THE LIBERATOR EVERY FRIDAY MORNING, WISLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT Times-Two dollars and fifty cents per annum,

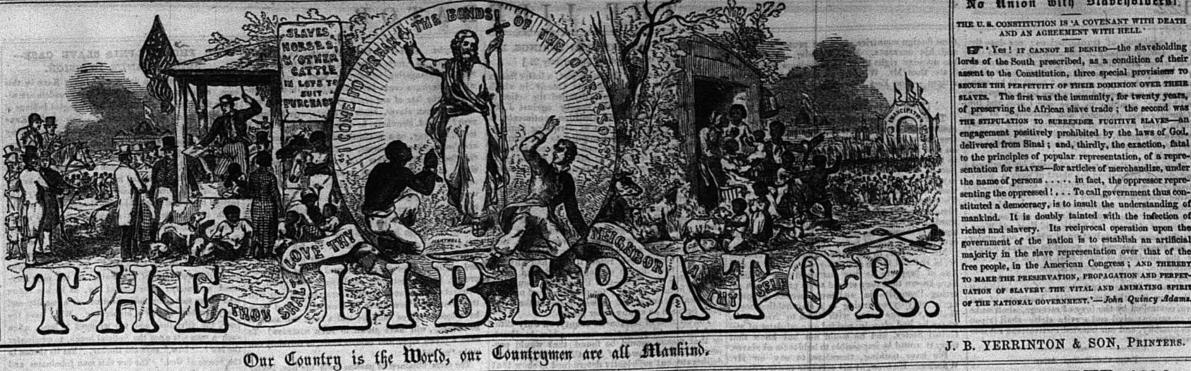
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The Agents of the American, Massach nia and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are auof to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial tet, but are not responsible for any of the debts the paper, vil :- FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY EDNOVE QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and

F Is the columns of THE LIBERTATOR, both sides of

W. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 3, 1855.

WHOLE NUMBER 1100.

see, and a more earnest manliness, than I have see able to discover in the utterances of those whe seem to enjoy your confidence, and share your hers. It is no disparagement to you, personally, to add, that, representing the Commonwealth of basichasetts, sitting in the seat of Daniel Webster, discoursing of the duty of the Northern Sates on the most dangerous topic of our day, and pleading eloquently for the Necessity, Prachability and Dignity of an enterprise whose success involves the ruin of the country—your words here, for all considerate men, an interest and an insprance which all your high qualities would importance which all your high qualities would into impart to them, if you spoke as a private disen. It may be possible, also, that the words of a private person like myself, and a total stranger to you, by connecting themselves with the stirring and dangerous words spoken by you from the mat position you have won, may obtain an audi-, which, but for that, it were idle to expect see, which, but for that, it were this to expect for them. And you will yourself, perhaps, admit, that I have somewhat to say worthy of serious ensideration, and that my life-long connection, in many forms, with most of the topics you discuss, estitles me, without undue presumption, to give sterance to some of the thoughts excited by your

Allow me, sir, to utter, in one sentence, the sthetance of my whole thoughts touching the madsego slavery. Here we are—a great people, with agerosamission set before us. More than twen-tr millions of us—with whose destiny the destiny of three or four millions of blacks is fearfully embined. One way or other, we must solve their destiny, when we solve our own. This is wholly mayoulable. But, the madness is, that every seen white Americans must needs cut each other throats concerning the fate of one black African ! North and the men of the South,—for the sake of the African slaves, scattered thinly over the content! Are we not able to bear through, by our invincible strength, even such a parasite as this black race, carrying them forward far beyond any thing they could have reached without us, and yet g up ourselves, far beyond any thing they may ever reach! Shame to every American states-man and every American patriot who is insensible to the glory of such a result! Infamy to every

See who conspires to defeat it!
And yet, sir, you, an American Senator, speaking in the name of that great Commonwealth in whose bosom stands Bunker Hill, and sitting in the seat of that great statesman and patriot aw ao hope for public liberty higher than that which rests upon the Union of the States; you, an American Senator, who have studied the past, and who fear God, allow yourself to bring the whole force of your character; your position, and your great gifts, to bear directly upon the point alone it is possible to wreck the cou and to destroy us altogether! The very madness of the times assumes, in you, its most frantic aspect: and you openly avow that slavery in America is a wrong so grievous and unquestionable, that it should not be allowed to continue, may, that it should cease to exist at once,—nay, that a wrong so transcendent, so loathsome, so direful, must be encountered wherever it can be reached, and battle continued without truce or compromise, until the field is entirely won. Such are your words: profoundly eloquent—unspeakably fran-

Now, sir, this means neither more nor less than the edge of the sword. Lay aside the rhetoric, and the simple sense is, grape and canister, cold steel and stricken battle. Believe me, Mr. Sumseel and stricken battle. Believe me, Mr. Sumner, when I state two facts, one of which I know
better than you do, and the other which you ought
to know better, perhaps, than I do. The fact,
which I know better than you do is, that whenever
the very faintest indication of the settled purpose
of the men of the North to follow your advice becomes apparent to the men of the fifteen slave
States of this Union, a million of armed men will
be ready to receive you and more followers. and if be ready to receive you and your followers: and if you come not speedily thereafter to exercise your threats, your coming will not be waited for; but they will seek you on the soil where you now vainty and the seek you on the soil where you now vainty among the fact. y suppose no danger will ever come. The fact which you ought to know better than I do is, that ther two or three hundred thousand men are arrayed in battle on each side, it makes no sort of inference, as to the probable result, whether the one or the other party has the greater reserve of plysical force, left out of battle; because, after two or three hundred thousand fighting men, in the present state of the art of war, every thing depends merely on brains. The sum of these two latts is very clear; namely, if the North wants to settle the shares quantity by the edge of the to settle the slavery question by the edge of the feetly gratified; and when she gets what she wants, there is at least an exceeding great probability that the North will see reason to change her mind very materially as to the wisdom of that method of anything the state of th method of settling the question.

Moreover, let it not escape your attention, that but aside more thoroughly than you may see that so adoptions of the North, and exasperate the hearts of the men of the North, and exasperate the hearts of the men of the South, in this whole business: all of the men of the South, in this whole business: all of the men of the South, in this whole business: all of the men of the South, in this whole business: all of the men of the South, in this whole business: all of the men of the South, in this whole business: all of the men of the South, in this whole business: all of the said to be obligatory on the conscience of the said to be obligatory on the conscience of the bloody struggle to which you are driving the country. For, in the first place, let slarely be all that you assert it to be—the time is long past when it was either honest, wise, or patient, for you to take that ground, even in an argument having merely ordinary political bearings, much less to one looking to bloodshed and conquest. All that was settled between us before the old confederation was formed: it was settled again in the common danger and common glory of our great Revolution: it was settled again in the Fed-

and clime,—without any new circumstance or additional reason for so atrocious a perfidy against nature and against plighted troth. Add again, in the third place, the atrocity of that state of heart in which the North presses this bloody arbitrament, under the settled belief that she risks nothing thereby, and that we risk every thing: and the fervor of that state of soul in which the South, roused by so much insult, injustice and danger, really does risk all, with the sublime purpose, to the last mao, to win all. And then, in the fourth place, add the sort of conviction with which the two parties thus mutually range themselves in as both are attested by the universal experience of these means, or by both of them combined, the fundamental demand of your abolition hypothesis, after innumer able attempts, and upon every form of civilization—has encountered only universal shipwreek. Your Anti-Slavery Enterprise, therefore, as soon as it encounters the question of mixed races dwelling together, must demand that equality which is produced by the indiscriminate servitude of all: or it must demand the toleration of Polygamy: or it must demand the toleration of Polygamy: or it must demand the toleration of Polygamy: or it must succumb before the irresistible course of Protidence, add the sort of conviction with which the success the produced by the indiscriminate servitude of all: or it must demand the toleration of Polygamy: or it must demand the toleration of Polygamy in the p place, add the sort of conviction with which the two parties thus mutually range themselves in the deadly strife; and if you be as wise as you are eloquent, you may comprehend, what as yet you seem wholly to have overlooked—namely, the settled confidence of the entire slave States, that they are fully able to make the men of the North repent that ever they broke Constitutions, and forgot ancestral ties, and ouraged national obligations, in order to ruin ten millions of the most elevated race on the face of the earth, upon the hazard—if not the pretext—of benefitting a third of that number of one of the most degraded races in the world. You will have battle,—and that without truce or compromise,—and that whenever you can reach us,—and that until the field is entirely won! For my part, sir, I would gladly shun that battle;

For my part, sir, I would gladly shun that battle; gladly give my blood to arrest it, if it were begun. But mingles with this profound dread of shedding my brother's blood, not one apprehension of the result of the conflict. For whoever lives to see that battle fought, will see one more example added to the multitudes which already example added to the multitudes which already example and

tempt, upon such pretexts as you array,—even if those pretexts were all true and real,—than it would think of parricide followed by self-murder. But, sir, I beg you to consider what I shall add to show that those pretexts are neither true nor real.

The very foundation of your discourse of your that he is pleading the array of Christ while the improvement of the present that he is pleading the array of Christ while the improvement of the present of the The very foundation of your discourse, as you distinctly state, is the grand principle, universal, as you assert, in the law of slavery, that man, created in the image of God, is divested of his hu-

cognized by the local law, may be made analogous to the right one has to a chattel, just as it may be to the right one has to reality. But you have far too much sense and knowledge not to know, that these are widely different truths from the abominable untruths upon which your whole distributions. that these are widely different truths from the abominable untruths upon which your whole discourse proceeds. Do you sot perfectly understand, that every slave State in the Union shapes its entire slave code upon the grand truths that a slave is not a mere chattel, and that his human character is not divested! Do you not know, that by the universal law of slavery, the slave is held in innumerable accountabilities, overriding all claim of his master; and that he is protected, not as a chattel, but as a man, at the peril and profit even of his master's life! And yet, upon precisely opposite allegations, you construct an argument whose logical issue is the subversion of our national Union; and upon that argument you construct a code of morals whose highest obligation is civil war! Sir, whatever may be my epinion of the fairness of such reasoning, I easily perceive its dialectic skill. But for your sweeping allegations, your argument has nothing on which to rest; for if the relation of master and slave be once admitted to be generically a relation of power and subject, guardian and ward, parent and child,—then it demands far higher powers than yours to show that as a mere relation to the same of the same of the form of despotic authority amongst men. For myself, my natural heart young doubtless have loved the teachings of the would doubtless have loved the teachings of the those of ruler and subject, guardian and ward, parent and child,—then it demands far higher powers than yours to show that as a mere relation it has any moral quality at all; and then your duty of murder on account of it comes straight way to an end. Slavery, Mr. Sumner, is not a thing which even in its fundamental nature, much less in its more revolting aspects, I have any purpose to defend. But it is not, either in its pature less in its more revolting aspects, I have any pur-pose to defend. But it is not, either in its nature

pose to defend. But it is not, either in its nature or its manifestations, the thing you pronounce it to be; and this you could hardly fail to know. How then can I avoid saying, that the pretexts on which you counsel such insane proceedings are neither true nor real!

What you say on the two vital objections, as you call them, to what you style the Anti-Slavery Enterprise, is not equal to the level of your ordinary thoughts. The distinction of race, as an obstacle to indiscriminate abolition, and the samtion of Christians to the institution of slavery, as a plea for its toleration, do unquestionably require to be put aside more thoroughly than you have succeeded in doing, before the terrible necessity of adopting your principles and following your counsel can be said to be obligatory on the conscience of the said to be obligatory on the conscience of the true nor real!

It was my purpose, sir, to have said something the control of the conscience of the practicability and Dignity of the Anti-Slavery Practicability and Dignity of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise, together with your view of the special carries to the support of the special carries to the first true nor real!

From the Presbyterian Critic for July.

From the Presbyterian Critic for July.

ALETTER TO THE HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

APPROVED IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSAGRAFFING IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSAGRAFFING OCCASIONED BY HIS ANTI-SLAVERY DISGRAFFING OCCASIONED BY HIS ANTI-SLA

ed to the multitudes which already crowd the annals of mankind, that they who boast themselves when they gird their harness on, are apt enough to wail when they come to put it off.

So far then you may perceive, that according to the fixed and unanimous conviction of the fitteen the fixed and unanimous conviction of the fitteen the great pleasure of my life, to do what I could to ameliorate the condition of my fellow. Commonwealths you propose to conquer, your I could to ameliorate the condition of my fellow whole North, if it were united as one man, could men. And I need not hesitate to add, that while without benefitting them? And can statesmen, such as I do not see sufficient reason to doubt you are,—and patriots, such as I have not the heart to deary you to be,—find no better solution of this terrible problem, no nobler issue of our sublime hopes, than mutual destruction by the men of the North and the men of the South — for the sake of the sake of the white.

North and the men of the South — for the sake of the sake of the white tempt, upon such pretexts as you array,—even if the sake of the sake of the sake of the white.

North and the men of the South — for the sake of the sake of the white tempt, upon such pretexts as you array,—even if the sake of the sake of the sake of the white tempt, upon such pretexts as you array,—even if the sake of the sake of the sake of the white tempt, upon such pretexts as you array,—even if the sake of the sake of the white tempt, upon such pretexts as you array,—even if the sake of the sake of the white tempt, upon such pretexts as you array,—even if the sake of the sake of the white tempt, upon such pretexts as you array,—even if the sake of the sake of the white tempt, upon such pretexts as you array,—even if the sake of the sake of the white tempt, upon such pretexts as you array,—even if the sake of the sake of the white tempt, upon such pretexts as you array,—even if the sake of the sake of the white tempt, upon such pretexts as you array,—even if the sake of the sake of the white the sake of the white the sake of the sake of the sake of the sake of the white the sake of the sa counselling the deliberate violation of the most sa-cred obligations. The life and the doctrine of our Lord Jesus afforded the only perfect illustration of every truth and every duty; and amongst the man character, and declared to be a mere chattel.

Now, Mr. Sumner, you cannot fail to be aware, that both parts of this statement are absolutely untrue: and, by consequence, your whole plea fer our conquest is based on a double, perfidious quibble. There is not a single slave State in this Union, whose laws divest the slave of his human character. There is not a single one, whose laws are teach doctrines which lead only to universal rapine teach doctrines which lead only to universal rapine. Union, whose laws divest the slave of his human character. There is not a single one, whose laws declare the slave to be a mere chattel. No doubt, many of the rights which I believe, with you, to be inherent in human nature, are wholly incompatible with any state of slavery. No doubt, if slavery exists at all, the right of property thus recognized by the local law, may be made analogous.

and engineered consciouses, and early ings tolerated human servitude as a condition compatible with salvation, than we can make ourselves

is, nothing concerning the structure of human so-ciety is more clearly established by the entire ca-reer of man on this earth, than that, in some form

Your fellow-citizen and obedient servant, reer of man on this earth, than that, in some form or other, the social subjugation of one part of every highly developed community to another part of it,—that is, servitude in some form or other,—is absolutely inevitable; just as much so, as the existence of crime, or want, or sorrow. Let us bewail this as a badge of our fallen condition; let us seek its constant amplication, as one of our clearest its constant amelioration, as one of our clearest duties: let us respect the truth, and justice, and honor, and good faith, in all our attempts. The second statement I have to make is, that the

general condition of negro slavery in America, so far from being particularly direful and loathsome, as you represent it to be, is really, and indeed, of necessity, in all respects, mitigated and regulated is a specimen of itsquality:

which you do not seem to have examined. It is not merely a question of slavery and the negro population on this continent; nor yet, merely a question of bloodshed and conquest of your North against our South. It is a question affecting all of the Black Race throughout the earth—and all those vast interests of the whole earth—and all those vast interests of the whole earth, which the final destiny of that immense race involves. As yet, the Black Race has never had a nationality. As yet, there has never been a civilized State within the tropics. A hundred millions of the human race, and nearly a fourth part of the earth's habitable surface, around its very centre, await the issue of this question of negro slavery in America, and must be influenced greatly, if not controllingly by it. Rest assured, Mr. Sumner, whatever dignity you may persuade yourself to ascribe to your Anti-Slavery Enterprise, and to your stirring speech at Niblo's Theatre,—nay, even to your Fanenil Hall eloquence, and your Massachusetts agitations over some poor fugitive slave,—there is an eternal logic in events, and there is an awful majesty in the subling courses of Pravidence, in the face of which.

Suppose Kansas should decide the question, first one way, and then the other! Moreover, what essential difference does it make, whether it is upon a basis of fifteen slave States, or sixteen slave States, that the great problem of our National destiny is to be worked out! And as to its true States, that the great problem of our National destiny is to be worked out! And as to its true bearing on the infinite mission of our country, what consequence can a national mind attach to the temporary result of a fierce conflict for supremacy between madmen in one of our territories may be the Missouri River! What odds does it make, any way, as a National question, whether there are three millions and a fraction over; whether six, or ten, or a lumined state, more or less, escape or are reclaimed! The power of the General Government over the whole subject is so extremely limited, and training the extremely limited, and training possessed by Congress is comparatively so slight and uncertain, and the dangor which is obviously incurred is so real and deplorable; the condition in which the Nation stands with reference to, the whole subject is so distinct and so peculiar; that, I must confess, it has always appeared to me un speakably surprising, that any National party—and especially any one at the North,—should be found expable of permanent organization in connection with such topics. Any honest, moderate, patrofice, consistent exercise of the powers of the Southern Poele, it would be hard to produce an example at once more flagrant, insulting, and uncample at once more f

cared to do so, it would be your right to demand of me, in explanation of my own views, after having spoken so freely of yours.

