AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

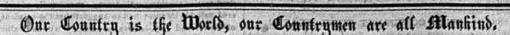
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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, vania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are autherised to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz >-FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY

LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL PHICKIPS. Tla thecolumns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of erry question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

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

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their

assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,

of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SUBRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES -- AR

engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, lelivered from Sinai ; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

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

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

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

stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of

nankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the

government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPER-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.' - John Quincy Adams.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1856.

WHOLE NUMBER 1349.

## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SLAVERY THE BASIS OF REPUBLICAN-18M - RE-OPENING OF THE APRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

From the New Orleans Delta. Slavery is national, and not sectional. It was coral with the Union, and existed of law as well fact in the colonial days which preceded the Resolution. It was introduced originally with the saction and through the exertion of the mother puntry, was received into all the Colonies, and was an institution in every State at the period of the formation of the present Constitution. Not only this; every one of the original thirteen States slembly recognized it as an object of national importance and having a national existence, by marking the Constitution which covered it by an

supress guarantee in favor of the slaveholder.

Such, briefly, are the true origin and political nature of an institution now territorially peculiar to the South, which is denounced and assailed as sectional by one half of the Union, and is declared to be hastile to the principles on which the Con sitation is founded, a blot upon the national ecutcheon, and a sin before God and man. But it is not with the rampancy of foaming fanaticism or the shallow sophistries of hypocritical philanthropy we have here to do. We have a proposition to lay down that may

appear startling to many because it is new, but will have weight and consideration with the thinkisg inasmuch as it is based on both philosophy and experience. We, therefore, declare that slaerry is not only national, of origin and of right, but it is essential to republican nationality. But for slavery, Republicanism would have long since seome a tale in these United States.

But for the stern and unflinehing vindication of

the rights of white men by the independent citiens of the slaveholding States, whom power could not intimidate, capital buy, or monopoly crush, this Confederacy would have long since been merg-ed into a central despotism, as cruel and relentless as any that ever oppressed and impoverished a people. The bank monopoly on the one band and the manufacturing monopoly on the other, combining with the large monarchal element which, it is useless to deny, has always existed in the coastry, would have been able to effect this, but fir the steady, manly opposition of the Southern people, and the masterly exertions of their states-nes to frustrate the designs of that 'Holy Allimee' against the rights and liberties of white

It was in slavery that the conservative element Republicanism was found to overcome this removement toward the annihilation of individual dignity and liberty, as well as State prereignty, and the subjugation of the country to noneved monopolies and a central power. It is among the slaveholding population that Republih is they who have made the Union what it is commencially and politically. It is only they who astereafter maintain a safe and honorable Union, shi mpy rational liberty.

History is instructive. Heed its teachings; they

rest republic never existed without slavery. It this us, that where partial and defined slavery to not exist of law, the mass of the working people have been slaves, and worse than slaves. It tells us, that wherever universal freedom has nommally existed, poverty, want, and possible famine, and humiliating dependency of the poor upon the pet, have been the price of painted delusion; and he remedy, invariably the same, revolution and tarnage, until nations have been almost drowned

Slavery was an institution in all the ancient rewhice, but in two we have eminent examples .-Rome, the mightiest in arms, and Athens, the most glorious in art, of all the old republics; elavery prevailed to a greater extent than in any State of the Union. In Athens, the proportion of shres to freemen was about two to one; surcely less. And yet, with this institution im-bedded in their very hearts, they lived and flourished, century after century, and reached a mag-sifeence and a grandeur of which the history of molern free society affords no example.

Modern free society, as at present organized, is adically wrong and rotten. It is self-destroying, and can never exist happily and normally until it a qualified by the introduction of some principle Squitalent in effect to the institution of Southern legra slavery. We do not mean that the whites, the laboring portion of them, should hold the talation of slaves. Far from it. We would have hen liberated from the real bondage, poverty and sust, to which free society exposes them. They se liable to be dependent without the hope of reef. The capital their labor creates affords them h return no guarantee against want when their laber is no longer demanded. They have the right to labor and pocket their wages, if they can get my; if not, then they have the glorious right to fare at their own expense and on their own repossibility-a privilege which the poor African

la the Northern States, free society has proved tailere. It is rotten to the core. It would have described itself ere this, but that its discase has at an outward manifestation, and its feverish and perate energies have been directed in demoniac amity and warfare against the South. Let the dennism which its putrescence has engendered secred, and society, with its most sacred sancbons and its holiest institutions, will fall before it both in the North and South, and the country hest become the seat of howling anarchy or iron

Negro slavery, then, is the conservative element Republicanism, and the firmest basis of society at of the North recognize at this moment. They to see that the knell of the Union and of republicanism was sounded when had, or bitious, or bigoted men in the North declared tartry to be sectional and not national, and weak hen and selfish politicians in the South, anxious Preerre a Northern connection at any price to South and the country, bowed to the sentence,

and only craved for mercy.
Such being the social and political value of elaer, its diffusion and extension are of the first clance, and nothing, at the present time, hould more nearly interest the wise philanthro-phi and the patriotic statesman, than to devise tures to effect these objects—to restore slavery to its original national character, and make it an object of political solicitude. We can not avoid political solicitude. We can not avoid ting with jealousy and suspicion upon any pocommit itself to these views, albeit no less Sonage than Mr. Breekinridge, of Kentucky, an his solemn sanction to their negation.

We have heretofore pointed to the measure of the exemption as one highly favorable to the lette just named, to wis: the diffusion and extension of slavery, and the consequent consoli-dation of the slave-owning interest. One other measure we are in favor of, though we fear its announcement may throw some of the 'ancient fogie men' into almost epileptic consternation.— Nevertheless, we shall announce it, and here de-clare that we not only desire to make territories now free, slave territories, and to acquire new territory into which to extend slavery—such as Cuba, North-eastern Mexico, &c.; but we would re-open the African slave-trade, that every white man might have a chance to make himself owner of one or more negroes, and go with them and his household gods wherever opportunity beckoned to

But the North would never consent to this they would dissolve the Union rather than grant it, say the croaking impracticables. Gentlemen, ou do not know the North, oracular as you look when dubiously shaking your heads. It would not oppose any more bitterly a large demand like this, boldly made, than the smallest one, faintly and politely urged. Try it. There is nothing to by the experiment. At all events, if the attempt to re-open this trade should fail, it would give one more proof of how injurious our connection with the North has become to us, and would indicate one more signal advantage which a Southern confederacy would have over the present heterogeneous association called the Union.

ATCHISON AND STRINGFELLOW CAN-

ONIZED. From the Richmond Enquirer.

More than half a century ago, two good, wellintentioned men, Wilberforce and Howard, inau-gurated a new school of philanthropy, which chose for its subjects secondrels and savages. It was a losophy, which pronounces slavery to be essential-sort of revival of the Pythagorean philosophy, which pronounces slavery to be essentially which would vainly attempt to banish pain and misery from the world. The effort would have Prop. VI. Slavery in itself, apart from its been innocent, but from the inevitable consequence, abuses, is a wholesome institution, adapted to edthat in making secondrels comfortable, you increased their numbers, and made honest men less may very profitably be extended.

comfortable; and in encouraging savages in idlePROP. VII. The Nebraska Bill of Mr. Douglas ness and cannibalism, you imposed heavier bur- ought not to be objected to, inasmuch as it allows lens on the white race.

The true philanthropist does not deal in soft, our local over-growth of slaves.

The true philanthropist does not deal in soft, our local over-growth of slaves.

Prop. VIII. Christians ought not to encourage affected sentimentalism. He is ready to inflict a little pain to procure a great deal of happiness; ready to punish the criminal few to advance the PROP. IX. Christians, instead of opposing slawell-being of the virtuous and honest many; very, ought to oppose anti-slavery men and measrendy to expel, enslave or exterminate, if need be, ures. a few wandering cannibals and savages, who misand employment, and comfort to white, civilized, Christian men. Columbus and Vasco De Gama, ison, are the true philanthropists-the men who revelation; and for saying that he would himself practically advance the greatest good of the great- own or hire slaves, if it were convenient or necesest number,' whilst at the same time they punish, sary. like Moses and Joshua, ignorance, idolatry and We shams, humbugs, who rewarded crime by punish-

market, and Walker has supplanted Mrs. Stowe in favor at court. The Pythagorean philosophy of Greeley and Garrison is about to give way to healthy, robust, sin-hating and sin-punishing Christianity. All this will be effected, easily and naturally, by means of public opinion, enlightened and chastened by experience.

## PRIEST-RIDDEN NEW-ENGLAND.

The result of the Presidential Election in New England proves that a majority of her people have of prejudice, of religious tyranny; and yet they hug their own chains of absolute subjection to pu-ritagical fanaticism, and think they are doing God service in shedding tears over the servility of grosning under a despotism which challenges a parallel in any other part of the world. They abor under the delusion that they are freemen. and they boast loudly of their devotion to freedom. But there is no freedom in New England. The Church is supreme over the minds of the priestthinking. The worst species of despotism is that in which the mind is enslaved. That is the despotism which broods over New England. The condition. He knows that he is not fitted by naure for freedom, and he is contented with the guardian protection which he enjoys from humane and kind masters. The New England men are deluded with the idea that they are free, and yet they are wearing the chains of enslaved intellecbeings. They look to their religious teachers for their thoughts, and they follow the dictates bigotry and fanaticism with slavish submission. They accept whatever falsehood, whether of doctrine or of fact, that their religious guides choose to impose upon them. Church and State are virtually one in New England. The power of the oulpit is supreme, and it has just been exerted in ictating the vote cast for Fremont .- Washington

If It would be interesting to know who is the auhor of the following contemptible production :-

NORTHERN ADVICE. The following communication (says the Spartanburg Spartan) from a North-ern man, appeared in a late Charleston Courier. The edvice is good, though we fear it comes too

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES. Gentlemen,-In case Fremont is elected, we, the pro-slavery men of the North, would recommend that not one pound of cotton, rice or tobacco be sent to the Northern States. Let it be consumed, or perish on the ground where it was produced, rather than let a pound of it come North. We have here hundreds of factories and over one hundred thousand people depending on your cotton many of them are Fremont men, and who get their bread by slave labor, and yet they act against the interests of the slave States. Let all Southern roduce be kept away from the North, and in les han twelve months, there will be such a reaction in the North as to make the most anti-slavery State we have here a pro-slavery State. Touch Northern man's pocket, and you touch his most

A PRO-SLAVERY MAN. Boston, Massachusetts.

#### SELECTIONS.

From the Christian Examiner for November. PRES. LORD'S DEFENCE OF SLAVERY.\*

There are evidently three ways in which slavery nay be defended by those who feel themselves called to that work. There is, first, the ground of An-STRACT ETHICS; by which they may endeavor to show that slavery is in itself right, in sight of absolute reason. Secondly, it may be defended on the ground of Expedience, as an institution which in practice works well. And, in the third place, it may be defended Scripturally, by proofs taken from the Old and New Testaments. President Lord has selected the first line of argument; Dr. Nehemiah Adams has distinguished himself by his enthusiastic labors in the second field of inquiry; and an innumerable company of divines have defended this institution by proofs taken from the Scriptures. It is with the argument in the abstract, as set forth by President Lord, that we now

The substance of the propositions in President Lord's first letter is as follows: †-

Prop. 1. Ministers of the Gospel ought to consider the question of slavery, from its origin and foundations, as a question of divine right, rather than of prudence, policy, or economy.

Prop. II. Slavery is an institution of God, ac-

cording to natural religion.
Prop. III. Slavery is also a positive institution of revealed religion.

Prop. IV. Slavery is not opposed to the specific

law of love, which requires us to do to others as we would they should do to us.

Prop. V. The wide-spread humanitarian phi-

Prop. VI. Slavery in itself, apart from its

slavery to extend itself, and so prevents a danger-

anti-slavery views.
Prop. IX. Christians, instead of opposing sla-

Prop. X. The abuses of slavery have prevented use and abuse the gifts of Providence, to give room, and employment, and comfort to white, civilized, Prop. XI. Dr. Lord hopes that his brethren Christian men. Columbus and Vasco De Gama, will forgive him for frankly saying that he believes and Cortez, and Captain Smith, and the Puritan slavery (in itself) not a moral evil nor a political Fathers, and Walker, and Stringfellow, and Atchevil, but an ordinance of the God of nature and

We have given this statement of Dr. Lord's orime, and promote morality, civilization and opinions, mostly in his own words and his own or-christianity. Howard and Wilherforce were der, lest our readers should think that we had misrepresented or exaggerated them.

But any exaggeration would be impossible, for

But the intuitive common sense of filibusters and border-ruffians will soon set all right. Nursing scoundrels and savages is going out of fashion. ry, he defends it : he does not merely defend it he Log cabin literature has fallen dead in the English justifies it; he does not merely justify it, he admires and loves it. It is a part of his religion, a part of his Christianity. Has any one distinguished himself as the champion of this institution Dr. Lord has done more for it than he. Did Mr. Calhoun defend it as right 1-Dr. Lord worships it as divine. Did John Mitchel desire for himself a plantation and a gang of negroes in Alabama! Dr. Lord, even on the granite hills of New England, yearns to ' hold slaves in his own right, or t their service of their proper masters,' and declares that he could do this ' without conscientious serubowed their necks to the dominion of religious bowed their necks to the dominion of religious Did Senator Douglas denounce the ministers of Senator Douglas denounce the ministers of New England who opposed the 'Nebraska Bill' as going out of their sphere!—Dr. Lord also ples or misgivings, and with gratitude to God.' the South are placed, they seem to be wholly uncon- thinks it necessary to suggest that they did wrong scious that they are the victims of a far worse ser- in their opposition to it, and that they had better vility themselves. They are the slaves of passion, have let it alone. Indeed, we cannot see, according to the principles laid down by our learned President, why the SLAVE-TRADE is not also a divine institution. For if the perfections of God absolutely require slavery, if his justice and good-Southern slaves, who neither desire nor are in ness require it, if it is a positive institution of need of their services. New England is to-day Christianity, if Africans (as descended from Ham) are ordained to be slaves, then the means necessary for maintaining this blessed institution are also necessary. But without the slave-trade, we could never have had slavery in this country, and God's providential design would have been defeated; hence the slave-trade was right. Moreover, as ridden people. They do not think for themselves, men are usually so blind to their own good as not but the political oracles of the pulpit do their to offer themselves voluntarily to become slaves, thinking. The worst species of despotism is that to offer themselves voluntarily to become slaves, even resist being made slaves, it is evident that slave of the South is happy and contented with his tion could not have been established; hence kidnapping and the bloody wars of Africa are highly to be approved.

> But we must go still further. The President of Dartmouth College believes that slavery is the di-rect result of the curse pronounced by God upon Ham and his posterity, and that the the descendants of Ham. He asserts that by the law of Moses, God 'not only suffered, but also required, the buying and selling of slaves, and that Christians in all periods have justified the curse of the guilty Ham and his degraded race. Does it not follow from this that all negroes should be slaves? For if, as Dr. Lord maintains, they are descended from Ham, and if God's law has declared that the descendants of Ham are to be slaves, what right have we to say that any of them shall be free ! According to Dr. Lord, therefore, it is our eviden duty to re-enslave all the free colored people.

