ROBERT F WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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Tishecolumns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of or greation are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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

No Union with Glaveholders! THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGRESMENT WITH HELL.

IF 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DESIED—the slaveholding rds of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINIOR 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—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God. delivered from Sinal; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES-for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO NAME THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT."- John Quincy Adams.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1856.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Charleston Mercury.

A LETTER IN THE HON, R. BARNWELL RHETT TO GOV. DAMS, ON THE STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS. 5. Ha Excellency James H. Adams, Governor of the

When the Secessian controversy closed in South men de our Excellency might very well have desired that, for your day at least, all further st for the independence of the South was at and. The North, by precluding the Southern plus from colonizing any of the Territories ac-lied from Mexico, had but to await the natural ne of events, and their mastery in the Union mertain. The natural progress of their popuand, scollen by European emigration, must of letwesty or thirty years give the North, in largess, two-thirds of the Senate and House of sentatives. With such a preponderance, the and might move in the councils of the Union the a power almost irresistible. To await such result was clearly the policy of those who aimed theorerthrow of the institution of slavery in is South, by the agency of the General Govern-net. But unjust power is seldom wise. Sucsafally exercised, there seems to be a sort of fahe which will not let it rest. The Abolitionists would not wait for the natural course of events, which would have certainly given them Kansas. Der determined to anticipate time, and by excitgentest prematurely, will lose Kansas, and I swill ere long, lose also the Union, and pro-The Tariff and slavery are kindred subjects in is Northern mind, and have been so associated have politics of the Union as to be identical.

are the two grand instrumentalities by which one the consolidation of the Government can be

stood If the Government is to be a limited erament at all, it must be limited on the taxg power and the institution of slavery. If it e emnipotent on the one, without constitutind authority, it must extend its power over the Hence, every stride the Government took empipotence in taxation, brought it nearer to the point of omnipotence over slavery. The powm would give the right of emancipation .-Emergation is taking our property, and giving es it to manufacturers. The only difference sists in the persons to whom our property is sa-bat the power, the principle, is the same. atte effort to consolidate the General Governant, the actors, in consolidation, from the idenof principle involved, were thus naturally led of these subjects to the other to enforce plicy. But interest and fanaticism impellstate same course. No people can be safely strated with the power of taxing another peothe when they can be benefitted by the taxes impool; and a slaveholding people must be romanin their confi who will voluntait is the power or caprice of any other people. Withour Nerthern people, especially, it was aband to expect any other result than that which occurred. They are a great, but essentially a draineering, fanatical, and avaricious people. In hair of their institutions is utterly antagotatic to the institution of slavery. To have the jour of taxation in their hands, and to use it to take and aggrandize their section of the Union " the expense of the South, was a matter of bitse; and once let it be understood by the conslidation of the Government, that they are repossible for the extension and existence of slaveand their interference and hostility can hardly condemned. We should remember that they the a very different people from ourselves. Differese in pursuits and modes of industry makes a marked difference in the characteristics of a peo-A mercantile or a manufacturing peop tery different from an agricultural people. Accessmed to live and act in crowds, the latter are more excitable and functions. But the great dif-ference between the North and the South results from the institution of slavery. It is this which he made a North and a South. It is this which made two sections in the Union, and has rais thep a bitter rivalry between them. Sectional bition has thus been added to interest and faaticism, in bringing the North upon the South a very useless to endeavor to ignore this rivalherever republics have been united in a Confederacy, it has existed, and has been the grand asse of their dissolution. I assert, without fear of contradiction, that never before has there exited, in any Confederacy, ancient or modern, a base powerful combination of rival interests and gs, than those which now exist in the United between the two great sections of the

Congress is now as omnipotent over us as the Parliament endeavored to be over our anbeers in its powers of Tegislation. Had we folbred their example, and resisted the usurpations congress, war would not have followed, as in Revolution, but there would have been a peacedenservatism enforced, such as took place in adding in 1688. The Constitution, with its limrations, would have been preserved in full effici-act, and the meditated revolution, by consolidawould have been rolled back. But, by a long bere of submission, the South now labors under of the most odious and dangerous despotisms tter ruled a people. We are governed by a city in Congress, irresponsible to us, vulgar anatical, hating us and hating our institu-

If, in 1820, the South had stood firm in the Sintenance of her right of equality in our Ter-thries, the Union would not have been dissolved, suld we now be contending in Kansas for the rights we then abandoned. If, in 1833, South be dina had persisted in her resistance to the Ta-ng of 1828 outil she obtained the principle for she contended-taxation for revenue only enstitution would have been restored on this oint, and the Union, resting upon it, would deben stronger than ever. If SouthCarolina had filed her pledges to resist the Tariff of 1842, by his the Tariff of 1833 was faithlessly overthrown, rould have settled all controversy upon this ar for ever, and would have quelled the rising of anti-slavery in the North, by manifesting and slavery in the North, by manifesting and its efforts, through the General Government, that be tain. If any of the Southern States had elered their Representatives to leave their seats a Congress whenever the 21st Rule should be replaced. it never would have been repealed. And if South Carolina had seconded from the in 1852, it may not have been too late to dution. A re-understanding of the terms ich the South stood toward the North by the distance, might have taken place, and the

Union have been preserved for generations to come. the North! Simply an apprehension that the On the occasion of each and every one of these South would dissolve the Union if they were sucaggressions on the South, there was but one way cessful. Interest mastered fanaticism. That is of arresting them, and of restoring the Constitution—resistance by the South generally, or by one or more of the Southern States, in their high sovereign capacity—thereby presenting to the North the simple alternative of disunion, or our rights. sistence on their part would have dissolved the Union; and by the dissolution of the Union, their policy must have ended. The subjects of their arricious and faratical experiments would have escaped from their hands, whilst the Government by which they intended to build up their sectional sway and aggrandizement over the South, would strumentalities — guaranties against oppression. sway and aggrandizement over the South, would cease to exist. On the other hand, by yielding to our demands, they would have lost nothing but the power to wrong and oppress: whilst we would have gained nothing but rights which we possessed previously by the Constitution. They would still retain those advantages which, under the most thine own vine and to the innocent, 'Sit under thine own vine and thine own fig tree.' I can see the case to exist. On the other hand, by yielding to Liberty, to be liberty, must be a thing of right, not of sufferance—a grand irrefragible law, supported by acknowledged and efficient power, which says to the aggressor, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no further;' and to the innocent, 'Sit under thine own vine and thine own fig tree.' I can see pour into their section of the Union a continual ing in the history of the past, which affords any stream of wealth and prosperity. By this policy of reason to believe that the North will ever also resistance, too, we would have abandoned the low us to set up by the Constitution the efficient weak position of the defensive, and, at the same time, have enabled our friends at the North (rather, I would say, the friends of the Constitution) to have sustained themselves. The question would not have been, protection or no protection by the Tariff to manufactures, by which they were put in a false position of opposing a policy beneficial to their section of the Union; or of slavery or antislavery, by which they were liable to be represented as the supporters of slavery, or the tools of

have been dissolved. An attempt to coerce a State al concessions which will divest them of their by the General Government, no doubt would have power over us; and not until they have practicaldissolved the Union ; but the reasons which I have ly learned what Disunion is will they either restated. I think quite sufficient to refute the proba-bility of so desperate a course being resorted to.

If, then, a practical despotism is the great evil But admit that, in the licentiousness of folly, such under which the South labors, and the North is not

equal rights in our Territories. These are evils, or forbearance in the General Government utterly black tempest of emancipation upon the South. of our affairs, what course should the South pur-What the South wants is—the first great requisite sue! of every people, and a stern necessity of a slaveholding people—a free Government. We must, the South consists in forming combinations, and shap practically, rule ourselves. Representation is the ing events so as to bring about, as speedily as possi grand instrumentality by which it has been supposed a people must rule themselves. This is true, if the Representatives ruling are truly the Representatives of the people governed. But if a people join in association with another people, who have antagonist interests and institutions, and allow the Representatives of that other people to rule them, how do they rule themselves ! are governed as absolutely under the will of others as if they had a single despot over them. Such is practically now the case under the General Government. Northern Representatives, representing the interests and feelings of the Northern people, have the power to control the Government. The Constitution no longer exists as a restraining element of power, but a majority in Congress

which might yet reform it, and make us free under to the power of the general government! The its Government. It does show the folly of our past withdrawal of the representatives of the State from submission. It does prove that the manifestation of a resolute spirit of resistance is, and ever has two years, than by fifty years of service at Washbeen, the only means of checking the presumptu-ous aggressions of the North. But look to what we submitted before we manifested this spirit: the Constitution, and by their action alone can Committees—and bold enough to defeat the Army reject them, let the Union be destroyed.

Appropriation Bill, unless their policy shall be incorporated with it; emigrants armed and paid to appropriate Kansas, and an army raised to in vain done our duty to them, in all patience and drive us out of it by force; slavery made the grand clement of all politics at the North, on which they have not embittered, or feelings of afterns all their elections, and the election of the fection which they have not outraged! Have they President of the United States. When we made not, for a long course of years, put upon us indigthe infamous surrender of our rights, by submitting to the Compromise of 1850, who presumed to anticipate that these things could be within six conduct towards us, if we were independent mayears afterwards! Who foretold to the people tions, would long since have justified us in dethat, within this brief period of time, the Southing war against them. They have violated that, within this brief period of time, the Southern States would endure the humiliation of allowing their Representatives to sit in a legislative body controlled by Abolitionists—their citizens to be murdered or driven out of the Territory—and common confederacy implies, they have, for twenbe murdered or driven out of the Territory—and their institutions to be the common topic of ribald declamation and abuse in all elections throughout the North! How rapid and how vast has been our descent from the high position of honor, dignity and strength once occupied by the South! And can we look upon a retrogression from such gross and insulting deeds by the North as giving us any assurance that they are prepared to surrender, at our bidding, their long-desired power over us! Admit that, by the Presidential election, we shall win Kansas—will that put an end to antislavery agitation in Congress or the Union! What produced the defeat of the Abolitionists in What produced the defeat of the Abolitionists in semsuality and vice. I speak not without some

all. The Constitution, or the rights it secured to To induce any people to desist from any policy strumentality for sectional domination, is open for dear to their interest or fanaticism, you must place renewed encroachments—the Treasury for plundear to their interest or fanaticism, you must place before them an alternative, which presents to them the impossibility of their policy being carried out, pansion. They may be defeated again and again or that greater evils are to result from its continu-on particular measures, but until we have a recon-ance than its abandonment. Both of these mo-sideration of the Constitution, and distinct guartives would have been presented to the people of anties against future aggressions, the South will the North, had any of the Southern States prompt have gained no peace. Isolated concessions, or ly and resolutely resisted their aggressions. Pertemporary triumphs, are worth nothing, and are impartial administration of the Constitution, must nothing in the whole Presidential election, nothed as the supporters of slavery, or the tools of is most insignificant, when compared with the vast slaveholders: but the question would have been, territory, sufficient for forty States, which they Union or Disunion. And, on this issue, they wrested from us but six years since. The time is would have crushed their enemies and ours by the passed when high constitutional guaranties can be would have crossed their cames and ours your which the obtained by the South. The people of the North Union fosters in the North, and the tremendous are strong in their consciousness of power. The disasters and ruin its dissolution must produce. grand object of their sectional ambition and rival-But we have chosen the weak and ungenerous part of submission, by which we have heretofore destroyed our friends and exalted our enemies.

It may be said, that the policy of resistance could not have saved the Union, for the aggressing their respect and fear. They actually now believe that we are afraid of them and of ourselves. They will risk Discount rether than make constitution. coerce a resisting State, and thus the Union would will risk Disunion rather than make constitution-

a course had been pursued, it would only prove prepared to give us constitutional guaranties for that under no circumstances could the Union be our protection and liberties, what course should preserved. If resistance to keep it within its pre- the South pursue! The next Congress will witscribed orbit could not save it, it is now plain that ness renewed efforts for the plunder of the South submission cannot save it, consistent with the by their grand alternative-the Tariff. They will • strive to empt all imported commo Men are always prone to look at proximate sary or useful to their industrial pursuits, from all causes, which are seldom the controlling causes taxation, and thus make" the Tariff more unequal of events. The great evil under which the South and unjust in its operation on the South than ever. labors is not that she is wrongfully taxed by the Even a simple ad valorem Tariff, such as South Government: it is not slavery agitations resulting Carolina, by her resistance in 1833, wrung, at from the Fegitive Slave Act, or a denial of our least by statute, from the reluctant North, will hardly be a possibility. The expenditures will go but they are results. The great cause which has on with increased favishment and profligacy, in produced the slavery agitation and unjust taxa- order that the high taxes of the Tariff might be tion is that the Government has become consoli-dated. It is this cause which has made the limitations in the Constitution matter for derision. grandizement of the North. The Presidential It is this cause which has made all compromises veto, since the late transactions in Congress, may cheats. It is this cause which renders moderation be considered as abolished—that last check on the omnipotence of a majority in Congress, which has hopeless. If submitted to, it must go on, fulfill- hitherto so often saved the Constitution from the ing its destiny of despotism, until it rolls the grasp of power. If such should be the true state

> In my humble judgment, all true statesmanship in ble, a dissolution of the present Union, and a South-

> ern Confederacy.
>
> Let the South—formerly I would have said. let South Carolina-demand, in the approaching mod-ifications of the tariff, that it shall be reduced at least to the standard and principles of the year 1833. That tariff was the fruit of her energy courage, and was a contract with her for the remission of her resistance. It was forced from the general government by her action, single and alone then there stood at its head, as its Chief Magistrate, the most powerful and popular man in the Union since the days of Washington.

If such a tariff is not conceded to us, why should South Carolina, or any other Southern State, any longer keep representatives in Congress? Even if we are not prepared to secede from the Union.

The late Presidential election might be appealed why saction, by our representation, the acts of to as proving that we have a power in the Union our oppressors, and swell the pomp, and minister

The Fugitive Slave Act, nullified to all intents any new guarantees be inserted into it. One or and purposes throughout the North in its practical more of the Southern States can test our true conoperations, and citizens of the South beaten and dition by proposing to amend the Constitution by murdered for attempting to enforce it; a majority of Abolitionists electing the Speaker of the House of Representatives in Congress—controlling all its then the Union will be worth preserving. If they

knowledge: nowhere is the marriage tie more faithfully observed than among the slaveholders of the South. We are represented as an uncivilized, semi-barbarous people. If human misery, as exposed in crime and pauperism, is any test of civilization, our civilization is superior to that of the North, or perhaps to that of any other people in the world; whilst in refinement of manners, we are surely not very inferior. We are repre-sented as an unchristian and unchristianizing people. The records of religion will prove that, in proportion to the population, there are more mem-bers of the Church of Christ at the South than at the North ; whilst we have brought into its holy pale more of the heathen in our midst, than all a few words. other nations, with all their missionary efforts toother nations, with all their missionary efforts together, including England, with her bundred millions of heathen Asiatic subjects. We can never be known, appreciated or respected, until we are an independent people. Why, then, should we continue in confederation with the Northern States? Are we dependent on them, in any way, or for any thing? Our commerce is self-sustainable or for any thing? Our commerce is self-sustainable or the consists objects of agricultural stanles. There is not the least evidence that or for any thing: Our commerce is sensusual.

But Dr. Lord does not prove there of these three ing. It consists chiefly of agricultural staples, positions. There is not the least evidence that which the whole world needs. They are dependent on us, not we on them, in the affairs of commerce is sensusual.

Noah spoke by any divine authority. He had just come out of a fit of drunkenness, which apparent on us, not we on them, in the affairs of commerce is sensusual. merce, and make millions annually out of us by its operations. Do we need their association with us for internal protection! We are fully competion, be cursed Canaan, one of Ham's four sons. turned to them for assistance, we know that they would rather fire the torch of insurrection than extinguish it. Are we not sufficiently powerful to protect ourselves from foreign nations! We are becoming the slaves of the Israelites, the Israelites

If, by a sudden stroke from the Almighty, the Southern States were annihilated, it would occasion a greater shock to the civilization and comfort of other nations, than the extinction of any other people inhabiting its surface. What, then, have we to fear from foreign states? By our productions we can command their friendship and peace; whilst, by our physical power, we can defy their hostility. Eight millions of the white race, raised to the use of arms, and constituting one of the most military people in the world, inhabiting a country intersected all over by railroads, are unconquerable by any power upon earth. Why,

slaveholding agricultural people is immense. Scat-

endeavored to have enforced by South Carolina. Three times I have counselled her to resist the ical enforcement and acknowledgment of ights, and three times I have fallen beneath her lepths of my retirement, with the blazing lights of experience before me, I venture once more to offer the same counsels, and to plead for that policy which has commanded the best energies of n which has commanded the best energies of my po-litical life, and which it is my most ardent aspiration that I might be permitted to see consum-

nated before I die.

Time admonishes us both, that what we are able chief magistrate of the State, or in the walks of private life, you will ever, I know, hold the honor of South Carolina to be higher and dearer

BENEFACTORS OF THE HUMAN RACE. The Charles

# SELECTIONS. .

From the Christian Examiner for November. PRES. LORD'S DEPENCE OF SLAVERY. [CONCLUDED.]

Dr. Lord asserts slavery to be also a positive in-stitution of revealed religion. He derives it from the curse of Noah upon his son Ham and his posterity,—from the slaveholding of the Patriarchs,
—from the Mosaic economy,—from the New Testa-ment,—and from the opinions and practices of Christians. On each of these points we would say

tent to protect ourselves; and if we were not, and Nor does it appear that this curse was fulfilled, but the most important people in the world to its wel-fare and happiness.

