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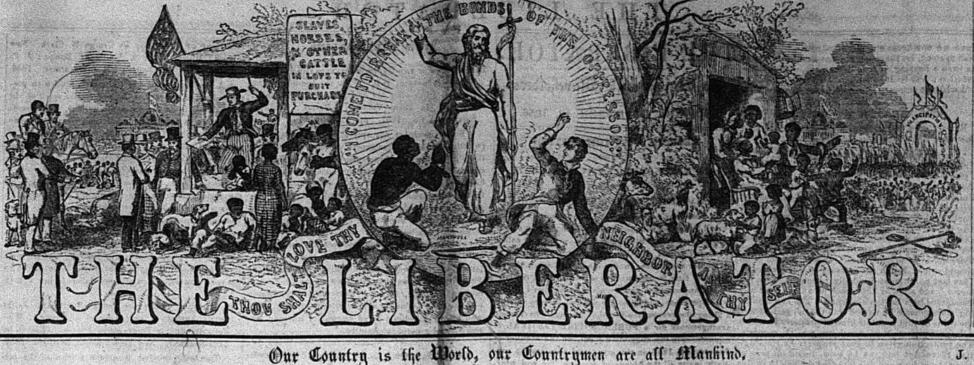
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All remittances are to be made, and all letters alms to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to Lineted, (FOST PAID,) to the General Agent. Theresements making less than one square inod three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, cania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-

brief to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial e, but are not responsible for any of the debts the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray EDNUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and

Mumns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of orf question are impartially allowed a hearing.



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

No Union with Slaveholders!

"Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade ; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURHENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES—AN engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons In fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed!... To call government thus con-stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THERRHY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-VATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.' - John Quincy Adams.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS

M. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 50.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1856.

WHOLE NUMBER 1353.

ROMANIST'S VIEW OF THE ELEC-TION.

The Freeman's Journal, Archbishop Hughes' orns New York, has given its opinion in relation the late election. It don't think much of Newbrind, speaks most contemptuously of her popuos, and lauds the adopted citizens, who have as such rational deeds in saving the Union. Men f Yes England, read what this print has to say ber which are your pride :-- ,

Wherever New Englandism predominated from his original barren home into newer and or sil-wherever the New England idea found leaner; There was to be seen sectionalism -there as latted engendered by the appeals of Par-Puliteians and Pulpit-Demagogues—there the verts and the Beechers lifted up their voices and satisfied the bitter blood of New England, and abstitut against the common Constitution. The ad and her allies against the country is to be seen a the rate of New York as contrasted in its Northand Southern divisions, as well as in the poras of Ohio. Michigan and other States peopled cetters of New England origin.

he fields to principle of the hative-born of the Wills and Southern States, of various races, largerisisted by the men of the emigration, has saved Henceforth no man who loves the sign will doubt the intelligence and devotion of signal clizens, for had they not stood in the gap som the torrent of New Englandism, the continuparof the Union of these States would have been an entitle; therefore, the out-pouring of malice report them is but the evidence of the extent of for errices—it constitutes their glory, and they contil as their reward. It is honor enough to well hated by those who hate the Union.

Yer Englandism has received a mortal blowpise much in the defeat of the sectional candihis as in the coloring of the new moral and pose can be traced for future warning. New Indiandism in its littleness is unfit to lead the satty. New England has never possessed more some idea at a tilme, and that she has always miais the ground. Her Puritanism was but a pittal despotism - under it there existed no ention for dissent. Disagreement with the solard, on even a minor point, was sure to lead thistart religious, social and civil excommunicain. Dough the other extreme—latitudinarian-in-his now been reached, when belief, even in be Dicaity of our Lord, is regarded as sential, yet New Englandism has changed in esme not an iota. There is always a one para-nant and exclusive idea in the New England and-and there is room for nothing else.

NICARAGUA AND SLAVERY.

he Richmond Enquirer publishes a letter from Earga, evidently written by one having p to in the Walker government, if not indeed dieby the great fillibuster himself. The writer tite in camest appeal to the slavery propagandits of this country to send men and money to Gen. falter, on the ground that he is working to secure cangus for slave territory, to be annexed to the and climate of Nicaragua, and its adaptation Fire labor, and adds :-

'Dis mignificent country General Walker has him possession of in the name of the white race, mines offers to you, to you and your slaves, at a the thea you have not a friend on the face of the with What will you do for him! You must apporthim with men and money. The men most made are men of education, fit to serve in the algorerament, and command in the army. her not scores of just such men wasting their es in idleness and without a prospect of the faas in Virginia! Next money. Will the South is sip this glorious acquisition, from sheer significant. Rightly appreciated and rightly ord, it seems to me not only individuals, but thefire champion of their interests, and the only me is the world. Take hold, my dear friend, and hate the Southern press take hold—bring all your thusiam to the work, and let us see what can

lire is samething tangible-here is a new State to be added to the South, in or out of the here is the first piece of Mexico in fact. te whale of which, in a short lifetime, will fall to the hands of the white men of North Ameria and it behouses you to begin in time to secure he pertian of the prize, for you are going to find a new task. I speak of Mexico (including, of tase, Central America, in the same destiny) with

THE APRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

If As a specimen of the argumentation much ate use of in southern quarters in advocacy of topening of the foreign slave traffic, we give be blowing from the Charleston, S. C., Stand-

The (domestic constwise) slave trade exists, and alog as there is a want for slaves in the South of wet, it will continue. At present, they are in from homes in Maryland, Virginia, and North al South Continue. South Carolina, and the question is, should not rather be brought from Africa! From they can be brought with less inhumanity at laboring population can ever be taken from coastry to another, and infinitely less than are trices the trade between the States. They with the rupture of no pre-existing ties. by sightest light of civilization—from destitu-ion abundance—from social immorality to useful-bas and life, and they come to the support and dimension of our existing institutions.

soling, therefore, as slavery is right, and it is to buy and sell slaves, there is no wrong in a series slave trade, and every consideration of the first slave trade, and every consideration of 7 am favor of it; but if it be wrong-if it the sitality and no inheritance, but it is to be stated only until it can be laid aside—then ber act of sale or purchase is a wrong. . It may can give us the right to hold him, if he of the race which has a native right to the nuch less can the inheritance of a slave has jesson confer the right upon another to boy a face to face. We must determine that, in the an explore of things, such unequal faces and so determining, is not be as ready to take the slare from Africa using any section of our own country, and

LEFUGE OF OPPRESSION. be influenced in our choice by a simple considera- glory, unprecedented in history, and dazzling even imagination in the fast approaching reality.

the emigration of their human 'chattels' to the new territories, is well portrayed in the following extract from the same paper, which is a leading journal of the 'Democratic' faith, in the Palmetto ertheless faithful to the South, even with a filial ertheless faithful to the South, even with a filial

· Equality of States is necessary to equality of power in the Senate of the Union; equality of population is necessary to equality of power in the House of Representatives; we cannot expand our labor into territories without decreasing it in the States ; what is gained upon the frontier is lost at the centres of the institution; pauper white labor will not come in competition with our slaves, and if it did, it would not increase the integrity and before Mr. Buchanan. We quote:strength of slavery, and therefore to secure equality of influence in the federal Legislature, there is dent, and he must meet it. His Cabinet cannot be the necessity for the foreign slave trade.'

LINA.

stitutions of the South; that it strikes our form ful! Will be forget whence he derived his power, of society from the recognition of an enlightened and where he must look to be sustained! The world; that it paralyzes the energies of those who future must answer.' would support it; that its removal would restore us to a sphere of prosperity and progress; that to the South is attributable the triumph of nationalism in the recent contest; that we can give success ngain; and that the removal of restrictions, there-fore, is as much a measure of interestas of duty to the Democratic party; and we would now show RESULT OF THE PRESIDENTAL CONTEST. that the State of South Carolina has a direct and Ruchanan is closted by an amole mainting vital interest in the question.

yet concur with the General Government in declarthere would be no solitary word against it. It would be as logical in those who favor matrimony to object to marriage; and practically, therefore, with whatever ingenuity we disguise the act, we abandon the defence of slavery when we refuse to repudiate restrictions on the slave trade. And yet to abandon the principle, and persist in the practice; to war like outlaws for a position which we cannot claim the right to defend; or to become miserable mendicants for the teleration of a vice which we confess to be offensive to enlightened to the confession of the confession o sense, is a condition of debasement which we cannot disguise, and which is inconsistent with the and outrage, the bond of its Union. At this mo-

not strength that invites attack. We are in no wards into the dark and yawning chasm of desuch helpless condition as to depend upon forbear-struction. ince, for when we rose to the issue, we swept away the restrictions of the Missouri Compromise. By till it comes. The victorious majority are shout-that act of intrepidity, we inspired a respect which ing their triumphs, and are certain that to-morrow has given us success in the Presidential contest; will be as this day. The beaten Republicans will and there is reason to believe that, if firm and true prepare to try their luck again, promising themto ourselves, we can sweep away this other stric-

THE ELECTION.

Richard Yeadon, the editor of the Charleston, C. Courier, takes the following view of the late election and its results :-In the recent election of President and Vice

President, the South has triumphed over almost the entire North-the South, aided by Pennsylvania, Indiana and New Jersey, has given the Chief Magistrate, and the second officers in executive peculiar institution that has been enlarging and grade, to the republic, for the ensuing Presidential ossifying the national heart from birth.

What have we seen during the late Presidential on Southern grounds, and under conservative and constitutional leaders, against an embattled host, flying the ominous flag of Black Republicanism, nder the lead of a Southern renegade and traitor It is, nevertheless, a constitutional and national, and not a sectional triumph, because it establishes and consecrates the great principle, alike national and federal, of the constitutional co-equality of the States, as well in the territories of as in the several States themselves. It is doubly

chair of Washington. Beautiful, as well as happy, foo, is the coincidence that it has fallen to the lot of Pennsylvania, the Keystone State—the keylone of the Federal arch—to save the Union of the Federal Constitution its about nable pro-slavery portions? No. Was it to resolving the constitution is about nable pro-slavery portions? stone of the Federal arch—to save the Union, Territories! No. Was it to prohibit the interfrom the imminent perils, which so lately beset it, state slave trade! No. Was it to enforce the and caused it, with earthquake commotion, to rock Constitutional guarantees of a free press, free on its pillars, and sway to and fro on its base. speech and common republican rights in the slave. Instead, therefore, of uniting with Mr. Rhett in states, where no man can even wink against slave-

equality of the States is re-asserted and perma nently secured, by the verdict and the edict of the ballot-box; the Wilmot proviso is no more; the Missouri line is obliterated; Kansas is ours; the Constitution reigns supreme, and the Union is preserved and perpetuated. The united South has spoken, in a voice of thunder, life to the Constitution and deals in the constitution and deals are constitution. tion, and death to its traitorous assailants; and, grown as the South is, from a feeble into a mighty power—mighty in population, territory and wealth—she has but to remain united, and she will, with--she has but to remain united, and she will, with-out fail, as in the past, so in the future, rule the Union, with a constitutional rule, (fairly won at the ballot box.) and secure the perpetuity, in a consummation of national happiness, greatness and

tion of its policy.'

The necessity which exists for a renewal of the foreign trade, to replenish with slaves from the const of Africa those States which may suffer by the emigration of their human chattels to the

State, supporting Mr. Boehanan with great earn-' Huzzah ! huzzah ! we'll-all prove true,

To Buck and Breck, and the Union too. I am, very respectfully, &c ... RICHARD YEADON.

THE ISSUE MUST BE MET.

The New Orleans Delta puts the case squarely

harmonious and efficient, if it have hostile elements From the Charleston Standard.

in it. His policy must be either what the South desires it to be—the development of the Ostend programme in respect to Cuba and Central America. and the assertion of the right of the South to extend her institutions and her territory, and grow We mentioned the subject of Slavery on Thursday in connection with the Democratic party. We mention it to-day in connection with the State of South Carolina. We showed then that the act restricting the slave trade is a brand upon the institute of the slave trade is a brand upon the

SELECTIONS.

From the Practical Christian. Buchanan is elected by an ample majority.

The position we now occupy is one of abasement. We cannot hug our institution to our hearts, and has once more been saved, and the slaveholders are triumphant. Kansas will come in as a slave State. Likewise Utah, New Mexico, &c., &c., &c. yet concur with the General Government in gectaring the act, by which it has been brought about, as piracy. If this form of society be right; if in the nature of things there can be a union of une equal races; if from that union then comes a form of society true to its members, and strong for all take their slave waiters at pleasure into any and the cuaranteed the take their slave waiters at pleasure into any and the exigencies of perpetual progress, there can be no wrong in the natural means to such formation. It is the assumption of evil in Slavery that sustains restrictions on the slave trade. Without this there would be no solitary word against it. It is the assumption of the slave trade. Without this there would be no solitary word against it. It is the assumption of the slave trade of the slave trade

which we confess to be offensive to enlightened cherished iniquities. It has chosen darkness rather attitude and hopes of a magnanimous people.

That abasement is not only unbecoming, but it on millions of down-crushed fellow beings. Let it is gratuitous. We gain no friends, for there are dance on. It is a death dance. The cup of its none to defend those who do not defend themselves. wickedness is almost filled. It will not repent. It We avoid no controversy, for it is weakness and will not be saved. It is plunging rampantly down-

But the politicians will believe nothing of this till it comes. The victorious majority are shoutto ourselves, we can sweep away this other stric-ture of federal sentiment about the form of our society, and stand more assured and powerful than we can ever stand without.

The present federal Union, Constitution and Govern and ernment last, they will all be positively and hate-fully pro-slavery. Slavery has had its way, and will have its way until a radical revolution. All moderate, non-extension pro-slavery party could possibly do would be to restrain the rampancy of the great red dragon a little, and to give the external aspect of the nation a tempory respectabil-ity; which respectability would in the end only

strengthen and consolidate the fatally established

struggle? We have seen the whole South with brazen face, trumpet tongue, and defiant attitude, proclaiming the inherent rightfulness of slavery. We have seen the whole Democratic party at the North, either re-echoing the Southern doctrine, or at least unmistakably committing themselves to slaveholding politics. We have seen the Fillmore party, with their Fugitive Slave Law candidate at their head, conniving darkly at the same general policy, saving the Union, the eternally bugabooed grateful and acceptable, as repelling a deliberateiy intended insult, as well as wrong, to the South
in the election of a Southern renegade,

False to his friends, false to his State, false to his creed
and Lord.

The doubty
Union, from the so called sectional Fremont party
ty. We have seen the Fremont party rallying under their banner the anti-slavery, semi anti-slavery,
demi-semi anti-slavery, no particle-anti-slavery,
and nigger-hating anti-slavery voters. And all

and Lord,' for what? What did they propose to do? Was o wear the Presidential mantle, and desecrate the it to abolish slavery in the nation? No. Was it to not quite so much as this. What then! It was to save Kansas from becoming a Slave State, and to secure its admission into the Union as a Free State under the Topeka Constitution. And house free was Kansas to be under that Constitution and its accompanying instructions from the people Free to all white settlers and civilized Indians, bu closed utterly against all colored people inheriting African blood. Not the worthiest colored individ-African blood. Not the worthiest colored individ-uals of that outraged race could have a home in Free Kansas! O the depths of American Pro-Slavery! It is a bottomiess pit! Fremont Re-publicanism, with all its fine professions, was anti-slavery only on the tip of its tongue, and the tip of its toes. If it had succeeded in carrying out its entire platform, anti-slavery would only out its entire platform, anti-slavery would only have made a free nigger-hating, white man's Free

State of Kansas.

How happened the persecuted Free State men of Kansas to give a kick at free negroes! I will tell

They were afraid of being held up to scorn as abolitionists, by the ultra pro-slavery men, and thereby losing their ascendency in the Territory. In two thousand years, the doctrines and miracles to would not do to be just to the free negroes. So of Jesus Christ have converted but a very small they were wise and prudent. They trimmed to the popular pro-slavery breeze. And yet they have suffered most terribly from the claws of the great that of the lawfulness of slavery, have still held red dragon, to whom they sacrificed the injured. red dragon, to whom they sacrificed the injured their ground.

Africo-American. And now they have lost all. But what are two thousand years in the great

down their anti-slavery to such a cambric needle point? I will tell you. That party was formed and generalled by wise and prodent leaders. Those leaders knew that the main thing was to get a majority of national voters into their party. writer, as a respectful and grateful acknowledg-What can politicians do without a majority ! Well, ment of your very kind and friendly letter. they knew that there was very little downright, earnest, consistent anti-slavery in this Union. They knew that they must draw in every body. who, for any sort of reason, professed to be opslavery party in power. It would not do much for justice any how, lest the grouty old com-promisers should stand aloof, and the cause be lost. they were wise and prodent. They minded the ps and qs of this exquisitely pro-slavery people. They asked just the least for Liberty against Slavery that could raise an issue. And they have done their prettiest. O how careful they have ileges of slavery where it is. Yes, they are ready to shed their blood freely to defend their dear Southern brethren in holding four millions of human beings as chattel slaves, if only they would hold them Constitutionally in the Slave States. All they asked was Kansas for white people and the North. They asked nothing for niggers, bond or free; not they; only Kunsas for white negro-phobians. I have said they did their prettiest.

You,' was a threat to be fulfilled.