Dr. Lord's argument, however, carries us still further. He declares that slavery is a positive institution of revealed religion. It is, then, like Bap-tism and the Lord's Supper, something in which all Christians are bound to participate. Then we ought, all of us, to be slaveholders, and every man who is not a slaveholder is neglecting a Christian duty. Dr. Lord, indeed, declares that he 'would own slaves, if necessity or convenience should re quire. But is this enough? Ought he not rotake pains to be a slaveholder? Ought he not to make direct efforts to introduce this divine institution into New Hampshire! Is a positive institution of

1. A Letter of Inquiry to Ministers of the Gospel, of all Denominations, on Slavery. By a Northern Presbyter. Boston: Fetridge & Co. 1854. pp. 32. 2. A Northern Presbyler's Second Letter, &c. By NATHAN LORD, President of Dartmouth College. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. New York: D. Appleton &

But we must look a little more strictly at the argument of our Dartmouth President. For when the head of one of our chief New England colleges,

est principles of natural justice and Christian duty ;

namely, 'the buying and selling of men as property.' He then adds another definition, namely, the having of a civil right [sic] not to their souls, which is an absurdity, and belongs not to any natural or scriptural idea of the institution, but to but I claim to do so by claiming an absolute authority over his conscience and his will, over his reason and his heart. If I assert that he is my prop-erty, then I declare that it is for me to say what and thirdly, that, when they have served out their he shall know and what he shall not know; whether proper term, they are to be set free. We think it er he shall be able to read God's word, or not; would be difficult to prove either of these positions. whether he shall have an opportunity to hear Christ. There is no evidence that the enslaved nations and preached, or not. I am his conscience; he must races of ancient or modern times have been any have no higher law than my will, else he is not my slave. His duties are all dependent upon my that they have been enslaved in consequence of will; his duties as a Christian, as a bushand and their wickedness. Ignorance and weakness, and to his duty to me. He cannot go to church, or read of slavery. And their slavery has come to an end, his Bible, or keep the Lord's day holy, or fulfil his not when they have grown better, but when they duties to his family, if I forbid it,—otherwise he have grown stronger and more intelligent. The is not a slave. If I say to him, 'Quit your wife, and take another,—Steal,—Lie,—Commit kighway been superior to those of their masters. The robbery for my benefit,'-he must do it. If he Jewish slaves were certainly no worse than their says, . Master, that is wrong, I cannot do it, he Egyptian lords; the Greek and Roman slaves were instantly ceases to be a slave, for he assumes the right of deciding for himself when to serve me, decide in other cases, and my absolute authority is gard the African races superior, in their religious gone. Henceforth when I give an order, I must and moral organization, to that of the whites, virtually say, . Do this, provided you think it while inferior in energy and intellect.

right.' But that is not slavery.
Slavery is absolute, unconditional, indefinite servitude. This distinguishes a slave from a servant. to show that it has done some good. There is no A servant is bound to definite, limited, and conditional institution so evil but that it is attended with good. tional corvice. The conditions may be fixed by the Every form of superstition and idolatry has done parties themselves, as in the case of hired labor, or some good. They have all been the means of deas in the case of serfdom. A slave is bound to render unlimited service, and to receive passively such unce, and powers of self-sacrifice in the minds of treatment as the master choses. A serf is bound nations. Despotism has done good by restraining to reader limited service, and receive treatment anarchy; but is despotism therefore a divine inlimited by the law of the State. A serrant is stitution! By such a course of argument, in his bound to render such limited service, and to receive haste to justify slavery, the President of Darttherefore such treatment and compensation, as is mouth College would justify every kind of evil agreed upon between himself and his employer. which has existed in the world. Yes, he would The distinction is obvious and essential.

soul. The master has absolute authority over the soul of the slave, in all its faculties of reason, af- that the enslaved races have been more wicked fection, conscience, and will. To deny this is to than their enslavers, and next assumes that slave-

excessive cruelty, or murderous assaults committed against the slave by the master. But these pro-low that his imprisonment was any the less unjust visions are practically nullified in various ways. or cruel ! First, the right of self-defence is taken from the resistance. His master, in a fit of rage or drunkmust not lift his hand in self-defence. Secondly, very difficult to prove any offence committed by a white man against a slave. And lastly, the execupunish each other for injuries done to a slave to not wonder, therefore, that in 1816 a grand jury of South Carolina declared, in their official present ment, that 'instances of negro homicide were common, and that the murderers were allowed to continue in the full exercise of their powers as mas-

ly, therefore, in this country, the master's authorty over his slaves is unlimited.

restrained; and that slavery is as necessary for some races, to restrain them from greater wickedwholesome ordinance on the whole for the punishing if it would not 'be a reflection upon the character of God to conclude otherwise, just as it would be to conclude that sickness, pain, and death, or frosts, mildews, earthquakes, and volcanoes, are cous, and benevolent administration of a disorder-

According to these illustrations, we infer that the same way that imprisonment on the one hand, and sickness or volcanoes on the other, are divine institutions. But why does he not add to the list morder, robbery, and falsehood, and say that these exist by divine permission, and, since God permits, them to exist, there is no doubt a good reason for their existence? Sickness, he says, is a divine institution. But we do bur best to prevent and to remove sickness. We wish to rid ourselves of discasse, not merely in its excess, but also in its normal condition; in its use, no less than in its abuse. Co. 1855. pp. 99.

† Dr. Lord, in his first letter, modestly puts these propositions in the form of questions. But since, in his second letter, he defends them as propositions which he accepts, we put them in this form, for the rake of sonvenience.

| Dr. Lord, in his first letter, modestly puts these to exist, there is no doubt a good reason for their existence? Sickness, he says, is a divine institution. But we do but best to prevent and to remove sickness. We wish to rid ourselves of disconvenience.

religion to be established or abolished according to According to his argument, Dr. Lord, while dislikments notions of convenience! Dr. Lord has addressed some questions to his brother ministers. Might it not be well for him to consider these questions him addressed some according to his argument, Dr. Lord, while dislikments and consumptions as they are, should feel an unfeigned admiration for them as they ought to be. He should consider that cholera is

'a necessary ordinance of God,' which should 'not be assailed or violently broken down, but merely pruned of its extravagances.' Just as he piously the head of one of our chief New England colleges, longs to hold slaves 'in his own right,' he should to whose care our sons are committed, publishes ardently desire a fit of the toothache, or a few his deliberate opinions on such a great subject, twinges of the gout. And he should speak as they surely deserve to be seriously examined. His strenuously in condemnation of those who try to views may seem to us inconsistent with the plain- cure all diseases, as he does of those who are attempting to break every yoke. He censures severethey may seem to us as superficial and conceited, as in his view are those of his opponents. Nevertheless, they ought to be seriously examined. And we shall endeavor so to fulfil this duty.

Before we ask whether slavery is right or wrong, we ought to ask, What is slavery! A definition of slavery ought to precede its discussion. Dr. Lord gives a definition on page 11 of Letter First, namely, 'the buying and selling of men as proper.

their services, for the mere support and care of them, without wages. But Dr. Lord's two definitions are inconsistent with each other. If I seen by imprisonment, so wicked races need to be entions are inconsistent with each other.

a man, if he is my property, then I also claim a right over his soul. I cannot really own his soul, must prove,—first, that enslaved races are usually more wicked than those who enslave them; second-that they have a fair trial, and a chance to worse than their enslavers. There is no evidence ather, as a member of society, are all subordinate not any special criminality, have been the causes far less cruel than their masters ; the Saxon slaves were a better race than the Norman slaveholders : d when not. If he can decide in one case, he can and such observers as Channing and Kinmont re-

In order to prove slavery to be a divine institu-tion, according to natural religion, it is not enough y another authority, for example, that of the State, veloping the religious sentiment. War has done The distinction is obvious and essential.

It is not, then, an improper use of language to has yet more abounded. Exceedingly shallow, and say that the slave belongs to his master, body and quite unworthy the head of a New England college, is the logic which assumes, in the first place, to speak, not of American slavery, but of some other kind of service.

Unquestionably, the State reserves to itself the of natural religion. When Silvio Pellico was imhas come from the institution, therefore it is a part right of punishing any breach of the peace or prisoned by the tyranny of Austria in 1820, and criminal assault by the master on the person of the was kept in prison ten years, he derived from it an criminal assault by the master on the person of the was kept in prison ten years, he derived from it an slave. In most of the slave States, the laws punish immense benefit, for which he might well have thanked the Divine Providence. But does it fol-

That slavery is ever better for the human race slave. No matter what outrage is offered to him than freedom, that a man is ever made better by by a white man, it is a grave crime to make any being made a slave, that the system which deprives a man of every right, turns him into a thing, en madness, may be about to murder him, but he makes his marriage a mere form, makes all his de mestic relations insecure, -that this relation makes as the testimony of a colored man is not taken in him better, is asserted by Dr. Lord, but denied by the courts of the slave States, it would be usually every great philosopher and moralist from the days mer to the present hour. Homer declares that the day which makes a man a slave takes tion of the laws being completely in the hands of half his worth away,' and every great subsequent the whites, it will seldom happen that they will moralist has echoed the poet's assertion.

[Remainder next week.]

## A BEAM IN HIS OWN EVE.

An immense assembly (says the A. S. Standtinue in the full exercise of their powers as masters and mistresses.' Only last year, Governor day evening, the 30th ult., to listen to political Adams of that State, in his annual message, declared that the administration of the laws in reclared 'that the administration of the laws, in re-lation to the colored population, by the Courts of Magistrates and Freeholders, called loudly for re-quence, and Dr. Thompson, Dr. Cheever having spoken for more than an hour with masterly force and eloates and Freeholders, called loudly for re-Their decisions,' said he, 'are rarely in what briefer, though scarcely less able address, accordance with justice or humanity.' A Creole the audience demanded a speech from the Rev. planter in Louisiana told Mr. Olmstead, that, Leonard Bacon, D. D., of New Haven. The Docthough the law of Louisiana required that negroes tor made an earnest, off-hand address, in the course should not be worked on Sunday, yet that there of which he alluded to the apostacy of Rufus was not a planter within sight of him in any disection who did not work his negroes. Practical-such preaching as that of Dr. Cheever, he probably would not have stood where he now does, on the platform of slavery extension. I happen to Let us now proceed to examine the propositions for President Lord in their order.

He declares slavery to be a divine institution, South-side View.' This hit was prected with en-South-side View.' This hit was greeted with eneccording to natural religion. His proof seems to thusiastic applause. Now, it is a striking fact, be, that men, being generally wicked, need to be that the very minister whose pernicious teachings restrained; and that slavery is as necessary for were thought to have led Mr. Choate to betray the cause of freedom, had, on that very day, at Newcess, as imprisonment is for some individuals. ark, been re-elected a member of the Prudential Slavery, therefore, like imprisonment, is a truly reformatory institution, and better for the world than would be the absence of it. He calls it a appear to have been present on the occasion, and than would be the absence of it. to have taken an active part in the proceedings of ing and restraining of vice, and the encouragement the body, was the Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D.! of virtue.' He further illustrates his view by askoffered a word of protest against the election of this 'blind guide' to one of the highest and most responsible positions within the control of the American Church. It is by no means improbable not naturally parts of God's comprehensive, right- that Dr. Bacon himself voted for him, and we presume he would not besitate to admit him to his pulpit, and to treat him in all respects as a true minister of Christ. If the author of 'A South Dr. Lord considers slavery a divine institution, in the same way that imprisonment on the one hand, and sickness or volcances on the other, are divine of Foreign Missions—is he not also fit to dispense

in the religious organizations to which they be-long, and then seek to quiet an accusing consciones by a spasmodic zeal for reform in political affairs! When such men as Dr. Bacon, Dr. Thompson, Dr. Cheever, Dr. Storrs and H. W. Beecher, have the courage and the consistency to apply their anti-slavery principles in their ecclesiastica! relations, and to treat unsoundness on a great question of morals as they do unsoundness in respect to abstruct theological dogmas, we shall think better of their anti-slavery than it is possible for us to do at present.—Anti-Slavery Standard.

#### OPPICIAL MAIL RIPLING. PROGRESS OF SLAVE-BREEDING DESPOTISM.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune: Sir, - It ppears to me that the circumstances I am about to relate ought to be made public, that the people may know that the spirit of despotism is manifest-ed elsewhere than in Hungary and Italy, or Kansas. I have had a correspondent in the latter place for several months. It may be said, "What of that! That is an affair of your own.' I thought so myself, till I learned that some persons thought differently, and made it a part of their business, as will be seen.
About the middle of August, a friend informed

me that a man had been talking to her father about my correspondence, and added that she thought it very singular how he should know so much about my letters as he professed to know, unless somebody had opened them at the postoffice. I thought it strange myself, but do not know that I should have made any inquiries about it, had I not been informed by a correspondent that a letter containing money, which I mailed on July 1, had not been received, and he advised me to make inquiries at this office. I then made efforts to ascertain who the persons were that had taken so much interest about my letters, and was !. told by Mr. W., in whose house I reside, that Mr. D., a class-leader in the Methodist Episcopsi Church, South, and mail-contractor between II. and D., some time in July took him aside and told him confidentially, and as an important secret, that I was writing a great many long letters to the Abolitionists in Kansas, etc. I began to have doubts that the one containing money went fur-ther than this post-office; therefore, my next in-quiry was directed to Mr. D. himself, in the pres-ence of Mr. and Mrs. W., to learn, if possible, where he obtained so much knowledge, and he told me he had heard Mr. McD., the postmaster, and several other persons, speak about it; but when I requested him to inform me who the 'several other persons' were, he at first refused, but afterward said that he did not know that he could tell who they were. It seemed not a little sur-prising that he should tell something as a secret, attaching to it importance even, and forget who told him! He even had the impudence to tell me that he thought I had been doing very wrong in my writing, and that he did think it very strange that I had written so many letters to Kansas.—
Here was an enigna to solve. Here would be be Here was an enigma to solve. How could be know how many letters I had written to that place ! for I had mailed but one at this post-office directed there, and I informed Mr. D. of that fact. It was also a fact that I had written two other letters directed to Kansas, but as they related to some business matters that I could not have attended to ere, I enclosed each of them in a letter to a friend, equesting him to attend to the business for me, and then mail them. The one sent first he received, as it contained only a draft payable to him, and therefore of no value to any other person; but the second, containing money, is missing. These facts look rather unfavorable for our pious class;

The following will serve as an illustration of the man :- After he had been talking about my correspondence in the manner he had, though I had not heard of it, he came here one day, and deivered a philippic against all 'higher-law fanats,' for my benefit undoubtedly, but at the time I did not know it. Among other excellent re-marks, he said: 'I wish Henry Ward Beecher could just drop down here in J., and the boys know who he was, and they would give him a ride hat he would remember-not a ride on a railroad, but a ride on a rail.'

What I have already related, one not a tyrant

would think was outrageous enough; but the cli-max is not yet completed. Our conscientious post-master, also a class-leader, has indeed 'refused to mail any thing from my hands!' I have his note in which he gave me that astonishing information, and my letters were sent back to me, and I was obliged to send them eight or ten miles to another office to be mailed. I had heard that he said he would not mail another letter for me, but I did not believe he said so, for I thought his official oath required him to mail all pre-paid letters sent to his office. I was told by one who has an op-portunity to know, that, beside the mail-contractor, some others, who call themselves gentlemen, had advised the postmaster to pursue the course he did. I have written to the Post-Office Department, stating all necessary particulars as correctly and fairly as I could, including a copy of the cor respondence with the postmaster here, and shall vait with some interest to learn whether the United States mail, so called, really belongs to the United States Government, or to a village postmaster and his clique.

I will here state that I have done nothing to

arouse these human bloodhounds; that I have said nothing about slavery here; that I never wrote an article upon that subject for publication, either pro or con, nor did I ever tell the slaves that any body thinks they have any rights, for I think it would be showing very little kindness to them to make them dissatisfied with their condition, when it is not in one's power to improve that condition in the least. But what may be my opinions with regard to the slavery question, or what I may write about it in my letters to my friends, is my own affair, and if any are so impertinent as to endeavor to infringe that right, I shall resent their impertinence, and maintain my right in all possible circumstances. Even if I chose to write for publication, I have a right to do so, and the demial of this right by any person would call a contract. nial of this right by any person would only cause me to make the effort.

The following will show how the shameful pro-

ceedings above narrated appear to some here :A gentleman of considerable intelligence said that if he had a sister in Maine, New Hampshire, or any other State, and a number of men should club ny other State, and a number of men same men here ogether to invade her rights, as some men here ad assailed mine, he would not wait for the operation of any law, but would go there and sh bem at once.

Where will this spirit of tyranny stop! It would be well to consider the matter ere it is too late. When I read the accounts of its outrages in Washing. Kansas and in the Senate Chamber at Washington, I had no thought for a moment that I should ever personally encounter it. But it has obtained from me no concessions. (Is it a recent importation from Europe! Let our Know-Nothing friends

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look to that.) It is indeed singular, that when in despotic Russia, as is said, the Csar is making efforts to abolish serfdom, in free America an American woman should be annoyed as much as American woman should be annoyed as much as possible because some men thought she did not believe slavery to be a divine institution; or, in the words of a Methodist preacher, who said.

Shavery is an institution established by God himself, and, therefore, one to be extended all over the habitable parts of the earth.' This should the Very chivalrous treatment of a lady do you not think so! But I am not the only one who has been so treated. As the men of thi region pride themselves on their chivalry, I will ate an incident or two to illustrate that charac A lady from the North, residing in this State, told me that a friend sent her a paper which happened to contain an article upon slavery, and busy just at the time, without reading the paper, she sent it to the man in whose house she was. When she next saw him, he asked her i she knew what kind of a paper it was that she seat to him; and she replied, 'The Farmer's Calinel, a very good paper.' is an Abolitionist paper, and you must send it back to the person who sent it to you.' Her indignation was aroused by that, and her answer was, 'I will not send it back to please all the slaveholders in Christendom. Having once expressed some com-passion for the condition of slaves, a huge barbarian, whom some denominated a gentleman, told her that he had four likely negro men without wives, and she might marry any one of them that she preferred. He intended it as the greatest in-sule that he could offer; and I do not think he could have offered a greater, unless he had pro-posed to marry her himself; for she was as much superior to him as he thought himself superior to his slaves.

When I ascertain to whom the mail belongs, I will let you know, for it is a matter that interests

many. Georgia, Oct. 10, 1856.