If, by a sudden stroke from the Almighty, the

Know how he interfered to abolish slavery. Is it

unconquerable by any power upon earth. Why, pose he had never heard of such a thing as the then, should we not be independent in government. Exodus. But on the curse of Ham (about which, as we are in all our resources for national power, however, nothing is said in the Old Testament) he wealth and prosperity? Why should we still continue vexed tributaries to the North—harassed de-Layard, or by other means unknown to the rest of pendencies—despised underlings, to be eternally the world, he has found some antedilavian marscourged from tariff to slavery, and from slavery riage records, and learned (what the Bible omits to tariff—only, at last, to be trampled out of existence in blood? stence in blood!

I know full well, sir, that there are many in the lieves to be a good reason for the hereditary slave-South, even now, after an experience of forty ry of the negroes; although Canaan (on whom the years, who are prepared to do nothing, or to em-brace new compromises. The ris inertiæ of a of the negroes, but of the inhabitants of Syria. That the Patriarchs held slaves may be true, but

tered and isolated, and accustomed, each man, to act and to rule for himself, combination for any purpose is most difficult of attainment. And therefore, by the practice of the Patriarchs, may then, there stand the two great natural allies of lead to consequences which even Dr. Lord will not

submission under all governments—gain and timidity. Money-makers of all kinds hate all
changes, or fear all changes, which may disturb Israelites to buy and sell slaves, but required them changes, or fear all changes, which may disturb their gains; and timidity shrinks from any contest. But, will the man of gain tell me what his property will be worth to him or his children, if he continues in the Union under the control of abulitionism? Does he realize—first, the gradual depreciation of all property in the South from a sense of insecurity—then emigration—then a deligible in power, whilst the North towers in omning the source of t cline in power, whilst the North towers in omnip-otence?—then, when enfeebled and dispirited, a fers to Leviticus xxv. 44-46. In this passage vain struggle, and the South is abolitionized? Moses directs the Jews not to buy and sell their where, then, will be the gains for which he disgraced his manhood and betrayed his country by
an abject submission? Will the man of fears tell
the which is the most dangerous, a government of
the shall be of the heathen round about the Southern States, united together by a common bond of institutions and pursuits; or a government of the present Union, under the control of the North, with all its sympathies, institutions thus asserts that slaveholding was a moral duty Has he read the his- under the Mosaic dispensation. The Phariseer and prejudices against us: Has he read the nistory of Hayti! Has he travelled over Jamaica! If reasoned precisely in the same way concerning the no high spirit of liberty can actuate him, will not his very fears rise up and bid him be bold and free! Break from the North, and give us a Southern confederacy, as you value honor, iprosperity, bill of divorcement. The Pharisees saw fit to consider the Mosaic dispensation. The Pharisees had said, Deut. xxiv. 1, that when a man hath married a wife, 'and she find no favor in his eyes, then let him write her a bill of divorcement.' The Pharisees saw fit to consider the said that when a man absolute command, just as waiting and striving for Southern independence Dr. Lord considers the word shall an absolute comnd a Southern Union-although at times their | mand ; and when Jesus forbade divorce, they said, hearts may have died away within them in despair—have heard the late tumult at the North, mustering its power against the South, with rekindled hope and loftier resolutions. Oh! let the contest come! If true to ourselves, a glorious destiny awaits us, and the South will yet be a great, free and independent people!

In the views I have thus laid before you, your excellency will recognize that policy which I have advocated for twenty-eight years, and have are advocated for twenty-eight years, and have not see why he should desire any larger liberty or ndeavored to have enforced by South Carolina. ampler permission than this. For when a Christies I have counselled her to resist the surpations of the general government to a praevolunteers to defend slavery as right in itself, and declares himself ready to own slaves, 'if necessity or convenience should require, he would certainly seem to be sufficiently excused if he can show that men are allowed to own slaves, provided they have an adequate 'bardness of heart.' matter of course, Dr. Lord thinks it a great

proof that slavery is a positive institution of re-vealed religion, that neither Jesus nor his Apostles abrogated it in distinct terms. Nor did they abro-Time admonishes us both, that what we are able to do, we should do quickly: whilst our children around us cannot but remind us of the high responsibilities which rest upon us, to transmit to them, untarnished and unimpaired, that heritage of freedom which we received from our fathers. You will do your part. Whether as chief magistrate of the State, or in the walks of private life, you will ever. I know, hold the chief magistrate of the State, or in the walks of private life, you will ever, I know, hold the honor of South Carolina to be higher and dearer than life. Relying on your personal friendship for an indulgent consideration of any errors you may perceive in the views I have presented, I remain your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant,

R. BARNWELL RHETT.

Would not be willing to be a slave himself, or to have his wife and daughters enslaved, we should think it sufficiently proved that he had no right, under the Christian dispensation, to make other people or other peoples' wives and daughters enslaved, we should think it sufficiently proved that he had no right, under the Christian dispensation, to make other people or other peoples' wives and daughters enslaved, we should think it sufficiently proved that he had no right, under the Christian dispensation, to make other people or other peoples' wives and daughters enslaved, we should think it sufficiently proved that he had no right, under the Christian dispensation, to make other peoples' wives and daughters enslaved, we should think it sufficiently proved that he had no right, under the Christian dispensation, to make other people or other peoples' wives and daughters enslaved, we should think it sufficiently proved that he had no right, under the Christian dispensation, to make other people or other peoples' wives and daughters enslaved, we should think it sufficiently proved that he had no right, under the Christian dispensation, to make other people or other peoples' wives and daughters enslaved, we should think it sufficiently proved that he had no right, under the Christian dispensation, to make other peoples' wives and daughters enslaved, we should think it sufficiently proved that he had no right, under the Christian dispensation, to make other peoples' wives and daughters enslaved. Benerators of the Human Race. The Charleston Mercing says that the 'slave States, if left to themselves, would come to be regarded, as they deserve to be, as benefactors of the human race; in the best sense, the friends of mankind.' There is no end to the pleasant things that our Southern friends say of themselves.

For the absolute devotion of the Richmond Enguirer to the support and propagation of slavery is particularly editying. In a late number that paper says: 'Slavery, and nothing but slavery has preserved our Union so far, or can preserve it herafter. Without this institution, there would be no good reason for keeping together a confederation so inconveniently large.'

that we should abolish the usual distinctions in free society, and make all men follow the same trade or profession, therefore, argues this splendid logician, we can love our neighbor as ourselves, and yet buy and sell him as a slave. The law of love, says he, requires only that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should free and shift on the control of the Richmond Enjays he, requires only that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should free and the control of large of him with benevolence while we sell him as a slave. The law of love, says he, requires only that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell him in a loving spirit: that we should buy and sell

accept the famous doctrine of the Jesuits concerning the Intention. To compel a man to work for you without wages for seventy years is, he thinks, a mere physical fact without moral character. If you do it in a wrong spirit, the act is a wrong one. But if you do it because you think him to be a decondant of the mean and the manner. one. But if you do it because you think nim to be a descendant of the cursed race of Ham, whom God has ordained to slavery, it then becomes a highly virtuous act, and indeed a Christian duty. is right or wrong according to the motive from which it is done. If it he done by Mr. Calhoun, because he believes succerely that the Union would be benefited by it, then it ought to be done. Then the law of love requires the appexation of Texas, and the establishment of slavery therein. But if be done by Border Ruffians, ' from avarice, lust,

or political ambition,' then the law of love forbids it. The result is, that, if you will only take care to maintain a good intention, you may do anything It is proper, however, to say, that Dr. Lord is much opposed to the abuses of slavery, to its ty-rannical and oppressive laws, and to the withholding from the slaves that which is just and equal. He does not specify these abuses; but compared with his ideal of 'slavery as it ought to be,' evidently thinks 'slavery as it is' an imperfect and untisfactory institution. But according to his own

thical theory, we do not see very well how he can and fault with these abuses. For suppose that slaves are cruelly beaten and overworked, that families are separated and deprived of religious instruction: might not the slaveholder whom he re-bukes reply: Sir, these things are mere physical facts, without moral character except in reference to the intention with which they are performed. Now, our intention in doing this is good, for we find it impossible to sustain otherwise the institution which you teach us to be divinely appointed both by natural and revealed religion. Such is the both by natural and revealed religion. Such is the perverse desire for liberty in the depraced human mind, that, without bloodhounds, whips, and rifles, we could not keep the descendants of Hum from running away. If we allowed them to read and write, we could not retain them in slavery. These things, therefore, which you call abuses, we believe to be essential to maintain the institution. We may be wrong but such is our sincere helief. We may be wrong, but such is our sincere belief. Our intention is therefore good, and, according to your doctrine, the facts themselves are not immoral. We occasionally burn a negro alive, but it is done in order to maintain this divine institution, and therefore it is 'a mere physical fact without moral character.' It is true that in Kansas the people of Missouri have taken possession of the polls, and elected a legislature who have passed laws punishing with imprisonment and death the crime of speaking against slavery. It is true that they have destroyed presses, and burnt hotels, shot and hung and robbed and driven out of the Territory the emigrants who wished to make of it a Free State; but this has all been done because it was necessary to prevent the overthrow of this divine institution. These, therefore, are also 'mere physical facts with no moral character.' It is also true that free speech at Washington endangers the institution, and therefore it has become y to silence a Massachusetts Senator with the bludgeon. But when you consider our inten-tion, you must admit that this assault on Mr. Sumner was not immoral. It was 'a mere physical fact.' All these things were done in order vent the overthrow of an institution which yourself admit to be divine. According to your ethics, therefore, they are meritorious and good, and what you call the abuse of the system is in

fact an essential part of it.

We do not see what Dr. Lord could say in reply to this argument. Indeed, he believes that slavery, 'notwithstanding the abuses of it, has been on the whole better for the world, in respect both to righteousness and even to physical happiness in general, than its non-existence would have been. The great evil, according to him, is not to be found in slavery, but in freedom. He reserves the severity of his rebuke and the sharpness of his satire, not for the despot nor for the tyrant, but for those who wish to break every yoke and to let the opwho wish to break every yoke and to let the op-pressed go free. According to his view, it was not Pharaoh, but rather Moses, who was to be blamed. According to him, when Isaiah announced to the Jews that God required of them 'to relieve the oppressed,' and to 'let him go free,' and 'to break every yoke,' he was uttering 'a destructive fallacy.' He was acting like 'a romantic and ex-cited person,' and his sympathies were 'one-sided and misdirected.' And when the Lord himself-went about the land preaching deliverance to the captives, and announcing the brotherhood of man captives, and announcing the brotherhood of man, there is no doubt that, if Dr. Lord had been present, he would have thought it very alarming. Christ's offer of comfort and rest to all men, 'despite existing diversities of sects, nation, race, position, capacity, intelligence, experience, relations, would have struck him as 'very rash and dangerous,' though very specious and flattering.

It is difficult to read these two letters of Dr.

Lord without a certain sad astonishment, and with-out a sinking of the heart. To defend as 'right in itself' a system which denies to the human be-ing every right; to declare that to be 'an in-stitution of natural religion' which all eminent philosophers, jurists, and moralists, with scarcely an exception, have condemned as contrary to natural justice; to proclaim as 'a positive institution of revealed religion,' and as 'not inconsistent with the law of love,' a system which reduces man to the level of the brute benst,—this courageous avowal of evil principle has been reserved for the President of a New England College, in a land of freedom, and for a minister of the holy Jesus in the middle of the nineteenth century! In an age of light, he has chosen darkness. The result, bowever, of his pamphlets will probably be, on the whole, good. For it is always necessary 'that the man of sin should be revealed,' that evil princi-ples should be uttered, in order to be seen in all their enormity. The time had come, in the distheir enormity. The time had come, in the discussion of slavery, when it was necessary that some one should say all that could be said in defence of the principle, that it might be seen how little there was to be said for it. By what fatsilty Dr. Lord was left to occupy this bad eminence of evil, we cannot say. His books will do good, though in a somewhat different way from that which he expects. They will stand as a beacon to warn men of the results to which we may be led by a theology divorced from humanity, by a logic which is not corrected by common sense, and by a system of doctrine which makes fear rather than love the essential motive power in religion.

For when we trace to the bottom Dr. Lord's

love the essential motive power in religion.

For when we trace to the bottom Dr. Lord's theory, we shall find, as always, the root of the moral system to lie in the theology. The view which one takes of God determines his view of man, of life, and of duty. There is one class of thinkers who regard God essentially as a Governor; another class who look upon him essentially as a Father. But as the chief purpose of a governor is to restrain evil, while the chief purpose of a father is to develop good, man, according to the one view, is a being to be restrained, while,

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according to the other, he is a being to be educated.

The idea of government suggests restraints and checks; the virtues desired in a subject are sub-

mission, obedience, humility. He who regards God chiefly as a ruler will think that he prefers even an

obedience born of constraint to a more irregular

obedience born of freedom. The very word Fare now becomes at last distasteful, always suggesting

irregularity and license. Having thus made obedi-ence to God to consist in the submission of a slave.

it is not strange that slavery in its grossest out

ward forms should become sanctified and respecta

ble.

The opposite view, which looks upon God chiefly

as a father, regards man not us a slave to be gov-erned, but as a soul to be unfolded, and looks upon life as a place of education. And here, immedi-

ately and necessarily, comes in a sense of the value of liberty. Milton, in whose soul the love of lib-

erty lay deep, and to whom life everywhere ap-

peared a scene of free struggle and moral conquest over evil, says: 'Were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferred before many times as much the forcible hinderance of evil-doing. For God sure esteems the growth and completing of one

virtuous person more than the restraint of ten vic-

dence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish

tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him

had else been a mere artificial Adam. We our-

selves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or

gift, which is of force ; God therefore left him free,

set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the

right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence.

slaves, contend in this spirit, and for this reason.

They believe in freedom as the essential element of virtue. They abhor slavery, not chiefly for its out-ward and material evils, though these are the in-

evitable God-appointed marks of its foul nature,

but mainly for the evil which it does to the Soul.

negro slave in America is in a higher moral condi-

tion than he was in Africa, it is not his slavery which has made him so, but the surrounding free-

dom. It is because, though a slave, and in spite

of slavery, he drinks in some of the blessed in-fluences of mental and moral liberty belonging to

that happier race around him. No thanks to those who made him a slave, or who keep him so, for this. It was a great blessing to Joseph, that he

was sold as a slave into Egypt; but it was not his being a slave, but his being in Egypt, which brought the blessing. 'Howbeit, ye meant it for evil, but the Lord turned it to good.' It was by the providence of God, and for the good of the

world, that Jesus was put to death: but that is

no excuse for Judas, Caiaphas, or Pilate. If those who persecuted the early Christians had defended

who persecuted the early Unristians and their cruelty on the ground that 'the blood of the

martyrs is the seed of the Church,' they would

have argued just as Dr. Lord argues when he de

fends slavery on the ground that negroes are better off in America than they would have been in Af-

rica. Conceive of a Christian bishop, in the third

century, writing a 'Letter of Inquiry to his Brother Ministers on Persecution.' He might have ar-

gued that persecution is an institution of God, a

cording to natural religion, because it tends to check the tendency of the mind to error, because

it keeps the Church humble and pure, and restrains

the tendencies to evil which prosperity always un-folds. He might also argue that it was a posi-

tive institution of revealed religion,' since Elijah the great Prophet of God, destroyed four hundred

and fifty of the priests of Baal, saying, 'Take the prophets of Baal, let not one escape.' He might

prophets of Baal, let not one escape. He might have argued, that to burn a man at the stake for

heresy, or to throw him to the lions for being Christian, 'is not inconsistent with the law

love'; since these 'are mere physical facts with

out moral character, except in reference to the in tention with which they are performed.' And the

intention in the one case being to prevent a soul-destroying heresy, and in the other case to prevent the Roman empire from being disturbed by new re-

ligions, to persecute 'from these righteous an

benevolent motives is truly virtuous and commend-able, and one of the methods by which good men

become co-workers with God as benefactors of th

Dr. Lord in defending slavery, which might not be used with yet greater force in defence of pagan and

papal persecutions.

Such heresies as these cure themselves. But, in

the mean time, there is no doubt that they do a

great deal of harm. Tending to ultimate good,

they yet produce necessarily much present evil. These writings of Dr. Lord will not strengthen

slavery; but they will promote infidelity, furnish a handle to scoffers against Christianity, and tend to produce an opposite ultraism. When Dr. Lord

argues that slavery is a 'positive institution of re-

slavery, but many will disbelieve in revelation Those who defend iniquities like these out of th

Bible, do more to promote infidelity than could b

together. They wound Christ in the house of his friends. We should consider the risk of a young man's becoming an infidel by going to Dartmouth

College greater than from attending a course of lectures by Fanny Wright or Robert Owen. For

Dr. Lord is doing his best to convince the young men under his charge that the Bible teaches a sys

tem which tramples on human rights; which sell men and women and children on the auction-block

which separates husbands and wives; which po

lutes society, degrades labor, destroys the purit

of woman; which tends to poverty and ignorance

to cruelty and violence and war; which attack

freedom of speech, of the press, of the pulpit, and of the ballot-box; and which is moving on to the

sure destruction of national peace and prosperity

If the young men at Dartmouth believe their teac

er, as they naturally will, the consequence will be that they will disbelieve the Bible. We therefor

think it would be not much worse for a youn man's Christianity to send him to an infidel club

than to let him go through Dartmouth College while it is under the charge of Dr. Lord.

