ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT. Traxs-Two dollars and fifty cents per annum,

The copies will be sent to one address for TES s, if payment be made in advance. g'all remittances are to be made, and all letters of to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to feeted, (FOST PAID,) to the General Agent. I therisements making less than one square in-

three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00, The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, franis and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are augoed to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial mittee, but are not responsible for any of the debts the paper, vil :- FRANCES JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LEGIC, EDNUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and TOTAL PRILLIPS.

fire raises of The Linerator, both sides o of question are impartially allowed a hearing.

74 LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.' T'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding

No Union with Slaveholders!

ords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO HOURS THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR of preserving the African slave trade ; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVESngagement positively prohibited by the laws of God. elivered from Sinal; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES-for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons is fact, the oppressor representing 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 PRESPRVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-VATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.' - John Quincy Adams.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

DETING OF THE SECESSIONISTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA. network of Canes and Goblets to Preston S.

west-Speeches of Mr. Brooks, Senators Butand Toombs, Gov. Adams, and Major-General a meeting of the citizens of the Fourth Con-

inal (Abbeville) District of South Carolina, presented by Hon. Preston S. Brooks, was all a Sinety-Six Station, on the road between familia and Greenville, on Friday, the 3d inst., grick sandry canes and goblets of gold and sildelivered by himself, Senator Butler, Governtime, and other prominent citizens of the as. Ten thousand persons, about one-third of he were females, are estimated to have been est, and the meeting was characterized by a siderable enthusiasm manifested in behalf Mr. Brooks for his assault upon Mr. Sumner. S. V. Caine presided over the meeting, which riels addressed upon assuming the chair. Alhig to the purpose of the meeting, which was honor and due respect ' to Mr. seks he proceeded to describe his assault upon meras a soble, though daring act : which at be the means of bringing about that desirable of in which they want to establish their equalin this Union, or their independence out of it.' poured him that his constituents highly apdof that act, and were ready and willing to est with him to the Copital in Washington City. ther demand their rights or leave the Union. he chairman then announced the order of the lst. Address, by Major-General McGowan, be followed by the presentation of the testimomis, viz.: a gold goblet, from the citizens of Abfrom the citizens of the immediate vicinity, dained the honor of living near the home nd of Mr. Brooks; at the same time would be mied a stick made by the citizens of Laurens, Cliston, and there was another stick to be ested by a gentleman delegated for that purm from a former citizen of South Carolina, sareident of Florida. Then was to follow an s by Hon. Preston S. Brooks, and another

Seator Toombs, of Georgia. Afterwards din-De President then introduced Major-General wan, the orator of the day, who, after a short induction, expressive of his gratification at the pix with which the people of South Carolina same their honored representative, proceeded per his views on the political questions of the

FOR WHOM WILL SOUTH CAROLINA VOTE !

We will vote for James Bochanan for President ast is any spirit of man-worship, nor because are done-but mainly because he is the bearthe Democratic standard, upon which is inthe the repeal of the odious Missouri restricand the equal rights of all the States in referthe to starery in the Territories. And, fellow these at the same time and for the same reasons well wer to the knife against that mongret crew. this, he the buccanier Morgan, half fanotic and the black banner of Black Republicanism-tha and of Free Soilers, Fremonters, free niggers fordeders-[upplause]-that robber band, headthe upstart, renegade traitor, Fremont, who of smen I have ever known or heard of, hest dese the indignant execuation of the vanquished

the bilden thunder, in the stores of licaven, Let with uncommon wrath, to blast the wretch Thouse his greatness to his country's ruin? leed and prolonged cheers.]

THE ASSAULT AND ITS PROPOCATION.

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Whilst this extraordinary application (the admin of Kansas under the Topeka constitution) as preding upon Congress, Mr. Charles Sumner. mater from Massachusetts, rose in his place in enste, and delivered a studied speech, as it afterwards labeled, in favor of free Kansas, ch has been characterized as the most unean of the members of that high body. The Sute of South Carolina, and the character of elected and distinguished Senator, Judge But-, who was then absent. This Mr. Sumner, so is I have been able to learn, a neophyte a narrow-minded bigot in sentiment, without spike of a gentleman, or the first qualification addresses; and in addition to all that, the greatatguerd in America, had the impudence to say on of South Carolina . is republican only in and that her 'shameful imbecility from was confessed throughout the Revolution. tinly said this of our State, but he indulged to most valgar abuse of one of her Senators, m of this congressional district, and whose tre at home is synonymous with high tone, spirit and high honor. [Applause.] Soon this extraordinary speech was delivered the news of the rhetorical display was transat spon the lightning line to every part of the appear of immediate representative, Hon. P. S. s., who represents the district of Old Nices, took the responsibility of resenting the the apon the spot where it was given, and in floreal and disgraceful punishment upon and Sumner, whilst the calumniator was in the et of franking his own slanders to poison

BOOKS AS A LAW-ABIDING CITIZEN.

migation which our immediate representadieted upon the offender, although well meri-Harrier great the provocation, or strong tanstances of mitigation, yet words do not to assault. With the characteristic pruthe slanderer, Mr. Summer got the law a side, and though pilloried himself in

A fixed figure for the hand of Scorn To point his slow unswerving finger at,

tagming the position of injured innocence and of for this act, and arraigned at the bar of tas for high crimes and misdemeanors. Be-lawabidire. awahiding man, and representing a law-tonstitency, he submitted himself proper-gracially to the judgment of the law-ton to lawful authority is a striking characof Southern scriety, and we therefore We felt that he represented us correctly

more proud of him when he stood up in the hall of which are sanc loned by the experience and judg-ment of riper years. I submit my case to the judg-ment of the Court. When we heard this, we felt that in the person of our representative was embodied not only the spirit to resent wrong and insult, but also that other spirit-no less creditable -of subordination to lawfully constituted authority, which is only eliminated in its highest degree christian civilization and a highly cultivated state of society.

IF BROOKS HAD BEEN EXPELLED FROM THE HOUSE. The act of our representative, prompted by a burning sense of wrong and by a high and noble impolse, was characterized as a cowardly outrage; and the Congress of the United States was required to expel him as unworthy of a seat in it. The Black Republican party in the House of Representatives t ok up the charge as an element of agitation—emblazoned upon their banners their own shame, and endeavored to expel bim from Congress as unworthy of a seat amongst them. They failed in their wicked attempt; bat in our view it is al-most to be regretted that they did fail. If that mongrel crew of black spirits and gray had succeeded in expelling our representative from Congress, without precedent, without law, without propriety or decent pretext, it would have been an ostracism as honorable to him and as immortal in history as that of Aristides, who was expelled from his own city avowedly because he was the best man in it. (!!!)

of Congress, the other is by conventions of the people. Now, the effect of prohibiting the slave-trade is simply this: While the North has this north-

At the conclusion of Major-General McGowan's speech, the canes and goblets were duly presented, after which Mr. Brooks proceeded to deliver his adof which the following extracts compose the material part :-

SPEECH OF HON, PRESTON S. BROOKS-HIS MODESTY. The act which you have been pleased, in the most impressive and touching manner, to commend, had of selfishness I did not know how it would be received even by you, whose opinion is the world to me. But I have arrived at that period of life, however neglected it may have been in the past, when a sense of duty is the only monitor that I obey. I felt that I was bound by every considera-tion of position and honor to defend the gallant people who had put their honor and interests in my hands. You had commissioned me as one of your field officers, and it was my duty to do my duty according to the intelligence and convictions of the nent, and to refer to your judgment afterwards. And, fellow-citizens, I say it with the deepest sin-cerity, so thoroughly convinced was I that every consideration of real manhood-of representative duty-of high position-required me to do as I did, that, had I known my political destruction would have been the result, instead of the applause and acclamations which I have received, that act

would have been perpetrated just as it was.

I feel embarrassed in making any allusion to personal matters in a large popular assembly; but the circumstances are such that I know you do and will excuse me. I feel that my individuality has, in a great measure, been destroyed, and that from circumstances I have been placed in a position which constitutes me for the time being, and in reference to the matter, the type and representative of the entire South. For inflicting the punishment upon Mr. Sumner of Massachusetts, I have had showered upon me applause and commendation from every part of the entire South. My own people have even humbled me by the honors which they have poured down upon me.

is but a fair sample of every slaveholder south of souri line, which was an insult to every man South that line. Now, if there is a character on this of it. earth that I despise, it is that of a bully. A coward I can pity, for God Almighty in his wisdom has him one of the greatest blessings which He can give to man; but the bully perverts and mis-uses one of those choicest gifts. Yet that is the character in which I am represented. It is the character in which you are represented.

A HINT OF WHAT IS COMING.

I will tell you, fellow-citizens, what I believe what it is coming to, and let me tell you that po-litical questions will have, in a very short time, to be settled, not by statesmen in conclave, but to be cut like the Gordian knot, with the sucord. It seems, in the providence of God, that the institution of that the Senate would not censure me; because they slavery, which has so interwoven itself with our social fabric, that if it falls we fall with it, has to be defermined upon the American continent. The that if Charles Sumner had given me a caning, problem of slavery utility has to be settled on the American continent. Things are working to a they would have ariested him and tried him? No; American continent. Things are working to a they would have sung presents of glory over it. The crisis, and a crisis which affects not only your ormost stupid thing I ever knew was, that there was decrard your interests, but it affects your vitality -your very existence as a people.

THE FIRST MISTAKE OF THE SOUTH-THE REVOLUTION-ARY PATRIOTS HAULED OVER THE COALS.

The first mistake made by the people of the South man among them, who, from pride or ambiwas made by the patriots of the Revolution. These tion, would have incurred the risk. great and good men-far greater-possibly better than we would be, and doing better possibly than we would have done under the precise circum- are not abolitionists. Well, I hate them just as stances, were yet wanting in our advantages, for the scales have been removed from our eyes, and we see things not as they saw them. The first missee things not as they saw them. The first missee things not as they saw them. The first missee things not as they saw them. The first missee the same on the 13th July in the year 1787, take was made on the 13th July in the year 1787, when Virginia, yielding to the love of liberty and of Union, maguanimously surrendered her northwestern territory, from which five States alone were to be made, but from which the Yankees have

That mistake was incorporated in the ordinance of 1787. The fatal error was the provision by time, and stronger ones than we had then. We which slavery or involuntary servitude, except for the save the issue upon us now, and how are we to crime, was forever prohibited there. That was a tacit acknowledgment that slavery was of itself tom of my heart, that the only mode which I think wrong. And here let me tell you that any people who distrust it are not prepared to defend it. I stitution of the United States, trample it under tell you more than that—these great and good men did distrust it. They did not believe at that time that slavery would exist at this day on the American continent. Slave labor had ceased to be profitable for meeting it is, is just to tear the Content of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern Confederacy, every State of which will be a slaveholding State. I [Loud that slavery would exist at this day on the American continent. Slave labor had ceased to be profitable for meeting it is, is just to tear the Content of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern Confederacy, every State of which will be a slaveholding State. I [Loud that slavery would exist at this day on the American Confederacy, every State of which will be a slaveholding State. I believe it, as I stand in the face of my Maker—I believe it on my responsibility to you as southern Confederacy, every State of which will be a slaveholding State. I believe it, as I stand in the face of my Maker—I believe it on my responsibility to you as southern Confederacy, every State of which will be a slaveholding State. I believe it, as I stand in the face of my Maker—I believe it on my responsibility to you as southern Confederacy, every State of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern Confederacy, every State of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern Confederacy, every State of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern Confederacy, every State of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern Confederacy is a state of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern Confederacy is a state of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern Confederacy is a state of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern Confederacy is a state of the United States, tram

when, failing to find Mr. Sumner elsewhere, he stitution on more occasions than one, is visible in walked into the Senate House, and, animated by that very importantly-seeming invention, the contribute exact sentiment of his constituency, made the ton gin—cotton itself being an indispensable protraducer of his State and blood lick the dust of the chamber which he had descorated; but we felt even people of the world. The framers of our constitution and the members of the confederate assembly justice and said. The first political lesson which my ripening ficulties fully comprehended and appreciated, was the high moral and social obligation of every citizen to bend himself to the majesty of ciate or believe that it would be the bone of conthe law. In obedience to the precepts of my youth, tention, the struggle in regard to which has threatened to dissolve the bands which they united so patriotically in tying. FURTHER MISTAKES COMMITTED BY THE SOUTH.

STAKES

HARSE S

The next mistake was in the Constitution itself, and it consisted in requiring as the basis of representation South, five negroes to count but three votes, while the same negroes carried north of the line of separation would count the same as five white men-and white gentlemen at that. There was no sense in the requirement. It was a trick -it was a concession. It was a concession to those who had been thirsting to become our masters; and, who, if we have not the spirit to meet them half way, will be our masters. The next mistake was in prohibiting the slave-trade after the year 1808, as an evidence of the opinion that I have just advanced to you, viz.: that at the time our Constitution was formed, the people of the South, particularly of Virginia, were indifferent to this subject. And as an evidence that the people of the North then did not make it a question of morality, it is a remarkable fact that upon that provision of the Constitution, the men of New England voted against the restriction of the slave-trade, and the people of the South went for it. Now, we know that provision is made in the Constitution whereby this matter as to slavery may be ordered in two ways. One is the action of the two Houses

west territory to invite emigration, we of the South -both white and black, I mean-were restricted to counting our five negroes as but three. We knew, as everybody now sees, that immigration could not come into competition with slave labor, and the consequence was that all the immigration went to the North. The effect of that must be, as time is now developing it, that in course of time, by natural increase and by immigration, the North will have the constitutional power, which the strength of numbers gives them, to change our Constitution and to abolish slavery, if they think proper. The next mistake was in the repeal of the twenty-first rule, by which free negroes and aboliionists of every hue were authorized to send petitions and papers to Congress, insulting to Southern representatives and people, and to pros-titute the United States mail to carrying them and

giving them circulation. IMr. Brooks referred also to the Missouri Com promise and the Compromise of 1850, as measures of mistaken policy on the part of the South, which should have been strenuously resisted.]

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE NORTH.

Now, fellow-citizens, as to the Democratic party, of which I am a sort of a member, and not ver much of one, unless voting for Buchanan-which I shall do-makes me one, I tell you I am doubtful of the Democracy north of Mason and Dixon's line. They will stand by the Constitution, but catch any one of them in a corner, and ask him if slavery be right, and he will tell you 'No.' I tell you a man of that kind is not always to be trusted. I want a man who will go the whole hag on that subject.

Now, fellow-citizens, the Democratic party was somewhat responsible-nay, it was to a very great extent responsible-for that act. And yet it is a party with which South Carolina will now affiliate. and I think rightly. The Democratic party has conducted the affairs of this nation, from its organization, with success and glory, and under its influence the greatness of the country has increased. Now, it cannot be denied that the Northern Demo cracy, with all their faults, magnanimously, hon-HE DESPISES THE CHARACTER OF A BULLY. orably and faithfully fulfilled their pledge. They But they say that the 'bully'—which is now did give you a Fugitive Slave Law, which is now y soubriquet north of Mason and Dixon's line on your statute book. They did repeal the Mis-

BLACK REPUBLICANS.

I thought proper to violate the laws of the land as providing against the commission of assault and battery. I knew I was amenable to the court. I thought I would be fined, and I thought I would have been put in jail. I would have submitted. nit. According to the strained idea of it, I possibly invaded the sanctuary of the Senate. from the bottom of my heart. I set up to have I do not believe myself that when the Senate is none of the gifts of prophecy; I don't pretend to not in session, the senate-house is any more sacred be a statesman; but I am identified with your interests, and I am a man of common sense. I see But what did they do with me! They take me what it is coming to, and let me tell you that po- from the jurisdiction of the Senate, whose laws, slavery, which has so interwoven itself with our wanted to get me into their own fangs, in order to der and your interests, but it affects your vitality not some man who had sense or pluck enough to

There was never so strong an inducement for a man to offer himself to be shot at, since the world began ; and I really thought there was some

Now, these Northern agitators call themselves Free Soilers, and think it a great compliment they

THE ISSUE STATED.

In 1850 I told my friends-and it was the only prophecy of mine that ever was fulfilled—that they need not be alarmed about an issue; that issues would come as fast as blackberries in the springcan continent. Slave labor had ceased to be prontable in Virginia.