#### From the New York Post. THE SOUTHERN NULLIFIERS.

Let us suppose, for an instant, that the nulli fiers were to accomplish their purpose, and the Union were divided,—what would be the condition of the Southern half? What would they have to do, for example, to raise a revenue! Nearly all of our national income is from customs duties. The income from this source in 1854-the last year from which we have the full Treasury reports—amounted to \$65,147,456. We doubt if there are many, even at the North, who are aware that \$60,000,000, or more than nine-tenths o this, comes through Northern ports. That is no The increase of these duties at the North is more than twice as great as at the South. W. have before us the Treasury volumes of 'Receipt and Expenditures' for five years only-from 1856 to 1854, inclusive. Taking the two years-1850 and 1854-we find the following results:

Customs receipts North, \$36,307,527 \$60,610,490 Customs receipts South, 4,121,505 5,136,567 40,429,458 65,147,456 Total in the U. S.,

During four years, the customs receipts at th South have gained twenty-four per cent., and at the North sixty-five per cent.; at the South six per cent, gain annually, and at the North over sixteen per cent. If we omit the interior places at the South, flourishing cities and ports of entry. like Memphis and St. Louis, the gain on the sea board from Delaware to Texas, during four years has been only eighteen per cent. And what make the flourishing foreign trade in places like Mem-phis and St. Louis? Most certainly that active commerce carried on with the Free States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa and the new territories. And why are the merchants of Westport, Independence, and other places in Northern and Western Missouri, at this time, complaining of the almost total cessation of trade and impend ing bankruptcy! The answer may be found in reaches us from Kansas.

But giving the South the benefit of the largest

total gain of customs receipts-twenty-four per cent in four years-what then! In four years after the last report-in 1858-at the former rate of increase, the income from customs at the North would be \$99.017,307, or almost one hundred millions of dollars in a year. At the South-taking their past increase as a guide—their annual income will be but \$6,369,839.

Now, let us imagine them as good as their

word; let us imagine that these Cuba-annexing Ostend Manifesto, slave-driving Buchaniering border-ruffians were permitted to carry out their threat of breaking the Union in two, and the North compelled to take the advice which Hamlet gave to his adulterous mother, when she declared that her heart was ' cleft in twain '-- ' Throw away Now, let us suppose disunion peaceably made-

the Southern 'fragments,' at the rate of increase that we have seen, would have, in four years from 1858, a gross income of some \$20,000,000-or about seven and a half millions annually. Their expenses as a nation, in that time, would be at least fifty millions a year; and this would leave a deficit in four years of \$170,000,000! A little worse than the deficit in the finances of Austria; which is now about thirty-eight millions annually

The northern portion-the 'better-half'-start ing in 1858 with an annual income of \$99,017,317. at the ordinary gain, would have a gooss revenue in four years of say \$525,000,000. Putting the expenses at \$60,000,000 a year-though we do not how they could be so high, all government expenditures at the North being notoriously so much lower than at the South—we should have expended in four years to the amount of \$240, 000,000, leaving an overplus of \$285,000,000 ! Now this is a mathematical calculation, based

on the present actual income from customs of the two portions of the country. The actual state of things would, of course, be modified by alterations in the tariff and other controlling circumstances but judging of the future by the past, we have shown the result. The receipts from land sales would not alter the case materially : it would give a little larger income, but the disproportion would be still greater than it would be in the customs only. The entire national income from land-sales in five years has amounted, in round numbers, to only \$25,000,000, or about five millions annually : of this about one-fourth is collected in th Slave States, and the balance at the North. A great share of the Southern land-sales have been at the Missouri land-offices for lands in Iowa and the free territories; and, for the future, the sales of land by the nation, for many years, will be but triffing, a great share of the available wild lands having been already disposed of to railroad companies and State governments.

## From the New York Tribune.

TO WHAT BASE USES WE MAY COME. Touchstone, who was philosopher as well as courtier and poet, told Rosalind, in the forest of Arden, the great troth in natural history, when he said that 'cat will after kind.' It is true, not only in natural history, but in political as well, and applies to dirty dogs as well as to cleanly cats. If there were any doubt on this point, the skeptic would have only to turn his eyes to the city of Boston to have it forever removed. The remnant of the Boston Whigs there have at last counled with their natural mates. They used to turn up their noses, as if they smelt something unsavory, when they met a Democrat, and looked upon them all as one, as the mire under their And the Democrats regarded the Whigs with an answering aversion. But now they bave rushed into one another's arms, and sworn eternal fidelity. Like the souls which are said to be dropped from heaven well mated, but which often are widely separated in their descent, they have been long divided. But, like those happy spirits which, after long separation and tedious search. which, after long separation and tedious search at last find each other, they have mingled into onin a harmonious marriage—of which we sincerely trust that there may be no divorce forever.

Mr. William Appleton, the chosen among ter thousand of Boston Whigs as the successor of Mr Samuel A. Eliot, the voter for the Fugitive Slav Bill, and who proved his worthy successorship by voting against its repeal, Mr. William Appleton is the joint candidate of the Whigs and Demo crats for the nuble purpose of defeating Mr. Burlingame! How are the mighty fallen! 'To what uses may we come at last! as the Prince of Denmark judiciously observed on another occasion.
When one sees Mr. Appleton lying comfortably

between the sheets of the Boston Post, tucked app 'heads and points in the same truckle-bed' with did those of Ithaca,—and with a good deal of po-Charles Gordon Greene, one cannot but laugh at the oddity of bed-fellowship. It is precisely where he belongs, but it is not often that the right men find themselves so exactly in the right place. And so of the rest of them. George S. Hillard and Seth J. Thomas here mat together. Robert C. Win.

in Carolina, and a Boston Representative having very le presumed to rebuke that brother of their love, and mass. to defend their common mother against the stric tures of their Southern friend and ally, it became their first duty to punish that Representative, if they could not reach the Senator, for his presump-tion and his incolence. As they could not do this by themselves, the tenuity of their party defying the analysis of the strongest political microscope, they were forced to look about for helpers. First, they united themselves by the left hand, in a Morganatic Union with the Know Nothings, and now, to secure the great end for which they live and have their being, they have intermarried, by a lawful wedding, with the Democrats. The long-parted souls are joined at last in a pre-ordained marriage. We trust that they will find Mrs. Mal-aprop's aphorism true, that, in these cases, 'it is sponsibility, we generally choose to submit without the sound of the s tainly, have had that preparation for a happy the intelligence and discrimination of our readers

classing them with Brooks and Jefferson Davis, we can show by their silence and by their speech. In all their resolutions and speeches, they have had no word to say in condemnation of the assault apon Mr. Samner, and whoever will take pains to apon air. Summer, and the just issued, written by criticisms upon his last letter seem to have wounded his the veteran Josiah Quincy, called 'Whig Policy Analyzed,' but which might be entitled 'The History of the Decline and Fall of the Whig Party in only plainness of speech; a disposition to knock down Massachusetts, will find chapter and verse for and drag out, where our aim was to call things what they have said, and what they have left un- by their right names; a failure to meet his reasons, said. But, since then, Mr. George S. Hillard, in a speech at Providence, has defined their position to a nicety as to Mr. Sumner and Mr. Burlingame. He said, on that occasion, that 'there had been two grand demonstrations in Boston lately-one in honor of the man who didn't fight, (Sumner.) we prefer a terse reply to a long-winded rejoinder, and and the other in honor of the man who did make a sort of quasi fight. (Burlingame)! And this was not said in South Carolina, by one of the abettors of Brooks there, but in New England, and by a misfortune and discomfiture. once supposed by Mr. Sumner capable of being friend. It is not fair to Brooks and Keitt to put them on a level with Northern men such as these. The slaves that black their boots and brush their coats would be their fitting antetypes, were those services voluntary, instead of being compelled. As it is, none but themselves can be their parallel.

#### From the Practical Christian.

THE CONSTITUTION A PRO-SLAVERY COMPACT: Or. Society, Office 138 Nassau Street. 1856.

Whoever cares to know now the people of the Tok of Oct. 1714, a lifet question in the heading, 'Information' I describe the same to be bound hand and foot in Leonard, of Grafton, under the heading, 'Information' House the heading of the watter of the matter'. As I am happy to give all the 'information of the matter of the do so by studying this book. The framers of the property for the colored people with Liberty for white people in that bond of Political I will, with your permission, occupy a column or two of Union. It was done by bargain, by compromise. The Liberator, which might, perhaps, be devoted to The main consideration between the parties was more important matter, written by more distinguished pelf and power, glossed over with high pretensions of patriotism. The story may be summed up in a individuals.

few words:—A Union of all the States must be formed some how. South Carolina, Georgia, and my former letter. It seems rather singular that an arperhaps North Carolina, would not come into any ticle of so little account 'as to carry its own refutation on, except a pro-slavery one. Therefore, the slave trade must be guaranteed for twenty years, ries considerably longer than the article itself. You fugitive slaves must be made capturable through out the Union, slaveholders must have the privi-lege of representing three-fifths of their slaves as account of the weak brethren who may be led astray persons in the general government, and domestic by 'plausibility.' Doubtless, their weakness appears insurrections must be put down by the common more vividly to you as you proceed, or you would not

Meantime, the Eastern States were avaricious to give us so much more than you promised. ing the slave trade; also to save a penny in the strongly and severely. Full well I know the fiery strengthen their navigation interests, not exceptpayment of direct taxes, which were to offset the ordeal of criticism and discussion to which every writer three-fifths slave representation-a burden that for The Liberaton subjects himself, especially if he is the South soon got rid of by means of the revenue so unfortunate as to hold opinions system. So they wrapped it up, and the pro- of the editor thereof (1) You have a perfect right to slavery government was put in motion; there be- knock down and drag out my opinions or theories, and ing then, as now, plenty of anti-slavery patriots knock down and drag out my opinions or theories, and who choked down their scraples, and flattered I make no complaint that you have endeavored to do so themselves they were saving liberty in saving the but it was hardly generous in you to sneer at an hum-Union. Thus the great Red Dragon of Slavery ble individual like myself for professing modesty, when was guaranteed a snug birth with fat pampering appearing before the public in print. (2) Also, such favor within the citadel of the Constitution. There he has had a safe and sacred lair ever since; issuing forth at pleasure to chase and devour his prev. If ever resisted at all, it has only been when was thought to be taking too wide a range in his mon sense,' 'violates the truth,' &c., are, to say the predatory excursions. And then he has merely many a caressive assurance that his shelter should

Buncombe patriotism of all stripes pledges ir-Dragon's shelter. It is the height of fanaticism and treason for good men to denounce this proslavery Union. But it is innocence, wisdom, and supernal patriotism for slavcholders to bluster ou their threats that they will destroy it, if they cannot make it altogether subservient to their purwhen that day comes, a clean sweep will be made of these base compromises, these iniquitous conspiracies of the strong against defenceless human ity bleeding under centuries of outrage, yea, and of this Red Dragon's Union too. Mark the prediction! Read Mr. Phillips's Selections from the to this modus operandi for interpreting constitutions Madison Papers. They are full of valuable infor- and laws. Suppose a Massachusetts lawyer, in defendmation. It is well that the work has been repub-Read and understand it. Likewise read the signs of the times, and then decide whether it be right for you to participate any longer as an office-holding or voting citizen in carrying on a government ingrained, seared and ossified with such nonstrous wrongs. But if you will continue in the firm of Slavery & Co., prepare to meet the final responsibilities of the concern, for they are at

## DEPECTIVE SPEECHES.

Rev. WILLIAM H. FISH-giving an account of some Republican gatherings in central New York, says :-H. W. Beecher said some good things on this subject, and evinced a high appreciation of women in general, and of ' Jessie' in particular, whom On various other points, too, he was truthful and eloquent, calling forth responses from the deep heart of humanity—from the moral sense and the (3) In their connection, these accusations were jushe had been tempted to run away with, he said ! ness and prejudices, and got a response only from glorified the 'Union'-Disunion-and wished his right hand might be withered, and various other awful things might happen to him. States. He spoke so strongly on this point, that benefit of his charitable declaration, as well as to make even very moderate anti-slavery Republicans it a shield for himself? far. But aside from this very vicious element in his speech of two hours length, he, of course, die good service to the cause of Freedom, though I could not help feeling that he is getting to be too exclusively political and politician-like, in his spirit and manner of speaking—so unlike our un-compromisingly moral and Christian anti-slavery of New England. He is, however, undoubtedle sincere and honest in his work, and so carnest, an devoted, and persevering, that he is using him-self up in it—especially his voice. I hope and believe he will by and by ascend to a higher plat-form, and grapple, in the use of his great powers,

especially of speech, with slavery per se.

There were probably some three or four thousand people at Cortlandville, and Gov. Hamlin, who was the first speaker, addressed them for two

J. Thomas have met together! Robert C. Winthrop and Beojamin F. Hallett have kissed each
other! Surely, never were pairs seen so justly
formed to meet by nature. They are matched as
well us paired.

And the occasion of this great reconciliation
was worthy of what it brought about A Senator well us paired.

And the occasion of this great reconciliation was worthy of what it brought about. A Senator of Massachusetts having been justly chastised by a gallant son of South Carolina for daring to say a gallant son of South Carolina for daring to say a gallant son of that saintly State; as unpaired to the saintly State; as unpaired to t very low type of anti-slavery-at least with the

# THE LIBERATOR

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 14, 1856.

THE 'COVENANT WITH DEATH' It is not our habit to protract a discussion wi any one ; least of all, with any of our correspondents. to begin with a little aversion.' They, cer- note or comment, because we place great reliance upo redlock.

That we do no injustice to those Whigs in thus ed from men and things, but an element without taint of personal unkindness, and comprehensive as the universe. Victory is not with him who has the last word. but with him who is in the right.

Below, 'J. T. C.' again makes his appearance. Our feelings. He perceives harshness, where we intended where we supposed we had made a solid refutation We can only disavow any intentional disrespect, or any personal feeling. Circumlecution of speech we do not use ; a diffusive style is not particularly to our taste ;

To the following long rejoinder of 'J. T. C.' we pend some notes as the readiest way to meet its various statements; but with no intention to prolong the discussion, though he shall be heard again, if he desire it.

IS IT RIGHT TO CAST A VOTE? Osnkosu, (Wis.) Oct. 27, 1856. Mr. W. L. GARRISON :

DEAR SIR, -An absence of several weeks from he prevented me from seeing your criticisms on my letter in THE LIBERATOR of Sept. 26th, until a few days since. Extracts from the Madison Papers, etc. Se-lected by Wendell Phillips. Third Edition, it specially necessary for me to do so; nevertheless, I New York : American Anti-Slavery desired to comment on some portions of your article in reply to me. I notice, furthermore, in THE LIBERA-Whoever cares to know how the people of the ron of Oct. 17th, a direct question put to me by T.

> First, then, respecting your ' brief criticisms' upon along with it,' should need criticisms and commenta-

I complain not that my opinions are controverted accusations us 'pulpably sophistical in its reasoning, utterly lacking in moral discrimination,' 'nothing better than complete infatuation,' 'an insult to comleast, putting the case rather strongly. (3) All minds been required to keep at home like a good pet, with are not cast in the same mould, and all hearts are not attuned to the same chord, (4) However much we may differ in opinion, my dear sir, let us always reself to take eternal care of the Union-the Red member that courtesy and politeness are Christian

nterpreting the Constitution, seems to be this :- I in terpret it by what it says ; you insist on interpreting it by what men long since dead have said about it. (6.) If a lawyer, in the trial of a case at court, rests the poses. So go the times, and so go the multitude. If a lawyer, in the trial of a case at court, rests the But it is a long lane that never turns,' saith the claims of his client wholly on circumstantial evidence, old saw. Plain justice will have its day yet. And it is fair to presume he has nothing direct to offer : so you, by constant reference to contemporaneous history, virtually admit, (and I presume you would make the same admission directly,) that you cannot sustain your position without such reference. (7) I object in toto ing a man indicted for violating the prohibitory liquor law, should say- Your Honor, this law doesn't mean any such thing as appears on its face. There is, to be sure, something in it about temperance, morality, pun-

(1) We conceile to every such correspondent all that we claim for ourselves-liberty to state his own views, in his own language, and to reprove us as sharply as he may think we deserve. What more can reasonably be demanded of us? And how many journals in this country allow such a liberty? If we deserve no credit for this, there should be at least no fault-finding or wincing.

(2) No-not ' for professing modesty, when appear ng before the public in print,' but for impeaching the intelligence of the American people in regard to their

religious sense. But he sometimes, I am serry to tifiable-to emit which, and to group them together, say, went down no deeper than the popular selfish- may indicate ingenuity, but certainly not fair-dealing, on the part of 'J. T. C.

(4) True-but moral principle is still obligatory of us all, and each one ought to contend earnestly for the whenever he should interfere with slavery in the truth. Will our correspondent allow us to have the

(5) But the 'Christian graces' do not debar the indignant soul from exclaiming, Get thee behind me Satan !'-nor from using the plainest rebuke. Read again the language of Jesus and his Apostles, whose courtesy and politeness, denounced as rudeness and blasphemy in their day, our correspondent will probably not question.

(6) This is not the whole truth. Our appeal is to the nation, religiously, politically, judicially, and governmentally, ever since the adoption of the Constituti ill now-to the living and the dead-to the past as the present-and there is no escape from it, except in ancing the people to be lupatics.