It has been a common thing to attack Harvard College on account of the Unitarian opinious held

by a majority of its government. Parents have

been earnestly warned against sending their chil

dren to such an institution, although no one has ever been able to give a single instance of an at-tempt by any Cambridge Unitarian Professor or

instance could have been given, there is no doubt

that it would have been brought forward. Instead

of facts, it has always been necessary to argu-

from the supposed tendency of listening to the in-structions of such teachers. But we would ask intelligent Orthodox men to decide which is worse,

tronomy from a Unitarian, or for the same boy t

be under a President who is such a fapatic for sla-

very, that, not only in the lecture-room, but by re-peated publications, he defends that institution as divinely appointed, and as an important part

no harm to Dartmouth College, but rather good

both of natural and revealed religion ! We

oy to listen to a lecture on Greek or As

an Orthodox student. If any such

done by Voltaire, Paine, and Abner Kneeland.

ion, no man will believe any more i

Surely there is not an argument used by

They abhor it because it forbids human progress

and because it stupefies the human reason.

Those who contend for the emancipation of the

Many there be that complain of Divine P

a scene of free struggle and moral conquest

And again, sperking of Adam, he says

to choose, for reason is but choosing; he

as he passed through. On Monday morning he was taken to the residence of A. A. Lawrence. Esq., in Brookline—a gentleman whose hospitality on this occasion was the more signal, in that he is known to be a Fillmore Whig, but whose liberal and hearty sympathy with the cause of the Free States—the North and the South—as to territory, population, industry and wealth, education and intelligible. ong been wishing to see. Its object is to compare the ndition of the slaveholding and non-elaveholding State men in Kansas has naturally drawn him into gence, religious and moral advancement, and general progress. The calculations used are the official documents of the General Government and of the individual States. These calculations are, for the most part. for the year 1850, and based on the census returns for that year, as compiled by J. D. DeBow, and pubd eminent men through Brookline village and lished in his Compendium of the Seventh Census. It Roxbury, of the elevated and sterling characters is, therefore, impartial and reliable. It demonstrates, of the brilliant display at the reception at the Bostion, viewed from whatever stand-point, is all that is implied by such terms as a cancer, a plague-spot, a mildew, a curse, &c. &c. ; that there is not a redeen ing feature about it; that it is the destroyer of wealth, the waster of morals, the enemy of progress in evershape; that its immediate abolition would be the great est boon that could be conferred upon the South, and an immense gain to the whole country.

This work is as opportune as it is valuable. It makes its appearance at a time when a systematic attempt is making, on the part of the South, with an audacity unparalleled, and a folly only a hair's-breadth remov from incurable idiocy, to outface the intelligence and common sense of the world, the instincts of all rational souls, by declaring slavery to be in the highest degree boqueta; of the ingenious devices and the signifi- benevolent, the most precious of all institutions, the most productive of wealth, the best safeguard against danger, the brightest ornament, and the richest treas ure ; and, consequently, by denouncing a free state of society as ruinous to all parties, and liberty as a curs to all who possess it. Such is the daily gibberish of the Richmond Enquirer and Examiner, the Charleston Mercury, the New Orleans Delta, and other leading journals of the South. It is a new system of tactics, or ed herself by advancing, in the person of her Chief their part, to put down Northern abolitionism; and it is thought by them to be 'turning the tables,' ' taking the bull by the borns,' and 'carrying the war into Africa.' It is as though all the strumpets at the Five Points should, through journals of their own, affirm lewdness to be the most desirable, and virtue the mos hateful state of society; or all burglars, pickpocket and highway robbers should insist that, without their professional assistance, no community could long exist ; or all counterfeiters, thimble-riggers and sharper should represent themselves to be the only honest mer close of the whole glorious day; of all this it is in the community; or all half-witted or wholly dement-not necessary, at this date, to give any elaborate ed persons should claim to be the only rational class left in an insane world. Those knaves, lunatics, or What was most extraordinary in this whole re- idiots, who thus attempt to glorify their bloody and brutal slave system, and to cover glorious freedom with infamy, may fancy they are thereby mightily strengthening the 'peculiar Institution,' but none are

working so effectually for its overthrow as themselvesactually composed, to a large extent, of organized as time will fully demonstrate. The anti-slavery movement has hitherto found in stoutest opponents at the North among the commercial or other societies, each one of which fills its ranks and manufacturing classes, whose regard for the ' almighty dollar' is as tenscious as it is blind, and who imagine that nothing would be more disastrous, in a composition of the Sumner reception. Not one of fluancial point of view, than the sudden termination of slavery at the South. These men have taken coun place in the carriages provided, nor invited till the sel of their fears, not of their reason ; they have ye to give the first hour to a candid examination of the subject in its industrial and economical bearings ; they courage, to truth, to humanity, and to one of the are genuine know-nothings as to the workings of the bly no public servant of the country, since Washington, was ever so greeted among his neighbors.

The whole measure had a profound meaning, slave system, and literally ' penny wise, pound foolish.' Political economy is neither to be studied nor acquired on 'Change. The men who know the least about it are the frequenters of State Street and Wall Street fluence upon the future. It needed no unusual in- Tell them it is righteousness that exalts a nation, and sight to see that as this ocean of enthusiasm rose sin is a calamity to any people, and the declaration is into our streets, climbed Beacon street, dashed to them without meaning. What has trade to do with against all men's doors, and shook the foundations righteousness? or how does sin a ket? They are your shrewd, calculating, long-headed lesson they had never received quite so impressive. practical business men, who are never led astray by Depend upon it, certain gentlemen, fanaticism, who understand their own affairs, and wh who are too apt to measure the interests of the know what will pay. But theirs is the wisdom of this world by their private tastes, and to confine their world, which is 'foolishness with God.' They do not know the secret of true prosperity, which lies in the strictest obedience to the law of justice, of humanity, of love; and so they reap the reward of speculators. adventurers, swindlers. Nevertheless, nothing is morsure in the universe than this :- other things being equal, that community will be the most prosperous and the most productive, which most closely adheres to the rule of rectitude, and most sacredly regards the rights of man. Place side by side two townships; one furnishing free schools for all—the other leaving the mass of the people without any educational facilities. Who doubts which of the two will be the better clad, fed. housed, and the more prospered? Knowledge is wealth as well as power ; ignorance is poor and weak. Take two communities; one adopting the total abstinence We can principle—the other going for moderate drinking. The former will be the richer of the two, and in all respects better off. Take two States ; one with free labor, free speech, a free press, and free institutionsthe other with slave labor, and all freedom suppressed. The former will far outstrip the latter in material turn taken by his constitution in the mountains of wealth, and in all that makes life desirable. In other Pennsylvania in Angust, he has been gaining words, knowledge, sobriety and freedom put money is the purse, and make a people independent and happy by her climate, if not by her votes. At present, every day gives new vigor to the enfeebled limbs, added color to the face, and more steadiness to the agitated nerves and polse. His spirits are cheer- trade and business generally. Truly, in the most life ful, and all his symptoms improving. The only ral sense, Godliness hath the promise of the life that perceptible infirmity is in the muscular and nernow is, as well as of that which is to come.' IT PATS. surely, liberally, comprehensively, yet not in a mercenary sense. So, wisely did Moses counsel the Israelite to hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord their tion. Every interview impresses upon one more and more deeply the incalculable worth of his services in the Senate of the United States, the ripestore, in the city and in the field, and in all they services in the city and in the field, and in all they services in the city and in the field, and in all they services in the city and in the field, and in all they services in the city and in the field, and in all they services in the city and in the field, and in all they services in the city and in the field, and in all they services in the city and in the field, and in all they services in the city and in the field, and in all they services in the city and in the field, and in all they services in the city and in the field, and in all they services in the city and in the field. ness of his powers, the largeness of his learning, their hands unto, and be made plenteous in goods, and accumulate wealth so as to 'lend unto many nations, borrowing of none; and most fearfully and truly dihis post, ready to do fair deeds with all men, to be depict to them the consequences of disobedience raise his cloquent voice for the right, to forgive his touching their safety and worldly interest. What bless commiss, to be friend the weak and oppressed, to lead the armies of a true and wise reform against lead the armies of a true and wise reform against accompanying the act of immediate and unconditions emancipation-breaking every yoke, and letting th oppressed go free! Light for darkness; health for

disease; the call upon the Lord heard and answered The work before us is crowded with evidence of the be studied with all diligence, and reverently accept like a fresh revelation from Heaven.

In 1790, the Free States had only 7000 more inhabtants than the Slave States. In 1850, they had 1855, in redoubtable South Carolina, consisted of one 22,153 (almost four millions) more than the latter -notwithstanding \$7,000 inhabitants were added to the South by the annexation of Louisiana and Florida, and a large population by the annexation of Texas; and notwithstanding the South has 239,000 square miles of territory more than the North, and her soil is

The average number of inhabitants to a square mile in the Slave States, is 11.28, and in the Free States, 21.93 ; almost two to one.

incomparably more fertile.

By the census of 1860, more than two thirds of the entire population of the Union will be found in the Free

The whole number of slaveholders, (less than 850, 000,) including females and minors, counting them all as rolers, are less than the number of freemen who Pennsylvania or Ohio!

The number of slaves annually sold from the North ern Slave States, to the Southern is not less than

The slaves have a representation in Congress (for the exclusive benefit of their tyrannical marters) equal to that of New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Iowa,

The free population of the whole fifteen Slave States is slightly more than that of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts ; yet the latter have only sixtynine, while the former have ninety representatives.

The aggregate vote of eleven Slave States, in 1852. was less than that of the single State of New York; and yet these States are entitled to seventy-nine elec- the country, and unite as one man the entire North for toral votes, and New York to only thirty-five. Penn- the extinction of the hideous slave system, and the consylvania and New York cast a popular vote larger, by sequent overthrow of the Slave Power. more than 60,000, than all the Slave States; yet the former have only sixty-two electoral votes, while the latter have one hundred and twenty !

In the North, 93,296 freemen and 16,101 voters are required to elect a representative to Congress In the South, only 71,251 freemen and 8,976 voters.

Including only the lands under cultivation in the

whole area, the proportion is still larger.

The value per acre of land in the States, on the dividing line between freedom and slavery, is very suggestive;—thus, in the Free States, the value of farms per acre is as follows, viz :- New Jersey, \$48.67;

Again-take those Slave States which, by position population, or intercourse. feel least the influence of the Free States. Thus, the value of farms per acre is, in North Carolina, \$3.24; South Carolina, 1.32; Tennessee, 5.16; Florida, 3.97; Georgia, 4.19; Alabama, 5.30; Arkansıs, 5.87; Texas, 1.44; Mississippi, 5.22. Average, \$3.74 ! What a revelation is this ! Observe, too, that whilst

the most vigilant in the maintenance of her slave system, she is lowest in the scale,

In the Free States, the number of acres in farms is 108,198,522; agricultural product, \$858,634,334;

product per acre, \$7.94. In the Slave States, the number of acres in farms and plantations, 180,572.392 ; #gricultural product, \$631,-

277,417; product per sere, \$3.49. And this, notwithstanding almost the entire labor of these States is expended upon agriculture, while the labor of the Free States is largely absorbed in a multiplicity of other industrial pursuits.

ble deprivations which have been inrust upon our perpendence of the states is largely absorbed in a multiplicity of other industrial pursuits.

ble deprivations which have been inrust upon our perpendence of the states of t

riculture in 1850 was 2,509,126; value of agricultural products, \$858,634,334; value per bead, \$342.

In the Slave States, the whole number of free pop lation engaged in agriculture in 1850 was 1,197,649 ; number of slaves engaged in agriculture, 2,500,000 total 3,697,649. Value of agricultural products, \$681,-277,417; value per head, \$171.

This, then, is the grand result in the department of agriculture, the peculiar province of the South-as shown by the Census Compendium of De Bow, who, if not a slaveholder, is wholly with the South in his proslavery feelings :-

and two thirds as many persons engaged in farming, quitted yesterday, eight of whom were, however, relars worth of agricultural products in a year more than the South ; twice as much on an acre, and more than double the value per head for every person engaged in farming ! And this, while the South, paying nothing for its labor, has better land, a monopoly of cotton, rice, cane sugar, and nearly so of tobacco and hemp, and a climate granting two, and sometimes three crops

Here is another striking fact :- The value of lands per acre in the counties of the Slave States adjoining the Free is greater than that of the remaining counties of their respective States. The opposite is true, generally, of the border counties of the Free States. Thus the effects of freedom and slavery on the value of the adjucent lands is reciprocal. The neighborhood of slavery lessens their value in the Free States ; the neighborhood of freedom increases it in the Stone States. To such an extent is this true, that, in Virginia, for ex- in Plymouth county, the drama written by himself, enample, the lands in counties naturally poor, are, by the proximity of freedom, rendered more valuable than those unequalled lands in the better portions of the State. Indeed, the table shows the fact that the lands in the border counties of the Slave States are worth his drama. Already he has more than twenty engage-States, with the addition of the value of the whole number of their claves, at \$400 a head. And this, be it remembered, while the value of lands in the balance of the counties of the border Slave States is double that of the lands in the Slave States not adjacent to the Free. It is for the interest of the Slave States to be hedged in by a circle of Free States. If Tennessee had been a Free State, her lands would have been worth as much as those of Ohio,-\$19.99 per acre, instead of \$5 16 as now; -and who cannot see that, in that event, the lands of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia would have been worth more per acre than the ums of 324, 1.40, 4.19, respectively? Not only North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia could af-

The figures show that Tennessee could afford, for the sake of freedom, to sacrifice the whole value of her tion of the Union is 'empty as the whistling wind' quarter of million of slaves, and pay in addition the for he knows that such an event will be the death-war am of \$185,749,446. For the sake of a free neighbor, rant of the slave system. But the Slave Power is ben. and to bring up their lands to the value of those of Maryland, the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia could afford to encrifice the whole of their own slaves, pay for those of Tennessee, and make \$439,058,-405 by the bargain-which sum is considerably more then twice the value of all their lands. Nay, these States could afford to send off, singly, every slave within their limits, in a coach with two horses, and provisions for a wear, if they could but bring up the value of their dienation, and patriotism, and dissolution of the Union. ndeed, if a fugitive now and then be not reclaimed South Carolina could afford to pay every year more money than she spent in the whole Revolutionary war. to make her whole number of slaves fugitives ; and then make money enough by the transaction to fen in the whole State with a picket fence, to prevent their

In manufactures, the North has more than twent

times as much as the South. The 'tonnage built' in booner of sixty-one tons burden! This is since the sitting of several Southern Conventions, in which they re-olved to have an extensive commerce of their own, not only with Europe, but with Brazil and Central

As to education, the New England figures are twenty imes as large as those of Carolina. Here are the results of a comparison between fourteen

counties in Virginia of area equal to the State of Masschusetts :- In the former, acres of improved lands in 1850, 1,533,502; in the latter, 2,133,436. In the for mer, acres of unimproved lands, 1,852,056; in the latter, 1,222,576. In the former, cash value of farms \$19,080,472; in the latter, \$109,076,347! In the for mer, cash value per acre, \$5.64; in the latter, \$32.50 In the former, value of agricultural products, \$6,224,voted at the Presidential election in 1852, in either 329; in the latter, \$11,005,887. In the former, valu of manufactures, \$3,504,885 ; in the latter, \$151,842,-478 !! In the former, tonnage owned, 35,051; in the latter, 970,727 !! In the former, amount of tonnage wilt in 1855, 2,171; in the latter, 79,620 !! In the former, pupils in colleges, academies, and private schools, 1,202; in the latter, 14,479. In the former, scholars in the public schools, 7,892; in the latter, 176.475 !!

How astonishing is this contrast! How excellent and preservative is liberty; how odious and destructive is slavery'!

But these are only specimens of the large amount o statistical information embodied in this most valuable work-a work that alone should suffice to revolutioniz

Correspondence New York Tribune. MORE BORDER-RUFFIAN OUTRAGES-SUFFER-INGS OF THE FREE-STATE SETTLERS-GOV. GEARY A LIAR

Including only the lands under cultivation in the two sections, the value per acre in the North is more than three times that of the South. Including the whole area, the proportion is still larger.

Being ahead of your regular correspondent in receipt of the following intelligence, and heing also desirous that you should be kept well posted on all matters relative to Kansas and the struggles of the Free State

to day, with a report that their settlement was nightly disturbed and annoyed by incursions of Missourian Pennsylvania, 27.27; Ohio, 19.99; Indiana, 10.66; Illinois, 7.99. Average, \$22.17.

In the border Slave States the value is as follows, viz:— Delaware, \$19.75; Maryland, 18.81; Virginia, on their claims. Mr. Redfield took back a quantity of the control of the c 8 27; Kentucky, 9.03; Missouri, 6.49. Average, arms and ammunition for distribution among his men, so that it is quite probable that the diabolism of these scoundrels may yet cost them dear.
On Saturday last, a company of these Georgians.

taying with a pro-slavery man by the name of Jones. living on the Santa Fe rood, assailed, wantonly and without any provocation, a Mr. Sutton. (Free State.) who was working peaceably on his claim—shot at him, and drove him into his house, where they left him with threats of mounter. threats of murder.

Afterward, on the same day, this same party of

What a revelation is this! Observe, too, that whilst Georgians met a man (whose name escaped my memo South Carolina is the most intensely pro-slavery, and ry) going to Westport for a load of provisions, whom tearning that he was opposed to the admission of on learning that he was opposed to the admission of Kansas as a slave State, one of them immediately shot, the ball entering his back, near the region of the spinal column, and coming out just below his heart. He is not yet dead, but lingering in excruciating agony.

The Committee have opened rooms in Lawrence for the distribution of the clothing and provisions sent on here from the East. It falls to my lot to assist in their dishursement, and I can assure you that I have never had my heart so sickened with sorrow as at the evidences of suffering and wretchedness and inconceivable deprivations which have been thrust upon our peo-

destruction of their little all, by the onsets of these worse than devils. Some have lived on baked squash others alone on pumpkins, some on green corn ground in coffee-mills, and some have been so harassed and hunted that they can bardly tell how they have lived. Most of these applicants are exceedingly intelligent, and some whose tatters rustle in the wind are so highly educated that they would do no discredit to the most polished and gifted circles.