Mr. Jefferson, who has been styled the Great Apostile of Liberty, himself distrusted the institution. They
thought it was impoverishing their soil and interfering with their prosperity. But the finger of the
Almighty, which has left its impress on this ininterface of my Maker—I believe it on my responsibility to you as your honored representative, that
the only available means of making that bope
effective is to cut asunder the bonds that tie us to
gether, and take our separate position in the famalmighty, which has left its impress on this in-

have always been my opinions. I have been a disunionist from the time I could think. But no one
State can dissolve this Union. I think, in due deference to friends who have more mind, and as much
patriotism, and as much good feeling for their fellow-men as I have; I think, I say, that the separate action of any one State would retard the morement. Our friends have told us to make the issue,
and others, in self-defence, would be constrained
to come to us. Why, I have heard some of them
tell us that the South would submit if Fremont be
elected. Now, if that be so, how, in the name of
God, will they come to us if Fremont be elected!
No one State in this Union can break it up; and I
would not risk a failure. Let us wait like a good
soldier who reserves his fire until he can see the soldier who reserves his fire until he can see the whites of his foe's eye, and then lodge the ball where it will be most fatal. We must have the cooperation of the South. We must have the sym-pathy and the aid of the States interested with ourselves. Their moral support is worth more to us than the soldiers they will send in.

THE NEXT BEST COURSE TO BE PURSUED-HOW HE IS GOING TO SUPPORT BUCHANAN.

Now, fellow-citizens, I have told you very frankly and undisguisedly, that I believe to the only hope of the South is in dissolving the bonds that conect us with the government-in separating the iving body from the dead careass. 21 These are my opinions. They cannot be carried out by us it is left for me to take the next best course. What

In the first place, let me tell you F I don't be-lieve in any sort of Democracy. F If I was the commander of an army, F I would never post a sentinel who would not swear that slavery is right. 23 But we must take things as we find them. Neither you nor I can have the right always done in our private domestic relations. We cannot make the wife do just as we want her on evey occasion. [Laughter, especially among the lalies.] We must, I repeat, take things as we find I am willing to give the Democracy a fair trial of their experiment. I shall vote for Mr. Buchanan; and when I say that, you know I have got no vote. I shall support him honestly, and fairly, and zealously. I shall do it, however, exactly as a good-hearted physician continues to give medicine to a patient, when he knows he is dying. f he is a kind man, he cannot wound the family feeling by refusing to do so. He is willing to make the trial, and take the chances, although he knows in his heart that it cannot do one bit of good. Now I know this is the case here. I will not part of a good-hearted physician to the Democratparty. I will give them Buchanan pills; and f they do them no good, I shall console myself by the reflection that I have done my duty. I am

RIBUTE TO MR. PIERCE-THE ISSUE TO BE MADE NOW. Mr. Buchanan was not my choice, and most of on know it. I went for Franklin Pierce-the man whose fame will increase as time grows old-that son of New Hampshire, who has been true to the South because he has been true to the Constitu- negroes of the South were never in a better condition-that man who has exercised the veto power of a Jackson. [Applause.] He was my choice. Next to him, I went for the giant of the Westthat well-tried patriot, who goes through the crowd of abolitionism like a thunderbolt to its mark, resistless, penetrating, all-conquering. They gave me James Buchanan. I shall support him cordially. I don't believe that his election will prevent the issue; it will merely postpone it. object that far to his nomination, that I want the saue made. I want it made now, when I, in the prime of my manhood, can assume a share in the responsibility and the danger of it—a duty which every consideration of manhood and honor your rindness has imposed upon me. Suppose we elect Mr. Buchanan. I tell you, fellow-citizens, Aboli-tion is hydra-headed, and his election will bring about a truce, but it will not give us peace. For four years more, they will make head and front against you. Now, it behooves us to look a little eyond. Let us all come up and vote for Buchanan, of course. Let there be no divisions in the

I am by no means confident of the election of latform upon which he goes into power, with when all these elements of power are in the hands

of a dangerous, bad man ! Now. fellow-citizens, I say this in justice to mytell you, that our hope is alone in the South, and the only mode of making that hope available is for the South by some act to effect the dissolution of the American Union. And I say this, that if John C. Fremont is elected President of the United States, our people ought to have sense enough to know And as this dissolution. that the issue is upon them, and cannot be avoided.

And as this dissolution is to come. I think you

there, whom I love and respect—men who are patriots; but I tell you, they are but a white spot on the pavement of black—but an oasis in the desert. I speak on my own responsibility: If Fremont be elected President of the United States, I am for the came not to receive, but to bestow a compliment—

sand of you, intimate to me that you want me to go with you, my life, my fortune, my reputation, shall be at your service. I have even now men in my eye who are soldiers, and who have been tried. I see here Col. Gladden and Major McCullum, and I tell you that their patriotism will rise superior. heir pride. If you say you want me to go, hum ble as I am, and superior as they are to me, I am ready, and I know their patriotism will call upon them to take, if it must be, a subordinate command in doing their duty. [Loud applause.]

Mr. Brooks then addressed himself to Gen. Mc Gowan, and the other gentlemen from whom he had received testimonials, thanking them for their complimentary allusions to himself, and took his seat amid the cheers and applause of the immense multitude.

Senator Toombs, of Georgia, was then introduced, blasphemous and in a speech of over an hour in length, gave an exposition of the policy of the government, and the resentative!

half for dinner, the crowd again gathered around the stand, and the speakers and guests took their

SENATOR BUTLER'S SPEECH

Judge A. P. Butler was then introduced, and was received with cheers. He took occasion to say that he had never seen the political horizon darkened with such clouds as at present, and that nothing was so gratifying to him, in the emergency about to occur, as to be engaged in the service of his country. It had always been his wish and desire to conciliate, harmonize and bring into requisition the talent of the South. He did not wish to indulge in idle compliment, but he would say, in presence of this assembly, that on more than one occasion had the Senator from Georgia met, in the Senate of the United States, assaults upon the South, made by Northern Senators.

There is great danger in a disruption of this government. Mr. Calhoun had said that no man could tell what would be the consequences of disunion. But it has no terrors, if effected in a prop-or manner. We were safe in the confederacy while the fires of patriotism were kept alive on North ern altars; we were safe then as in a camp of comrades in arms; but we are not safe in a confederacy in which the fires of patriotiem are extin guished, and the precepts of Hancock are super-seded by a sickly sentimentality, which prates of a higher law, and seeks to render the Constitution subservient to fanaticism.

At this time, the slaves of the South were in good condition, their labor was directed by intelli-gence, and they were better fed and clothed than the laboring classes among the people of the North.

The whole Northern mind is under the duress of lanaticism. Its influence cannot be resisted, any more than the fire of the prairie can be extinguished. He would make this assertion, and it was a truth of history, that all articles in the Constitution in favor of slavery have been disre-garded or violated. So far from delivering up slaves who had fled from their owners, they shut their jails, imposed penalties upon their officers for executing the law, rendering it a dead letter, and preventing you from recovering your property save at the risk of life. If the slaves would be bettered in condition by their efforts, or if it were really a sin to hold slaves, or if they were sinfully degraded, we could pardon the feeling which prompted them to act thus. But the tion. And how could Northern abolitionists have stock of negroes brought to this country were brought in Northern vessels! They made a provision in some of the States that all the negroes after a certain date should be free at twenty-one years of age. But the mothers disappeared, and these sincers and philanthropic gentlemen pocket-ed the money. They set the children free, and sold the mothers into slavery.

The Presidential election is pending, and we

should bring ourselves to look at the true issue. The Union has already survived the Constitution Fremont may be elected to the Presidency. The idea of his assuming the control of the government would be, in effect, a Northern confederacy elect ing a President to govern the Union-a President elected by one section to make war upon another. Who is Fremont! A native of Georgia, educated in South Carolina, his parents of Virginia, in his habits a cosmopolite! A man who has never filled the most insignificant civil office, and who, if he has learned any thing at all of the Constitution, learned it amid the snows of Oregon, where he had no Constitution to read. He had never a trust Mr. Buchanan. I think it probable that John C. confided to him; he had no experience whatever, Fremont may be the next President. With the cause he would have the casuistry to do the dirty \$80,000,000 at his control, with the army and work he was chosen for. As a military man, he navy at his command, what is to be done to you had no laurels, never having been engaged in battle. If he was elected, he would consider the Constitution as an idle impediment in his way, which he would remove. When Fremont is elected, we self and my friends. I have got friends here, be-tween whose opinions on politics there is a shade of difference, and a decided shade. I am not going call the Legislature of his State together, and have

And as this dissolution is to come, I think you ought, as sensible men, take a running start, and hit the first blow. Now, fellow-eitizens, I do not care what may be the effect at the North; we have good friends at the North; there are good men there, whom I love and respect—men who are particle, but I tall now that a white section. Governor Adams said that, at the late hour at

copie in their majesty rising above the law and not to be honored, but to honor. The act of their aders, taking the power into their own hands, representative had gathered them there, and he going by concert or not by concert, and laying the strong arm of Southern freemen upon the treasury and archives of the government. [Applause.] I speak for myself; I do not say what I do not intend to do. If you, people of the Fourth Congressional District—fifty, one hundred, five hundred, or one thousand of you intimate the sand of your common mother, whose reputation

> from all other Congressional fights. It overshad-ows the effect of anything similar. The pulling of Gen. Jackson's nose by an indignant officer of the navy was nothing compared with the storm which has been evoked by Mr. Brooks. Why was this! has been evoked by Mr. Brooks. Why was this:
> Why went there up from the North such a how! about
> a breach of the privilege of free speech! Why did
> Congress single out, and seek to disgrace your representative before the people! It was because the
> parties to that conflict stood before the country as living embodiments of the sentiment of their respective sections. Your representative began in the right way, and in the right place. Freedom of debate is not freedom to use licentious and blasphemous words. May South Carolina never need a champion to follow the course of your rep-

SELECTIONS.

WHO ARE THE TRAITORS? Preston S. Brooks has had another oration in

Preston S, Brooks has had another ovation in South Carolina, with the presentation of more causes, and more goblets of silver and of gold. Now, we do not object to these donations; we would rather encourage them; because, in an enlightened age—should such an age ever dawn upon South Carolina—every one of these gifts will be a memorial of the sublimated rascality of Brooks. We believe in the progress even of the race which now inhabits South Carolina; and all the revenge we would take upon that State is to let future generations there know what an awful mean ancestry was theirs. Neither do we object to the dining, the dancing, the cavalcade, the pomp and circumstance invoked to invest a felonious assault with the garb of heroism. They show that the with the garb of heroism. They show that the people of South Carolina have the common grati-tude which is found in dogs, and even in inferior animals. To edge on an assassin, and then to turn upon him the cold shoulder, is what the Borgias were hardly guilty of. We like gratitude wherever we find it. Brooks has done his State a service, and he deserves all the honor which that State can bestow upon him. Thus far we are ex-ceedingly well satisfied with the royal reception of Mr. Brooks by his constituents. But with the speeches made upon the interesting occasion, we are not so well pleased. They seem to us to have been, to use a mild term, to a certain extent criminal, wild, extravagant, radical and revolutionary. If the foaming orators who made them knew what they were saying, then they are black-hearted traitors, and ought now to be on their way to the gal-lows. If they did not know what they were eay-ing, then they are addled lunatics, and ought now to be on their way to the asylum.—Boston Atlas.

We have the authority of the New York Herald for the statement that Col. Fremont has received several anonymous letters, threatening him with assassination. Incredulous people, or those who have not properly estimated the violent spirit of the times, may regard this story as a fiction, invented for electioneering purposes. But we see in it nothing improbable. The Hotspurs of the South, the crazy followers of a crazy Wise, the bloody-minded admirers of blackguard Brooks, the drawcansirs who vapor about Southern rights, and alternate between the folly of freason and the forecity of flogging, are just the men to stab, to shoot or to poison a successful political adversary. They mob and murder and lynch suspected people at home; why should they not extend the field of their felonious labors to New York! The assault upon Mr. Sumner, morally considered, was an aseassination. While it was going on, sundry bro-ther bullies stood by, ready, should any one inter-fere, to duplicate or triplicate the murder. What s more probable than that some low fellow, lashed into a frenzy by such an example, and by such words as continually drop from the mouths of Southern rhetoricians, may yield to the fanatical element of his nature, and seek to win prize plate he has been taught to consider a public enemy! The spirit of Southern men is a spirit of assassi nation. They steal, like cats, upon their prey. Unless they have an opponent off his guard, they are sure to be worsted. They never assault adversaries known to carry arms. They may lack courage to consummate an infamous plot against the person of Col. Fremont, but, in serious sadness we ay, that we do not believe the will to be wanting

A certain Richard Yeadon, of Charleston, S. C .. who, when he is at home, manages or mismanages a newspaper, being now at the North, lets off his superfluous gas by writing rigmarole letters to the Northern newspapers. We found, with our New York Herald on Tucsday evening, a letter of about sixteen columns in length, in which this Yeadon bored the public by telling them what he thought, after a personal interview, of Garrison and Parker. We certainly supposed that this outpouring would ease him until he could get home, and expend himself in a legitimate way, in his own newspaper. But we were mistaken. Yeaden was at it again the very next day, and sent another epistle to the New York News, in which he fell upon Col. Fremont with a forty ass power, charg-ing that gentleman with having been poor in his youth; with having broken off a marriage which ne had contracted with what Yeadon calls ' a poor but respectable girl; with having failed to pay his tailor's bill when a poor young man; and with being a Catholic. This Yeadon rakes and scrapes together all the petty gossip of the city of Charles-ton, and moulds with the scraps a bomb which he thinks will blow Fremont sky high. Yeadon is a great bore. He is the same man who made the speech at the Plymouth celebration, which would have been interminable, had he not been unanimously requested by a desperate and frantic audience to sit down. He had better go home, and send us a gentleman to represent South Carolina.

LETTER FROM MRS. STOWE ON TEMPE-RANCE AND THE NEW PRESIDENT. The supporters of the temperance movement

sent, through the Earl of Harrington, an invitation to Mrs. Stowe to attend a public meeting in Derby, in order that a congratulatory address might be presented to her. The Earl of Harrington accompanied the invitation with one from himself, requesting the bonor of a visit from Mrs. Stowe and her husband (Professor Stowe) at Elvaston Castle, during their stay in the neighborhood. Mrs. Stowe declined the invitation, as her husband was obliged to leave England to resume his official duties, and she was unwilling to undergo the reception of an address, unassisted by him. In her tter to the Earl of Harrington, she speaks of the advantage which the Maine Liquor Law has been to the United States, and adds:—

' My heart warms with satisfaction at the beginning of the cause in England. I rejoice that the splendid accessions of your Lordehip's rank and position are being made instruments in the great cause of human improvement; and I trust that the English and American oaks which have been planted together in your beautiful grounds in commemoration of the inaugoration of this cause in England, may grow and mingle their branches together—emblems of our national union in every work of peace and good will to men. It is my belief, from observation and travel in England and Scotland, that almost all the poverty and misery of the lower classes now arises from the traffic in intoxicating drinks. In no country has benevolence been more energetic, and the progress of social reform more rapid. The benevolent works of Eogland strike a stranger as really sucondoos, yet this one cause seems to nullify all, and keep up misery, vice and distress.

'It seems to me that there is now scarcely any

cause of poverty and distress which the supples tion of the liquor traffic would not remove. Since emigration to the colonies has equalized the popu lation, it would seem as if there might be boring population, were it not for the enormous taxation and drain of ardent spirits. The view of your great cities flaming nightly with signs of "Rum, brandy, and gin," is to the eyes of an American as appalling as the slave-markets of our American as appalling as the stave-markets of our Southern States to an Englishman. With the majority of our respectable population in New England, these articles are considered as pertaining only to the department of medical practice, and, if we have them in our houses at all, it is with the same precaution and watchfulness that we use other medicines. When we see how they are publications and the same precaution and watchfulness that we use other medicines. licly obtruded on the eye here every night, with all the attractions of brilliant lights and splendid shops, we wonder that there are any who escape such temptations. But let us hope that our two countries are both on the eve of new and better things. It is our hope that the cause of liberty in America is about to triumph-that the wisand good, who too long have slumbered and slept, are awaking in good earnest to wipe out the dis grace of post remissness by placing in our highest national seat a President who shall consistently uphold the principles of freedom.'

LETTER PROM REV. SAMUEL J. MAY. Syracuse, August 20, 1856. To the Editors of the National A. S. Standard :

DEAR FRIENDS: I have pondered the comment made in your last two papers upon my 4th of July Oration, and upon the position of the Republican party, with which I have determined to act in the election of the next President.

You cannot suppose that the slightest change has taken place in my views of slavery, and of the end we are bound to attain-even its entire extirpa-That I look to this as the consummation, not tion. That I look to this as the consummation, not only 'devoutly to be wished,' but energetically pursued, was plainly declared in the speech to which you have taken exception.

I differ from you and Messrs. Garrison, Phillips, Pillsbury and others, as to the propriety of doing what we honorably may to ensure the election of Col. John C. Frement and Hon. William L. Day-

ton. Our difference on this point is owing, no doubt, to our disagreement in respect to the Constitution of the United States—the character of that document, and the obligations which it in poses upon those who swear to support or consent to live under it.