(7) What we have said above is a full answer to this false statement wis 100 me 100 and 1100 mm;

ing of that law is to allow every man to drink and sell Pierce as a matter of preference, he also voted for him all the liquor he wants; and I can produce letters and as a logical necessity '!! What strange notion is this? vouchers from twenty of the most prominent men who A man is nominated for office whose principles I abbor voted for the law, stating that they so understood it at I labor to defeat him, both by speech and vote; but he the time it passed.' Would not that lawyer be inform- is elected, nevertheless; and because I actively exerted ed by the Court, that laws were not interpreted by the myself to defeat him, therefore, I am responsible for his private opinions and understandings of those who voted nots; whereas, if I fold my hands, and do nothing, for them, but by some more reliable and more readily am clear of all such responsibility! If this is not the ascertained method? (8) And would not that lawyer pith and marrow of your statement, then I do no he hooted out of court as a foolish ignoramus? Equal- understand language. Is not this argument with ly absurd, in my estimation, is it to maintain that a Constitution which proclaims, in advance, for itself, wrong, and does not succeed, he is, by a 'logical ne that it is intended to 'secure the blessings of liberty,' was really designed to strengthen and extend the curse of slavery, unless such design can be shown by direct

I did not say that your having been stigmatized as a fanatic and fool was evidence that the people had never the evils of the traffic, because they 'consent to the will understood their own laws. You are constantly quoting Courts and Legislatures as authority on your side beautiful principle to other action besides voting of the question being discussed. I merely wished to remind you that these important authorities, in a kin-dred matter touching anti-clavery, were hardly consid-he is hung, in spite of their efforts, they are, by ered reliable by you; and to suggest that the opinions ' logical necessity,' responsible for the legal murder of Courts and Legislatures, so entirely without value because they consent to the will of the majority-are in the one case, might not be of so much importance in they? You labored, without success, to prevent the anthe other. Was the idea or the application of it so nexation of Texas; therefore, by a 'logical necessity, very ridiculous, after all? (2)

and positive evidence from the document itself.

of the government. You seem to consider voting and holding office the only modes in which the citizen ne- You are pleased to mark my logic with an '?' to de cessarily does this thing. The proper authorities issue note your estimate of its value. If I were to place my a call to all citizens to come up and vote on a certain estimate on yours in this case, I should write the word day; you do not go. The proper authorities issue a 'logical' in this way, viz., 'logical?'?! !-indicating call to all citizens to come up on a certain day and pay it to be doubly questionable by the two first points, and money to support the officers that you refuse to help by the last two, indicating joy, grief, or surprise, elect, and to carry out their decisious and enactments. in accordance with the spelling-book definition; and This time you go! and pay your money to be used for so far as I am concerned, representing the latter of the these purposes, without so much as a protest against its | three states of mind mentioned. being used for any wrong purpose. (10)

great as the difference between midnight darkness and vertebrie, that one is compelled to hold it up, in order the noonday light'; you may see this vast difference to gain an opportunity to knock it down. in the moral influence and responsibility of these two of the kind. I think the action, in both cases, covers desert his principles for considerations like these ? Not this particular matter? so thought the apostles and martyrs of old. (11)

How is it about supporting the Post Office? You There is no compulsion here ; this is certainly voluntary; there is no compulsory officer, no prison, no threat- being discussed. ening of life here, to frighten you, or coerce you into compliance. (12) 'J. T. C. is informed' that 'it is spondent, viz, 'How can J. T. C. interpret the threeour right to wear an imported cloth,' and ' J. T. C.' would like to be 'informed' how a man who helds all of freedom?' voluntary support of the government to be immoral and wicked, can, merely for his own convenience, and with- from the Constitution, Article 1st, section 2d, clause out any existing necessity, contribute money for the 3d, viz :support of that government? (13)

What is the reason, furthermore, that the important function of voting may not be classed under the head of 'rights which cannot be destroyed, though they may be fettered and perverted in their exercise by the strong arm of usurpation,' as well as the unimportant matters of consuming imported goods and using the Post Office

You accuse me of violating the truth when I assert that you ' never have demurred ' when called upon to furnish money for the support of government. I am and dictiounries.' Some words have a different signifiready to be convicted, and to acknowledge my error, cation in law from what they bear in ordinary talk. Post Office revenues, and by paying your taxes without it, and because, if there are any doubts, it is our duty a formal protest. I judge you by your nots, and not always to decide them in favor of liberty. by your talk. Dr. Harriot K. Hunt, of your city, feels Again : - There is to be added to the 'whole numb bound to enter a written protest with the authorities of free persons,' three-fifths of all other PERSONS,'of taxes is concerned. (14)

ground.' Net a bit of it. The government was instiduty bound to do so. 'Three-fifths of all other persons.' tuted by the votes of the people ; it can be destroyed, peaceably, only by the same authority, exercised in the of the States in which they reside? No, sir. A persame manner. The people voted their Constitution into existence : if they wish to get rid of it, they must vote it out of existence, or resort to violence and mob law.

You advocate the peaceable overthrow of the govern vote, you will be acting under the present Constitution; and this, in your view, is a wicked act per se, and is how can the government be peacefully abolished without casting such vote? (15)

(8) The cases are not analogous, because there is no the courts, in all cases of doubt or ambiguity respecting a law, to consult contemporaneous history, and es- argument to object here by saying, that this clause pecially the known views and purposes of those who

gainst us, and our efforts, it is not surprising that we have been so extensively maligned; but against their own Constitution, it is not possible that the people can

(10) If we are inconsistent, it may be to our confusion of face, but it cannot screen 'J. T. C.' from condemnation. But he who assumes that submitting to taxation in the spirit of peace, is equivalent to enforcrefusing to vote is equivalent to voting-is, in our tions, or acting a jesuitical part. We shall waste no (11) Where is it recorded that they did not pay

tribute money? We again ask, was Jesus responsible cause he paid the tribute when demanded? (12) The post-office is a most useful instrumentality.

The government offers to carry our letters cheaper than we can get them carried by any other existing medium. We accept the arrangement, but without endorsing the government.

(13) The revenues of the post-office department are for a laudable purpose—the further diffusion of light and knowledge. To this we take no exception, any correspondent must be hard pushed to resort to such puerile reasoning. (14) If our daily life be not a sufficient protest, of

hat avail would be our words? Breath is nothing. It is the paying of the money, in spite of silence or protest, according to 'J. T. C.' which involves us all in the guilt and tyranny of the government! 'Most lame

(15) If no one voted, where and what would be the government ? Why are disunionists and non-resistants stigmatized as 'no-government men,' except that they will not use the elective franchise ?

And now comes the ne plus ultra of arguments You state that 'though J. T. C. voted against Franklin vengeance? If a man undertakes to counteract cessity,' responsible for the wrong-isn't he? Whereas if he does nothing about it, no responsibility attaches t him! (16) The temperance men who vote for a prohibitory liquor law, also vote against it as a 'logica necessity '; and in case it fails, are responsible for al of the majority '-are they? Why not extend this When a man is sentenced to be hung, the Messrs. Spea you are responsible therefor. Who believes in any such Now, concerning what constitutes voluntary support principle as this, whether applied to voting, or action of any other kind?

note your estimate of its value. If I were to place my

This is one of the arguments (?) sometimes heard Now, you may see in these two cases a difference 'as of, but seldom seen, so lacking in consistency and spinal

How did I consent to the election of Franklit cases; but I must confess my inability to see any thing Pierce '? Not a whit more than you have. No, not so much; for I used both moral and political means to the same ground, and involves the actor in the same re- defeat him, while you used but one of these kinds of sponsibility. What if the government does say, 'Your action, and vary little of that. I submit to his rule, money, or the confiscation of your property, or the im- because I cannot help myself, and you do the same. prisonment of your boly, or your life ? Shall a man Wherein, then, consists the difference between us in

Your presumption that 'J. T. C. is exerting himself to secure the triumph of J. C. Fremont ' happens to steer quite clear of this matter in your reply to me. be all wrong. I do not support that individual for the Presidency, for reasons not germane to the matters now Now, turn we to the question asked by your corre

> fifths representation clause of the Constitution in favor First, let us ascertain what this clause is. We quote

. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportion

ed among the several States which may be included within this union, according to their respective num-bers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those board to ser-vice for a term of years, and excluding Indians not This extract comprises all of the clause that has ref

rence to the matter in hand. The Constitution is a legal document, and must b

interpreted by legal rules, as well as by 'grammars when it is proved to be one; this is not at present the The word 'free' is one of these; it sometimes means, state of the fact. I know very well that you have said in law, not the right of possessing one's self, but is many times, in speeches and editorials, that you would used to distinguish those entitled to the right of sufnot give voluntary support to the government, but you frage from those not so entitled. This word should be have all the time kept doing it, by contributing to the so interpreted here, because the legal rules will permit

each year on payment of her taxes. She does this to not three-fifths of all other things or chattels. By the maintain her consistency as an advocate of the equal laws of the Southern States, the slaves are deemed political rights of women with men, and to uphold her 'chattels personal, to all intents and purposes,' &c.; views of the doctrine, that ' taxation without repre- the latter part of the quotation covers every thing consentation is tyranny." Have you ever done this thing. cerning the slaves. (17) Hence, the Southern States any thing like it? If so, I shall be happy to hear of have no more right to enumerate three-fifths of their t, and to retract my statement, so far as the payment slaves, than I should have, in case I owned five hundred monkeys, to give them in as three hundred persons as a But, you say, 'If our example had been universally basis of representation. We must hold them strictly followed, the government would have fallen to the to the language, and we have a perfect right and are in Are the slaves persons, by the laws and constitutions son is a human being ; a slave is a marketable commodity, like a horse or an ox.

If he is not this, then he is not a slave. That he is a chattel personal,' the statute book of every slave nent. How can this be brought about, except in the State in the Union will attest. How, then, can be be manner above indicated? When you go to cast this two things at once? How can be sustain to the government so widely dissimilar as those of man and beast, person and property, at one and the same time? The not to be exercised for any supposable or prospective thing is impossible; he must be either the one thing good; the very act, you hold, involves the individual or the other. If he is a man, let him be counted as in a responsibility for the dark catalogue of horrors one, not as three-fifths of one in the enumeration. If connected with American slavery. How, then, can any he is a chattel, a mere piece of property, as the laws man cast a vote without doing a very wicked act, and under which he lives declare, then let him be counted in the enumeration just as much as our chattels, and our pieces of property, viz., just nothing at all. Is not this exact justice to the letter of the Constitu-

tion, and to the proper rights of all the States? Who reasoning from the character of a compact to the de- can justly complain of such interpretations and applisign of a statute; but if they were, it is ever a rule of cations as these? This removes all the difficulty, and makes every thing plain, in my estimation. It is n has never been so interpreted in practice. There are great many things that ought to be done by every rule (9) Certainly; the cases are wholly different. A. of logic and of law, yet they are not done.

(16) We declare the Constitution to be stained with innocent blood; and therefore will neither vote nor bold have any motive to misinterpret or pervert that in- any office under it which requires the oath of allegiance. But ' J. T. C.'-though putting an anti-slavery interpretation upon the Constitution-enters into a political struggle with contending parties that reject his interpretation, and agrees to acquiesce in the will of the majority. Having been outvoted, he is bound to re ing it in the spirit of violence and usurpation-that cognize Franklin Pierce as President of the United States, according to the requirement of the Constitu judgment, either incapable of drawing moral distinct tion, in spite of his zealous opposition. Why talk of not being able to help himself, when he has agreed to run the chance of defeat?

(17) Mere verbal hair-splitting, involving a perver sion of facts. We shall let JAMES MADISON reply to for Cesar's heathenish and tyrannical government, be- this, in the following extract from No. LIV. of . The Federalist' :-

. We must deny the fact that slaves are considere merely as property, and in no respect whatever as per sons. The true state of the case is, that they partak of both these qualities; being considered, by our laws in some respects as person, and in other respects as property. In being compelled to labor not for himself but for a master; in being vendible by one master to another master; and in being subject at all times to be for a laudable purpose—the further diffusion of light and knowledge. To this we take no exception, any more than to the street lamp that is by our door. Our be degraded from the human rank, and classed with correspondent must be hard pushed to resort to such those irrational animals which fall under the legal denomination of property. In being protected, on the other hand, in his life and in his limbs, against the violence of all others, even the master of his labor and his liberty, and in being punishable himself for all violence committed against others, the slave is no less evidently egarded by the law as a member of society, not a part of the irrational creation; as a moral person so part of the irrational creation; As a moral person, not as a mere article of property. The federal Constitution, therefore, decides with great propriety on the case of our slaves, when it views them in the mixed character of persons and of property. This is, in fact, their true character. It is the character bestowed on them by the laws under which they live; and it will not be denied that these are the proper criterion. denied that these are the proper criterion. attoing onealf make

Take an instance. The Constitution says, 'The cith reps of each State shall be entitled to all the privilege and immunities of citizens of the several States'; jet citizens of Massachusetts are sold in South Car and there is no redress. The South admits that its laws on this point are an constitutional. Why then are these laws and this pu-

teotion denied? Solely, and only, because of the proslavery sentiments of the people, and the instant of self-preservation among the slaveholders. Why is the clause of the Constitution under consideration think and warped into the support of slavery? Solely, sal only, for the same reason. Make the tree good, and the fruit will be good, of course. The recept are the source of political power; put the love of freehand the hate of slavery into their hearts, and there will be no trouble in interpreting this and all the classed the Constitution in favor of liberty for all.

This is my answer to the question propounded. hope it will prove not only 'plausible,' but 'satisfan ry' to the individual making the inquiry. (18) That the slaveholders have had full possesses of the

national government, wielded it for their own back national government, and interpreted it to suit themselves, no one can day; that there is any necessity for admitting this to the part of the North, it is folly to admit, The Constitution is a strong hold of power. Gir is

the interpretations which of right belong to it, and as possess that strong hold; whereas; it is now in the posession of our enemies. To this work we as abilitation ought to devote ourselves, in part, at least, viz "to place the Constitution where it was intended by its framen to be, (19) where its own language decides that it be longs, on the side of freedom. ongs, on the side of freedom.

In this great and noble work, my dear Sir, allors

to ask, where are you? By your own admission, you are siding with the whole pro-slavery sentiment of the land, North and South. You are laboring with the nestness and zeal to prevent this powerful instrumen tality from aiding our cause. You are devoting time, talents and influence to prevent this ally, this coalistor, from rendering us any aid. Is this the right poition for an abolitionist to occupy? (20.)

Is it not undeniable, that if slavery were abolished to-morrow, it would not be necessary to alter a siegh sentence of the Constitution to make it an anti-slarer document? Does the existence of slavery in the cone. try mean anything different ?

There is a pro-slavery demon, with hoofs and lers, as you justly say. We cannot see it in the Constitution because it is not there: a very excellent resea, it is, however, in the hearts of the America perple. (21) Let us exorcise it from hence by moral agintion ; but, while doing this, let us never performs fatal an act as to throw away entirely the relas of girernment, by refusing to go to the ballot-box. (22)

(18) There will be no difficulty in interpreting the Constitution favorable to liberty, says 'J. T. C. vice the love of freedom is in the hearts of the people. Ar, there's the rub ! ' When the sky falls, we may catch larks.' We have not said that the Constitution does not represent the hearts of the people-it does-and, therefore, our position is impregnable. (19) So, then, we are to be governed by what the

framers of the Constitution designed it to be! ' J. T.C. forgets himself in appealing to ' the deal past.' Those who framed that instrument did not design to place it on the side of freedom' for the slave, but made it at his expense. (20) We are simply taking the nation at its work,

using our common sense, and acknowledging the truth, lamentable as it is. We do not believe is seif-staltification to sustain a false assumption. (21) Just so ; and so it has been from the beginning

This concedes the whole ground, and our correspondent has confuted himself. For how could a people, with all pro-slavery demon in them, make an anti-lavery in strument for their own government? Can the shear rise any higher than the fountain? . Do mes cather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

(22) 'Moral agitation' is our constant work : but to ask us to go to the ballot-box, in such a connection, and with the views we have expressed, is to outrage out moral feelings, and to counsel us to do evil that god may come. Abhorring all jesuitism, we must respec fully decline complying with the request.

## THE NON-RESISTANCE CONVENTION.

It will be seen, by the call in another column, that the friends of Non-Resistance are to hold a Convention in the Horricultural Hall, at Worcester, on Saturday and Sunday, Nov. 20th and 30th-to which they ordially invite to a free and full discussion of the subject not only those who are in unison with their view, agt only all who are sincerely inquiring as to the legite mate application of the principles of peace, but also such as believe in the right and duty of defensite var on the part of a nation, and of personal deferer with deadly weapons. We hope this invitation will be nidely responded to, so that there may he a large attendance, and the presentation of the various conflicting sestiments which prevail, touching a question so grave and vital. Believing, as we do, in the sacrelness of haman life-in the intrinsic nobleness of self-sacifee in behalf of even the worst men-in the duty and blessedness of returning good for evil, under all circusstances-in the wickedness of rival nationalities, and the obligation to recognize human liberty, equality and brotherhood, universally-we are convinced that so nation is safe, no institutions are stable, no presently is permanent, around which are gathered, for deknot, the munitions of war and the elements of violence We do not think that the spirit which Jesus exhibited in his treatment of enemies can be carried too far; it it we find the divinest qualities of mind and heartwhatever of fortitude is needed in the hour of attention ty, or of patience under provocation, or of courage in endure unto the end. This spirit, however, is right as famatical by the Christian world, which yet dare it call itself by the name of the Prince of Peace. Our in a Christian land, forsooth, with its stars and strips, its army and navy, and its millions of chattel slave Far otherwise.

