, he did n't. He admitted however, with great and ludicrous willingness, that if he was offered freedom-why, he would

'My friend,' I said, 'will you tell me why you the colored population. The following would take it, if freedom would not "better you," as uttered in reply to my questions: you call it?

He was puzzled. Burton's acting never afforded me one half so much amusement as I derived from watching the bewildered and cunning expression of this noncommittal negro's eyes.

'Why, massa,' he began, 'I meaned that-a, if-if I I'd-I'd-have to take it !'

'Your answer is perfectly satisfactory, my friend,' I rejoined; 'I beg pardon for having caused you to act My owner hires me out to hotels-he gets twenty dol against your principles by telling the truth.'

I left him amased at my answer. As I shook

with the other negro, on departing, he said : 'I'se a slave, massa; that's what I is, and I never

Keep up your heart, my boy,' I answered ; 'I hope I shall see you all in the North yet."

' Feared not, massa,' he replied; 'feared not. I only looks to be free when I gets to heaven.' In returning hotelward, I met a mulatto

soul came over in the Mayflower. What are these birds ?' I asked, as I pointed to a pair that were flying overhead.

Buzzards,' said the black man. A few more trivialities passed, after which I asked 'Are you a free man?'

"No, sir ; I am a slave."

Who owns you?

- \_\_\_, but he hires me out." ' Have you ever been North ?'

You would like to go there and be free, I supp He gave me a penetrating look before replying. I that wouldn't betray a poor clave; though they are

seem to have stood the test, for he prefaced his answer

sely inspecting my physiognomy :
I know you 're bonest, sir. I'll say to you, what would n't say to plenty who'd ask me as you 've did.
Yes, sir, I would like to go North-what man of color 'I've often been told,' I remarked, 'by the slave

der's party in the North, that you colored people ar Is that so? I always thought the col le loved slavery '-a pantomimic gesture concluded th 'Yes, massa,' said the slave, 'I knows what yo

ean. They does love it-over the left.

'Are the majority of the colored people of your unintance satisfied or dissatisfied with slavery?' "I know hundreds and hundreds," he replied, " an most all of them are as dissatisfied as they can be.

Are one third satisfied, do you think?" . No, sir, not more than one tenth. A few as ha ood masters doesn't think about freedom so much ; out if they could get the offer, all of them would be

' Yes, sir,' said the slave.

' Were you married by a clergyman?'

' Have you any children?' ' Yes, sir ; I 've had thirteen

'E-c-c-h?' I ejaculated; you don't mean to es hat in earnest ?

'Yes, massa; I's had thirteen, but they all died ex ept four ; it's an unhealthy place, this." I confess that I was rather astonished at finding

esolute a 'family man' in bondage; for I though that the energy he had exhibited in the ' heavy fathe line of business '-as the stage directories say-migh have also effected his escape or self-purchase. \*Did you ever hear of Uncle Tom's Cabin?

No, massa; what is it? Explanations followed ; but, as my reader has m

obably read or seen Uncle Tom's Cabin, it will b necessary for me to narrate them here. On leaving, he shook hands, and said, with emotion

'God bless you, massa! God bless you! I hope de bolitionists will win de battle, and bring us all out of ondage. (I may state here, that the word bondage is of very requent occurrence in every conversation with colore

I walked on, and at length came near an unpainted rooden house, occupied exclusively by colored people The family consisted of eight persons-a mother, he four sons, and three daughters. One son is twenty one years old ; the eldest daughter is nineteen, the other two female children are under ten years of age.

They are the children of a colored Methodist ' Bethel preacher in New York or Brooklyn, of the name of Ja cob Mitchell. He has, it appears, been struggling long time to get money enough to buy his wife, his eldest daughter, and his three youngest children. Come my Methodist friends, I want you to buy this lot-five ersons, all church members, and good moral people Assist Mr. Mitchell, without loss of time : he he is a colored personator of your doctrines of Individual ready saved about two thousand dollars; another thou Sovereignty, who actually does n't know what that sand, I believe, would buy the whole cargo, and 'their sand, I believe, would buy the whole cargo, and ' their blessing into the bargain.' Let the three sons escape for themselves; they are not fit to be free, if they make no efforts to escape from slavery.