If I could see that the Constitution was intended by its framers, and those who ratified it, to be, and that it must needs continue to be, what the slaveholders and their accomplices have made it, and that the candidates of the Republican party, if elected, would be compelled by their oath of office to give their sanction to such outrages upon the rights of man as have been heretofore perpetuated by our General Government, I would let my right hand wither at my side before I would raise it to deposit my vote at the coming election.

But, touching the subject of slavery, the Constitution seems to have been made what it is by the management of politicians and statesmen, and the consent of the people. Surely, then, what they have made they can unmake. On this troublesome point the framers of the basis of our General Gov ernment intended that it should be obscure, indefinite; and so it is, to such a degree that our most devoted Abolitionists insist upon opposite interpre-tations of those articles under which elavery has

More than twenty years ago, I discovered, on a critical examination, * that there is nothing in the language of our Constitution that binds our Government or its constituents to the service of slave holders. Into this base subserviency the people have been wheedled and bribed by their rulers. The Madison Papers show, it seems to me, that the Federal Convention refused to give explicitly any sanction to slavery. They would have been horrified at the proposal to fix this system of op-pression in our Republic forever, and to put the reins of our Government into the hands of a few domestic tyrants. If anything to this effect had been apparent in their doings or intentions, the people of two-thirds of the States never would have ratified the Constitution. I need not quote, to such as yourselves, the proofs on which these with the Madison Papers, and with the Reports of the State Conventions.

Evidently, it seems to me, the intention of the framers of our Constitution was, not to give to slavery their explicit sanction or even recognition, but so to leave this difficult matter that the several States, if they chose, might maintain their . Peculiar Institution ' awhile longer, on their own responsibility; and that, whenever they should see fit to abolish it (as it was confidently believed they soon would,) slavery might pass away from our midst, without making any fracture in the framework of our Republic, or leaving anything superfluous in it.

Time has shown that they committed a capital error. They appreciated too highly the love of liberty amongst the people. They were not aware how deeply the roots of slavery had struck into our land. They did not foresee how great would be the inducements of a portion of these States to protect and foster this evil. They never dreamt that the Constitution they had devised, 'in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity -they never dreamt that the instrument they had so carefully formed was to be so wielded by a slaveholding oligarchy that it would produc precisely the opposite effects-disunion, injustice civil war-in order to perpetuate and extend a sys tem of more cruel oppression than ever before af-flicted any portion of the buman race. Yet all

this has come to pass.

Since the generation to which the founders of ou Republic belonged passed away, the statesmen o South have claimed, and the statesmen of the North have conceded, that a monstrous compact was made in and by our Constitution guaranteeing the enslavement of a large body of the of the land. In the national conventions of the political parties, this grand assumption has passed without question. The people generally throughout the country have been instructed to believe that a provision for the protection of slavery is an integral part of our civil fabric. Our Presidentia elections have been so managed that the adminis-tration of the General Government has been kept in the hands of slaveholders or their creatures, excepting only for eight years. And the United States Court, the authorized expounder of the fondamental law of the land, and which, of late, has shown itself to be the supple tool of ' the Powers

shown itself to be the supple tool of the Fowers that be,' has always put pro-slavery interpretations upon the Constitution, and given the weight of its influence to our oppressors.

But, surely, if we examine the Constitution itself, we shall find therein nothing to prevent our nation's receding from all the ways into which we nation's receding from all the wrong into which we have been misled, and making our General Government to conform to the glorious intention, declared

We might plead that the repeated, egregious violations of the Constitution by the slaveholders and in their behalf-the annexations of Louisiana Florida, and Texas; the utter denial to citizens o the free States of the right of ingress into the slave States: the assaults, violent, murderous assaults, made by slaveholders upon liberty of speech and freedom of the press—we might plead that their violations of the Constitution exonerate us from our obligations under that compact; but we do not claim any right to set at naught our part of the agreement, because they have descrated and trampled upon theirs.

Whatever our Fathers of the Republic agreed to do or to permit, that we can do or permit without sin, we will not fail to keep the agreement, however false and treacherous to us the slaveholding portion of the Union may have been. But our interpretation of the Constitution may honestly be different from theirs; and, then, if any of its provisions do indeed require of us 10 commit sin, we are bound to treat them as null and void, because no conventional agreements can exonerate us from

General Jackson set the example, or rather avowed the principle, that the President of the United States is bound to support the Constitution as he understands it. The Hon, Wm. H. Seward has announced and maintained in Congress the doctrine of 'The Higher Law.' And you and I.

and all true Abolitionists and true men know full well, that no constitutions, no compromises, nor compacts which our fathers may have made for us, or we can make for ourselves, can impose upon us any obligations to set at naught the inalienable rights of any men, or the unchangable laws of Almighty God. We are all, in virtue of our moral constitution, under higher obligations to break than to keep a wicked agreement, that we ourselves may have made or us. This doctrine I declared, as explicitly as I was able to declare it, in the first discourse I ever delivered upon slavery "y"—and I have preached it ever since.

Our National Legislature, it is true, have enacted pro-slavery laws; the United States Court have pronounced them constitutional; and the Executive arm has been imposed upon any one to treat such laws with the slightest respect. The Constitutions on which they rely for their authority, is not competent to give them any moral validity. We cannot obey them without committing sin. Never since I turned my thought to the subject have I heeitated to deny utterly the right of the slave-holder to his bondmen. The Constitution itself, if it was intended, or has been perverted to hind them to him, could have no more force (morally speaking) than a rope of sand. Every one who has the to him, could have no more force (morally speaking) than a rope of sand. Every one who has the opportunity, is as much bound to aid the escape of an American slave, as of one held in durance vile by an Algerine pirate.

In this and in all the fundamental principles of

our enterprise, as laid down in 'the Declaration of the Sentiments and Purposes of the American Anti-Slavery Society '-I heartily agree with you and with Mr. Garrison. I also think with you that the work we have had, and still have to do. mainly, is to correct the public sentiment, and prick the consciences of our countrymen on the subject of slavery; for not until they are brought to appreciate the enormous wickedness of holding fellow-men in bundage, and realize their responsibility, indirectly as well as directly, for the continuation of slavery will they decire to be constitutive. ance of slavery, will they desire to be exonerated from the guilt of such oppression. We have toiled diligently for twenty-five years in this direction, and have accomplished much, though much less than we expected to do in so long a time. We should persevere, for the most part, in the same way. But I am unable to see with you the impropriety of also acting politically to the overthrow of slavery whenever we can do so without a compromise of principle. In our Declaration at Phila-delphia, December, 1833, it is said, 'We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the States to remove slavery by moral and political ac-tion, as prescribed in the Constitution of the Uni-that our friend would expect us to print it in full. The ted States.' I see not why the same obligation does not press upon us now as then.

Several links of the chain that binds the Ameri-

can slave may be broken by the hands of our General Government in virtue of the powers vested in tive can then cleanse our National Capital of that most offensive of all nuisances. Congress can forbid the introduction of slavery into any of the Territories, and deny admission into the Union to any the inter-State slave trade, and it will then be the duty of the Executive to enforce the prohibition on land and at sea. Moreover, Congress has power, and in virtue of the 1st clause of the 2d Sec. of the IV Art. of the Constitution is bound to make tive to use all the means at its command, to secure to the citizens of the free States, whatever may be their complexion, unmolested ingress into and egress out of the slave States, with the full enjoy-ment of all the privileges and immunities of the

citizens of those States.

All these things the Congress of these United States may do, if they please; and they will please to do all these things so soon as 'the People' require them at their hands. And when all these things are done, it will be no difficult matter, by moral and ecclesiastical instrumentalities, to extirpate all the roots of slavery from the several States of paper, and putting it into a ballot-box." We do

ists can labor so effectually, to the great end we have in view, as by uniting with 'the people' whenever they shall be brought to attempt to obtain from Congress either of the things named above. The same sentiments which will impel them to demand of their Legislature one of those nets of rightcoursess shall uses them to require acts of righteousness, shall urge them to require also each of the others; and the same reasons that will require Congress to comply with one of these Frement. On the contrary, they deprecate all agitademands of the public heart, shall also require tion having that object in view. They are for protect-

them to comply with all the rest.

Ever since I became acquainted with Mr. Garri
Fifth-Mr. May says that 'there can be no union son (one of the most pregnant events of my life,) I between freemen and slaveholde with him, and have united him in declaring 'immediate emancipation to be the right of the enslaved, and the duty of the enmajority of the people to this great truth all at once, and to act accordingly. I have expected that the progress of this truth would be by steps, and much slower than our wishes. But every step in increases our confidence that we shall reach the

Slavery enterprise, has either of the political parties presented to us any inducement to co-operate with it. Generally both Whigs and Democrats have repulsed us from them, in disgust at their heartless indifference to the claims of the bondmen, or their cold-blooded concessions to the demands of the oppressors. It has been apparent that neither the one nor the other party has aimed to overthrow slavery, or even to prevent its extension. Seldom, therefore, throughout the last twenty-five years, have I voted, or given any countenance to either political party. But now, under the retributive providence of God, the people of the Northern States are themselves suffering from the encroachments of the slaveholders. They find their own liberties restricted, and in danger of being yet more seriously abridged. This has roused them, as they never were roused before, to a consciousness of the destructive influence and malign spirit of slaveholders in our Republic. They have come, a great majority of them, I believe, deeply to feel ten and reported by Gerrit Smith, (see our last page,) the imminent peril they are in, and to resolve to and adopted by the Jerry Rescue Convention at Syra confine the dominion of the slaveholders within its present limits, if nothing more. If they should really do this, and no more, this, in due time, would suffocate the tyrants. But if they do this, Statute Book, or the Constitution, or even the Bible, to you and I can easily foresee, that they will be com-pelled to go farther in behalf of Liberty, or else again when he says, 'When our submission is claimed need not now foreshow all that we foresee.

The Republican party is fired with the determination to arrest the progress of slavery—to prevent its extension. This is all they profess now to intend doing. But they do not declare that they will do no more. They have put up no barriers to their future inroads upon the great usurpation. And if they do stop after this, once more they will overridden and left behind by another higher political wave which will assuredly follow this. What they propose to do, the best friends of freeto have done. They are moving in a right direction, i. e., against Slavery. They have taken issue with the Slaveholders' party on a star for the Republican galaxy! Such deeds are renvital point. I wish them success. I shall, therefore, as now advised, go with them to the polls.

Mr. Fremont, in his acceptance of the nomins tion of the Republican party, has very explicitly declared his antagonism to slavery; and he pos-sesses the qualities that will make that antagonism felt, wherever he may come in conflict with the Power that is attempting to extend this fell domin-ion. 'Tis true, he has avowed his determination to ion. 'Tis true, he has avowed his determination to defer to the authority of the several States, touch-ing the slavery within their borders. This is no more than the American Anti-Slavery Society did our first page, of a reception meeting given to bully at its formation. And if Mr. Frem Dayton will encourage and sanction all the enactments against slavery, which Congress might constitutionally pass, we shall all concur in pronouncing upon them the commendation — well done ing upon them the commendation — well done, good and faithful servants. This commendation will they deserve, although they leave us at the end of their career, still to toil for the liberation of the enslaved in the several States, by moral and

ecclesiastical means alone.

There are no persons living, whose approval of my sentiments and actions I desire more than Mr. Garrison's and yours. But I must nevertheless

* See my 4th of July Oration, 1831, published by Garrison & Kuapp.

THE LIBERATOR No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 24, 1856.

WHAT IS INVOLVED IN A VOTE? We can find no room, in our present number, for any xtended comments on the Letter of our estimable friend AMURL J. MAY to HENRY C. WRIGHT, in regard to what involved in voting for Mr. Fremont ; and, perhaps, the discussion ought to be left exclusively to the partie themselves. As, however, Mr. Wright cannot make reply before the election, (being at the far West,) we may be allowed to offer a very brief criticism upon the

In consequence of Mr. May's expression of regret that we did not transfer to our columns his Letter to the Anti-Slavery Standard of August 20, we now cheerfully lay it before our readers. Not having room conveniently for it in our paper, at the time of its ap pearance, we noticed its principal points in a way to two Letters, however, we give this week, and we ask for them a candid and careful perusal.

First, let us say, no one believes, no one has intimated, that Mr. May is not actuated by all that puriit by the Constitution. Congress can abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Execu-Fremont's election, which he has ever evinced in his long and realous advocacy of the cause of the slave ; but this is not the point in debate.

Second-There is no difference of opinion between new State, but upon the condition that there shall Mr. May and ourselves as to the relative position of Mr. no slavery in it. Congress can forbid utterly Fremont and Mr. Buchanan, respecting slavery in the territories, and perhaps the destiny of Kansas. It is true, moreover, that the election of Mr. Fremont is greatly dreaded by the slaveholders as a body. It is also true, as a general proposition, that what they fear, all necessary provisions, and call upon the Execu- abolitionists should desire; but not always-as, for example, they dread a bloody insurrection on the part of their victims, but our pacific friend would not therefore help to concoct a scheme for cutting their throats. In endeavoring to aid a righteous cause, we must not wholly be guided by the fears of its enemies or our own desires, but see whether we compromise principle.

Third-Our friend 'can see no difference betwee the morality of desiring that Mr. Fremont [instead of Mr. Buchanan] may be our next President, and the morality of voting-expressing that desire on a piece where they are beyond the reach of our General For example : if this country should be ruthlessly in-Government.

I am, therefore, unable to see how we Abolition-lead us to desire that, in the struggle, the invaders

but the Republican party does not say so, nor does Mr.

vote for those who atterly reject this doctrine, and who are zealous to perpetuare such a union. Is not this to But I have not expected to bring the build up with one hand, and pull down with the other?

Sixth-Our friend seems to think that his vote will cover nothing but the Kansas issue. Herein is his error. His vote is for the government as organized,-to the right direction brings us nearer to the end, and give Congress power to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, raise and support armies, provide and maintain a navy-&c., (to say nothing of its slaveholding compromises, all of which Mr. Frement recognizes, and stands ready to enforce.) How can our non-resisting brother May go to the polls under such circumstances-or as an uncompromising abolitionist?

> Gov. Robinson in Boston. On Saturday evening last, Tremont Temple was crowded with a highly respectable and appreciative andience, to listen to an address from Gov. Robinson, of Kansas, respecting that ill-fated territory. He was received with great enthusiasm, and made a straight-forward and thrilling statement of the facts connected with the subjugation of Kansas by the joint action of the Border Ruffians and President Pierce. The sum of \$325 was collected, and a gold watch, worth fifty dollars, was contributed by a noble-hearted Boston mechanic.

case, Oct. 1, 1856, Mr. Smith utters a great truth when he says, ' God is disowned by all those who suffer the recode from even this small advance. However, we to the civil power, because it is the civil power; or to the church, because it is the church ; or even to the Bible vance mental freedom, and to break the chains of

> ESTABLISHMENT OF SLAVERY IN NICARAGUA. The American fillibuster, Walker, has abrogated the law of Nicaragua which prohibited slavery there, and thus thrown it open to the 'peculiar institution.' Another dered possible only by the continuance of this bloodstained Union-Walker being but the agent of the Slave Power, which holds possession of the government, and is intrenched in the Constitution. What is it that it cannot do with impunity?

For another exhibition of superlative scoundrelism and naked treason on the part of the 'chivalry' of South Carolina, read the detestable proceedings, on ont and Mr. Brooks' by his constituents.

> The Boston Post, in garbling our language, and rying to make its readers believe that we are the partisan of John C. Fremont, and that therefore Mr. Fremont is a disunionist, is consciously acting a mean and dirty part, and very characteristic withal-

For an excellent essay on Human Governme by Dr. A. BROOKE, of Marlboro', Ohio, see our las

We must let Mr. YEADON, of South Caroline slide ' this week, to give place to Mr. HILLARD.

A POLITICAL JOSEPH SURPACE-SPEECH mine its own institutions? No. But simply by undo OP HON, GEORGE S. HILLARD.

GEORGE S. HILLARD, at the Whig meeting in Fancult the nerves of Southern slave-mongers and Northern Hall, Thursday evening, Oct. 16. What its merits are doughfaces! The precise truth is, that the South is may be inferred, without a perusal, from its publication in that sheet, accompanied by an editorial puff of it as grand series (!) of Whig addresses preceding it,' and by the announcement, 'We have printed a large edition one object, the non-extension of slavery; repudiates of the Courier containing this speech, and clubs and every other issue; is lavish in its expressions of regard individuals interested in the circulation of wholesome truth, (!) have now an opportunity of doing so. No- perversity, but solely in consequence of the perfidious lignity, its atter contempt for the rights of man, its where disclaims any intention or wish to disturb th affinity with the spirit of border ruffianism, its unmitigated toryism, this certificate sufficiently shows the at the South, only because they cannot be given excep worthlessness of this speech.