The subject is sublime and boundless, and we true the Convention at Worcester will do something torard satisfactory elucidation thereof.

MR, SUMNER-A NEW COLLECTION OF PORTRITA Mr. C. H. Brainard, the enterprising and very success ful publisher of the pertraits of the Cuantiess of FREEDOM,' and other distinguished persons, has just issued another portrait of Hon. CHARLES SCHOOL !! Grozelier, somewhat reduced in size, but in all rejects better than any that has yet been given to the public Those who have not yet been supplied are recommend ed to purchase this, in preference to the larger est. As, however, judgments widely differ as to which st two portraits of the same individual is the more accerate, either can be had of Mr. Brainard, at 124 Washington street.

Mr. B. has now in the hands of Grezelier, a capital lithographic print, (to match that of the . Chaspies of Freedom, 'in size and style,) to be published with all expedition, which will contain the pertraits of Wis-DELL PHILLIPS, THEODORE PAREER, SANTEL J. Mat. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, HORACE MANN, GEBERT SETS, &c., drawn from daguerreotypes taken expressly ist the purpose, the entire accuracy of which may be relied upon, so as to give the utmost satisfaction to the numerous friends of those gentlemen. It will be sued in season for a Christmas or New Year's gibprice \$1.50. Application may be made to Williag C. Nell, at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, as rell as to Mr. Brainard. See advertisement in another calend.

The capital review of Pres. Lord's pro-land Letters, which we copy from the Christian Examine, is by Rev. James PREEMAN CLARKE, of this city.

BF Andrew T. Poss's post-effice address is for its present Adrian, Michigan, care of Thomas Chaolie.

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amence en Saturday, at 2 e clock, P. M. It owline WM. LLOYD GARRISON, ADIN BALLOU er ell be present and address the meeting. being this call, the Executive Council of the sin Quarterly Conference are netuated by no mod sincere desire to promote the cause of Truth becores in the world. They would therefore purphees that it may be responded to by a prompt gal attendance of all who are interested in the

ve veterans, who, through evil as well as good site ever remained true and faithful, we wish order us by your presence. Come ye, who in weakness have been seduced into the Golgoof points by the specious sophisms of the devotees Came, ye who are hoping for a brighter or farmanind, when there shall be no more war, erle, sor oppression, nor misery in the world. Let eithelime. Come, ye who are opposed to us; our der will be free to every one who, in a spirit of or and candor, wishes to occupy it. And may and for the said love there baptize as with its a layerly influences, removing from our hearts or crery evil passion, and making us more worthy per sich the standard of 'Peace on earth, and d vill to men."

no resigns of the Convention will be held in the circitaral Hall. By order of the Council,

W. W. COOK, Chairman.

A RECENT TOUR IN OHIO.

ON FRIEND GARRISON : the year 1829, when your voice, "solitary and

intsounded in the ears of this guilty nation buty to immediately release its colored Americansa January 1st, 1831, when THE LIBERATOR first unfel the liberty-inspiring banner, bidding the slave the South and the half-free colored man of the North later and labor for the day of full emancipation, has and been recking from centre to circumference thedin and agitation of that battle, which, with Nessing, will sooner or later be crowned with tri-

wiscidental skirmishes which are a part of the his of every faithful soldier, whether distinguished or nile, can be made profitable, if noted in your Jourald Freedom as warnings to those Pharaohs who yet nise to let the people go-as omens of success to those the still labor and wait, and also as encouragement to per others who at this (as it seems to me) eleventh burage waking up, asking, ' Lord, what wouldst thou he me to do ? " Its impressed, I have noted down some experiences

afur recent tour in Ohio. Most of my time was spont hospery with John M. Langston, who was engaged a publicly advocating equal civil and political rights is the colored citizens of that State. This mission re soler the auspices of the State Central Committee Election, whose zeal and efficiency bid fair to be midel with an carly favorable response, unless polimust become so discouraged by defeat, or forgetful by geoss, as to play their old game, and defer justice till

By decision of the Supreme Court of Ohio, the right have among the colored population is limited to those sized men in whom Anglo-Saxon blood predominates, rile those of an unconstitutional, i. e. darker compunt, are excluded. Colored men are prohibited as was, and being thus deprived of a trial by their peers, when get justice awarded them.

Whileon the Reserve and some other localities colored milien attend the public schools in common with white silies, ever the greater portion of the State, they re pased up la exclusive, ill-ventilated, obscure mals-wretched apologies for educational advan-

Glored men are also denied sharing in the militia eries, and thus their patriotism is attempted to be ared out, notwithstanding the fact that there are to b fund all over the State colored veterans who particpush in the several conflicts by land and sea which previstory to American arms. One of these is now Champagne county, (Father Stanup,) at the grafill years. He was with General Washington; ad his position in that respect has been recognized by stem of the government. He was wounded at the lattle of Stony Point, and was left for dead on the field faulict. The sears from wounds then received he bers too his person still, not without evident contimes that they are honorable scars.

Colored citizens are also debarred from the poorhans, even though they pay taxes on six millions of mi estate and personal property. Lirane county contains a numerous party of white

nen, and women, too, who seem ready and willing to do all in their power to promote the elevation of their whired fellow-citizens. This was abundantly evinced by tarious tokens, in meetings and social circles. At Erirs, at the close of an interesting meeting in the Can-House, Dr. Griswold volunteered an encouraging nech-during which, he cited a fact witnessed by Engli in Hartford, Conn. When General Lafayette we an his triumphal tour through the United States in 1835, he there discovered in the crowd an old colored his whom he recognized as his gallant companion in the American revolutionary war. He had been shabug hands with his white fellow-soldiers, but in this stance he transcended these formalities, and actually intersed the colored veteran-inquiring for other colred soldiers engaged with them in the war.

This seeme of mutual rejoicing and remembrance prodeed a marked sensation at the time, and left an inbelle impression upon many hearts.

Among the Europeans who left their homes and ralbel in defence of American Independence, history reterls no more illustrious names than those of Lafayette and Roseinsko. Not being minted with American colerhobia, they each expressed regret that their servies had been made a partial instead of a general boon. labjette was so disappointed at the protection given belavery after the revolutionary war was over, that Is declared, in his memorable letter to Thomas Clarkin, that he would never have drawn his sword in the tame of America, if he could have conceived that he bu thereby establishing slavery.

and a compensation of the frien to those with whose wrongs his own had taught. by to sympathize, and as a grateful tribute to the injected and forgotten colored man, he appropriated \$2,000 of his hard earnings to purchase and educate chirel children. But by the laws of Virginia, where be bequest was to be carried into effect, this generous eijet was defeated.

Among the friends at Avon who tendered us hospitalide was Hon. Norton S. Townsend, who favored us the a survey of his model farm, complete in all the topostments of a scientific agriculturalist.

it wis mainly owing to his exertions in the Obio Le stature that the petition for colored suffrage received a nuch attention during the last session.

While in Brownhelm, we were made welcome to the amiy of one of the early pioneers from Western Masschootts; and the strangest of all strange facts is, the though an active administration man, and a suplover of Buchanan for the Presidency, he treats the therel man as a brother beloved. It is due to his wife

tol sons and daughters to say, that they rejoice in the datinetive appellation of Abolitionists. At Ridgeville, Henrietta, Amberst, Pittsfield, Welarten, Penfield, Huntington and Camden, we met binds who in their best approved manner lent aid an report to the anti-slavery gospel. Several of them thered their dissent from the present United States theliavery government, and some, as in the case of

venerable Massachusetts pioneer and his wife, reading From the London Anti-Slavery Advocate for November to us their letters of withdrawal from, and protes against, the slavery-sustaining church at Huntington ; thus acting out the Garrisonian idea, without being conscious of, and, inderd, as yet unwilling to acknowledge themselves as being disciples of that radical school mising reformers. But it matters not what name they assume, if the work be but done; and their example increases the all-important agitation now disturbing the slumbers of a too long dormant laity.

Without in the least degree detracting from the just meel of praise due to the exertions of other laborers in this field, it is proper to state, that to John M. Langston is the cause of equal suffrage in Ohio largely indebted for its present prominence and prospective triumph. In most of his public efforts, often two hours in length, he presents arguments, appeals, facts and statistics, in such a fearless, eloquent, and irresistible manner, as to leave the friends proudly satisfied, and our enemies evidently confounded.

He is a walking and talking encyclopædia of the colored American's position, aspirations and capacities, and at Urbano, rang the changes on these various points with such telling effect, that a buckeye farmer held up his hands, exclaiming- My God ! can these things be true?"

At the meeting of the Western Anti-Slavery Society. held at Salem Aug. 30th and 31st, Samuel May, Jr. Oliver Johnson, Benj. S. Jones, Marius S. Robinson, and W. C. Nell advocated the following resolution

A large roll of signatures will, it is presumed, be

I reserve some additional facts and observations for

another number of The Lines area Boston, Nov. 10, 1856.

> LETTER PROM REV. A. T. POSS. St. MARY'S LAKE, PENFIELD, Mich., ? Nov. 4th, 1856.

DEAR MR. GARRISON : This is the election day, in which is to be-tried the fortune of the two parties that divide the land. Both parties endorse slavery where it exists, under State sovereignty; both acknowledge the validity and binding obligations of the compacts of the Constitution, to co-operate with the American Society. Indeed, she and with equal zeal profess their purpose to fulfil their could not do otherwise, for whenever she was in want of their infamous obligations. The only contest is, Shall slavery be extended into territory north of 30 deg. 30 min.? Well, while this fight goes on, I have retired to this quiet and beautiful place-none more beautiful Anti-Slavery Standard as an uncompromising and ad-bave I ever seen-and here, in the family of our cx-

of the people for any thing else but political harangues.

I hope, when the election is fairly over, we may be able much of the cry of infidelity arose. She are the distribution of the cry of infidelity arose.

nently recognize God in the humanity, and seek to glo-

I have recently visited the Harmonia, in the town ship of Bedford, some four miles from Battle Creek, ship of Bedford, some four miles from Battle Creek, and gave two lectures there. Here is located Hiram Cornell's Harmonial School. The location is beautiful, healthy, and easy of access. Board and tuition fees Stowe, of which I send you a copy: are lower than at schools of the same class generally. I listened to the recitations of a number of the classes, and am well satisfied that this school offers the best opportunities for a thorough intellectual training of the youthful mind, and that the moral advantages are youthful mind, and that the moral advantages are the same time give aid to an enterprise which is doing incalculable good to mankind.

On the first Saturday in December, the friends in Angola, Indiana, are to commence a Convention, in with Lady Byron, I can testify that she is one of the connection with which a Fair will be held. This meet-ing will be attended by H. C. Wright and myself, and ever seen; and her sympathy, good will and prayers hope be productive of much good.

The terrible smoke which so nearly choked us all to death, and which actually did kill numbers of consumpblinding, sufficiating, sin-sustaining, and Christ-cruci- sent his native State in the United States Senate,

tee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, General Fi- not expiring until 1859, nancial Agent for the Anti-Slavery Conventions to be held in the State of New York.

lem, Mass., Aaron M. Powell of Ghent, N. Y., STE-PHEN S. FOSTER and ABBY KELLEY FOSTER of Worcester, Mass., have been appointed Lecturing Agents of the Society, to attend the aforesaid Conventions.

FJF All letters on the business of said Conventions, and with regard to arrangements for future Conventions, should be addressed, for the present, to Susan B. Anthony, Rochester, N. Y. For the Executive Committee,

SAMUEL MAY, JR.

ANOTHER FEMALE LECTURER IN THE FIELD. Mrs. LUCY N. COLMAN, of Rochester, N. Y., has been engaged as a lecturing and financial agent by the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, to labor in that State for the ensuing winter. She possesses executive talent, an carnest and persevering spirit, a warm and sympathetic heart, and will prove an acquisition to our cause in the field to which she has been called.

Music. Oliver Ditson, 115 Washington street, has published 'Cicily, a Ballad,' by Willie E. Paber, music by Gustave Satter ; 'A fair stream in beauty glowing, from La Traviata, with English and Italian words 'The Evening Prayer,' from the oratorio of Eli, by M Costa ; 'The Magic of Home,' a Ballad, by J. Blewitt: Sleigh-Ride Song, 'Jingle, jingle, clear the way,' words hy Lieut. G. W. Patten, U. S. A., music by C. W. Beames ; The Gazelle Polka, by Francis E. Yates ; Il Trovatore Quadrilles, arranged by J. S. Knight.

"Mrs. Stowe's Visit to Edinburgh" will be read with

'Mrs. Stowe's Visit to Edinburgh' will be read with interest, as showing her opinion of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of its more prominent members, with many of whom she is on terms of cordial and friendly intimacy. Indeed nothing else could be looked for from this large-minded and gifted woman, than a hearty recognition of the noble qualities and disinterested labors of these who (while they agree to differ on those subjects upon which every one is bound to make up his own mind for himself,) are united as one man in the determination not to rest till they free their country from slavery with all its attendant evils. Feeling for the bond as bound with them, Mrs. Stowe is not disposed to mete other abolitionists by the Procrustean the bond as bound with them. Mrs. Store is not desposed to mete other abolationists by the Procrustean measure of her own creed, before she will allow them to labor with her for the helpless, suffering, and perishing slave. In short, she acts for the slave as the bitter rewish every one to not for themselves, if they were in the slave's unhappy condition. ilers and secret calumniators of the abolitionists would

MRS. STOWE IN EDINBURGH. MRS. SIUVE IN EDINBURGH.

Mrs. Beecher Stowe, after spending some time at Dunrobin Castle, the seat of the Duke of Sutherland, made a short tour in Scotland, visiting many places of historical interest. Although her health does not admit of agitation or much exertion, yet her heart is so much in the anti-slavery cause, that shengefects no effective opportunity for advocating it in a quiet way. In Edinburgh she had a social meeting among others with the members of the Ladies' Emanciontion Committee, whom burgh she had a social meeting among others with the members of the Ladies' Emancipation Committee, whom she encouraged to proceed in their present course, as-suring them that every honest effort from this country is of the utmost value to the cause in America. She gave a sketch of the different parties in the United States, and explained their relative importance. She alluded particularly to that clause in the United States which was unanimously adopted, viz :—

'Revolved. That among the ways and means by which the State of Ohio renders allegiance to the Slave Power of this nation is the relic of her Black Laws, which discriminate between citizens on account of complexion, prohibiting their exercise of the elective franchise, their rights as jurors, and equal school facilities. We therefore earnestly respond to the efforts now being made for removing the world white from the Constitution and her statute-book—thereby performing an act of justice to a deserving, patient, and much-abused class of citizens.

'Revolved. That among the ways and means by am an in establishing the numerical basis upon which representatives are sent to Congress from the slave states. This clause, with the vast increase in the cultivation of cotton, and its enormous consumption throughout the world, had greatly tended, in Mrs. Stowe's opinion, to the increase in the number of slaves: but excessive cultivation had also, in the same proportion, exhausted and overworked the soil of the slave states. Thus the slaveholders had been necessitated to look out for fresh territory over which to extend their system. In this effort they had already succeeded to an enormous extent, and are eagerly desirous of grasping enormous extent, and are eagerly desirous of grasping more. Their ambition has called forth the Free Soil paradded to the equal suffrage petition.

While waiting in the depot at Columbus, a young man introduced himself to me, stating that he was a present limits, the system must die out. Mrs. Stowe considers that although Colonel Fremont, the present Boston boy, who had travelled over most of the slave States, and about eighteen months since saw Thomas existing slavery, his election would be an unmistakeable Sims on a plantation near Savannah. During his con- indication of improved public opinion, and that it would Sims on a plantation near Savannab. During his con-versation, he confirmed the worst we hear of the condi-for he would disallow the votes of the Missourian intion of poor whites in the South, and admitted that he had no scruples against holding slaves, if that was his state offices, she has full confidence in their being filled only property, though he was opposed to its further up by Colonel Fremont with opponents to the continuance of slavery. Mrs. S. then described the operation ance of slavery. Mrs. S. then described the operations of the non-voting abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which, she said, were of a deeper character, as, through their holding aloft uncompromisingly a high standard of anti-slavery principle, they create the feeling which is the necessary foundation of all anti-slavery movements, whether political or benevolent.

Mrs. Stowe gave a lively sketch of her anti-slavery experience from the time of her first visit to Europe. She then knew nothing of the differences among abolitionists, and was surprised, on her arrival in Glasgow, to find two societies each eager for her opinion. She told them all that Mr. Garrison was an excellent man, and most important to the anti-slavery cause in which

the Garrison party were of more weight, when their cellent friends the Willises, I shall spend a happy day in writing this note, and rambling around the shores of the beautiful lake, that lies like a gem in the midst operations, though they do not vote. She explained of the hills.