For God's sake, Messrs. Editors, do all you can be

induce the North to send us more food and clothing! The infamous Clark, murderer of Barber, passes through our town to-day, escorted by about twenty dragoons, the despicable wretch being too much afraid to come among us alone. So true is it that ' the wicked flee when no man pursueth.'

arrested, on the charge of having assisted in the de-struction of Titus's house. The seven who reached Lawrence came in to-day for change of clothing—noble fellows, all of them—yet, in consequence of being so huddled together in such a filthy hole as their prison at Lecompton, they were, physically, about the most loath-some and abhorrent set of men I have ever seen -a fact

which needs no comment.

About a week since, when Gov. Geary was in the region of Ossawaiamie, he gave Marrin White, the assas-sinator of Frederick Brown, half a dozen dragoons, that he (White) might assist bim in his arrests of Free State men, who are guilty of no earthly crime save that of retaking from the pro slaveryites the property of which they have been robbed. This is pacification with a vengeance!

## ANTI-SLAVERY DRAMAS.

The meading of anti-slavery dramas, during the coming lecturing season, bids fair to be of no inconsiderable service to the cause of freedom. WM. WELLS BROWN has recited, during the past month, in several places titled 'Experience ; or, How to Give a Northern Man a Backbone.' So numerous are the calls, that Mr. Brown has relinquished his agency, and will devote his ments to give his recitation before lyceums and independent courses. The drams cannot fail to do good, for it gives an excellent idea of the workings of the 'peculiar institution,' as far as it deals with it. Mr. Brown has also finighed another drama, which he intends reading before the public.

A WORDT RHETT-ORIGAL EBULLITION. The Letter of Robert Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, which occuples so large a portion of our first page, is characteristically egotistical, and as perverse in its statements as it is saicidal in the policy it recommends the South to pursue. It deserves notice only as it emanates from an could Tennessee afford to sacrifice the whole value ers in Carolina which is always threatening to blow original nullifier, and represents that class of fire-eat-'our glorious Union ' to atoms, if its impudent deford to sacrifice the whole value of their own slaves, with hy the timid and yielding North. Not one of Mr. and pay for all the slaves in Tennessee, for the sake of Rhett's accusations against the North can be sustained having a free neighbor. The increased value of lands by a particle of evidence; but they are all true of the South, as demonstrated by her uniform temper and conduct towards the North. His talk about a dissolu on new acquisitions, and the North must be again terrified into submission. Let the Union slide.

\*THE HUMORS OF PALCONBRIDGE. A collection amorous and every-day scenes, by Jonathan P. Kelly is now in press, and will be issued about the first of December, by T. B. Peterson, Philadelphia. It is il lustrated by numerous mirth-provoking representation nds to that of the land in northern Maryland. In- ume, bound in cloth, for \$1.25, or in paper covers, two volumes, for \$1.00, can be bad, free of postage, by sending to T. B. Peterson, No. 102 Chesnut street, Philadelphia.

THE BURLINGAME BANQUET. A complimentary bar uet to Hon, Anson Burlingame will take place on Mon day evening next, in Fancuil Hall, and promises to b a very successful affair. Mesers Sumner, Wilson, and Hale, together with other distinguished speakers, have been invited to be present. Plates will be laid for about times, in formage owned in 1855 three times, and in tonnage built in the same year three hundred and fifty one thousand persons. The tickets are two dollars cach. NOVEMBER 21

IMPORT OF A VOTE FOR PRESIDENT THE LAST DAY-A NORTHERN RITTELL. SHEBOYGAN FALLS, Wis., Nov. 4, 1814 To SAMUEL J. MAY:

MY DEAR FRIEND, Yours of Oct. 14th, is the My DEAR FRIEND, Louis of Oct. 16th, is In Linematon, is before me. This is election deposit ere this, you have cast your vote for John C. Impart of the Company of the Comp ere this, you have east your vote for sonnt frame for President. Of course, I do not write his to his ence your course, or the course of my the all ence your course, or the tourse of my ench as struggle; but the question, What is the input of a struggle; but the question, what is the input of a struggle; but the question, who is the later of vote for President? has a significance and input that reach beyond this day, and far ato that

My friend,—The one great object of your is the My friend, and your objet in the past twenty-five years, and your objet in the latest to Fremont, are not open for discussion between in all premont, are not one who knows your life as I do he life is its own best defence. Not one word from best from any one, touching your devotion to the cut of the enslaved, is needed. A beautiful and sole pr slavery life is yours.

But you have voted for Fremont. What is the new But you ming of that vote? It is the part of a friend a me was it merely the expression of an opinion, the ana Was it merely the expression and appearant, the and given in an Anti-Slavery Convention? It is smooth, far different. Your vote was derigned to help, tod in far different. Your vote was arrigate to neighted in helped, to invest a man with power to do sanding. What? To execute the Constitution and late of the What? To execute the whole of whole By par United States, as understood-by whole By par No ; but by FREMONT, your agent

fend suffer slare sas; Cons your tect right tend on! Do I an ' of it A The your nom he si the I perp To be Nor your it mand agen assure attest woul agen would so would stim to full them.

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You knew, before you voted, that your resinvest Fremont with power to execute his view, to yours, of the Constitution and laws. Yes they she those views were, for he had frankly and explicit told you. He told you that, in his view, three hal a constitutional right-

1. To exist where it now is.

2. To be protected where it now is S. To be represented in Congress.

4. To rule the entire nation, if it could get a tout. tutional majority.

Emphatically did he tell you, that, in his vier, is, very had these constitutional rights, and that, if you chose him President, and invested him with pure, w your agent, he should secure to slavery thee right, In voting for Fremont, then, you rote for his view, not your own. In voting for his view, you we that slavery has a constitutional, legal right to exist salls protected by the general government whereit need ists or shall hereafter exist 'under the shield of Sur sovereignty,' and for its right to be represented a Ca-

gress and to control the nation, if it can get the najority. The only issue presented in my letter vis, that right for you to choose a man as your agent, and inter him with power, knowing that he will see it to resta and perpetuate slavery in these rights?"

You meet this only vital issue by saying, 'Thelet it be true that slavery, according to the Castilaties, may have the rights you have enumerated, and wheller it be true that Mr. Frement has piedged bland's respect and defend those rights to the extrat yes him alleged, I will now neither affirm nor deny! But the is the sole question concerning which a word was aid for. Does Fremont (not S. J. May, W. L. Garrise, et Gerrit Smith) think slavery, according to the Country tion of the United States, has these several right, ut has he pledged himself to respect and defent then rights? This, it seems to me, is the only thing at it olitionist should 'affirm or deny.'

As to the moral right of slavery to exist any whenas to whether the Constitution embedies powers vid, if rightly used, would restrict and sufficate slaveryas to the constitutional right and duty of Congres's prevent the extension of slavery into new territories, to refuse to erect any territory into a State unles & will prohibit slavery in its Constitution,' to shelp slavery in the District of Columbia,' 'to suppress to terly the inter-State slave trade," to protect the alored citizens of free States,' 'to maintain liberts of speech and of the press,' to do all it can to bring its government into harmony with Republication, al finally to amend the Constitution itself, in every peticular in which it may not now accord with the prposes set forth in the preamble,'-there is no issue letween us. Does that Constitution guarantee is short the right to exist, to be protected, to be represent Congress, and to rule the nation? No, this is not the exact question ; but, Does Fremont, your chosen eget, think it does ? Does he stand pledged to slavery, to be fend it in these constitutional rights? This is all I he does, then your vote goes to sustain and perpetua slavery where it now is.

You say, . Fremont, if elected, would, by bi mi to support the Constitution, be bound to concur is the exercise of all these powers'-viz, these share cause rated. Granted ; but you know that Frement, if eeted, is equally bound, by that oath, to protest slavery it the enjoyment of the four constitutional rights I has mentioned.

You ask - Why have you held me up as going sheet to appoint an agent to perpetuate and extend the sp pression of the poor and needy, rather than as an agest to help break every yoke?" By the declaration of just agent, and by your own admission, do you set hall yourrelf up as 'going about to appoint an agent' sh assures you he will ' perpetuate the oppression of the poor and needy ' in Virginia, and all over the Soul You do indeed vote for Fremont to do whatever put he may do as President, but you know beforehold from his own lips, that he will use the power jet of fer on him to do all the evil required of him by if

Constitution against the slave and human freeden You say- Most unhappily, two antagonics ments, two hostile spirits, were allowed to entries the Constitution of these United States-Liberty and Slavery,' Yourself being witness, Slavery, as well # Liberty, is in that Constitution. Slavery, yes alar, has constitutional rights, as well as Liberty. The sa whom you have this day chosen to be your agent, you President, assured you beforehand that he should're spect and defend the constitutional rights of the two antagonistic elements,' these two bestie 196 its'; that he should use all the power safafrusage your vote confers on him to defend these right of Slavery as well as of Liberty, and cause then to be #

spected by yourself and by all. Have I, then, misrepresented the tendeser of put note? You yourself say that the direct and necessity tendency of it is to defend and perpetuate the confidence tional right of Slavery, as well as of Liberty, is eit. to be protected, to be represented, and to rale the setion, if it can get the majority. Your vote has past protect and perpetuate slavery in Virginia, that pa may keep it out of Kansas; to defend and continut the oppression of the poor and needy in South Carein, that you may prevent the 'oppression of the par and needy in Kansas. Can this be right! Defeed, at spect and perpetuate theft, robbery, concubings as murder in Auburn, in order to present these cises from being perpetrated in Syracuse! Invest Frank with power to keep slavery out of Kansas, keeps that he will certainly use that power to protect as perpetuate slavery, with all its crimes and borron. Louisiana! Knowingly, but unintentionally, to P vide for the defence and perpetuity of slave-leveling slave-trading, slave-hunting, for whipping worth plundering cradles and nurseries, for turning nation a brute, a chattel, in Missouri, in order to prothose deeds from being perpetrated in Kansel Is do not wish nor intend your delegated power shall is so used, but you know it will be, for your agestia told you it will be. My dear friend,-You must know with what pla

say this of one so endeared to me as you are. Boles, and trusted by me as few men on earth are, and trusted by me as few men on earth are, and deared by quarter of a century of personal initial and sweet and blessed converse, I need not tell in that my eyes are blinded by tears as I say this all act performed by you. But can I say less! By per own assertion, must I not conclude that you keen to forehand that the tendency of your rots must it is

in desiring that it may be speedily relieved from the injury of having at its head a man of such exthe injury of having at its he treme and bitter fanaticism. From the New York Independent. RECEPTION OF HON, CHAS, SUMNER, BOSTON, Nov. 8, 1856.

Would that it were in my power to reproduce for your readers the scene of last Monday! It can no more be done, than the spontaneous and accumulated enthusiasm of a human multitude can be poured into an inkstand. Men who know ver well the powers and the limits of language, and whose names are known to the world, through own mastery of it, said to one another that evening, 'We are glad that our own eyes have seen this; for no report, no description, however graphic or full, could show it as it was.' Charles Sumner came into Boston on a quiet errand—to drop a vote for the principles he had so eloquently advocated he had so cheerfully suffered. But he came with the united honors of a hero, a states min, a scholar, an orator, a martyr; and it wa not strange the people met him as they did. The actual history of the preparations made to receive him would fix upon the demonstration even a more remarkable character than it bore in its appearance. Up to the middle of the preceding week, it remain-ed extremely doubtful whether he would have physical strength to undertake the journey with any degree of safety. Ilis medical advisers were divided in opinion as to the probable effects. His

own consistent and irrepressible determination to THE LIBERATOR own consistent and irrepressible determination to leave no single act undone, which could in any way promote the great end that is dearer to him than life, overruled every objection, and on Friday it became definitely known in Boston that he might be expected. Having been carefully kept from a railroad station in Dorchester to Cambridge by a private conveyance, in order that no unnecessary excitament might attend his arrival be recorded.

excitement might attend his arrival, he passed th

Sabbath at Cambridge, very quietly, with his in-timate and cordial friend, the poet Longfellow, as sincere a lover of liberty as himself. I have been

told, that at the principal places on the Springfield and New Haven road—the route which he did no

take—the sudden news of his contemplated visit had collected crowds of people, hoping to see him as he passed through. On Monday morning he

a moral fellowship with his distinguished guest.

In the vicinity of his mansion, the country was early astir with carriages, horsemen, and pedestrians—men, women and children—many of whom joined the long procession when it moved. Of the

subsequent proceedings, of the progress of the es-

ton line, of the immense cavalcade that there formed and conducted the guest to the Capitol, of the

signs of substantial worth and superior intelligence

stamped on the faces and forms of this vast array

of horsemen, of the hearty shouts, waving of bats and handkerchiefs, and all other manifestations of

joy, that enlivened the whole course of the march; of the throngs of persons of both sexes that over-flowed the sidewalks and poured everybody into the streets, filled the balconies and windows, and ar-

rayed themselves into every vacant area and court-

vard ; of the evergreens that were strewn in the

dressed in white and radiant with beauty; of th

way; of the schools of young girls that came out

groups of orphan children; of the flowers that

men till the barouche was literally heaped with

cant mottoes, all expressive of the dominant love

of human liberty, and the reverence for human rights; of the suspension of common business and

the arousing of uncommon emotions; of the singu-larly diversified condition and appearance, age an

culture, of those that pressed up to grasp the true

patriot's hand; of incidents that started tears by

their pathos, and laughter by their simple ardor

of the indescribable pageant on Beacon street, and

about the State House, when Massachusetts honor

Magistrate, to salute her brave son and defender

at the door of her halls of legislature; of the

ing, where his noble form appeared before the mul-

titude at one window, where the pale countenance

of the venerable mother-attenuated, but lofty and

firm, who had waited all these weary months alone

in agonizing suspense whether her motherly arms

should ever greet again the stately form of her son

-appeared at the other, amidst the deafening

plaudits of the citizens; of the reluctance of the

dense mass to disperse, and the final triumphant

joicing and jubilee of the city was that it was pure

ly, and throughout the result of individual feel

ing. In that regard, I do not hesitate to pronounce

it without precedent. Everybody knows that a

great public processions are not only adorned, bu

bodies, military companies, fire engine companies masonic and odd fellows' lodges, literary, scientific

by a love of esprit du corps or local pride, and se swells the aggregate number. Now not a singh

organized body, military or other, entered into the

the distinguished men present was even offered ;

morning of the demonstration. Every man came because his own heart brought him. It was a sim-

ple true grand offering of men's souls to justice, to

very foremost of living men. In this view, proba-

both as a manifestation of what is, and as an in

voice, a certain class of the citizens were taking a

regards to the narrow circle of their own social

sympathies, their literary culture and their com-

nercial advantage, saw and felt that day, as never

before, to what sublime and eternal melodies the

heart of the people really beats. Taken in connection with the voice of the ballot-box the day fol-

lowing, the demonstration inspired a new hope for

the country, a firm assurance of a united North,

and thus a deeper confidence in the preservation of

the Union and its blessings. At the same moment,

old wrongs were partially atoned for. Mr. Sam

ner, for all his terrible sufferings, so infamously in

flicted, so patiently borne, was then avenged-how

sensations in a Christian land. Ruffians and

bludgeon-bearers, sprinkling the Senate Hall with

blood, and insulting civilization with their infamy,

see here the folly and the desperation of their

Mr. Sumner is to recover. He has gone through

two or three critical junctures, more full of peril than his physicians allowed the public to know.

The dangers of his disease have not been exaggera-

yous systems. Good men's prayers are being an-

intellectual fire, all may know who read his speech,

that day, or his letters, or listen to his conversa-

tian sincerity of his soul. Unless some unforeseen hindrance occurs, the nation will find him soon at

all slavery, and all violence, and all corruption, and all falsehood and fraud.

We respectfully submit that Mr. Summer's true

sition, as an uncompromising friend of freedom, is

outside of Congress, 'that cage of unclean birds' and

rendezvous of Southern assassins-outside of this slave-

holding and slave-hunting government-outside of the

blood-stained Constitution-and outside of this doomed

and thrice accursed Union with the South.] -Ed. Lib.

ence there was not agreeable, and a pretty broad

lue application of a certain famous North Caro-

product called tar. He was allowed half an to leave, and he took the first train of cars

TRI-MOUNTAIN.

Yours,

That there is no abatement of the wonted

ted, but the contrary. Yet ever since the fav

steadily ; Pennsylvania has served the god

crimes. We can afford to take courage.

So Providence works out its com-

other and final scene at the Senator's own dwell-

showered incessantly from the houses of wo-

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 21, 1856.

LIBERTY AND SLAVERY CONTRASTED Condition of the Free and Slave States. By HENRY CHASE, A. M., and CHARLES W. SANBORN, M. D.

the old waste places rebuilt ; the foundations of many generations raised up ! soundness of this reasoning. It is the voice of God to the South, crying, 'Do thyself no harm! Why will thou he stricken any more? Thou hast destroyed thyself ; but in me is thy help found." It shows that the FREEDOM IN NORTH CAROLINA. 'We understand path of oppression leads to rain and death, while that framed in North Carolina. 'We understand that one day last week at the Fair at Henderson, Granville, a Yankee pill-vender who was present, said publicly that he preferred Fremont for the Presidency, and would vote for him. Soon after he was informed by a number of gentlemen that his presidency, and a state of snareby; and it speaks trumpet-tongued in favor of universal freedom. Examine its tables: read its statements; marvel at its facts! It ought to be in every counting-room, in every workshop, in the hands of every artisan, operative and day laborer, to

noor to leave, and he took the first train of cars and came on to Franklinton; where, when last seen, he exhibited indications of being frightened nearly out of his senses. We have not learned his name, nor do we know in what direction he went."