Happening to be at its delivery, (to gratify a friend or asked for any thing illegal or unreasonable; its spirit from abroad who was desirous of witnessing a political is conservative, not radical; it seeks peace, not wargathering in Faneuil Hall,) we propose to make a brief repose, not agitation—and maintains a purely defer examination of it, now that it is made public in print, sive position. If Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster were now on account of its pretentious character, and the com- living, they would be its leaders, or else be shameless! mendation of it as worthy of a wide circulation. recreant to their solemnly recorded declarations. The

is not pleasant to be abused in the newspapers.' We of being sectional and geographical-of aiming to shall neither abuse nor misrepresent him, intentionally, 'punish the South'—of designedly arraying one part of Sometimes it is as unpleasant to be truthfully described the country against the other—are lies of the first magin the newspapers' as it is to be abused ; but those who nitude, uttered for an evil purpose, and known to b would escape public criticism must not challenge public such by those who put them in circulation. What do observation, and set themselves up for censors or ora- Mr. Hillard care for all this? 'It is no answer,' he cles. At a comparatively early period in the anti-sla- coolly rejoins, 'that the platform of the party is exfriendly countenance; and on more than one occasion reasonable men at the South should not object. [In did it at least some incidental service by the utterances | deed !] The fact is, that in fifteen States of this Union, that fell from his lips. Soon, however, like many oth- that party can have no support, and that in thos aristocracy, was made 'honorable' by a seat in the ceptions, looks upon it with the strongest aversion and hearted and conservative as hunkerism in its intensest party, or to the eternal disgrace of the South? Is it form could desire. 'I am well known,' is now his own not monstrous to argue that right should yield up every language in Faneuil Hall, 'to be no radical, no dem- thing to wrong, and that they are blameworthy who octat, no socialist.' Neither is Pius Ninth, nor Louis will not allow their rights to be trodden in the dust cisely what this language means, where the man who despotism? What Mr. Hillard and his traitorous friend utters it stands, and what are his affinities. In Amer- are endeavoring to bring about is THE ORDER THAT ica, Mr. Hillard has no sympathy with the masses; in REIGNS IN WARSAW: to please the Russian Auto Europe, he would espouse the side of despotism. 'I ven- crat, Poland must make no claim to independence of ture to say,' was his boast the other evening, 'that I freedom! The victim who is assailed must raise no am one of those to whom the reoperty of the country outcries, and make no resistance to the ravisher; and might naturally look for defence, if it were assailed.' if she does, then she is to be denounced as far mor Of course! But he is not the one to whom LIBERTY guilty than the wretch who is seeking to pollute her would look for defence or succor, when overborne This is the logic, the decency, the morality of the Hon by the minions of tyranny. On listening to his speech, - George S. Hillard in Fanenil Hall, backed by all the which was very mean in some of its features, and ex- pro-slavery scoundrelism of the land, from Franklin ceedingly sophistical throughout, -we were painfully Pierce up to B. F. Stringfellow. 'As a practical ques impressed that he has no fixed principles of action, but tion, he says, 'it is of no consequence whether the South is a mere political expedientist, one of that very large is right or wrong (!) in the countenance it turns toward class of Catholic and Protestant Jesuits, which accepts this party. The fact is what we want, and all that we as true wisdom the doctrine, that 'the end sanctifies want (!!) That is the star we must steer by in poli the means,' and regards as fanaticism an inflexible ad- ties and government' (!!!) Surely, then, that star herence to the right. Allowing him to be well-inten- must be the one described in Revelation, that * fell upon tioned, we think he draws his own portrait when he the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of says, 'The history of all democratic countries may be waters; and the name of the star is Wonnwood summed up in one word-the timid good yielding to the and many men died of the waters, because they aggressions of the bild bad.' Surely, in this country, were made bitter.' Now, what an insult alike to the the bold bad' are pre-eminently the slave oligarchy, moral sense and common sense of mankind it is to the slave propagandists, and their Northern allies, who declare that, as a practical question, it is of no conse are bent upon extending and perpetuating slavery ad quence who is in the right, or who in the wrong infinitum, to the subversion of all the safeguards of As if right and wrong were the merest abstractions, freedom; but, so far is he from resisting their aggres- and should not be regarded in any great struggle,sions, he is for yielding up every thing for the sake of except to allow the wrong to have every thing its own peace, and speaks derisively and falsely of those who way! 'All that we want to know' is, that the rapaare trying to keep the 'bold bad' within their own clous South is bent upon subjugating the North to its slavery-cursed domains.

and literary judgment are unquestionable; he may com- tious and treasonable, and punished accordingly !sphere in the political arena, and makes himself ridicu- fore, ' put out the light -and then, put out the light 'the other, is very shallow reasoning. It is equally true, own showing, are irritable, impatient, and sensitive. upon it as an indication of remarkable strength and rare ed, if you had lived in the days of Isaiah and Jeremito be placed in an attitude which he knew would bring and of the Revolutionary struggle. down upon him a storm of Southern fury, (to say noth- Read what Mr. H. says respecting the repeal of the

the station. army of Border Ruffians, Benjamin F. Hallett, Rufus put down by sneers. What said Daniel Webster, the Choate, and-George S. Hillard. Let us look at the consistency of this speech.

sponsible for the present sectional storm that is howling to the annihilation of the North. No one understands around us. By the repeal of the Missouri Compro- this better than Mr. H.; and it is shamefully dishonest mise, they broke up the great deep of anti-slavery agi- in him, therefore, to quibble in this manner, and to tation, and untied the winds of fanaticism to make war attempt to throw dust in the eyes of a trustful people. upon the Constitution. It was an act of stupendous fully; a greater than which was never committed by was the intellectual offering of that able and unsernmen outside of a lunatic hospital; and for it that party pulous man, the Senator from Illinois, [S. A. Douglas,] deserves condign punishment.' This charge against the who, by his superior power of will, compelled the Democratic party is true; but that party is but the President—a man not quite strong enough for that echo of the slave oligarchy; and it is the South, there- place—to stand for it at the baptismal font.' Ridicu fore, that has commenced a strictly sectional warfare, lous and false! Douglas was but the tool of the slave for the horrible purpose of perpetuating her slave sys- oligarchy, and, eager for his own elevation, understandtem. With what effrontery, then, does Mr. Hillard ingly put the ball in motion for the twofold purpose of say - The Republican party is neither more nor less than an array of the North, as such, against the South, slaveholder, and therefore directly interested in the seas such (!) . . It is a geographical party-of all parties curity and increasing value of slave property. He is the most dangerous, and the most to be deprecated. . . . the representative and incornation of the Slave Power, to The South is to be punished '(!!)-Punished forsooth! the extent of his ability, and to all intents and purpo acknowledged rights under the Constitution? No. By

Six columns of the Boston Courier of Saturday are couri Compromise, and thus once more tying up those coupied with the report of a speech delivered by Hon. 'winds of fanaticism' which now so powerfully affect arrayed against the North, and not the North against the South. Mr. Hillard is a cool, deliberate slanderer a performance in every respect worthy of the fame (!) The Republican party stands exactly where the Whig of the accomplished orator, quite equal to any of the party stood while Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster were liv for the Union ; is 'geographical' not through its own torious as the Courier is for its deadly pro-slavery ma. action and lawless designs of the Slave Power; ever original compact; and is deprived of thousands of vote at the peril of life. No man can show that it has don

First, a word in regard to Mr. Hillard. He says 'it charges, therefore, so constantly brought against itvery movement, Mr. Hillard seemed inclined to give it pressed in terms to which, as abstract propositions. ers, he fell away - became a literary pet of the Boston States every man, woman and child, with very few ex-State Senate, and has ever since been as narrow, cold- the liveliest alarm.' But is this to the discredit of that Napoleon, nor the Emperor of Austria. We know pre- under the hoofs of border ruffianism and slaveholding

own desperate will; and then, the duty of the North Mr. Hillard mistakes his calibre in presenting himself is plain-to submit, like a bond-slave, without a murin Fancuil Hall at such a crisis. His scholarly taste mur-or, if she resist, then she is to be branded as fac pile a very good school-book, and can write a credita- Now, this is the theory, sy, and the practice, of all ty ble essay ; he may show some zeal, if not marked abil- rants, usurpers, invaders, and villains of every grade. ity, in the defence of 'property'; but he is out of his Those whose deeds are evil cannot bear the light; therelous in assuming to describe and measure true states. making assurance doubly sure! Such is the reasoning manship. It was ludicrous to listen to his criticisms of the speech under consideration-cowardly, profliupon Col. Fremont, (whose partisan assuredly we are gate, brutal. What is he better than a lunatic in counnot,) and to see him try to reduce to insignificance the sel, who insists that 'that the star we must steer by, man who has more executive talent in his little finger in politics and government,' is to ignore the question than Mr. H. has in his entire person, and who has of right and wrong, and to submit to whatever the been found equal to every position he has been called South demands? For if we of the North may ever revery good pathfinder, and a very indifferent President'; ceptionable way, than by the voice or the ballot? * You but to assume that, because he is the one, he must be exasperate men,' Mr. Hillard rejoins, 'who, by your that 'if we were looking round for a person to take So did the prophets; so did Jesus and the apostles; so charge of an expedition across the Rocky Mountains, did 'the noble army of martyrs and confessors'; so it would be absurd to put forth Mr. Fillmore for the did Wickliffe, Luther, Calvin, Fox, and Wesley ; so did place'; but not more absurd than it would be to put Washington, Hancock, Franklin, Jay and Hamilton. the reins of the government into his hunds at the present How can we do better? Show us, most sagacious critcrisis, as the servile tool of the Slave Power. Mr. Hil. ic, how imperious and blood-thirsty oppressors can be lard may choose to consider it 'a weakness in Mr. Fre- resisted or rebuked, without exciting their anger! mont to be tempted by the dazzling glare of a Presiden- Your panacea is, dastardly submission! It is not diftial nomination out of a career in which he had so bril- ficult to decide where you would have stood, whose part liant a past and so promising a future,' but we look you would have taken, whom you would have condemnself-reliance, not to say self-sacrifice, to allow himself ah, of Jesus and Paul, of the Lutheran Reformation,

ing of Northern pro-slavery malignity.) hitherto un- Missouri Compromise :- The Republican leaders are paralleled in any Presidential conflict. Mr. H. admits for ever roaring in our ears that it was done by the that 'Mr. Fremont is in many respects a remarkable South, or the Slave Power, as they delight to call it. man: as a geographical discoverer, as a scientific ex- It is Southern aggression, Southern wrong, they say. plorer, as a bold pioneer of civilization, he has done Nothing can be more untrue or unfair. (!!) It was honor to himself and his country.' But, 'he has not a party measure, devised for political purposes, with a had the training, nor reaped the experience, which we view to the present or next Presidential contest, and need in a Chief Magistrate.' What better training had not a Southern measure, devised in the first instance Harrison or Taylor ?- for both of whom we have no for the extension of slavery.' Now, to all this we say, doubt Mr. Hillard gave his vote as the regular Whig 'nothing can be more untrue or unfair.' The repeal of candidates ; and had Mr. Fremont been selected by the that compromise had no more to do with any Presiden-Whigs, instead of Mr. Fillmore, no reflection would Mr. tial contest, hear or remote, except incidentally, than II. be disposed to cast upon his entire competency for had the original formation of it, or the annexation of Texas, or the war with Mexico, or the passage of the The most zealous supporters of Mr. Fremont, he de- Fugitive Slave Law, or the expulsion of Mr. Hoar from clares, are * found among those in whom the imagina- South Carolina, or the invasion and conquest of Kantion and sensibilities predominate-among women, sas by the border ruffians, or the murderous assault young men, clergymen, and retired scholars. Be it so; upon Mr. Sumner. These are all connecting links in but they have chosen an eminently practical man, and the same chain, the design of which is to bind fast the not a fanciful theorist-'a geographical discoverer,' liberties of the people, and to 'crush out' every sentiand not a sentimentalist- a scientific explorer, and ment of freedom. It is true that the Democratic party not a radical-'a bold pioneer of civilization,' and not is to be held responsible for the deed as a party; but a mere rhetorician, though his eventful career may it is equally true that that party has ever done whalmake him what Mr. H. sneeringly styles 'an eminent- ever the Slave Power has commanded, and always gone ly pictorial candidate.' Who are among his most zeal- with the South against the North. Hence, what 'the ous opponents it is not difficult to name-Preston S. Republican leaders are for ever roaring in our ears' is Brooks, Keitt, Atchison, the Stringfellows, the entire the eternal truth, and cannot be disproved by facts nor oracle of Mr. Hillard and the Whig party? 'THERE IS NO NORTH '-i. c., the South has dictated every First, we are told that ' the Democratic party is re- policy, and carried every measure of the government

Again, he says of the repeal of the compromise- I In what way? By interfering with slavery where it ses. As against that Power, no one man however now exists? No. By depriving her of any of her strong, no body of men however patriotic, no party however powerful, has been able to stand for a momen refusing to recognize the right of each State to deter- and it still remains omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent in our land, acting on its own sed site on unanimity, and exacting of the North shares needs to accomplish its nefarious designs. Mr. Hillard admits that it is true that the opposite atives of the Southern States did vote for the when the issue was presented to them at how when the mout innocent souls ! they had nothing to do with the it!—and he thinks 'it would have been buy mous (!) in them had they done othersa. then, he is consoled to think it was human is the

do as they did, and he has long ceased to the perhuman virtues from human beings quotes as pertinent to this case of transcend man'! There should be no expostulation, to put and perverts language, and obscures the fig. of h. phistry is atrocious; such a representation of the maphistry is atrocious; such a representation of the na-ter an insult to every intelligent mind; such a peni not fit to be made.' We despise it as we despise final and loathe rapine, and abhor blood.

Towards the slave-propagandists of the South 16 Hillard is charitable to any extent; they are use just as any others would do, similarly circums gatory tone, and taker a hostile stillude today is excuse for them in human nature, and parkengers ing (as Mr. Burke would something) to the spirit liberty! The desecrator of Fancul Hall, the num ner of the deeds and examples of revolutionary in let him quit the old Bay State, and take up lans. dence in Carolina! 'It is a foul bird that dries h own nest,' says the proverb.

It is quite impossible to please this earlier, prove that they aim at nothing extrataguater miles prove that they aim as beining variangente uses, rable, the Republicans point to their platfern. 'I'm little heed to it,' is his flippant reply. 'I'de them in political platforms—I have seen too many of then; and some of them I have helped build apply I very ingenuous confession of political knavery is paeral, and also in special! And so, it goes for toking that the Republicans proclaim precisely what they set and how far they propose to go. Then, is the sec breath, Mr. Hillard declares that Mr. Fremont is at to be trusted, because he has no platfern, but the refuge in vague generalities, like the following

It would be out of place here to piege aparts any particular policy that has been suggested by aminate the sectional controversy engendered by placeal animosities, operating on a powerful case box together by a common interest. A practical reselva the admission of Kansas into the Union as a fee ton. The South should, in my judgment, earnestly densuch consummation. It would vindicate the god had it would correct the mistake of the repeal; and in North, having practically the benefit of the agreem between the two sections, would be satisfied, and particularly. feeling be restored.'

Thus, says Mr. Hillard, 'the Republican party his out forward a gentleman whose opinions are semtainly known upon the Fugitive Slave Lav, the In ka Constitution, and the power of Congress our very in the territories.' This is very true; and it & fectually disposes of the charge of ultrain breek against that party, seeing it has nominated to very pedent and conservative a candidate! But what if he Fremont had not observed this ' most judicious sime? It would then have been said that no reliance on h placed upon mere party promises. Mr. Hillerlin quibbler, and determined to find fault. He has a rum for being distrustful :-

A gentleman who has seen a good deal of life bet In England and America, once said that he held see seen a politician in either country who was set apecal, prefixing to the word an epithet which you mapations will easily supply; and, with ressenable in-

A moral might be derived from this in regard to fa corrupting nature of politics, and the duty of an ceiving its bearing, Mr. Hillard proceeds to bents top soundly those who take no more interest in political is fairs ! 'I heartily wish,' he says, 'that every min, st disabled by infirmity, who habitually neglects to vita could be punished, not by fine, but by being seit is House of Correction.' If this was uttered faceticals it is a very poor joke; if seriously, it is a tyranses sumption. He says that 50,000 voters in this Come wealth habitually absent themselves from the pis. This is not to be wholly attributed to indifference. I us it is a cheering indication, that multitudes are not and more convinced of the demoralizing effects of portics, and remember the proverb, that if they wall not be defiled, they must not touch pitch. Many then are self-disfranchised for conscience sake, not being a ling to uphold a war-sustaining and pro-slavery gaernment. But all these Mr. H. would seed to b House of Correction !