Now what is to be done, or expected! The dark clouds of a richly deserved retribution are attentionally deserved retribution are the dark clouds of a rich gathering blackness over our nation. As our fathers and our contemporaries have worshipped ' the Beast, 'Slavery, and 'his image,' Compromise, they must receive their recompense. If they can bear it for the sake of 'our glorious Union,' we poor crazy fanatics, who have pleaded so long for naked right and justice in vain, perhaps, can bear our cut the communion bread if they please; but it is part of the coming evil. God will take care of us. We ask no truce, no quarter from slaveholders, or their confederates. We tell them boldly that their deeds of systematic oppression are worse than wholesale muder. They will one day know it. We tell the whole national corporation of voters in all parties, who sustain this slaveholding Union, Constitution and Government, that they are guilty to-gether of a greater sin than it would be to slaugh-ter outright the whole four millions of slaves; for then there would be an end of their now hereditary and perpetual degradations and miseries. We tell them that they are betraying, denying, disgracing and erucifying Liberty before the whole world. We tell them that we utterly abhor the Moloch of Slavery, from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet : that we will make no obcisance to him that we will never be in fellowship with his wor treason, make the most of it.'-A. B.

MR. WEBSTER ON SLAVERY.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15th, 1850. To THE REV. DR. FURNESS: My DEAR SIR-I was a good deal moved, I con fess, by reading your letter of the 9th January. Having great regard for your talents and charac-ter, I could not feel indifferent to what you said, when you intimated that there was, or might be, in me, a power to do good not yet developed. It

rate, not my desire, but my power to be useful in

my day and generation.

From my carliest youth I have regarded slavery as a great moral and political evil. I think it un-

not seek another's good, and not its own; it does not let the oppressed go free. It is, as I have said, but a continual act of oppression. But then, such is the influence of a habit of thinking among men, and such is the influence of what has been long established, that even minds selicious agencia. In a general line of argument with very few adaptations of phraseology.

Having broadly arraigned the Republicans as disjoint the continual act of oppression. But then, such is the influence of a habit of thinking among men, and such is the influence of what has been long established, that even minds selicious to the constitution and the Union.' Then the constitutions of phraseology. hy any single act of oppression, in any single ex- perfluous vindication.

operate in breaking up social and political systems, on the warmth, rather than the strength of a hope that, in such convulsions, the cause of emancipa-

If they had fallen contending for the equal rights of all free men, white and colored, to inhabit Kandensen, how much holier their martyrdom! Alas, is onward and forward, as it certainly is, in regard they have perished, not wholly by the hand of Border Ruffians and their confederates, but partly by that filthy disease, the American leprosy of nigger And why did the Fremont policical party grind result in His hands who sees the end from the beginning, and in whose sight a thousand years are

but as a single day.

I pray you, my dear sir, accept this, the product of half an hour of the evening, and unread by the DAN'L WEBSTER.

CUTTING OR BREAKING BREAD-A DIS-TINCTION WITHOUT A DIFFERENCE.

The old Lutheran lennessee synod, by its delegate, Rev. Mr. Moser, submitted to the last Missouri Synod, the all momentous inquiry, whether the bread at the communion table must be cut or broken. The conclusion they finally (after solemn consultation, and ample and impressive exchange of opinion) strived at, was that it was heterodox to break the bread, but orthodox to cut it. Now been not to insist on too much! Every where their orators have protested their unreserved devotion to this orthodox synod, as we have in the Border Ruffans of Missouri, or the pirates who infest the this orthodox synod, as we have in the Border Ruffians of Missouri, or the pirates who infest the high seas. It must be remembered that its members are either themselves daily engaged in both breaking and cutting the flesh of their fellow Presbyterians, or they are aiding others to do so. But of this iniquity the Synod says nothing. It is as domb as death. These men are suddenly convinced of the heterodoxy of breaking bread for the com-munion; but they are quite orthodox as regards the body-mangling, flesh-cutting, and spirit-cutting so they did, and yet are beaten. 'Vote, yote,' said they to us all. 'You will vote this once,— a single vote may save the nation.' 'Aye, aye, sirs,' answered many scrupulous anti-slavery men, long strangers at the pro-slavery polls, 'we'll give you a helping hand.' They have done so. But not so much as one of the great red designs, have the pound, without incurring census. you a helping hand. They have done so. But not so much as one of the great red dragon's sharp claws has been chopped off. WE WILL SUBDUE dox indeed! But we would tell those Pharisaic Now that to be fulfilled. brethren. These will rise up against them in the judgment. The Tennessee Synod will then stand unmasked before the assembled Universe. It were well for this body to reflect that ' God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth. It is all very well for them to useless for them to cut the bread to-day, and the back to-morrow. Either one or the other must be relinquished. We should think that the looks of the thing, at least, would prompt such abandonment. And when these dear Presbyterian brethquire into the comparative heterodoxy of breaking the flesh of their 'obedient servants,' with the paddle, or cutting it with the cat-o'-nine. The discussion of this question would be quite interesting, and might lead to the importation of some ess barbarous instrument from the Fejee heathens, from whom this Synod might with profit receive some wholesome suggestions.—Frederick Doug-

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

That the President has a right and is bound to lay before Congress all information essential to their intelligent action on public affairs, is conceded. But that he may, through the form of a state-ment to Congress, assail a large portion of the Peo-ple as disloyal to the Union, forgetful of their constitutional duties, and treacherously hostile to their fellow-citizens, is not clear. The President accuses the Republicans of saying what they do not mean, and meaning what they do not say-o pretending to seek only to prevent the spread of Slavery into Territories, but really seeking some-thing very different, and of denonning all their fellow-citizens who do not unite with them in asmay be so ; but I fear, my dear sir, that you over- sailing the Constitution, &c. This is not the dietion suited to a grave public document-it is the slang of a reckless demagogue on the stump. It degrades the Presidential office, and will only serve From my earliest youth I have regarded slavery as a great moral and political evil. I think it unjust, repugnant to the natural equality of mankind, founded only in superior power; a standing and permanent conquest by the stronger over the weaker. All pretence of defending it on the ground than pranklin Pierce, when, after having the foul charges he could imagine, be finally accessed. and permanent conquest by the stronger over the weaker. All protence of defending it on the ground of different races, I have ever condemned. I have ever said, that if the black race is weaker, that is a reason against, not for, its subjection and oppression. In a religious point of view, I have never will. In accusing the Republicans of being pression. In a religious point of view, I have never will. In accusing the Republicans of being ever regarded it, and ever spoken of it, not as subever regarded it, and ever spoken of it, not as subject to any express denonciation, either in the Old frestament or the New, but as opposed to the whole spirit of the gospel, and to the teaching of Jesus Christ.

The religion of Jesus Christ is a religion of Revolutionary era, who might have employed his

long established, that even minds religious and this supererogatory certificate of good intentions, tenderly conscientious, such as would be shocked but despise alike the unfounded attack and the su-

by any single act of oppression, in any single exercise of violence and unjust power, are not always moved by the reflection that slavery is a continual and permanent violation of human rights.

But now, my dear sir, what can be done by me, who act only a part in political life, and who have no power over the subject of slavery, as it exists in the States of the Union! I do what I can to retain the States of the Union! I do what I can to retain the States of the Union! I do what I can to retain the Missouri struggle of 1819-20 was the first that the Missouri struggle of 1819-20 was the first to the States of the Union! There is a constitution of the States of the Union! I do what I can to retain the Missouri struggle of 1819-20 was the first that the Missouri struggle of 1819-20 was the strain it, to prevent its spread and diffusion. But in which this question was involved. There is a I cannot disregard the oracles that instruct me brazen hardihood, an absurd audacity, in this mode not to do evil that good may come. I cannot co- of treating a grave public question, in full view of brazen hardihood, an absurd audacity, in this mode of treating a grave public question, in full view of the fact that the whole subject has been freshly discussed in almost every school-house of those States. There are Half a Million school-house of those States. There are Half a Million school-house to day in those States who could unanswerably convict the President of a dishonest suppression of material facts on this head. When a cause will not bear a statement of the whole truth, why cannot its champions perceive the wisdom of silence?

Mr. Pierce protests that he cannot see why the Missouri Compact was not repealable like any other statute. The reason simply is that the advantages guaranteed by it to one party had already been

that, in such convulsions, the cause of emancipation may be promoted.

And even if the ends would justify the means, I confess I do not see the relevancy of such means to such an end. I confess, my dear sir, that in my judgment confusion, conflict, embittered controversy, violence, bloodshed and civil war would only rivet the chains of slavery the more strongly. In my opinion, it is the mild influence of Christianity, the soft and melting power of the sun of righteousness, and not the storms and tempets of heated controversy, that are in the course of those wents which an all-wise Providence overrules, to

State, and you may have all the Territory North and West of her for Free States. A few North-teru members assented to the bargain, and it was ratified. The South had her consideration down the North waited thirty-four years for most of hers. At the moment she put forth her hand to take it, it was snatched away by the Behraska Bill; and now Mr. Pierce can't see why this Missouri hargain should not be repealable like any other statute! Suppose a man had bought a farm of him for \$5,000, and, having fully seenred the farm, should conclude to repudiate the hargain and not pay the \$5,000, could he see the iniquity of that manceuver!

But Mr. Pierce proceeds to wonder if Slave in-But Mr. Pierce proceeds to wonder if Slave institutions have such superior vitality and inherent vigor that they will always carry a new Territory, in the absence of Restriction. We answer, that depends partly on position, partly on the laws. A new Territory located just behind a large and populous Slave State, and only accessible through that State, with a large slaveholding and slave population on the immediate horder, stands a very strong chance to be carried by Slavery. Mr. Cadwalader (Dem.) of Pa. firgued in the House, last winter, that the very formation of Kansas proved that its framers intended it for a Slave State; and we think he was correct. But when to this is added the ashe was correct. But when to this is added the assumption that any slaveholder may carry Slavery into the Territory in question, and that no pre-penderance of Free State sentiment can be rendered effective to shut or drive it out, (which is the doctrine of nearly all the supporters of the Nebras-

doctrine of nearly all the supporters of the Nebraska bill.) then we do not see how Slavery can be kept
out of any Territory onshielded therefrom by act
of Congress, and contiguous to a Slave State.

That is a pitiful spectacle which the President
makes of bimself in trying to prove that the repeal
of the Missouri Restriction was not the cause of
the troubles in Kansas—that they would have occurred at any rate. He knows better—every one
knows better. If, as he pretends, the Restriction
were unconstitutional, so much the less excuse for
meddling with it. Had it been let alone, no blame
would have rested on him who urged on the Conwould have rested on him who urged on the Congress which enacted its repeal. But he forced the measure through an unwilling House by appliances that were essentially bribery, and in defiance of earnest warnings of the evil that must inevitably follow. Now that we have experienced it, he would make us believe that it would have been all the same if the repeal had not taken place! Then why was that policy so vehemently pressed and in-sisted on! Mr. Pierce! you know that the troubles in Kansas have resulted directly from the repeal of

in Kansas have resulted directly from the repeal of the Missouri Restriction.

It is a study to see how power expands or con-tracts according to the exigency or pleasure of the wielder. Mr. Pierce can find no warrant for inter-ference on his part to prevent wholesale fraudulent voting by Missourians in Kansas, but warrant enough for enforcing and upholding the laws enact-ed by the beneficiaries of that fraud. But, Mr. President, you need only not have interfered in the premises. Had you left Gov. Reeder in power, and upheld his authority as you do Gov. Geary's, nothing more would have been required. But the moment your own Governor evinced a proper aborrence of the Border-Ruffian fraud, you remove him, and placed a mere tool of the enslavers of Kansas in his place. Had you simply kept hands Border-Ruffians. Your acts, and not your failure to act, have made Kansas practically a Slave Ter-ritory, and doomed her people to untold miseries. -New York Tribune.

Franklin Pierce has crowned the infamy of his execrable administration by the insulting, abusive and false charges, upon which he arraigns the poo-ple of the North in his last annual message. It was fit that such a climax should signalize his entire devotedness to the Slave Power, and round off the services of a term given up to the furtherance of the schemes of that gigantic tyranny. We have no space to enumerate the sins of this concentra-tion of Southern sectionalism, but they are so glarng that they must excite the indignation of every reeman of the North as he reads. A more thoroughly and unscrupulously partisan tirade never ullied the columns of the subsidized press during

the heat of the Presidential canvass.
With whatever complacency the President may ffect to review his administration, those who re call his fair promises at the commencement, and trace it through all its abject prostrations before the shrine of Slavery, must feel both indignation and contempt at the presentation of the case in the

Said Franklin Pierce in his Inaugural :- 'I intend that my administration shall leave no blot upon our fair record, and trust I may safely give the assurance that no act within the legitimate scope of my constitutional control will be tolerated, on the part of any portion of our citizens, which cannot challenge a rendy justification before the tribunal of the civilized world.'

Said the same Franklin Pierce, in his first annual message, after congratulating the country on the subsidence of slavery ngitation:— That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have power to avert it, those who placed me

here may be assured.'

The very fact that he has devoted nearly one half of his last annual message to a slanderous attack upon the North, and a defence of his mis-deeds which have caused a fiercer 'agitation' than ever before, would show how his promises have been performed, even if the remembrance of them did not weigh upon the heart of every patriot.—

This afternoon, at ten minutes past one, the President's annual message was delivered at our office. The late hour at which it was received prevents us from taking that special examination of ts contents, with which we generally accompany the annual messages of the President.

The message sets out with a furious libel on the

cople of the free States, whom it accuses of cher-shing the most malignant and implacable hostiliishing the most malignant and implacable bostility towards their fellow-citizens of the slave States, and of seeking to wrest from them their constitutional rights at the peril of involving the country in a civil war. In this part of the message, the President falls into the vein of Bombastes Furioso, with his 'burning cities, ravaged-fields and slaughtered population,' 'devastation and fratricidal carnage,' and other frightfully grandiloquent phrases. He comforts the country, however, with the assurance that all this has been prevented by the result of the late election, in which the North has been beaten, and the Southern doctrine of the 'equality of the States'—that is to say, the right of the Southern elaveholders to take their property with them to the territories—has been estaby with them to the territories-has been

This denunciation of the free States is followed by a clumsy attempt to justify the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and to put the blame of the revival of the agitation of the slavery question upon those who resisted that repeal.—N. Y. Post.

Instead, therefore, of uniting with Mr. Rhett in sounding the tocsin of disunion, we should seize the auspicious oceasion to say to the Union—' Esto Perpetua,' and I feel an abiding trust that the serpent, when threatened to poison the happiness and destroy the existence of our political Eden—our blood-bought and time-hallowed Union—is not on-blood-bought and time-hallowed Union of any more Slave States! No. Was it to prohibit utterly the admission into the Union of any more Slave States! No. Was it to prohibit utterly the admission into the Union of any more Slave States! No. Was it to prohibit utterly the admission into the Union of any more Slave States! No. Was it to prohibit utterly the admission into the Union of any more Slave States! No. Was it to prohibit utterly the admission into the Union of any more Slave States! No. y 'scotched, but killed,' and that the Union, planted, or rather consolidated, on the impregna-ble Rock of the Constitution, will live, while time shall last, to bless America and to bless mankind. Black Republicanism is dead, the constitutional

If the Message partakes somewhat of the char acter of a special plea, and is more suitable for a lawyer's brief or a Democratic editor's leader than for a dignified communication from the Executive to the Legislative Branch of our government, touch ing matters of universal interest and vital concern an explanation and apology for its weakness, its particanship, and its lack of true patriotism, may be found in the load robukes which have been thundered in the President's ears almost daily since his inauguration, and in the complete condemnation of his policy, indicated by the nomination of an other person to succeed him, and by the large vote oust against the party which by implication might be supposed to approve of his course, and to ac-cede to his policy. The rebukes and the condemna-tion have been so terrific and so total that a defence was simply the instinct of self-preservation. -Baston Traveller.

From the New York Daily Tribune. THOMAS H. BENTON.

There is an old saying, that 'the longest way round is the shortest way home.' We presume that Col. Benton has heard of this adage, and is disposed to put its truth to the test. Having made bis home so long in the United States Senate, it is no wonder that he should have homesick yearnings after it, and that he should be willing to do almost anything to get back there. We can see, as in the case of Cowper's schoolboy,

. With what intense desires he wants his home,' by the pains he is taking to return thither. They have a saying in the Bay State, when they wish to illustrate something superlatively circumbendibusical, that its undertakers had gone by the way of Sagad hock' (we are not sure of our spelling) to do it. This metaphor the veteran Colonel has transmuted into a fact. His goal being the Senate Chamber at Washington, he has undertaken to find his way thither, from Missouri, by Boston, Port Bingor, and, for all we know, Sagadehock it-The route is somewhat circuitous, but if it brings him safely to his journey's end, he will not grudge his time and pains. Most politicians prefer the line of beauty to the line of directness. They generally think it the shortest as well as the most

The dodge is not an ill-imagined nor a badly-

carried-out one. By way of precaution against a fire in his rear, which the Colonel is too old a soldier not to look out for, he has taken out a copyright of his Lecture—not that there is any violent danger of its being stolen as a piece of literary prop-erty (though possibly he may labor under the delusion that there is), but to put a stopper upon the busy pencils of the Reporters for the press. Thus busy pencils of the Reporters for the press. This he has in his own hands the command of what shall go abroad authoritatively about it. If anything should creep into the papers which would not be precisely germane to the matter he has in hand, he is at full liberty to deny its authenticity, and to hold up the ægis of his copyright between himself and his assailants in that direction. And when the proper time comes for making his direct move upon the Legislature of Missouri, what a budget of works of supererogation will he not have to lay works of supererogation will he not have to lay upon Mr. Phillips's words with an interest absorbing everything else. Besides the people of Salem, with a dance, which contributed at this time so considerable twenty-five tobies for them, and they had not a word to say how it was his compaginatory art alone that so conningly coopered the glorious Union, that its hoops still hold, and without which it would have long before have tumbled into an undistinguishable heap of shooks (we state by way of convenience that this signifies the staves of which a barrel is made, before it is made). Will it not all be writ-ten in the History of the Next Thirty Years, and be told on all the stumps of Missouri Now we can quite understand how Colonel Ben-

when he finds himself in the wilderness of Mis souri, a wilderness bowling with Border Ruffians and all manner of doleful creatures. We can fully comprehend his longing to exchange the stumps of that scarcely semi-savage State for the soft stuffed and goodly arm-chairs of the Senate Chamber. And if he thinks that he can compass it by compassing all New-England in the pursuit, we can see very clearly the sense of his describing that particular arc of that particular circle. But we do not perceive so plainly the motive the New England people have in helping him to fetch his compass. Why need they be so forward with flatter-ing urgencies to this slaveholding Ulysses to take them in his way back to his longed-for Ithaca What object have they in helping to boost him up the tree from which he has floundered down to the ground? What need have they to thrust the noz-zle of their bellows into the already bursting bladder of this poor old gentleman's vanity! It can't be for the sake of the lecture itself. They know altogether too much for that. It must be thrift all. They know he will draw for once. His daughter's father could not fail to fill a hall for one evening—if only for a look at him. If it be a fault, the managers are probably aware that it is one which brings its own punishment with it.