Slavery, Mr. Summer, is not a modern institution; it is an accessity. And yet it is not a permanent institution in the sense of being perpetuated in one particular race or country. We have the sad advantage of being able to contemplate it, in every age of the world, in every form of civilization. We ought, by this time, to be able to comprehend it. From this point of view I have two statements to make, both of which I fear may appear to you inaccurate. The first is, nothing concerning the structure of human so-

Brædalbane, Ky., June 11th, 1855.

SELECTIONS.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION. The National Era publishes entire a speech of un

usual excellence and power, which was recently delivered at a State Convention at Indianapolis, by the Hon. George W. Julian, on 'The Slavery Question.' Here

as you represent it to be, is really, and indeed, of necessity, in all respects, mitigated and regulated after the pervading spirit of our protestant civilization, and is gradually acquiring a more endurable position, as the power of the Gospel gradually extends its influence, and as the Slave States gradually settle into the conviction, that their duty obliges them to accept this institution as a permanent part of their social system. I do not myself believe that servitude in this particular form is, as an original question, either necessary or desirable; and I am well convinced, that in many of our Slave States, it might be gradually abelished, with great advantage; while in all of them it might be still further ameliorated without regard to the question of its ultimate solution. Nor is it my opinion, that the permanent continuance of this servitude, in its present form, is possible,—though its endurance may be protracted, and the methods of its termination extremely diversified, over the immense area covered by it. Your daty and mine, sir, as American philanthropists, each in his own sphere, is to accept this great problem as we find it, and by all the means in our power assist, its final outworking, in a manner most compatible with the interests of humanity, and with those internal principies of nature and of providence which our puny efforts may in some degree assist, but are wholly impotent to control.

There is an aspect of this whole question of negro slavery in America, extremely broad, and which you do not seem to have examined. It is not merely a question of slavery and the negro population on this continent, nor yet, merely a question of a slavery and the negro population on this continent, nor yet, merely a question of slavery and the necessary question fits question of slavery and the necessary and gradually ablables and principles of the free States. The two do not a the result of the gradually ablables and principles of the free States. The and pervalent of the wind principles of the free States

ver some poor rugitive slave, and there is an awful majesty in the already taxed to the atmost, would sink under such ublime course of Providence, in the face of which, a weight; that the Slave Power would thus dig its sublime course of Providence, in the face of which, posterity will say, that men endowed like you ought to have been ashamed to participate in such insane, fantastic, and ignoble revels!

However difficult the question of human servitude may be to solve, after slavery has been once fully established in the bosom of a commonwealth; or however men differ as to the moral aspect of the actual questions snow agitating the minds of our countrymen so deeply; it seems to me, that as a mere topic of National politics and National lesses are environed by no other difficulties, but such gislation, the whole question of American Slavery is one environed by no other difficulties, but such as have been created by our own evil passions. So far as the powers of the National Government are concerned—has not Massachusetts the unquestionable right to create slavery in her bosom—if she sees fit to do so,—and Louisiana to abolish it in hers, if she thinks proper! And is not this true of every State! What need then is there, in all soberness, for frantic contentious about Territorial soberness, for frantic contentious about Territorial of every State? What need then is there, in all solerness, for frantic contentions about Territorial settlements, which, in their own nature, can be only temporary? Suppose Missouri should abolish slavery? Suppose Illinois should create it? Suppose Kansas should decide the question, first one way, and then the other? Moreover, what one way, and then the other? Moreover, what one abasis of fifteen slave States, or sixteen slave States, that the great problem of our National designations in principle. It is only a sprout from Daniel Webster's grave. The anti-slavery sentiment that submitted to the former will acquiesce in the latter. Indeed, the very ground on which this new outrage has been generally opposed, proves our repugnance to slavery to be shaltony is to be worked out? And as to its true tiny is to be worked out? And as to its true compact, made for the security of freedom North

FOURTH OF JULY IN KENTUCKY.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL'

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

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

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

THE STIPULATION TO SURBENDER FUOTIVE SLAVES—An engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God. delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

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

the name of persons In fact, the oppressor repre-

senting the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of

mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

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

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

TO MAKE THE PERSERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERFET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT."-John Quincy Adams.

An anti-slavery celebration came off at the Glades, Madison county, Ky., on the 4th ult. Cassius M. Clay and John G. Fee were the speakers. Speaking of Mr. Clay, the correspondent of the New York Tribune says:—

. The distinguished orator made one of his most The distinguished orator made one of his moss successful efforts, and for two hours set forth in bold relief and with telling power the disastrous influence of slavery in ancient and modern times, and the responsibilities and duties of freemen.

The recent outrage upon Mr. Fee, and the subsequent excitement, furnished ample material for the skillful hand of this master workman, which

be used to great advantage.

'Mr. Fee succeeded Mr. Clay, showing the high-handed aggressions of the Slave Power—the curb and goad which it applies to the non-slaveholder, as well as the slave, and the despotic sway it will continue to wield, unless destroyed by the political

action of free men.
Several slaveholders were in attendance, who listened with much interest, and it is hoped that the arguments then presented will have weight in

'Though many things discourage, we keep a good heart, and, with the help of Providence, we shall labor on, turning each scheme, sharpening every thought, in season and out of season, till the glad herald, with welcome voice, "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

J. S. D.

THE VOICE OF A PREEMAN.

Among the addresses delivered in every part of the country on the Fourth of July, that of Ex-Governor Kent, of Maine, at Bedford, in that State, is characterized by a manly a determined spirit. We give the following extract as a speci-

' No man, Mr. President, has a deeper reverence for this Union, or a more fervent desire for its maintenance, than I have, and none would do more to sustain it; but there is a limit to endurance, to sustain it; but there is a limit to endurance, and a point at which concession should stop; and, believe me, the true friends of this Union, the conservative men of this country, are not your timid, fretful, frightened fawns; they are not your cotton men, who fear they will not be able to get cotton, nor your ship-brokers, who are afraid their ships will not get a freight, but they arraid their snips will not get a freight, but they are your houest, outspoken, close-thinking and determined men. The men who will save the Union are the men who will march straight up to the line, and tell the South what they will do, and what they will not do. And when they put the matter thus, and have their spinal column sound, and stand up attained there is no denor of the and stand up straight, there is no danger of this Union. There is ten times more danger to it by subserviency and submission to wrongs, for by-and-by these wrongs will so accumulate that they will burst their barriers, and the breach will carry every thing before it. But when the South understands that no more slave States are to be admitted, that the Fugitive Slave Law is to be repeal-ed or modified, let them understand that we stand ed or modified, let them understand that we stand upon our rights, and they will yield—that is, they will come up to us: for, after all, the men of the South are not balf so bad as your miserable dough-faces of the North. [Applause.] The South are more manly. When they find Northern members of Congress bowing down to them, and begging them to take these boons, they cannot but accept them, but they despise the men who offer them, and regret that they should be put in that position.

I will only say, in conclusion, that the great question before us now is, shall Maine retro-grade from the position she has taken. Last grade from the position she has taken. Last year she spoke out, and showed that there was a North. She spoke out, and her voice was heard throughout the Union; and at Washington, the time-servers were appulled. Her voice was heard, and it shook them on the throne of their power. Why should we recede from our position! True, this is but a State election; still, it is all-important that we should keep the stand we have taken, for the moral effect of a defeat in the great republican party on the coming Presidential election would be most disastrous. There is no mistake about it: hence it is that I was willing to come lican party on the coming Presidential decades would be most disastrous. There is no misiake about it; hence it is that I was willing to come up here, and lend any aid I might be able; and I tell you now, that I have gone and shall go into this matter with all my heart and soul. I have no hesitation about it. I am determined to devote what strength and power and means I have to this great cause of human freedom, and to the redress of an enormous wrong to the North, and if I am to be made a victim, all I can say is, I am ready to be offered. Maine must not retrograde, her sons must stand and fight like men on this great question. I am satisfied, that so far as I can speak for the eastern part of the State, their hearts there beat true, and they will come up to the support of the men who have thus far sustained the great principles we advocate. We will cause to be felt one part of our motto—Dirigo—I lead. And in our fall election, we will lead in a manner worthy the light of that immovable star—the star of liberty which our State has appropriated as her fit and only emblem.' [Great applause.] of liberty which our State has appropriated as her fit and only emblem.' [Great applause.]

AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY.

The Norristown (Pa.) Olive Branch publishes an able and eloquent discourse, delivered in that town on the last Fourth of July, by Rev. SAMUEL AARON, from which we take the following extract:—

The most popular feature of American Christianity is a bitter hatred to the practical lovers of impartial freedom; and no man is hired to say one prayer for Congress, unless he believes that Paul sent back the slave Onesimus. The Protestant one prayer for Congress, unless he believes that Paul sent back the slave Onesimus. The Protestant Bible, and religious books and tracts, are scattered to be the leaves of the tree of life for the healing of the nations, while the voice of the living preacher rings out in every tongue. In carrying out this great mission, the various governments are conciliated, deceived or defied, on the plea that God has sent a message which every man must bear. But, lo! the Southern half of this great republic quashes the Southern half of this great republic quashes the southern half of this great republic quashes the shis plea, with the entire approval of those who urge it; shuts out from FOUR MILLIONS of its people the message and the messanger; sells women at high prices into prostitution to send the gospel to China; gashes the flesh of the slave at home who would spell the name of Jesus, and tortures or murders the man who would teach him. Meanwhile, it claims to possess the purest religion and the warmest piety to be found on earth; and, by the churches of the North, that claim is widely conceiled. All sins in our land are discussed and denounced in sermons, books and tracts, from the crime of murder down to the gaiety of the ballroom, and the love of show which sets a feather on a matron's bonnet, or a ring on a maiden's finger; but the act of tearing infants from their mothers' bosoms, or of selling one's beautiful daughter into nameless infamy, or of soourging men and women to deathless toil, is not once named

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in the catalogue of transgressions; nor does the word 'slavery' appear in the millions of pious volumes which are diffused throughout the community! The phrases 'peculiar institutions,' 'pious masters,' and 'happy servants,' dwell, to be sure, on many a consecrated lip, where logic, eloquence and 'piety' combine to save our Union and the 'Church'; but contempt and starvation in the North, from persons of 'standing,' and curses, hemp and faggots, in the South, await the man who preaches equality and justice to all throughou

To maintain the harmony of such a brotherhood and cherish and extend the spirit of such a patri otism, in willing subordination to the 200,000 voting dealers in human flesh, is the only way according to the teachings of Church and State to preserve 'this glorious Union'; and such as agreement of North and South, and East and West is 'the Union,' the salvation of which, our orato of the Fourth assured us, would be cheaply bough by the life-blood of every soul in this great Commonwealth. 'Credat Judaus Apella!' On the contrary, if this be our Union, and these its purposes the curse of Heaven and the scorn of earth shall the curse of Heaven and the scorn of earth shall fall upon it; the irrepressible instincts of na-ture, controlled by the fury of revenge, shall wake up massacre; civil and servile strife shall ripen into anarchy, and our boasted institutions rot into

From the Boston Atlas.

JUDICIAL USURPATION.

The character of Lord Jeffreys, as portrayed up on the brilliant pages of Mackintosh or Macaulay attracts us by a singular fascination; and it is with a feeling almost of pleasure and hardly of pain, that we linger over that record of rude and rough insolence. But if any sturdy lover of the past, any stiff and incorrigible laudator temporis acti, has felt an apprehension that the breed of bad judges was running out, we commended to him for solace or for study, the illustrious Kane, the federal Solon of Philadelphia. In awarding to this great man the meed of extorted admiration, we feel an embarrassment of riches. He is not only a beau tiful blockhead, but a first-rate knave. He knows just enough to be honest, and he pleases to be cor rupt. He makes himself a humbug with malice prepense, and twists the little law which he has by a miracle picked up, into the service of the mana miracle picked up, into the service of the man-hunter with a sycophancy beyond all praise. As we read the report of his rulings and decisions in the Wheeler slave case, we are lost in wonder, and have bardly heart enough left for indignation. We never heard of such a judge. We never read of such a judge. In all the attractive history of the habeas corpus there is nothing so curiously bad as Mr. Justice Kane's treatment of Mr. Passmore Williamson. Who ever dreamed that this writ. Williamson. Who ever dreamed that this writ established as the defence of constitutional liberty could be made the engine of cruelty and oppre sion! And yet, in republican America, in Quaker Philadelphia, in the full light of the Common Law, and in the century of Story, this has been done; not under the thin disguise of a quibble, but coarsely and brutally and palpably. The facts are important enough to warrant a repetition. John H. Wheeler, who has been appointed Minister to Nicaragua, carried with him to Phil adelphia three persons of color, called by him his slaves. Seated in a steamboat, just upon the point of departure for New York, like Abraham or Isaac, with his bipedal cattle about him, the patriarcha Wheeler is thunder-struck to hear Williamson declare to his woman and his boys that they are free by all the law which slavery has left in the land. This was a very simple truth The poor blacks were free. Wheeler might growl, but there was nobody to blame save himself. These negroes were emancipated by his act. He brought them into Pennsylvania. He was an involuntary philanthropist, and acted better than he knew. His slaves (his no longer) availed themselves of the information, and exercising their nearly discovered information, and, exercising their newly-discovered rights, maugre the wrath and remonstrances of Wheeler, went upon their way rejoicing. Where shall the bereaved and bankrupt Wheeler seek re dress? Experience has taught him to hasten to the federal tribunals. He knows that this Genera Government has been organized and is sustained solely to mitigate the woe, to redress the injuries soothe the souls of such as he. When w have the cholera, we send for the doctor; when w want a writ, we go to the lawyer; when a lorn and top-lofty slaveholder wishes to reclaim his fugacious personal property, he goes to the United States At-torney of that ilk. The bereaved Wheeler went Judge Kane, and Judge Kane gave him a writ of habeas corpus—for what? To bring up persons not in custody of anybody—not shown to be in any way restrained of liberty—not known, in fact, to be in the State of Pennsylvania at all. Mr. Williamson in the State of Pennsylvania at all. Mr. Williamson, simply because he stated to these colored people that they were free, is commanded to bring in their bodies. He cannot do it. He is not in possession of their bodies. There is no reason why their bodies should be brought in to Court at all. There has been no tort, no battery, no imprisonment. If Judge Kane had ordered Mr. Williamson to bring bodies of his milk man and green grocer, the whole thing would not have been more absurd. The unhappy custodian, without anybody in custody, makes answer in accordance with the fact and suddenly finds himself held to bail in the sum of five thousand dollars for telling the truth. Judge Kane wants to do something for his owners and drivers, and he trumps up a charge of contempt and perjury against a man who is as innocent as an unborn babe of both. There is not a particle o evidence that these negroes are in the Williamson. On the contrary, all the evidence goe to show that they are elsewhere. Yet, upon the demand of John H. Wheeler, who ought himself to be holding up his hand in the dock, pleading to a charge of false imprisonment, a citizen of Philadelphia is required to find bail in a large and really oppressive amount, to answer to a complaint upon which even the crooked Kane himself will not dare to fine him a farthing! This is one more usurpation to be added to the already intolerable list. A freeman is abused, insulted, and harrassed for daring to communicate to a fellow creature his plain personal rights. For if these negroes were now before Kane, he would not dare pronounce them slaves. Yet this whole pro-

for lisping.

This action of Judge Kane—a gross insult to the spirit of the law and to its expounders in the States—is only the beginning of trouble. We see plainly enough, that by and by the Federal Judges will do what they are already itching to do, and will give to the slaveholder, in defiance of all the law the books, the right of transporting his ne groes through the free States. Theoretically, the thing has already been done; and we shall slip soon enough from timid theory to bold and arro gant practice. There are outrages which will soon bring all courts and all judges into contempt. Vainly the conservative endeavors to sustain the dignity and the independence of the judiciary against the tide of innovation and of popular discontent, while the men of the heach forcetful. content, while the men of the bench, alike of precedent and of equity, revive the revo-lutionary recollections of the people, and invite license by denying justice. We have to thank judges of the Kane kidney for half the follies of the day-for legislation which smacks of treasonfor desperate efforts to secure personal liberty a any cost-for attempts to break down the life ten ure of the judical office, and for lawless endeavor to enforce the law. Should the Lord in his in scrutable wisdom inflict upon as a few more Grier and a few more Kanes, revolution will be the onl resource. A modicum of personal prudence will certainly do these ermined Dogberrys no harm. Let them show a little sense, if only for the sake of the salary.

ding is predicated upon the assumption that seeler owned the woman and boys—a bold and

brazen lie, which a babe in arms would be flogged

MR. WHEELER'S SLAVE CASE.

MR. WHEELER'S SLAVE CASE.

The case of the Hon. Mr. Wheeler's slaves in transitu through Philadelphia to New York, car route for Nicaragua, is stirring up a good deal of bad feeling South—and hence it becomes important to recur to principles, and to first principles. Even such sound, steady, staid journals as the Baltimore Patriot wonders!

Slavery exists not in Pennsylvania—nay, is against the local law of Pennsylvania—and hence, whenever it is brought there, voluntarily, it is emancipated by force of the local law. This is a well-settled, universally acknowledged principle.

Next, though Mr. Wheeler is a Minister from the United States to Nicaragua, the laws of nations, a applied to foreign ministers to the United States

from foreign countries, give no protection to him and his servants. Mr. Wheeler, as minister, has no more right to bring his slaves into a free, which is servants along with us such a perasite as this black race, which is servants. State, than Mr. Wheeler as an humble, untitled citizen.—New York Express.

[From the Providence Journal, July 26.] There can be no doubt, after the various deci There can be no doubt, after the various decisions which have been made by the courts of the free States, and especially the decision of the Lemon case in New York—which was precisely similar to this in all respects, saving only the public station of Mr. Wheeler—there can be no doubt, we say, of the fact, that the slaves, at the moment of their abduction, were as free as their master. They were at liberty to go with him, or to leave him, according to their own free choice: in other words, they were no longer slaves, but moral agents of themselves, free to choose or refuse whatever might be placed before them. ever might be placed before them.