Millard Fillmore is his beau ideal of a President He is every thing that can be desired. True, he spal the horribly wicked Fugitive Slave Bill, under sid scores of victims have been seized at the North, at carried back to their terrible doom, and handred ! happy families have been violently dissevered, and the sands of joyous hearts broken, and numberles current perpetrated; but then, ' no man knows what are lie. Fremont's opinions on that law,' and nothing norths be said about it! 'The providence of Gol detoid upon him the government of the country, and is too of difficulty too, and well and nobly did he sequitive self of the trust'-first, by signing the unconstitution al and satanic Bill aforesaid, which sent a shale throughout the civilized world; second, by through to treat Boston as in a state of rebellion, because if the unpremeditated and uninjurious recor in a cutroom of an alleged fugitive slave (Shadrath); think by his endorsement of the Compromise Bill of 18% with all its revolting features; tourth, by his referal is nominate to the Senate, for any office, any man inett to cherish Free Soil sentiments; and finally, by on-tinually pandering to the cannibal appetite of the sam oligarchy, and helping them to increase the number of their victims. These are the proofs of his exists personal fitness for the post'; or, if any still doubt, & them look at the part he has played since his relat from Europe in June last-read the letter le in written-mark the language he has uttered and the cially remember the ground be has assumed, that Mr. Fremont should be elected President, the Suit will be justified in seceding from the Union ! 0, sp. Mr. Hillard, in reference to this treasonable desire tion, it was a mere slip of the tongue! When set speak without preparation, they are apt, now and the to let fall an expression which means more or less that they really intended. I remember that Mr. Balk in Portland, last year, talked about letting the Enis elide in a certain contingency. I have always bed that gentleman the justice to believe that thest sen hasty words—not to be treasured up sgainst his.

Most charitable opponent! How convenient to his
the New York factionist behind the Banks of Manh chusetts! But this ruse will not succeed: the case of not analogous. Mr Fillmore's language was wided qualification; it has every where elicited strong of pressions of indignation and astonishment at the North it has been copied approvingly into all the Lewisten of the South, and led to the utterance of a similar me ace on their part; and yet Mr. Fillmore, knowing this, and having had ample time to make an espine tion, remains dumb! It was not a lapsus lisgue, the sentiment of his heart, and it will deepen the inh

See Anti-Slavery Magazine, Vol. 2.

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my that will ever be attached to his memory. The declaration made by Mr. Banks was guarded, patriotic, and highly commendable. The man who does not approte of it is either a tyrant or his tool, -either fit to prove of the sender a sprant or his tool, either fit to force or to wear fetters. It does not any more need an spelory, than did the language of Patrick Henry when perclaimed, 'Give me liberty, or give me death ! !the language of Warren when he said in the presence of the minions of British tyranny, 'The voice of ence of the minimum of Street Syraphy, "The voice of sent score to be slaves!" '-or the language of the pelaration of Independence. Why did not Mr. Hillard peter it in substance, -ay, word for word? Why did penet state in schat contingency Mr. Banks would be willing to 'let the Union slide'? Because it would pathare apswered his deceptive purpose. Now let us set what Mr. Banks really said at Portland :-

Although am not one of that class of men wh Although A am not one of that class of men who or for the penpetuation of the Union; though I am willing, to a certain state of circumstances, to let it slide have no fear fourth perpetuation. But, let me saide have no fear fourth perpetuation. But, let me saide have no fear fourth perpetuation and the people of the country be to maintain, PERPETUATE and PROPAGITE CHATTEL SLAVERY IN MAN, in other words, BUMAN SLAVERY, this Union cannot stand, and ought not to stand."

Can any one but a coward, a vassal, a time-server, o s save-monger, object to this declaration?

Mr. Banks simply uttered the language of true pa triotism, yet, for it, (so lost to all love of freedom has the country become through the debasing influences of argre slavery,) he has been held up to reproach from Major to Texas, as though be were a felon of the wors

Mr. Hillard proposes a novel mode of securing the election of Mr. Fillmore. To be sure, there is not the slightest probability that he will obtain the electoral rate of any State, North or South, provided the voting is done without personal risk or constraint. Neverthe less, says Mr. H .,-

"I do say, and it is my belief, if every voter in the lattled States, not disabled by infirmity, were compet-ted under the pain of death (!!) to go to the polls on the 4th of November next, and if when there he gave his rote for the man he thought best fitted for the office that Millard Fillmore would be chosen by the people '!

This is the Hibernian method of forcing a man to turn volunteer. It is securing the spontaneous voice of the people through fear of being hanged, shot, or drawn and quartered. Now, what is to be done in such an emergency ? The people bonestly believe that Mr. Fillmore is the man best fitted for the Presidential gation; but unless they are put in imminent peril of their lives, they will assuredly vote either for Fremont er Buchanan ! O that they could be 'co npelled to go to the polls under the pain of death '! As they have gever done so since the organization of the government, it follows that it is impossible to know whether they have actually voted in any case according to their honest convictions! Ought there not to be a law passed without delay, making it a capital offence for persons not to vote as they 'honestly believe'? For the want of it-alas for our country !-Millard Fillmore grands no chance of an election !

But Mr. Hillard, though he cannot get men to vote be Mr. Fillmore at the hazard of their necks, is determined to vote for him without any risk of his own. As there is no man in the field who is a Whig, a whole Whig, and nothing but a Whig,' why, for his own eating, Mr. II. says, 'I most decidedly prefer a Whig with Native American sauce, to a Democrat with Republican sauce.' In this case, he is facetious; in the other, ferocious. But he has two strings to his bow. He may yet throw even the Fillmore goose to the dogs, stuffing, sauce, and all, and substitute another without any dressing. (but which needs a thorough basting)-

'I do not say that a state of things might not arise, is which it might be the duty of a good citizen, though a Whig, to role for the Democratic candidate. Between Democracy and disunion, no man could hesitate a mo-

This indicates the precise quality of his patriotism, sad the full measure of his philanthropy. The Democner to which he alludes is that of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan-of Douglas, Atchison, Stringfellow, and the whole army of Border Ruffians-of Brooks, Keitt, Butler and Toombs-of the Richmond Enquirer, Charleston Mercury, New Orleans Della, and Spatter Sovereign-of the slave mart and the chain gueg, of the fetter and the lash. Between it and disunion to preserve the liberties of the people of the North, he will side with the former. But in no constly on the ground occupied till recently by 'the national, conservative, constitutional, old line, Webster Whigs,' but not quite covering it all, being even more nederate in its demands !

We have said that Mr. Hillard has no fixed principlefor his political guidance. Let him speak for him-

'The principles of the Democratic party are those against which we have been all our long lives contend-ing-which we do not believe to be true-and which we could not now adopt without turning our backs upon carselves, to borrow an expressive Hibernicism.

Now, can there be a plainer ethical proposition than this, that a party whose principles are false and corrupt must be a dangerous party? In no emergency is it to be trusted. To talk of making it the sheet-anchor of hope, in the hour of peril, is but to make the ruin that is impending certain. Correct principles lie at the basis of national virtue and prosperity. He who is for turning his back upon them, to secure any good or to avoid any evil, is either foolish or wicked. Howevtr desirable union may be, it is as dust in the balance compared with honesty, justice, liberty and right. But Mr. Hillard claims to be a practical man, and no

visionary. He is for eating up his own words, abandualog his own principles, blowing hot or cold, actording to circumstances. And this is his idea of statesmuship! So he refers us, very complacently, to the straggle for Catholic emancipation in England. To avoid a bloody issue, he says, the Duke of Wellington conselled the Parliament and nation to yield the point, telling them in substance, -

"Whatever may be your opinions or mine, on the abstract right of this question, I say to you as a practical man, that it is better to grant this boon to Ireland than fo rule her by martial law." The Parliament and the nation had the good sense to accede to the said that the said the three tiers; but the ultra Protestants—the hip and tigh men—the no-Popery fools—the no-compromise fantiss—never forgave the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel for looking at this question like men of camen sense, and not like sublimated transcendentalies.

All this is evidently intended as a sneer at those where motto is, ' Fint justitia runt cassum '-who will hake no compromise with slavery—who refuse to substante worldly policy for moral principle. But the relevence is equally profligate and inconclusive. The Parliament and people of England resisted the act or Catholic emancipation, not only as dangerous to the State, but also as a damnable heresy. They made it professedly a matter of conscience as well as of expelency. What though it was the opinion of the Iron buke, what though it was the actual fact, that 'it not be either Catholic emancipation or civil war '?-Let 'chaos come again,' if it cannot be avoided except by doing what we believe to be morally wrong. The bip and thigh men ' committed an error, not in contheretly maintaining their ground, but in their views of religious freedom, and, consequently, their proscription of the Catholics; not in never forgiving the Duke for taking counsel of his fears. It is an utter pervertion of language to call those who lack moral stability tad tride with conscience ' men of common sense,' and to brand as 'sublimated transcendentalists' those who baist upon a firm adherence to principle.

Finally-for our review is already twice the length te originally contemplated, and the game is not worth the candle, except in view of the critical state of the times-Mr. Hillard 'does not hold that the election of Mr. Fremont is a condition precedent to the freedom of rages, its latest aggressions, its now unmistakable, its

ment favorable to the freedom of Kansas will be contri- have been so educated from the beginning to conc C.) Courier, says in the last number of that paper, in the land; you shall not have every thing your own

Fillmore's own authority, from his own lips, that he is against repealing the Nebraska Kansas Act, or restoring the Missouri Compromise line, and is utterly opposed to any further agitation of the slavery question, and for restoring harmony and giving permanent repose and peace to our now distracted country. He agreed, too, with me that he and Buchanan at the North were fightnesses other, buttle and were washed country.

UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE IMPORT OF A VOTE. SYBACUSE, Oct. 14, 1856. To HENRY C. WRIGHT .

DEAR FRIEND,-In answer to yours of the 28th of September, let me say, I have never been able to agree with you and Mr. Garrison as to the import of a role; less now than ever. Your error seems more glaring in your last statement, and at this crisis in the affairs of our country.

Whether it be true that slavery, according to the Constitution of the United States, may have the several rights you have coumerated, and whether it be true that Mr. Fremont has pledged himself to respect and will now neither affirm nor deny. But it is undeniably true, that slavery has no moral right to exist any where, a moment. It is also certainly true, that the Constitution invests our General Government with sundry political powers, which, if exerted aright, would not only restrict slavery to the States where it now exists, but so beset it there, that it would soon be suffo-

What the powers and duties of our General Government touching slavery are, under the Constitution, I hinted in my Fourth of July oration, and enumerated in my letter of August 20th to the editors of the Anti-Slavery Standard, which I am sorry Mr. Garrison has not seen fit to transfer to the Liberator. Our General Government has, constitutionally, the power, and is therefore under the moral obligation to prevent the extension of slavery into any of the territories, and to refuse to erect any territory into a State, unless it will prohibit slavery in its Constitution. It has the power. and therefore is under the moral obligation to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia ; to suppress utterly the inter-State slave trade ; to protect the colored citizens of a free State whenever and wherever they have occasion to go into the slave States; to maintain every where throughout the land the liberty of speech and of the press ; to do all it may to bring the government of every State into more perfect harmony with Republicanism, i. e., the government of the people by MY DEAR FRIEND: he case does he make any provision for voting for their own consent; and finally, to amend the Constitu- Among the resolutions of the Western Anti-Slavery epublicanism or its candidate, though it stands ex- tion itself, in any and every particular in which it may Society, published, with expressions of commendation, not now perfectly accord with the great purposes for in your paper of Sept. 19th, are two which rank

> attention to the subject must know, that according to ent,' and which declare the New York Independent to the Constitution, our Federal Government has all the be 'more detrimental to anti-slavery than the New powers I have here enumerated. You know that Mr. York Herald or Observer. Fremont, if elected, would, by his oath to support the Such resolutions appear to me the last extravagances Constitution, be bound to concur in the exercise of all of falschood and folly. You used to say that the slavethese powers. And (if you believe his emphatic declar- holders knew their friends, and you inferred, from the ation of hostility to slavery) you cannot doubt that he fact that they did not oppose the Colonization scheme, will gladly concur in the due exercise of any of these that the scheme was not anti-slavery. Apply the same powers, whenever 'the people,' by their Congress, reasoning to the N. Y. Observer and its editor, and to shall call upon him to do so. But, more than all, you the N. Y. Independent and H. W. Beecher. Have the know, and all who have read my oration at James- slaveholders lost their discrimination? Do they no town, and my letter of August 20th in the Anti-Slave- longer know their friends? My conviction is, that the ry Standard-much more, all they who have heard instincts of the slaveholders are as true as ever; and what I have said, have read what I have written, and from the fact that I hear from them fifty denunciations seen what I have done for the last twenty-five years of H. W. Beecher and the N. Y. Independent, for one know full well that I am going to vote for Mr. Fremont faint censure of such persons as framed the resolutions because I believe he will promote the anti-slavery rath- at Salem, I infer that the slaveholders dread one such er than the pro-slavery uses of the Constitution. Why, man as H. W. Beecher more than a thousand such perthen, have you held me up to your readers as about sons as the leaders of the so-called Western-Anti-Slavevoting to invest Mr. Fremont with the power to do all ry Society. the evil that can be done under the Constitution, rather than to do all the good that may and should be done ry, and acknowledged with pleasure any signs of antiunder the auspices and by the instrumentality of that slavery feeling in others, they served the cause of freefundamental law of our country? Why have you held dom and humanity, and were a terror to the friends of me up as going about to appoint an agent to perpetu- despotism. But since they began to spend their strength ate and extend the oppression of the poor and needy, in abusing such anti-slavery men as differ from them rather than an agent to help us break every yoke? on the propriety of voting, and in denouncing such The good we so much desire can be done under the men as J. R. Giddings, Charles Sumner, and all who Constitution, if ' the people' will it to be done ; and it vote for them, as the greatest enemies and obstructions cannot be done, though the Constitution be annihilated, of the anti-slavery cause, the friends of slavery have if 'the people' will it not. I cannot account for your ceased to fear them, and the friends of freedom have misrepresentation of the tendency, if not the purpose, withdrawn from them their aid. My own conviction of voting for Mr. Fremont, but upon the supposition is, that the course pursued by some of the lecturthat you have so long and so exclusively dwelt upon the ers lately employed by the misnamed Western Antiterrible wrongs which have been and may be perpe- Slavery Society, has injured the anti-slavery cause trated under our Constitution, that you have wholly and if their extravagancies had not happily lessened lost sight of the inestimable, the glorious rights which and nearly destroyed their influence, their labors would may be asserted, maintained and established by the have been truly disastrous. same authority, so soon as the people please. There is A word on another subject. I have read your two an unfairness in your statement, which deprives it of columned article entitled 'Another Summerset,' withall moral significance and force. You know, it is known out being convinced that Frederick Douglass acted eiof all men, that the declared intent and tendency of ther unwisely or dishonestly in espousing the cause of the political movement which is, I trust, to bear Mr. Fremont. Your quotations from his paper seem rather Fremont into the Presidency, is an anti-slavery move- to prove that he kept up the Gerrit Smith flag too ment, at least so far as to prevent the extension of that long, not that he hoisted Fremont's too soon. Though greatest of all political evils. So far, therefore, as I have read much of what has appeared in THE LIBEthere is any special significance in the Republican ef- RATOR, A. S. Standard, &c., against Frederick Doug. fort, it is to secure the services of an agent who will lass, I still incline to the belief that he has pursued s do anti-slavery work. I know, as well as you do, wise and a manly course. The proof I have had that that 'the people' and their leaders will find they can- so many of the anti-slavery lecturers can be so madly not prevent the extension of slavery without abolishing unjust towards such men as J. R. Giddings, Charles slavery. Therefore, in voting for Mr. Fremont, I shall Sumner, H. W. Beecher, and others of less note, makes vote for the commencement of a work, the end of which me suspect that they have been as madly unjust towards must be the entire extirpation of this root of all villa- F. Douglass. nies. So far, then, as Mr. Fremont-will be my agent, he will be an agent for the greatest good, and not the

greatest evil, to my country.