Now we think it is a fault, this running after such persons to enlighten Northern Lyceums. It snobbishness and sneakishness. course, it is of no advantage to the hearers, for there is not a lecturer south of Mason and Dixon's line that could get an invitation to the most rural of districts, if he lived at the north of it. And it gains the inviters no respect at the South. The motives are fully understood there, or if they be other than little ones, they are misunderstood. flourished in our face. But Magnanimity, though a virtue of an excellent temper, may be put to purposes for which it was never meant, and, as General Cass's sword was at Hull's Surrender, it may be run into the ground. We would not counsel retaliation with the South. We would not, for example, urge Massachusetts to make it a felony, punishable with five years' imprisonment, for States Court for that District, though this would be but tit for tat for the legislation after Mr. Hoar's mission. Nor should we advise, New York, because our colored citizens are illegally imprisoned and villanously sold into life-long Slavery by the harbarous laws of the seaboard Slave States, to enach that every Carolinian, on arriving in the State. should be imprisoned until he was ready to return and then, if unable to pay the fees provided by law, be sent to the penitentiary for life; and ye this were reasonable compared with the statutes of those barbarous communities. But, we submit when the suspicion even of any Northern feeling is enough to drive clergymen and professors from the South, when men are not suffered to live ther who wish to vote for a Free State candidate, an en the whole region is shut against all Northers speakers, on all subjects, who have not the mark of the Beast in their foreheads—we submit, we say, that we at the North might at least forego suing for the egotistical platitudes of Mr. Benton, or the flatulent importinencies of Mr. Simms.

Have we not bores enough of our own! If they wish to come, let them come. Let Brooks or Douglas have a hearing, if they demand it, without molestation; but let it be on their own responsibility, and without entreaty or countenance of ours.

THE LIBERATOR.

COL BENTON AT BOSTON. Extract of a letter from a merchant's clerk in Boston to a gentleman in New York :-

I went to hear Col. Benton last evening, on the Union. His pemposity was amusing. Poor man! I pitied him, to be so frightened as he was at the thought of such an event as the dissolution of the Union! He enomerated a long catalogue of the North and South; the most prominent of which was the establishment of a line of custom-houses. and an army of custom-house officers in all the bor-der States; and then there would be no Fugitive should come North in pursuit of his property. This last point most decidedly 'brought down the considered by a Boston audience. The last agoniz-ing consequence he named was the depreciation of the value of that peculiar kind of property in which a large proportion of Southern wealth consists.
The protection given to that property by the Fugitive Slave Act had, as he said, raised the price of slaves, from four and five hundred dollars to twelve and fifteen hundred; but should the Union be dissolved, they would fall to less than their former value. I don't think his lecture will go a great way toward strengthening the love for the Union at the North.

THE GREATEST CITY IN THE WORLD.

A gentleman, who for more than thirty years past been a resident of one of the principal cities of the South, was a few days since looking from January 34, an additional motive will be furnished to an eminence commanding a fine view of this city. cording to its size and population, the greatest city in the world,-the greatest in wealth, industry, not occurred to us that Boston was entitled to so high a distinction; and yet the statement, on reflection, could not be controverted. But that reflec tion connecting itself with the Franklin celebration just referred to, called up in the mind a blessing. not only on a noble ancestry who in generations past laid the foundations on these shores—but a blessing not less on the free industry of which they have left us so bright an example. Slavery, though having here, for a time, a nominal existence, never in this respect, marred our heritage, -never caused the mechanic, and artizan, and the tiller of the soil to be looked down upon, pever made labor disrepu-table. This truth spoke its volumes of meaning on friends of freedom, both of the body and of the mind the day of setting up the statue of that prince of far and near, to attend. mechanics and practical philosophers-Benjamin FRANKLIN. We wonder this was not seized on and enforced, as it well might have been, in Mr. Winthrop's elegant and otherwise well-put oration. It QUINCY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, NATU'L H. WHITING, &c. is a glorious hirthright, this which we inherit labor. Let us, by all means in our power, as well as by our standing and suggestive example, seek to extend its blessings to our entire country and world. The disenthralment of the race would follow, and the way of the Lord be prepared among the nations.—Boston Christian Watchman.

WENDELL PHILLIPS'S LECTURES.

The people of Salem had a rich treat, last Satur day and Sunday, in the lectures of Wendell Phillips. On Saturday evening, he delivered, to a full house, his justly celebrated lecture on the Lost Arts. Therein he administered a needed lesson to the overweening self-sufficiency of our people, who

imagine that wisdom was born with them.
On Sunday, Mr. Phillips delivered two legures on the subject of slavery. We cannot attempt to give our readers even a sketch of these masterly addresses. They evinced great clearness of moral vision, and unswerving fidelity to principle, and were eminently calculated to induce his hearers to easily obtained than the lesser results of former years as the only successful method for the overthrow of slavery. He presented, most impressively, the slavery. He presented, most impressively, the intellect and heart of the nation, so as to bring securing freedom to the slaves, while bound in our principles fundamental and of universal application present union with sloveholders. The States alone. So much kindness and general interest we have never and not the General Government, are competent to

miles to enjoy the pleasure of listening to this faction of the occasion by its admirable decorum an faithful and eloquent friend of the slave. fluence of the meeting was eminently good, and good feeling and good neighborhood, and giving the will be seen hereafter.—Salem (Ohio) A. S. Bugle.

SEWARD AND WILSON.

It is equally amusing and instructive to see that, in spite of their political caution and circumspection on the subject of slavery, and their constant asseveration of unswerving loyalty to this blood-stained Union, Messrs. Seward, Wilson, &c., get no credit for it in pro-slavery quarters, but are denounced as cherishing the most 'treasonable' designs! Bennett's Heruld. for instance-the Ishmaelitish supporter of Col. Fremont comes down upon them in the following characteristic style :-

There were two Northern men participating in the Senate debate of Tuesday on the Message, who cannot be passed over in silence-Mr. Seward, of New York, and General Wilson, of Massachusetts -the former a thoroughly trained sectional demagogue, the latter a bold and fiery anti-slavery fanatic. The allusions of Mr. Brown to the abolition lectures of those two sectional declaimers were substantially correct. There is not so much of method in the madness of Wilson, but his speeches during the late campaign were more or ess tinged and tinetured with that leaven of abolitionism which has for its ultimatum ' No Union with Slaveholders.' As for Seward, he was not a legitimate sequence of negro slavery. May it not be very zealous or active Fremont stumper in the late visited on their own children, whom vice and extrava campaign; but in what he did, he betrayed the same instincts at the bottom, which are always, with William Lloyd Garrison, at the top. Mr. Seward, during the late canvass, made a campaign-ing speech at Albany, another at Buffalo, another at Detroit, and another at Auburn, and in each of ed, and thus to pave the way slowly, but not quite these speeches, more or less, the pervading idea is surely, for the emancipation of the slave; or Buchan this—that Southern slavery is an excrescence, a an,—and by the Southern party, in their eagerness for disease demanding a radical should labor, in season and out of season, to get rid of the evil and at all hazards. In harping apon the South as the 'slave power' and the 'slave- abolition of slavery ;- for slavery, unsupported by holding oligarchy,' and upon the slaveholders as a Northern power and gold, must soon fall. How do class which it is the duty of the North to put down, the disgraceful complicity of the North recoil on their Mr. Seward had made himself the proper subject own heads! Impartial History will give all their due for every word of reproof uttered against him by

We take it for granted that in none of the heavy volume of heavy public speeches delivered by Mr. Seward, has he ever directly recommended, like Garrison, the abolition of slavery in the Southern States, Constitution or no Constitution, Union or O Union. Mr. Seward is a demagogue, a pettifogger and a trickster too cunning for this. He is attempt to storm the citadel-his policy is that of regular approaches, and mining and starring out. cuted, on mere suspicion, without judge or jury; the But he is only playing the hypocrite in pleading some white men have been implicated in the plot, an his attachment and consistency to the letter of the Constitution and its compromises of Union, while laboring, as he has labored, in violation of the spirit of the Constitution, to array the North against the South, as against a domineering sec-tion, and against the slaveholders of the South as the despotic governing 'class' of the country This course of campaigning on the part of Mr. Seward did much to place Fremont in a false position in the central States, and much to damage his cause among their conservative people, who love the whole Union, and who know what the Constitution requires of all good citizens. Had Wm. H. Seward and his little clique gone off with Martin Van Buren in support of Mr. Buchanan as the true anti-slavery extension candidate, we might have had a different result in the election,

When will such men as Seward and Wilson cease en logizing a Union accursed of Heaven ?

BOSTON, DECEMBER 12, 1856.

FESTIVE COMMEMORATION

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY On New Year's Evening, 1857, a quarter of a cents lassachusetts Anti-Slavery Society-originally called the New England Anti-Slavery Society - the parent o all similar associations in the land. Believing that a period of time fraught with so many thrilling reminiscences, and crowded with events of unsurpassed histor ical importance, should not be allowed to pass withou a fitting observance, the Board of Managers have madarrangements for a PUBLIC SOCIAL FESTIVAL I commemorate this suggestive event, on the evening o January 1st, 1857, in this city; and they hereby cor dially invite all the friends of freedom, far and near without regard to sex or complexion, to participate in this celebration, which cannot fail to be deeply inter esting to all present, as well as to 'help the cause a long ' to its triumphant consummation. A supper will be provided by that distinguished caterer, Mr. J. B. SMITH; after which there will be music, sentiments speeches, &c., appropriate to the occasion. As the Na tional Anti-Slavery Bazaar will not close till Saturday friends in the country to visit the city on the occasio

a numerous attendance. Price of tickets, \$1.00 each-to be had at the Anti asseveration and a generous award, more so than Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Those intending to be we could have ventured to claim. In fact, it had present are requested to make seasonable application, Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Those intending to be

designated. It is hoped and believed that there will be

in order to secure a place at the tables. Further particulars hereafter. FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

ROBERT F. WALLOUT, Sec.

POREPATHERS' DAY AT PLYMOUTH. The Abolitionists of the Old Colony will maintain heir accustomed notice of this approaching Anniversary by appropriate Anti-Slavery meetings in PLY-MOUTH, on Saturday evening, Dec. 20th, and Sunday. friends of freedom, both of the body and of the mind,

Among the speakers who are confidently expect ed to be present are-WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDMUN In connexion with the above, will be held a quarter ly meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Stavery Society.
BOURNE SPOONER, President.

THE WEYMOUTH ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR Has been crowned this year with a greater measure of success than has ever before attended its long-repeated

The sum received was \$232 00, which has been ap propriated by the Weymouth Female Anti-Slavery So ciety, to which it was paid, as follows:

To the Massachusetts A. S. Society, \$100 00 Liberator. 40 00 Standard. 40 00

" Tract Fund, 20 00 " Payment of Expenses, 21 26

Leaving in the treasury a balance of 10 74 This (for us unprecedented) success was far mo take the highest moral ground in favor of freedom, which we attribute to the past labors of the American quired for the successful means of encounter with it, and urged with much force of logic, and heauty ity and murderous violence, till they have been show and pertinency of illustration, the impossibility of that the Anti-Slavery cause is a common cause, and it

The in- the completeness of its arrangements, while promoting young an opportunity for festive enjoyment in the presence of their families, that it is proposed to continue or the same plan in future.

The musical friends of the cause who enlivened or of the evenings by their talent, received the thanks of all who heard them.

Especial thanks are due to Messrs. Joseph Loud Co., to Captain Lane, and to Mr. George Bowditch, for

To the Rev. Mr. Mellen, who never fails publicly advocate the cause, and at the same time to sustain the American A. S. Society in serving it cordial thanks are due, and also to Mr. Wales and family, whose kind offices did so much to make the season a profitable and pleasant one.

Our esteemed poetical correspondent, JANE ASH BY, of England, writes to us as follows :-

· How anxious I feel respecting the fate of your r ble country! It will ultimately be free, and take high place among nations; but, before that, I feat it must undergo a baptism of blood, before the stain of slavery can be washed out. The plan of the South t enslave all the laboring and poorer classes is but the legitimate sequence of negro slavery. May it not be gance will sooner or later bring to poverty! It re minds me of the fearful imprecation of Christ's mur

remedy, and that we entire dominion, so disgusting the friends of liberty a to drive them into disunion, and so hastening the total . May God bless your endeavors after freedom for the slave, and may you live to hail that glorious event !

> It appears, by the alarming intelligence from the South, in another column, that the once happy and contented slaves' are no longer so; that they have caught a little of the spirit of '76, and are exter sively conspiring to strike for liberty, as our father did ; that a number of them have been summarily exe some white men have been implicated in the plot, an one of them barbarously whipped to death, and another shot, without any proof of their guilt ; and that great consternation prevails throughout slavedom. Wouldn't the South like to dissolve the Union at this juncture seeing that this is but 'the beginning of the end'?

> WASHINGTON, Dec. 8th. Considerable excitement of washington, Dec. ofn. Considerance excitement praided here to day among the Southern members of Cogress. in consequence of the news of an insurrection among the blacks in Southern Kentucky. The late information is that it was promptly put down.

> For the official proceedings of the recent No. once Convention at Worcester, see our last pag ourse, so brief an abstract of the speeches made ou can give no adequate idea of their force cope. For an excellent letter from Rev. Jehiel Claffi addressed to the Convention, see another column.

THE HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH, by William Robertson, D.D. With an Account of the Emperor's Life after his Abdication, by William H. Prescott. In Three Volumes. Boston : Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1857. pp 618, 604, 565.

We acknowledge our special indebteiness to the publishers for these three superb volumes, which, being the joint productions of two such historians as ROBERThistorical period, require no other commendation than sented to the public. The work is too massive and Fifth, it contains an elaborate View of the Progress of his vocal powers, and unwearied labors in her behalf. Society in Europe, from the subversion of the Roman whole work embodies a large amount of learning, research, and general information.

Phillips, Sampson & Co. have just published a serie of new Javenile Books, for Christmas and New Year's gifts, which are unique, highly attractive, and elegantly printed.

The first is Kobboltozo; a Sequel to 'The Last of Pearse Cranch. With forty exquisite illustrations on wood, by the author. Large 8 vo. \$1.00.

The next is, BRIGHT PICTURES OF CHILD LIFE; Engravings, 8 vo. 75 cents. The next is, Datsy; or the Fairy Spectacles; by th

author of 'Violet.' A story attractive in style, and delicate and pure in spirit. 50 and 75 cts, according to the binding. The next is, WORTH NOT WEALTH, and other Stories;

by Cousin Angie. A collection of stories replete with interest, and of a high moral tone-with engravings. 50 and 75 cents. The next is, RED BEARD'S STORIES FOR CHILDREN

translated from the German, by Cousin Fanny; the numerous illustrations of which are of the most novel and taking kind, and the stories being worthy of their elegant dress. 75 cents.

All these books should be examined by loving parents, uncles and aunts, cousins and friends, who are desirous of making seasonable, amusing and instructive presents to their little favorites, as they cannot fail to be suited; the same enterprising firm having a large number of other juvenile works, not less worthy of examination and purchase. Let the hearts of the dear children leap for joy in view of the good time coming,' which is, happily for them, close at hand,

Remember Phillips, Sampson & Co., Winter street,

AUTUMNAL LEAVES : Tales and Sketches in Prose and Rhyme. By Lydia Maria Child. New York : C. S. Francis & Co., 554 Broadway. Boston : 58 Dev-And what a thrilling apostrophe have we here onshire street. 1857.

Mrs. CHILD states that several of the articles conor New Year's gift to the young) appeared in various periodicals ten or twelve years ago, (the reader will find them all 'as good as new,') while others have been recently written, during hours that could be spared from daily duties. The following are their titles :- The Eglantine ; A Serenade ; The Juryman ; The Fairy Friend ; Wergeland, the Poet ; The Emigrant Boy; Home and Politics; To the Trailing Arbutus ; The Catholic and the Quaker ; The Rival Mechanicians ; A Song ; Utouch and Touchu ; The Brother and Sister; The Stream of Life; The Man that Killed his Neighbors; Intelligence of Animals; The World that I am Passing Through ; Jan and Zaida ; To the Nastertium; The Ancient Clairvoyant; Spirit and Matter; The Kansas Emigrants; I want to Go Home.