Mr. Wheeler, in his capacity of master or own-

Mr. Wheeler, in his capacity of master or owner, is entitled to no sympathy on account of any loss of property he has sustained; for he must have known that they ceased to be property on entering Pennsylvania, and could become property again only by returning to a slaveholding State. Besides, he was going with them to Nicaragua, where he had already resided as a minister of the United States, and he could not but know that there it would be impossible to hold them as slaves:

We have nothing, therefore, to say for Mr. Wheeler. He brought his servants to a free State, with a full-knowledge of the risk he incurred, or, at the very least, with a fair opportunity of acquiring that knowledge, and he must bide the con-

The only instance in which the Constitution allows the master to claim possession of his slave in a free State is when he has escaped from his sera free State is when he has escaped from his service. If we go beyond this, there is no length to which we may not go. If we allow one who has brought his colored servant into our State five minutes' power over his person, we may, by the same rule, extend the power to five years, or fifty. In either case, we establish slavery.

We see nothing in the case of Mr. Wheeler which is marked by any peculiar hardship. He was taking his slaves to Nicaragua, where slavery does not exist, relying, no doubt, on his own skilful.

does not exist, relying, no doubt, on his own skilful management to keep them with him until he should return. The woman whom he had with him he expected to retain in his service through her attachment to her children, whom she had left at home. He brought his slaves to Pennsylvania with the knowledge that when once on Pennsylvanian soil, they were free, and he chose to take the risk of their obtaining this knowledge also. They were informed of their rights, and they chose to leave him: the love of freedom was stronger in the fe-male slave than the attachment to her children. Mr. Wheeler voluntarily incurred the danger of losing his slaves, and he has no right to complain. If he wanted to keep them, he should have

left them at home.

The process which is now pending before Judge Kane, of Philadelphia, is brought for the benefit of Mr. Wheeler, and not for that of the slaves. It is pretended that they were carried off against their will, but every body understands that this is a mere pretence. The persons who, it is asserted, were abducted, make no complaint; they employ no agent to prosecute for them; they ask nothing of the court. If they were not satisfied with their emancipation, they would soon make it so unpleasant for their supposed captors to retain the custody of them, to say nothing of the expense of supporting them, that they would soon be set at

large.
No doubt, the case of Williamson, who informed their the slaves of their right to be free and favored their escape, will be viewed by the court in its least favorable aspect. If in any respect he has exposed himself to the penalties of the law, they will be enforced against him to their utmost extent. Yet the effect of severity in his case will only be to make a martyr, who will have the public sympathy on his side. Here was the case of a woman in bondage entitled to be free by the act of her master, who brought her into a free State. She is informed of her rights by Williamson, which was his main offence, and when reminded by her master of her children as home there was the state. master of her children at home, she answers that though she wishes to see them again, she desires e free, and allows herself to be led away by the people of her own color who surround her. If Mr. Williamson should suffer imprisonment in consequence of anything he has done in this matter, he is on the high road to renown as a liberator.—New York Evening Post.

From the Boston Journal. THE GATHERING STORM.

The clouds now rising upon the Western horizon are dark and portentous. Almost every mail from Kansas brings intelligence of the approaching struggle between Slavery and the Constitution-struggle which may be decided in blood. It won to indicate an appeal to arms at no distant day. The crisis may be arrested, but only by an exercise of a wisdom, moderation and firmness by the administration which cannot reasonably be expected. The high-handed, unconstitutional and aggressive acts already performed or proposed in the ruffian Legislature of Kansas, conclusively show that despotism intends to wage uncompromising war upon the Constitution. Read the account in our paper to-day of the measures which have been introduced or are proposed. The intended enact-ments of the mob Legislature of Kansas, we venture to say, can never be enforced. They are unwarranted by the Constitution of the United States and therefore are not obligatory. Where does the Legislature of Kansas obtain the Constitutional power to pass laws requiring a citizen emigrating from legiance to support the laws of the U. States, and those which may be enacted by their own irresponsible body! Whence do they obtain the power to make the oath of allegiance a qualification for the right of suffrage! What clause of the Constitution allows the authorities of Kansas to use the jails of Missouri for the punishment of of-O, the beauties of squatter sovereignty! Every day reveals more clearly the supreme idiculousness of the miserable farce. There seem to be but one course to be pursued to prevent a civil war. The organization of the Territory should begun at once, and the present miscalled Legislature blotted from existence as a legislative body. A Legislature to enact laws for Kansas must be chosen by the people of that Territory, not by an invading army from Missouri! This is the only course which will prevent collisions which may end in blood. The people of that territory never will bow to the unconstitutional edicts of this mob-elected legislature: they never will recognize it as a legislative body; and they will be seting right in the sight of God and of the country. Unless the general government exercises authority in the mat-

just rights, a few more weeks may see civil war raging in all its horrors upon the soil of Kansas. A DUMB PRESIDENT

ter to sustain the settlers in the assertion of their

Not a word from Washington in regard to the great outrages perpetrated in Kansas! A twelve-month ago this very week that is coming, we were one of an hundred thousand pale-faced freemen, who, in the streets of Boston, saw a poor trembling man chained and marched through those streets the revolution-to the vessel that was to blood of the revolution—to the vesset that was to take him back to hopeless slavery. The court-house was in chains! Troops guarded every street! Soldiers dragged along cannon, loaded to the muz-sle with chain shot, while men walked by the side with lighted match! And every thirty minutes the President sent the lightning along the wires, to ask if more force was necessary—how the mat-ter was proceeding—and assuring the soldiers and kidnappers of his warmest sympathies! Then, a 'Nigger' was loose! A man had run away from slavery! The President and his whole Cabinet had to sleep with their clothes on—they were so alive to the emergency! But a whole people are struck down and trampled in the dust by the myr-slavery conscience and sentiment of the land is the struck down and trampled in the dust by the myrmidons of oppression—every right guarantied by
the Constitution wrested from them by an armed
band of ruffians set in motion by a United States
Senator! And the President puffs his cigar and
sips his brandy, as if nothing were happening!
What a miserable, knavish shame for a President!
The people of Kansas are left to the mere operation of natural causes for a redress of their recent
outrages, and for defence in the future. Heaven
sond them stout hearts and true rifles!—Ashlabula Sentine!,

We published, on Thursday last, a letter from We published, on Thursday last, a letter from a correspondent of the Louisville Courier, in which Mr. Clay is stated to have detailed the action of the people of Rockenstle county against J. G. Fee for having advocated abolition sentiments, in a speech delivered by him at Dripping Springs, and said that they had applied to the court of justice for their redress, and had been refused; and he now intended that Mr. Fee should go to the Dripping Springs and there speak his sentiments as a free man; and he intended to go with him and stand by his side, and if any man, or set of men, took him down, they should do it over his dead carcass. his dead careass.

He then called on the crowd to know how man there easied on the crowd to know how many there were on the ground who would go with them, when a number of voices were heard, that they were ready and willing to go. He then told them to furnish their rifles, if they had any; if no rifles, their double or single barrel shot guns, their Colt's revolvers—and if neither, then their kitchen butcher knives; for the thing had to have a beginning, and it had as well begin at the Drip

a beginning, and it had as well begin as all blipping Springs as at any other place.

The citizens of Rockcartle county, on July 12th, sent to Mr. Clay a letter warning him to desist or that means would be found that would proof that means would be found that would prove that means would be found that would be set to be set to be a sent to be set to be vent it. The answer of Mr. Clay was cool and deliberate, but sufficiently determined to show that he was not to be intimidated. It concludes as fol-

'The Rev. John G. Fee and I will address the people of Rockpastle, at Scaffold Cave, on Satur day next. We invite you to share with us in the freedom of speech; and may God defend the right.

I ask that you will lay this letter before your meeting as before assembled, and that you will have the magnanimity to do me the justice, ever it may be, which I deserve. I am, with sentiments of consideration.

From the Gazette of this morning we clip the following. We presume that Scaffold Cave and Dripping Springs are the same locality. The Ga-

'The citizens of Rockcastle county, at a meet 'The citizens of Rockcastle county, at a meeting held on the 17th of July, resolved, as our readers are already aware, 'that Cassius M. Clay, John G. Fee, and all other abolition speakers, must to desist from speaking in that county.' C. M. Clay's answer to the Committee who were appointed to give him notice of that resolution was, that he and Mr. Fee should both speak at Scaffold Cave, in that county, on Saturday last.

that he and Mr. Fee should both speak at Scanola Cave, in that county, on Satorday last.

'They kept that appointment and were heard. There was some difficulty about getting the church, as there was an appointment for a sermon by the Baptist clergyman in the morning. It was, however, surrendered to Mr. Clay at the close of the service, and at 12 o'clock, John G. Fee commenced to the country of speaking. He concluded his remarks without in-terruption, and was followed by Mr. Clay. Both speakers (were listened to attentively, and no iolence was offered or talked of."

. The object of all these threats it seems no difficult to conceive. The people of Rockcastle county certainly knew Mr. Clay too well to suppose they could intimidate him. The only conclusion we can come to is, that they meant at the time the threats were made to keep them, but have yielded to the superior physical and moral courage of Mr. Clay

yielded to the superior physical and moral courage of Mr. Clay.

'But Mr. Clay is achieving greater results than mere triumphs over physical force. He is effecting slowly, but surely, a change of popular opinion in Kentucky. There is an intense excitement on this question throughout all that part of the State. Excitement begets debate, and debate elicits thought: and all hele as the state. elicits thought; and all belp on the cause of truth. Free speech triumphed on Saturday; may it ever triumph in Kentucky and all the world be-

THE LIBERATOR

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, AUGUST 3, 1855.

The Editor is absent on a trip to New York State, to speak at the celebration of West India Emancipation by the New York City Anti-Slavery Society On his return, if his health permits, (for he was quite unwell when he left home,) he will speak at Springfield, with CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, Sunday next, the

REV. DR. BRECKINRIDGE'S LETTER TO HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

In its appropriate place on the first page will be found one of the most extraordinary documents which the Anti-Slavery movement has called into being, -a letter to CHARLES SUMNER, by the Reverend Dr. R. J. BRECK-INRIDGE, of Kentucky, occasioned by the speech of the former, delivered in May last in the city of New York three several times to crowded audiences,—also in nearly all the principal cities of the Northern States,-upor the Necessity, Practicability, and Dignity of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise. Let no one of our readers fail to read Dr. B's letter, and mark the spirit, the logic, the consistency, the principle,-or rather the absence of every thing just and commendable in all these re spects,-which this letter, of one of the best of Southrn pro-slavery divines, exhibits.

We have called Dr. B. one of the best of pro-slaver divines ; but we are somewhat doubtful of the accurac or propriety of the language. He is one of those mer who have tried, by arts of sophistry, to reconcile the plain dictates of a live conscience with the infernal reonirements of the man-stealing system in which they have been born and reared. When such a man, knowing the right, does yet choose the wrong, and volun teers to defend slavery by ingenious casuistry, by barefaced assumption, by direct falsehood, by threats o bloody retaliation, we doubt whether any anti-slavery words, which he may at any time have spoken, should come in, in arrest of the judgment which would stamp him as among the worst,—the most unprincipled and dangerous,-of the numerous defenders whom slavery calls into its service.

In the Convention which assembled some years since Kentucky, to revise the Constitution of that State. Dr. Breckinridge made a speech, -which is familiar to anti-slavery readers, -in which he urged upon the Convention the necessity and duty of some action to elevate the condition of the slave population, and to insure to them the enjoyment of at least a portion of their rights as men, and as fellow-heirs of those divine promises which he, in common with others, professes to proclaim and teach as a minister of God. In that Con vention were many persons who, it was understood, de sired to take such action as would lead to the ultimate and not very distant abolition of slavery in the State of Kentucky. Dr. Breckinridge's speech is not before us at this instant, but we well remember with what fore his terrible description of the utter domestic misery and social destitution of the slaves fell upon our ears-' No slave-man is the husband of any woman in particular no slave-woman is the wife of any husband in particular ; no slave-parent is the parent of any children in particular, and no slave-children are the children o any parent in particular.' And this man now come forward to charge Mr. Sumner,-who has never paint ed, or been able to paint, Slavery in colors so black a those which Dr. Breckinridge has used,-with plead ing for an 'enterprise whose success involves the rui of the country '!; and who, in language which show clares that the 'very madness of the times [the antislavery conscience and sentiment of the land is tha madness] assumes in Mr. Sumner its most frantic as

The unusual, or at least the quite unguarded, excit ment in which Dr. B's letter was written, led him in some developments of spirit and character which, we believe, he has not been went heretofore to exhibit The cold and scornful manner in which he speaks o the colored population shows him to be totally unable to apprehend, and totally unfit to teach, the Gospel of Je-

out endangering ourselves ?- Must 'every sever white Americans needs out each other's throats, con white Americans needs cut encu other a transfer of the Sake cerning the fate of one black African — for the sake ready familiar. It will be read with mingled feelings of the African slaves, scattered thinly over the contisurprise, grief, and indignation. This Judge Kane of the African slaves, scallered thinly over the continent? And, elsewhere, he asks, 'What odds does it make, any way, as a national question, whether there are three millions of slaves, or three millions and a fraction over f—whether siz, or ten, or a hundred and apparently joyful execution of the infernal Fuginger, more or ten, escape or are reclaimed?' Why slaves, more or less, escape or are reclaimed?' Why tive Slave Law has excited in the bosoms of all hones shaves, more or less, escape or are reclaimed? Why should it, indeed! evidently Dr. Breckinridge will lose no sleep, will enjoy his meat and his drink with no less relish, and will pray and preach as fervently in the one case as the other. 'Tis only a nigger,' is the spirit of his words, though in a somewhat finer garb;—he is but a doomed slave—a parasite on the fair stalk and flower of the white race, for whom this great country the very audacity of his villany. He coolly tramples and the precedents of the Courts, on the most cherand continent were clearly designed; what reason for protest, for remonstrance, for impassioned appeal, for eloquent speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that cloud the speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches are speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the fact that the speeches are speeches and carnest labors, in the speeches are spe these slaves are now three millions strong, and anon every attribute of God's higher law. What have the have become three millions and a half, and soon, if not already, will have grown to four MILLIONS! To such a man sits upon the judicial bench, to administer such a proud mind and callous heart, it certainly can the law? "Law," says old Hooker, "has its throne in make 'no odds.'

that there is no State which makes a slave a ! mere chattel.' And yet be perfectly well knows the law of all intents and purposes whatsoever'; and the code of dispose of his person, his industry, his labor. He can terson, 7 Monroe, 644, the Court said, 'Slaves, although they are human beings, are by our law placed on the same footing with living property of the brute creation-a slave, by our code, IS NOT TREATED AS A PERSON, but (negotium) a thing, as he stood in the civil code of the Roman Empire.' These authorities are sufficient to prove to any mind which needs authorities and logical demonstrations in a case so palpable, that Dr. B's assertion above is a bare-faced falsehood, and that the fact, on which he relies, that the human nature of the slaves is sometimes recognized, does not in the least support his assertion.

Again-he boldly says, that the slave is ' protecte as a man.' That his words are glaringly and cruelly false (we do not deny casual and occasional exceptions) is proved by the laws of the Slaveholding States which forbid the testimony of a slave to be taken in any Court of law against a white person,-thus affording complete impunity for the vilest outrages committed on slave man or woman, so long as the white villain allows no white witness present; is proved by the special law, exoner ating the owner of a slave who has died under the lash, &c., if it be proved that he has ' died under moderate correction.' The slave has no protection from Courts of Law, nor from Church Judicatories; he is utterly dehim, to those 'tender mercies which are cruel.' Now and then, at rare intervals, some individual soul may defy the corrupt public sentiment, and demand a measure of justice for some poor outraged victim; but such cases are like angels' visits.

The slave is held, says Dr. B,-this he adduces prove that the slave is regarded as a man, -he is held in 'innumerable accountabilities.' We are aware of people of the South, while withholding from the slave's mind every possible ray of light and knowledge, while summons. compelling them to live in relations which must needs demoralize them, do yet require and exact of them the or five of them are so, when committed by white per- ty is in peril.-s. ons, - whose opportunities of distinguishing right from wrong, and of resisting the temptations to the latter, cannot be supposed commensurate with those of the slave! Thus is the poor slave degraded, outraged and crushed by his tyrants, and Dr. Breckinridge looks on with mockery and insult. 'Tis the very spirit of the murderers of the Crucified, when they passed by ging their heads.

And this man talks of the glorious truth of the universal brotherhood of man, and the immortal duty of quenchless, mutual love founded on it '! But means the brotherhood of slaveholders, and the duty of Northern men to acquiesce lovingly, and submit to all their Southern brethren require of them.

We have made but slight allusion to the bloody threats with which Dr. B. would deter Mr. Summer and the people of the North from doing their duty to the oppressed and plundered slaves of this guilty nation—
guilty alike, North and South. Those threats are pitifully contemptible, and we confess our astonishment
that a man of Dr. Breckinridge's mind should stoop to
employ such bluster. Once it alarmed the North out oppressed and plundered slaves of this guilty nationemploy such bluster. Once it alarmed the North out of its propriety and decency. Its power is fast waning. The South will wholly cease to use it, when it discovers how few Northern fools remain to be frightened by

Is it not singular - is it not a curious circumstance, —that Dr. Breckinridge should close a letter, so full of denunciation and affected scorn of Northern men who love freedom, so dark with threats of the bloody consequences to the North of persisting in their purpose to be divorced from all connection with slavery, with exhortations to a 'cordial and indissoluble Union of these States'? It is indeed a notable sign of the times. The Slaveholders no longer threaten the North with Dissolution! That game is played out. Now they cannot sufficiently show their deep and tender interest in a Union which once they professed to hold so cheap. Will the North be cheated again? Will it suffer the South to blindfold and betray them again by this manifest cant? We trust not. All things conspire to teach the North that THERE IS NO UNION between the Northern and Southern States—that their dear South—the slaves were borne along to a hackney coach that threaten who lime there along to out his throat if he made any resistance. The slaves were borne along to a hackney coach that threaten who lime throat if he made any resistance. The slaves were borne along to a hackney coach that was in waiting, and were conveyed to some place of concealment, thr. Williamson following and urging forward the mob; and giving his name and address to Colonel Wheeler, with the declaration that he held himself responsible toward him for whatever might be his legal rights; but taking no personally active part in the abduction after he had left the deck.