Most unhappily, two antagonistic elements, two hostile spirits, were allowed to enter into the Constitution of these United States-Liberty and Slavery. Hitherto, the latter of these has predominated in the councils of the Republic. It has ascended to the highest places triumph, and that you will ever be honored as one of of power, and has well-nigh subjugated every body and its ablest and most consistent advocates, thing to itself. But I trust not wholly. Its late out-

Kansas. If I thought so, I should role for him; for avowel intentions, have waked the people from their as to the outrages in Kansas, and the right of the North slumber-roused them to some consciousness of their to have it come in as a free State, I agree substantially peril. They are stirred as they were never stirred bewith the Republican party. Now, such a declaration fore. The cry is heard every where, in crowded halls, as this could not be made publicly by him at the South, in the midst of assemblies too large to be enclosed by without endangering his personal safety. In spite of any walls, in the highways and byways, even in Wall his protestations to the contrary, he would be de- street, yea, even from the pulpits of the most conservnounced and treated as 'a Black Republican,' and an ative churches, the cry is heard, 'Men and brethren enemy to the Union. So far, therefore, as the ques- what shall we do to be saved ' from the political ruin tion of slavery is concerned, there is no good reason which is impending over us? Their political leaders why he should not record his vote in favor of John C. many of them, are not wise enough yet to direct their Fremont. In giving it as his judgment, that 'no ele- efforts to the root of the evil. They and the people buted by the election of Mr. Fremont which will not be more or less to slavery, that they dare not yet cry, secured in an equal degree by the election of Mr. Fill- 'Break every yoke !' they dare not 'proclaim liberty more,' he is either himself the victim of a strange hal- throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof. lucination, or else is trying to impose upon the creduli- The whole Republican party, however, leaders and all, ty of others. As clay is in the hands of the potter, so concur in the determination to drive back the slave-would Millard Fillmore be in the hands of the slave ol- bolders from that soil, which in 1820 they solemnly igarchy. He is traitorous to all the rights, interests agreed should be for ever free. The North has at last and liberties of the North, and takes sides wholly with joined issue with the South on the subject of slavery. Southern usurpation and misrule. Read what the re- It has gathered up courage to say to the slaveholding doubtable Richard Yeadon, editor of the Charleston (S. oligarchy, 'You shall not become absolute throughout giving a minute and circumstantial account of a recent way; you shall not enslave the laborer and enthrone interview he has had with Mr. Fillmore, at Buffalo :- the capitalist at the North, as well as at the South I have the satisfaction of being able to state on Mr. Some portion of our common country shall be sacred to

ing each other's hattle, and were waging common war against the common enemy that were seeking to poison our political Eden with the serpent and destructive element of political Free Soilism.'

Kansas, but out of the country—yes, out of existing the common enemy that were seeking to poison our political Eden with the serpent and destructive element of political Free Soilism.' Would not Kansas be safe, committed to such hands? quantity, that it seems not worth a conflict. I was so What we have said of the Republican party is not in disgusted with the concessions made by Mr. Banks in its support, but to show its conservative character, as Wall street, that I was strongly moved to withhold my against the malicious charge of fanaticism. It is not self altogether, and have nothing to do with a party of an anti-slavery party; it is not a Disunion party; it is which he has been so prominent a leader. But all of for maintaining inviolate all the pro-slavery compro- the party with whom I am personally acquainted, and mises of the Constitution; its concern is for white whose opinion of his speech I have heard expressed men, not for all men without regard to color ; its con- condemn the pro-slavery parts of it as heartily as I do science is 'bounded by 36 deg. 30 min. North lati- They regard them as the mere 'sop to Cerberus,' which tude'; and, therefore, we cannot endorse it. We politicians have a way of throwing. But I have witstrike hands with those only whose motto is, 'NO nessed so much deep anti-slavery feeling, and heard so many strong anti-slavery words, in the meetings of the Republican party, that I cannot believe this is a mere strife for political ascendency. I do believe it is a movement for liberty. I do believe the election of Mr. Fremont will be the commencement of the political regeneration of our Republic. The terror, the violence the madness, of the opposers of Mr. Fremont's election assures me that the slaveholders have much to fear from that event ; and what they dread, I desire. The lively interest which the editors of the Anti-Slavery Standard evince, and the interest which Mr. Garrison himself evinces, in the success of the Republican ticket, tell me how much more desirable they consider the election of Mr. Fremont than the election of Mr. Buchanan. Now, I can discern no difference between the modefend those rights to the extent you have alleged, I rality of desiring his election, giving circulation to those letters, speeches and paragraphs that will pro-mote his election. I say, I can see no difference between the morality of desiring that Mr. Fremont may be our next President, and the morality of voting-expressing that desire on a piece of paper, and putting it into a ballot-box. A vote is no more nor less than a written or printed wish. I cannot help wishing that Mr. Fremont should be elected, rather than either of the pro-slavery candidates. Therefore, in this emergency of our country, I shall put that wish into a form and a place where it may help to ensure its own gratification. I brought myself to this determination by reflecting how I should feel, if Mr. Fremont should fail to be elected for the want of one vote in this State, and I had not voted. I am sure I should feel sorry, I am sure I should reproach myself. Therefore, I mean to spare myself that sorrow and reproach by voting.

I meant to have added a few paragraphs upon the greater facility with which slavery can be abolished under and through the provisions of the Constitution, than by laboring first to undermine or overthrow the foundations of our Republic ; but my letter is already too

long. I may address you again. Yours, truly, SAMUEL J. MAY.

LETTER PROM JOSEPH BARKER. OMAHA CITY, Nebraska, Oct. 7, 1856.

which it was instituted, as avowed in the preamble. 'among the most fatal influences to the success of the Now, my friend, you know, and Mr. Fremont knows, anti-slavery enterprise, such ministers as H. W. Beechevery intelligent man in the country who has given any er, and such newspapers as the New York Independ-

When the anti-slavery lecturers spoke against slave-

The evil of which I complain appears to be growing, and seems likely utterly to destroy the beneficial influ ence of many who are recognized by you as leading advocates of freedom, and hence these remarks.

With best wishes for your health and welfare, and for the success of all your philanthropic labors, and in the assurance that the cause of freedom will ultimately I remain, yours very respectfully and affectionately,

JOSEPH BARKER.

STRINGFELLOW BANKHED FROM MISSOURI.—THE TIDE TURNING. We learn from a gentleman who arrived in this city from Weston last Saturday, that an indignation meeting of the citizens of that place had been held, at which the hanishment of Stringfellow from Weston and Platte county had been resolved upon. The circumstances which gave rise to this proceeding were these:—A merchant of Weston, by the name of Rockwell, some time ago sold out his stock of goods to a firm known as that of Perry & Walker. These gentlemen, in the exercise of their commercial liberty, had sold a quantity of flour to certain parties in Kansas. This fact happening to become known to a body of Reg. men, in the exercise of their commercial florry, and sold a quantity of flour to certain parties in Kansas. This fact happening to become known to a body of Regulators in Platte City, an armed expedition of about one hundred men issued from that place and proceeded to Weston, with the avowed purpose of arresting and hanging Perry, whom they accused of being an abolitionist. On reaching Weston, they at once placed themselves under the command of Stringfellow, and marched to the store of the parties against whom they had sworn summary vengeance. Mr. Perry was arrested, and assured that he should be hung. Upon this, Mr. Perry appealed to the people of Weston for protection and justice, and the result shows that he did not calculate in vain upon their sense of right. As soon as these circumstances became generally known, a public meeting was called, Mr. Perry was released, and the party from Platte City ordered to leave within a public meeting was called, Mr. Perry was released, and the party from Platte City ordered to leave within two hours, or abide by the consequences. They then and the party from Plate City ordered to leave within two hours, or abide by the consequences. They then proceeded to consider the case of Gen. Stringfellow, whose course in the Kansas difficulties they denounced most indignantly, and concluded by passing a resolu-tion requiring him to leave the town and county for ever, giving him five days to sattle up his affairs.—St. Louis Democrat.

FREMONT AND DATION IN VIRGINIA. Portsmouth, Va., Oct. 14, 1856. Great excitement has prevailed in this community for several days past, on account of the erection of a Fremont and Dayton pole. The pole in question was raised last Saturday afternoon, at the corner of High and Crawford streets, and the American flag, together with a banner bearing the following inscription was hoisted upon it.— Fremont and the Constitution—Dayton and the Union. On Monday, such was the popular feeling, that the Mayor saw proper to feet; and we confidently call on every compassionate, scription: 'One comes-all comes;' the signification of which is, that if one pole is removed, all others shall

be removed also.

When the meeting assembled, so great was the excite

Later. At about half past three o'clock, in presence of a large concourse, the proper authority pro-ceeded to cut down the obnoxious pole, and with it, to Europe, and we pledge ourselves to employ most conthe satisfaction of the opposing party, fell the stars and stripes, this being the object they had in view in tying the halyards beyond reach.—Correspondence of the Washington Star.

dorse the nomination of Andrew J. Doneison for Vice New York.

President.—[Whig Convention at Baltimore. CORRUPTION issues just os naturally out of the organization of WHIGGERY as vermin does from a dead body undergoing decomposition.—[Andrew J.

GOV. GEARY A SLAVEHOLDER. St. Louis, Oct. 13, 1856. Sir: I am informed that Gov. Geary of Kansas, said to H. C. Pate, the correspondent of the Missouri Republican, that he had as much interest in slave property as any man in Missouri, as he owned 75 slaves in Virginia. He is considered as entirely sound on the 'goose.' Yours, truly, St. Louis.

If the above report of our correspondent is true, the conduct of Geary towards the Free State men is explained.—Chicago Tribus.

plained .- Chicago Tribune.

Senator Mason, of Virginia, a prominent Buchanan politician, wrote a note to the Brooks festival in South Carolina, endorsing Brooks as 'able and justly honored,' saying—'I know of none whose public career I hold more worthy the full and cordial approbation of his constituents than his,' and then appropriately adding, that if Fremont is elected, 'but one course remains for the South-immediate, absolute and eternal separation.'

FREE SPEECH IN VIRGINIA. Another new case has just occurred, which shows that even white men are slaves at the South. The Rev. Charles Howard Malcom has been dismissed from the pastoral office of the Baptist Church at Wheeling, Va., upon the written charge brought against him, 'in consequence of certain arks in your report to the Board leading to the be lief that you intend to teach abolition sentiments in connection with the pastorate of said church,' and for refusing ' to promote the cause of Christ in harmony outhern institutions.'

Richmond Whig refuses to meet any body suspected of Black Republicanism in the field of honor. That

'We have only to say to Mr. Kelly, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Melver, Mr. Job Crabtree, and all the rest of the crew, that we cannot consent to accept challenges from any body but gentlemen. Believing them to be Black Republicans, and, of course, not gentlemen, we cannot afford to condescend to notice them.'

HARTFORD, Oct. 20. The largest meeting that has been held in this city this campaign, was held in the Shirts, Comforters, Toys, Glass Ware, &c. &c. &c. Fremont camp this evening, to hear Gov. Robinson of Admission to the Fair, 12 cents: to the Social Pa Kansas. The number estimated was three thousand Kansas. The number estimated was three thousand. At the close of the meeting, an impromptu torch-light procession was got up, which is nearly a mile in length, and which is now parading the streets. The greatest enthusiasm is manifested. A large number of our oldest and most respectable citizens are walking in the procession. Thousands are in the street, called out by the grand torchlight.

sylvania now reach thirty-seven counties, leaving twenty-eight to be heard from. The official returns added to the unofficial returns as set down by the Democrats in Philadelphia, give the State to the Democrats 4641 majority.

According to the estimates of the Philadelphia North

According to the estimates of the l'initiatelphia Jvoria American, the next State Legislature of Pennsylvania will be composed as follows:—In the Senate, fifteen Democrats and eighteen Opposition; and in the House, forty-nine Democrats and fifty-one Opposition.

INDIANA ELECTION. CINCINNATI, Oct. 21. Returns from 88 counties in Indiana, partly official, are received. The Democrats claim Willard's election by 7000 majority, while the Republicans give him 5500. The Dem

Onio Election. Cincinnati, Oct. 21. The Congressional vote in Ohio shows the election of eight Democrats and twelve Republicans.

Advices from Nebraska City give further particulars of the recent arrest of emigrants. The party number-ed 250, including women and children. Mr. Eldridge, the conductor, procured permission of Gov. Geary to enter the territory with the ordinary arms of emigrants, being assured that the intentions of the party were peaceful. On arriving at Plymouth, Kansas, on the 10th inst, they found Deputy Marshal Preston, with 10th inst, they found Deputy Marshal Preston, with 700 trees, acting as a posses and six pieces of artilles. 700 troops acting as a posse, and six pieces of artille-ry drawn up to oppose their further progress. The marshal ordered them all to halt, and informed the

THE TWENTY-THIRD National Anti-Slavery Bazaar

Will be held as usual in BOSTON, during Christma and New Year's Week. (Time and place of opening to be decided hereafter.) The Anti-Slavery cause has at length, after a quarter

of a century of labors, taken possession, in one form or another, of almost every mind in our American community. To men of great sympathies, it has shown outrages of the one against the liberty of the other.

The function of the undersigned, whose privilege during all these years it has been to give themselves to the work, has been to arouse their countrymen to the necessity of taking an onward and upward step with the advancing century. We print books, sustain news-

was the popular feeling, that the Mayor saw proper to convene the Councilmen and the citizens generally, for the purpose of taking the matter into consideration; whereupon another banner was hoisted bearing this infect ; and we confidently call on every compassionate, EXCEPTION; for the power and beauty of this Cause is shown in its faculty of changing the public heart into its own excellent likeness. But especially, let all who pity When the meeting assembled, so great was the excitement, that it was found necessary to order out the military, and the town was placed under martial law, under which it continued the entire night. There was, however, no serious outhreak. The deliberations of the meeting resulted in the passing of a resolution to the effect that those concerned be requested to remove the pole before 3 o'clock, P. M., the following day, and that the town sermeant be authorised to remove it if the pole before 3 o'clock, P. M., the following day, and that the town sergeant be authorised to remove it if found standing after that hour. This morning, the pole was still standing, with the American flag, and the little flag bearing the inscription, 'When one comes, all comes,' floating from it, and the halyards secured some sixteen feet from the ground. Much interest is manifested as to what will be the final result. I will delay sending this letter as long as possible in order to give it to you. only the necessity of the case has bound upon us.

We solicit correspondence, counsel and assistance from all friends of the slave, whether at home or in scientiously whatever of influence or money may be committed to our hands, and to make faithful account of the same at the close of our undertaking. Communications may be addressed to the Committee

Nor RECIPEOCAL. We cordially approve of and en- at 21 Cornhill, Boston, Mass., or to 188 Nassau street,

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN. MARY MAY. LOUISA LORING. ELIZA LEE FOLLEN. ANNE WARREN WESTON ANN GREENE PHILLIPS, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL. FRANCES MARY ROBBINS. HELEN E. GARRISON, ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL. SARAH H. SOUTHWICK. MARY WILLEY, ABBY FRANCIS. ANNA SHAW GREENE. MARY GRAY CHAPMAN. ELIZABETH GAY, HENRIETTA SARGENT. SARAH RUSSELL MAY, CAROLINE WESTON, SUSAN C. CABOT, MARY H. JACKSON, SARAH BLAKE SHAW. LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZA F. EDDY, EVELINA A. S. SMITH, ELIZABETH VON ARNIM. AUGUSTA KING, ELIZA H. APTHORP.

WEYMOUTH ANTI-SLAVERY PAIR. The WEYMOUTH LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY WILL hold its annual FAIR, at the Hall of Mr. WALES'S Ho-BAD FOR BLACK REPUBLICANS IN VIRGINIA. The TEL, Weymouth Landing, commencing on the evening of Monday, Nov. 10.

The Fair will continue through the week, closing on the evening of FRIDAY, the 14th, with a SOCIAL PARTY, Music and Dancing.

On Thursday evening, addresses may be expected from WENDELL PHILLIPS and WM. LLOYD GARRISON. A very large and elegant variety of useful and orna-

mental Articles will be offered for sale, including embroidered and double Dresses, Caps, Shawls, Aprons, Admission to the Fair, 12 cents ; to the Social Party,

50 cents ; children, 6 cents.

TO YOUNG MEN. PLEASANT AND PROFITA BLE EMPLOYMENT. Young Men in every neighborhood may obtain healthful, pleasant, and profitable employment by engaging in the sale of useful and popular Books, and canvassing for our valuable Journals. For PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION. Official returns from Penn-terms and particulars, address, post paid, FOWLER AND WELLS,

308 Broadway, New York. P. S. All Agents who engage with us will be secured

from the possibility of loss, while the profit derived will be very liberal.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—Pledges in aid of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, made at the Annual Meeting in January last, or at any previous time, are now payable; and friends will confer a favor by sending the amount due to the Treasurer, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, crats have six Congressmen, and the Republicans proba-bly five, but the returns are still incomplete, and we cannot give the positive result for Congressmen. like manner.