—Raicigh Standard. We avail ourselves of some of its numerous facts. confirm what we have said of its value, and the in structive lesson it teaches.

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A band of pirates is desolating the coast of Virginia The question is before them, shall they extend their pi-The question is York? You join that band, solely to save her York. A captain is to be chosen. A man is somiated who assures you that while he will do what been to save New York from piracy, he shall use all the poter you give him to perpetrate and defend and perfetuale piracy in Virginia. Could you vote for him? to her pirey away from New York, could you confer port on one who assures you he will use it to desolate the towns and cities of Virginia? You would not.
See would you think me unfair if I said you knew that our role must go to inflict piracy on Virginia, though any go to prevent its extension to New York. as to the difference ' between the morality of desiring

Frencht's election, and helping to elect him, 1 have sir this to say: Were the slaves to resort to the torch and the sabre to gain their freedom, and Fremont, your sent, should attempt to shoot them down, as he has secrel you he shall do, in case of their making the strupt thus to secure their liberty, my sympathics would all be with the slaves, and against your agent; so would yours. I should approve their object, and Capprove of his. Do you say that to sympathise with them in their object (not in their means to gain it) wield be the same, in morals, as to join them, and ginulate and help them to use the torch and sabre, and is farnish them with these weapons of death, and with porer to burn, slay and destroy? I cannot feel that to consider the morality of the two the same. HENRY C. WRIGHT.

P. S. Dear friend,-If there be one word in the pare, that goes to call in question your true anti-slaers heart or life, or unkindly to reflect on the spirit and intention that prompt you to vote for Fremont, I hereby disavow it.

Would that you and all would give your energies to the formation of a Northern Republic, on the principle of 1 No Union with Slaveholders."

Thus much as to the meaning of your vote for Presidest in regard to Slavery. As to the import of your rote in regard to War, I have a few things to say should there be room in THE LIBERATOR, and should it be deemed profitable. Truth, and obedience to it, is the object.

#### THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. The election has passed. Buchanan has leased the

White House for four years ; but in his journey thither, he is bound to find that ' Jordon am a hard road to trabble.' He will also learn the truth of divers other Democratic adages, such as that, although he is elected President, 'Republics is ungrateful,' and in emsequence thereof, 'our sufferings is intolerable.' When poor Buck-wheat comes to select his Cabinet, to take his real stand on Kansas, and back the borderruffans, won't he have a realizing sense of the truth of these proverbs ? -- won't his cake be dough ? Do the Republicans act like a party beaten ? Does the defiant stitude they maintain look like defeat? They know how they were defeated in this contest, and that future success is theirs. But the position taken by the Republims was so low, that, aside from its effect on Kansas, I was glad to see them beaten. Still, I do think they took as high a position as they could sustain. At some fature day, they will take a higher one. The people have vet to learn that a contract or a law in violation of good morals has no binding force. The Congress of the United States, the President, the Supreme Court julges, have yet to learn the same lesson. But the people must learn it first. There is no difficulty in teching a Congressman or a President this truth, after the people have learned it. The judges will not be quite so tractable, for they have an interest in the imnorshity of claveholding, that is equal to the interest if a horse-stealing judge, before whom his accomplices set arraigned for their thefts. These scoundrel judges ridel. They are as full of law as a Doctor of Divinity is of religion, and you might as well try to get rid o the seven years' itch as of either, when fairly located. But you can starve out either of them. Withhold the supplies, and they will hear the Lord directly calling them away.

I do not coincide in your non-voting principles, nor do I believe in the construction you and the slavehold ers, and their minions, the United States Government put on the Constitution. An honest government will to construe it as ' to establish justice, ensure the public tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty.' As it is not done now, we how its design is subverted, and hence we must change

I take it, while we live in human society, and under any government, our obligations and duties, our claims and our rights, are not made to depend on an eath, ether publicly or privately taken. They result from our position in that society and under that government. I have never taken an oath that I will not steal not commit murder. Should I take such an oath to-morrow, would my obligation to refrain be any greater than it is to-day? If, on the other hand, I bind my alf under a great curse that I will neither eat nor drink till I have slain Paul,' am I under any greater ebligation to kill him after than before I take the oath? bave no faith in vows, but I have in votes. There is to efficiency in the latter that there is not in the former. The bal man is not restrained from evil by his oath. The good man does not need it. It is both idle mockery and epererogation. Whatever may have been the object of requiring ouths, they pass men by as the idle wind that they regard not. The world, collectively and indivitually, have placed on oaths their true value, and though few can tell the process of ratiocination by which they have reached the conclusion, they have al rucked it, and an oath or an affirmation, truly valued, dees not, for the reasons above mentioned, amount t auch. It binds no bad man, and no good man needs is sanctions. We may not be too 'rigidly righteous,' for uneo good.' It is not wrong to pretend to the borse we wish to ride a hard journey, that we have corn a our hand when we go to eatch him, though in fact we have none, but are deceiving the poor ignorant brute, to his great loss of case and comfort. Yet we know it is wrong to lie or deceive ; but in the case of the horse t is necessary, that we may have the legitimate use of the beast. The oath to support the Constitution is ensidered a form of induction to office, not an act impaing obligations upon the officer that he would not equally be bound to observe if he was not sworn. As a cuss, I am'as much bound to support the laws and the Constitution unsworn, as I am when sworn as an thor; but as a private citizen or as an officer, sworn et this word, as a conscientious man or an unconscien tions man, voting or refusing to vote, it is not necessar ty to join the multitude to do evil. It seems to me that Jour position as a citizen is more seriously confused and tatangied, with your rights and duties in society, by missing to aid it with your vote, than it would be by

ereroising the right of suffrage. Hoping that you may at no distant day join me is by efforts to put down the border-ruffians by voting, I Yours, truly. St. Louis, Nov. 10, 1856.

TRANSSCIVING. This annual festival will take place a Marsachusetta, New Hampshire, Vermout and Rhode leand on Thursday next, 27th inst.

From the Edgefield (S. C.) Advertiser, Nov. 5.

The Herald of Freedom, one of the papers of rhich the types and presses, to the value of \$10,000, rere destroyed in the sack of Lawrence, has been re-

lived, and the first number of the new issue, dated the

saper, of the condition and prospects of Kansas, is de-idedly encouraging. In spite of all that it has suffer-l, property in Lawrence is represented as undiminish-for the canvas. d in value, business lots on Massachusetts street selling endily at from \$400 to \$500 each. A large number of ood stone houses have been erected the past season, and others are still going up. Rents are very high, roducing a return of almost a hundred per cent. Two orge, substantial stone churches, with basements for shools are in progress of completion. The Herald of Freedom states that Free State settlers are coming into he Territory in considerable numbers, and it appears to hink that, for the present at least, the danger of anoth-

Arriving at Westport on our way home, one object f significance at this place was the grave of A. H. Reed-r, prematurely prepared, and in which the pro-slavery ten say he shall rest if he ever returns to Kansas. his grave stands under the shades of a large tree, di-celly in front of the Farmers' Hotel, the headquarters f the pro-slavery men of this town. The grave is dug f the pro-slavery men of this town. The grave is dug o the proper depth, and in the soil thrown up is thrust spade, indicative that the 'parrow cell' is waiting or its occupant. At the head of the grave stands a large chite marble slab, purchased at St. Louis at an extravaant price. Upon this slab is engraved the following :

Epitoph for Governor Reeder. Reader, pause! beneath this stone Lies A. H. Reeder-flesh and bone; Who, when living, for the sake of self, Mingled with great rascals like himself. Indians, rejoice? for unto you
He'll never more apply the screw;
But think of him, who robbed you here,
When he as judgment shall appear,
Satan will exclaim, with glee— Welcome, Reeder ! come with me.

This epitaph is dedicated to the Southern Democracy The secret of Reeder's unpopularity is in his recogniz-ing the Free State Legislature. The same threats which are made against Reeder are made against Gen. Lane, if he should enter Kansas again.'

ington Republican Association, last night, resolutions were unanimously passed in favor of the continuance of their organization on the principles of their old platvention. A committee was appointed to draft an ad-dress and resolutions congratulatory to the friends of freedom and Fremont, and urging upon them the importance of keeping up their organizations. Remarks were made laudatory of Col. Fremont, and expressive of gratification at his success in the free States; but the Association deemed it inexpedient at this time to make any Presidential nomination for 1860. It appears by the Secretary's report, that the Association published and circulated about 4,000,000 of documents during the campaign. There were 80 different kinds of pumphlets; among them 100,000 of Mr. Blair's letter, about 300,000 of Senator Sexard's, and 218,000 of Senator Sumner's, 143,000 Senator Wilson's, and 185,000 of Mr. Colfax's speeches, together with 165,000 of the Kausas Investigating Committee's Re-

Mary Ann Marinda, a colored girl, 13 years old, was brought before Judge Herrick, in Boston, on Mon-day, on a writ of habeas corpus, submitted by R. Morris, Esq., it being alleged that she was restrained of her liberty. She averred that her master had indented her to a Mr. Smith, for four years, and she had accompanied Mrs. Smith to Boston, four years since, to take care of an infant child. Her master died two years since, and remittances had since then been sent for support of her child. Mrs. Smith would not allow her to return to the relatives of her master, who had sent for her. Expressing a desire to leave that lady, she was told by the Court to go whithersoever she pleased.

VOTE OF THE CITIES. The vote of the leading North-

Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Cincinnati,	Buchanan, 88,222 40,799 5,458 11,212	Fillmore. 24,084 19,957 4,880 4,849	Fremont. 7,892 18,275 7,646 7,754
Total,	95,692	53,220	41,567

Buchanan has in these cities a majority of 905 over the combined vote of Fillmore and Fremont, while the vote of Fremont is 107,845 less than the combined vote

The vote at the Five Points, New York, was a follows: -Buchanan, 576! Fillmore, 13! Fremont, 17!
If it had not been for the Missionaries in that region,
Fremont's vote would probably have fallen below Fillmore's .- Boston Telegraph.

ANOTHER SOUTHERN OUTRAGE. Mr. Stannard, formerly of Connecticut, but for many years a resident of Norfolk, Va., ventured in that city to vote for Fremont. The fact became known, and Stannard was beset by a mob. He kept in the house for several days, and at last effected an escape in disguise to a vessel, in which be came home. If the inhabitants of Norfolk are to be judged by this incident, we think a little more yellow fever would do the city no harm.

LIBERIA. The African Repository for November to Liberia from the Rev. Mr. Seys, special agent to Liberia from the American Colonization Society, dated Monrovia, August 13, giving further information to that which had been previously received respecting the sickness among the emigrants on board the Elvira Owsa. Twenty-one of them were buried at sea. There were ninety-nine cases of measles, children and adults, and one hundred and twenty cases of diarrhoza. Two children died after the party arrived at Liberia.

CHICAGO, Nov. 18th. Our dates from Kansas are the 10th. Hayes, the murderer of Buffum was released by Judge Lecompte on the 8th, on his giving bail in the aum of \$10,000. Sheriff Jones was his bondsman. Gov. Geary ordered his re-arrest, but he had already escaped to Missouri. Gov. Geary has threatened to hold Marshal Donaldson responsible for the recapture of Hayes.

inst. Last Saturday twenty prisoners were taken at Hickory Point and found guilty of manslaughter. They were sentenced to five years' imprisonment at hard labor.

It is a big two yeard old, weighing 955 lbs. dress labor.

From the Edgefield (S. C.) Advertiser, Nov. 5.

Gen. Atomison upon Kannas. The following brief letter has some within our reach, and we claim the privilege of publishing it, not only to show the energy and true Southern feeling of our esteemed fellow-citizen, Mr. Fuller, but that our people may be encouraged to do something more yet for the Kannas cause. The Genseal, you will see, feels that one more broadside from the South will carry the debatable land. Mark the tow of his concise but emphatic note, and let us be aroused to one more exertion!

Platte City, Thursday, Oct. 9, 1856.

Dear Sir,—Your letter, together with the draft for \$138.40, has been received, and your instructions shall be followed. I will inquire diligently for the Edgefield boys. We have carried the elections in Kannas. The following brief it is no time for Southern men to relax their exertions. Now in the very moment to redouble our exertions. We must do it. If nee do our duly, Kansas will be stayed State in twelve Montils—a State either in or out of the Union.

D. R. ATCHISON,

B. M. Fried.

B. M. Fried.

Grand Celebration in Montreal.—The opening of the Grand Trunk Railroad, connecting the cities of Montreal and Toronto, and both with the sea, at Portland, was celebrated on Wednesday and Thursday of last week, at Montreal, with great magnificence, in which a large number of guests from Massachusetts and Mark the tow of his concise but emphatic not more broadside from the South will carry the debatable land. Mark the tow of his concise but emphasic land. Mark the tow of his concise week, at Montreal.—The opening of the Grand Trunk Railroad, connecting the cities of Montreal and Toronto, and both with the sea, at Portland, was celebrated on Wednesday and Thursday related in Wednesday and Thursday related in Wednesday and Thursday and Health and Toronto, and both with the sea, at Portland, was celebrated on Wednesday and Thursday for Mall and Toronto, and Mark the city disk method to which a large number of guests from Massachusetts and Mark Grand Celebration in Montreal.-The open

Extraordinary Dramatic Feat.—Last Saturday evening, Mr. John Brougham, of considerable dramatic elebrity, performed the extraordinary and unprecedented feat of appearing in two distinct plays, in two separate theatres, one in New York, the other in Philadelphia, supported by his excellent company. The announcement of the fact attracted an overlitted plan, sacrificed to Ruffinnism and Slavery? The programme is already drawn, the actors have already begun to move in their parts, and the drama will be completed, not in four years, but, according to this prediction, in one year? 'We have carried the election in Kansas!' That which has been done once may be done again, and will be done. 'The new Governor gives satisfaction!' The President's recent change in the Governorship was but the substitution of one name for another—Geary for Shannon—while every thing

else still remains the same as before. And the change of Presidents will be but a similar change of names! Thus every prospect is reported to be favorable, and the word is, 'If we do our duty, Kansas will be a slave State in twelve months!'—N. Y. Independent. or ossined, turned to some, and he is not capable of making the slightest movement, except alternately opening and shutting two fingers of his right hand his body is as rigid as iron, and it could not be ben forward or backward without breaking some of his bones. This singular process of ossification has beer going on in his system for more then twenty years lie is now about 46 years old, and has not had the use of his limbs to that the assistance. ist inst., has reached us. It has been re-established by of his limbs, so that he could walk, since he was 19.

Dialogue between two Distinguished Gentle men.—Southerner—' We of the South give the North statesmen; you give us wooden nutmegs.' Northerner—' Well, the exchange is not so far from even; the statesmen are about the same quality as the nutmegs.'- N Y. Evening Post.

The New Webster Helmet .- Fletcher Webster, who owes service to Mr. Buchanan from 'a lively sense of benefits expected,' seems determined to Gov. Renders's Grave. A Kansas correspondent of the New York Times gives the following instance of the malignity of the Border Ruffian spirit: ing Kansas. With regard to that damaged gentleman I will not justify the assault, but if I had made the speech, I should have taken care to put an iron pot o A very natural suggestion, Master Fletcher, for pudding-head.—Ibid.

A Fremonter in Newton, just before election, purchased a fine cheese, to be gone into of the news of Fremont's election. He has had it secure ly hoxed up, to be opened in 1860. It is only a questio of time with that cheese.

Another Haul .- The Independent Republi Another Haul.—The Independent Republi-can, published at Point Pleasant, Mason county, Va., says: 'The abolitionists have made another haul from this place. On Saturday night last, six slaves, five of them (a wöman and four children) belonging to Dr. S. G. Shaw, and a negro man belonging to Mr. Wm. S. Serrett, left for a free territory. From the manner in which these slaves escaped, we have no doubt that they had assistance from this side of the river. We have abolitionists among us and how long will one cit. have abolitionists among us, and how lang will our ci izens submit to these depredations on their property?

Appropriate Employment for Fillmoreites .-The Louisville Journal says, with an air of exults

· Four negroes, who escaped from this neighborhor were brought back yesterday by three citizens of Indiana. Two of the negroes belonged to Mr. Richard Washington, Nov. 16. At a meeting of the Wash- American. We hardly need add, that the three Indi

An Invitation .- A correspondent writes from London: 'If Mr. Preston S. Brooks should venture to visit London, I have an idea that his reception would equal that given to the butcher Haynau by Barelay & Perkins's draymen.'

A writer in the New York Evening Post

proposes an epitaph for the tombstone of Erastus Brooks :--Hic Jacet. (Here he LUES.)

Senator Douglas, it is reported, will this conth lead to the altar the beautiful Miss Cutts, the reigning belle of Washington.

Married, at Bridgewater, Conn., Sept. 28 Mr. B Mallet to Miss Mary Warner; also, on the same evening, in an adjoining neighborhood, Mr. Ste-phen Partridge to Miss Maria Λ. Andrus. Mrs. Mallet died four days after marriage, aged 20, and Mrs Partridge 24 days, aged 26.

Bodies Recovered .- The Chicago Democratic Press learns from a clerk of the Traveller, that up to the time of her leaving there, Thursday morning, seventeen bodies had been recovered, washed ashore from

Meeting of the Electoral Colleges .- The Presidential Electors, chosen on the 4th instant, will be called by the Governors of the States to meet in each State capitol on the first Wednesday in December, and cast their vote, and choose a messenger to carry it seal ed to Washington. On the second Wednesday of Feb ruary, the returns will be counted by Congress, and de-

St. Louis, Nov. 12 .- Later from Kansas .-A letter to the Democrat, dated Lawrence the 8th, says that fifteen of the free State prisoners had been acquitted, but that three of them were re-arrested on the charge of robbing the post-office.