The name of Mrs. CHILD is a household one, on both sides of the Atlantic. How many homes she has gladdened, how many hearts inspired, by her admirable writings! Her rank is justly among the foremost women of the earth, for elevation of sentiment, pobleness of aim, love of humanity, and a world-embracing philanthropy, as well as for clearness and purity of diction, She excels in what Burns calls 'the pirh o' sense,' and combines the ideal and the practical in a rare degree. If she has been somewhat retired from the public eve for a few years past, it has not been to rest upon the laurels already won, nor for self-indulgence, but to meet the trials and discharge the duties of life, like a true heroine. A considerable portion of the time has plied. By LAROY SUNDERLAND, author of Pathetism been given to unceasing care and watchfulness of an aged father, long afflicted by a troublesome disease, and recently called to his final home; and never has filial affection been more resplendent than in her case But, notwithstanding these hindrances to literary effort, her pen has not been idle. Her great work on the PROGRESS OF RELIGIOUS IDEAS, comprising three natures of 'Falconbridge,' 'Jack Humphries,' and volumes royal 12 mo., is a lofty monument of her industry and research, and deserving of the widest circulation as it is of the highest praise

In the remarkable change which has taken place public sentiment at the North, on the subject of slave- young, leaving a wife and interesting family, for whose ry, during the last quarter of a century, much is due to her, by the reading public, by way of atonement. Her Complete in one large duodecimo volume of 500 pages open and earnest esponsal of the anti-slavery cause, at a very early period, and at the height of her literary lished and for sale by T. B. Peterson, 102 Chestnut st., popularity, was a noble act of self-secrifice, and an Philadelphia. It can also be had of A. Williams & Co., event of no small importance. It cost her friends, rep- 100 Washington street, Boston. utation, pecuniary support, and subjected her to hostile influences such as few have been called to encounter Our eyes moisten as we think of all that she voluntarily and generously essayed to do for ' that class of Americans called Africans,' before any one in her position condescended to be their advocate, in full view of public proscription and social estracism. The value of her example was great and far-reaching, like that of the immortal Follex, whose memory is indissolubly connected with the sublime struggle for universal emanci pation alike in the old and in the new world. Every one who has since been quickened into anti-slavery life or made to realize the hideousness of the slave system should remember the toils and sacrifices of this excel lent and gifted woman, (to say nothing of the early testimonies and valuable labors of her husband in the same glorious cause,) and take special pleasure in purchasing her works, both as a mark of personal regard and for their intrinsic worth.

Now on NEVER ; or, the Adventures of Bobby Bright A Story for Young Folks. By Oliver Optic, Author of 'The Boat Club,' 'All Aboard,' 'In Doors and Out. &c. Boston: Bazin & Co. 1857.

Those who have peeped into the other story book f . Oliver Optic, will need no inducement to purchase this one also, which is crowded with exciting incidents and admirably told throughout. The author makes th interest of his story depend more on the hero's devotion o principle than on his success in business. Little Bobby is a smart boy, but a good one, and he makes true man. Give him a hearty welcome, young and old: you will all like his acquaintance.

THE PLAY DAY POOK : New Stories for Little Folks By FARRY FERN. Illustrated by Fred. M. Coffin. New York : Mason & Brothers. 1857.

Here is another pretty and very interesting boo or Christmas and New Year, embodying no less than forty-five different stories, accompanied with sever well-executed illustrations. The author says she ha had many letters and messages, from little children al. over the country, asking her to write another mor book, and this is her response to the call. It will be

For sale by Phillips, Sampson & Co., Bos

THE HARP OF FREEDOM. By George W. Clark. New York : Miller, Orton & Malligan. Boston : J. P. Jewett & Co. Rochester: 104 State street. 1856.

A handsome volume of \$87 pages, filled with poetry and music, adapted to the progressive spirit of the times, in all in its various manifestations, and deserv ing a place in every family. It contains nearly two hundred spirited lyrical effusions, many of which are of permanent value, and calculated to nerve even the feelest soul to the conflict with Oppression and Wrong sox and Passcorr, and embracing such an important The music is arranged as solos, duetts, tries, quartettes choruses, &c. &c., to be used ' in the domestic circle that which pertains to the dress in which they are pre- the social gathering, the school, the club-room, the mass-meeting, and, in short, wherever music is loved costly for popular circulation, but will find its place in and appreciated-Slavery abhorred, and Liberty held all public libraries, and in very many private ones sacred.' It is a volume worth five times the cost of it, likewise, to be consulted by students in history as a being a poetical reformatory encyclopedia. It has a most valuable repository. In addition to whatever re- good portrait of Mr. Clark, who has long been the minlates to the life, reign, and abdication of Charles the stret of Freedom, doing eminent service in her cause by

empire to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The THE PORTICAL WORKS OF HORACE SNITH AND JAME SMITH, Authors of the ' Rejected Addresses.' With Portraits and a Biographical Sketch. Edited by EPES SARGENT. New York : Mason Brothers. 1857.

This being the first American edition of the collected poems of these rare brothers and inimitable wits, the work will be most acceptable to all who have any appreciation of genius, any love of exhilarating mirthfulness, or any taste for genuine humor. Besides the the Huggermuggers, a Giant Story '; by Christopher | Rejected Addresses, ' (which secured for their authors immediate fame,) it contains no less than one hundred and forty-five poetical effusions, ranging ' from grave to gay, from lively to severe,' though what is gay and translated from the German, by Cousin Fannie. Illus-lively is much more abundant than what is grave and trated with highly finished and really exquisite Colored severe. It is an admirable volume wherewith to 'drive dull care away,' to stimulate digestion, to diffuse cheerfulness, to restrain morbid tendencies, and to relieve the gloom of a sick chamber. It is well said in the preface, that 'it is no small virtue of these popular writers, that, though wits and satirists, they are always gentlemen.' To look upon their pleasant portraits is sufficient to bring one into genial affinity with them. James was born on the 10th of February, 1775, and died on the 24th of December, 1839, in the sixty fifth year of his age. Horace was born December 31st 1779, and died July 12th, 1849, in his seventieth year Each was precless in his own way, though Horace was superior as a poet. He is the author of the oft-recited 'Address to a Mummy,' which will outlive many generations. How much is expressed in a single verse!

'I need not ask thee if that hand, when armed, Has any Roman soldier mauled and knuckled; For then wert dead, and buried, and embalmed, Ere Romulus and Remus had been suckled: Antiquity appears to have begun Long after thy primeval race was run."

And what scope for speculation is given in the follow-

*Perchance that very band, now pinioned flat,
Has hob-a-nobbed with Pharaoh, glass to glass;
Or dropped a half-penny in Homer's hat,
Or doffed thine own to let Queen Dido pass;
Or held, by Solomon's own invitation,
A torch at the great Temple's dedication.

Statue of flesh-Immortal of the dead ! Mrs. CHILD states that several of the articles con- Imperishable type of evanescence! tained in this volume (an excellent one for a Christmas Posthumous man, who quitt'st thy carrow bed, Thou wilt hear nothing till the Judgment morning When the great trump shall thrill thee with its warn-

> The last two lines are objectionable, in a literal sense, as affirming the extinction of all life in the grave ; but they must be construed figuratively. The last verse is peculiarly impressive, though the

> second line implies the correctness of a theological dogma which is far less current than it once was : . Why should this worthless tegument endure,

If its undying guest be lost for ever?

Oh! let us keep the soul embalmed and pure
In living virtue, that when both must sever,

Although corruption may our frame consume, Th' immortal spirit in the skies may bloom ! For sale by A. Williams & Co., Washington street.

Book or Psychology. Stearns & Co., 25 Ann st. New York, have just published ' Pathetism, Historical, Philosophical, Practical; giving the rationale of every possible form of Nervous or Mental Phenomena, known under the technics of Amulets, Charms, Enchantment, Philters, Talisman, Relies, Witcheraft, Ecstasy, Hallucination, Spectres, Trance, Illusions, Apparitions, Clairvoyance, Somnambulism, Miracles, and 'Spiritualism: showing how these results may be induced the theory of mind which they demonstrate, and the benevolent uses to which this knowledge should be ap-'New Theory of Mind,' 'The Magnet,' 'Book of Health, ' . The Nutritive Cure, ' etc.

HUMORS OF FALCONBRIDGE : A Collection of Humorous and Every-Day Scenes, by the late Jonathan F Kelley, better known to the reading public by his sig-'Stampede.' This book is hand-omely illustrated, abounds in humorous scenes and anecdotes, and wi afford an agreeable relaxation to the mind of the peruser of more solid works. The author, Mr. Kelley, died beneat this compilation of his writings is published. Pr ce, \$1 25 in cloth bin ling, or \$1 in paper. Pub-

LITTLE DORBIT. T. B. Peterson, 102 Chesnut street Philadelphia, has just published, as a part of his Uniform Edition of Charles Dickens's Works, LITTLE DOR-BIT-in Two Books - with numerous illustrations Copies of the work will be sent to any one, by mail, free of postage, on receipt of 50 cents. It furnishes a large amount of most entertaining reading at a cheap rate

Mone New Music. The following new pieces Music have just been published by Oliver Ditson, Washington street, Boston :-Gleanings from the Ball Room. Brilliant pieces at

ranged for the piano by J. S. Knight. The Graces. A Collection of Favorite Quadrilles, by various Authors.

Beauties of Rossini. Arranged for the piano by La Traviata. Opera Seria, with Italian and Englis ext. Composed by G. Verdi.

Sing to me softly, my Sister. Words by Mrs. R. S. Nichols. Music by O. V. Waterman, My Sea-Side Home. Ballad, composed by B. F. Ba

Sacred Songs. By R. Topliff, Author of 'Ruth and Breezes from Nahant. A Collection of Gems pe

rmed by the Germania Band. Never Give Up. Words by Martin Farquhar Tuppe Music by George J. Webb.

In the fourth resolution of the Woman's Rights Con vention, as printed in the last LIBERATOR, for tradition al rend transitional. The error is important, as it con fuses the meaning of one of the best resolutions in the T. W. H.

We reprint the resolution referred to, corrected :-Resolved, That the present uncertain and inc

tion of Woman in our community—not ful red either as a slave or as an equal—taxed, b encouraged to use it—permitted to prepare papers for scientific bodies. but not to read them—urged to form political upinions, but not allowed to vote upon them— all mark a transitional period in human history which cannot long endure.

LETTER PROM HAYTL GONALVES, Oct. 4th, 1856. WM. LLOYD GARRISON, BOSTON:

ESTIMABLE FRIEND, -- I have duly received your let. ter, dated the 21st of March of this year, which treamits to me the thanks which were voted me by the Committee of the generous society to which I am prod to belong. The sincerity of your views and the purity of the sentiments which animate you have found to of the sentiments and secure for you the gratinge of echo in my neart, and the myself, tend towards the same end, the definite enfranchisement of the Alven

The unfortunate events which have stained the ba som of my beautiful country ought in nowice to be a som of my benduted the success of our cause Every people has had its errors, according to its degree of people has man its desired in the witness of it. Ways. derstand that the pride of wishing to obtain every thing, by force of arms, can destroy us, in the diffe. ences which sometimes arise among us, and which have no other cause than the little moral advancement of the greater part of our population, particularly those of our country districts, which are often distracted from their peaceful rural occupations by intrigues, of shich the sole aim is to obtain by violence a right more or less fictitious, which, with more wisdom, they night have left to the jurisdiction of the projer authorities.

Thus, at this day, the Emperor is at Cayes, to sup-Thus, at this supprisings so frequent in these pun; a tribunal of war is permanent there, and already agmerous individuals have been brought before it. Order is rec-tablished, and every where labor nicemen is accustomed activity. Coffee comes in abundantly, the markets are provided with it, and prices turn to the mirantage of the consumer. Our wood finds farer in Europe and in the United States-which thousand the cutters, and attracts many vessels to cur pera The yellow fever, now less intense, has decoured in spite of the care of medical skill, many of those shear industry calls to our midst. This is the actual state of offairs.

Our last attempts against the Dominicans have been, in fact, more fatal to ourselves than to them. Our semy of about 25,000 men, divided into two columns, but been unfortunate at every point. In the plains at & John, where the Emperor was in person, at Cambreal, and at Savonne-Mulatresse, some hundred or so Donie. icans, well posted and well armed, have had the honers of that campaign. Our defeat, fruit of ill-will and of treason, is without example in our annals; and her will our nationality feel its effects, although justice has been done by the execution of several general efficers. Numerous prisoners remain with the Dominicans, who now send them back to us in small troops, and by sta My friend, it is not the first time we have had to de-

plore our errors, in contemplating the field of carnige strown with our own rain; some of our besutiful regions reduced to deserts; cities and villages abandoned. We shed tears, and these tardy tears will one day cement our union. We dare to hope it.

In awaiting the happy day when the liberty of the oppressed shall be saluted by our liveliest acclamaticus, I remain, in the hely cause, Your very humble and obliged,

DORVELAS DORVAL

TESTIMONIES AT THE RIGHT TIME. WEARE CENTRE, N. H., Nov. 18, 1854.

I have just been looking at the only true motte! have seen during the exciting Presidential campaign. Some two thousand pro-slavery bunkers have assenbled to raise a flag in honor of Buchanan and Breckinridge. Just opposite their place of meeting, some anti-slavery friends-William Butterfield, Charles A. Kenney, and Levi Russell-have thrown to the brem, from their shop window, a white flag, on which is scribed the motto, 'No Union with Stawholden' I am informed that it served as a text for the speakers who had met to glorify the Union, and advocate borderruffianism in Kansas. Of course, they were borrifed at such treasonable demonstrations. Could they po where Wm. Wells Brown carries Dr. Adams, in his unique Drama, would they not change their misk's regard to the value of the 'lovely Union'? And am not our Free Soil friends in the same fix?

Mr. Kenney also hung out a picture of the Santer outrage, that the Union lovers might more fully realin the company they are in.

had never bowed the knee to Baal, wore into the raist of the Union-savers and slavery-extensionists.

Mr. Buttoffield obtained eighty signers to the Distnion petition. In this place, one half of whom were legal voters. Among the many lovers of liberty is Weare, Moses Reed, formerly of Lynn, is ever active. I know not how to account for the freedom which

prevails in this quiet, temperate, friendly little village, unless it is because they have never been cursed with sectarian priest, who, while he stood with his heavy beel on the necks of four millions of his fellow-heise, and his shoulder to support the gallows, larded it out the minds and consciences of the more abject slaves to a bigored theology.

Here is a comfortable meeting-house, free to al, which I wish you could find time to occupy some Salbath the coming winter. Our devoted friends, Suples S. and Alaby Kelley Foster, Parker Pillsbury, Sille Holley, and J. J. Looke have been here, but not of its Wherever I go, I see the need of anti-slavery label. Surely, the task is great, and the workmen fes.

But I took my pen merely to give you a shortse count of the true men and women here. The south are not behind the men in devotion to the reforms of the day. Some of them wear the short dress, in spite of the sooffs and sneers of time-servers and rowles.

Yours, for trampling all laws and customs underfal which enslave the mind or body of the human family,

LECTURES BY MISS HOLLEY. DRYDEN, (N. Y.) Sunday, Nov. 80, 1856. DEAR MR. GARRISON :

Tompkins county has been, for five weeks past, the field of labor to which we were invited by Mr. Jand A. Burr, a warm and faithful adherent to the store promising doctrines of the American Anti-Slaver, Society-one who has stood the hard, stern test of pear of coldness and averted confidence in a pos-sister; on munity, and olone, but still high-heartid, schnewich ing allegiance only to the everlasting law of Right, shit rebuking a temporising church, and persistently relaing to touch U. S. ballots, and thereby sully his inter

Miss Holler has to-day spoken the fourteenth fat to audiences that have evidently felt the power of the anti-slavery Word.

When I feel the sympathetic stir that animates the meetings, and look around upon the people lidesing the clear summons to come out of a dead formalies, guilty appathy, and association with a false religion, and engage with real in an imminent duty to the prishing slave, my heart is uplifted with gratitude, that

she is called to this divine mission.

The ordinary church services are so intelerally services. pid, such confessions of poverty, ignorance, and high in spiritual life, that it is a privilege not to be light, esteemed to have an hour of magnetic speech hes gifted, carnest soul, full of sympathy, intelligence ad inspiration. I know that I speak for many along

The lady who once asked me if I did not get tire hearing Mirs Holley so often, would not have quered thus had she ever shared one of these consecution hours. I answered by asking her if she got tird hearing the New Testament.

As we mingle in households, and are male and the capabilities of individuals to accept and least propaguadists of the principles of the America A.S. within the sphere of New England meetings

proprie as good by nature as your attached friends They only ille away this day of grace because of their isolation and unacquaintance.

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of their isolation and influence of your condjutor, Rev To Il Fish, seem to us invaluable to this neighbor Mr. H. Fish, whole State needs to be occupied by judiels of preachers of a like devotion ! Among those who speak most gratefully of his as

Aneng them to purer light, and better understanding going them to post of the state of the logical and reform views, are Mr. and Mrs. E. a healogreat and are truly aroused souls. They gave a Lively selcome to their home in Peraville, and all the furtherance in their power, the fariners are places hereabouts in which Mrs. Abby K

facer beld meetings in years gone by. But the imfour best of her faithful spirit is not yet effaced. Would not britth and length of days might be hers for the refer of communities, the good of souls, and the engraterion of conscience and justice in the world! At Northville, Cayoga county, we found that the Rev. ye Green, the former friendly paster of the Preshy. great Chare's, had been dismissed by his congregation or of the charges on record against him in its official lets it, the he invited Miss Holley to give an antiparty lecture in his pulpit, five years ago. his is the sixth minister who has explated the same

give by a summary rejection, during the five years g His Holley's lecturing !
A touching instance of fidelity to anti-slavery princi-

present to our knowledge. Describition, at the age of eighty-seven years.

balsent in his formal withdrawal from this church in Sathrille, the werk before, saying that he could not is enscirate regard it any longer as a Christian

we fond it very pleasant to be welcomed once more piler the hospitable roof of the friendly Quakers, Isano Jose and his family-where the anti-slavery lecturer sere to find sympathy and cheer as well as The Lib-C. F. P.