I allowed a writ of habeas corpus at the instance of Colonel Wheeler, and subsequently an alias; and to this last Mr Williamson made return, that the persons named in the writ, "nor either of them, are not now, nor was at the time of issuing of the writ, or the original writ, or at any other time, in the custody, power, or possession of the respondent, nor by him confined or restrained; therefore, he cannot have the original writ, or at any other time, in the custody, power, or possession of the respondent, nor by him confined or restrained; therefore, he that Dr. Breckinridge should close a letter, so full of manifest cant? We trust not. All things conspire to teach the North that THERE IS NO UNION between the Northern and Southern States—that their dear Southern States—that their dear Southern between a ready to take their heart's blood if they yield not to all their demands, however arrogant. The robber-rule of Kansas, the march of slaves through the Free States, all indicate the determined purpose of the slaveholder. If the North is wise, and would leave a free inheritance to free children, let her arise, and a noue and forever, the guilty compact which now binds her to the South. 'No UNION WITH SLAVE-molders,"—let this be her righteous, her just, her peaceful watchword. It shall redeem her own soul from the blood of the slave; it shall rescue the slave from the grasp which will then be powerless to hold him; and it shall bring the slaveholder himself, if anght can do it, to a wiser and a better mind.—n.

IF A Boston correspondent of the New York Tribune writes to that journal that Gov. Gardner, having sent, in compliance with the vote of the last Legislature, its political resolutions to the Governors of the different States of the Union, Gov. Adams, of South Carolina, received a copy of each document, and be immediately returned the resolves, saying:—

'I cannot consent, under existing circumstances, to be the medium of communicating any action of the Legislature of Massachusetts to the State over which I have the honor to preside.'

Terrible! Cannot something be done to mollify the wrant of this indignant Executive of chivalric South Carolina?

National Woman's Rights Convertion. This analyse of the shades of head of the shades of her whose artive influence the adduction and imprisoment of there—he in whose addition and imprisoment of the response and by whose artive influence the adduction of the prison and imprisoment of others—he in whose addition and imprisoment of others—he is whose addition and imprisoment of others—he is whose addition and imprisoment of others—he is adduction and imprisoment of the thr

NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION. This an nual Convention will be held this year at Cincinnati on the 17th and 18th of October.

THE PHILADELPHIA SLAVE CASE-JUDGE KANE'S DECISION.

We give below the decision of Judge Kane in this case, with the particulars of which our readers are alpoor, the friendless and the wronged to hope, when the bosom of God.' The law this man fulminates and The same blindness of passion leads the Rev. Doctor to utter some terrible falsehoods. He dares to assert

This decision adds another to the

This decision adds another to the long series of aggressions and usurpations by which the Slave Power seeks to obtain undivided empire throughout this broad South Carolina, 'Slaves shall be deemed, held, taken, land. On the principle laid down here, the slaveholder reputed, and adjudged to be chattels personal, &c., to may carry his slaves from Missouri to Maine, and no power shall take them out of his hand. He may call Louisiana, 'A slave is one who is in the power of the his roll, net only under the shadow of Bunker Hill, but master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, on the plains of Lexington, at Saratoga, and at Yorktown; and however the bones of dead patriots may dispose of his person, his master.' In Jarman vs. Pathim back !

'Now, by our fathers' ashes, where 's the spirit
Of the true-hearted and unshackled gone?
Sons of old Pilgrims, do we but inherit
Their names alone?'

The grounds upon which this decision is based are mpudently false as they are audaciously wicked. The Judge proceeds upon the assumption that this free wo-man and her children were forcibly abducted; whereas there is not a shadow of proof to show that such was the case, but, on the contrary, the testimony of the woman that she desired to avail herself of the liberty she had acquired by being brought into a free State. Further, does any sane man believe that these three persons are, or could be, held against their will, or that any one has a disposition so to hold them ? The idea is too absurd to be entertained for an instant. They are their own masters-they come and go at their pleasure ; and when they get ready, they will doubtless go back to Mr. Republican Slave-driver Wheeler without a pass from Passmore Williamson or any body else.

The Judge has sent Mr. Williamson to prison for ontempt, in telling the truth, inasmuch as he says he never had these parties under his control-which it is plain he never did. The truth seems to trouble this Judge, much as we can imagine it troubled the original fenceless, and is delivered over, with none to care for of his name when he heard the words : 'The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground.' Because Passmore Williamson, in the performance of his simple duty as a Christian man, informed these poor people of their rights, this creature whom the United States government has dignified with the name of Judge, holds him to have had them in his custody and control! As well might be maintain that the man who should warn his neighbor back from a precithis; we have known that the chivalrous, generous pice,- 'That way danger lies!' held him in custody, and was responsible for his appearance in Court, on any

But we cannot comment further on this new deed of infamy. We are sick at heart at the thought that such most scrupulous conformity to the rules of honesty, vindictiveness and villany should sit upon the judicial sobriety, and truth ; do expect the most entire patience, bench, and wear the ermine of a Judge. One consolasubmission, and contentment; the most faithful devo- tion springs from it. It will serve to awaken the North tion of all their powers to their masters' service. 'In- to an appreciation of the magnitude of the danger numerable accountabilities,' well may be say! Why which threatens, and which is sure to overwhelm inVirginia,-that model State of chivalry (!), honor (!), us, if it be not confronted with a determination &c., - there are some seventy crimes which are made of will and unity of purpose that shall hold compromise capital, when committed by slaves, although only four and surrender alike infamous, when the cause of Liber-

[From the Philadelphia Bulletin, July 27.] THE WHEELER SLAVE CASE PASSMORE WILLIAMSON COMMITTED FOR CONTEMPT.

The United States District Court was densely crowded of Judge Kane on the motion to commit Mr. Passmore Williamson for contempt of Court, and for purjury, in making an alleged false return to the writ of habeas corpus requiring him to produce the bodies of the slaves of Col. Wheeler. Judge Kane read the following decision :-

DECISION OF JUDGE KANE The U. S. A. ex rel. Wheeler or Passmore Williams

Sur. Habeas Corpus, July 27, 1855.

Col. John H. Wheeler of North Carolina, the Unite
States Minister to Nicaragua was on board a steamboat at one of the Delaware wharves, on his way from Washington to embark at New York for his post of duty.

Wheeler aside, urged them to go ashere. He was followed by some dozen or twenty negroes, who by must cular strength carried the slaves to the adjoining pier two of the slaves at least, if not all three, strugglin to release themselves, and protesting their wish to re main with their master; two of the negro mob in th meantime grasping Col. Wheeler by the collar, and threatening to cut his throat if he made any resistance

has organized and guided and headed a mob, to effect the abduction and imprisonment of others—he in whose presence and by whose active influence the abduction and imprisonment have been brought about—might

excuse himself from responsibility by the assertion that it was not his hand that made the unlawful assault, or that he never acted as the guoler. He who unites win others to commit a crime shares with them all the legal liabilities that attend on its commission. He choose his company and adopts their acts.

This is the retributive law of all concerted crimes, and its argument applies with peculiar force to these cases in which redress and prevention of wrong are sought through the writ of habeas corpus. This, the great remedial process by which liberty is vindicated and restored, tolerates no language in the response which it calls for that can mask a subterfuge. The dearest interests of life, personal eafety, dense which it calls for that can mask a subterfuge. The dearest interests of life, personal eafety, dense worth living for, are involved in this principal worth living for, are involved in this principal the institutions of society would lose more than half their value, and Courts of Justice become impotent for Pretection, if the writ of habeas corpus could not compet the truth, full, direct, and unequivocal, in answer to its mandate.

It will not do to say to the man whose with its mandate.

It will not do to say to the man whose wife or whose life or whose wife or whose abdusted. I did not able to the say the

It will not do to say to the man whose wife or whose daughter has been abducted, 'I did not abduct her; she is not in my possession; I do not detain her, intamuch as the assault was made by the hand of my subordinates, and I have forborne to ask where they pre-

ordinates, and I have forborne to ask where they propose consummating the wrong.

It is clear, then, as it seems to me, that in legal acceptance, the parties whom this writ called on Mr. Williamson to produce, were at one time within his power
and control; and his answer, so far as it relates to is
power over them, makes no distinction between that
time and the present. I cannot give a different interpretation to his language from that which he has practically given himself, and cannot regard him as denying
his power over the prisoners now, when he does not
aver that he has lost the power which he formely had.

He has thus refused, or at least he has failed to
answer to the command of the law. He has chosen to
decide for himself upon the lawfulness as well as the
moral propriety of his act, and to withhold the ascrtainment and vindication of the rights of others from
that same forum of arbitrament on which all his ever
rights repose. In a word, he has put himself in ontempt of the process of this Court and challenges in
action.

ction.

That action can have no alternative form. It is one

action.

That action can have no alternative form. It is one too clearly defined by ancient and honored precedent too indispensable to the administration of social justice and the protection of human right, and too potentially invoke by the special exigency of the case now before the Court, to excuse even a doubt of my duty or any apology for its immediate performance.

The cause was submitted to me by the learned comsel for the respondent, without argument, and I have therefore found myself at some loss to understand the grounds on which, if there be any such, they would claim the discharge of their client. One only has occurred to me as perhaps within his view; and of this I think it right to express my opinion. I will frankly reconsider it, however, if any future aspect of the case shall invite the review.

It is this: that the persons named in this writ as detained by the respondent were not legally slaves, incasmuch as they were within the territory of Pennsylvania when they were abducted.

Waiving the inouriry whether for the never the content of the property of t

nia when they were within the territory of Pennsylva-nia when they were abducted.

Waiving the inquiry, whether for the purpose of this question they were within the territorial jurisdiction of Pennsylvania while passing from one State to another upon the navigable waters of the United States-point on which my first impressions are adverse to the argument. I say. argument-I say :

1. That I know of no statute, either of the United

1. That I know of no statute, either of the United States, or of Pennsylvania, or of New Jersey, the only other State that has a qualified jurisdiction over this part of the Delaware, that authorizes the foreible abduction of any person or anything whatsoever, without claim of property, unless in aid of legal process.

2. That I know of no statute of Pennsylvania which affect to divests the rights of property of a citizen of North Carolina, acquired and asserted under the laws of that State, because he has found it needful or ozavenient to pass through the territory of Pennsylvania.

venient to pass through the territory of Pennsylvania.

3. That I am not aware that any such statute, if such a one were shown, could be recognized as valid in a Court of the United States.

4. That it seems to me altogether unimportant better the statute of the United States.

whether they were slaves or not. It would be the mockery of philanthropy to assert that because me had become free, they might therefore be forcibly abducted. I have said nothing of the motives by which the re-

spondent has been governed. I have nothing to the with them; they may give him support and comfent before an infinitely higher tribunal; I do not impage them here.

Nor do I allude on the other hand to those special claims upon our hospitable courtesy, which the diplomatic character of Mr. Wheeler might seem to asset for him. I am doubtful whether the Acts of Congress

give to him and his retinue and his property that pre-tection as a representative of the sovereignty of the United States, which they concede to all sovereignty besides. Whether, under the general law of nations, he could not ask a broader privilege than some judicial precedents might seem to admit, is not necessarily is-

precedents might seem to admit, is not necessarily isvolved in the cause before me.

It is enough that I find, as the case stands now, the
plain and simple grounds of adjudication, that Mr.
Williamson has not returned truthfully and fully to the
writ of habeas corpus. He must, therefore, stand committed for a contempt of the legal process of the
Court.

Court.

As to the second motion of the District Attorney, that which looks to a committal of perjury, I withheld an expression of opinion in regard to it. It is unnecessary, because Mr. Williamson being under arrest, he may be charged at any time by the Grand Jüry; and I apprehend that there may be doubt whether the affidavit should not be regarded as extra judicial and voluntary.

voluntary.

Let Mr. Williamson, the respondent, be committed to
the custody of the Marshal without bail or mainprize, as for a contempt of Court in refusing to answer to the writ of habeas corpus heretofore awarded against him at the relation of Mr. Wheeler.

After Judge Kane had concluded, District Attorsey

Vandyke moved that a commitment under the seal of the Court be issued, and the defendant, Passmore Wil-liamson, be placed in the custody of the Marshal. Mr. Gilpin said he desired to make a motion that the defendant be granted permission to amend his return to the writ of haleas corpus.

Mr. Vandyke objected.

Judge Kane said that Mr. Gilpin was too late with

his motion. Mr. Vandyke's motion had already been granted, and the prisoner was in the custody of the Marshal.

Mr. Gilpin then commenced an argument on the

Air. Gilpin then commenced an argument of the truthfulness of the original return.

Judge Kane said that his decision would be on file, and he also understood that it would be reported in full in the newspapers of this afternoon. He thought it would be better for the counsel for the prisoner to examine the decision at their leisure, and then prepare any motion them sught think proper to report. any motion they might think proper to report.

Mr. Gilpin acquiesced, and the Court adjourned.

Since the above was in type, the following affidavit has been published, from the party most deeply interested in the transaction to which it refers. It corroborates what we have said above, and brands Mr. Ambassador Wheeler a kidnapper :-

State of New York, City and County of New York. Jane Johnson, being sworn, makes oath and says.

My name is Jane Johnson; I was the slave of Mr. Wheeler of Washington; he bought me and my two children, about two years ago, of Mr. Cornelius Crw. My name is Jane Johnson; I was the slave of Mr. Wheeler of Washington; he bought me and my two children, about two years ago, of Mr. Cornelius Crew, of Bichmond, Va.; my youngest child is between six and seven years old, the other between ten and eleren; I have one other child only, and he is in Richmond, Va.; I have not seen him for about two years; never expect to see him sgain; Mr. Wheeler brought me and my two children to Philadelphia, on the way to Nicaragua, to wait on his wife. I did not want to go without my two children, and he consented to take them. We came to Philadelphia by the cars—stopped at Mr. Sully's, Mr. Wheeler's father-in-law, a few mements, then went to the steamboat for New York at 2 o'clock, but went too late; we went to Bloodgood's Hotel; Mr. Wheeler went to dinner; Mr. Wheeler had told me in Washington to have nothing to say to colored persons, and if any of them spoke to me, to say I was a free woman, travelling with a minister; we staid at Bloodgood's till five o'clock.

Mr. Wheeler kept his eye upon me all the time, except when he was at dinner. He left his dinner to come and see if I was safe, and then went back again. While he was at dinner, I saw a colored woman, and told her I was a slave woman, that my master had told me not to speak to colored people, and that if any of them spoke to me, to say that I was free; but I am not free, but I want to be free. She said, ' Poor thing, I pity you.'

After that I saw a colored man, and said the same

I am not free, but I want to be free. She said, thing, I pity you."

After that I saw a colored man, and said the same thing to him. He said that he would telegraph to New York, and that two men would meet me at nine o'clock and take me with them. After that, we went on board the boat. Mr. Wheeler sat beside me on the deck. I may a colored gentleman come on board. He beckoned to me. I nodded my head, and could not go. Mr. Wheeler was beside me, and I was afraid. A white gentleman then came and said to Mr. Wheeler,—I want to speak to your servant, and tell her her rights. Mr. Wheeler rose and said, If you have anything to say, say it to me. She knows her rights. The white say, say it to me. She knows her rights. The white gentleman asked me if I wanted to be free. I said, I do, but I belong to this gentleman, and cant't have it. gentleman asked me if I wanted to be lived and the bave it. do, but I belong to this gentleman, and cant't have it. He replied. 'Yes you can. Come with us; you are as free as your master. If you want your freedom, come now; if you go back to Washington, you may never

git' I rese to go. Mr. Wheeler spoke and said, 'I got' I rese to go. Mr. Wheeler spoke and said, 'I got you your freedom;' but he had never promoting the before, and I knew he would never give it to me, at the before, and I went to white gentleman held out his hand and I went to white gentleman held out his hand and I went to white gentleman held out his hand so to what when the word before it was said him; I took both the children by the hands, who both you have got frightened, but stonged when the sends him; I seek both the children by the hands, who both fore I took both the children do that stopped when they fore for her were frightened, but stopped when they fore a few stopped when they fore here. I always wished to make to he hand; we walked down the street it is either by the hand; we walked down the street is the stopped of the hand; wood was a way. Nobout wall of the hand, who walked to make to have and meant to be free when I came north. I have a meant it in Philadelphia, but I thought I have seen comfortable and and set in New York. I have been comfortable and and set in New York. I have been comfortable and and set in New York. I could have gone in Philadelphia was to go back. I could have gone in Philadelphia filed a mind to. I could go now, but had been forecast the set of the set of

de than go back. I make and Mr. Williamson is in prison on on, and I hope that the truth may be of bene-

JANE JOHNSON [her M mark.]