Rev. Mr. Conway, who was dismissed from his pasteral charge at Washington on account of his anti-slavery views, has been temporarily engaged by the Unitarian Church in Cincinnati.

Four volumes of Theodore Parker's works have appeared in German, together with a vol-ume of hymna suggested by his writings. Mr. Strickland, who was banished from

Mobile by the mob for selling anti-slavery publications, has resumed business at Milwaukie, Wis. The Legislature of Vermont, by a vote of 120 to 87, laid upon the table a bill appropriating money for the aid of the suffering poor of Kansas, formerly 'citizens of Vermont.'

The Reason .- In the Ninth (Illinois) Con-The Reason.—In the Ninth (Illinois) Congressional District there are 11,486 persons, of adult age, who can neither read nor write. Of these, 10,987 are of native birth, and 199 of foreign birth. And in this benighted district, Buchanan has 10,000 majority! In Winnebago county, where the last census shows but sine persons who could not read nor write, Fremont has a majority of 3200. Ignorance is no more the mother of Crime than it is the prop of Slavery.

The Chicago Press of the 7th inst. an nonnees the death, at Channabon, Ill., of Miss Eliza-beth J. Eames, well known as a meritorious contribu-tor to the monthly magazines.

A collision has occurred in Clinton val ley, Meudiano county, between the whites and a party of Indian cattle thieves. Fifty of the latter were killed,

escaped to Missouri. Gov. Geary has threatened to hold Marshal Donaldson responsible for the recapture of Hayes.

Nov. 19th. Advices from Lawrence are to the 10th vited to be present.

Collision and Loss of Life at Sea.—The French iron series steamer Le Lyonnais, which left New York on the 1st inst. for Havre, with 150 souls on board, was run into on the night of the 2d, hy an unknown vessel, and abandoned the next day. Forty persons took refuge on a raft, and the rest in five boats, two of which sunk, and two-thirds of their passengers were drowned. The boat of the second mate, containing sixteen persons, was fallen in with, several days afterwards, by a vessel bound to Bremen, and fourteen of the saved were thence transferred to an inward bound barque, and taken to New York. This is the only boat the saved from. Collision and Loss of Life at Sea .- The

If It seems that the vessel that came into co It seems that the vessel that came into collision with the French steamer Lyonnais was the barque Adriatic, from Belfast, Me., bound for Savannah and thence for Marseilles. Those on board the Adriatic say that they had no idea that the steamer was damaged materially, as she went on her way apparently uninjured. The Adriatic now lies at Gloucester, Mass., whither she put back for repairs, her bowsprit and cutwater having been carried away.

Another Dreadful Shipwreck .- A despatch tians, it has shown their Redeemer crucified afresh is

Another Dreadful Shippereck.—A despatch from Detroit of Nov. 14 says—

The steamer Superior was lost in a storm on Lake Superior, on the 29th ult., near Grand Island. Her rudder was carried away, and she becoming unmanageable, fell in the trough of the sea, when the water commenced making over her, despite the efforts made to prevent it, extinguishing the fires. She struck on the rocks, and went to pieces. Thirty-fire persons were lost, and sixteen saved.

The names of the lost were as follows:—H. J. Jones, Captain; Wm. Norris, clerk; Wm. Robinson, second clerk; Henry D. White, steward; Jeff. Warner and Wm. Welch, bar-keepers; Mr. Max, second engineer; Jos. McLaughlin and Thomas Jones, wheelmen; Henry Barnes, second mate; Alexander Barney, John Smith and John ——, (colored.) deck hands; Alexander and Thomas Weris, waiters; Harriet, (colored.) stewardess; Alexander and Robert, (colored.) cooks; Burd, sailor; Stephen Winter and four sisters, of Ontanagon; Margaret Foster, of Casa county, Mich.; Wm. Sisson, of Indianapolis, and Wm. Rowe, passengers.

The Election Riots in Baltimore.-There were eighty-eight persons wounded in the late election riots in Baltimore, of whom five have since died.

A Long Widowhood .- Mrs. Purdy, of Spencer, is now 105 years old, hale and hearty, and relates anecdors of the Revolution with all the ardor of youth. Her husband was killed in that war, and she has remained a widow 83 years.

Near Rocky Point, in Greenbrier Co. Va., on Thursday week, at the residence of Wm. T. Mann, George Fox, about 15 years old, was instantly killed and partly eaten up by a large pet bear, belong-

Jews .- There are in the United States about a quarter of a million Jews, and between eighty and ninety synagogues. New York city alone has 30,000 Jews and twenty synagogues.

Three fugitive slaves passed through this city on Thursday, on their way to Canada by the ald of the 'underground railroad.'—Cincinnati Gaz., David Stearnes, of Tremont, Sandusky

conniy, Ohio, to all appearances died on the afternoon of the 8th inst. Arrangements were made, and the friends and the clergyman were assembled to pay the last tribute of respect to the supposed deceased, when the body ap-peared warm to the touch. Restoratives were admin-istered, and in a few minutes the man, who had come so near being buried alive, was sitting up. He is no in a fair way of recovery.

A Free Family .- The three brothers Washburn are all re-elected to Congress from their respective districts in Maine, Illinois and Wisconsin.

had serenades of delightful vocal music, from the German Orpheus Glee Club of this city. He was in Cambridge, at the residence of Prof. Longfellow, and the Club chartered two cars, and went out about 10 o'clock. On their return from the residence of Prof. Longfellow the Club serenaded Mr. Burlingame, at the residence of Isaac Livermore, Esq., where they were invited to partake of refreshments; but they declined the invitation, on the ground that their company was so nume rous they did not want to crowd the house.—Tele graph, 18th.

Death of Judge Hopkinson .-- We regret to learn that Thomas Hopkinson, formerly Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and for the last six or eight years, President of the Boston and Worcester Railroad Corporation, died at his residence in Cambridge on Monday. Mr. Hopkinson had been out of health for a long time, and had recently visited Europe with the hope of obtaining relief by travel. The deceased, by a life of integrity and usefulness, had endeared himself to all with whom be came in confact. with whom he came in confact. His death will be la-mented by a large circle of friends in this city as well as in Lowell, where he formerly resided. His age was about sixty years. — Boston Journal.

# The friends of Peace and Universal Brotherhood are

invited to meet in Convention in the city of Worcester, Mass., on SATURDAY and SUNDAY, Nov. 29 and 30, to consider the subject of overcoming evil with good, or what is technically called Non-Resistance. The meeting to commence on Saturday, at 2 o'clock, P. M. It is expected that WM. LLOYD GARRISON, ADIN BALLOU and others will be present and address the meeting.

In issuing this call, the Executive Council of the Hopedale Quarterly Conference are actuated by no mo tive but a sincere desire to promote the cause of Truth and Righteousness in the world. They would therefore earnestly hope that it may be responded to by a prompt and general attendance of all who are interest- Sylvanus

Come, ye veterans, who, through evil as well as good report, have ever remained true and faithful, we wish you to cheer us by your presence. Come ye, who in the hour of weakness have been seduced into the Golgotha of politics by the specious sophisms of the devotees of expediency. Come, ye who are hoping for a brighter future for mankind, when there shall be no more war. nor strife, nor oppression, nor misery in the world. Let us see if we have not something to do in hastening forward the time. Come, ye who are opposed to us; our platform will be free to every one who, in a spirit of courtesy and cander, wishes to occupy it. And may the spirit of truth and love there baptize us with its own heavenly influences, removing from our hearts every evil passion, and making us more worthy to bear aloft the standard of ' Peace on earth, and good will to

The sessions of the Convention will be held in the Horticultural Hall.

By order of the Council, W. W. COOK, Chairman.

TIFE ILLUSTRATED. - A PIRST-CLASS FAMILY NEWSPAPER, designed to encourage a spirit of Hope, Manliness, 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-s 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. 808 Brondway, N. Y., and 142 Washington, street, Boston

The Scientific American says: 'It is of large size and faultiess typography. Almost every branch of hu man knowledge is treated by able writers.' R. I. Reformer says: 'It is the most beautiful weekly in the Union,' The Randolph Whig says: 'Life Illustrated is one of the purest, highest toned publications printed in New York city.' The Cambria Tribune says: 'Beyond all peradventure, the nealest paper in the Union, and, to our mind, the best for the family circle.'

A new volume just commenced. Subscribe now. Nov. 14.

DISAPPOINTMENT. In consequence of an error in the time-tables of the Pathander for November, and also of misinformation at the depot, we lost the train on Saturday evening for Georgetown, and, consequently, were not able to be present at the meetings of the Es County Anti-Slavery Society in that place on Sunday last-much to our regret, though not owing to any remissness on our part.

n last week's LIBERATOR, for 'State Central Committee of Education,' read . State Central Com

THE TWENTY-THIRD National Anti-Slavery Bazaar Vill be held as usual in BOSTON, during Christs and New Year's Week. (Time and place of opening to be decided hereafter.)

The Anti-Slavery cause has at length, after a quarte of a century of labors, taken possession, in one form canother, of almost every mind in our American com munity. To men of great sympathies, it has shown the sufferings of the slave; to men of a profound sense of right, it has shown his wrongs; to men whose hope is in another life, it has shown him deprived of Bibles 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. patriots, it has shown their country's shame and danger. To politicians, it has shown one most selfish and accursed interest devouring every true one. To Chris the persons of these the least of his brethren. To philanthropists, it has shown human nature degraded and ruined in the person of both master and slave, by the outrages of the one against the liberty of the other.

The function of the undersigned, whose privilege during all these years it has been to give themselves to the work, has been to arouse their countrymen to the necessity of taking an onward and upward step with the advancing century. We print books, sustain news papers. 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 slavery. 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, WITHOU EXCEPTION; for the power and beauty of this Cause i 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 Abolitionists in Congress, help us; for our funds go directly to arouse the sensibilities of every patriot, politician, statesman, legislator, elector. By our precept and example of No Union with SLAVEHOLDERS, we lead the van of a national movement towards the abolition 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 worthler 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 188 Nassau street. New York. MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

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

## TREASURER'S REPORT

Of Receipts, from August 4 to November 14, 1856. From Anna Gardner, Nantucket, \$0 50 Andrew T. Foss, for his collections at Weymouth, 8 56 FREE AND SLAVE STATES. harles Follen, Brookline, to redeem pleden Otis G. Cheever, Sheldonville, to redeem pledge, 5 00
Francis Jackson, to redeem pledges made at Annual Meeting and N. E. Convention, 400 00
S. May, Jr., for proceeds of A. S. Fair at Wor-

8. May, Jr. for collections : Donation by Lydia S. Andrews, Pledge redeemed by Rachael Smith, Lynn, Pledge redeemed by Mrs. M. M. Brooks,

Concord,
Donation by S. Whitmore, Lynn,
Do. M. B. Pierce, Abington,
From proceeds A. S. Fair, Abington, through E. Sprague, by hand of S. May, Jr., G. Draper, Hopedale, to redeem pledge, Sylvanus Smith, E. Boston, to redeem

pledge, Warren Delano, Fair Haven of S. May, Jr.,
Darius M. Allen, Westminster, to redeem pledge, by hand of do.
C. F. Hovey, to redeem pledges made in January and May,
John T. Hilton and Alfred G. Howard, to be held and applied to specified 200 00

250 00

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer Mais. A. S. Society. Brookline, Nov. 14, 1856.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Receipts into the Treasury. Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, donation,
A counsellor of London, (Eng.) by the hand
of Thomas Sturge, Eeq.,
Stephen S. Foster, from Worcester Co. A. S.
S. donation £100 S., donation, \$7 00
Joseph A. Howland, North Division do. do. 8 18
Charles F. Hovey, to redeem his pledge, 100 00 Also, collections by Parker Pillsbury : At Leominster, Mass.,

Haverhill, "
Springfield "
Western Anti-Slavery Society, Ohio, Pennsylvania do. Also, for Tract Fund : Jacob H. Ela, Rochester, N. H., Dr. H. O. Stone, Framingham, Mass., FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS!

WOMAN'S RIGHTS!

The Seventh Annual Woman's Rights Convention will meet at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on Toesday and Wednesday, November 25 and 25, commencing Tuesday, at half past 10, A. M. LUCERTIA MOTT, WENDELL PHILLIPS, ELIZABETH JONES, Rev. T. W. HIGGINSON, FRANCIS D. GAOR, Rev. Mr. WASSON, Mrs. C. I. H. NICHOLS of Vermont, ERMENTINE L. ROSS, Rev. S. J. MAY, SUSAN B. ANTHOXY, HORACE GREELEY, LUCY STONE and other speakers are engaged.

On behalf of Central Committee,

PAULINA W. DAVIS, President.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

Friends visiting New York can find accommodation at Dr. WELLINGTON'S, 34 East Twelfth street, cor ner of University Place. Board by the day or week on the most reasonable terms. WATER CURE.

DR. WELLINGTON, 84 East Twelfth street, corner of University Place, New York, has enlarged and improved his house, and it now presents attractions and dvantages found in no other establishment in this country. Call and see. Board by the day or week. New York, Nov. 21, 1856.

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-SLAVERY SOCIETY, will attend Conventions to be holden as follows:—

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 Peru, (Quaker neighborhood,) Clinton Co., Sunday,

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

Potsdam, St. Lawrence Co., Thursday and Friday Dec. 11 and 12.
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 continue by adjournment through that and the day following.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Rev. JOHN T. SARGERT will speak at Providence, on Sunday, November 23, in the regular course of Anti-Slavery Lectures, afternoon

SALLIE HOLLEY will lecture on Slavery in the

Homer, Saturday, Nov. 22, 64, P. M. Ithica, Tuesday, Nov. 25, 54, P. M. Immansburgh, Thursday, Nov. 27, 64, P. M.

The next lecture of the course before the Salem Female. Anti-Slavery Society will be delivered on Sunday evening next, Nov. 23, in Lyceum Hall, at 7 o'clock, by William Lloyd Garrison.

WM. WELLS BROWN will read his Anti-Slavery Drams at the following places :-Town Hall, East Abington, Monday eve'g, Nov. 24. Rogers's Hall, S. Weymouth, Tuesday 25. Joppa, East Bridgewater, Wednes. 26. Thursday, " " Raynham, South Dedham, Friday.

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

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'Champions of Freedom,' in which will be presented the portraits, drawn from daguerreotypes taken expressly for the purpose, of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS. THEODORE PARKER.

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The North and the South.

A STATISTICAL VIEW OF THE

CONDITION OF THE

By HENRY CHASE and CHARLES W. SANBORN. Compiled from Official Documents.

12 mo., bound in cloth ...... Price 50 cents. If any one wishes to know what Slavery has done for the South, and Preedom for the North, let him read this masterly work. Let him study these figures. Place a copy of these statistics in the hands of every voter, and our word for it, Republicanism will sweep the entire North in 1860 as clean as it has sweept New England in 1856. Men of the South! we beg you to look calmly and dispassionately at this array of figures, and see what they portend.

The able editor of the Evening Transcript, Boston, speaks thus of this work: any one wishes to know what Slavery has done for

speaks thus of this work : 'This little book contains a vast amount of informa-tion respecting the comparative condition of the slave-holding and non-slaveholding States—as to territory, population, intelligence, religion, moral advancement, and general progress. The work must have cost a great deal of laborious research, and it certainly presents arguments in favor of freedom on every page. It con-tains just the kind of information that should be more generally known in all sections of the country. We hope there will be a public demand for thousands of

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In next (winter) term of this institution will commence on Thursday, the 6th day of November.

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or wards under salutary moral and social influences
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Gone to pay the landlord tribute, Gone to pay the active carrier, Gone to pay the faithful mailer,

### POETRY.

From the Western Reserve Chronicle. KANSAS LAWS. BY CROAKER.

An Act to punish offences against Slave Property.

SEC. I. Be it enacted by our noble band Of Border Ruffians, (bowie-knife in hand,) That should a sneaking Yankee from the East Come here, and dare to meddle, in the least, With any of our niggers, and incite The darkeys to resist our sacred right; Then, whether they be niggers black as night, Or those in whom we've mix'd a little white, Whether they wear the chains of slavery, Or have the sad misfortune to be free, Any Missourian, happening to be here. May cut that Yankee's throat from ear to ear.

SEC. II. If Northern whites, pretending to be free, Shall aid our slaves to gain their liberty, Or furnish rifle, cannon, shot, or shell, To help them send their masters-back to hell, Then some good friend of order and of law. Around the traitors' necks the hemp shall draw.

If any Yankee, in this Territory, Shall circulate an abolition story. That tends to make the happy, well-fed slave Begin to think his master is a knave; And when he feels the lash, to sparl and pout, Until, at length, he e'en presumes to doubt Our right to trade in human flesh and bones : Then brave Stringfellow, or the gallant Jones, Or Atchison, or any man of note, May cut his cursed anti-slavery throat.

If any notion-pedler shall induce A nigger from his master to cut loose, And slope for Cauada-shall aid his flight, And thus deprive the master of his right-Shall coux the silly darkey thus to flee, With horrible intent to make him free, He shall be guilty of Grand Larceny : And, if we catch him, on a gallows high Th' infernal abolitionist shall die, Or toil ten years in prison, with a throng Of thieves and robbers, should he live so leng.

· WORDS OF PAITH.' Translated by William H. Channing from the Ger man of Schiller.

Three words I atter of princely worth; They are the wide world's treasure, Yet never on earth had they their birth, And the spirit their depth must measure ; Man is rained-poor-forlorn-When his faith in these holy words is gone.