Mr. Mitchell is a freeman by gift. The family came rom Maryland. Knowing that they were to be sold to the South, they made their escape, but were captured in Pennsylvania by that infernal 'instrument,' the Fugitive Slave Law. They can read.

A man of twenty-three was laboring, might and main, at mastering the mysteries of the first lesson book as I "Hallo !" I exclaimed, "do they allow colored people

learn to read in this city? ' No, massa,' said the student, ' they don't 'lows it out they can't help themselves. I'll do as I please.

'Oh ! you're a free man ? ' 'No, massa, I'se a slave; but I wont stand any bac reatment. I'se run away six times already, and I'd

run away agin, if they tried to drive me.' 'Six times ! why, you must have been very unfortu ate,' I said, ' to have been recaptured so often.' 'Oh, no, massa, I never tried to get North : I neve

run more dan thirty miles, and den I worked and staid dare.

'I catched it,' said the fugitive; 'dey lashed me but I doesn't care, I won't be druv.'

I advised him, as I have advised at least a dozen dar-

I had five other conversations with colored person during my residence at Wilmington. I will briefly

I. 'How old are you, Bob?'

'Thirteen, sir.'

'Are you free ?' "No, I'm a slave."

Would you like to go North?

Yes, sir ; I would like to very much."

What, don't you like to be a slave?

'No. sir. I don't : I HATE it.

Do all the boys you know hate to be slaves? ' No, sir ; but all the smart boys do : there 's only w, and them 's stupid devils, who don't care about it.' Then you're one of the smart boys?' I said, smiing, as I placed my hand on his head.

But the boy was in no mood for smiles; his face e hibited signs of the most poignant grief as he replied-Well, sir, I wish I was a free boy, and away from this darned mean country.'

He was a mulatto. II. The next two individuals may be classed togeth er, as both gave me the same answers, and as both manifested the same Saxonic restlessness under wrong The mulattoes are invariably the most discontented of the colored population. The following sentences were

'I've five children. I'm a slave. My wife is a free man. I'm thirty-seven years old. All the colored people of my acquaintance-and I know them all herewould gladly be free, if they could get their liberty Say about a third have good masters-no, not moreand they are not positively discontented; but ask then had to take my freedom-eh-if I'se 'bliged to, why, by the ballot, or some other way by which they could express their sentiments without fear, and then you'd hear such a shout for liberty as never was raised before. lars a month for me. I clear besides that about two hundred dollars for myself. About ten years since I took up with this woman. Oh, yes, I was regularly Sixty, massa, he replied. 'I's eighteen when Jef-ferson was President, and that was in 1812; I minded married by a minister. They always do it here ; the slaves will be married, and their owners make a fine wedding of it; but it doesn't amount to any thing, be cause they are liable to be separated for life at any mo ment, and often is. I've often thought the subject over. I see if I hadn't married, I would have bee free now, because I would have had a thousand dollar an intelligent aspect, with a piercing dark eye. I saw by this time to have bought myself with. But it too that he had not a single spark of servility in his spirit; all I could make to get along with my family. Well, that his skin alone was of African origin, while his they're all free, my sons are, and I'm giving them a good education as we dare give them, so that if the time does come when I'm goin' to be sold, they may buy me-when I am an old man. No, I wouldn't run the risk now of trying to escape; it's hardly so much an object, sir, when a man has turned the hill. Besides my family: I might be sold away from them, which won't be, if I don't try to run away—leastways, till I'm old. Yes, sir, they're very hard on us here; we dare not say any thing about being discontented.
wouldn't say what I've said to you to other people only I seed you was allers writing, and I've no that them sort of travellers is allers good-hearted men

very funny in their ways, most of them, as may be you

What a splendid eulogium of the literary class ! This was the statement of one man; but what he said relative to the discontentment of the colored people of Wilmington was corroborated by the other, of whose omestic relations I know nothing.