HUMAN GOVERNMENT.

A speech may be made, or an essay written, con moing much truth, in appropriate language, and yet fill exert in the minds of hearers and readers the ane pleas that were in the mind of the speaker or witer. One cause of this will be found in the fact that his thoughts are in advance of theirs; another, pat his language is familiar to them; and a third, Bore common than either, in his zeal to arrive at what be down an important truth, he may overlook some genering links in his chain of argument; or in his ward haste to establish his positions, those links may to left-out. In either case, though the effort may be, is general, logical, and even rhetorical, and though it or forth momentous truth claborately, it does not meet tis wants of inquirers, still less, the wants of those

who have need to inquire.

These reflections were suggested on reading an essay "Human Government,' in a late LIBERATOR, from nepra of A. BROOKE. The writer of the article does or ful to let his readers know that he advocates nonrestance, but he is less successful in letting them low what he means by abstaining from physical coeres or force. Were he asked, if A. has just swung of with a tope about his neck, to commit suicide, thether it would be right to cut the rope ? -- or B. has Chathethrost, in the act of strangling him, would h be proper to loose his grasp ? -or D., the claimant, is cathe point of seizing E., the fugitive, would it be isstable to step in between them, and, laying hold of the pursuer, detain him until the pursued could escape set of his reach? - what would his answers be? There pr many degrees of physical resistance between throwin the smallest conceivable impediment in the way of the wrong-doer, and taking his life. Where is the limbution ? -or are they all forbidden ?

A B. says truly, that the cost of legislation, adjudietien, &c., exceeds the profits. It is equally true, and pearly more solemn, that the death penalty should, by party of reasoning, be applied to all those who particinte in its infliction; and though his arguments may agest lucid and logical to Wendell Phillips, W. L. Girison, and all that class of minds, to those in a beer state of development, who need light, it may be dishted whether they have adaptation. For such, a witer might say, the article is too well written. The techer in a normal school gives instructions how to trach; those who receive his instructions are to teach he astracht. In morals, normal teachers are less may are yet in the primary department, and it shall be borne in mind that they require to be made equinted with simple elements before they can be polied by complex combinations. The aspirant after heavy reputation must seek laurels elsewhere; this a the field of the simple philanthropist, whose thoughts sol sympathies have especial regard to the undevel-

the same reason that no letter of the alphabet has a tight to take away his life; and if no one of them pos mes such right singly, they cannot have it collectively, for more of them can transfer that which he does at possess. If A. does kill B., the alleged forfeiture of his life is nothing but a silly legal fiction. To very common understandings, it may be made

plais, (and this is an indispensable preliminary to a tettled, abiding conclusion in the matter.) that no ore fuiration, however respectable for numbers or char-Mer, can create a single right. It can accumulate power, and ordinary reflection will show that this is its egitimate and sole use. Whether this power shall be teel for wise and virtuous purposes, or for foolish and ticious ones, is optional with the organization. That ben have associated for the former, may have led to a confused notice that they had created rights, and a little ignher stultification would prepare them to admit that an organization may do with impunity that which would be reprehensible in an individual.

A. B. may think the writer of this article has only reited what he seems to review, without taking any Position. To be explicit, then, and that we may have amething tangible before us, at present, it appears Parrantable to resort to any available means, and use them to any extent, (sparing life, which may be inviclable,) necessary for the prevention of a wrong act. For example; break the arm of the throttler, rather than permit him to consummate the diabolical act : disable the kidnapper, so far as may be necessary to present the reclamation of his victim; coerce the owner into servitude until he repents and reforms; compelings, presidents, and all others having power to dethre war and command others to do the fighting, to form the first platoon in front of the enemy's fire.

AMOS GILBERT.

LETTER PROM REV. JEHIEL CLAPLIN. Table Friends of Universal Peace and Human Brotherhood, in Concention assembled, in the city of Worcester, Mass., Nov. 29th and 80th ?

RESPECTED AND BELOVED FRIENDS, - Deeply symjudicing with you in the self-sacrificing, yet most exaling and sublime principles which you have met to decase, and which constituted the distinguishing glory of the PRINCE of Peace whilst here among men, and, as shall not be present to participate in your interesting discussions, and enjoy your wise and matured counsels. I wish to speak one word for this morally sublime and terpassingly interesting cause, and to be recognized athe among its unwavering, though unworthy friends To no one moral principle, as taught and exemplified is the beautiful and blameless life of Jesus, do I owe to such in developing, enlarging, disciplining and sabluing my mind and spirit, as to this one divine principle. There is divine power in it. It is that which 'crucifies us unto the world, and the world unto as.' Such is my estimate of its excellence and worth that it seems to me to bear the relation to other princi ples or virtues, that a foundation does to the super

structure. The truth of this will appear obvious at a

the god of war. The whole aggregate of human wretchedness and we connected with these slaughtered and
mangled militions is too vast to be comprehended by the
human mind; all of which would have been saved by
the practical application of this one principle of Pract,
When the good which is now latent in the minds and

tically carry out this doctrine, then the millennium will have come. This, then, proves the principle to drunkenness, and as light necessarily destroys darkness. Since I first embraced these divine principles of Peace, sixteen years ago, I have endeavored to give them a prominent place in my instructions as a minisbe correct, just as total abstinence would prevent all them a prominent place in my instructions as a minister of the Gospel and a teacher of righteousness; but I find the same spirit existing now as in the days of Jesus, which says, 'Let Jesus Christ come down from the cross, that we may believe on Him.' Which means, as interpreted in the light of these principles, 'I will follow Christ as far as it is safe,' forgetting that 'He follow Christ as far as it is safe,' forgetting that 'He for and who were enemsed in it, but would not tell follow Christ as far as it is safe, forgetting that 'He that seeks to save his life shall lose it.' O, how few there are who seem to comprehend the profound philosophy of the divine teachings of Jesus (Well might woods, and shot him. losophy of the divine teachings of Jesus! Well might he say to his professed friends, 'Why caff ye me Lord, and do not the things I say?' The popular clergy in this nation profess to be greatly alarmed at the denial of the plenary inspiration of the Bible, as evidence of great blindness of mind or depravity of heart, or both, and, therefore, warranting unceasing opposition to it as a most dangerous error; yet, when these same clergymen hear of the slaughter of thousands of human beings on the fields of bloody strike, and that, too, by beings on the fields of bloody strife, and that, too, by
the believers in plenary inspiration, consigning them,
as they believe, to unceasing we, will they not join in
the shouts and huzzes of the multitude, and say, 'Glorious news'—' another splendid victory!'

Ministers of the Prince of Peace recommending the

among barbarians and savages? Nothing can be plainer than that war is necessarily and irreconcilably opposed to the disinterested, self-sacrificing and forgiving spirit of Christ. But, in order to carry this doctrine out into actual practice, something more is necessary than a mere intellectual adoption of it. There must be a deep religious spirit, a holy and calm trust in the Divine protection in humble obedience to his will, a fixed moral purpose to adhere to duty amid all peril, and because the discovery of the preliminary preparations of an insurrection among the slave population, to come off on the 25th of December. Quite a number of negroes had been arrested and confined, and several ng spirit of Christ. But, in order to carry this docand relying wholly on the omnipotent arm of Jehovah had made confession. In the neighborhood of Louisa for safety and salvation.

Furnace, a plan to blow up the church was discovered

Yours, for peace on earth and good will toward men, JEHIEL CLAFLIN. East Westmoreland, N. H., Nov. 20, 1856.

THE CONCEITED SIMPLETON, AND OTH-ERS VERY SIMPLE.

Happening, a day or two ago, to look at a stray copy of the Daily Globe of June 17th, I saw a speech of the Hon. A. P. Butler, of South Carolina, delivered in the U. S. Senate June 12th, in reply to the memorable Phrenological Society should have a cast of his Honor's head taken without delay, and labelled, 'The Conceited Simpleton.'

Now, South Carolina choosing such a man (?), and Bully Brooks to defend him, to represent them in the U. S. Senate, shows what a chipalrous people they are, It is saddening to think that a Christian country, abounding in Bibles, blood-hounds, bowie-knives and bludgeons, such half-developed specimens of humanity should be chosen as the law-makers. Equally sad is Hed the U.S. Constitution has clauses to favor their

A party that has not moral principle enough to tell it that slavery is wrong, every where, shows its own hypocrisy while whining over the murderous ruffians

As for the party that has triumphed at the late election, no plummet ever can sound the depths of its depravity.

sees that Right will sometime triumph, and the millennial morn of happiness then dawn brightly on our DANIEL HITCHINGS.

Knoxville, Ill., Dec. 3, 1856.

GOD GOVERNS THE WORLD.

Politicians have very little faith that the Creator has any thing to do in the moral government and destiny the success of their cause.

We know the fact that a lady a few days ago wen good people, nor moral influence, which is breathed as an atmosphere, and which purifies and elevates, and at no very remote period either. — Memphis Visiter. operates as a conservative power in the community. The real governing power, it is thought, is with the noisy politicians, who march in grand processions, says :at the sound of fife and drum and cannon, with banners that govern !

But let the light of common sense shine upon su absurdity. Let the people understand that He who holds the pillars of the universe has something to do in the affairs of men. The heavens will not fall, nor the seas dry up, nor the foundations of the mountains are alike repulsive to all, when personally experienced. As the human body is endowed with certain senses and capacities which are common to all, so the human soul is endowed with moral and intellectual senses just as universal; and the enactment of laws which are repugnant to the instincts of any good man is as absord as the enactment of a law against hearing or seeing, or the circulation of the blood. All such laws must become null and void. A world of votes cannot make them right. How many such are now on the statutebooks of the country!—laws for enslaving men and robbing them of their rights; laws for returning flying fugilives; laws for slaughtering men in war; laws for barbarous punishments; laws that degrade and brutify. Their own inherent wickelness will cause them to be repealed or expanged at last.

Gol governs, in heaven and on earth, and good men are his vicegerents, whether they are voted into office of not. Let this thought content those who stand with universal; and the enactment of laws which are repug-

glance, in the attempt to comprehend the unnumbered the minority for principle's sake. They will one day illions of human lives that have been sacrificed to have the majority. Let this thought content those wh hearts of men shall be developed, the voting and gov-The trulling this is admitted by the advocates of erning will take care of themselves. They will then war, when they admit that if every body would prac-surely be on the side of God and Humanity.) G.

Ministers of the Prince of Peace recommending the meetings, the sale of liquor to negroes is denounced as use of Sharp's rifles! What, I ask, is more horrible prima facie evidence of seditions attempts upon them.

The Nashville (Tenn.) Banner of Nov. 27th has the following particulars relative to a contemplated slave insurrection in that State:-

For safety and salvation.

Praying that God would grant you much grace and heavenly wisdom to assist and guide you in the counsels and deliberations of your Convention, I subscribe myself.

has been arrested and imprisoned.

Among the negroes arrested and confined are the supposed ringleaders—the Generals and Captains, as they are called—of the movement. The general opinion prevails in Montgomery county, as we learn from our informant, that the plot is deep laid, and embraces

the slaves throughout a wide extent of territory, rang-ing from Kentucky South and West.

At Clarksville, a strong extra patrol are on duty every night, and so well a sured are the citizens that there is ground for precaution, that nearly every housekeeper is prepared with arms for any emergency.

SLAVE INSURRECTION. A good deal of disquietude U. S. Senate June 12th, in reply to the memorable speech of Charles Sumner. In reading the same, it soon appeared very plain that vanity and egotism were its main characteristics, and curiosity led me to count the personal pronouns. How many capital I's do you suppose it contains? If no mistake was made in the count, the speech has six hundred and screnty-three (673), to say nothing of the my's and me's! If the form of the head has any thing to do with the mentality—and I know it has—then surely the American of the plot. A large committee was then appointed from the several counties named and they submitted a from the several countiers named and they submitted a of the plot. A large committee was then appointed from the several counties named, and they submitted a report recommending that negroes should be prohibited from appearing at any public preaching, unless attended by their masters or agents; that no negro meetings should be allowed, nor any negro permitted to preach at any future gathering; that a committee should be appointed to investigate fully into all these insurrectionary movements, and to expel any white person found guilty of instigating negroes to revolt, and to inflict whatever punishment might be found necessary, and requesting every slave-owner to disarm his slaves. Another resolution requests Rev. Mr. Thomas to discontinue his missionary efforts among the negroes here after. Where passes are hereafter given to negroes. the prospect at the North, where pulpits, schools and the press should teach morality and common sense, the great political party calling itself Republican, thinks great political party calling itself Republican, thinks of the most respectable men in that region were ap that slavery is right, because a musty roll of paper, got up by slaveholding thieves and their doughface tools, Republican.

"The excitement in reference to the recent reports in regard to a probable servile insurrection is probably greater than is justified by the real state of the case. Yet it is not astonishing to reflecting minds that plots have been partly formed by the negroes, upon instigation, perhaps, of abolition emissaries, when the intemperate and indiscreed discussions which have marked the political caurass now nearly at its close are considered. We have heard speakers of both parties use language in denunciation of the candidates for the Presidency of the opposing party, when engaged in the dirty business of Notwithstanding this midnight state of the moral and intellectual faculties, the philosophic eye clearly among dissatisfied slaves that with an effort on their own part, they would be free in the event of the success of the most unused candidate; and we have seen crowds of negroes at the out-skirts of political assemblages in this city, listening attenticely to the efforts of realless this city, tistening attenticity to the Tyotis of Yearest demagogues to prore that the prospects were very fair for the election of Fremont. Was it not supposed that the negroes would take these things home and talk over them with other slaves? Of course not; heated parti-

of nations or of the world. They seem to think that things are left at loose ends, to go at random, and if it things are left at loose ends, to go at random, and if it were not for those who vote and those who hold office. Fremont's elected, you'll have to sling them pots yourthere would be no order nor government among the people—nothing but anarchy and ruin. There is no moral sense, which is a self-regulating power with all elected, by some alarmist on the sump? It is a very reasonable supposition. The fact is, if this neternal agitation of the slavery question does not cease,

The Union and American, of Nashville, Tennessee,

. The recent Presidential canvass has had a deleteriand torobes. They are those who array themselves in ous effect on the slave population. The negroes maniparties for electioneering strife, under the lead of partisan editors and demagogues. There must be not only the political meetings of the whites in large numbers. tisan editors and demagogues. There must be not only the smaller annual election excitements in the States, but the great quadrennial national campaign, requiring an immense expenditure of money, accompanied by an immense expenditure of money, accompanied by dissipation. This is government, and these are they house is more threatening than the boiling volcano in

A number of prominent citizens of this county have the seas dry up, nor the foundations of the mountains give way, though one party or another be defeated or triumphant. He who made the solid rock has planted in the human soil a sense of right and wrong which in the human soil a sense of right and wrong which in the human soul a sense of right and wrong which cannot be destroyed, nor can it be violated or perverted with impunity. There is an absolute right, an absolute justice and moral propriety, adapted to the instincts and wants of all men. Wrong and injustice

NASHVILLE, Dec. Sth. The excitement regarding the attempted insurrection of the negroes continues. Four of the ringleaders have been seized and executed at

CINCINNATI, Nov. 9th. The Louisville Journal con

Frightful Railroad Accident. Cincinnati, Dec. 8.—A train on the Cleveland and Pittsburg road ran into an express train on the Ohio and Pennsylvania road, coming west, at Alliance, Ohio, this evening, killing ten persons, and wounding several others. The following are the names of the killed, as far as ascertained:—Jacob Rudy, of Alliance; John McIntyre, of do; Dr. Smith and lady, of do; J. Atterhopst, of New Garden, O.; Wm. Ritchie, of do; N. T. Taylor, of Philadelphia; John Brooks, of New Jersey.