The political excitement—since I have been in the West has exceeded any thing that I have before witnessed. It has been almost impossible to get the ears of the proble for any thing else but political harangues.

The political excitement—since I have been in the west has exceeded any thing that I have before witnessed. It has been almost impossible to get the ears of the needle for any thing else but political harangues. I hope, when the election is fairly over, we may be able to call the attention of the people to the true anti-slavery work.

You have already been apprised of the excellent meeting of the 'Friends of Human Progress,' at Battle Creek, the preceding week. These 'FRIENDs' are doing an excellent work, and seem to be rapidly on the increase. They embody, more than any people I have ever seen, my best idea of a true religion. They embody recognize God in the humanity, and seek to glo-nently recognize God in the humanity, and seek to glo-nently recognize God in the humanity, and seek to glo-

ANDOVER, Nov. 10, 1856.

DEAR MRS. STOWE, - Will you kindly undertake, in greater than I have seen elsewhere. I hope all reform-sympathy with those who have resisted oppression at ers will remember this school, and secure for their the hazard of life and property; and I cannot but hope children the inestimable blessing of its culture, and at the same time give nid to an enterprise which is dained by Yours, most truly, A. T. NOEL BYRON.

The enclosure was a draft for £65 sterling.

probably by other speakers yet to be engaged. This for the cause, are, to my feelings, more grantlying that probably by other speakers yet to be engaged. This any amount of money. I will say of her what she could.'

Convention will doubtless be largely attended, and we of Mary in the Gospel: 'She hath done what she could.'

C. E. STOWE. Respectfully, yours, C. E. STOWE.

HON. JOHN M. CLAYTON. The telegraph has briefly tive and asthmatic people, has disappeared, and the luxury of a pure atmosphere seems great indeed. O, when will the time come that the moral atmosphere cently hopes were entertained of his recovery. He was shall be cleared of the vile smoke of a bigoted, selfish, educated for the bar, and in 1825 was chosen to reprewhich office he continued until 1837, and was returned fying theology? Such a day will come. We shall all rejoice in its blessings. But what is better still, may become Secretary of State under President Taylor, we show the labor and sacrifice necessary to hasten its we show the latter and sacrifice necessary to hasten its coming.

Yours, for humanity,

A. T. FOSS.

Appointments. Susan B. Anthony, of Rochester, N. Y., has been appointed, by the Executive Commitant and held that office at the time of his decease, his term not expiring until 1859.

To LYCEUM COMMITTEES. Dr. J. S. Rock, of this eld in the State of New York.

City, is now prepared to enter into engagements to lecCHARLES L. REMOND and SARAH P. REMOND of Sature before Lyceums. In this city, where able and brilliant lecturers are by no means rare, he has won an enviable reputation as a popular lecturer, and we are pleased to learn that he will be invited to lecture be-Fore some of the best literary societies in the country We commend him to those who would secure that orde of talent which will please and interest a scientific of a popular audience.—Boston Bee.

AN INFAMOUS CALUMNY REFUTED. The N. Y. Time says: — Henry Ward Beecher has neither asked nor received pay for a single speech he has made during the present canvass. He entered into the election solely because he felt a profound interest in the issue which it presented; — whether he did right or wrong in doing as he did, no man in this country has acted a more disinterested part, or been more exclusively governed by

LECTURE AT TRIMONT INSPILE. Raiph Waldo Emerson, Esq., delivered a lecture in Tremont Temple, on
Tuesday evening last, before the Young Men's Kansas
Relief Society, the pecuniary proceeds thereof to be devoted to the relief of sufferers in Kansas. Mr. Emerson handled the subject of his lecture, 'The Conduct
of Life,' in that scholastic and finished style, interspersed with frequent sallies of quiet humor, inseparable from the distinguished gentleman's writings.

Baltimors, Nov. 11.—This evening, a large crowd, armed with guns and clabs, proceeded to Monument square with the effigy of the Hon. Reverdy Johnson, and burnt it on the railing of the Battle Monument, in front of Senator Johnson's house. The motive, it is said, was to manifest indignation at the recent speech delivered by Mr. Johnson in New York. The crowd gave cheers for Fillmore, and groans for Johnson. The authorities did not interfere.

NORTHERN STATES. The Baltimore Sun, alluding to the fact that Sunday. Nov. 20, has been fixed upon by most of the Governors of the Northern States for the annual Thanksgiving, asks: 'Where are the Governors of the States South of Maryland?' The inquiry has elicited the following characteristic reply from the Carolina Times:—

" No bleeding bird, nor bleeding beast, Nor hyssop branch, nor sprinkling priest, Nor running brook, nor flood, nor sea, To wash a dismal stain away."

'It is meet and proper that the miserable, sin-stricken, polluted and ungodly population of the North should
beg pardon for their black sins recorded, committed
against God, their country, and fellow-men. As a
generation of vipers, they ought to be warned to fice
from the wrath to come; yet we believe that the waters of Jordan, Abaua and Pharpar would fail to wash
them and heal their leprost, even though they were to
dip seventy times seven. They have much to be foreiven, and we would advise them to pray often—pray dip seventy times seven. They have much to be for-given, and we would advise them to pray often—pray long, and pray loud. Baltimore, especially, ought to be covered with sackcloth and ashes."

PROT. HEDRICK MOBBED. From the Salisbury (North Carolina) Republican Bunner, of Oct. 28th, we take the following—the climacteric of a series of outrages which find no parallel in the history of any country where freedom of thought and epinion were the fundamental laws of the land:—

"Our usually quiet town was the scene of a great uproar and disorderly conduct on Tueslay night last. It became known that Prof. Hedrick was in town as a delegate to the Educational Convention, which was then in session; this was calculated to excite the indignant feelings of many of our citizens, who determined to dis-grace him and compel him to leave. An effigy was prepared and placed in front of the Presbyterian church, where the convention was in session, and on the adjourn-ment of the Convention, the effigy was burnt in the presence of the Professor and nearly every member of the Convention. This ought to have satisfied the crowd. but it was only a beginning of the rictous proceedings. They soon collected in a large force, and proceeded, under much excitement, and with much uproar, to the Female Seminary, where Prof. Hedrick was lodging;

A DEMOCRATIC REVEL. On Wednesday night last, a few of the Democrats of Salem, reinforced by some of their comrades from New Lisbon and Canfield, held a drunken revel in Salem; making night hideous with their curses, their ribald jests, and their heartless scof-fings at the sufferings and outrages of their fellow-citizens in Kansas, and at all who have the humanity to zens in Kausas, and at all who have the humanity to sympathise with them. They freely expressed their hearty sympathy with the slaveholders, and their diabolical scorn and harred of his victims. These orgies were performed in honor of the supposed success of the national ruffians, who propose to sustain slaveholding and slavery extension as the primary objects of our Government and supposed to the supposed success of the national ruffians. ernment; and such men are fit agents for such a work, and worthy allies of the ruffians of Missouri and Washington .- Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle.

WHY THE SLAVEHOLDERS WANTED BUCHANAN ELECT. ED. The New Orleans Delta recently gave the follow-ing as its reasons for desiring the election of Buchanan

. Mr. Buchanan's election would be little more than a negation, but for the pledges he has given in the Os-tend letter, and in his endorsement of the Cincinnati platform. The South, under his Administration, would have four years longer for preparation. She would have time to strengthen her outposts, placing Kansas, if possible, on one flank, and Cuba on the other, with a valuable rallying point in Nicaragua,'

Mone 'SOUTHERN' GOSPEL The Lutherans of Sout Carolina, offended by the strictures of the Lutheran Observer (Baltimore) upon the conduct of Preston S. Brooks, have, according to the Newberry Mirror, re solved to establish a religious journal to promulgate and expound the gospel according to the patron Saint of that little moral, religious and political universe.

SCANDALOUS. Some students of Princeton, on Wednesday night of last week, had a torchlight procession for the purpose of burying John C. Fremont. After parading the streets, carrying a coffin, and groaning and shouting to their hearts' content, they had a fune ral oration, burnt the coffin, and then dispersed. The procession consisted of about seventy-five students-one of whom was dressed in woman's apparel.

THE SOUTHERN SPIRIT. A slaveholder in Texas, having no better way of manifesting his bloodthirsty spirit, has taken the safe method of sending the follow-ing communication to Senator Wilson, of Massachu-

EAGLE PASS, (Texas.) Sept. 11, 1856. Mr. H. Wilson: -Sir, -Your speeches have been re-ceived here, and believing you to be an unmitigated black republican scoundrel. I enclose you some of the with you had we you in this part of the world.

bloom Algory and some now

13 The Charleston Mercury of the 7th contains a long letter, addressed to Gov. Adams of South Carolina, by R. Barnwell Rhett, urging an immediate dissolution of the Union and the establishment of a Southern confederacy. He urges that next to abolitionism, the he proposes that in the approaching modification of that measure, South Carolina should demand that it should be reduced at least to the standard and princiwhy,' he asks, 'should South Carolina, or any othe Southern State, any longer keep representatives in Congress? In another part of his letter, Mr. Rhett says: 'In my humble judgment, all true statesmanship in the South consists in forming combinations, and shaping events, so as to bring about, as speedily as possible, a dissolution of the present Union, and the erection of a Southern Confederacy.

SLAVES MAKING TRACKS ON THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. It is reported that fourteen slaves escaped a few nights since from Kenton County, Ky., and that about the same time twelve others were missing from the vicinity of Maysville. Of course, all have gone rapidly northward. Those at Maysville are said to the vicinity of Maysville. Of course, all have gone rapidly northward. Those at Maysville are said to have crossed the ferry under the guidance of a white man, who told the ferryman that the negroes were wanted to carry pig iron across the river to keep the furnace going all night. When they got over on free soil, the ferryman was requested to wait for their return, which he did for a considerable time. A white man was since arrested on suspicion of having thus aided the negroes to escape, but as there was no evidence inculpating or identifying him, he was discharged.—Cincianali Gazelle, Nov. 4. ed .- Cincinnati Gazette, Nov. 4

Great Fire in Syracuse .- On Saturday morning, Syracuse was devastated by the greatest fire that ever occurred there. It broke out in the first ward and burned over twelve acres, destroying one hundred buildings, and rendering a hundred families homeless. Loss about a million of dollars.

Loss about a million of dollars. ing, Syracuse was devastated by the greatest fire that

Oswego, November 11th .- It has been ascer tained that the propeller which foundered on Lake On-tario during the late gale is the J. W. Brooks, belonging to the Northern Transportation Company. Every soul on board was lost. The propeller was insured for ten thousand dollars, of which two thousand five hundred is in the Corn Exchange Company, New York.

Sudden Death .- George W. Briggs, the well known bookseller, died suddenly at his office on Satur-day evening, No. 365 Washington street, of internal hemorrhage, producing suffication. He died in about five minutes after he was attacked. He was about forty years old, and has left a wife ahd three children who reside in Roxbury.

Governor Geary a Slaveholder .- A Kansas correspondent of the Cincinnali Gazelle says Governor Geary owns a large number of negroes in Virginia where he has an extensive iron establishment worked by At Rome on the 13th of October, Col.

Hiram Pearson of San Francisco, was fixed one thou-sand plastres for scating himself on the throne of the Pope.

Miss EMILY HOWLAND, 78 Tenth street, do. Dr. ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, 79 East Fifteenth street, do. STACY B. COLLING For 155 Ricceker street, do.

THE TWENTY-THIRD National Anti-Slavery Bazaar Will be held as usual in BOSTON, during Christm

and New Year's Week. (Time and place of

opening to be decided hereafter.) The Anti-Slavery cause has at length, after a quarte We are impressed that the Governors of the States South of Maryland are all at home, and competent to dreide for themselves when it will be proper to fix upon a day to offer up thanks to the Almighty for past blessing. The movement on the part of Northern executives is no criterion for Southern men. We are subject to law, common and divine, and need and Sabbaths, and sanctuary privileges ; to men whose hope is in this life, it has shown him deprived of education and the means of self-improvement and success. To patriots, it has shown their country's shame and dan-

> 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 newspapers, and send out agents, to disseminate truth, and to follow it up with argument, appeal, entreaty, with statements of facts on every department of the subject, —theological, financial, political, social,—in order to bring about the abolition of elavery.

The coming occasion, of the TWENTY-THIRD BA-ZAAR, is for the purpose of raising funds to that effect; and we confidently call on every compassionate just, patriotic, Christian and philanthropic heart in the land for aid. NAY, WE CALL ON EVERY HEART, WITHOUT 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 fugitives help us; for our funds go directly to awaken that public sympathy which gives the slave a refuge on every threshold. Especially, let all who wish to see then came the "tug of war." They hallooed, hissed, groaned, and proceeded in a most riotous and reprehensive manner to compel Hedrick to leave town. The excitement became more intense and greater disorder prevailed as they proceeded. The rabble was finally quiet ed by the appearance of several of our citizen. ed by the appearance of several of our citizens, who the van of a national movement towards the abolition prevailed upon them to disperse.' of slavery, which every profound thinker clearly sees would stop without such leading; and we especially beseech all to help us, as it is the only means whereby worthier and swifter than we can take the lead, which only the necessity of the case has bound upon us.

Communications may be addressed to the Committee at 21 Cornhill, Boston, Mass., or to 138 Nassan 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 II. APTHORP.

WEYMOUTH ANTI-SLAVERY PAIR.

The WEYMOUTH LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY WIL hold its annual FAIR, at the Hall of Mr. Wates's Ho-TEL, Weymouth Landing, commencing on the evening

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, Shirts, Comforters, Toys, Glass Ware, &c. &c. &c. Admission to the Fair, 12 cents ; to the Social Party, 50, cents; children, 6 cents.

HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN. The co-operation of all friends of Female Medical Education is earnestly invited to an effort which is now being made in New York for the establishment of

practical SCHOOL OF MEDICINE.

The great want which is felt at the present time by women, who desire to follow the profession of Medicine, is the opportunity of studying by the belside of the sick; for the hospitals are all closed to them, and yet

hospital instruction is as indispensable to the student of medicine as the musical instrument to the musician.

To meet this want, a number of ladies are engaged in collecting funds for the establishment of a Hospital for WOMEN AND CHILDREN, to be organized by Dr. ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, Dr. MARIA ZARRZEWSKA and other physicians. This Hospital, while it furnishes an opportunity for the thorough training of medical students, is designed to meet another want, not supplied by Hospitals, viz: an earnest religious influence on the

Private rooms will be preserved in the institution, where ladies of limited means may be admitted, for a very moderate charge. Such provision is much needed by a multitude of refined women, who are suffering for want of medical aid, which they are unable to pay for. New York is chosen as the seat of this Institution, be-

The sum of \$5000 will be sufficient to carry on a Hospital of forty beds for one year; at the end of that time it is believed that its value will be so clearly proved as to command continued support. All friends of the movement are urgently called on to aid in the collection of the amount needed for this practical trial.

Ladies who desire to assist are invited to join the Sewing Society, which meets every Thursday, from 1 to 5, P. M., at the house of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, to prepare for a Fair, (to be held in December next,) the prepare for a FAIR, (to be held in December next,) the proceeds of which will be devoted to the Hospital Fund. Contributions of useful or fancy articles, books, paintings, etc., are solicited for this Fair. Valuable aid may be rendered by using leisure moments for the manufacture of suitable articles. Country friends are urged to remember the Refreshment Table, and contribute to its supply.

Donations in money may be sent to the following Mas. PENDLETON, No. 4 West Twenty-second stree

New York City; Miss EMILY HOWLAND, 78 Tenth street, do.

Pope.

IF Mr. Perkins, his wife and seven children were burnt to death in their house in Kirkwood, in the interior of New York, on Friday night.

IF Thursday, November 27th, has been appointed for Thanksgiving in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

JR. ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, 79 East Fifteenth street, do.

STACY B. COLLINS, Esq., 155 Bleecker street, do.

ROBERT HAYDOCK, Esq., 46 Broadway, do.

MERRITT TRIMBLE, Esq., 86 Broad street, do.

Miss CATHARINE M. SEDGWICK, Lenex, Mass. Dr. WILLIAM ELDER, Philadelphia.

GEORGE WILLEY, Esq., Circlenati, Ohio, New York, Oct. 2, 1856.

THE PILL TRADE. Who could dream of the magnitude such an undertaking as the manufacture of a Purgative Pill assumes when it comes into general use? And how painfully do the following numbers speak of the amount of human eickness and suffering that little morcel of a remedy goes forth to combat and subdue! Dr. J. C. Aven, of Lowell, manufactures in his laborntory forty gross per diem of his Cathartic Pills, through all the year. This is eight boxes a minute. or one dose a second. We thus find over 43,000 persons swallow this pill every day, or 1,295,000 a month I Physicians, think of that ! 43,600 patients a day who seek relief from the medical skill of one man ! Surely, that man should be, as he is in this case, one of the first intelligence and of the highest character .- Paince wille Courier.