TENDELL PHILLIPS AT DARTMOUTH tomopondent of the Manchester American gives to Mering account of Mr. Phillips's address before le failed Literary Societies of Dartmouth College:the a burried dinner, Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS 'sher a harried dinner, Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS spared before the United Literary Societies as their spared before the United Literary Societies as their spared before the united Literary Societies as their spared. The applause which greeted his first step upon sealer showed that the public expectation was raised before the foreign profest that their expectations were not in vain.

"M. Phillips thought servility was the great danger of a fasterican scholar, and that as the politician, the great has papit, were faithless, we must place our hope gow, the papit, were faithless, we must place our hope gow, the papit, were faithless, we must place our hope gow the scholars of the country. In them, Reform the Scholars should leave the heights of contemporary and come down into the every-day life of the ries, and come down into the every-day life of the

page.

Three hearty rounds of applause were given as Mr.

Three hearty rounds of applause were given as Mr.

Philips concluded, and the finished oratory, the beautiful grace, the exquisite imagery; and the fiery eartiful grace of Mr. P., gained the laurels of Commencement. It was undoubtedly the performance which gave not. It was undoubtedly the performance which gave the not greeral satisfaction of any thing during the

Mr. Phillips spoke about an hour and a half, to owiel and enthusiastic audience. His subject was, 'De Deties of Thoughtful Men to the Republic.' A empondent of the American says- The speaker some sware that he was standing near the ground he viene issued, once on a time, a "Letter from a Arthern Presbyter to his Brethren in the Ministry," mi sale some gentle reference to the nature of his peter. We learn that in the evening he was sere-nied, and called out by the students, when he made a haf seech. A correspondent of the Boston Trans cost saits: "I hazard nothing in saying, no orator surer received at Dartmouth College with greater hear, or more marks of approbation, than WENDELI

THE PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL-LETTER OF HENRY CHAPIN.

We call the attention of our readers to the following smet and manly letter of Hon. HENRY CHAPIN, of Berester, accepting the office of Commissioner unde is Personal Liberty Bill. It stands in most honorable sainst with other letters which have appeared on the mer subject, and will secure for its author the esteem signitule of every friend of impartial liberty.

WORCESTER, July 20, 1855. To His Excellency Henry J. Gardner, Governor of

the Commonwealth of Massachusetts : Dear Sm-I recently had the honor to receive from Day Sn-I recently had the honor to receive from we sommission, by the terms of which I learn that is in acceptance, it will become my duty, when any passe is arrested or seized, in the country of Worcester, as fegive from service or labor, upon being informed theref, differently and faithfully to use all lawful means a preset, defend and secure to such alleged fugitive a fer as impartial trial by jury, and the benefits of the prisions of 'An Act to protect the rights and liberties of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.' Beappointment was unsonght and unexpected, but I ac-Despointment was unsongfit and unexpected, but I acset it with pleasure. I shall be happy to contribute
visil can to guarantee to the people of Massachusetts
the pretection which the act referred to endeavors to
the around them. I will not stop to inquire whether
use the act is constitutional. If it is not, it ought to
is. There are times and occasions when it is well to
pelou a little to the spirit of Liberty. A Commonvall which refers, with a show of patriotism, on each
lists of July, to the Declaration of Independence,
famil at least take as much care of her men us of her
solic, and when the title to a horse cannot be settled and at least take as much care of her men as of her alle; and when the title to a horse cannot be settled in white the right to a trial by jury, it is a dispace to the 19th century, that a man's title to himself and helf equally sacred. I view the act as a faithful measure of the moral sentiment of the people of Manachests. I regard it so a true embodiment of the hing which lies deeply implanted in every heart the throle for freedom and humanity. I value it as a samet and emphatic protest against an edict of thems, unjust, tyrannical, inhuman, and in my biguent at war with the true construction of the Con-fiction of the United States. Entertaining these en, I rejoice that a Legislature which I did not even legis seet, has done so much toward demonstrating a decivilised world, that old Massachusetts is yet brity of her ancient fame, and I will do my best, whither commissioned or not, so far as I legally can, sel the flying bondman, and to save the Heart of commonwealth from the degredation of staying him a lis fight. Yours, very respectfully, HENRY CHAPIN.

hest of August Celebrations,-We have barely me to say, that the meeting at Abington on Wednesly was in all respects successful and satisfactory. A arg company attended, and the day was perfectly ited to an open-air meeting. Edmund Quincy prestel, and made the opening speech. Other speakers er, Ret. A. T. Foss, C. L. Remond, J. B. Swasey, , if Newburyport, Wendell Phillips, Rev. James dema Clarke, and Samuel May, Jr. A letter was ai from John A. Andrew, Esq., of Boston. Singing. at music from an excellent band, were interspersed. We harn that the Hopedale celebration was largely anded and exceedingly interesting; and that Rev W. Higginson, Adin Ballou, C. C. Burleigh, and S foster, were among the speakers.

STREET RETALIATION. On this subject, the Tele th mys .- We hope the New Orleans people, beather adopt a system of non-intercourse with us bill my what they owe. We understand it to be m, that the Boston shoe and leather dealers have to at least a million of dollars of debts in the city of Orienne alone, which they are wholly unable to alet Under such a state of things, any law of ausa, placing obstructions in the way of collecting bettern debts, would seem to be an act of superfluity.

If he presence of a very prepossessing colored th, at the recent anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa (anbridge, (says the Telegraph,) created some cu-We learn that the lady was Mrs. Webb, who ben so successful in her public readings. It is reand that she is now pursuing a course of tuition with ter of appearing on the dramatic boards, in which wment she has secured the valuable aid of artists the city, whose names, if given to the public, would the undertaking with the prestige of success.

AUTIMORA CAMPERLL NOT DEAD. The New Lisbo contradicts the reported death of this clergyit tage :- Quite a number of papers over the the been publishing an account of the death and a large portion seem the it for granted that it was Alexander, of Bethathe being the greatest Campbell in the country, if and a though they could think of no other. But it bethe man of Bethany who is dead-for he is as n as ever by the last accounts—but a Presbyterian belief of the same name, formerly of Maryland, who ineatly in New Orleans."

In Whenter Stave Case. The four negroes impliin the alleged abduction of Colonel Wheeler's and a Philadelphia, and who were committed in de t of heavy bonds, on charges of inciting to riot, and and battery, have had their ball reduced to tach in the case of two of them, and \$500 in

LETTER PROM REV. A. T. POSS.

tile, and its air and water the purest and best. It is ken, and never to be forgotten. To those who know just the place that one would like for a few weeks of Mr. Foss, we need not say that this was no tin sword

lists, and in moving order, although the gear is some-

here with a few intelligent and earnest souls to cooperate with him, and sustain his efforts. He was very successful. The Society, under his pastoral guidance, high degree of success that has attended these meetings successful. The Society, under his pastoral guidance, high degree of success that has attended these meetings grew in strength and influence, up to the day that he, in consequence of impaired health, was obliged to leave it. The enemies of the Society, or rather of the truth bune. Less than two years ago, E. A. Stockman delivof which it is the embodiment, laid the unction to their ered the first anti-slavery lecture ever given in the souls, that the removal of friend Stockman would be town. We have made out a list, as you will see, of

shall be gathered the ripened harvest. This little, faithful band of Christians are among the other sects as a lamb among wolves. They have ceased to growl and snap at each other, as has ever been their wont, and now are united, with a single exception, in the effort to devour the innocent. And this is their only bond of Christian love.

Our friends here feel that the spring Convention holden by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, did them, and the cause of Anti-Slavery, great good. They desire another this fall, and I hope, if it be at all consistent with the arrangements of the Massachusetts Society, they will so do. I am sure it would be a good outlay for the Anti-Slavery cause.

This town is the native place of William Cullen Bry-

ant, the whilom poet, now the editor of the New York Evening Post. There would be much interest in visting the place of Bryant's birth and boyhood, had he died while he was a boy; but he has lived to be a demagogue; he has embraced the political Furies, and the Muses have left him. He has, with a conviction of the wickedness of his work, done what he could to give aid and comfort, ay, the best support in his power, to the slaveholding oligarchy of this land, by contributions to secure the election of James K. Polk, with the Texas issue, and Frank Pierce, with the issue of the Compro-

And, finally, that there might be no mistake regarding his true animus, in noticing the election of the Hon, John P. Hale to the Senate of the United States, which gave joy to the hearts of all freemen, for it was a triumph over the representative and embodiment of the Slave Power, in the administration of Frank Pierce, he pours out a tirade of abuse in suggestive hints and general intimations of corruption on the part of Mr. Hale-not indictable under the law of slander or, if so, the libeller feels assured that Mr. Hale will resort to no such remedy ;- I say, such a tirade of abuse as no one in hearty sympathy with truth and the rights of man could ever utter. So that the good town of Cummington has more cause for mortification in the latter days of Bryant, than for pride in the young and really glorious days of his boyhood; and all the lovers of the true and the beautiful will ever mourn that a mind so gifted should have been so ruined by the total depravity ' of American politics.

I have also visited the town of Ashfield, and gave one lecture. There are few, very few friends of the anti-slavery cause in this town. The great body of the people worship the Constitution and the Church, Kansas. and consent that for their preservation the slave shall perish. This town is famous chiefly for the pedlars it second and third time. On its third reading, Mr has furnished to the country. I am told that some of Wilkinson made some remarks. He was followed by the richest men in New York and Philadelphia were nathe richest men in New York and Philadelphia were natives of this town, and commenced their princely fortunes by pedling in a small way. The town has some forty in the field, or rather road, at the present time.

I obtained two subscribers for the Standard, and hope a good work will yet be done in this stronghold of religious and political fogyism.

Mr. Marshall, who took ground that the Legislature had no power to adjourn to any other place than where the Governor called the first Legislature.

Mr. Houston opposed the bill; said if we adjourned, it would be an adjournment for ever; that the laws hereafter passed would be a nullity.

Mr. Baker was opposed to the bill, and contended that the Governor had power to keep the first Legislature, during that the Legislature.

I also visited the beautiful town of Cheshire, distin guished for its rich grazing lands, and world-wide famous cheese. Here dwelt, some twenty years ago, the Rev. John Leland, a very excellent Baptist minister. He was a very ardent Jeffersonian republican. On the election of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency, Mr. Leland induced his town's people to put their dairies together and make Mr. Jefferson a mammoth cheese. This cheese Elder Leland put on a cart, and, with a pair of steers, drove all the way to the city of Washington. At this time, and for a long time afterwards, there was but one federalist in town. He, however, with the rest, contributed to the great political cheese. While Elder Leland was on the road to Washington, the people on the route, learning where the Elder would spend the night, came in to see the cheese. At one of these places, a federalist not feeling in the best mood, said to the Elder. " I am told that your cheese is maggetty ! ' Very likely,' said the quiet Elder, ' there was one fed, put his curd in.' Elder Leland had the independence to differ from the Baptist sect respecting their dogma of the Sabbath. He believed the Sabbath a Jewish institution, which passed away with that 'faulty' ritual. It is reported of him that he used to put in a grist on Sunday morning, and on his way to church leave it to be ground, and on his return, take it home. His dissent, or rather. his fidelity to his convictions in asserting and defending what he believed true, made him very unpopular among the Baptists, and to his death, they ceased not to persecute him. Elder Leland did good service to the cause of humanity in the fierce contest which raged in his time in New England between religious despotism and religious freedom. Elder L. was very influential in obtaining religious teleration in this State. I do not doubt, that if he were now upon the stage, he would be an earnest anti-slavery man.

I had two good meetings in Cheshire, and obtained eight subscribers for THE LIBERATOR.

My visit, this year, at least, to Western Massachusetts, has been to me exceedingly pleasant, and I hope not unprofitable to the cause of humanity.

The feeling, so far as I am able to judge, in relation to the course of Gov. Gardner, in the Loring case and the Personal Liberty Bill, is wholesome, and will be clearly expressed in the heavy vote which Western Massachusetts will give against the traitor to human-

Yours, for the right, A. T. FOSS.

EF Since the above was in type, we have received from an intelligent correspondent, the following com-munication relative to the faithful and successful labors

'Young People's Reform Association,'-a commendable DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I have spent the last four Sundays in the towns of Cummington and South Worthington. Three Sundays, and superstition that binds down the best impulses of I supplied the pulpit of the Independent Christian Soso many minds, and sowing good seed in the native soil

I supplied the pulpit of the Independent Christian Society in Cummington; the fourth, I exchanged with Rev. Mr. Stoddard, of Worthington, who is a Christian minister, independent of all sects and creeds, and laboring with assiduity in the cause of moral reform.

Cummington is a quiet, rural town, of about twelve hundred inhabitants. Its great hills are green and fervital, though painful truths, boldly and effectively spotting the control of the control summer residence, and not a place that would be un-desirable for a constant home.

Carreise, but the vigorous swinging of a big battle-are against upholders of and apologists for slavery, where-this town has rather more than the ordinary amount ever found, whether defiantly flourishing bowie-knife of the means of grace. There are six religious Socie- or revolver on the frontier of Kansas, or, what is infities in the town-just one Society to every two hundred nitely meaner, throwing sand in the people's eyes, and souls, counting men, women and children, and some that are hardly to be regarded as either.

Three of these Societies are Orthodox Congregation-to do.

The lectures were full of excellent hits, for Mr. Foss what worn and rickety, and the motive power exceed- you know, has an original way of expressing his ideas, ingly weak. The other three are, one Methodist, -not that once in a while is enough to make one smile on the moving,—one Universalist,—moving a part of the time,—and the Independent Society, whose pulpit I have enough to come within reach of the truth, but staid been supplying.

This latter Society have preaching only a small porextend our commisseration. Of such as were disturbed tion of the year. Rev. Mr. Stockman was the pioneer of a free gospel in this town. He commenced his labor hope. They are roused, and will perhaps investigate. When we remember that Cheehire has been, for many the end of the new doctrine. And so they thanked God eight subscribers to The Liberator. We trust that for especially interfering for its overthrow. But how anti-slavery speakers will not in future forget this field short-sighted are mortals! Men may die, but ideas of labor, which is already 'white to the harvest.' The live. The truth never gets sick, though its advocates company of free minds is still small, but we intend to often do. The seed-sower may die, but over his grave make up in activity what we lack in numbers.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY lectured here, a short time sin on Woman's Wrongs, and was well received.

KANSAS LEGISLATURE.

The Kansas Herald (pro-slavery) of July 14th con tains a report of the proceedings of the Kansas Legislature from the date of its organization at Pawnee, July 2d, to its adjournment, on the 6th, to the Manual Labor School House, (Rev. Mr. Johnson's.) at Shawneetown, about two miles from the Missouri line. We make a few extracts.

COUNCIL, (SENATE.) JULY 8. The Committee on Credentials, through their chairman, Mr. Coffy, of the Council, made an able and con-clusive report, showing that the Governor exercised an arbitrary power in ordering a second election; and that the returns of the polls show that Messrs. Mo-Donald, Strickland and Donaldson received a majority of votes, and, as there is nothing to the contrary but that they were legal votes, they were declared by the

Mr. Wakefield, in the name of himself and Me Wood, entered a protest against the report of the Com-mittee, which was ordered to be spread upon the jourmals.

Mr. Wakefield contended that the certificate of the

Governor was conclusive evidence as to who was elected. The report of the Committee is only what he expected, and if adopted, it would, said he, make a noise in the nuences of what they were about to do. It may be that the acts of this Legislature, by what shall be done now, become null and void. This, said he, may be a day long remembered. He said he was a liberal Free Soiler, and The yeas and nays were ordered, and were as fol-

Yeas-Chapman, Coffy, Eastin, Forman, Grover

NATS-Barbee, Wakefield, and Wood-3.

THURSDAY, July 5. Mr. Richardson introduced a bill providing if any person shall entice, decay, or carry away out of the Territory, any slave, with intent to effect the freedom of slavery, shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, and on conviction shall suffer death. (!!)

It also provides that any person convicted of aiding in enticing a slave for the above purpose, shall suffer

leath. (! !)

Also, the same penalty is attached to those who shall be convicted of enlicing or decoying a slave from any State or Territory.

Referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

House of Representatives, July 3d. Mr. McMeekin introduced a bill entitled an act to

Mr. Marshall, who took ground that the Legislature

ot in Missouri.

Mr. Watterson advocated the bill, and alluded to the want of accommodations at Pawnee. He was fully satisfied that at Shawnee Mission every comfort and

He was for expending the money in the Territory, an

convenience could be had.

The bill passed by the following vote:-Yeas-Messrs. Anderson, Baker, Blair, Harris, Hies-kill, Johnson, Kirk, Mathias, McMeekin, Payne, Scott Tebbs, Waterson, Weddle, Williams, Wilkinson, Younger, and the Speaker-18. NAYS-Mersrs. Houston, Hutchinson, Jessie, Ladd

Marshall, and Walters-6. THURSDAY, July 5th. The House having met and journals read, Mr. Ma-thias, from the Committee on Credentials, made a ma-jority report of considerable length and great ability, declaring that those persons who received a majority of votes on the 30th day of May last, were entitled to their seats as members of the House, and denying the legality of the election held on the 22d of May last, or the right of the Governor to order said election.

Mr. Houston submitted a minority report of the

Committee on Credentials, protesting against the elec-tion of those men who were elected on the 22d of May, and received the Governor's certificate. The House adopted the majority report.
. Whereupon, Messra. Brown, Croysdale, McGee
Wade, Ward and Whitlock, appeared, were sworn in

and took their seats as members. FRIDAY MORNING, July 6th. Mr. Anderson, from Committee on Rules, reported a set of rules for the government of the House, which

were adopted.

Mr. McMeekin introduced a bill, establishing the statutes of Missouri in Kansas for the time being. The rales were suspended—the bill read first, second and third time, and passed.

A Message was received from the Governor, by his Private Secretary, returning the bill to remove the temporary seat of Government, with his objections thereto—after retaining it three days. He takes the ground that the bill virtually repeals the Kansas Act, and that he can see no good reason for leaving Pawnee.