III. I entered a cabin. A little child, a slave, with

future before her as dark as her own face, (as the poet observes,) was sitting on the door-s

Would you have the kindness, madam, I asked, . give me a glass of water?" Oh, yes, massa,' said the woman I had addre

as she set herself about getting it. She brought the water-which I did not want ; I only asked for it as an excuse for entering. 'Are you a free woman, madam?' asked the inoni-

' No, massa, I's not, and I's not likely to be,' said the old lady

. Were you ever at the North ? '

No. massa. Would you like to go there?

She gave me a funny glance-'We-e-!, massa, I ca-ant say dat, for I neber 1 dare,' she said, in a slow and very peculiar tone.

' How old are you?' I asked. (Was n't that popping a rather delicate question rather summary manner, my fair sisters of the North?) "I's sixty-two, sir," said the venerable slave. (Ladies lovely of the North ! would you believe it

she actually appeared to be of the age she mentioned; no, not even a single day older !) She had had several children-eleven, if I rightly re

'I's only three I can see now, massa,' she added nournfully.

" Have any of your children been sold? ' I inquired 'Ye-eh-eh-iss, massa,' she said and sobbed; 'three of 'em : two boys were sold down South-I don't know where they is; and my oldest son was sold to Texas three years since. There was talk about him comin' back, but it's been talked about too-o-oo '-sobbing interrupted her speech for a moment- too-o-oo long to

Her maternal affections were moved : I knew that she would answer any question now.

'It must have been very hard for you to part with your boys-almost as hard as when your other children

'Almost, massa?' she repeated ; 'far wuss ; when they 're dead, it seems as if we knowed they were gone; but when they 're sold down South, ah-ah, massa '. She did not finish the sentence in words; but a tear that rolled down her old furrowed cheek, and a heavy sigh that heaved her aged breast, concluded it much

ore effectively than her tongue could have done. 'It almost broke my heart, massa; but we can complain-we's only slaves."

did. The answer of the mechanic, however, is an em-A curious wish entered my mind, as she uttered these words. I wished that I had the privilege of selecting the mode of punishing the Southern Rights clergymen in the world to come. I would give each of them, what not one of them has, A CHRISTIAN HEART. capable of feeling sorrow for human sufferings; and then I would compel them to look, throughout all eternity, on the face of this poor miserable mother, whose children had been sold by their inhuman masters, far away from her, and far distant from each other.

Oh, God !' I ejaculated, as I gazed on her grie furrowed face, 'this slavery is the most infernal institution that the sun looks down upon.' I did not address this remark to the old woman ;

did not, in fact, intend to utter it at all; but I did speak it, and she heard it. Yes, massa,' she said, 'it am infernal ; but we hav

no choice but to submit. 'Would you believe it, my old friend,' I said, 'tha your masters and their white slaves at the North say that you're all happy and contented with slavery?' Well, massa, we has often to say so to people tha asks us,' she replied ; 'I would have said it to you, if

you hadn't talked about my children; we's afeared! . Yes, I suppose so ; and that not one half of you are contented ?

'A half on us, massa?' she exclaimed, energetically no, not one quarter. I talked with the old mother for a few

ger, and then took her by the hand-'Good by, old lady,' I said, 'I hope that you will

die a free woman, with all your children around you.' A deep sigh preceded the slave mother's answer 'I hope so, massa, I hope so ; but it seems as if this life was to be a hard trial to colored people."

'Good bye,' I repeated.