Drc. 9. Second Despatch. At the railroad accident last evening, one of the passengers was thrown into the rotunda of the depot, and another into the public sitting room of Burbeck's Hotel, in which several persons were sitting. Both these rooms were torn to pieces,

sons were sitting. Both these rooms were torn to pieces and the inmates either killed or wounded. But few

Third Desputch.—The train which left Pittsburg trains and New Year's Presents, and all sorts of beautiful train at 30 clock, arrived at Alliance behind the time. The passengers had just got through supper, and the train had barely started again, when the Cleveland train came dashing along at the rate of thirty miles and hour. At that moment, the Pittsburg train stood across the track at the junction of the two roads, and the Cleveland train struck between two passenger cars of the former; throwing them both off the track. It is said the former; throwing them both off the track. It is said the former; throwing them both off the track. It is said the former; throwing them both off the track. It is said the former; throwing them both off the said the said the care through the said train struck between two passenger cars of the former; throwing them both off the track. It is said the former; throwing them both off the track. It is said the care throwing them both off the track. It is said the care through the said them the cause is their own no less than ours;—that it is wisest to look far ahead in moral enterprises, nor spare to look far ahead in moral enterprises, nor spare to look far ahead in moral enterprises, nor spare to look far ahead in moral enterprises, nor spare to look far ahead in moral enterprises. Shocking Accident .- The Hornellsville Tri-

bune gives the following particulars of a railroad ac-cident, which occurred at that place on Monday last: As the mail train which leaves for Buffalo at 1 o'clock, P. M., was crossing the railroad bridge near Thacher's Mill, Mrs. Mary O'Conner, wife of James O'Conner, whose residence is near the crossing, discovered her youngest child, a boy of eighteen months, on the track, some three or four rods from the house, and the train moving toward him. Stimulated by that feeling which none but a mother can feel for the safety of her off-pring, when in imminent danger, she rushed forward to save him; but, alas! in her reckless effort to save her child, both child and mother were crushed between the wheels of the moving train. Both of the packs of blank Cards, As the mail train which leaves for Buffalo at 1 between the wheels of the moving train. Both of the woman's legs from the knees downward were literally mashed to a pummice, and she was otherwise so severe-ly injured that she died in about three hours after. One of the child's legs was also crushed, and he was otherwise so seriously injured, that he died on the fol-

Drowning of a Brother of Charles Sumner. The New York Eccaing Post, in giving an account of the Refreshment-Table, milk, cream, tea, sugar, the less of the late French steamer on the Atlantic, by coffee, eggs, bread, cake, crackers, butter, cheese,

Among the lost is Mr. Albert Sumner, brother or Hon. Charles Sumner, who has resided for some years at Newport, R. I. He was a gentleman of wealth and standing, and partook of the tastes and accomplishments of his kindred. It is a singular and melancholy coincidence, that another brother of Mr. Sumner, Horocoincidence, the Brother of Mr. Sumner, Horocoincidence, the Brother of Mr. Sumner, Horocoincid coincidence, that another orother of Mr. Summer, 105ace, a young man of great promise, lost his life by
drowning, at the wreck of the ship Elizabeth, on Fire
Island, in 1850, on which occasion Margaret Fuller
Ossoli, her husband and child, also perished. From Kansas .- Thirty-nine Free-State pri

soners at Lecompton escaped on the night of the 22-1 ult. No violence was used by them. Gov. Geary has

ult. No violence was used by them. Gov. Geary has taken measures for their recapture.

The Grand Jury having found bills against several pro-slavery men, a public meeting had been called, Surveyor General Calhoun presiding, at which Gov. Geary and his inquisitorial courts were repudiated and denounced, and a call issued for a law and order Convention to meet at Leavenworth, Dec. 1.

Col. Titus gives notice to all persons wishing to go to Nicaragua to rendezvous at St. Lauis on Dec. 10th. A free passage is offered. He says, after the settlement of the Central American question, the purpose is to turn attention to Cuba.

Col. J. B. Richardson, of South Carolina, is edifying the Charlestonians by the astonishing musical performances of five little negro boys, from 8 to 13, belonging to him.

Black Warrior, the celebrated war horse, who served in the Florida and Mexican wars, and has taken an active part in nine general battles, in some of which he was wounded, died in New York

last week, at the age of 28. There are six thousand colored person in California, who are estimated to own property val-

Death of a Theatrical Manager.—General Rufus Welch, lessee of the National Circus and Theatre in Philadelphia, and one of the oldest managers in the country, died in that city on Friday night. Despised at Home. Douglas's Congression

al District. in Illinois, gave from 10,000 to 12,000 ma-Twenty Slares Set Free .- Mr. John Berry

of Bath county, Ky., stopped at the Madison House in Covington, on Thursday night, 27th inst., with twenty slaves, whom he sent by one of the agents of the Colonization Society to Liberia a few days since. He also bought the husbands of three of his women at eight hundred and thirty-four dollars each, through feelit of humanity and justice, to accompany their wives to a land of freedom.

Slaves Manumitted. Mr. S. W. Stewart, of De Soto County, Mississippi, has recently set five negro slaves free. The papers were made out in Cincinnati. The Commercial says there are, on an average, between two and three hundred slaves manumitted in that city every year, by persons from the South.

By an attack from the natives, four farm ing villages in Liberia have been destroyed, and eighty nine families have lost their homes and property.

A monument to the memory of Rev E. P. Lovejoy, to be erected in the cemetery at Alton, Illinois, is contemplated. A committee have in hand two plans, one 100 feet high, and the other 75 feet.

A Mrs. Mary Chamberlain lost two children in Boston, recently, one thirteen months old and the other four years, by the brutal practice of leaving them locked up in the house. They found matches to play with, set themselves and the house on fire, and one burned to death and the other smothered. This ought of Tusspay, 16th inst., by PARKER PILLSBURY, an account of the American Anti-Slavery Society. to be a caution to ten thousand women who do the same | Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Havana, upon the person of a young mulatto, his apprehence. The hoy was talking to another boy, and his brute of a master seized a hot boiled egg just off the fire and thrust it into the lad's mouth, holding his hand over the mouth until the poor boy suffocated and Three slaves who recently escaped from

Messrs. Ashbroke and Garnet, of Harrison county, Ky .. are now in jal! in Covington, having been caught before they could get over the Ohio river. A brakeman nam-ed Thomas Fitzpatrick, on the Covington and Lexing-ton Railroad, is also in jail, on the charge of aiding the

There have been twenty-six sea-going ressels reported to have been totally lost during the past month of November, involving a loss of \$1.275.-800. Value of vessels, \$427.000 800. Value of vessels, \$427,000; cargoes, \$948,800 But one life was reported lost—a seaman.

The true official vote of New Hampshire is 32,782 for Buchanan, Fremont, 38,342, Fift-more, 420. Fremont's majority, 5140. Almost a Duel .- A duel was to have taken

Almost a Duel.—A duel was to have taken place on the morning of the third, between Charles Irving, editor of the Lynchburg Republican, and a Mr. Bagby, of the same place, in consequence of an article written by the latter gentleman for the December number of Harper's Magazine. strving was the challenger. The parties proceeded on the day named to Bladensburg. Irving was accompanied by Messra Pryor, Bocock and Keitt, and Bugby by W. C. Corrie and W. L. Blanchard. On arrival at the ground, the matter was amicably settled without a shot.

A severe gale of wind was experienced at Lafayette, Indiana, on the 23d ult., which blew down a bridge, tore off roofs, upset steeples, and overthrew a large quantity of timber in the woods in the vicinity. The Zanesville (Ohio) Courier mentions

the arrest of a man named Peter Ward, for putting the habe of Patrick White into the fire. The only reason given for the fiendish act lies in the fact that White, ho, it appears, was brought up in the Catholio reli-ion, had married a Protestant wife, and refused to have the child baptized in the Catholic faith, to which ward is a warm adherent. Ferdinand Andrews, formerly editor o

the Boston Traveller, has commenced the publication of a new weekly journal, called 'The Spectulor.' It is an elegant quarto of eixteen pages, devoted to literature and general intelligence. Death of Col. Thomas Fearing .- Col. Th

as Fearing, well known as one of the proprietors of the old Exchange Coffee House, elled in Baston on the morning of the 2d inst., after a long illness.

OF THE MANAGERS

THE TWENTY-THIRD National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, THE CAUSE.

The Bazaar will be opened on TUESDAY, Dec. 23, at 10 o'clock, A. M., HALL 15, WINTER STREET.

All that the Ladies-Managers resident in France persons on the cars were injured.

Among the wounded are Charles Coates, engineer;
M. A. Roth, Philadelphia; W. C. Cielland, conductor;
D. W. Courtenay; Fielding Cavanaugh and lany; Anna Armour, of Columbus, Ind.; J. Painter of Stark county, Ohio. Those killed are as reported in first demanded and New Year's Presents, and all sorts of beauti-

the former, throwing them both off the track. It is said spent, as aforetime, by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLA-the engineer of the Cleveland train has absconded.

VERY SOCIETY, in awakening that high, right feeling in the hearts of men, which displaces corrupt statesmen, rebukes servile politicians, succors fugitive slaves, upholds the truth, stands by freedom, and

Packs of blank Cards, Reams of Note-Paper,

Envelopes to correspond. Narrow gilt Picture-Frames ;

and, without more specification, of all of such as they have, nothing doubting a great crowd of purchasers.

We entreat of friends in the country and city, hams (thoroughly boiled,) all kinds of cold cooked Among the lost is Mr. Albert Sumner, brother of meats, potatoes, apples, and all sorts of preserved

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

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Receipts into the Treasury.

Collections by Parker Pillsbury :		
At Amberst, N. H.,	\$4	00
Milford, "	4	66
Reading, Mass.,	7	00
Manchester, "	. 8	00
Essex Co. Anti-Slavery Society,	7 4	00
South Danvers, Mass.,	Maria 4	00
Methuen, 4	5	50
Weymouth Female A. S. Society, for ?	Cract	
Fund,		00
FRANCIS JACKSON.		

WM. WELLS BROWN will read his Anti-Slaery Drama in the following places :-East Walnole.

Friday, Saturday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Shirley, 17. Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Stoneham,

MANCHESTER, N. H .-- An Anti-Slavery Con vention will be held at Manchester, on Sunday, Dec. 14, at the usual hours of meeting, morning, afternoon and evening.
STEPHEN S. FOSTER and JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, Agent

thing.

One of the most brutal deeds ever heard of was perpetrated by a shoemaker in Jesu Maria st., Havana, upon the person of a young mulatto, his apharam, upon the person of a young mulatto, his apharam, upon the person of a young mulatto, his apharam and evening. Let all, by whatever name known, and his property of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in WAYERLEY HALL, Upton, on Sunday, Dec. 14, aftermoon and evening.

TO STORE-KEEPERS AND PRINTERS. A colored young man of proper acquirements, and furnished with good recommendations, desires a situation as clerk.

A colored young woman is desirous to learn the ar-

of printing.

Apply to WM. C. NELL,
Dec. 12. 21 Cor 21 Cornhill.

WATER CURE.

DR. WELLINGTON, 34 East Twelfth street, corner of University Place, New York, has enlarged and improved his house, and it now presents attractions and advantages found in no other establishment in this country. Call and see. Board by the day or week.

New York, Nov. 21, 1856. 5t p

Profitable Employment for the Winter Months

PLEASE TO READ THIS! AGENTS WANTED Extra Inducements for 1857. A LL PERSONS IN WANT OF EMPLOYMENT

A LE PERSONS IN WANT OF EMPLOYMENT

Will at once receive our CATALOGUE OF B-ORS for
the New Year, pre-paid, by forwarding us their address. Particular attention is requested to the liberal
offers we make to all persons engaging in the sale of
our Large Type Quarto PICTORIAL FAMILY BIBLE,
with about ONE THOUSAND ENGRAVINGS. Our
books are sold only by canvassers, and well known to
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On receipt of the established price, Six Dollars the Pictorial Family Bible, with a well bound Subscription Book, will be carefully boxed, and forwarded pe express, at our risk and expense, to any central town or village in the United States, excepting those of Cal-lfornia, Oregon and Texas. O10 2m

CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S PRES ENTS.

JOHN T. MATTHEWS, 17 Howard street, has on hand, a select assortment of JEWELRY and FAN. CY GODDS, suitable for Christman and New Year's Presents—all of which he offers at the lowest cash

CATHARTIC PILLS

OPERATE by their powerful influence on the internal viscera to purify the blood and stimulate it into healthy action. They remove the obstructions of the stomach, bowels, liver, and other organs of the body, and, by restoring their irregular action to health, correct, wherever they exist, such derangements as are the first causes of disease. An extensive trial of their virtues, by Professors, Physicians, and Patients, has shown cures of dangerous diseases almost beyond belief, were they not substantiated by persons of such exalted position and character as to forbid the suspicion of untruth. Their certificates are published in my American Almanac, which the Agents below manned are pleased to furnish free to all inquiring.

Annexed we give Directions for their use in the complaints which they have been found to cure.

For Costrivaness.—Take one or two pills, or such quantity as to gently more the bowels. Costiveness is frequently the aggravating cause of PILES, and the cure of one complaint is the cure of both. No person can feel well while under a costive habit of body. Hence it should be, as it can be, promptly relieved.

For Dyspersia, which is sometimes the cause of Costiceness, and always uncomfortable, take mild doses—from one to four—to stimulate the stomach and liver into healthy action. They will do it, and the hearthern, bodyburn, and southern of dyspepsia will rapidly disappear. When it is gone, don't forget what cured you.

For a Four Stomacu, or Morbid Innetion of the Bove-

you.

FOR A FOUL STOMACH, or Morbid Inaction of the Bouels, which produces general depression of the spirits and bad health, take from four to eight Pills at first, and smaller doses afterwards, until activity and strength are restored to the system.

FOR NERVOUNCESS, SICK HEADACHE, NAUSRA, Pain in the Stomach, Back, or Side, take from four to eight pills on going to bed. If they do not sperate sufficiently, take more the next day until they do. These complaints will be swept out from the system. Don't wear these and their kindred disorders because your stomach is foul.

these and their kindred disorders occause your stonaus foul.

For Scroyula, Envilvelas, and all diseases of the Skin, take the Fills freely and frequently, to keep the bowels open. The cruptions will generally soon begin to diminish and disappear. Many dreadful ulcers and sores have been healed up by the purging and purifying effect of these Pills, and some disgusting diseases, which seemed to saturate the whole system, have completely yielded to their influence, leaving the sufferer in perfect health. Patients! your duty to society forbids that you should parade yourself around the world covered with pimples, blotches, ulcers, sores, and all or any of the unclean diseases of the skin, because your system wants cleansing.

ples, blotches, ulcers, sores, and all or any of the unclean diseases of the skin, because your system wants cleansing.

To Purity the Blood, they are the best medicine ever discovered. They should be taken freely and frequently, and the impurities which sow the seeds of incurable diseases will be swept out of the system like chaff before the wind. By this property they do as much good in preventing sickness as by the remarkable cures which they are making every where.

LIVER COMPLAINT, JAUNDICE, and all Bilious Affections arise from some derangement—either torpidity, congestion, or obstructions of the Liver. Torpidity and congestion vitiate the bile, and render it unfit for digestion. This is disastrous to the health, and the constitution is frequently undermined by no other cause Indigestion is the symptom. Obstruction of the duet which empties the bile into the stemach causes the bile to overflow into the blood. This produces Jaundice, with a long and dangerous train of cvils. Costiveness, or, alternately, costiveness and diarrhea, prevalls. Feverish symptoms, languor, low spirits, weariness, restlessness, and melancholy, with sometimes inability to sleep, and sometimes great drowsiness; sometimes there is sovere pain in the side; the skin and the white of the eyes become a greenish yellow; the stomach acid; the bowels sore to the touch; the whole systemirritable, with a tendency to fever, which may turn to bilious fever, bilious colic, billous diarrhea, dysentery, &c. A medium dose of three or four pills taken at night, followed by two or three in the morning, and repeated a few days, will remove the cause of all these troubles. It is wicked to suffer such pains when you can cure them for 20 cents.

Rellematism, Gout, and all Inflammatory Fevers are rapidly cured by the purifying effects of these Pills upon the blood and the stimulus which they afford to the vial principle of Life. For these and all kindred complaints they should be taken in mild doses, to move the bowels gently, but freely.

gently, but freely.

As a DINNER PILL, this is both agreeable and useful.

No pill can be made more pleasant to take, and certainly none has been made more effectual to the purpose for which a dinner pill is employed. PREPARED BY

J. C. AYER,

Practical and Analytical Chemist, LOWELL, MASS., AND SOLD BY

THEODORE METCALF & CO., BREWER, STEVENS & CUSHING, Boston; BROWN & PRICE, Selem ;

H. H. HAY, Portland; J. N. MORTON & CO., Concord, N. H.; And by all Druggists and Dealers in Medicine every

Heralds of Freedom.

IN active preparation, by GROZELIER, the eminent French artist, and will be published by C. H. BRAINARD.

124 WASHINGTON STREET, A magnificent lithographic print, of the size and style of the famous print, the

'Champions of Freedom,'

in which will be presented the portraits, drawn from daguerrectypes taken expressly for the purpose, of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. WENDELL PHILLIPS THEODORE PARKER, RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, SAMUEL J. MAY.

GERRIT SMITH,

Address C. H. BRAINARD, 124 Washington street, or W. C. NELL, office of The Liberator. N14 tf The North and the South.

A STATISTICAL VIEW OF THE

CONDITION FREE AND SLAVE STATES

By HENRY CHASE and CHARLES W. SANBORN. Compiled from Official Documents. 12 mo., bound in cloth Price 50 cents

F any one wishes to know what Slavery has done for I the South, and Freedom 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 swept 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.

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, holding and non-slaveholding Slates—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 contains 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 conics.

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The United States Constitution,

AND ITS PRO-SLAVERY COMPROMISES.

THE Constitution a Pro-Slavery Compact; or, Extracts from the Madison Papers, etc. Selected by Wesdell Phillips. Third Edition, Enlarged. 12me. 208 pages. Just published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, and for sale at 21 Cornhill, Boston. Also, at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York and Philadelphia. Price, in cloth, 50 cts.; in thick paper covers 371

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POETRY.

For the Liberator. POWER.

An awful trust is Power ! To see mankind Before their fellow-man bow lowly down ; Their weal or woe from others' smile or frown Humbly accepting, with meck head declined.

How hideous is Power, when jealous pride Lashes to madness the strong despot's rage ! In pleading, no submission can assuage-No pity dwells where scorn and hate abide.

Oh, rank ! Oh, riches ! yes, your power is great : Proud Mammon's altars countless votaries throng There kneel the haughty, and there bend the strong, Where crowned Mammon sits in gilded state.

But glorious is Power, when o'er the realm Enlightened laws and equal rule bear sway; When willing subjects such just rule obey, As does the vessel the directing helm.