Man is free created-is free-Though his cradle may be a prison ; Mobs are no plea for tyranny, Nor rabble bereft of reason. Fear not the free man ; but tremble first Before the slave when his chain is burst.

And virtue,-is virtue an empty sound? Man's life is to follow her teaching : Fall as he may on the earth's rough ground, To the godlike he still may be reaching. What never the wise by his wisdom can be, The childlike becomes in simplicity.

And God, in holy, eternal love, Reigns, when humanity falters ; Through limitless being his energies move ; His purpose of good never alters ; Though changes may circle all matter and time. God dwells in the peace of perfection sublime. Oh, trust in these words of mightiest power;

They are the wide world's treasure ; Through ages they've been man's richest dower, And the spirit their depth must measure. Never is man of good bereft, If faith in these holy words is left.

THE THREE VOICES. What saith the Past to thee? Ween Truth is departed, Beauty bath died like the dream of a sleep.

Love is faint-bearfed : Trifles of sense, the profoundly unreal, Scare from our spirits God's holy ideal ; So, as a funeral-bell, slow and deep, So tolls the past to thee. Weep ! How speaks the Present Hour? Act!

Walk, upward glancing. So shall thy footsteps in glory be tracked, Slow, but advancing.
Scorn not the smallest of daily endeavor. Let the great meaning ennoble it ever, Droop not o'er the efforts expended in vain-Work as believing that labor is gain. What doth the Future say? Hope ! Turn thy face sunward,

Look where light fringes the far rising slope, Day cometh onward. Watch ! though so long be the twilight delaying, Let the first sunbeam arise on thee praying; Fear not ! for greater is God by thy side. Than the armies of Satan against thee allied

THE STATUE OF FRANKLIN IN BOSTON.

BY JAMES T. PIELDS. Give welcome to the sculptured form ! Art's splendid triumph here is won ; Thus let it stand, in light and storm,

Our sea-girt city's greatest son. His lineage sprung from honest toil, Swart Labor trained his youthful hand ; High with the brave who freed our soil,

Where first he breathed, let FRANKLIN stand. His genius stamped the Press with power ; His glance the glowing future saw : His science curbed the fiery shower ; His wisdom stood with Peace and Law.

The world his story long has shrined-To Fame his spotless deeds belong-His homely Truth, his ample Mind, His Saxon hate of Human Wrong.

Room for the grey-haired patriot-sage ! For here his genial life began ;-Thus let him look from age to age, And prompt new Thought ennobling Man.

PROVIDENCE

Just as a mother, with sweet pious face, Yearns towards her little children from her seat, Gives one a kiss, another an embrace, Takes this upon her knees, that on her feet : And while from actions, looks, complaints, preter She learns their feelings and their various wills. To this a look, to that a word, dispenses, And, whether stern or smiling, loves them still ;-So Providence for us, high, infinite.

Makes our necessities its watchful task, Hearkens to all our prayers, helps all our wants, And, even if it denies what seems our right, Either denies because 'twould have us ask, Or seems but to deny, or in denying grants.

There is one haven, where all may find A perfect rest from the wave and wind.

# THE LIBERATOR.

PORMATION OF PREEDOM CLUBS. Boston, Nov. 11th, 1856. FRIEND GARRISON

Now that the election is over, and men begin to relapse into the regular treadmill channels of business, i is worth while for those of us who feel a real interes in the subject of elavery to look about and see what can be done next. For the first time, the naked subject of freedom or slavery, divested of all questions of bank or tariff, which have been wont to envelop the platforms of political parties, has been presented to the people; and it is to me a most encouraging sign of the times, that we have a majority of all the intelligent voters of the free States on the side of freedom. Great interest is felt in the subject; throughout New England, particularly, it is the theme of convergation every where. On the steamboat, in the railroad car, and in the business marts, wherever you see a knot of men conversing with earnestness, you can guess with a tolerable degree of certainty at the subject of their re-

It seems to me that this gwakened state of the public mind ought to be encouraged; that the important subject of freedom every where ought to be constantly agitated, until slavery is abolished. It is for the purpose and the first martyr in the Revolution,) can now, in of making a suggestion as to the means of doing this, 1856, peaceably parade the streets of Cincinnati, withthat I ask a little space in THE LIBERATOR.

I wish to suggest the formation in every New Engevery subject affecting in any way the real interest of year passed that Cincinnati was not disgraced by mobs that large class of our fellow-beings whose groans are against the colored people and their white friends. accusing us of wickedness every day that slavery is a full equality with man, and the only condition of as to defy law, and hold possession of the city for seve membership be, a real devotion to the cause. I know ral days." it will not be easy to start a club of this kind in villages which contain but few anti-slavery men, but we citizens whose prowess during several of these out must not ask whether it is easy, only whether it is de- breaks saved many families from outrage and violence sirable. If the work is a good one, never let us doubt that it can be accomplished. Let any who doubt, look with 'South-side views,' deemed knowledge in the head, at the noble result of your labors, in the face of every the love of liberty in the heart, and weapons in the

opportunity to bear his testimony against it. We do so warmed into action the colored men and women also not know how great fruits some little word of truth that their record now is indeed one to be proud of, ex-

In concluding, I desire to express the high esteem I frage and its consequent advantages. entertain for you, for your noble devotion to the cause of the down-trodden. I do not agree with you that the pating as a freeman and a brother in the Oberlin Fre cause of the slave can best be subserved by withholding mont procession, as contrasted with the expression of our votes, but I honor you for your unswerving fideli- sadness and despair depicted on his countenance as the ty to your convictions.

#### LABORS IN MICHIGAN.

YPSILANTI, (Mich.) Nov. 4, 1856. FRIEND GARRISON :

Perhaps it may not be uninteresting to you to hear some little account of my journeyings and labors in slavery movement. this Western State.

spoken whenever and wherever I could find opportuni- improve the character and condition of the free people ty for the down-trodden. I aim as much as possible of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relamanifested to hear upon the subject of universal eman- manded. I am sorry to say that I find in some places a new

They said the meeting was free to preach God, Christ, your Christ-my spiritualism may be of the kind that caused some little sensation, and some of the leading Spiritualists were quite disturbed, hoping that no man's right. one would be so unwise as to speak upon any subject which should disturb the harmony of the meeting. Another thought it would be very wrong to touch upon politics in a religious meeting. Slavery, and the oppression of woman, were political matters entirely, and in a spiritual meeting, quite out of place. What they wished to do was to build up Spiritualism, and very and colorphobia care nothing for precedent or the spirits would take care of all other things. . Why. rights; it substitutes caprice for the one, and might for said one, 'would you set the negroes all free, in their the other. ignorance? The spirits say it would not do.' So, my friend, I found that Spiritualism, like Congregationalism, and Methodism, and Churchism of all kinds; could not speak for human freedom, so earnest is it to build up a sectarism.

This meeting was in the town of Dundee, some 24 ent kind of Spiritualism as I pass along through the

I had a very good audience in that region, after the Spiritualist meeting adjourned, who listened to me upon the subject of Woman's Rights, and next Sunday I expeet to speak upon Slavery in the same vicinity. Yours for the truth,

A RECENT TOUR IN OHIO. NO. IL. DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

So much has been written during the past few years in commendation of the enterprise and prosperity of the colored citizens of Cincinnati, as to leave no niche for me to occupy other than a hearty endorsement of the tributes thus bestowed.

Ball's magnificent Daguerreau Salcons are yet in

R. S. Duncanson's studio contains many production from his pencil, both portrait and landscape, well worthy the attention of artists and connoisseurs. His most recent composition, 'The Land of Beulah,' on which he has been engaged for eighteen months, is 4½ feet by 6, and is so happy in conception, so admirable in detail and embodiment, that the spectator almost imagines himself actually in the scene it portrays. A plan was in progress for its exhibition and disposal by sharest being valued at \$1000. The friends of the artist are anticipating a triumph beyond this, however, in a series derout graitfund that he had been stolen away from a heathen land.' thy the attention of artists and connoisseurs. His most anticipating a triumph beyond this, however, in a series he is about commencing, in which will be blended some of the beauties of the \*Garden of Eden,\* presented by

him to Charles Avery, Esq., of Alleghany City.

Two colored men are proprietors of a large coal yard.

Two others have proved themselves such excellent coop-

ers, that they have been solicited to vacate their ow shop and accept situations with white fellow-craftsmen, where such an innovation a short time since would have been impossible.

One firm is competing successfully in the business of pickling and preserving epicurean articles for expor-

Colored marketmen and grocers are quite a featur John I. Gaines, as a bueiness man and a public-spi

ited citizen, has long exerted a leading and acknowl

edged influence among his brethren. aid of the Attucks Blues, a colored military company A splendid silk presentation banner spread its ampl folds to the gaze of visitors, alluding to which, one lady patroness, after expressing to me a degree of satisfac tion with the organization and its objects, yet confessed her regret that the American flag afforded no protection to the colored man. In substance, she embodies

the graphic lines of Campbell :-The white man's liberty in types Stands blazoned by your stars;
But what's the meaning of your stripes?
They mean your negroes' scars!

The fact that a colored soldiery, named in honor Crispus Attucks, (a colored man, be it remembered in a stone's throw of the slavery-cursed soil of Kentucky, stands out in vivid and bold contrast with the land village of a Freedom Club, for the discussion of trial hour of 1836. From that time to 1844, scarcely a Presses and types were thrown into the river, other permitted in the Union. Let these clots take broad property seized and destroyed, and persons maltreated, and liberal ground, let woman be admitted to them on the wild mob spirit being at times so general and strong I became acquainted with some prominent colore

These mobs were instigated by Northern men, who hands, as a combination of elements altegether too dan-This, it is true, is only one mode in which we can la- gerous to be possessed by colored Americans. But bor for the cause. Much can be done by individual since then, a redeeming spirit has been visible in this effort. Let every man who hates slavery take every as in other portions of the States, and its influence has hibiting as it does mechanical ingenuity, artistic skill I know of one club already forming for the objects I business attainments, moral development and mental have indicated, and if you think the subject worth a refinement, in a degree not surpassed by any State in place in THE LIBERATOR, I may hereafter give you the Union, an example to those other States where colored citizens are basking in the sunshine of equal suf-

> Anthony Burns's elasticity of spirit, when particiorganized mob of Boston military and officials dragged him down State street, en route to slavery, was no less significant than has been the change wrought in the public sentiment of this nation, as a gratifying result of that 'foolishness of preaching,' which for the last twenty-five years has characterised the radical anti-

Next to positive measures for the abolition of slave-I have been in this region about four weeks, and have ry, the early friends of the cause pledged themselves to to make my way into the back towns and counties of tion to their situation and rights, and obtain for them the State, where the Gospel of Freedom has not been equal civil and political rights and privileges with the often preached. You would be rejoiced, I am sure, my whites.' A persevering application of this same methdear friend, could you witness the interest which is od is, at this crisis in public affairs, imperatively de-See how readily the free North, as she is called, pro-

scribes her colored citizens ! There are but five Newobstacle in our pathway, in the form of modern spirit. England States where they can exercise the elective ualism. I have just attended a meeting of Spiritual. franchise. Twenty-two thousand, in the single State of ists, in company with a good friend of our cause, Sam. New Jersey, are not allowed to approach the ballotuel Moore, which held its ressions for two days. Friend box, and this prerogative of citizenship is denied to Moore announced me to the meeting as a Spiritualist, 52,000 in Pennsylvania. In Connecticut, the land of and as a lecturer upon the different reforms of the day, Blue Laws and steady habits, 7000 are yet excluded, mentioning Anti-Slavery and Woman's Rights in par. New York exacts of the colored man the possession of ticular, and asked if there would be freedom in that \$250 worth of real estate as the condition of votingmeeting for any one to speak, as he or she might feel a right so freely enjoyed and highly appreciated by evimpressed. Immediately the assent was given, and the ery white citizen, irrespective of the clime that gave meeting was pronounced free. Several persons gath- him birth. Indiana enacts that no colored man shall ered about me, one suggesting that I submit myself to come into or settle within her borders under heavy penspirit influence immediately. I told them that I made alties-the sums thus collected to be appropriated no preparation to that effect, but if they would give me colonizing him in Africa. Recently, seven colored men their attention, I would like to speak in my normal were arrested in Illinois under her Black Laws, which state. I then stated that for any thing I should say in render them liable to be sold, or, if fines are extorted, that meeting, I should be responsible, and that unless they are placed in the charity fund for the relief of perfect freedom was given, I could not address them. white paupers. At the recent election in Ohio, one colored citizen, an industrious mechanic and worthy man, and Spiritualism. But, said I, my Christ may not be possessing, too, the requisite proportion of aristocratic blood, being ready to verify his right, was not allowed works for humanity rather than God. This definition to deposit his ballot. The satanic press has been loud in denunciation of even his attempt to exercise a free-

Colored citizens have just been refused passports to foreign countries by the Assistant Secretary of State, and yet the precedent had been established in their favor by the granting of a passport, in the year 1834. to Robert Purvis, in 1836, to Rev. Peter Williams, and to some others more recently. But American pro-sla-

The colored citizens of Massachusetts, although more favored than those of every sister State, are yet proscribed by a statute military clause, and their names withheld from the jury roll. But these obstacles to their complete realization of citizenship will soon melt away under liberal legislation, as will also those of miles from Ypsilanti. I hope that I shall find a differ- greater magnitude in the States designated, if the friends of humanity, of whatever stripe or party, will but unite and manifest that sincerity of purpose, like the ancient Romans, with whom to proclaim war was to insure a triumph, to invade was to conquer.

The colored American confidently relies upon the nid of his friends, but will be ever zealous and progressive himself. His appeal to the community is not in the language of favor seeking, but 'Give us our rights -we ask nothing more.'

Boston, November, 1856.

#### 'A GRATEPUL NEGRO.' [Boston correspondence of the N. Y. Independent.]

Not long ago, many of the clergy here were in vited to meet Mr. Jonathan Cross, to hear from him interesting statements respecting the opportunity and the reasons for carrying on the distribution of the ascendent. One of the partners is now pursuing the business in the Pantheon Buildings, London.

religious publications in virginia and the partners is now pursuing the business in the Pantheon Buildings, London.

religious publications in virginia and the partners is now pursuing the partners in the partners in the partners is now pursuing the partners in the partners is now pursuing the partners in the partners in the partners is now pursuing the partners in the partners in the partners is now pursuing the partners in the partners in the partners in the partners is now pursuing the partners in the partner Henry Boyd's extensive Furniture Factory and Ware-house is another noticeable establishment. It occupies which, though well known to be rather liberal in buildings on both sides of the street, and furnishes employment to fifty-two hands, colored and white, who, with the assistance of steam power, manufacture every description of cabinet and upholstery work. Such is the present position of the proprietor, who was once a slave in Kentucky.

its political morality, somewhat funny in its squibs, and prodigiously democratic in its regard for white men of its own party, especially if they hold office, is not generally supposed to have quarrelled with the eighth commandment, nor to have espoused the great philanthropic and civilizing measure of slave-slave in Kentucky. buildings on both sides of the street, and furnishes em- its political morality, somewhat funny in its squibe lowing noticeable and pious paragraph :-

> A Grateful Negro. When Mr. Jonathan Cros devout gratitud beathen land."

Now this Democratic text certainly needs egesis. Does it mean that the stealing of men is a practice of such immense and overbalancing svangelical utility, as to take it out of the category of common thefts, and make it a matter of derout thankrgiving? If it does not mean this, what does it mean? The popular superstition has been hitherto, that it was even worse to rob a man of his liberty and of himself, than to rob him of his pooltry and of himself, than to rob him of his pooltry or his unbrella. But ethics are to be reformed. The organ of Democracy says that notion is all a fallacy. It is the pocket-books and the overcoats that make plunder a crime. Snatch away the whole live man, body and soul, crowd him between decks, let his wife and children shrick after him on the shore, chain him, transport him, drive him to a plantation, whip him to vice, convert him to a total subjection of his independence, educate him to ignorance, reform him to vice, convert him to moral and intellectual degradation,—and this will elevate crime to virtue: this will transfigure theft into a sacrament! this will turn piracy into piety! Stealing a butter-knife from a Democratic editor's kitchen sends a fellow to the House of Correction. Stealing a buman being 'away from heathen land' canonizes him, and transports him to Paradise. Larceny of spoons sends people to prison. Larceny of a child of God sends them to the places of thanksgiving and praise. Let the temple gates be thrown open, for those to ascend into the hill of the Lord, who have hunted, kidnapped, and sold their black brothers and sisters! Let the Gloria in Excelsis arise for the Pentecostal seasons of the middle passage! Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God, by having irons put on them to prevent their owners from plunging into the sea, in the agony and desperation of their conslavement. When a slave-ship comes into a Southete port, discharges her human cargo, and is seatuled and sank, to put ther out of sight, ought:

This is the language of Mr. Keitt, of South slavery, and through the nurture and training and distinguistion the sea, in the agony and desperation of their conslavement. When a slave-ship comes into a Southern port, discharges her human cargo, and is scuttled and sunk, to put her out of sight, ought not a 'note of thanks' to Divine Providence to be read in the metropolitan churches! An anthem should certainly be written,—as soon as the rehabilitation of art and science, which we hear so much of, lakes place in the slaveholding States—celebrating the Christian beneficence of the slavetrade—having for its key-note the testimony of this superannuated victim of the stultifying influence of bondage,—to be rolled over the plains and hills gro 'servant' (gentle suphonism.) 'more than a bundred years old,' 'poured forth his devont grati-tude' that he was 'stolen' from heathendom into a thievish Christendom !

#### APPALLING CASUALTY.

The British Banner of Oct. 24th, has an account running through from three to four columns, giving a narrative sketch of a late fearful calamity at the Surrey Gardens. The Banner says :-

The friends of the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon had taken the large concert-hall for four Sunday evenings; and the first service was arranged to be held on Sunday night last. It appears that as early as five o'clock, one hour and a half before the time and

heir way towards the gardens.