'Good bye,' said the slave mother, as she shook my hand; 'God bless you, massa! God bless you!' John Mitchell ! I have associated with hundreds of fectionate they are by nature ; alas ! also, how heartless feel no compassion. Desist, for dear Liberty's sake, from teaching them to be stony statues in Irishmen's apparel! The majority of the 'fat negroes,' believe me, whom you spoke of so contemptuously, have as warm hearts, ay, and as strong intellects, too, as the majority of the inhabitants of your own Emerald Isle. Reserve, I pray you, the vitriol of the vial of your wrath for that tyrannical aristocracy, whose 'bloody

do not, for Humanity's sake, pour your 'vitriol' or thrust your 'pikes' into his bleeding body ! IV. I was walking along the river side: A man passed me. He could hardly move along. It was evident that no auctioneer could have warranted him

hoof' is so often spoken of in the prophecies and phil-

lipies of Young Ireland! The slave is miserable enough

already; if you cannot act as the good Samaritan did.

to be ' sound and strong." Two other negroes were passing. One of them pointed to the 'slow man,' and said, grinning with great industry as he did so:

Dat am dare fellow am as ill as if he war one ob de white pop'lation.' I went up to him : Now, old fellow, what was that you were saying ?

The negro grinned, laughed and chuckled for several ninutes before answering : "Oh-er-r-rr-he! he! he! he!-e-e-e!" he chuckled I was sayin' dat de white pop'lation would be makin' me remarks on dat are nigger !"

'Oh! oh!' I answered; 'old fellow, don't you know you're telling a regular out-and-out lie?' 'Oh, no, I is n't, massa,' said the old jolly-looking slave, as he relapsed into a fit of chuckling, which was

interspersed by ejaculations of very broken English.\* ' Are you a slave, old fellow? 'Oh, yes, massa,' said the chuckler. · How old are you?

bout de war. De regiments camped on dat hill : I carried de wood for dem.' ' Have you been a slave ever since ? " 'Yes, massa, and long before dat.'
'Would you like to be free?'

The chuckling laugh (which he seemed to employ the same purpose that young ladies use faints and screams, attended by artificial swoons—to avoid contining disagreeable conversations) was put in full blast s soon as I asked the question.

'No, massa,'-a long chuckle,-'I's not like to free : in de North, de free colored pop'lation is n't able to get 'long widout eating one anoder.'

\* Many of the colored people speak excellent English a few words and phrases excepted. In relating compressions, I have given their own language, as often

'Who told you that?' I inquired.
'De masters of de shipe from dar.' (He was a stev.

' You wouldn't like to be free, eh? What an old lian you are, old nut !' I replied, in a jovial tone, as

Hardly had I done so before I had a 'realizing experience ' of the profundity of Shakspeare's philosophy

'One dig i' th' ribs, good my lord, Makes white and colored men akin

He threw off his dissimulation, dismissed his grin and chuckles, looked grave, and said :

'Well, massa, you's a funny man, dat am a fact.
I's would like to be free, but it's no use, massa, it's no use ; 'I's a slave, and I's been one sixty years, and I 'specks to die in bondage."

\* Do all the colored people you know want to be free? Oh, yes,' massa,' he said, firmly; 'they all does

I had a long conversation with him; he spoke ser ously, and gave explicit and direct answers to all my ons, and God-blessed-me at parting.

In North Carolina, then, I have had long confidentia conversations with at least a score of slaves : they all stated, with one exception, that not only they, but all their acquaintances, were deeply discontented. He that hath slaves, let him think ! Negroes are men, and there are limits set to human endurance

THE CITY OF WILMINGTON.

The town or city of Wilmington contains about eight r nine thousand inhabitants during the winter mo and about one thousand fewer in summer

Its principal features are sandy streets, tar, pitel and turpentine barrels, and lumber and timber. It supports two daily and one tri-weekly newspaper. The Whig party, I believe, is represented by two of these During the year 1853, the chief exports were-

pirits of turpentine, 115,174 barrels, of forty-two galons each, estimated at \$2,660,519.40; of rosin, 880, 459 barrels, worth about \$525,573; of tar, 26,180 barrels; of pitch, 7823 barrels; of timber, P. P., 1,115,798 feet ; of lumber, P. P., 38,157,950 feet ; of rice, 7,9764 casks; of pea nuts or ground peas 69,811 bushels; of corn, 2950 bushels; and of flour 1485 barrels.