LIFE ILLUSTRATED. - A PREST-CLASS

PANILY NEWSPAPER, designed to encourage a spirit of Hope, Mantiness, Self-Reliance, and Activity; to Illustrate life in all its phases, and to indicate how we may attain the highest degree of usefulness and happiness-a Paper which ought to be read by every family, Published weekly at \$2 a year, or \$1 for half a year. By FOWLER AND WELLS, No. 308 Brondway,

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July 25

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS IN THE STATE

OF NEW YORK. CHARLES L. REMOND and SARAH P. REMOND of Massachusetts, and Aaron M. Powell of New York, Agents of the American Anti-Slavent Society, will attend Conventions to be holden as follows:—

Whitehall, Washington Co., Wednesday and Thursday, Nov. 19 and 20. Ticonderoga, Essex Co., Saturday and Sunday, Nov. 22 and 23.

Westport, Essex Co., Tuesday and Wednesday, Nov. 25 and 26. Keeseville, Clinton Co., Friday and Saturday, Nov. 28 and 29. Peru, (Quaker neighborhood,) Clinton Co., Sunday,

Nov. 30.

Plattsburgh, Clinton Co., Tuesday and Wednesday,
Dec. 2 and 3. Champlain, Clinton Co., Friday and Saturday, Dec. Malone, Franklin Co., Monday and Tuesday, Dec. 8

and 9. Potsdam, St. Lawrence Co., Thursday and Friday, Ogdensburg, St. Lawrence Co., Monday and Tuesday, Dec. 15 and 16. The Conventions will commence, in each instance

at 2 o'clock, P. M., of the day first named, and contin-ue by adjournment through that and the day following. All are invited to attend. Remember the 'Sum of All Villanies' is still triumphantly doing its brutal and THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CON-VENTION will be held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, on the 25th and 26th of November. On behalf of the Central Committee,

LUCY STONE, Sec'y. PROVIDENCE, R. I .- Roy. JOHN T. SARGENT will speak at Providence, on Sunday, November 23, in the regular course of Anti-Slavery Lectures, afternoon

PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Amer-

ican Anti-Slavery Society, will give a lecture at Man-Chester, Essex Co, on Thursday evening, Nov. 20. SALLIE HOLLEY will lecture on Slavery in the

Groton Hollow, Sunday, Nov. 16, 101, A. M. Cortland, Tuesday, Nov. 18, 64, P. M. McGrawville, Thursday, Nov. 20, 54, P. M. Homer, Saturday, Nov. 22, 51, P. M. Ithica, Tuesday, Nov. 25, 54, P. M. Immansburgh, Thursday, Nov. 27, 64, P. M. Further notices will be given in due time. All who chance to hear her will be amply rewagded.

the Essex Co. Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Georgetown, on Saturday evening, Nov. 15, continuing WM. LLOYD GARRISON, PARKER PILLSBURY, CHARLES L. REMOND, and other speakers will be present. CHAS. LENOX REMOND, President.

WM. WELLS BROWN will speak on America Slavery at Feltonville, on Sunday next, Nov. 16, at the usual hours of service, and in the evening at 6 o'clock.

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restored me to health. I have given them to my dakin it
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"You seem to us, Doctor, like a providental Hessig to set family, and you may well suppose we are not unglished at a Yours respectfully.

before known of any Medicine.

#### POETRY.

THE SUNRISE CHIMES. SUNDAY MORNING. BY PRANCES D. GAGE. List to the chimes, Gaily ringing : Slavery, Intemp'rance, Want and Crimes !" Is the song they are singing ; Singing of these in the holy time Of the morning hour, While the dew sleeps heavily on the flower.

List to the chimes. Gaily ringing! Slavery, Intemp'rance, Want and Crimes ! \* Is the song they are singing ; Of the groaning slave in his galling chain, Of the drunken reveller's aching brain, Of the homeless child, with weary feet, Who slept last night on the stormy street ; Of the fallen maiden, so lost, so low. Wasting her life in the haunts of woe; The murdered mother, the starving child : They are singing of these in a chorus wild.

List to the chimes, Gaily ringing ! · Slavery, Intemp'rance, Want and Crimes ! " Is the song they are singing. · Hear ye ! hear ye ! hear ye ! (In this home of the brave, this land of the free, Where the star-spangled banner so proudly waves,) . We will sell to-morrow a lot of slaves." To the Court House, then,

To-morrow at ten. For then and there will be sold, To the highest bidder, for sordid gold, Jane, Henry, Nora and Ben, Cmsar and Carrie, and Tom and Dell, And a bost beside, all warranted well ; And slaves for life-all Christians, too; Good hands to cook, and wash, and sew ; And one is a preacher; so ring the bell For these slaves for life ; let them hear the knell That their fellows toll, their God to mock O'er his image sold on the auction-block !

Ring, ring, ring ! A merry peal o'er the grog-shop there, Licensed and sanctioned by men of prayer, As well as by men of curses. They hang the bell in the steeple high, Ring merry peals as the world goes by, While the grop-ship fills their purses ;

Aye, ring, ring The merry peal as the world goes by, Turn their gaze from the earth to the steeple high, That they see not the woe That lies reeking below.

They have paid their part for the merry chimes, They have prayed their prayers o'er the earth's dark

And they list well pleased to the merry bells, Yet hear not a word of the tale each tells Of the rowdy revel, the drunken fight, The brother slain at the dead of night, Of the husband hurried away from sight, Of the young wife shricking in wild affright, Of the prison dank, the dark despair, The sister's anguish, the mother's prayer, The little ones' eloquent wail of woe, The old man's groan, with his gray locks low, The maiden's cry o'er the lover slain, The felon's curse in his binding chain. Oh ! they hear not a word of the tale each tells. But laugh with delight at the merry bells ! They have paid their dimes

For the sunrise chimes. And what care they for grog-shop crimes? \*

List to the chimes, Gaily ringing! Wildly they float on the morning air, Calling the people to early prayer : Each sound, to my ear, is a cry of despair From hearts wrung by tyranny, want or care. Yet still I hear a soft voice singing. Sweetly it falls on the listening ear Of all who its gentle tones will hear : It touches the heart with its endence clear, And bids it with hope and faith draw near, And that love that easteth out all fear. 'There's a good time coming,' when men will be True to themselves and humanity ; When the master shall loosen the bondman's chain. And the slave stand forth as a man again ; When the grog-shop door shall be found no more ; When-instead of a tempter-a guide and friend, To stay the steps of the weak, and lend A helping hand and a word of cheer. Shall be ever ready and ever near, To lure them away from the paths of strife, And plant their feet in the ways of life ; When man shall be to his fellow true, Doing as he would have him do. Then 'Slavery, Intemp'rance, Want and Crimes,' Shall be sung no more by the sunrise chimes ; Then shall be lived out God's own plan, And a chorus shall sound o'er land and sea, From the rescued hearts of humanity-Peace on earth, good will to man!

And the subrise chime. In the holy time, Shall answer back, from every clime The chorus of angels and men sublime, · Peace on earth, and good will to man !

A WAIL ON THE WESTERN PRAIRIE. There's a wail on the Western prairie, A cry of wild despair ; And from Liberty's wounded Eagle

A shrick breaks on the air. A shrick that is borne by the waters, And echoed in forests old. From the shores of the proud Atlantic To the sunset ' Land of Gold.'

And the bearts of the brave who listen Beat high at the daring wrong, And the brows of the freemen darken, As sweeps that cry along.

There's a land of soulless traitors. Who freedom would enchain, Who would sell their country's honor For selfish power and gain.

With the chains they are forging daily They vow to circle your land ; With the darkest and deepest of curses Your childrens' home they brand.

Shall the sons of the Pilgrim Fathers Bow low at the tyrant's nod? Shall they traitors prove to their noble trust, To Freedom and to God?

Shall America lose her giory, And be but a land of slaves? Will ye blush when ye own your country? Go, view your Father's graves !

Ye are brave, and your proud hearts never Could brook the captive's chain : Will ye help them to bind another To the soul-rack and the pain !

Will ye barter the birthright given, And sell your souls for gold? Will ye prove your hearts are darker Than the brow of him that's sold ?

Hark ! the voices of freemen answer-Their cheer breaks o'er the plain ; And the waves of the Kausas hear it, The prairies smile again.

# THE LIBERATOR.

LETTER PROM JOSEPH BARKER.

INTERVIEWS WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

ONAHA CITY, Nebraska, Oct. 22, 1856. conversation with a Kentuckian, on another with a ple of Ireland, or the working classes in England." Georgian, both slaveholders; and on another with a said I understood they had a great deal to do to pre-Georgian who was not a slaveholder, but the son of a vent slaves from running away; that they had patrols

neither drank whiskey, nor chewed tobacco, nor disfig- to talk to the slaves; that no man was allowed to speak besides, good-tempered and tolerant, and fair and hon-orable in his reasoning. He had heard me talking with another on the Bible and slavery, and, watching his it? What is the real truth on all these points? chance, got me aside, and expressed a wish to talk with My teacher seemed to think that he had rather a dif-me himself on these subjects. On the Bible, his views ficult task, but he did his best. 'It was the Northern

in England, France and Germany. Holland, Sweden, ing more to say on slavery. Denmark and Norway are free from it, and even Rus- Further down the river, a fellow-passenger told me sia and Turkey are beginning to abolish it; and it a horrible story of a doctor in one of the river villages, free States, but it is gone; and it will perish every for hire. where. Society is ever changing; it is ever progres- At one of the landings, on Sunday, stood a color sing. It has been so in the past. It is so now. It will man, carrying a child on one arm, and having another. said, it was always too late; it was destined from the was a sad, a horrible sight. first to increase and spread, and it will increase and spread till slavery disappears. No power in the coun- on Sundays; slaves of various ages, but not often of

selfishness and the faithfulness of the North, and of the spiritless, unhappy. wrongs of the South, &c. I said, I could not undertake to justify the North, nor was the state of society in the I was there, I was struck with a sign hanging over the whether, in all cases, slaveholders were inexcusable of-

He asked how I would dispose of slavery and the He expressed his satisfaction with what he was pleased in open day, on such a business? It is a dreadful thing to call the fair and rational manner in which I treated the subject, and expressed his opinion that if those five days in reading, or in talking with my son. W rather looked up to treated a person respectfully, they He was the meanest of the mean-

very company was of quite a different stamp. He was the Kentuckian in education and refinement, but quite but poorly dressed, and had been but indifferently edu- his equal in candor and forbearance. For a time, w cated, and he was not an example of perfect tempe- talked about the Constitution, and about the meaning rance, though I never saw him drunk, nor even bor- of the oath to support it, -about freedom of speech, as dering on drunkenness. He came on board at one of guarantied by the Constitution, and the impossibility the Kansas landings, in company with the leader or of reconciling freedom of speech with slavery and des commander of the company, named Curry. They were potism; but our longest talk was about slavery. He attended at the landing by a dozen or fifteen of their acknowledged that slavery was attended with terrible followers, most of whom seemed to be drunk, and some difficulties, dangers and disadvantages, and that is of whom were very boisterous. They were perpetually would be well for the country if it were quietly rid of it calling out, five or six at a time, 'Curry, good-by,' He said that masters in general did not use their slaves \*Safe journey, Curry; '-Curry this, and Curry that, well. 'There are a few,' said he, 'that rule them and Curry every thing. The boat stuck at the land- by kindness, by appeals to their self-respect and love ing, and the sailors had some difficulty in getting her of approbation, by small rewards and timely commen affort, and the noise of the drunken rowdies made it dations; but masters generally, who have large plan difficult for the sailors to hear the orders of the mate. tations, put their servants into the hands of overseers Some one one of the passengers, I believe—at length and they rule them by force and terror; and that neve said, 'Shut up; the men can't hear the mate for your answers well. The slaves thus managed will work when noise.' Immediately, one of them drew a pistol, and watched, but the moment they are out of night of the

I made up my mind to have some talk with Curry as thing goes wrong. Then follows more punishment. soon as we should be fairly on our way, but I found Sometimes the innocent are punished, sometimes the him too reserved and shy. But I got into conversation guilty: but it is of little avail. I have a few servants, with his subaltern. At first, we talked of Kausas and said he, 'but I seldom speak harshly to them, unless the doings of the armed bands that had gone thither. they do something very bad. I treat them as human He did not much like the work. It was neither pleas- beings. I tell them what I want done, and they do it ant nor profitable. He had spent part of his time in If I am not in a burry to have the job finished, I tell visiting the Indians in Kansas and Nebraska. He had them to take their time. If I am in a hurry, I tell done but little fighting, and did not intend to do any them so ; and they work with all their might. And more. I said to him, 'You are a Southerner, and all I commend them. And it is really delightful to see your epinions, prejudices, habits and tastes are in favor of slavery, I suppose? ' He said, 'They are.' 'Well, But I don't like slavery. There is something wrong

feelings are in favor of freedom. Most of what I have case about it. Slaveholders generally have unset

heard about slavery has been against it. Will you tell that you know of its working? Tell me what particular advantages it has over free society. I would really like to understand the subject.' He readily consented to become my teacher, and we chose out a place where we could sit alone, and he began. 'Well, negroes are not My Dear Friend:

In March last, I came to this place, and after a few fit for freedom. They would not work if they were not days' sojourn, resolved, if my family should concur, to forced; and they could not govern themselves nor make it my home. Since then, I have been repeatedly take care of themselves. And what could we do with up and down the Missouri in the St. Louis and Omaha them if they were set at liberty? There would be steamers, skirting Nebraska and Kansas, and going no living. They are happy as they are. They don't through the heart of Missouri. On every journey, I have heard conversations about slavery, abolitionism, and Kansas, and generally, it has fallen to my lot to take part in them. On one voyage, I had a lengthy

Northern cities, and a vast deal better off than the peoslaveholder, and an officer in one of the pro-slavery and particular regulations about passes; that they had laws against teaching slaves to read and write, lest The Kentuckian was an educated and cultivated they should learn something about the free States and man, and, so far as I could see, a gentleman; and be Canada; that whites from the North were not allowed ured his sentences with onths and curses. He was, against slavery publicly, even to the whites, much less

were liberal, but he did not go so far as myself. He abolitionists that had made some of the slaves disconwas one of the more latitudinarian of the Universalists, tented, and that had obliged them to pass strict and We did not talk long on this subject.

Severe laws, '&c. &c. 'But,' said he, 'you know the On slavery, we talked longer. He was annoyed at Bible sanctions slavery.' 'I am aware of that,' I anthe anti-slavery agitation, and thought it was doing a swered. 'That settles the question,' said my teacher. vast amount of harm. He acknowledged, however, 'Yes,' said I, 'for those who take the Bible as an au that elavery was a difficult and troublesome affair, but thority.' You surely don't disbelieve the Bible,' said contended that it was lawful, and that the North had he. 'Not the whole of it.' I replied; 'but I don't reno right to meddle with it. I contended that the North gard the Bible as the word of God—as the oracle of an had a right to speak its mind on any subject; that this all-perfect being. I do not, therefore, think a thing was guarantied by the Constitution; that men would right because the Bible sanctions it, or think it wreng speak their minds on such subjects, and that it was because the Bible forbids it. I am not a Jew, nor am vain to try to hinder them; that every subject of im- I a Christian. The Bible, to me, is of no more authorportance would be discussed in its time-thoroughly ity than the Koran, or the Book of Mormon.' 'Then I discussed; that those which were not discussed in one must give you up. I can't prove slavery right, only age would be discussed in another; and that every by the scriptures.' But would you carry slavery as thing that could not bear discussion must ultimately far as the Bible would carry it? The Bible authorises pass away. I said one of the most suspicious things the enslavement of whites as well as blacks. It auabout slavery was, that it would not bear discussion. thorises the Jews to hold each other in slavery, and to We, I said, in the North, have no fear that free discus- make slaves, chattel slaves, of all the world besides. sion will overthrow liberal institutions. A Southerner If the Bible principle were fully carried out, all the may advocate slavery in every free State of the Union, Gentiles-that is, all the world, except the Jews, ourand no where would the people think their free institu- selves among the rest-would have to be slaves.' He tions endangered. But as for the South, it must either doubted. I gave him the passage. He was surprised. put down freedom of speech throughout the country, or He then asked me my reasons for not believing the Bileave the North, or allow the North to rule, and let ble, &c. He seemed never before to have met with a slavery go. Besides, in any case, slavery will disapman who did not believe the Bible, -who was neither pear. It has already disappeared in all those countries Jew nor Christian, and he was very anxious to know that take the lead in civilization. It has disappeared my reasons for my strange opinions; but he had noth-

would be folly to suppose it could prevail for ever here. who used the slaves that came into his hands so cruel-Even here we have proof that it is but a transitory state by, that most of them ran away, and who was so disof society. It once existed in New York, New Jersey, liked by many of the neighbors on that account, that Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and the rest of the old they would neither sell him a slave nor lend him one

be so in the future. And in its progress, slavery, and a little larger, by the hand. A woman, his wife, I arbitrary rule, and absolute power, whether in the suppose, stood near, with a child in her arms, and four Church; the State, or the family, must all disappear. others clustering round her, holding on by her dress. It is no use to say that slavery would live if the anti- A coarse, ill-natured, vulgar man, a passenger, landed slavery agitation were put down, for it cannot be put there. He was the legal owner of the whole—the husdown. You cannot yourself believe that it is possible band and wife, and their seven children. They were to silence the advocates of freedom. An attempt to si- his cattle. He was breeding and rearing them for the lence them would only increase their numbers and inflame their zeal. He granted it was too late now. I volting jests on the scene; but I felt very strange. It