And beautiful the power o'er many a heart, The life, the actions of the truly good, Who, strongly tempted, stand; who, unsubdued By evil, calmly choose the better part.

Wonderfully great is intellectual power ! Though cribbed and cabined in its cell of clay, The minds, the hearts of thousands own its sway-All ages and all nations are its dower.

Father of all men's spirits ! in that hour We stand before thy throne, responsible For every talent's use, or good, or ill, How awful will appear our every power!

Tenterden, Kent, (Eng.)

For the Liberator. TO CHARLES SUMNER.

. The path of duty is the way to glory.' SUMNER, we proudly greet thee now; We reet thee to thy home ;-Fame's brightest wreath rests on thy brow ; A hero dost thou come.

Oh, 'white-souled' man, each loyal heart Most warmly beats for thee. In this, thy honored Commonwealth, The last hope of the free.

She greets thee as her chosen son. Still suffering for the right ; She thanks thee for the victory won O'er rror's cruel might.

What though the gallant Pioneer May ot the nation lead, Shall we repine whilst thou art spared For noble word and deed?

Oh, no! brave champion of the truth, We bless the God who gave. That He has spared thy precious life To Kansas and the slave :-

That once again thy burning words Shall fall on guilty ears, Whilst thou to basest cowards show'st A soul that never fears.

Our earnest, loving sympathy, Our hopes and prayers are thine-And well we know that on thee rests A blessing all divine.

Then welcome to thy home once more, Oh, chosen of the free ! While we with swelling hearts unite To greet and honor thee.

Louise.

From the Boston Atlas. CHARLES SUMNER. Blest is the man whose trust is founded deep Within the calmness of a righteous mind. Like the tossed ship, whose sunken anchors feel The living rock the dashing waves conceal, But with unyielding grasp the treasure bind, While fearful tempests o'er the ocean sweep ! The outward eye may fill with sorrow's tears, The shaded brow some secret pain confess, And e'en the heart seem tremulous with fears, Or pine beneath a sense of loneliness.

Conspiring foes may struggle to oppress The overburdened enirit hut deepnis Shall never gain a habitation there! Oppression guards and fortifies her wrong With iron manacles and clanking chains, The torturing screw, and the tormenting tongs, And every dark invention that belongs To her infernal policy of pains,

But warring with eternal hatred, Might, Though clad in triple armor, and obeyed By all the harassed slaves his power hath made. Shall never sing a poun over Right. Till Impotence subdues the Infinite! And he who battles in a righteous cause,

Though smitten early in the holy strife, Dies nobler than the Spartan for his laws, Or all the slain of Greek or Punic wars-For daring thus to lose, he findeth Life ! Plymouth, (Ind.) Nov., 1856.

From the N. Y. Evening Post. A WALK BY BUNKER HILL I walked abroad in a stilly night, There was ne'er a star or moon in sight-A breeze from the South came rushing by.

As the South wind will. My thoughts were filled with the patriot dead. And musing and slowly my steps I led To where the monument stands so high, Upon Bunker Hill

Oh, where, said I, do the patriots sleep? And where does freedom her vigils keep? And then I heard, (if not, may I die,) Quite audibly, 'Here.'

How solemn to hear dead heroes sigh ! I staid, for I saw the keeper nigh. He stared for a moment, and then he said,

'That's a little too good. "You thought it was Liberty's buried braves-When it was Toombs a-calling his slaves, Here in the Monument's solemn shade. As he said he would."

"Twas Benj. F. Hallett that answered so loud, And Colonel Peaslee, and all that crowd, And the solemn "Here" that last went by, That was Rufus Choate.

. They are no relation to this here dust. They are answering "Here" because they must; The only freedom for which they sigh Is to turn their coat.' C.

ON THE LIBRARIE AT CAMBRIDGE. In that great maze of books I sighed and said : It is a graveyard, and each tome a tombe ; Shrouded in hempen rags, behold the dead

Coffined and ranged in crypts of dismal gloom ; Food for the worm, and redelent of mold, Traced with brief epitaph in tarnished gold. Ah, golden-lettered hope ! ah, dolorous gloom ! Yet 'mid the common death, where all is cold, And mildewed pride in desolation dwells, A few great immortalities of old Stand brightly forth-not tombes, but living shrine Wherefrom high sainte or martyr virtue wells ; Which on the living yet work miracles, Spreading a relie wealth richer than golden mines

THE LIBERATOR.

NON-RESISTANCE CONVENTION.

Agreeably to the notice given through the columns o the Liberator, Practical Christian, and otherwise, a ity. Non-Resistance Convention was held in Horticultural Hall, Worcester, on Saturday and Sunday, the 29th and 30th ult. It was organized by the choice of the

following officers, to wit :-

President-ADIN BALLOH Vice Presidents-Effingham L. Cappon, EBENEZES D. DBAPER.

Secretary-WM. S. HATWOOD. Business Committee-Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Stephen S. Foster, Adin Ballou, Sarah H. Earle, Anna T. Dra-

Finance Committee-Abby K. Foster, Darius M Allen, Warren W. Dutcher.

Mr. Ballor, upon taking the chair, made some gen eral remarks upon the great question for the conside ration of which the Convention had been called, the present aspect of the Non-Resistance cause, &c. He dwelt at length upon the universality of the principle of Love, and its persetual obligation-the principle u; on which the doctrine of Non-Resistance is based.

S. S. FOSTER remarked that there was a class of per sons -most of those who had once been professed Non Resistants, but who are so no longer, belonging to that elass-who justified war and violence, in extreme cases, on the ground that love and good will prompted them. As a mother uses a rod upon her child out of regard for its welfare, so may one, out of regard to the welfare of a fellow-creature, under some circumstances, put him to death. Such treatment of a bad man may be prompted by love. 'And,' said Mr. F., 'I do not know how to get along with the argument. I seek information upon that point."

Mr. Battou thought no intelligent man would us that argument with a looking-glass before him-it was so puerile and ridiculous. The old ground of war capital punishment, &c., as urged by all statesmen and writers in its defence was, that there is a point beyond which a wrong-doer forfeits all claims to have his good consulted. That is the only ground upon which the barbarous customs alluded to can be justified. This new idea, that we can take the life of a fellow-creature in love, confounds all moral distinctions.

Mr. Poster was not satisfied with the answer to the argument stated by him, and proceeded to defend the idea that love may not only cause pain, but even death, in the case of very wicked and dangerous men. The mother whips her child; the physician administers an emetic; Mr. Garrison rebukes slaveholders and their abettors ;-all give pain, and yet it is for the good of those experiencing it. Why may we not go a little further, and take life for certain reasons upon the same beneficent principle? One who believes in violence and who takes the life of a fellow-being in certain cases, justifiable to him, may be just as good, just as loving, as another, who accepts the doctrine of Non-Resistance, and who seeks always to save life. Character cannot be determined at all by the use or rejection of deadly weapons. Non-Resistance can be defended, not on principle, on the principle of love, but on the ground of its utility. He deemed it more useful than the opposite idea, and so accepted it. It was determined to be more useful from history, and from the nature of man. Non-Resistance depends upon the activity of the higher or moral and spiritual faculties in our natures, by which the lower instincts and propensities in ourselves and in others may be controlled.

Mr. Ballou, in responding, observed that there were two things in his friend's remarks which seemed to him very strange. First, it was strange that he should make no distinction between beneficent force and murderous force-between that pain which is evidently or possibly necessary to preserve health, life or morals, and that which destroys one or all of these. A loving mother corrects her child with the rod, supposing it will be benefitted thereby. But is that analogous to beating the child to death? A physician gives an emetic which he considers necessary to the relief of his patient, knowing it will first produce pain. Is that like giving prussic acid, which he knows will cause death? Mr. Garrison hurts the feelings of the oppressors of men by an application of wholesome truth. Is their arms, or blowing out their brains? The common as to say, in the former part of his remarks, that vio- stant supremacy of the Slave Power over the nat in destroying life as another in saving it, and then declaring, afterwards, that Non-Resistance depends altogether upon the active exercise of the higher nature. It was difficult to understand the reasoning by which it was made to appear that Non-Resistance depended upon the activity of the moral nature, when such activ-

WM. W. Cook thought a difficulty in carrying forward the cause of Non-Resistance had arisen from too much indulgence in philosophical discussion-in hair splitting distinctions. He considered Non-Resistance was something to be in us-a spirit to be cherished, gether a doctrine to be discussed, or a creed to be be-

EVENING SESSION. The meeting commenced at 7 o'clock, E. L. Capron in the chair. The exercises were by ADIN BALLOU: introduced by a song-

· How glad was the anthem the bright angels sung.' WM. LLOYD GARRISON, in behalf of the Business Committee, then presented for the consideration of the Convention the following series of

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States ex pressly provides, that . Congress shall have power to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a atives of such practices. navy, to provide for arming, organizing and disciplining the militia, to declare war, grant let- the term, forbids the use of no force or means calculatters of marque and reprisal," and also that "the Presi- ed to restrain evil doers, or to protect human beings in dent shall be commander-in-chief of the army and na- the enjoyment of their natural rights, provided such vy of the United States, and of the militia of the ser- force or means be obviously beneficent in its legitimate eral States, when called into the actual service of the effect on all persons concerned. United States'; therefore,

with the teachings of Christ, and inherently sinful, are self, also by the Golden Rule, "All things whatsoever necessarily precluded from the ballot-box on the ground ye would that others should do to you, do ye even a of moral consistency; nor can they vote to sustain the unto them; and especially by the precepts, Love Constitution of the United States, without standing self- your enemies,' &c., ' Bless, and curse not. condemned before the world, and utterly repudiating the principles of peace.

2. Resolved. That those who are pre-eminently blameworthy, in this particular, are the members of being supported alike by the purest religion and the the American Peace Society, and of the . Religious Society of Friends,' who not only bear no testimony against a course of conduct so utterly inexcusable, but pursue it with alacrity.

3 Resolved, That no friend of peace can justify his vote, on the plea that he is aiming to avert an impending evil, or to crown with success a desirable measure; inasmuch as his vote is not specific and limited, but general and comprehensive as the American Constitution itself ; and, therefore, it is stained with blood.

4 Resolved, That the corrupt doctrine, that ' the en sanctifies the means,' and that it is sometimes expedient to do evil that good may come, is not peculiarly characteristic of the Romish Church, but is no where more popular than in the United States, or more fre quently resorted to than by American Protestants whether in a religious or political sense.

5. Resolved, That if war be not intrinsically wrong then Christ as the Prince of Peace is not worthy of reognition ; then the gospel of peace is not worthy of all acceptation ; then the God of peace is not deserving of worship, for he cannot be the true God.

6. Resolved, That if it be ' a self-evident truth, tha

all men are endowed by their Creator with an inaliens right to life," it is equally true that no man, or body of men, can innocently destroy that life, on any pretext; therefore, there can be no justifiable war, no inforcement of capital punishment, without criminal-

7.-Resolved, That if it be morally right to kill in self-defence, it must be equally so to lie, cheat, circum vent, oppress, and do any thing else in self-defence for it is the real or supposed extremity of danger that is arged in vindication of the act; but this is to subvert the foundations of morality, and to destroy all distinctions between right and wrong.

8. Resolved, That non-resistance cannot be anarchi cal in its tendency, for all anarchists are hostile to th spirit of peace ; it cannot be despotic, for all despot trample it beneath their feet ; it cannot be revolutionary in a bloody sense, for it repudiates the sword; it cannot be irreligious, for the wicked scoff at it, and it is constantly appealing to 'the Higher Law'; it cannot endanger life, liberty, or property, for these are safe in proportion to its prevalence. Therefore,

9. Resolved, That the doctrine which all anarchist and tyrants, and bloody-minded men scornfully reject as fanatical-which ' the chief priests, and scribes, and pharisees' denounce as irreligious-and which is admitted to be excellent for a millennial state of the world-must be 'of heaven, and not of men,' and therefore as beneficent and glorious as it is divinely obligatory.

10 Resolved, That four millions of chattel slaves a clanking their chains in hopeless servitude in our land only because neither they nor their masters are no resistants ; for they mutually believe in the right to shed blood and destroy life, as circumstances may reder expedient.

11. Resolved, That Calvary and Bunker Hill are in econcileable in spirit and purpose; that Jesus, ' the Lamb of God, and Washington, the military hero, do not march under the same banner, nor keep step the same music; that it is nobler to forgive than t take vengeance on enemies; that it is better to be as sheep in the midst of wolves, than to possess a wolfish disposition; that it is better to be nailed to the crosunresistingly, than to bring fire down from heaven t consume the persecutors.

12. Resolved, That the American Church, in ur solding the entire war system,-the militia, the army. the navy, arsenals and fortifications, with a blood stained and defiant flag waving over them all,-ha long since demonstrated itself to be an anti-Christian organization, to say nothing of its guilty complicity with those who traffic in slaves and the souls of men.

13. Resolved, That those who profess to be servant and ministers of Christ, and to exemplify his spirit and preach his gospel, and yet exult in deeds of blood, and advocate the right and duty to give blow for blow, and shot for shot, in a given emergency, know not what spirit they are of, and are not entitled to the Christian

14. Resolved, That the duty of non-resistance is no an arbitrary command, nor dependant upon any seriptural text, but is based upon the reason of things, upon human relations and obligations, upon the philosophy of mind, upon the nature of good and evil, upon that love which works no will to any, and is ' the fulfilling 15. Resolved, That, in the language of the Non

Resistance Declaration of Sentiments, ' we register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war ; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army ; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments com memorative of victory over a foreign foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms, on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government requiring of its subjects military service."

16. Resolved, That the results of the conflicts a Bunker Hill, Lexington, Concord, and Yorktown, are the expenditure of seven hundred millions of dollars upon the army and payy since that period, (besides a vast amount expended in training the militia of the several States,)-the brutal expulsion and rapid extermination of the various Indian tribes, -the increase o that to be compared to slitting their cars, breaking the slave population from half a million to four millions, - the extension of chattel slavery over a million sense of mankind would decide this matter. Second, it of square miles of additional territory,-the multipliwas strange that Mr. Foster should be so inconsistent cation of nine new slaveholding States, and the constate of the moral faculties, that one may be as good press in one half of the Union,-and the triumph of Border Ruffianism universally.

17. Resolved, That the profane command of Cron well to his soldiers, 'Trust in the Lord, and keep your powder dry,' is in open derision of the sublime injunction of Jesus, 'Love your enemies, and fear not them who can kill the body,' and of his soul-subduing prayity was alike promotive of both war and peace-of vi- er, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what

18. Resolved, That there has never been a war or battle for the rights and liberties of mankind, but only for the benefit of a particular tribe, clan or nation, in the spirit of revenge or selfishness ;-our boasted revolutionary war forming no exception to the rule, having feeling to be exercised toward all men, and not alto- been waged with express reference to colonial independence of the mother country, whilst the colonists

The following additional resolutions were presented

1. Resolved, That Non-Resistance, in our meaning of the term, is total abstinence from the intentional in fliction of injury by man on man under pretext of re venging, suppressing or resisting evil; and, consequently, that it forbids all war, dernier resorts to the use of deadly weapons, capital punishments, injurious imprisonments, and every kind of treatment of enemier and offenders which is obviously contrary to their true welfare, together with all the preparatives and perpetu-

2. Resolved, That Non-Resistance, in our meaning of

3. Resolved, That Non-Resistance, in our meaning 1. Resolved, That those who profess to believe that all of the term, is necessarily dictated by the second great war, and all preparations for war, are incompatible commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thy

> 4. Resolved, That Non-Resistance, as we define it, i a plain dictate of enlightened reason, as well as of divine revelation, and man's highest spiritual intuitions sublimest philosophy.

> 5. Resolved, That the assumption which lies at the foundation of all systems and practices of intentional injury to offenders, viz., that there is a point beyond which their good is no longer to be sought, and that of the injured party or the public only to be regarded, is false, and on the whole demoralizing to mankind

> 6. Resolved, That what cannot be done uninjurious ly to all parties concerned, in the way of resisting evil. lways makes a bad matter worse.

Apra Barroy also, in the same connection, laid be fore the Convention a 'Suggestive Basis of Political Action,' upon which he invited discussion. It was as

Know all people whom it may concern, that we the undersigned, in order more effectually to assert, maintain and illustrate the natural rights of man, and to prevent as far as possible all obvious violations thereof, do hereby enter into a sacred league with each other, to be entitled,

The Pacific League of Human Rights. We hold that all human beings, irrespective sex, color, nativity, caste or rank, are equally enalienable and absolute rights; that these rights, not being derived from man, cannot be violated by man, in any relationship or capacity, without crime; that these rights are always limited by the equally sacred obligation, imposed by their Oreator on all mankind, never to infringe the co-equal rights of others, nor inflict intentional injury on them, nor disregard their terms of the content o jury on them, nor disregard their true persona welfare; and that among these rights the follow

ing are prominent, viz. :
1. The right to life and its proper necessarie all persons being subject to such guardianship, providence and restraint, as, under peculiar circumstances, may be really requisite to their own welfare, the just protection of others, and the public good; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

2. The right always to favorable consideration from others in the ratio of their own weakness, incompetency and defencelessness; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

3. The right, whether in private or public life, to act always in scrupulous accordance with the dictates of their own consciences; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.) 4. The right freely to exercise reason, inquire after truth, form opinions, and express their minds

7. The right, by mutual agreement or consent of parties, to associate with others in any relation-

ship, for any purpose, to any extent, on any terms (limited only by the obligation aforeraid.) S. The right, if personally competent, to exercise and enjoy co-equal suffrage, representation and privilege with all the recognized members of any civil society or government which assumes compul-they should do it dishonor. They deem it divine, sory authority over their persons and property (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

oaths, affirmations and engagements imposed on them, unless they expressly include the exception-able particulars; (limited only by the obligation

sory civil government on any question, with or against any party, to define by explicit public declaration what their vote shall signify, and how far it shall commit them to the decision of the 'No, there are no such cases.' God never made a huruling majority; and if allowed to vote notwith-standing such declaration, then to hold themselves man being to be killed by another. The sacredness of huwholly irresponsible for results other than those man life is a safe doctrine. Those who hold to the disspecifically designated; (limited only by the obliceretionary right to destroy life are not to be trusted

gation aforesaid.)
11. The right, by all just means and truly uninjurious forces, to maintain their natural rights, to protect themselves and others from all preventable aggression, to combine with others when prac-ticable for the purpose of disarming and rendering harmless outrageous persons, and to receive all rightful protection from governments which as- Societies, could vote to support a war-sustaining Con-

the natural rights aforesaid, viz. :-1. Chattel Slavery, with all its inductive and

supplementary adjuncts. 2. International war, and all dernier resorts to the use of deadly weapons between human beings, down now. If Christ be not the Prince of Peace to whether offensive or defensive, with all their prep- day, he never will be. There is great inconsistency of

whether offensive or defensive, with all their preparatives and perpetuatives.