· How do you think the negroes feel on the subject o slavery?' I asked of a carpenter in Wilmington contented? 'Oh !'-a very long oh !- ' ves, they're all content.

How could they better themselves? I know what the North is: I've travelled all over York and the New England States. All that abolition outery is only interest. What does the North care for niggers? Look at them in New York-the poor, scourged, driven, kicked and ouffed wretches !' Reader ! did you ever see any colored men miserable

kicked, scourged and cuffed in New York? I never

bodiment of an opinion entertained very extensively in Virginia and North Carolina-perhaps throughout the I met a German, who had lived five years in the city, and entered into a conversation on \_\_\_\_you know what, by this time, I dare say !

"At Richmond,' I said, 'I found that many of the corer citizens, those who did not own slaves-the laporers, and the small store-keepers and mechanic vere secret abolitionists. Is it so here? The renly was a very decided one :

' Yes, sir! Look there,' he said-it was Sunday-

He was an abolitionist.

look at that girl, walking a long way behind her mas ter and mistress, who 're going to church-just exactly as if she were a dog.' Do you think that the majority of the classes I men

ioned, in this city, are secret abolitionists? 'Oh, YES,' he said, with great emphasis. I visited one very peculiar institution in Wilmingto -a house where negroes, or rather, slaves, of both sexes, are kept for sale. There were dozens squatting and walking about the yard.

As I entered it, I saw a colored girl go up to a young male chattel, put her arms in the most affectionate manner around his neck, stand on tiptoe, and salute him with the long, lingering kiss of a lover. (I mention this circumstance for the benefit of Northern gentle men, whose sweethearts, to use a newspaper phrase 'are respectfully requested to please copy' the custom Boys! won't you erect me a monument, if they do?)

The articles on sale at this establishment were of a There was one man, with sharp features, fine blue eyes, and a most intelligent face; he asked me if I

would buy him. No ! I would n't buy him ! There was one black girl, with a child, perfectly white, and with straight hair. I learned her history your countrymen from my childhood; I know how af- She had lived in a family at Richmond. She became acquainted with a young American, to whom she bor they are when they are taught that it is their duty to a daughter. Her master was so enraged when he discovered her condition, that he swore he would sell her South. The cause of this misfortune offered to buy her. but the master of the woman, under whose heart the young man's child was beating, sternly rejected his offer! And he sold both the mother and the unborn

daughter to the South ! Defend the institution that caused this infernal con duct, ye servants of the Most Just God! Plead for its continuance ; struggle priestfully against its assailants; and, verily, you shall have your reward !

I visited yet another institution-the Ladies' Bene

lent Society. The Constitution of this philauthrop

association is similar to its sister societies in New York. Its object is, 'the relief of the sick poor in the vicinity and in the city of Wilmington.' They also aid poor persons by giving them work Thus: A poor woman applies for sewing at the office the materials are furnished her, and the work paid for when finished. The ladies obtain the orders for work from rich families and planters from the country. The

work is sold at their store, which is attended, by the

way-this is a good custom, too-by the prettiest young lady in the State. This plan is a very praiseworthy one, as it at on abolishes absolute able-bodied poverty, and does no break up households by making it necessary—as in English workhouses, and even in some American phi lanthropic institutions—for the pauper to become an inmate of the establishment.

The Maine Law is likely to gain a victory in this State. Strong efforts are being made by the friends of Temperance, who are aided, singularly enough, but for very apparent reason, by precisely the antitheses of its adherents in the North-the slaveholders. They want the negroes to be sober men ! I remain,-rather exhausted from writing so much

but in excellent health, strength and spirits,—
Yours, in hatred of the bonds of the slave, JOHN BALL, JR.