The House, on motion, proceeded to reconsider th bill, after which it again passed, by an almost unani-mous vote—Messrs. Marshall and Houston alone voting

in the negative.

At one o'clock, the House adjourned, to meet again at Shawnee Manual Labor School, on Monday, the 16th day of July.

By telegraph from Chicago, we have an outlin of the proceedings of the Kansas Legislature to July 18th, being the third day after their reassembling at Shawnee. The following proceedings are noted :

Mr. Anderson introduced a bill providing that no person be permitted to take his seat in the Legislature without taking an eath to support the Fugitive Slave Lew, and that all persons convicted of propagating or in any way circulating contrary sentiments or opinione, be ineligible to any office of honor, trust or profit in the Territory. The bill was read for the first time.

Mr. Wilkinson gave notice that he would bring in a bill for each light.

of Mr. Foss in Cheshire:

CHESHIEE, (Mass.) July 27, 1855.

Mr. Wilkinson gave notice that he would bring in a bill for establishing a permanent location of the capital of two evenings of this week, we have had an antislavery gospel preached to us, in its length and breadth, by Andrew T. Foss. He came here by request of the ritory. Both are pro-slavery men, and the fight is

supposed to have originated in the difference of their intensity of hate for abolitionists.

Mr. Woodson, Secretary of the Territory, is reported to have said he would assume the reins of Government, in case Gov. Reeder refused to recognise the Legisla-

KANSAS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, July 16, 1855.

Editor of Missouri Democrat:—I reached Kansas City, Mo., on Sunday afternoon, about 4 o'clock. The first question I asked was answered Yankee fashion—that is, by another question. 'Where is the best hotel?' I imphired of a laborer. 'Pro-slavery or free-soil?' he said. I naturally asked what my politics had to do with my question. 'Why,' he said, 'the hotels here are pro-slavery and free soil; free soilers stop at one place and pro-slavery men at another.' had to do with my question. 'Why,' he said, 'the hotels here are pro-slavery and free soil; free soilers stop at one place and pro-slavery men at another.' Which is the best?' 'The American hotel.' I instantly went there, neither knowing nor caring whether its proprietor was a disciple of Garrison, Seward or Stringfellow.

I remember that my father, when in Ireland, was once asked whether he wished to ride in a low-church or high-church coach; and I remember, also, how much the interrogatory amused me. But I never expected to be asked whether I wanted a pro-slavery or free soil hotel in the United States!

The Legislature consists of a House of Representa-

The Legislature consists of a House of Representa-tives and a Council. The House consists of 26 mem-bers; the Council of 13. bers; the Council of 13.

The Legislature meets twice a day, at 9 A. M. and 2 P. M., in the school rooms of the Methodist Shawnee

At its morning session to-day, nearly all the mem bers were present.

The following bill was sent in from the Council, and read twice:

The following bill was sent in from the Council, and read twice:

* Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative As The it enacted by the Governor and Legislative As-sembly of the Territory of Kansas, that from and af-ter the passage of this act, the Marshal of the United States for the Territory of Kansas be and he is hereby authorized to confine any person or persons convicted of or charged with a criminal offence against the laws of the United States within the Territory aforesaid, in any jail in the State of Missouri.

any jail in the State of Missouri.'

Mr. Anderson objected to the bill being read a third time before reference to a committee. He pointed out several omissions which rendered it inoperative. The bill was referred to a special committee of three.

Mr. Marshall rose and gave notice of his intention, at some future day, to introduce three bills:—

I. Declaring Big Blue river, in Kansas territory, a public highway, and prohibiting all obstructions by dams or bridges.

II. Requiring citizens emigrating from Massachusetts, or other States which have annualled or may nullify the laws of the United States, on entering Kansat, to take the oath of allegiance to support the Constitution and laws of the United States and the laws of this Territory.

The House met this morning at the usual hour. The

chaplain prayed. The journals were read.

The bill to provide for the safe keeping of persons offending against the laws of the United States in the prisons of Missouri was read twice, slightly amended,

A letter from Kansas, dated July 7th, has been re-ceived by the Easton (Pa.) Argus, published at Gov. Reeder's former place of residence, and largely possessing his confidence, as follows :--*The Legislature of, Kansas adjourned on the 6th,

'The Legislature of, Kansas adjourned on the 6th, to meet at Shawnee Mission on the 16th. When their Committee waited on Gov. Reeder, to inform him of their determination to go, he informed them, in very distinct terms, that he would not recognize any further action of theirs, but would consider them dissolved by that act. A few of the members, more intelligent than the rest, began, before they left here, to appreciate their position. The first Legislature of Kansas is undoubtedly dissolved, and no longer competent to do business.'

The following is a copy of the protest signed by the 'Free State' members expelled from the Kansas Legislature by the Missourians:—
'The undersigned, members of the House of Repre-

sentatives of Kansas Territory, earnestly and emphat-ically protest against the action of this House, in the adoption of the report of a majority of the Committee on Credentials, by which we are excluded from our seats, and disabled from the performance of a high pub-lic duty, imposed upon us by our constituents and the supreme law of the land.

and palpable violation of the organic act of the Territory, expelling from their seats persons declared by the
Governor to have been 'duly elected'—the only description of persons recognized by, or known to the organic
act as members of the Legislature—and introducing
persons of an entirely different description to fill their
places; thus vitiating the legality of its existence, and
depriving its enactments of any binding force or autherits whatever.

We respectfully request, as an act of simple justice to us, by which our positions may be distinctly understood by the country and the world, that this our protest be entered upon the journals of this House. ERASTUS LADD

WILLIAM JESSE, A. J. RAKER, JOHN HUTCHINSON.

We have received Kausas dates to the 16th ult. The committee appointed by the Legislature to draw up a memorial praying President Pierce to remove Gov. Reeder, reported yesterday. The memorial sets forth the complaints against Reeder from the beginning of his administration, calls him a clog to the wheels of government, and asks for his speedy removal.

Major Andrew McDonald, member of the Council is

, formerly of Virginia, was yesterday appointed of the memorial to President Pierce requesting bearer of the memorial to Pro Governor Reeder's removal. Mr. Houston, the only Free Soil member of the Le-gislature, is absent, and it is thought will be so for the

remainder of the session. He was present but two days.

The Kansas Herald of the 14th ult. announces the

project of annexing the whole of Platte County, in Missouri, by purchase, to Kansas Territory. It is sta-ted that the Missouri Legislature will meet in Novem ber, and give consent.

THE KANSAS LEGISLATURE. The Atlas gives the fo lowing list of the names, occupations and political opinions of the members and officers of the Kansas Legis lature. There are twenty-six members, inclusive of the peaker, and of these but one, Mr. Houston, of Ohio, from a free State, and opposed to the institution of

Anderson, Kentucky, 24, lawyer, single, pro-slavery Banks, Kentucky, 86, farmer, married, pro-slavery Blair, Tennessee, 47, farmer, married, pro-slavery. Brown, Maryland, 34, farmer, single, pro-slavery. Croysdale, Missouri, 26, physician, single, pro-slave-

Harris, Virginia, 32, physician, married, pro-sla Heeskill, Virginia, 47, merchant, married, pro-sla

Very.

Houston, Ohio, 36, farmer, married, free-soiler.

Johnson, Kansas, 22, farmer, married, pro-slavery.

Kirk, Kentucky, 37, farmer, single, pro-slavery.

Marshall, Virginia, 39, merchant, married, pro-slavery.

Mathias, Maryland, 28, lawyer, single, pro-slavery, McGee, Kentucky, 86, merchant, married, pro-slavery. McMeekin, Kentucky, 33, merchant, married, pro-

lavery.

Payne, Kentucky, 86, farmer, married, pro-slavery.

Scott, Kentucky, 52, farmer, married, pro-slavery.

Tibbs, Virginia, 32, married, pro-slavery.

Wade, Missouri, 27, farmer, married, pro-slavery.

Ward, Kentucky, 55, farmer, married, pro-slavery.

Waterson, Pennsylvania, 64, farmer, married, pro-slavery.

weadle, Virginia, 28, teacher, single, pro-slavery.
Weadle, Virginia, 28, teacher, single, pro-slavery.
Whitlock, Missouri, 37, farmer, married, pro-slavery.
Williams, Kentucky, 35, farmer, married, pro-slavery. very. Wilkinson, Tennessee, 85, farmer, married, pro-sla

Younger, Missouri, 42, farmer, married, pro-slave

J. Stringfellow, speaker, Virginia, 25, physician and editor, married, pro-slavery.

J. Lyle, chief clerk, Kentucky, 22, lawyer, single, J. Martin, assistant clerk, Tennessce, 21, lawyer,

ingle, pro-slavery.

B. Simmons, enrolling clerk, Tennessee, N. C., 29, awyer, single, pro-slavery.

J. M. Fox, engrossing clerk, Kentucky, physician

single, pro-slavery.
T. J. B. Cramer, sergeant-at-arms, Virginia, 88, larmer, single, pro-slavery.
B. P. Campbell, door-keeper, New York, 28, farmer, single, pro-slavery.

REMOVAL OF GOVERNOR REEDER. The following despatch reached us this forenoon from

The President has appointed Hon. John L. Dawson, of Pennsylvania, Governor of Kansas, in place of Hon. A. H. Reeder, removed. Mr. Dawson was an effective member of the last Congress, and voted for the Nebras-ka Kansas Bill. He is also known as a strenuous advocate of the policy of giving homesteads to actual settlers, and introduced a bill for that purpose, which passed the House of Representatives, but failed to obtain the sanction of the Senate.

This Dawson was a candidate for re-election to Cor This Dawson was a candidate for re-election to Congress, last October, and was defeated by an Auti-Nebraska man. He is a Pro-Slavery man of the very worst possible stamp, and an unscrupulous agent of the Slave Power in every thing. The President has thus anticipated the request of the band of ruffians styled the Kansas Legislature, and has officially declared himself an upholder of their acts. This act only precipitates the issue between Slavery and Freedom, which is now inevitable, and for which let us all immediately prepare.—Telegraph.

The Governorship of Karsas.—The correspondent of the Herald states that the removal of Governor Reeder has created some excitement in Washington. It is believed that Mr. Dawson will not accept the appointment, in which event it will be given to a Southern man. The Kansus Judges have not been removed, the administration not having heard from them as yet. The Journal of Commerce contains a leader condemning the removal of Gov. Reeder, as an unfortunate step for the Administration in the present condition of Kansas affairs, as it will furnish to unprincipled functions the means to fan the flames of sectional discord.

METHODIST PREACHER MORBED.-A correspondent of the Chicago Democratic Press, writing from Platte County, Missouri, June 30, relates the following:

I. Declaring Big Blue river, in Kansas territory, a public highway, and prohibiting all obstructions by dams or bridges.

II. Requiring citizens emigrating from Massachusetts, or other States which have annulled or may nullify the laws of the United States, on entering Kansas, to take the oath of allegiance to support the Constitution and laws of the United States and the laws of this Territory.

III. Authorizing the collection of a poll tax on all residents in the Territory.

There is no doubt that the bill requiring the New England emigrants to take an cath of allegiance will plass, nem coa., as soon as it is introduced.

There was a rich debate on the propriety of appointing a chaplain. The motion to appoint one prevailed. Rev. John Thompson Perry, of the Methodist Church South, was unanimously elected, pina woce.

Mr. Matthias obtained leave to introduce a bill to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors and games of chancer, within one mile of the Shawnee Manual Labor School, in the Territory of Kansas. (This is where the Legislature sits!)

July 17th.

The House met this morning at the usual hour. The chaplain prayed. The journals were read. 'I hasten to inform you of another mob in Platte

DIED-In Putnam, Ct., Wednesday morning, about 4 o'clock, of typhoid fever, after a severe sickness o about four weeks, Honace Dike, son of widow Lucy T Dike, in his 17th year. He was a young man of promise, and his loss is universally felt throughout the community, especially by his mother and grand-parents, with whom he lived and died.—Com.

Butices of Meetings. &r.

ANTI-SLAVERY PAIR

undersigned, in behalf of the Anti-Slaver friends of Abington, desire to call the attention of all persons interested in the slave's redemption in this and the neighboring towns to a Fair, which they propose to hold the first week in October next, in aid of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

In the prosecution of this work, we ask the aid and cooperation of all who value freedom and hate oppres sion. From all such, and for this end, we solicit donations of money, useful and fancy articles, children's clothing,-in short, any thing which the minds of

Donations for the above object may be forwarded to either of the undersigned, as may best suit the convenience of the donors.

All communications should be addressed to Mrs. E. We protest against this action, because it is a gross M. RANDALL, North Abington, Mass.

In palpable violation of the organic act of the Terri-EMELINE M. RANDALL. VENA CH LUCY J. WHITING HARRIET L. RANDALL, ANNA FORD, ARIGAIL N. ARNOLD. SARAH FORD, THAIS BATES, SALLY H. POOL, BETSEY SHAW,

> F READING .- A special meeting of the Middle sex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held at READ-ING, in the New Lyceum Hall, on SUNDAY, Aug. 12th, nd it is hoped that thereby this new and c hall will be, by common consent, dedicated to Freedom, Humanity, and practical Religion. WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, and

AUGUSTA M. DYER, RACHEL SHAW.

CHARLES L. REMOND will be present.

THREE meetings will be held; viz., at 101. A. M. 24, and 54 P. M.

24, and 54 P. M.

The friends in Reading will make provision for the due entertainment of friends from other towns. WM. WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the Amer

in Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture in the State of Maine, as follows Frankfort. Friday, August Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Camden Rockport, Rockland, Thursday, Sunday,

COLORED PATRIOTS OF THE AMERICAN REVO Every exertion is being made to secure the earlier ublication of this work, consistent with the verification of the facts embodied, and its general complete ness. Patient waiters shall not be losers by their sub

WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill. Boston, August 1, 1855. SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massach ts Anti-Slavery Society, will Harwich, So Sunday, August 5. Sunday, '12. Tuesday, '14. Thursday, '16.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON and CHARLES C. BUR-LEIGH, on behalf of the American Anti-Slavery So-ciety, will attend a meeting in SPRINGFIELD, on Sunday, Aug. 5th.

Brewster,

Andrew T. Foss, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will Lecture in MARSHFIELD, in the Factory School-House, on Sunday, August 5. Also—In Vining's Hall, EAST RANDOLPH, on Sunday, August 12.

WOMAN'S RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE. A Convention will be held at Sarntoga 15th and 16th of August next, to discuss woman's right of suffrage. In the progress of human events, woman now demands the recognition of her civil existence, he legal rights, her social equality with man. How he claims can be the most easily and speedily established and appearance of deliberations and the suffer has been enduring basis will be the subject of deliberations.

on a firm, enduring basis will be the subject of delibers tion, at the coming convention. The friends of the movement, and the public generally, are respectfull invited to attend. Most of the eminent advocates of the cause are expected to be in attendance. ELIZABETH C. STANTON, ERNESTINE L. ROSE,

WILLIAM HAY, SANUEL J. MAY, ANTOINETTE L. BROWN, LYDIA MOTT, SUBAN B. ANTHONY, New York State Woman's Rights Committee.

HELP THE COLORED YOUTH TO DEARN TRADES. The subscriber is constantly receiving application from parents for places where their sons and daughters can acquire mechanical and artistic knowledge. Who will respond to this most laudable appeal?

Address WM. C. NELL; 21 Cornhill.

An Appropriate Bridal Present.

THE TRUE WAY TO SECURE A HAPPY HOME AND HEALTHY CHILDREN.

MARRIAGE AND PARENTAGE,

THE REPRODUCTIVE ELEMENT IN MAN, AS A MEANS TO HIS ELE-VATION AND HAPPINESS. BY HENRY C. WRIGHT.

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED. CONTENTS.

Letter I. Introduction. Letter II. Distinction of Sex. In what it consists its extent—Its object.

Letter III. Distinction of Sex. In what it consists—
its extent—Its object.

Letter III. The Reproductive System. Office of the
Male—Office of the Female—Spermatic Secretion—
Spermatoxoa—Ovaries—Periodical Function of the
Female, its relation to her health and happiness.

Letter IV. Development of the Fetus. Nutrition before Birth, Fetal Circulation—Connection between
Nutrition and Reconstitution—Connection between

Nutrition and Reproduction. Letter V. The Human Soul. Its origin, nature and

relations to the body—Science of Society—Communion of Soul with Soul.

Letter VI. Transmission of Disease. Hereditary conditions—Acquired conditions—Conditions of the
Mother during Gestation and Lactation—Illustrative
Facts.

Letter VII. The Welcome Child. Parentage the result of Conscientious Forethought, not of Reckless Pag-

sion.

Letter VIII. The Unwelcome Child. Questions to be answered in the Future of this World-Results of

Sexual Abuse to Parents and Children.

etter IX. Existence of Children. To whose agency is it to be attributed?—Who is responsible for it?— A fatal popular error.

PART IL

Correspondence between a Husband and Wife. Letter I. Fidelity to our Nature.

The Mission of the Sexes.
What is Marriage?
Perpetuity of Marriage.
Variety in Love, or Polygamy. Letter

Letter VI. Divorce. Letter VII. The Transient and Permanent in Mar-

riage. Letter VIII. Harmony of Development. Letter IX. Love and Passion.

Letter X. The Reproductive Element. Its expenditure governed by fixed laws.

Letter XI. The Reproductive Element. Its expenditure governed by Mutual Love.

Letter XII. The Reproductive Element. Its expenditure governed by Mutual Love.

diture to be governed by the conditions of the Wife. Lettter XIII. The Reproductive Element. Is Offspring the only justifiable end of its expenditure?