> HAHNEMANN RE-CONVERTED TO COMMON SENSE. A meeting of 'spiritualists,' an invalid was brought forward dreadfully afflicted with ulcerous scrofula that all the doctors had failed to cure. It was proposed to appeal to the spirit land for advice, and a Homecepath-Beacon.

marshal ordered them all to halt, and informed the whole party they were prisoners. All the boxes, trunks and baggage were searched, and resulted in the finding of some kegs of powder, a keg of cartridges belonging to the night-guard, ten Sharp's rifles, two dozen revolvers, and a number of common rifles, belonging to private individuals. The troops then took possession of all the horses, wagons, baggage, farming utensils, and a large quantity of provisions, and ordered the whole party noder a guard, with instructions to the troops to shoot any who might attempt to escape. The emigrants were mostly from New York, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa.

This is no better than highway robbery. The rights of the people of the North are in the dust, and we are living under a bloody despotism.

EF Ex-Governor Sprague, the most extensive manufacturer in Rhode Island, died in Providence on the afternoon of the 19th inst. He was at the head of the Fillmore Electoral ticket in that State.

Thomas M. Burgess, the second Mayor of Providence died last Friday in that city after a pretracted illness. He was 50 years of age.

CARD OF CAUTION TO DRUGGISTS AND PREFURERS. Whereas, we have been informed that a person is putting up a spurious article of the 'Balm of Thousand Flowers,' and whereas said person has no concern with us, and never had with the 'Balm of Thousand Flowers,' we hereby caution all persons against trafficking in the same, under the penalty of the following statute of 1850, chap. 90, sec. 2:

THE STREET

"Every person who shall vend any goods, ware, or merchandise, having thereon any figure or counterfeited stamps, labels or trade marks of any mechanic or manufacturer. knowing the same to be forged or counterfeited, without disclosing the fact to the purchaser, shall, upon conviction, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by fine not exceeding six dillars."

The principal in the matter we shall deal directly The Balm will be found at A. Williams & Co's, 100

Washington street, Boston, general agents for New England and British Provinces, and at all respectable druggists who frown down counterfeits and impostors. None genuine unless signed by
FETRIDGE & Co., Proprietors.

Boston, Oct. 17, 1856.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—WENDELL PRILLIPS WILL speak at Providence, on Sunday next, October 26, in the regular course of Anti-Slavery Lectures.

SALLIE HOLLEY will lecture on Slavery in the following places : Ludlowrille, Sunday, Oct. 26, 104, A. M.
Five Corners, Tuesday, Oct. 28, 64, P. M.
Northville, Thursday, Oct. 30, 64, P. M.
Lake Ridge, Sunday, Nov. 2, 104, P. M.
Drake's Sehool House, Monday, Nov. 3, 64, P. M.
Lansingville, Tuesday, Nov. 4, 64, P. M.
Ashbury Church, Thursday, Nov. 6, 64, P. M.
Etna, Saturday, Nov. 8, 64, P. M.

MARBLEHEAD .- CHARLES LENOX REMOND, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at MARBLEHEAD, on Sunday evening next, Oct. 26, at 64 o'clock.

EF WM. WELLS BROWN, having been engaged as an Agent of the Old Colony A. S. Society, will hold meetings as follows:— S. W. Duxbur, Temperance Hall, Friday eve'g, Oct. 24.

Sunday, Oct 26. Tuesday eve'g " 28. Thursday " " 30. Friday " " 31. Duxbury, Marshfield, Friday " " 8 S. DYER, Sec'y.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER and JOSEPH A. HOW-LAND, Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings at the Town Hall in BARRE, will hold meetings at the Town Hall in BARRE, (in connection with Rev. M. G. Kimball's Society,) on Sunday, Oct. 26, forenoon, afternoon, and evening, at at the usual hours of meeting. AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Mass. Anti-Slavery Society—donation, (being the proceeds of the Abington Fair,) \$189 95 FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

SITUATION WANTED-By a middle-aged American woman, who can make herself useful as house-keeper or nurse, in taking care of the sick, the disabled, &c., and who has had many years' experience. Best of references will be given. Apply at this

Profitable Employment for the Winter Months.

PLEASE TO READ THIS! AGENTS WANTED. Extra Inducements for 1857.

A LL PERSONS IN WANT OF EMPLOYMENT will at once receive our CATALOGUE OF BOOKS for the New Year, pre-paid, by forwarding us their address. Particular attention is requested to the liberal offers we make to all persons engaging in the sale of our Large Type Quarto PICTORIAL FAMILY BIBLE, with about ONE THOUSAND ENGRAVINGS. Our books are sold only by canvassers, and well known to be the most saleable. Address, (post paid,) ROBERT SEARS, PUBLISHER,

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Boston, Oct. 10.

Boston, Oct. 10.

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pledge erpos securi my ca the Scion. Bet States emies baltir under Ag with

POETRY.

From the New York Evening Post. CHIVALRY VERSUS YANKEES.

I hate them worse than I hate the rattlesnake : for, unlike it, they give no warning of their approach, and seek to conceal their objects. - [BROOKS AT NIBETT-SIX.

O! most indignant gutta-percha Tully ! Most gentle, artless, modest, matchless bully ! You hate a crafty, sinuous, silent foe, Who springs no rattle ere he strikes the blow ! So when you nobly rushed to vindicate Your 'gallant uncle' and top-gallant State From 'rowdy' Sumner's 'vulgar, obscene slang,' You strode into the Senate hall, slam bang !-Alone, (save two big bravos at your back !) And bringing down your bludgeon with a whack Upon the culprit's desk, you stoutly cried: 'Sir, you have wounded our heroic pride, And I, its valiant champion, have come To right the foul wrong done Palmettodom ! You stand six feet in stockings-that's my height ; I armed, you not ; I backed by Toombs and Keitt ; You solus-one to three ! such trifling odds Gives steadier nerve to Southern demi-gods! So drop the pen, your nether limbs outtwist, Breathe hard, set teeth, and double up your fist ; Rise, and confront a hero like a man Up ! and screw up your courage, if you can !' O, noblest, most magnanimous brow-beater ! Most fair, most frank, most amiable fire-eater ! You hate concealment, subtle malice scorn ! How is it, Knight, you strike before you warn? P.

SONG OF FREEDOM.

FOR THE EIGHTIETH YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC. Ye who dwell in quiet hamlets, Ye who crowd the busy ways, All who love this great Republic, In these dark, imperilled days, Does your freedom never seem Like the beauty of a dream ?

Must the lightning's flash and thunder On our slumber glare and break, Ere from false and fleeting visions We to real danger wake? Must the earthquake's heavy tread Crush us sleepers with the dead ? From the bloody plains of Kansas, From the Senate's gory floor, From the smoking wreck of Lawrence, From our SUMNER's wounds and gore, Comes our country's dying call,

Hear ye not succeeding ages From their cloudy distance cry? See ye not the hands of nations Lifted towards the threatening sky? Now or never-rise, and gain Freedom for this fair domain !

Rise for Freedom, or we fall !

We have vanquished foreign tyrants; Now the battle draws anear, Let not despots have this boasting. That a freeman bows to fear : By your fathers' patriot graves, Rise-nor be forever slaves !

Speak ! ye orators of Freedom ! Let your thunder shake these plains ; Write ! ye editors of Freedom ! Let your lightning rive these chains : Up ! ye sons of Pilgrims, rise ! Strike for Freedom, or she dies !

Give this land to future ages, Free, as God has made it free : Swear that not another acre Shall be cursed with slavery Strike for Freedom and for Right-God himself is Freedom's might!

A PLEA FOR KANSAS.

BY MRS. E. M. BRUCE. A cry of anguish reaches us From the far distant West, A tale of human suffering. Of bloodshed and unrest : Of widows weeping o'er the spot Where their protectors bled ; · Will not be comforted.'

A cry for succor reaches us From you polluted sod,
Whose prairie homes are desolate, Whose flowers are dyed with blood Oh, mothers, who in peaceful homes Caress your children here, Will ve forget the suffering ones. Or think their love 's less dear ?

Oh, sisters of this happy land, Behold the saddening sight, Your brethren weltering in blood Are struggling for the right. Will ye not send some boon of cheer To help the onward car, And gladden fainting hearts that droop, Far toward the evening star?

Oh, women, in this hour of need, Be faithful to your trust ; Mary bound up Christ's bleeding wounds, And wept above his dust : And ever since, the privilege To woman hath been given, To cheer and comfort the oppressed, And smooth their path to Heaven.

Pray then with earnest heart to God, Work then with faithful hand, Till Freedom with its blessed power Shall rest upon our land : Till Peace, with its attendant joys, Shall nobly have been won, And light shall pierce the cloud that hangs Far toward the setting sun.

ODE.

Written for the Essex County Agricultural Society, and sung at the Banquet at Newburyport, Thurs-day, Oct. 2d, 1856.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER. One morning of the first and Fall. Poor Adam and his bride Sat in the shade of Eden's wall-But on the outer side.

They heard the air above them fanned, A light step on the sward, And, lo ! they saw before them stand The angel of the Lord ! Behind them smiling in the morn,

Their forfeit garden lay ; Before them, wild with rock and thorn, The desert stretched away.

She, blushing in her fig-leaf suit For the chaste garb of old ; He, sighing o'er his bitter fruit For Eden's drupes of gold.

"Arise ! ' he said, ' why look behind. When hope is all before, And patient hand and willing mind Your loss may yet restore?

"I leave with you a spell, whose power Can make the desert glad, And call around you fruit and flower As fair as Eden bad.

" I clothe your hands with power to lift The curse from off your soil;

Taylor Califf of Floor of the arts

Your very doom shall seem a gift, Your loss a gain through Tork

Go, cheerful as yon humming-bees, To labor, as to play'-While gleaming over Eden's trees The angel passed away.

The pilgrims of the world went forth

Obedient to the word.

A garden of the Lord ! Once more, O, white-wing'd Angel, stand Where man still pines and grieves, And lead through Toil to Eden-land, New Adams and new Eves !

And found where'er they tilled the earth

THE LIBERATOR.

A NORTHERN REPUBLIC. THE AMERICAN UNION A CALAMITY AND 'A CURSE.

Livonia, Mich., Sunday, Oct. 6, 1856.

I am in the Anti-Slavery Convention called to cele brate the anniversary of the organization of the Michigan A. S. Society. It is Sunday, and from all around the region, a house crowded to overflowing is gathered to listen to the stern truths here uttered. That you may know the spirit of the meeting, I copy the follow ing resolutions now before the house, which will probably be adopted without a dissenting voice :-

Resolved, That human beings have, by virtue of their existence, certain inalienable rights, which no being in the universe, not even God himself, can have a right to infringe, among which are ' life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

Resolved, That to protect these rights, ' to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, and seenre the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, the American people have, for nearly seventy years. labored to make a compromise and form a Union between liberty and slavery.

Resolved, That this effort to form a Union between these two moral contradictions-a thing which God himself could never do, and would have no right to do if he could-instead of securing justice and liberty and a 'more perfect Union,' has wrecked the moral constitution of the people, and rendered them, as a nation, incapable of discerning and appreciating the difference between justice and injustice, truth and falsehood, liberty and slavery.

Resolved, That the American Union has, as might have been anticipated, proved a sad and total failure, having from its inception to the present day tended to the moral and social ruin and degradation of the American people.

Resolved, That as the present American government has thus not only failed to accomplish the ends for which it was created, but has been a great and positive curse and calamity to the American people and to the human race, it is the right and duty of the people at once to alter or for ever abolish the government. Resolved, That the people of the non-slaveholding

States owe it to themselves and their posterity, and to justice, liberty and humanity, so long and so horribly outraged by the present American Union, to call town, county and State Conventions to consider the expediency and duty of forming a Norrmenn Republic, on the basis of 'No Union with Slaveholders.'

These resolutions, with others, are being thoroughly discussed; especially the first, which asserts two things, that man, by virtue of his existence, has a right to liberty, and that he does not possess this right as a gift, favor, a grant bestowed by God on man, through the Bible or Constitution, the Church or Government, but that it is his birthright. God is boundsto respect man's right, as man is to respect His right. The almost universal sentiment is, that man's right to life and liberty depends on a 'Thus saith the Lord.' But the exact truth is, that man, by virtue of his existence, has a right to life and liberty, and no being in the universe has a right to infringe it. Man's right to life and liberty is as sacred as God's right to life and liberty.

Why, then, is the Church ever quoting a thus saith the Lord,' to justify slavery and war? A 'thus saith the Lord ' is of no weight with any honest mind, when arrayed against justice, liberty and humanity-of no more weight than the 'Be it enacted' of Congress. What is inhuman and unjust in men is inhuman and unjust in God; what is just and true in God is just and true in men.

is the one great end and aim of man's existence. The sought. Government is powerless to protect life, and first question in the Catechism learned in my boyhood only undertakes to avenge its destruction by the indiwas, ' What is the chief end of man?' Answer-' To glorify God and enjoy him for ever.' To elevate, to murder upon him who has perpetrated it, in the antiperfect, to make honorable, his own manhood, and to ticipation of thus producing an indirect influence in feel the proud consciousness of having a nature so allied preserving life. It has been said Sir Robert Peel or to the Divine, is the one great, tangible, practical end ganized the most efficient police, in the city of London of human existence.

The American Union, instead of helping to elevate and perfect human nature and make it glorious, gives him. This, and kindred facts, render distinctly manicontemptible. It berds man with the brute, makes woman a chattel, and brands every newborn child as an article of merchandize. How is it possible to glorify executions and sanguinary wars! Nor does the imhuman nature, and make it reverenced and honorable, under such a government? The government and the God of this Republic bend all their influence to strip men and women of all self-respect, and to make them life, whenever this may be presumed necessary by th hunting Union. Surely, it is time to remodel our existing institutions, in Church and State. They exist motion the machinery designed to promote justice bemanity an article of commerce

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

above resolutions, and many others, have passed with- isted, to be exhibited at a glance, and a distinct out one dissenting voice. There is one relating to the view afforded of the actual protection to human life it condition of female slaves. It is beautiful, and dicta- has achieved, in contrast with the vast destruction of ted by a true and loving heart, that feels deeply for life it has directly occasioned, as the merchant diswoman, in whose nature the God-life is crushed out by plays the balance-sheet of his ledger, and could the H. C. W.

HUMAN GOVERNMENTS.

BY A. BROOKE

from rectitude in their relations with each other is so In the contrivance of these institutions, that invariauniversal, and the necessity for some system of arrange- ble law of nature through which causes can only proments descriptive of what these relations should be so duce their own likeness in their effects, has been entireobvious, that institutions termed governments prevail ly overlooked. Men have sought to gather the fruits of in some form, wherever men exist in society, and their justice, mercy and goodness by sowing the seeds of viindispensability is assumed by almost all without ques- ofence and physical force. As well might they plant dental circumstances surrounding those whose intellect from the seeds of the upas attempt to propagate the constructed them, and are therefore acknowledged by apple. The more extensive and elaborate their operasuch as esteem them theoretically right, to be subject to tions in this mistaken direction, the further must they imperfections requiring gradual correction. But so necessarily find themselves from the attainment of their profound is the impression that their existence in some object. Every legislative and judicial centre, with its form, to awe, and subdue the refractory and the vicious, accompanying executive, and penal appliances, wheth is an imperative necessity of human society, those ad- er national or municipal, is a school of wrong and the vanced minds which perceive their injurious operation parent of crime, demoralizing and corrupting in all its upon its well-being as at present constituted and ad- influences. No observing mind can have failed to perministered, refuse to entertain the doubt which might ceive the superior tendencies to crime which emanat lead to an investigation of the philosophy upon which from all such centres, and no reformer of experience they are founded, and in the end, to an entire abandon- will be slow to testify that they invariably afford the ment of the attempt to benefit mankind by a system of strongest opposition to reform in society which has any pains and penalties. Wherever the doctrines of the where to be encountered. They are devised and intend American Declaration of Independence are understood ed for conservative purposes, and to protect the right and accepted, the ancient belief in the divine origin of but, organized upon wrong principles, they beget their human governments is exploded; and it is astonishing like, and injustice, oppression and violence are the that among the philosophers and statesmen who have since flourished, and whose ideas have taken their peculiarities from that celebrated instrument, no one has undertaken a convincing exposition, a logical demonstration, of the source from which is derived the right to form such institutions, and how it blends with and regulates, without destroying the natural rights of the of death, are their means of establishing right amon, individual, which have been pronounced and are admitted to be inalienable. Is it too much to infer that us the evidences of an unbroken succession of failure the absence of such demonstration, or even the attempt in these attempts. But the lessons of history are whol-

at it, is conclusive evidence that none such can be given, and therefore that all institutions, which rely upon and employ physical force in sustaining themselves, are at variance with right? So much of reason is there for this inference, that to the individual who acknowledges to an accountability for his actions, one of the most important problems which presents itself for solution in respect to his relations will be, 'May I rightfully uphold, or in any way voluntarily support, a coercive human government? Let us glance at a portion of the evidence which goes to prove he may