A DRAMATIC GEM. The editor of the Hartford Times found thrust under his door, a day or two since, the following, written in signag lines, evidently with a lump of charcoal, upon a piece of white paper, and purporting to be copied from the Know Nothing Almanae of 1855:— Irish Mother- Arrah, Johnny, where have yees bir

so long?'
Native Son—'Why, me and the rest of the boys has been licking an Irishman!'
Mother—'Wait, ye spalpeen, till yer daddy getshome—you'll be afther catching it!'
Son—'Oh, he be blowed! That's the man we've licked!' (Exit Mother, with upraised eyes and a half smoth ered 'Och hone!' while Sonny stalks off whistlin

Hon. Henry Wise was recently married. Some of the papers advise their bachelor friends, who may be halting between two opinions, to 'go and do like-Wise.'

Nor So Ban. Buck, the York comedian, was on asked how he came to turn his coat twice. He rep

New York Central College,

ocated in the Village of McGrawrille, in its Coof Cortland, New York, was founded in 184, in
the broad principles of 'Equal Rights and in
tian Reporm,' and is open to all persons, it is
sexes, of good moral character.

T has been the purpose of the Trustees of this ag from the first, to make it both safe and lares. I from the first, to make it both safe and invisite Students, and we believe we may now safely remain it,—under the supervision and care of President ARD G. CALKINS, whose ability for that respends aftice has been most happily tested, assisted by a material board of Instruction,—free from the many fluences of larger towns, and pervaded by meal stences, republican habits and Christian clausite ences, republican habits and Christian clausite and clausited with Manual Labor, we think parents has to degree of security, begotten by no other set degree. degree of security, begotten by no other set of

stances.

One arrangement in this Institution, not to been looked in this day of 'public speaking,' is a Ribbas Class, with daily exercises in Extemporances but ing, under the careful training of the President.

The Student of small means, aspiring to a those intellectual education by his own energies, will said this College sympathy and aid in his arduous said this College sympathy and aid in his arduous said this college sympathy and aid in his arduous said this college sympathy and aid in his arduous said this college sympathy and aid in his arduous said this college sympathy and aid in his arduous said this college sympathy and aid in his arduous said this college sympathy and aid in his arduous said this college sympathy and aid in his arduous said this college sympathy and aid in his arduous said this college sympathy and aid in his arduous said this college.

e work.

The Manual Labor Department of the School is n the supervision of Mr. LUTHER WELLINGTON, a Pacal Farmer, a kind and benevolent man, on a han one hundred and fifty-seven acres.

A Primary School is taught by Miss Kuns to a thorough and efficient Teacher, for the accession of any who may not be prepared to enter the demic Department.

demic Department.

The Boarding-Hall will be conducted by Mr. In Butts, who, together with an amiable family, with boarding both cheap and pleasant.

The College Year is divided into three Term first term, of fourteen weeks, will open on the Thursday in September. The second, or Winter Term, will commence

second Thursday in December, and continued weeks. recks.
The third and last, or Summer Term, will been The third and last, or Summer Term, will be the second Thursday in April, and close at the talege Commencement on the second Wednesday is letter and the second wednesday in the second wednesday affairs, should be addressed to President L. G. Calent, b. Grawville, Cortland county, N. Y.

Anything regarding the pecuniary affairs, should addressed to A. Calowell, Treasurer, of the sample. We would take this opportunity to recommend the public our tried and approved Agents, Sills Hurman Elder D. Prase, and S. H. Taff, as worthy of these fidence.

A. CALDWELL, Gen. Apr.

Champooing and Hair-Dyeing 284, WASHINGTON STREET. MADAME CARTEAUX, having removed by Washington Street, avails herself of this nea-for tendering thanks to the Ladies of Boston as in ity for the liberal patronage awarded her, and us respectfully assure them that, by unremitting con-ors to please, she hopes for a continuance of the;

IMPROVED METHOD OF

Her arrangements for cutting and dresser laif and Children's Hair, for Dyeing and Champoing, a such as win the tribute of praise from all. She has a Hair Restorative which cannot be read as it produces new hair where baldness had the