Letter XIV. Gestation and Lactation. Treatment of the Wife by the Husband during these periods. Letter XV. Home and its Influence.

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APPENDIX.

The Sexual Element. Its natural use-Its abuse.

A Giant in the Field. Spiritualists will please draw near.

A NDREW JACKSON DAVIS, and the men of his kidney, met in open field and driven back, not with the weapons of blackguardism and abuse, but by the more potent and penderable blows of the logician and the man of science.

PRESIDENT MAHAN, OF OHIO. one of the giant intellects of this age, has been premeets and explains, scientifically and completely, all the well-attested facts of the Spiritualists. The learned men of the East and the West, who have been so much

MODERN MYSTERIES EXPLAINED. This great work, which will stir the waters to

perplexed with facts which they have been unable to explain, are satisfied that Dr. Mahan has untied the Gordian knot. The title of the work is

foam, both here and in Europe, will be published by us on MONDAY, August 6th. Price, \$1.

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COLORED PATRIOTS OF THE AMERICAN

REVOLUTION. A Sa means of enlightening public sentiment on an in-teresting, but much-neglected, department of Am-erican History, the subscriber has been induced to make a compilation of facts portraying the patriotism and bravery exhibited by Colored Americans, on land and sea, in ' times that tried men's souls,' embracing the sea, in times that tried men's souts, embracing the old French War of '55, the Revolution of '76, the struggle of 1812, and subsequent periods. These facts have been gleaned from military records, State documents, private correspondence, and fireside conversations, confirmed by oral and written testimonies of John Hancock. Governor Eustis, the late Judge Story, Hon. Robert C.
Winthrop, Hon. Tristam Burgess, Hon. Charles Pinckney, etc., etc., and by the tributes of Washington, Lafayette, Kosciusko, Thomas Jefferson and Gen. Jackson.
The subscriber is indebted for further interesting facts

and testimonies to John G. Whittier, (the Bard of Freedom); Wendel Phillips, Esq.; J. W. C. Pennington, D.D.; William Howard Day, Esq.; Rev. Theodore Parker, Charles Lenox Remond, Hon. Charles Sumner, Prof. Wm. G. Allen, Lydia Maria Child, James McCune Smith, M.D.; Hon. Henry Wilson, J. Mercer Langston, Esq.; David Lee Child, Esq.; Rev. Daniel A. Payne, Hon. Anson Burlingame, James M. Whitfield, (the Poet;) Robert Purvis, Esq.; Hon. J. R. Giddings, Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, Prof. Geo. B. Vashon, Edmund Jackson, Esq.; Robert Morris, Esq.; Rev. Amos G. Be-man. Dr. M. R. Delany, William Wells Brown, Lewis and Milton Clark, Rev. Henry F. Harrington, the late Henry Bibb, Angelina J. Knox, Rev. John W. Lewis, Hon. Gerrit Smith, Wm. Yates, Esq.; Wm. J. Watkins,

Esq.; and several others.

The work will contain an extract from the Address of the National Convention of July, 1853, and will be in-terspersed with interesting sketches (public and person-al) of the Battle of New Orleans, the Insurrection of Nat. Turner in Virginia, and Denmark Veazie in South Carolina, and the New York Plot of 1741, as in part de-tailed by Peleg W. Chandler, Esq., in his 'Criminal tailed by Peleg W. Chandler, Esq., in his 'Criminal Trials.' Also, an account of the strikes for liberty by Joseph Cinquez, on board the Armistad; by Madison Washington, on board the Creole, and by the heroes of

Christiana.

Among other contents of the work will be found proofs of the acknowledged Citizenship of Colored Americans, with a Letter of Hon. Wm. H. Seward; an account of the proscription of colored citizens by the Federal government; New England Colonial action on the treatment of colored persons, bond and free; sentiments of the colored persons, bond and free; sentiments of the colored people on Colonization, the Fugitive Slave Law, and Self-Elevation; together with reminiscences of Phillis Wheatley, Paul Cuffee, (Navigator) David Walker, Richard Bannekar, (Astronomer.) James Forten, J.

Phillis Wheatley, Paul Cuffee, (Navigator) David Walker, Richard Bannekar, (Astronomer,) James Forten, J. B. Vashon, Richard Potter, (Ventriloquist.) Hosea Easton, David Ruggles, (Hydropathist.) Rev. Lemuel Haynes, and other celebrities.

The book will be graced with an introduction by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, and illustrated by engravings of prominent historical events; among them, Crispus Attucks at the Boston Massacre, 5th March, 1770, and the Colored American's valor on Bunker Hill. Also, a factified autographic certificate of General Washington, conveying an honorable discharge to a colored soldier. In the effort to publish this edition, a heavy responsibility (pecuniary and otherwise) has been assumed by the subscriber, which he believes will be appreciated by the friends of humanity and progress, who are invited by this circular to forward their names and subscriptions for copies.

tions for copies.

Should sufficient encouragement be extended, the work will be issued in May, at the price of \$1 per copy.

On receipt of price, the book will be mailed (postage paid) to subscribers.

Boston, April, 1855.

DR. H. W. MASON, DENTIST. 286 WASHINGTON, near Bedford St.,

BOSTON. DR. M. is a regular graduate in dental medicine and Surgery, and operates on the most reasonable

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POETRY.

SUMMER RAIN.

The rain is gently falling upon the roof of home, Awakening dear old memories of the sunny days no As the soft drops, like a blessing, revive the droop

They ope the folded heart-buds in Memory's sunny

The blesséd days of childhood-we live them o'er again As softly falleth on the ear the music of the rain; Sweet echoes from the past awake a low and pleasa

And the soul in silence listens to the musical refrain. Loud voices from the silent land again we seem to

Voices that in life's early morn each childish grid could cheer;
Once more our mother's gentle hand seems resting

And the prayer she taught in infancy again we murme

We hear her light, soft footstep, as when, in days gon She hushed our cradle slumbers with her low, swee lullaby; Though now that mother lieth where the dreamless

sleepers rest, We remember how she loved us when our home her presence bless'd.

And her memory cometh o'er us with a calm and holy As we list the falling rain-drops in the evening's quiet Her words of love and counsel, her ever-watchful car

Lest the withering touch of sin should stain and blight her blossoms fair ! And our gentle, blue-eyed sister, with her loving, ear

The eldest of our household bond, the first from us

Again we feel her fond caress, as in the days of old That cherished form is resting now 'neath the turfmound, pale and cold. And the noble-hearted brother-we clasp once more his

Alas! he left us long ago, to join an angel band; Yet he seemeth now beside us, and on his pure, cale A radiance from the 'spirit-world' is brightly resting

Oh! the memories of the old time, how we live them

o'er again. In the cool, reviving freshness of the soft summer rain Ah! would that with them might return fair child-

hood's guileless truth, The pure, sweet dews of innocence, that rested on our youth! Barre, Mass.

LODORE: A SUMMER VISION. BY MARY HOWITT.

Oft in the days of bright July, When the parched earth is brown and dry, And the hot noen-day's sun looks down Upon the dusty, barren town, And scorching walls, sun-smitten, glare, And stifling is the breezeless air, And, through the day, flows all around A ceaseless tide of wearying sound, And busy crowds, with restless feet, Pass up and down the burning street, I sit in some still room spart, And summer visions fill my heart; Visions of beauty, green and cool-The water-lily's shadowy pool; Th' untrodden wood's sequestered shrine, Where hides the lustrous columbine, And leaves astir forever make

I think of some old country-hall, With carved porch and chimneys tall, And pleasant windows many a one, Set deep into the old grey stone, Hid among trees so large and green 'Tis only dimly to be seen. I think of its dusk garden bowers, Its little plots of curious flowers, Its casements filled with jessamine, Flung wide to let all odors in, And all sweet sounds of bird and bee, And the cool fountain's melody.

A breezy freshness through the brake.

I think of mountains still and grey, Stretching in summer light away, Where the blue, cloudless skies repos Above the selitude of snows; Of gleaming lakes, whose waters lie In restless beauty sparklingly; Of little island-nooks of rest, Where the grave beron makes her nest And wild cascades, with hurrying roar, Like the sweet tumult of Lodore ! Lodore !- that name recalls to me Visions of stern sublimity, And pastoral vales, and lonely rills, And shepherd people on the hills,-And more-old names of men unknown, Save on their mouldering churchyard stone, Or to some mountain chronicler, Who talketh of the days that were ;-For, in gone years, they of my race Had 'mong the hills their dwelling-place, In an old mansion that doth stand As in the heart of fairy land. Then mountains, lakes, and glorious skies, Lived in their children's memories ; There tended they, in evening hours, Their garden's antiquated flowers, And, on the Skiddaw mountain grey, They gambolled through the sunny day,-Blest summer revellers !- and did float On Keswick Lake their little boat !

Let Mammon's sops, with visage lean, Restless, and vigilant, and keen, Whose thought is but to buy and sell. In the hot, toiling city dwell. Give me to walk on mountains bare. Give me to breathe the open air ; To hear the village children's mirth, To see the beauty of the earth-In wood and wild, by lake and sea, To dwell, with foot and spirit free !

THE RECORDING ANGELS.

BY MRS. JARED SPARKS. Two Angels dear on every soul attend, And watch, with patient waiting, on each band; One with soft eye of hope, and one of fear : And both, with love intense, a golden record bear And when that precious Soul with love doth glow, Those loving eyes with holy lustre shine; Then doth the right-hand Angel whisper low, "Tis ours forever ! " and with seal divin Confirm the good, for Good can ne'er decay, But, all immortal, wings to heaven its way. But if Suspicion dark, or fearful Wrath,

Troubles the lustre of those sinless eyes, The left-hand angel of Man's darkened path In weeping silence writes, and sad surprise;
But holds unsealed still the golden line,
And on his hopeful brother leans awhile;
For if that Soul repent, the heavens shall smile,
And swift that record fade in light divine;
And only Sorrow weep to leave so fair a shrine.

THE LIBERATOR.

GERRIT SMITH IN REPLY TO THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE

The following Letter comes to us in the for printed Circular. Though not requested to do so, we deem it due to Mr. SMITH to give it a place in THE LIBERATOR. He has been greatly wronged.]

Ретеввово', July 17, 1855. To THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE:

I have just read what you say of me in your yester

day's number.

against it.' I wish you had made the admission a year
ago. Had you done so, I should probably have been
saved the necessity of making a thousand oral and
written answers to those who have questioned me in re
spect to my vote on that bill. As it was you, who,
more than all others, created the well-nigh universal
belief, that I was not in the house that night, your early correction of your misrepresentation would, pretty certainly, have done more to dispel such a belief than could have been done to that end by all others.

Late, however, as your admission has come, I am nevertheless thankful for it. Overburdened as I am with labors, I rejoice in the prospect that no more of my time will be consumed in giving such answers as I have referred to. My more joyful prospect, doubtless, in the esteem of some, is that I shall now be restored to good standing as an anti-slavery man. But let me say here, once for all, that I care not a farthing for their opinion of my anti-slavery character, who judge of it by my vote against the Nebraska Bill. That was the most popular vote I ever gave"; and all the Northern members who voted against it afforded about as much proof, in so voting, of self-denial, as they would have done in submitting to the necessity of eating strawberries and cream. I add, that the credit which the peo ple gave them for 'backbone,' on account of their having voted against the Nebraska Bill, shows that the people have not yet imbibed the first true idea of the brave and stupendous and self-sacrificing work of abolishing American slavery. The only members of Congress, who, by voting against the Nebraska Bill, earned the least part of a title to the reputation of having backbone, were the few intrepid ones of the South. Indeed, I must insist, that the Northern members, who, in voting for the bill, voted against the aroused Northern sentiment, might far rather be credited with backbone 'than we, who voted with that sentiment.

But no more in regard to my vote on the Nebraska have established. I trust that, henceforward, all who game, which one has as good a right as another to ords of Congress, will, on the authority of the Tribune, believe that I did, indeed, vote against the Nebraska Bill. I wish the Tribune would, also, authorise the rebuking and healthful example—unless, indeed, as I belief that I made a speech, as well as cast a vote, this moment think was the fact, there were two or three against that bill. And I wish this so strongly, that I democratic members, who, though voting against the now tell it to draw on me for three hundred dollars bill, did not go into the combination to prevent the tak-(\$300), in case it shall consent to put that speech into ing of the vote upon it. the hands of its one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand subscribers. Possibly, in this speech,—the some of it very ill-natured, not to say malignant funboth a piracy and an outlaw-an abomination, which, at nine o'clock? It is true, that if is my habit to go to

them in blocking the wheels of government, and in unfurling the flag of revolution, even on the floor of night of the voting on the Nebraska Bill. But I put gress, to justify this dissent, contained not one word on the subject of my sleep. The substance of it I shortly after gave to my constituents, in a printed letter, and you commented on it. That argument you were bound to receive as my own justification of my course and you had no right, for the purpose of making me ridiculous, or for any other purpose, to substitute for it the coinage either of your own or of any other body's fancy. Here follows a copy of the argument.

"I refused to become a party to the plan for preven ing the taking of the vote on the Nebraska Bill. This refusal was a great grief to the abolitionists in both Houses of Congress; and I scarcely need say, that I love them too well not to grieve in their grief. Nevertheless, I had to persist in the refusal, and in standing alone. The wisest of men and the best of men entreatalone. The wisest of men and the best of men entreated me, over and over again, by my regard for my reputation, and by all that is precious in the cause of freedom, not to persevere in this singularity. Nevertheless,—and that, too, notwithstanding obstinacy had never been imputed to me,—I was immovable. How could I be moved, when it was my convictions that fastened me to my position? Years before, in the calm studies of my secluded home, I had adopted the democould I be moved, when it was my convictions that fastened me to my position? Years before, in the calm studies of my secluded home, I had adopted the democratic theory,—not nominally and coldly and partially, but really and carnestly and fully: and the conclusions which I had arrived at, in circumstances so favorable for arriving at just conclusions, I was entirely unwilling to repeal, in a season of excitement and temptation. I spoke of the democratic theory. But the soul of that theory is the majority principle. Hence, to violate this principle is to abandon that theory. I was frequently told, that those rules of the House, in the expert use of which the taking of the vote on the Nebraska Bill could be staved off indefinitely, were made for the very purpose of enabling the minority to hold the majority at bay, whenever it might please to do so. But this did not influence me; for, in the first place, I could not believe that they were made for so wrongful—for so anti-democratio—a purpose; and, in the second place, even had I thus believed, I nevertheless could not have consented to use them for that purpose. There is no rule—may, there is no enactment, however solemn and commanding, that I can consent to wield against the all-vital and sacred majority principle; or, in other words, against democracy itself.

'When I complained that the plan in question was revolution, I was charged with inconsistency;—inconsistency with my well-known readiness to rescue a fugitive slave. It is true, that I would rescue a fugitive slave. Nevertheless, I felt not the pertinence of the charge of inconsistency. In rescuing him, I take my stand outside the Government, and am a confessed was present and outside the Government, and am a confessed

sistency with my well-known readiness to rescue a fugitive slave. It is true, that I would rescue a fugitive slave. Nevertheless, I felt not the pertinence of the charge of inconsistency. In rescuing him, I take my stand outside the Government, and am a confessed revolutionist. Let it be remembered, that it is only whilst and where I am inside of the Government, that I acknowledge myself bound to bow to the will of the majority. I bow to it in the legislative hall and in the court-room, and every where and always do I bow to it, until the purposed execution of the decree that is insiderable. Then I rebel. They are guilty of anticipating the only proper time for rebellion, who resort to it during the process of legislation. I sit in the House of Representatives, and hear my fellow-members discuss, and see them vote upon, a bill which wrongs me greatly. Argument and persuasion, and my vote, are all that I can, legitimately, oppose to its passage. If it pass, and its enforcement be contemplated, it will be them for me to decide whether to rebel against the Government, and to resist the enforcement.

'I need say no more in explanation or defence of my crounds for refusing to go into the scheme to prevent he majority from bringing the House to a vote on the febraska Bill. I will, however, before leaving this

subject, advert to the fact, that for refusing to go into this scheme—into this physical struggle, which continued for thirty-five successive hours—into this strife to see which party could go the longer without sleeping and eating, and I would that I could add, without drinking, also—my reputation for fidelity to the antislavery cause has suffered not a little, in some quarters. Moreover, it is not only in this wise that I suffered loss by refusing to follow the multitude on that occasion. My reputation for a sound understanding, poor as it was before—and poor as that of every radical and earnest abolitionist must continue to be, until abolition shall be in the ascendant—is far poorer now. It is, I suppose, for my singularity on that memorable occasion, that a very distinguished and much esteemed editor tells the world that I am "deficient in common sense." I am happy to believe, however, that this editor will readily admit, that it is far better to be "deficient in common honesty" than in common honesty. The press constantly takes great liberties with my name; but I believe the public will bear me witness, that I am patient with these liberties, and do very rarely complain of them. Even with your frequent and gross and influential misrepresentations of me, I have borne uncomplainingly: but I can be silent under them no longer.

So you have, at last, been compelled to admit, that I was present in the House of Representatives on the night of the passage of the Nebraska Bill, and voted against it. I wish you had made the admission a year

stow on me? It is true that he and I both desired the success of the Canal bill, and that we both desired the defeat of the Nebraska bill. And it is true, therefore that whilst my principles worked for his and me interests and wishes in the former case, they worked (at least, as some thought) against them in the latter Was this, however, a good reason why I should not allow them to work in the latter as well as in the former case? I ask this editor—I ask the world—how it was possible for mate of the latter that the case? low them to work in the latter as well as in the lorus case? I ask this editor—I ask the world—how it w possible for me to fall in with this policy of preventit the vote on the Nebraska. Bill, unless I was also prared to revoke my condemnation of the like policy the part of the Senators, to whom I have referred?