We frequently saw groups of slaves at the landings try can prevent its disappearance. It is destined to both sexes. We saw very few females. The young perish; and the only question with those who are remen were, generally, but coarsely and meanly clad. ally friends to the country should be, How may we get Their clothes seldom seemed clean, and they were not rid of it with the least danger to the community? often whole. Sometimes the poor creatures seemed He spoke of intemperance, the inconsistency, the merry and playful; but in general they seemed sad,

On going down Locust street, St. Louis, the last tim North such as I could look on with satisfaction. But door of a dirty, old looking and decaying house, or these things did not affect the question. Nor was it which was painted- NEGROES BOUGHT AND SOLD in all cases and under all circumstances an evil, or way, reading, and another, near one of the windows S ON COMMISSION. A white man sat in the door fenders against the rule of right. It is enough for me was sweeping the floor of the yard at the end of the seemed poring over an account book. One young negre that slavery is inconsistent with the peace, the strength, house, and two good-looking young women were lookthe prosperity and happiness of the community at present, and that either slavery or the republic must another horrible sight to me, and again I felt myself strangely, sadly, horribly affected. I had never seen slaves, and I told him. He rather agreed with me. Americans, pretended republicans, attend in that house, such a sight before. How in the world could men

The last time I came up the river, I passed the fire views of the question could be presented to the minds had many fellow-passengers, but no one spoke to me, of the people generally, the terrible and irritating subject might be got rid of. He at the same time confess- them. I said, at length, to my son, 'This is the first ed, that at the South, the people would not allow me to time I have travelled on the Missonri, without baving utter such sentiments; that though he and some others some one on board that knew me.' It seemed plain, could listen to them patiently and without offence, the however, that at this time not one of the passengers majority would not, especially from a Northerner, knew me, or wished to know. This state of thing But he said I might discuss the Bible question in his continued till we had got past Leavenworth, in Kansas State, and have large audiences, and he gave me an The evening after, when we had, got above the daninvitation to visit his neighborhood, and deliver a segrous districts, a fellow-passenger said, Mr. Barker, ries of lectures. His behavior was courteous and gen- will you sing us a song?' I was astonished; some one tlemanly during the whole of the journey. He was, in did know me, then. By and hy another spoke, and general, honest in argument. When he found a posi- then another, and another, and I at last found out that tion untenable, he gave it up with a good grace; when there was scarcely a person on the boat, male or female, he found an argument unsound, he relinquished it, and that did not know me. After this, I had frequent conreally seemed desirous to know the truth. Some smaller men, who gathered round us once, would have had mannered, unfair, untruthful, unmanly; sometime him resort to abuse or ridicule, but he would not, and with better and more agreeable persons. The master his example seemed to have a good effect on some of wastone who said he was a Northern man by birth them. They seemed to think that if one whom they and education, and had spent seven years in the South.

The Georgian who had served in the Kansas pro-sla- a Georgian, and a slaveholder. He seemed inferior The man with whom I talked most was a Southerner prepared to fire at the offender; but another, less overseer, they do next to nothing. They get careless too, and let the master's property go to ruin. Every I am a Northerner, and all my opinions and tastes and about such property. One's mind cannot be fully

doubts and misgivings about holding men as property, that they have not about holding oven or horses. Besides, they feel such property is uncertain. I believe with you, that slavery will go down-that it will pass away. I do not think it will go down so soon as you suppose. It will probably last some forly or fifty years; but not much longer. I confess I like such property. There is no kind of property I like so well as slaves and land-plantation property. Yet I can't enjoy it properly. I would not leave my property to my sons in that shape. I had rather leave them property, and give them professions." Again be said, in answer to a remark of mine, 'Men

often sell their own children. They sell them oftener than others. The children of a master are generally said to have been buried by Redpath when he known to be his, and when such children are born to a came into the Territory a few days since. Whether master, it is next to impossible to keep the fact from the wife. Then the mother of such children is ill-used, look for them have manifested as much vigilance and the children too pales they are contained. and the children too, unless they are sent away. As as could be expected, when we take into conside-I was coming from home, I saw a sale advertised, and ration the probable value of them to Uncle Sam, as there were some negroes among the property, I attended it, with the intention of purchasing a female hand. I found one there. She was very black, and any thing but good looking; and she seemed cowed and gloomy. I saw she had something wrapped up in her lan, and I consed the many thing and I consed the many thing but good looking; and she seemed cowed and gloomy. I saw she had something wrapped up in her lan, and I consed the many thing but good looked as if it was the grave of some dead artillein her lap, and I opened the wrapper to see what it ry. They immediately repaired to a cabin on the was. It was a little child, quite yellow. 'Hallo!' said I, 'what's this?' 'That is my trouble,' answered the woman. 'Your master's, ch?' said I. 'Yes,' said the lady of the cabin replied that it was the grave and what it contained. To this question the lady of the cabin replied that it was the grave. she. 'Missis has been putting on about it, and master of a poor old nigger, who had followed the north has sent me away.' The woman and her child went for scale. They were very cheap. I meant to have bought them, but thinking they would not be seld for some time. I went away on some other business; and while I was away, they were sold. Such cases are very common. But they discovered that it was a the grave. This reply was away, they were sold. Such cases are very common. But they discovered that it was a was away, they were sold. Such cases are very common. the cannon. But they discovered that it was a Most slaveholders have children by slaves. Many keep slave women on purpose. I spoke of a Southerner who had brought a slave woman and five children—his own their labors, their vigilance in trying to resurrect buried cannon is very commendable. I suggest children-into Ohio, and placed them on a farm, and that if they get witch hazel rods, and go at the settled some property on them. He said such connec-job in the usual scientific, cabalistic and astro-tions were quite common. He mentioned the case of logical manner, there would be far more chance a man of first-rate talents, of superior virtue, and of for success. But, speaking seriously on this sub the highest reputation, who had lately taken a colored ject, let us inquire what use can there be in dis woman into these questionable relations. He makes no secret of the matter. He has, in consequence, fallen where, it is not likely that their capture would where, it is not likely that their capture would

contented, and would be giad to escape from bondage—
that the Southern States, so long as they held slaves, would not keep pace with the free States in population and wealth; but still, he did not see how the evil was and wealth; but still, he did not see how the evil was such a result. Some two weeks ago, a few Freto be done away. I told him how I thought it might State men were going up into Nebraska. On the be disposed of, and he seemed rather inclined to agree road they overtook a negro, and on questioning with me; but added, that in his opinion, nothing could him, they found him to be a fugitive slave. He be done at present. People in the South are so excited was foot-sore, and appealed to them to let him ride and irritated, that they will not hear a word about in their wagon. They were Northern free men emancipation. A man would risk his life to the service of th emancipation. A man would risk his life to propose appeal, so he was taken into their wagon. They And many more things my fellow-passengers said,

that I thought might be of use to your readers; but not being able to write them down at the time, they have escaped my mind. But the conversations proved to me, that there were those in the South who see and thieves,' and brought them back to Topcka with feel, to some extent, that slavery is an evil—that it is endangering the peace and prosperity of the nation—say that they were liberated, negro and all, by the fat it favors vice—that it is necessarily cruel, and Governor. Others say that they were taken pristhat it is next to impossible fully to reconcile the mind doubtless be tried for negro-stealing, and if found

I could not but observe that the common sailors on board the Missouri river steamers, are treated worsethan any class of white men with which I was ever acquainted, convicts in State prisons not excepted. They are generally Dutch or Irish, though at times an Euglishman gets among them. The mate on board a boat that was up here about a week ago not only cursed and swore at the hands, but repeatedly struck and kicked them. A friend of mineral them. A friend of mineral them. them. A friend of mine told me that he saw him kick an Irishman in the belly, and then strike him over the head with such force that the blood flew out of his ears threat that the slave States, if their pretons on the slave States, if their pretons of some sort with left the boat at the next landing. The clerk tried hard of the state

self again under a man who had once struck him. I suppose those habits of some of the mates of those I suppose those habits of some of the mates of those steamers are got on the plantations. They are doubtless the product of slavery. The second clerk of the versel referred to above cursed one of the sailors, and threatened to kick him into the river, while I stood by, simply because the poor fellow had mistaken his direction for sympathy in their efforts to perspect the poor fellow had mistaken his direction for sympathy in their efforts to perspect the poor fellow had mistaken his direction for sympathy in their efforts to perspect the poor fellow had mistaken his direction for sympathy in their efforts to perspect the poor fellow had mistaken his direction for sympathy in their favorite policy for the tion as to the spot to which he should roll a barrel. propriety of political action,—though I am pleased that S. J. May, F. Douglass, and others, have begun to vote,—though I think the denunciations of such men as J. R. Giddings, Charles Sumner, Theodore Parker, H. Beecher, &c., which I have heard or read from some the old anti-slavery lecturers, the extreme of fanati- among us a colony of lepers, it would hardly ex cism,-I yet, as heretofore, agree with you as to the cite more of horror and dismay, than an offer t erty national, and slavery nothing, all the world over.

Yours, very respectfully and affectionately, JOSEPH BARKER

## THE HOPEDALE COMMUNITY.

This is a great and excellent social-reform institution. It is so because it is radical and world-wide in its scope, and has the welfare of all in its aims. Its work is one of the article of all in its aims. Its work is one of the article of all in its aims. Its work is one overy thing in them unfavorable to slavery may be personal acquaintance with the projectors and leading minds of this movement, that they are among the most enlightened and worthy people any where to be found. alize it, it must be because their effort is not duly appreciated by other good persons, whose aid and support moral reform. Why should they not prefer the greater to the less? Why should they not take hold of a cause of Commons agreed that every slave in the British Colonies should be free, and slavery be abolished forever. This passage was erased by the book of whose principles will fill the earth with harmony and crazy or visionary, but every thing which is required by nature, reason, and the highest good of mankind.

until it is done, there will be war, violence, slavery, few years ago, upon this subject of slavery. The poverty and crime, more and more aggravated, and Southern Methodist Publishing House was estab still remain. The dizzy whirl of the Presidential campaign, now over, like all others, leaves the people where they started, or perhaps more degraded by its dissipation. When soberness shall again rest on the reasonably expect to find none but Southerners public mind, the better portion will be prepared to lis-

public mind, the better portion will be prepared to listen to the truths which the reformer has to utter.

It happens that the persons best qualified for this reform are generally of the poorer class, whe, though they have the right heart and ready hand, yet lack the pecuniary ability. Thousands would do very much if they possessed the means; but, as it is, they must wait in patience the chances of the future. Hopedale is fortunate in this matter. A few men of capital and business talent generously devote them to establish besiness and furnish employment. This is a great advantage to the less favored, and through their aid,

and unpleasant feelings on the subject. They have the procuring of a comfortable livelihood and home is rendered comparatively easy for all. An equality and superiority of advantages are there enjoyed not to be found elsewhere. This Community is a worthy example to the world, and we trust the attention of the serious-minded may be more and more drawn to it.

LAWRENCE, (K. T.) Oct. 20, 1856.

in people's estimation; but no one says anything to make the people any more contented with the po-bim about it. He acknowledged that many of the slaves were dis- not the people been dragooned enough !

were soon afterwards met by the U. S. troops, who, although the wagon and the men were going out of the territory, took the liberty of searching the wagon for arms. Instead of arms, they found legs-nigger's legs at that-and the Deputy Mar-shal immediately arrested them as niggerguilty, hanged, according to the bogus act 'in

are provided with worse food, worse lodgings, with ed in the territory or in Missouri; but you can worse accommodations of all kinds, and are bectored see that there are greater facilities for an underwith more insolence, and ruled with more inhumanity- ground railroad now than there would be if we had peace, far obvious reasons.

> ENGLAND AND THE SLAVE STATES. The London Morning Star warns the Southern States of the American Union, in case of dissolu

and nose, and the insulted man durst not answer a are resisted, will form a union of some sort with word. He also saw him strike an Englishman,—the England. In all probability these are the mere only Englishman in the service. The Englishman made no reply. A blow, or even a rebuke in return, possible that they are in earnest, no language can would have been nucleised as muties I moved. would have been punished as mutiny, I suppose. But tion. That it should have found lodgment for an he went at once to the clerk, demanded his wages, and hour in any man's breast, betokens an ignorance of the state of public feeling in this country that is perfectly astounding.

Any British statesman that should give ear for

one instant to such a suggestion would be swept out of power in a day, in a whirlwind of national not merely relinquish their favorite policy for the ion as to the spot to which he should roll a barrel.

In conclusion, though I disagree with you as to the zens in the free States wish them to do, but they

portation for owning slaves.

We believe that if it were proposed to import repugnance from such an overture.'

> From the New York Tribune. SOUTHERN CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune. Sin: - Although it has often been proved that religious expunged, yet there are many persons in the North who are unwilling to believe that such is the fact. No one, however, who has lived in the South can doubt it. Allow me to give several in-They deserve abundant success ; and if they fall to re- stances which came under my own observation ;-Last April, I was employed as a compositor in the alize it, it must be because their effort is not duly appreciated by other good persons, whose aid and support may reasonably be demanded. Many such bestow their means to promote good things—Freedom, Peace, Temperance, &c.—yet they stand aloof from this instituperance, &c .- yet they stand aloof from this institu-tion, which includes in its wholeness every branch of London edition, there is a passage stating that Wilberforce died on the very night that the House beauty ?. There is nothing methetic about it, -nothing tion of ' Learning to Converse.' On page 142 of the same work, an allusion is made to ness that will fill the earth when war, piracy, by nature, reason, and he highest good of mankind.

The work of this Community is to reconstruct society on a new and true moral basis. This basis requires a different religion from that which now prevails, new polities and new ideas of human life and duty, such a work cannot be accomplished speedily. But Church, you will recollect, was rent in twain, without remedy. Parties may elect Presidents, and lished by the Southern Methodists for the publicasects may multiply; but these evils and scourges will
still remain. The dirry whirl of the Presidential camsaign, now over, like all others, leaves the people

[Special Correspondence of the Missouri Democrat.] LETTER FROM KANSAS.

The dragoons which were sent by Gov. Geary to guard the northern entrance into the Territory, have been busily engaged in a very interesting

such cases made and provided.'

I have not learned whether the negro was own

"Senate Chamber, Osio, April 20, 394

"Dr. J. C. Ayre. Honored Sri: I have made a thorough might of the Caymarric Pillas left me by your agest, and are less cured by them of the dreafful libermation under with b found me suffering. The first does relieved me, and a few sides quent does have entirely removed the dieses. I fed a long the suffering the suffering the first does relieve the first of the suffering the sufficient the suffering the suffi

The above any all from persons who are publicly how west they reside, and who would not make these statement what therough conviction that they were true.
Unprincipled dealers may attempt to put you of vid the pills, on which they make more profit. Be not impost only

Prepared by Dr. J. C. AYER, Practical and Analytical Chemist, Lovell, Xun

Sold by

Whee Carolin ways on teat an end States quired ourse was cela to the control of t

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY REV. S. J. MAI,

AND A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SETH COXCEUS.

BY WM. H. FURNESS, D.D.

DETER STILL was kidnapped in early children. from the door-step of his home in New Jerry; for more than forty years he was a slave in Kentust and Alabama; at last, he purchased his freein ! the slow accumulation of extra labor, and, returning the region of his birth, found his yet surviving miler, and his numerous brothers and sisters; living is mear Philadelphia. His wife and three children and and his numerous brothers and sacce, and the pilotage of Seth Conckiin, attempted to creat, in were recaptured at Vincennes, Indiana. Peter and diately set about collecting the means for their prochase. The sum demanded for them was exclusive S5000—and would have discouraged almost any old man than Peter Siill. Yet the strong social facing and the energy of his race were strikingly aside in his untiring perseverance, which was crewed vit success, and Peter had the unspeakable pleaser of bringing his household to a free home, where left and quietly enjoy their own fireside, free from the meser's frown and the driver's lash.

The writer of this narrative was a highly estemd teacher in the Female Seminary at Tuscombia, Alassma, who had every opportunity to acquire a premi

ma, who had every opportunity to acquire a pensal knowledge of all the prominent facts and circumstant which she has narrated. We can promise the several exciting adventure very much in this volume is gainful their taste: and all those who really desire to fall out the heights and all those who really desire to fall the heights and all those who really desire to fall the heights and all those who really desire to fall the heights and all those who really desire to fall the heights and all those who really desire to fall the heights and all those who really desire to fall the heights and all those who really desire to fall the heights and all those who really desire to fall the heights and all those who really desire to fall the heights and all the fall the f om the heights and depths of that Iniquity which a threatening the destruction of our Republic, hay are to it in the assurance that they will find in it such all table information, given with the strictest regard is

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