Her chemical researches have developed as high

ble Hair Dye, warranted not to smut, (a designa looked for.) Her Ne Plus Ultra, for renovants complexion, removing freekles, &c., is fast comentation itself to favor. For all her compounds and their excation she warrants satisfaction, or demands no pre-Ladies can be waited on at their own reside at her room, which will be open from 8, A M, a P. M. She has numerous recommendation from a fashionable circles of Boston, Providence, and elsele which can be seen by those who desire. Boston, May 13. WORCESTER HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTION

#### THIS Institution is under the medical direction of SETH ROGERS, and is well arranged for trees at all seasons. TERMS.—Usually from \$7 to \$9 per week. Isra

NO. 1 GLEN STREET.

ment without board, \$3 to \$4 per week.

Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

April 14. CAPE COD

WATER-CURE.

N Establishment of this character is communicated A Marwich, under the direction of Gilbert in Proprietor, W. Frich, Physician, and Miss Emil Smith, Assistant.

Miss Smith is a young lady of medical educate and Dr. Felch has, for many years, been extend known as a popular teacher of the whole Scient Man, and a successful Practitioner of the Naturalis-ment of Disease, (the Hydropathic in concurred in

the Mesmeric.) ard in Capt. Smith's fant in a pleasant, rural, healthful location, within a mid the sea shore on Vineyard Sound.

Terms, from \$6 per week to \$9. Address, bt I Felch, Harwich Port, Mass.

WATER-CURE AT NEW IPSWICH, N. H. MRS. LUCINDA HATCH, having had long expe-111 ence in Water-Cure treatment, now announces the public that she has lately made additions to her commodations, and is prepared to treat successfully tients that may place themselves under her care. It residence is three miles from Mason Village, the pres-terminus of the Peterboro' and Shirley railroads. Terms, more favorable than at most establishess

New Ipswich, June 9.

DISCOURSES ON THE Rendition of Anthony Burns.

THE following publications on this atrojous of rage on the rights of man and the law of God of for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill: 'The New Crime against Humanity'-A sermen Theodore Parker, Price 25 cts. The Rendition of Anthony Burns. Its Cause and Consequences.' A discourse by Clarke. Price 10 cents.

The Crisis of Freedom.' A sermon preached in Lyst, 'The Bad Friday.' A sermon preached in Wet let bury, by Edmund B. Willson. Price 12] ets. Massachusetts in Mourning.' A sermon preached
Worcester, by T. W. Higginson. Price 10 cts.

God Greater than Man.' A Sermon presched at Be-lingion, Vt., by Joshua Young. Price 12j ets. New Era in Healing. CURE BY NUTRITION.

DYSPEPSIA, Consumption, Headache, and all first of Diseases, successfully treated by Netzens, without medicine. DEAR SIR—I take this opportunity to inform you have completely cured me of chewing and smaling tobacco. I am now in perfect health, having faint thirty pounds during the three months I have been user your treatment by Nutrition. It is worth any amount of money to me, and I thank you a thousand time.

South Adams. Mars. Mars. 1881. To LAROY SUNDERLAND:

South Adams, Mass. May 16, 1854. Pamphlets of Information, respecting this are method of Cure, for sale at the office of this paper, and sent by mail, free, for one dime, prepaid. MARRIAGE AND PARENTAGE: or, the Especial of the ductive Element in Man, as a means to his election and happiness. By Henry C. Wright. The Prent is the Child of the Past, and the Parent of the future. Price, 50 cents. Just published and for sale BELA MARSH, No. 15 Franklin street.

April 14. Smes.

WHITES' DAGUERREOTYPE ROOMS. No. 26 WASHINGTON ST.,

ESTABLISHED A. D. 1840, STILL continue in successful operation; and hataf been recently refitted and improved by the adding of a large northern sky-light, (the only one of the kis in the city.) the proprietors feel confident that they of now offer inducements unsurpassed, if not unequalist, elsewhere. No person is expected to take a likeness that is all

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