Now, I do not say that this argument, which I hav here copied, was sound. I leave it for you to say it and you will say it, on the very first occasion you sha have for saying it. It is not improbable that, within a few years, the opponents of slavery will be in the majority in both Houses of Congress. Then they will undertake to repeal so much of the Nebraska Bill as repeals the compromise line; and they will, also, un-dertake to abelish slavery in the District of Columbia. But the advocates of slavery, pleading for their prece dent the revolutionary movement for preventing the vote on the Nebraska Bill, will resort to a similar movement. The Tribune will, of course, denounce the factious, rebellious, anarchical conduct-and, in denouncing it, will fulfil my prediction, and virtually orse my argument. In vain, however, will it b for the Tribune to denounce that in its foes, which it justified in its friends. Then, too, many a one who was in Congress with me, and who, in his real against the Nebraska Bill, forgot what was due to the great democratic majority principle, and to the dignity of a le-Bill. What, it seems, the records of Congress could not establish, the *Tribune* will, I trust, be found to have refused to believe it on the authority of the rec- play. These gentlemen will, however, avail nothing by their clamor, but to be laughed at for their impuden inconsistency. In that day, mine will be the only

But what as to the foundation for all the fun-and only one ever made in Congress to prove that slavery is which you and others have made of my going to bed never has been law, and which never can be law,—
bed at that early hour, and it is also true, that I do
there may be found some little evidence of that backnot admit that I am at all the worse for the habit, physbone,' which your columns have repeatedly charged me ically, intellectually or morally. But when or where have I plead this habit as an excuse for any part of And now that you have ceased to misrepresent me on my conduct on the Nebraska Bill? Never-no where. one point, and have confessed that I really did vote It is true that I have occasionally said, that the physiagainst the Nebraska Bill, I hope you will travel on a cal struggle which the members went into could, no little further in the way of justice, and not let your more than does a duel, decide which party is with the relentings cease, until you have confessed your deep wrong against me on another point, also.

All others put together have not done so much as you have done to give currency to the report, that, such a struggle, however weak or wicked they may whilst in Congress, I was guilty, not only of deserting be, are the proper men to send to Congress. It is true the cause of freedom, but of deserting it for the sake that I have occasionally said, that, such being the of the petty self-indulgence of saving a few hours of mode of disposing of questions in Congress, I, who get When the time had arrived for taking the vote on keeping myself awake by drinking a glass of rum ev the Nebraska Bill, its opponents proposed to combine to ery hour, am the last man to send to Congress. It is prevent the taking of it. In other words, they believed true, too, that I said much against night sessions of that there was now an occasion which would justify Congress; and that I sat very uneasy in the midst o Congress. I dissented from them. Yes, I had even it to your discrimination and conscience, whether, in backbone' enough to stand alone in my dissent. The saying all this, I said that I valued my sleep mor argument which I employed with my excellent friends than I did the cause of freedom, and that sooner than Chase and Sumner, and with other members of Con- not be in bed at nine o'clock, I would fail to record my vote against the Nebraska Bill. Is it not a very glaring perversion of my words, of which you have bee guilty?

I am amazed that you can find it in your heart to persevere in these utterly groundless and wicked misrepresentations of me. You are not a stranger to my services for the slave; and you know how base and absurd is the charge, that I, who, for his sake, have, in every hour of the night, faced the howling tempest, and have, also, for his sake, repeatedly faced the howling mob, should, at last, be found making more account o a few hours sleep, than of my solemn duties to the cause of liberty. And yet, you continue to tell the world, not only that I am guilty of this entirely incomprehensible and exceedingly criminal inconsistency, bu that I confess that I am. Whatever may be your opin on of my argument for declining to be a party to th device for staving off the vote on the Nebraska Bill, I am sure that you believe in your heart that there was no man, either in or out of Congress, who would have made greater sacrifices than I to defeat the bill.

Since I see you are determined to keep affont the lander, that I was not willing, ay, and that I did my self declare that I was not willing, to sit up after nino'clock, even for the high duty of standing sentinel for freedom, I do not a little wonder that you should admit that I voted on the passage of the Nebraska Bill ; for in order to vote on it, I had to be in the Capitol unti between eleven and twelve o'clock at night-perhaps quite twelve. Yes, to be certain of not failing to vote on it, I had to be in my seat not only all day, but until about the hour of midnight.

I said that I was amazed at your continuing to wron me. I admit that you are tempted to it; and I am wil ing, in making up my estimate of your guilt, to make all just allowance for the force of the temptation. I know that you are tempted to hope that, by showing my type of anti-slavery to be unreliable and worthless, you will succeed in destroying public confidence in the whole class of technical and radical abolitionists, and in winning favor for your own sort of anti-slavery-that half and half, now here and now there sort, which will, one mouth, study its interests by swelling out into big words against slaveholders, and which will study them, the next month, in being as busy as a bee to sedu the dupes of those big words to vote for Henry Clay, or der. In the light of what I have here said, your abuse of me, whilst I was in Congress and your abuse of me ever since, is no mystery. And yet, after mitigating your offence by every proper allowance for your temptation to the offence, I am constrained to say, that, had there been magnanimity, though ever so little, among the elements of your character, it would have sufficed to overcome the temptation to fall upon a man like myself-yes, even a much stronger temptation than that to which you have yield-ed; for I am a man who has no hold on the public favor, and who is, always and every where, spoken against, ridiculed, reviled. I have no party, no pr

or Democrat, or Sectatian, from the fact that he has a party and a press to help him, can succeed in starting any, even the most extravagant, lie respecting me. Ay, the very abolitionists will believe it; for the poor, credulous, simple souls have not yet faith enough in each other to shut their cars to lies about each other. The New York Tribune, with its imposing pretensions to candor, can gull them to any extent it pleases. To gain an unjust victory over an isolated, helpless man like myself, is indeed very easy, very temptingly easy; but is it not as ungenerous and mean as it is easy?

I notice with what contempt you speak, in your yesterday's editorial, of my brief Congressional life. All I have to reply is, that I did what I could, whilst in Congress, by my lips and my life, to serve the interests of freedom, and temperance, and peace, and humanity,

of freedom, and temperance, and peace, and humanity, and religion; and that for having done so, I should, however small my intellect or influence, have been respected, and not despised, by you—commended, and not calumniated.

I would send this manuscript to you, were it not that you have, within the last week, refused to print some twenty or thirty lines which I sent you, in reply to an attack upon me in your columns. Since you refused to print those few lines, you would, of course, consent to reprint this letter, I will cheerfully pay your charge for doing so:—and none the less obserfully because of any ill-natured comments with which you may see fit to accompany it. No comments in the case can change the facts in the case. The facts, unchanged and unchangeable, will live, to break through and recatter all the clouds which you have succeeded in collecting upon my reputation, and to work out, in the end, my perfect and triumphant vindication. They will live, too, to stamp broader and broader, deeper and deeper, diagrace upon you, until you shall have completed the retractions which you have, at last, found yourself compelled to begin, and until you shall have confessed your sorrow and shame for having yielded to the temptation to slander one, who not only has no advantages for defending himself, but who has shown himself to be both patient under wrongs, and unwilling to inflict them.

GERRIT SMITH.

GERRIT SMITH. refuse to print these many lines. Should you, however,

GO YE RATHER TO THE LOST SHEEP OF ISRAEL!

The same Wisdom that ordained the ministry Christ in Palestine, rather than in Greece, that he should concentrate his labors, rather than visit every nation on the globe, is manifested in the commission-Go first to your own countrymen, and afterwards to the world at large.' For over a thousand years, the lighest crimes, whether the overt acts which bear those bad names happen to be perpetrated or not. If the makers of false keys, or of counterfeit money, or of countrymens for the firing of buildings, or of any other 'infernal machines,' would be justly seized and treated as criminals, although their inseed from the Jews for the Church to come. Like a struments of fraud or violence had never been Bower stalk, which lasts long enough to produce a few flower stalk, which lasts long enough to produce a few treated as aiders and abettors of crime, who stimseeds, then perishes, so Judea lasted long enough to ulate men to use the instruments of fraud or violence furnish choice seeds for the world's salvation, and then even though they may have been diverted from such died. Judea, as a whole, was corrupt. The best to evil purposes. - [Rev. Samuel J. May's Oration of be done was to pluck a few brands from the burning. the Inauguration of the Maine Law in New York. The few who heard Christ and who heard the apostles ecame Church-seed for the nations. So Luther called the best spirits out of the Roman Church, and their essors were the Puritans.

the Puritans. We do not hang Quakers nor banish has much puzzied us. We have some old hatter who Baptists. The command, however, still rings in our tars—'Go ye rather to the lost sheep of Israel.' Let those who will go to Africa and Asia to carry New England to those countries. Let those who will carry unstiffened felt style, to keep his own white stiffy unstiffened felt style, to keep his own white stiffy England to those countries. Let those who will carry the education, the temperance and liberty, the churches and schools of Massachusetts, to Kansas. Let those who will make inroads upon the gay and thoughtless world, and convert maidens into communicants at the Lord's table in Boston. Let the Whigs join the Republicans in attempting to keep the South in her place, and Congress more decent. But, thanks be unto God, some of us hear the cry, 'Go ye to lost Israel herself! Go ye rather to the lost Church, to the lost State! growth all over the face. They 'disfigure their Save, if you can, a few church members from the darkness they call light, from the stagnation which the majority of clergymen who assisted at the ends in death! Save, if you can, Massachusetts! Go most violent Garrison demonstrations in Bostor ends in death! Save, if you can, Massachusetts! Go to that fountain which sends out sweet and bitter wa- were ' adorned' as afcresaid; while fewer of the ters; that state of society which admits of rum and onaries in the same chip, of slaveholders and freemissionaries in the same chip, of slaveholders and free-holders in the same Congress, of railroad swindlers and meek women at the same communion table!

The more Free Sollers like Current Sources and

Slavery men, the better. The more sober, prayermaking girls we can win from the ranks of out-andout sensualists, the better. But we want CHARLES SUMNER and HENRY WILSON, and their constituents, to feel the iniquity of that compact which allows slaveholders and freeholders to sit together in the same communion. There is something rotten in the Constitution itself which provides for slave representation, for backing up slaveholders against the noble attempts of slaves to run away from oppression, and which provides for tour, that scourge of mankind. We want Dr Adams and Dr. Blagden to see and feel the wickedness of apologising for the slaveholders, and thus indulging

God be thanked, that even as Christ saw something adically defective in the Church in Jerusalem herself, and exposed it, and aided others to do the same and escape from it, so we have had a few in every age since, and have a few now, who see the radical defects of all existing nationalities and societies, and who are endeavoring to construct a Church and State on a better basis—on foundations more like the absolute principles of Christ.

He is very severe on other men who do not think
as he does. He denounces more than he reasons.
He would 'feel it to be a calamity and grief to see Has not the time come now, as Mr. Blanchard sug

gests in his able and animating pamphlet on the Principles of the American Revolution; for us to make a direct and intelligent application of those principles which flashed upon such as Jefferson, but which never yet have been embodied in any social organization or

Alas! the nations do not look to the United States as the hope of the world. Who are the brave progressionists?-who the idol-destroyers?-who the safe archi ects for the future? Who will go to our country. as much addicted to oppression and villany as ever Judes was, -and save enough to be founders of a better

Who will cluster around such organs as the New York Tribune, the Liberator, the Practical Christian, and attempt the peaceful undermining of the strongholds of Satan? With such flute players as Whittier and Lowell, and such orators as Phillips and Burleigh the master-builders, like Garrison, Ballow and Greeley, may construct and furnish a glorious dwelling-place for humanity. Names like these, added to those of Mann and Howe, and a noble band of others, are the hope o the future, under God and Christ. W. G. B.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

Should any trader or taverner in a city or village be only suspected of communicating to his neigh-bors, or the passers by, the virus of the small pox, or the seeds of any other dreadful disease, would the public sit still and allow him to prosecute his diabolical work! I need not tell you now the public sit still and allow him to prosecute his diabolical work? I need not tell you, nay; you all know they would not. There is reason to apprehend, rather, that the public indignation would be too hot to wait for the processes of law, but would vent itself upon the wretch in the most summary manner. And yet the crime of such n one would be really not greater than that of the rum-seller. Who of you would not prefer to die of small pox, or yellow fever, or cholera, than to die of intemperance? What parent here, who has an only sou, the delight of his eyes, the hope of his house, the staff of his age, would not incomparably prefer to see that son a corpse, covered all over with the marks of the most hideous disease that ever infests the human body, than to see him bloated and marks of the most hideous disease that ever infests the human body, than to see him bloated and blotched as the victim of drunkenness? I know this question can be answered but in one way. Why, then, oh why have we tolerated the rum-sellers so

all crimes must contain in themselves the essence of those crimes. This is not generally conceded in the present case. Let me then enforce the assertion. If a man commits a breach of the peace—theft, arson, rape or murder, when intoxicated, our sage lawgivers and jurists tell us his crime is aggravated by the fact that he was drunk when he perpetrated it. But is this a correct statement of the case? I trow not. The wretched criminal may have been as devoid of evil intention, nay, as utterly unconscious of what he was about, as a craxy man; and so he may have been as truly irresponsible for his acts at the time as he would have been if he were insane from any other cause. All his sin then virtually resides in the making of himself insane, putting out the eyes of his understanding, dethron-

unconsciousness he shall be left to perpetrate a devilish deed or not.

If what I have said on this point be true, and I am confident that after due consideration you will assent to its correctness—then are all those per-sons, who help to make men drunk, 'accessories before the fact' to the high crimes and misdemeanors which intoxicated men are liable to commit; and ought to be held and accounted accessories to the used, much more should they be regarded and

From the New York Times. HATS AND THE BEARD.

The Evangelist of last week had a sharp editoria We have outlived some of the corrupt doctrines of on 'sqush hats and beards,' to account for which the Puritans. We do not have Quakers nor banish has much puzzled us. We have wondered whether

nity, whom our imagination represents with un-dressed hair, and most astounding redundancy of faces' that they may appear unto men'---jus what they are. If we may be allowed a conjecture class were in attendance at the spiritual exercises

who studiously, designedly and demonstrativel adorns' his head with a slouched hat, and his fac with an uncut beard. He is a stranger to us. At first sight, where should we be disposed to classify him! He is independent, to be sure, and means that everybody should know it. He takes special pains to advertise this, lest it should not be discov-

ered in any other manner.' That is a good dig at Beecher, but we should observe that Rev. Joshua Leavitt, too, the wheelhorse of the Independent, wears a slouched hat and a goodly heard. The paper shows it. But to pro-

'His independence tramples on many delicate sensibilities which had better been preserved. He is hard and rude. We should not expect to find him gentle, refined and courteous. As to the lo-gical opinions, he belongs to that neutral territory which lies between denominations, having the full confidence of none. He is very decided on the self-determination of the will, and skeptical as to the Westminster Catechism. He preaches largel on politics. It has been suspected that he would have no objection at all to be a member of the General Court. (Another hard slap at Beecher.) such a pure-minded and honest minister as Dr. Nebemiah Adams, 'ascending his pulpit stairs.'

If heir and a slouch hat will prevent doughface sm, hurrah for the loafer's hat, and a rapid sale to pomatums that encourage hair !

'In many matters the Tribune in his oracle. (Ahem.) He believes in the Westminster Review. He is 'heady and high-minded;'—a very significant word is that of the apostle, 'heady.' Bulls and buffalces have wonderful developments about the head. Hirsute, he bunts. He 'despises governments, and is ever ready to ' speak evil of dignities.' ... He does not confine his smoking to his own house. He may be seen with cigar in the street, and on the deck of steamboats-for he claims the largest liberty. He has no faith in do-ing good, except in his own way. He sneers at the very best of men, if they happen not to be of his clique. He is ready to suspect brethren, mis-construe their motives, and impute to them everything but what is magnanimous and honorable. He is violent in his sectarianism; and if he were not a clergyman, officially related to respectable so-ciety, and under bonds to preserve professional de-corum, he would be a latitudinarian in theology, an anarchist in politics, and a rowdy in manner

· Habet forenum in cornu." ' Give him a good birth ; see what evil will come

One thing we are certain of: it [the change of 'One thing we are certain of: It the change of hat gear and the hairy face] is not current among those in whose 'good sense, 'good taste,' sound piety, sound theology, and sound judgment (whatever they may think of themselves) the community have the greatest confidence. We confess it would startle us, did we know that such innovations had have added by the teachers of theological semibeen adopted by the teachers of theological semi-naries. We should regard it as the index of an inward mischief. Our imagination absolutely re-fuses to entertain the idea of Ebonezer Porter, that rare pattern of Christian dignity, or Bela B. Edwards, the beautiful model of a Christian scholar, adorning' their heads and faces with coverings so singular as to betray ignoble singularities of mind. In the name of all that is good and hopeful, we trust there are no signs of deterioration in the tester securities. the tastes, sympathies, manners and affinities of the Christian-ministry.

And yet it is suspected that the first teach Christianity wore long beards, and either soft hats or none at all. Until you prove the contrary, good sectarian conservatives, don't put the stiff

hat and a razor into the creeds you ask us to subscribe. But one morsel more: · Of one thing we are confident, it is no sign that

one has any extraordinary amount of brains, that he makes haste to adorn his head with a kos. suth-like covering, or that his lips utter only good sense and wisdom because they are covered with a crop prolific as that of Esau,

Troe—very! Nor is it any sign of superior cer-bral possessions that one keeps his chin uncovered like a cunuch, nor of his abundant wisdom that he gives himself daily a head-ache, and invites a stroke of apoplexy by wearing a section of store-pipe a

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Yors.

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altry.

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