no grant of privilege to one to coerce the will of another into subservience to his own. 'All men are created equal.' The natural rights which A. possesses pertain in equal degree to B. C. and D., and every human being, however circumstanced. Infallibility in judgment as to what is right has been conferred upon no individual, nor, where differences arise, has any infallible umpire been established to decide between those who are subject to them. A. has no right, then, to dietate to D. what shall be his conduct in any given particular, neither has B. nor C.; and neither of these has the right to dictate to A, nor to each other. This being so, t is obvious that if A. B. and C. come together, and merge their rights in a common agreement as to what shall be considered proper and lawful, they do not thereby obtain the right to exerce D. to adopt the same standard of action. For as neither individual, separstely, professes the right to do so, it is impossible to delegate or confer that which he has not to give. Physical power, to compel D. to submit to their dictation, or be restrained of his liberty, they may accumulate by association, for each possesses a portion of it; but n right to do it, for this inheres in neither of them. All that A. B. and C. can rightfully do, in the premises, is to adopt regulations for themselves, to be binding as long as the parties agree to permit them to be. Hence t has been most wisely said, Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. This axiom being true, it follows that an edict enforced against the consent of the individual, by an infraction of his natural right to life or liberty, is unjust, conse quently wrong, and thus is demonstrated the wickedness of all penal legislation. For though countless mi lions have submitted, no one ever really consented, to suffer the penalty of the law. Those who advocate contrary position are bound, then, in the first place, to show that governments do not derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and next, to demonstrate the source from whence are rightly derived the powers they claim for them. Neither of these preliminary steps in the logical demonstration of the right fulness of human government has ever been taken, no can they be, without the overthrow also of another axiom, already partly quoted, that 'all men are created equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights. Viewing the subject from the point from which diverge the political principles of all those with whom we are secciated, the absence of any foundation upon which to base penal legislation, and prove its rightfulness, is

most apparent. This testimony against these institutions, drawn romia consideration of abstract right, however conclusixe it may be, for the purposes of the philanthropist s insufficient, unless accompanied by an examination into the avowed objects of a system of coercive legisla tion, and the results of which it has been productive. The protection of life, liberty and property, by assisting the weak against the strong, and all against the unjust and thus to promote and foster the welfare of the indiridual, is its ostensible design and assumed purpose It may not be disputed that society owes to the individ ual this protection. These alleged objects are undenia bly good and praiseworthy. The only question then is does penal legislation, enforced by physical power, a ford an innocent and efficient means of accomplishing this design? We are met at the threshold of its investigation by the extraordinary fact, that the only means they attempt to provide for the protection of life, involve necessarily, in their execution, the destruction of life! All governments assume the right, as a final resort, to take the life of the offender who resists the execution of their behests. The best measures they have ret been able to devise to secure the inviolability of human life are based upon a claim to the right, and an exercise of the power to destroy it ! Thus, by an example a thousand times more influential than any precept, they inculcate that human life may innocently be taken. And this extreme inconsistency affords, after To glorify and make honorable the nature he bears all, no kind of protection to those whose security is vidual. And this it does by repeating the crime of the world has ever seen, and that afterwards, when an assassin sought his life, it was preserved only by the

fest the impossibility of a direct protection to human life by governmental arrangements. On the other hand, what myriads of lives have they not sacrificed by brutal policy and crime of governments stop here. The means upon which they rely for the protection of property rights are the same, and involve the sacrifice of human executors of the law in compelling obedience. And an incalculable waste of property is inevitable, to keep in tween man and man, with an unsuccess as signal as is the attempt to render life secure. Were it possible P. S. The Convention is about to adjourn. The ical and humane government which has ever exfor the facts in the operation of the most economwaste of property it has necessarily wrought be contrasted with the protection to the property rights of individuals it has afforded, it can scarely be doubted that all rational minds would stand aghast at the horrors of The tendency of individuals to deviate more or less the monster which would be revealed.

They have manifestly taken shape from the acci- the pepper tree, and expect it to bear the orange, and fruits they produce. In the present arrangements of society, fines and imprisonments, punishment in jails penitentiaries, and on the gibbet, are the means, and the only means, employed by government to inculcate the love of justice, and secure right relations between men. Armies and pavies, with their horrible enginer, the nations. All the centuries of the past present t-

ly lost, and mankind are as eagerly seeking ends so son and right are, there, and only there, is religion desirable by means so incompetent, as if the experiment True religion has no other basis, no other nourish-had proved uniformly successful. Although an abatement of crime, in proportion to the amelioration of the criminal code, is the common experience of nations, without even the substitution of a more efficient moral training in place of the penalties withdrawn, the true teaching of this important fact is unappreciated. Each generation falls into the error of its predecessors, and by the employment of physical force as its means of reform, educates mankind to seek for good in the practice. It is because world is full of sects and parties! It is because training in place of the penalties withdrawn, the true reform, educates mankind to seek for good in the practice of violence and wrong. The fault has been attrireform, educates mankind to seek for good in the practice of violence and wrong. The fault has been attributed to the depravity of human nature, by those who Even those of them who sincerely seek to follow

more than eighteen centuries ago. Its tracher has or the Statute-Book, or Judicial Opinions, to have been defied by the most powerful nations and the most the like control over them in the State. In other authoritative individuals who have since existed, but his words, they allow authority, instead of right, to be precepts have been practically denied, and his example their law. thunned, almost invariably, by his professed worship-pers. He taught that love is the only remedy for hate, the only wonder is that it is not more so. What pers. He taught that love is the only remedy for hate, and that cruelty and injustice cannot be overcome except by the practice of kindness, and submission to the wrong, rather than a wrongful resistance. His vision extended beyond the mere accidents of the present, and pierced the depths of an endless future. His teachings, founded upon the fixed and immutable relations which men were created to sustain to each other, and whose violation, whether the motive which prompts it be good or evil, is alike destructive to their well being, had reference both to that future and the present, and provided for an existence eternal in its duration, and provided for an existence eternal in its duration, and provided for an existence eternal in its duration, and tions are fraught with justice. Nevertheless, this progressive in proportion to the faithfulness with which one, which outrages all justice, is enough to breed these relations are fulfilled. He established none which were new, but pointed out those to which man was primarily subjected, and advised that the only possible good comes through adherence to them. Whenever their education. They rose up out of their accusand wherever these principles have been reduced to tomed submission to authority. They had been ther through his own effort, or by the aid of govern-hands. ment, whatever may have been the conduct of his as-There can be no hope for humanity save in individu-

al abandonment of the old philosophy, so uniformly unsuccessful in its results, and the adoption of the new. The latter cannot fail to bring men into harmonious re- legiance to the law of right, nor to supplant their The latter cannot fail to bring men into harmonious re-lations, such as are preserved by the innumerable worlds, each moving eternally in its orbit, without jar or interference. Love will produce love, kindness he-get kindness, mercy perpetuate mercy, respect for the rights of others educate others into a respect for ours.

Hegiance to the law of right, nor to supplant their own judgment of what is right.

How happy were there a dozen Jerry Rescues every year! Then would two or three years suf-fice to cure men of the folly of acknowledging the forms of law for slavery to be law. The forms of law are nothing without the soul of law—and right impatient may seem the process, it is the certain and he were the instances multiplied a hundred fold, only possible mode of reform. Force and violence have in which indignant men and women dash in pieces been practised since society began, and what are their the casks and bottles of the drunkard-maker. Infruits? Let the inequality in condition, the poverty, wretchedness, vice, crime and oppression which every where prevail, afford the answer. To the individual who has thought and observed but superficially, it must appear like a stupendous sacrifice to yield up all political privileges, and imagined protection to property and life, from the influence of government, or from his own physical power of self-defence; but as his physical growth and ability depend upon the extent to which he exercises his powers in accordance with the physiologcal laws controlling that portion of his being, so do his spiritual development progress in proportion to the activity into which his moral powers are introduced, with this difference, -his physical growth is limited in time and extent, while his spiritual views expand eternally and illimitably. The sacrifice, then, really is, in choosing to minister chiefly to the perishable body, and this by means wholly ineffectual, and at the expense of

his immortal part. Could but a moiety of the incalculable expenditure annually made by governments of force, be wi from its misdirection, and employed in diffusing among rious governments; and that all churches are spumen a knowledge of the true relations they sustain to each other, and in cultivating a spirit of kindness and love, and submission to injuries, those who are striving carnestly for human regeneration would be leave to the traffic in human beings or intoxicating drinks.

Church members, like other men, are generally earnestly for human regeneration would no longer have atheists. Their habitual submission to authority to mourn the tardiness with which their desires approach realization. What is needed is, that mankind mising obedience to the right that is not athersm shall be made acquainted with the existence of a Divine God is disowned by all those who suffer the Statute government, with its physical, its mental and its social aws, established when man came into being, and demanding obedience thereto as the price of enjoyment,

ADDRESS.

ADOPTED AT THE JERRY RESCUE CONVENTION AT SYRA-CUSE, OCT. 1, 1856.

[REPORTED BY GERRIT SMITH.]

Five years ago this day, a great lesson was taught in this lesson-favored city of Syracuse. It Was, THAT RIGHT IS LAW, AND THAT WRONG IS NO

Every man is under law-under law to the right. So is God himself. Well may it be said, that we are crowned with glory and honor, and are made even in the image of God, since we are to adjust our thoughts and words and deeds-all ourselves-to the same law which controls our Maker.

lesson, that there is law in that only which is right-needs to be taught everywhere and contin-

Usage claims to be law, and exacts universal obe nopoly, slavery, must not be questioned; for they stand in the authority of usage. But usage is not law; right only is law. Neither is a political government nor a religion necessarily law. When, therefore, our submission is claimed to the civil therefore, our submission is claimed to the civil power, our submission is claimed to the civil power, because it is the civil power; or to the church, because it is the church; or even to the Bible and Christianity, because they are the Bible and Christianity, we are bound to resist the claim. Simplicity and superstition may admit it, but he is as good and gray as Uncle Tam. Stout and stalwart, he was a famous blacksmith at but reason rejects it. The childish, lazy, slavish habit of trusting without examining may admit it. But it is scorned by that manly independence and self-conscious responsibility which care not thinself for \$3,000; in 1831, his wife and three children for \$1,500; and his 'old fadder,' of 70, for \$500. He lived and worked at his trade in Rarisees believed on him!' nor to inquire what says

ity which prompts this inquiry is, in turn, promoted by it: and it is individuality—the cultivation of personal independence and personal responsibility—which loosens the bonds of party.

The Church will yet cease to be a party. Civil government will yet cease to be the creature and servant of party. Each will become the representative of that absolute right, which will yet be entative of that absolute right, which will yet be entative of that absolute right, which will yet be entative of the individual heart. How great, how blessed will be the revolution? We pray for it. We know, indeed, that churches and governments will be swept away by it. But reason and right and religion will remain: and it will be only the rubbish that has gone down stream. We say that religion must remain: for where readout the college honors. Two others will at next commencement, and his other sons and daughter are examples of industry and studiousness that many of lighter skin might imitate with advantage.

Allen is the politest man in Oberlin, and with a God bless ye, sir, this is a nice place to eddicate children in, greets every body attracted to his shop door by the sturdy blows within.—Cleveland Her-

do not perceive that human nature is that which it is the right only, do, with rare exceptions, allow others to judge for them what is right. They allow Presbyterianism, or Methodism, or some other tirely different and opposing was suggested to mankind more than sighteen recturies. The teacher has A crazy world is this. The only wonder is that

> would become of the family, were the father to en-join upon his children the right and duty to beat and the last degree of corruption and confusion.
>
> The thousands of men who were gathered in Syracuse, on the first day of October, 1851, did what they believed to be right. They rose above

practice, either in savage or civilized life, the results taught to obey whatever the State enjoins. They have justified the wisdom of the teaching. Viewed had heard the ten thousand claims, that the Bible merely as protective of animal life, they have proved themselves to be infinitely more safe than all the west. themselves to be infinitely more safe than all the weanever entirely supplants the nature—never entire pons of defence which have ever been invented. A blind ly conquers the heart. And now, when an occa- and grovelling materialism, that limits the vision of its sion had risen, which threw these men back upon victim to that mere fraction of his existence visible to their very instincts and upon their naked selves. the natural eye, guides him impulsively into an attempted defence of his physical being, the portion of himself which he chiefly values, at the expense of his spiritual growth. But no effort of the kind can afford him a tithe of the security he may enjoy by obedience to the law of love. And when he succeeds in saving life or out of the hands of kidnappers, and they delayed not to utter this belief in action, and to travelete. law of love. And when he succeeds in saving life or not to utter this belief in action, and to translate property by doing violence to an equal fellow-being, eithe faith of their hearts into the work of their To have tried to stay those multitudes, as they

sailant, he does it at a cost to his spiritual nature moved forward to the rescue of Jerry, by telling which renders the deed an irreparable loss to himself. them that slavery is in the Statute Book, or that it is in the Constitution, or even that it is in the Bible, would have been altogether vain. Nothing in that great and solemn and responsible hour of their lives would have availed to break their al-

ost surely, if it be slowly. However tedious to the alone is the soul of law. Not less happy would it stances so numerous would effectually teach our stupid legislators and stupid judges, that there can he no legal shelter for intoxicating liquors that are offered for sale for drinks; and they would also effectually teach the people not to make choice of such stupid legislators and judges as confound with law the greatest and most glaring of all nuisances

Such are some of the ways for educating both Government and people, and for bringing them to distinguish between law and anti-law, and to learn that right alone can be law. What if by these ways of resistance to Government-what if by such rebellion — Government should be overturned ! There would be no loss. It would be only a usurpation, not a Government, that would be overturned. True Government represents, asserts, enforces right. And that is not Government, which is the achine and protector of slaveholders and drunkard-makers. Neither this Nation, nor any State in it, enjoys a civil government. The so-called civil governments of this country and other countries, so far from being the protectors of human rights, are conspiracies against them.
We add, that rebellion toward our spurious

Book or the Constitution, or even the Bible, to override or displace their own sense of right. It is not too much to say, that whoever so wars upon everlasting right as to believe that there can be a real and which forbid all hope of good from human regula-tions which cause any individual to violate them. vital, obligatory, sacred law for slavery, is the en-emy of mankind, and the enemy of God.

We would that none take narrow views of the rescue of Jerry. Its significance, extending far beyond resistance to, and contempt of, the Fugitive Slave Act, should be studied in the light of the principle which prompted and justified that brave and beautiful deed. This principle is, THAT Much has been said, both sportively and serious

ly, of the 'Jerry level.' Thrice happy are all they tho stand upon it; for they stand upon the law of right, and have escaped from the debasing doof right, and have escaped from the densing do-minion of authority. They are on the high plane where men do unto others as they would have oth-ers do onto them—on the high plane where men are ready to rescue a slave, because they would themselves be rescued from slavery.

We close with the solemn and seasonable ques-

tion, whether all, who, on the memorable first of October, 1851, were carried up to the 'Jerry level' by the highest and holiest impulses of their nature, selves—to the same law which controls our maker. For infinite must be the dignity of those who are made capable of obeying, and of loving to obey, the same law which God obeys; and who are, the same law which God obeys; and who are, of them sunk again into that great berd of men, of them sunk again into that great berd of men, The lesson that was taught in Syracuse—the who, like the dumb herds of cattle, are either driver by authority, or enticed by cunning! If they are in this degraded condition, may they be so happy as to improve the inspiration of this fifth anniversary of the rescue of Jerry in regaining that dience. Hence war, the intoxicating bowl, land-mo- manho d and independence and individuality, which characterized them on the first day of Octo-

AN OBERLIN CHARACTER.

Oberlin has at least one character mete for the to inquire. 'Have any of the rulers of of the ruler sold. He lived and worked at his trade in Ra-risees believed on him!' nor to inquire what says leigh till 1843, accumulating several thousand the State or the Church, but only what is the right; dollars worth of property, which he sold on credit nor what say even Christianity and the Bible, until This supreme inquiry after what is right is coming to obtain widely in our day. One of its happiest, though perhaps still distant effects will be the breaking up of party. For the individuality which prompts this inquiry is, in turn, promoted by it: and it is individuality—the cultivation of personal independence and personal respons

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when they are known."

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Pectoral many years in my family for coughs and with to
failing success. You make medicines which cure, and I feel;
header to commend you for the good you have done told and
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doing."

JOHN F. BRATTY, Esq., Sec. of the Penn. Railroad Co. mp.

"Pu. E. R. Office, Philadelphia, Des. 13 bin.

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means will procure them."

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write, can only be imagined when you realize that have affected and how long.

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the scalp of my head, and destroyed my hair, and his het is parity bald all my days; sometimes it came out in my hat askept it for months a raw sometimes it came out in my hat askept it for months a raw sometimes it came out in my hat askept it for months a raw some commenced taking your Cahari.

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