At six o'clock the doors were opened, and the three spacious galleries were filled: the orchestra was also densely crowded. By the time Mr. Spurgeon took his seat, notwithstanding the immense size of the place, there was not sufficient room for a dozen more to enter, and when the seats became filled, there were some two or three thousand persons who were content to stand in the passages, and there were considerably more standing on the green sward outside looking through the windows.

At about half-past six, Mr. Spurgeon ascended the pulpit, which had been specially erected at the south-west end of the hall, and commenced. In about a quarter of an hour, the attention of the the polpit, which had been specially erected at the south-west end of the hall, and commenced. In about a quarter of an hour, the attention of the immense audience was attracted by a slight tinkling sound, resembling that of a bell, and almost simultaneously cries arose in different parts of the building, "The galleries are giving way!" "Fire, fire!" "The place is falling!" It is needless to attempt to describe the effect those shouts had upon the audience. They rose en masse, and, as if electhe audience. They rose en masse, and, as if elec-trified, and apparently with one mind, made a desperate rush towards the various places of exit, New York Ecening Post, writes: every person endeavoring to save their own lives at the risk of sacrificing those of their fellow-creatheeffect of the labors of our eleverest Whigs. tures. The reverend gentleman, with his sten-torian voice, implored the excited multitude to keep against both Fremont and Fillmore, and the Fre-

As before stated, all the galleries were densely 2020. So much for Choate's work. Winthrop crowded, and of course the occupants of that part and Hillard took Boston under their protection of the hall were as much excited and alarmed as for Fillume's benefit; and here the vote for Fre those on the basement. When the cry was raised, mont is ahead of that for Filimore 3315, and 2198 an immediate rush was made to the staircase, which soon became throughd. The pressure from the people in the first gallery at the north-west sified Hunkerism, and even there Fremont has 58 of the building was so great that those nearest to the staircase were driven out by those press-ing behind with such terrible force, that the iron anisters, which were fixed into the stone staircase, and surmounted by a thick mahogany rail, were torn from their sockets, shivering to atoms the mahogany, and precipitating between fifty and sixty down the side of the staircase on the crowd low, killing some instantly, and tearfully wound-

The cries and shricks at this period were truly terrific, to which was added the already pent-up excitement of those who had not been able to make their exit. They passed on, treading furiously of miceses. Choste, winthrop & Co. Some extractover the dead and dying, tearing frantically at each themselves in shearing asses for long wool—(Fillother. Hundreds had their clothes torn from their more seeking electoral votes!) others (see over the dead and dying, tearing frantically at each other. Hundreds had their clothes torn from their backs in their endeavors to escape, masses of men and women were driven down and trodden over heedless of their cries and lamentations, men apheledless of their cries and lamentations. peared to care not for women, and women appear-to catch the wind; two kept watch on the top of a ed equally callous of their own sex, one object only tower, where they guarded the moon from the preservation. Some climbed over the galleries, and dropped upon the heads of those beneath them, others smashed out the windows, vainly endeavoring to escape by jumping out, to the injury of those below. All this time the pressure from those behind become continuous formula to the pressure from those behind become continuous formula to the pressure from those behind become continuous formula to the pressure from the pressu hind became greater and greater: many who would not otherwise have been injured were crushed by the surrounding multitude. Women and even strong men fainted, dropped upon the floor, and trodden over by those following them.

Notwithstanding the number that had fallen from the gallery, the crowd still pressed on to the stair-cases, and had it not been for the providential circumstance that there was an iron pillar supporting the end of the gallery, the loss of life must have been most awful. While this scene of de-vastation and terror was proceeding at the northwest end of the building, similar horrors were being enacted at all other outlets.
As soon as the shricks of the unfortunate creatures

who were suffering inside were heard by those who had obtained ingress into the gardens, but could not obtain admission into the hall, they made a desperate rush for the outer gates; but by a strange arrangement, they could find no means of getting outside the gates, they having been firmly closed, to prevent the great crowd, which had been contride all the average for the state of the state outside all the evening, from entering the gar-dens. Men, women and children were drawn and thrown over the iron railings, many of them being seriously injured in consequence. As soon as it was known by those outside that a terrible accident had occurred, the wildest rumors pre-

By this time, the greater portion of the audience had escaped from the hall, and, of course, with all precipitancy, made for the street. Those who had been fortunate enough to escape without injury assisted in bringing out their more unfortunate friends and companions, which at once realized assisted in bringing out their more unfortunate friends and companions, which at once realized the fact of the sad calamity to those outside, who, as quickly as possible, made their way toward the building, for the purpose of seeking their relatives and friends. All those who had the power to do

his murderous assault upon Mr. Sumner. Of course, it must be assumed that such a man has a wonderful regard for Christianity, and an intense desire to find some refuge for it in the awful perils that impend over it. So be glances over the world—over Europe and America—and after the most scrutinizing gaze, he beholds no point from which it is not about to be driven except the South, and there it is to reasse under the continuous continuo superannuated victim of the stultifying influence of bondage,—to be rolled over the plains and hills of 'free America,' and swelling into a 'general burst of joy.' When one of your fast clippers at New York is fully equipped for the business, with all the implements of confinement and torture, ought not the pro-slavery clergy to go down, and hold a farewell missionary service on board, previous to her setting sail, on her voyage of liberty and love! At the very least, see the absurdity of anybody's ever speaking of human oppression as an evil again; or of imagining that the slaves feel anything but holy comfort and religious complacency at 'their own position:' for has not one negro 'servant' (gentle cuphonism,) 'more than a gro 'servant' (gentle cuphonism,) 'more th idence in the continuance of slavery, that we had never imagined. Beneficent institution! amid all thy excellencies, we had never credited thee with opening a last prospective refuge for our holy re-There are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in our philosophy!'
This is a wonderful age. We live and learn.— Exchange paper.

> THE RESOLUTE. The New York correspondent of the Boston Transcript writes as follows :-

It is worth while, on one of these fine autumn days, to cross the river and take a look at the Resolute,' now only awaiting provisions and a crew to sail for England. You know the facts of nounced for the services to commence, thousands after thousands of well-dressed persons, including adventure. The 'Resolute' was abandoned by a large number of children, could be seen wending Sir Edward Beechy, when he gave up his vain Sir Edward Beechy, when he gave up his vain search, and, after drifting for fifteen months, was At six o'clock the doors were opened, and the hall, including the various balconies and side galleries, were speedily filled. The outer gates were then closed, leaving vast crowds of people both inside the gardens and also in the adjuining streets.

By five minutes after six o'clock the whole of the By five minutes after six o'clock the whole of the filized world, purchased the staunch and rescued craft for forty thousand dollars. She has been put in complete order, painted all over, inside and out; the articles found on board cleansed, repair-

It was with the associations of Dr. Kane's graphic narrative fresh in mind that I examined the 'Resolute.' Her double decks, thick and ironbound prow, and rudder made to unship with ease,

'PICTOR,' the Boston correspondent of the

and that the alarm was false. This assurance was repeated by the officials and others at every point of the building; but, unfortunately, it had no effect upon those to whom it was addressed. Those in the rear of the doors pressed heavily upon those in the rear of the doors pressed heavily upon those to whom it was addressed. Those in the rear of the doors pressed heavily upon those old Whig ideas made visible in vast factories and mont gain there has been about 30,000, perhaps in front, and carried all before them like a raging admirable dwellings-is 1838, and his majority 1653. The majority there against Buchanan wa

plurality over Buchanan, and 39 over Fillmore. The same gentleman tried his eloquence upon the people of Providence, and they gave Fremont a smashing majority, while the whole State of Rhode Island, through her liberal support of the good cause, added a new rose to the chaplet won for her by Perry and Greene. A clever carica-turist might find themes for his pencil in the fruitturist might find themes for his pencil in the fruit-less labors of these clover gentlemen in behalf of hunkerism. Rabelais, in Pantagruel, (lib. v., c. 22,) tells us of the employment of QueenWhim's officers, which were marvellously like the doings of Messrs. Choate, Winthrop & Co. Some extracttower, where they guarded the moon from the wolves, and they must have been Choate and Hillard keeping guard over the Union; others, (to conclude,) out of nothing made great things run to nothing,' and if they were not a set of honker Whigs making a fuss about disunion, after having destroyed the Whig party, what were they!

A POETICAL DUN.

Some friend,' says the National Intelligencer has sent us, under a blank cover, a copy of the subjoined very clever and very practical jeu d'esprit, and
addressed by the editor of the Methodist Protestant to
his delinquent subscribers. We copy the article simply
for the amusement of our readers; for, as Mr. Randolph used to say of his constituents, we have the best
and noblest set of subscribers that ever honored and
sustained a public journal. They, therefore, as a body,
need no such ingenious hint; but, should there be found
here and there an exceptional case, he is al liberty to
consider the Hiawathean oppeal addressed to himself: has sent us, under a blank cover, a copy of the subconsider the Hiawathean oppeal addressed to himself

Should you ask me why this donning, Why these sad complaints and murmurs, Murmurs loud about delinquents Who have read the paper weekly. Read what they have never paid for, Read with pleasure and with profit, Read of news both home and foreign, Read the essays and the poems, Full of wisdom and instruction; Should you sak us why this dunning, We should asset to the profit of the prof We should answer, we should tell you From the printer, from the mailer, From the prompt old paper-maker, From the landlord, from the carrier, From the landlord, from the carrier, From the man who taxes letters With a stamp from Uncle Samuel—Uncle Sam the rowdies call him—From them all there comes a message, Message kind, but firmly spoken.

Please to pay us what you owe us. Sad it is to hear such message. When our funds are all exhausted, When the last bank-note has left us. When the gold coin all has vanished, Gone to pay the paper-maker, Gone to pay the toiling printer,

# Gone to pay the faithful mailer, Gone-to pay old Uncle Samuel— Uncle Sam the rowides call him— Gone to pay the Western paper Gone to pay the Western paper Three and twenty hundred dollars! Sail it is to turn our ledger. Turn the leaves of this old ledger, Turn and see what sums are due us, Due for yournes long since ended, Due for years of pleasant reading. Due for years of toilsome labor, Due despite our patient waiting. Due despite our constant dunning. Due despite our constant dunning. Would you lift a burden from us? Would you drive a spectre from you? Would you drive a spectre from you? Would you faste a pleasant slumber? Would you taste a pleasant slumber? Would you have a quiet conscience? Would you read a paper paid for? Send us money, send us money, Send us money, send us money, SEND THE MONEY THAT YOU OWE IS! AYER'S

Are curing the Sick to an extent never before known of any Medicine, INVALIDS, READ AND JUDGE FOR TOURSELIES

JULES HAURI, Esq., the well-known perfuser of Cookies

To the Philadelphia, whose choice products arrived a time

Street Philadelphia, whose choice product an head of them over, oldet, says.—

"I aw happy to say of your Catharne Phila that has find them a better family medicine for common as that are the within my knowledge. Many of my friends hard any she within my knowledge. Many of my friends hard made benefits from them, and coincide with me in believing that they possess extraordinary virtues for driving out disness industry in sick. They are not only effectual, but ask as pleasan to taken—qualities which must make them valued by the pile when they are known."

when they are known."
The venerable Chancellor WARDLAW, write from history, 15th April, 1854,

"Da. J. C. Ayra. Sir: I have taken your Fils win pust benefit, for the litelessness, languor, loss of appetits win Bloom headache, which has of late years overtaken us in the son headache, which has of late years overtaken us in the spin headache, which has of late years overtaken us in the spin headache, which has of late years overtaken us in the spin country of the property of

doing."

JOHN F. BEATTY, Esq., Sec. of the Penn, Railread Co., my.,

"Pu. R. R. Office, Paladelphia, De. Line

"Sur: I take pleasure in adding my testimosy is the class of your medicines, having derived very material benefit from the use of both your Pectoral and Cathartic Pill. In mere who cut them in my family, nor shall I ever consent is b, which means will procure them."

means will procure them."

The widely renowned S. S. STEVENS, M. D., of Watterk, N. H., writes,—
"Having used your Carmaric Phils in my precise, levely from experience, that they are an invaluable purpose, it now of disordered functions of the inver, causign beats, allows of disordered functions of the inver, causign beats of the many contributions, and the great variety of disease that falls, they are a surer remedy than any other. In all case when a purgative remedy is required, I confidently recomment the public, as superior to any other I have see least They are sure in their operation, and perfectly side—quality which make them an invaluable article for public us. I have for many pears known your Cherry Potomia at the bod logd medicine in the world, and these Pills are in no wes inferir to that admirable preparation for the treatment of disease."

"Actor, M. No. 2, 102

"Dr. J. G. Avrz. Dear Sir: I have been afficied from no bird with acro' ala in its worst form, and now, after twenty part in, and an untold amount of suffering, have been complete; may be a few weeks by your Pills. With what feelings of robinity artice, can only be imagined when you realize what live selfent, and how long.

"Never until now have I been free from this bathsome dessen in some shape. At times it attacked my eyes, and nake no dimest blind, besides the unendurable pain: at others in estical in the scalp of my bead, and destroyed my hair, and has key to partly bald all my days; sometimes it came out in my fac, and kept it for months a raw sore.

the scalp of my security sometimes it came out in my security hold all my days; sometimes it came out in my security has a raw sore.

"About nine weeks ago I commenced taking your Orderic Pills, and now am entirely free from the complaint. My special well, my skin is fair, and my hair has commenced a bashing growth; all of which makes me feel already a new press.

"Hoping this statement may be the means of conviging information that shall do good to others. I am, with every sentiment of gratifinde,

Yours, &c.,

MARIA REKER."

"I have known the above-named Maria Ricker rougher dissood, and her statement is strictly true.

ANDREW J. MESERY.

Overseer of the Portsmouth Manufacturing Ca. 1

Overseer of the Portamouth Manufacturing (a.\*).

CAPT. JOEL PRATT, of the ship Marion, writes from Bota,

20th April, 1884, —

"Your Pills have cured me from a billous attack which use
from detrangement of the Liver, which had become very sense.

I had falled of any relief by my Physician, and from every
remedy I could try; but a few dones of your Pills have coupledy
restored me to health. I have given them to my childre for
worms, with the best effects. They were promptly cars. I
recommended them to a friend for costiveness, which had malled
him for months; he fold use in a few days they had curst ha.
You make the best mediciate in the world, and I am few to
say so."

You make the best medicine in the world, and I am few be may 20.7 at the form the distinguished Solicitor of the Supreme Out, whose brilliant abilities have made him well known, at only in this but the neighboring States.

"New Orders, 164 April 184. "State ." New Orders, 164 April 184. "State ." New Orders, 164 April 184. "State ." I have great satisfaction in assuring you that need and family have been very much benefited by your melans. My wife was cureft, two years since, of a server and disagrees tough, by your Cutener Pictonata, and since then his relegal perfect health. My children have several times been cured her attacks of the Influenza and Croup by It. It is as invalidation of the influenza and croup by It. It is as invalidation of the influenza and coup by It. It is as invalidation of the Influence which has grown upon me for some years: indeed, this cure is much never bortant, from the fact that I had failed to get relief from the set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had failed to get relief from the Set that I had set the Set that I had set the Set that I had set the Set that I had the

"Smale Chamber, Ohio, Jept'l Rt. 184.

"Dn. J. C. ATER. Honored Sir: I have make a thoreck rail of the Catmartic Prilas left me by your agent, and have less cured by them of the dreadful filternation under which is found me auffering. The first does relieved me, and a lee salesquent doses have entirely removed the disease. I for is been health now than for some years before, which I attribute sairely to the effects of your Catmartic Pills.

Yours with great respect,
LCCIS is METCALL".

The above are all from persons who are publicly known when hey reside, and who would not make these statements without a horough conviction that they were true. Unprincipled dealers may attempt to put you of with other ills, on which they make more profit. He not imposed upon by

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AND A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SETH CONCKLIN,

BY WM. H. FURNESS, D.D. DETER STILL was kidnapped in early childhood,

from the door-step of his home in New Jersy; for more than forty years he was a slave in Kennedy and Alabama; at last, he purchased his freedom by the slow account. and Alabama; at last, he purchased his freshen fy the slow accumulation of extra labor, and, returning a the region of his birth, found his yet surviving mother, and his numerous brothers and sisters, living in ast near Philadelphia. His wife and three children, under the pilotage of Seth Concklin, attempted to escape, but were recaptured at Vincennes, Induna. Peter inne-diately act. about collections the means for their pardiately set about collecting the means for their parchase. The sum demanded for them was exorbinated \$5000—and would have discouraged almost any other man than Peter Still. Yet the strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong social fedings are strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong social fedings are strong social fedings and the strong social fedings are strong soci and the energy of his race were strikingly manife in his untiring perseverance, which was crowned will success, and Peter had the unspeakable pleasure of bringing his household to a free home, where they call quietly enjoy their own fireside, free from the master's frown and the discount of the property of the property

quietly enjoy their own fireside, free from the frown and the driver's lash.

The writer of this narrative was a highly ettern teacher in the Female Seminary at Tuscumbis, Alala teacher in the Female Seminary at Tuscumbis, Alala ma, who had every opportunity to acquire a pressil knowledge of all the prominent facts and circumstated which she has narrated. We can promise the lever of exciting adventure very much in this volume to grainfy their taste: and all those who really desire to fall om the heights and deaths of their Injustic which is om the heights and depths of that Iniquity which is on the heights and depths of that Iniquity which is threatening the destruction of our Republic, may use to it in the assurance that they will find in it much the uable information, given with the strictest regard is truth.

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