3. Capital punishment, and vindictive punishment of every kind, with all treatment of offenders which is essentially brutal, cruel, injurious, or neglectful of their true personal welfare.

4. The exclusion of females, and various pro-

scribed classes of males, from co-equal suffrage, representation and privilege in civil government, hich nevertheless assumes compulsory authority over their persons and property.

5. Authorizing dangerous classes of men to par-

creatures, and thereby publicly convict themselver of utter unworthiness to exercise governmental power in civilized communities.

And now, to the faithful maintenance of the

common cause instituted in this league, by all and publication of a Tract, showing how Non-Resisttion, we each selemnly pledge our uncomprom- now the great argument against us, and we ought to do ising devotion and self-sacrificing honor, so long something to meet that argument. The interests of the as our respective names shall remain hereunto

principles than upon opposite ones. She therefore sug After the reading of this document, Mr. Ballou presented some arguments in favor of the same, though without committing himself to the policy which it embodied. A somewhat desultory debate upon the matter was participated in by Messrs. Ballou, Garrison, Poster and others, indicating the general conviction slave: he is now a slave. What has made him so? ment based upon the war principle.

A stranger remarked that he deemed non-resistance a fine idea, but quite impracticable in the present condition of the world. It was divine; it belonged to God; and since men are human and not divine, he thought it could not be always a duty. Still, if it could be practicable, it would be the salvation of the world.

who had preceded him. He then went on to argue against the proposition to participate in politics, on the of the fundamental principles of the government. Voters are known only as sustaining the war feature of jected Non-Resistance, and so rejected Christ. the government. He saw nothing wrong in voting for men who would not take the oath of office, but could not understand how we could aid in putting men into places where they were required to violate our ideas of right.

Apin Ballov stated further arguments that had been or might be urged in favor of the proposition. We have a natural right to express our preferences between two opposing candidates for office, to wit,-Fremont and Buchanan. Could any body of men take away that right? Furthermore, could any government so order its policy as to involve one exercising said right, or any natural right, in the responsibility of its organic wickedness? He thought there was a point there which admitted of some discussion. It did not seem altogether clear.

WM. LEGYD GARRISON considered the proposition a dangerous one. When we engage voluntarily in the The framers of the Constitution, foreseeing the troubles

SUNDAY Morning Session. The Convention was called to order by ADIN BALLOU, and a song, 'Non-Resistants, raise the standard,'

was sung. Mr. Gannison read an appropriate passag of Scripture, which parrated David's treatment of Saul. The resolutions were again read. THOMAS HARKELL gave some interesting inciden

his experience for the encouragement of others; and expressed great faith in non-resistance as a saving power S. S. Fosten said he had a serious charge to brin

against those who believed in the use of violence in selfby the United States Government had been slain in be some little self-defence. The Mexicans, the Indians were not kill- it be guiltless. ed in self-defence. And who are responsible? The Mr. Garnison suggested that though it might be dif-

supporters of government. He thought it was our duty to oppose the inconsistency of our opponents, and to show that they were false to their own principles. Again, the government outrage all our rights. He had no rights that had not been invaded by the officers o the city or State. His property had been plundered from him, and devoted to purposes which he abhorred Members of the government said it was right to smit down highwaymen, and then send highwaymen to rob on-resistants. He went for attacking these respects ble robbers. If anybody is to be sent to the gallows, let villains in broadcloth go first, then villains in rags. He loved Anti-Slavery, Woman's Rights, and other Reforms, but he gave his warmest sympathies to Non-

Mr. FLANDERS, of Maine, rose to speak to the propo sition for political action. Man is a moral being, mad for Love, Freedom, Justice, Right, and Truth, and was therefore out of his place in an organization that outraged all these.

AFTERNOON SESSION. The meeting was opened with a song entitled, ' Might with the right.'

after truth, form opinions, and express their minds on all subjects within the range of human thought, (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

5. The right to dwell, to sojourn, to go, and to be wherever they may deem it necessary or desirable: (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

6. The right to acquire control and or solve the control of the numerous points connected with it should be first discussed. We need not be troubled that we are few. Jesus was despised and rejected of men in his own age, but not received the control of the numerous points. 0. The right to acquire, control and enjoy property, by any means and to any extent; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

own age, but not more so than he is in America to-day we are opposed as Jesus was, because of the blindnes only by the obligation aforesaid.) own age, but not more so than he is in America to-day. and selfi-hness of men. It would seem, judging from the treatment reformers receive, as if they were not the friends, but the deadliest enemies of man.

Two things in the Non-Resistance cause are noticea ble. 1. The profligate, the violent, the ambitious and they should do it dishonor. They deem it divine, Christ-like, but feel as if they could not practise it 9. The right, under any civil government which assumes compulsory authority over them, to absolve themselves by explicit public declaration from all implied duty to support or help execute such exceptionable particulars of its constitution, laws or requirements as they deem essentially repugnant to the natural rights of man, or to the commandments of God; and thereafter, if allowed to participate in such givernment, to construct to examine and assert the principles of pages as pages. ed to participate in such government, to construe to examine and assert the principles of peace as never in accordance with such declaration all qualifying before. Border-Ruffianism in Kansas had every where roused the war spirit. But we may not help one good cause by trampling upon another.

Advocates for war reason as advocates for slavery do 10. The right, before voting under any compul- The slaveholder believes in freedom, but there are ex-'No, there are no such cases.' God never made a huwith it. If you can make out a reason for taking human life once, you can for taking it a thousand times With reference to government, he had not voted for twenty-two years. He first came out from politics of Non-Resistance grounds; and it was surprising to him how members of the Society of Friends, and of Peace some compulsory authority over them; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.).

Furthermore, we the undersigned solemnly declare our profound abhorrence of the following specified practices, now upheld by professedly civilized States and Nations in obvious violation of come to an end, and they do not wish to be considered as upholding that system. 'The Gospel,' they say, will ultimately abolish it.' But if the Gospel is de signed ever to put down war, it is designed to put it day, he never will be. There is great inconsistency o views in respect to the subject of war. Dr. Channing was singularly inconsistent with himself. [Mr. G here read extracts from Channing's works, in proof o his statement] When such a man as Dr. C. discourses so contradictorily on this great question, we may not wonder at the blindness of the masses. The spirit of Non-Resistance was the spirit of Jesus. What gave him his power? It was the lamb-like disposition he

exhibited in his treatment of enemies. He went as a 5. Authorizing dangerous classes of men to par-ticipate in civil government, who persistently tram-lamb led to the slaughter. In that spirit is to be found ple on the most sacred rights of their weaker fellow the redemption of the world. ABBY K. FOSTER rose to a point of business. Sh thought funds should be raised, not only to defray the expenses of this meeting, but to use in the preparation stifiable and consistent measures of co-opera- ance might be applied to affirs in Kansas. Kansas is something to meet that argument. The interests of the slave can be promoted far more efficiently upon Peace

gested that a Committee be appointed by this Conven tion to prepare a Tract upon the subject mentioned. Mr. S. MITCHELL, of Maine, had been inquiring for years how man could be raised from his present lov condition. Up to the present time, man had been that non-resistants have nothing to do with a govern- his opinion, it was government. Mr. M. indulged in general condemnation of government, as an engine

oppression. WM. W. Cook thought we ought to urge upon the at tention of professing Christians the fact that they wer living in open and constant violation of the most vital doctrine of Christianity. The religion of Jesus differed from other religious mainly in its Non-Resistant fea-S. S. Foster spoke again of the utility of non-resistures; and yet, in this respect, it was every where tance, and commended that feature of it to the friend trampled upon by those who claim the Christian name. He deemed it our duty to make this appear to those ground, mainly, that, notwithstanding any protest we Christian ministers in all the churches; but there were might make, we should certainly be practical supporters not. He wished the congregation worshipping in Horticultural Hall had a Christian minister; but he re-

EVENING SESSION.

E. L. Cappon in the chair. A song was sung, 'What night be done, if men were wise."

In accordance with the suggestion of A. K. FOSTER at the afternoon meeting, the following persons were appointed a Committee to prepare and publish a Non-Re sistance Tract in reference to Kansas, to wit, Abby K. Foster, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Adin Ballou, and Wil liam W. Cook. After brief remarks from sundry persons, ADIN

Ballou proceeded to speak in illustration of the Resolutions which define what the term Non-Resistance signifies. We accept the doctrine as rational, common sense, practical men and women. We have no vague, uncertain, shadowy notions of life and its duties; no affairs of a state or nation, we sustain its iniquity. better intuitions of the pure and good. He argued at theories which are repulsive to the sound judgment and that might arise from the notions, whims, and con- distinction existing between injurious and uninjurious length in defence of the idea that there is an essential sciences of men, went to work in such a way as to se- force, between wholesome restraint or compulsion which cure, despite all these, the end they had in view,—the obviously regarded the good of its object, and murder establishment and perpetuation of a pro-war govern- ous violence which entirely disregarded the good of its ment. Mr. G. examined Mr. Foster's ground of non- object. The former was perfectly consistent with Nonresistance. The doctrine was that the resistance; the latter children of properties and utility, but it was useful because it was eternally right. lieved the restraint of salutary and righteous rules and Resistance; the latter entirely opposed to it. He beregulations to be wise and good. He believed that it would be allowable to interpose one's physical strength in thwarting the designs of an evil-disposed person, when it could be done without inflicting an injury upon his body, mind, or morals. It might be necessary to confine bad and dangerous men, and justifiable, too, by the doctrine of Non-Resistance. It would not be ight to cut off the ears of such, to half starve them, to brow them into loathsome dungeons, amid filth and ermin. There was a clear line of discrimination in his mind, and it could be observed in practical life between beneficent force and murderous force. The two things were radically different.

Mr. Higginson thought it would be very difficult to defence. Not one of the thousands who had been killed draw the line. Even Mr. Ballou thought there might be some little injury done a person, and yet the doer of

ficult to determine minutely the dividing line better injurious force and beneficent restraint, yet it must be manifest that there is a radical difference in them. W may not be able to decide which pea makes the pek yet all know that a peck is not a bushel.

Mr. Ballou resumed his course of remark. He do not justify the least premeditated injury. Income injury may be done, without its being in the theaghter motives of the one who should do it. Non-Resi not a tame, abject, cowardly spirit, but is the most is role, the noblest, the most sublime, that can be the ished. It is the spirit which for ever regards the good of all men, and which contemplates the injury of sens. It is the spirit which for ever seeks to overcome them in ourselves and in the world with good.

Mr. Higginson said the discussion of great more questions was a benefit to any community. He had in say upon this subject two years ago, and had but little now to add. His experience since that time had only strengthened his then expressed conviction. Rehad great respect for consistent non-resistants; had nonfor those who professed non-resistance, but did ag practise it. Only one non-resistant in Kansas stail pat. He went to see him, and honored him.

He rose to protest against the assumption of the reolution which declared that no war had ever been vaged for mankind. He thought it unworthy of us to make any such declaration. Human good may be corretrated for the time being upon a single point. Was had contributed in some cases to the progress of the race contributed in some cases of the progress of the race; hence the resolution is false. Shall we condemn a mag because he does not see all truth? Shall we reproch the Free State men of Kansas because they are not up to our idea? Imperfection marked all human affairs. And he protested against the narrowness which cast out the noble names of those who had not attained the whole of wisdom. In Kansay, there were many that saw the great idea lying back of Kansas. He thought the war there had done great good by enlarging the hearts of the people. Men who, two years ago, based the slave, are now abolitionists. Most nen-resistants do not believe in control. He believed in the control of bad boys in Milford, and had men. We are in the world to establish a reign of love and justice, and to act to that end as best we can. If it cannot be done by aninjurious means, it must by forcible ones. If he were an atheist, he should be more likely to be a non-resistant than now. Non-resistants valued hyman life too highly. He should be ashamed to kill a man without regard to principle. If man was not immortal-if he was like the dog, he should have more of an inclination to non-resistance.

Mr. Garnison responded at length. Mr. H. had not met the case at all. It was not denied that war had, in the order of Providence, been overruled for human progress. It was not denied that men of war had been in many respects noble men, acting up to their light, The Revolutionists of '76 were clannish, and time had proved that the Revolution is a failure. Theresult of Bunker Hill is to be seen in the Slave Power. This was a solemn lesson taught us by Almighty Ged. They that take the sword shall perish by the swerd. . The wicked shall not prosper.' The dectrine of our friend has filled the earth with blood. We talk of Ber. der Ruffianism. But what makes Border Ruffians? Is it non-resistance? It is the claim of the right to kill men when we think they ought to die. We are called upon to estimate buman life cheaply,

A man may say with Paul, 'I am realy to be offered' but not, 'I am ready to kill my fellow-creature,' Lock to Calvary, then to Bunker Hill. Hew incongruess! One dying for his enemies, the others killing theirs. The last was murder; it was selfish. Calvary and Bun-Ker Hill! Light and darkness! [It would be very gratifying to give an extended report of the very interesting and foreible speech of Mr. G.; but time and space will not permit. Perhaps he will write out and publish it at some future time .- Sec.] Mr. G. closed by saying, 'I do not know what I should do in a case of emergency, but I do know that non-resistance is true, and I will endeavor to obey principle. We are willing to give up property and life, rather than injure any man. We take the risk, trusting in Gol. Forgiveness is all powerful. I wish ever to be able to pray, "Fergive us I forgive." .

A vote of thanks to the Free Church of Wercester was passed, for their kindness and liberality in giving up their regular religious service, and furnishing the Convention a place of meeting on Sunday, free of ex-

song was sung, and the Convention adjourned. A. BALLOU. President

WM. S. HATWOOD, Secretary.

ACCOUNT Of Collections, Pledges, and Expenses, at the Non-Resistance Convention held in Worcester, Nov. 29

and 30, 1856.		V.
	Collections.	
Theo. Brown.	1 00 Thomas Haskell,	1 00
A. H. Harlow,	1 00 E. D. Draper,	2 00
M. O. Harlow.	1 00 R. H. Ober,	2 00
D. C. Gates,	1 00 T. W. Higginson,	1 00
Mrs. Duke.	1 00 A. T. Draper,	1 00
Sumner Parsons,	1 00 D. M. Allen,	. 1 00
W. W. Dutcher,	1 00 A. Wyman,	1 00
C. F. Hovey,	5 00 Sarah Wall,	50
Lewis Ford,	1 00 Sandry persons,	18 96

Total collections, \$36 46. Pledges. \$20 00 William Coe, Louisa Hall. 1 00

Total pledges, \$22 00. The expenses, as paid by the direction of the Committee op Finance, were \$32 75.

By vote of the Convention, the funds remaining, after defraying the expenses of the meeting, were to le devoted to the publishing of a Non-Registance Tract on the subject of Kansas. By referring to the figures, it will be seen that after the piedges are collected there will only remain the sum of \$25 71 for the Tract. This sum is too small to publish such an edition as we want, and leave any thing to pay for writing it. It is therefore hoped that others will come forward with their contributions for this purpose immediately, as it is desirable that the Tract should be issued as son as

W. W. COOK, Treasurer. Hopedale, Milford, Mass., Dec. 8, 1856.

THOMAS RYAN

AVING returned to Boston for the season, is pre-pared to resume his Teaching of

SINGING, PIANO, and THOROUGH BASS. Residence 15 Dix Place. Mr. R. visits pupils in October 17.

DENTIST.

D. MANN, M. D., Surgeon Dentist, (formerly Mass Avery Street, and add to those who wish for his

For the convenience of invalids and others who may not conveniently visit a Dentist's office, Dr. Mans will allend at the residences of those who desire it.

HAIR DOCTRESS.

MADAME CARTEAUX having, by a long course of study and practical investigation, made her-self acquainted with the various diseases incidental to the Hair and Scalp, would now inform the public of Boston and vicinity, that she trusts she is prepared to give entire satisfaction to all who may favor her with give entire satisfaction to all who may favor her with their patronage, and warrant a cure in nine cases out Having recently removed from 284 to 865 Washing

Having recently removed from 284 to 300 Marks ton street, where she has a superior suit of rooms, she now advertises a separate room for Hair Dying, also an improvement in that branch, and Champooing.

Madame C. keeps constantly on hand, her criebrated Hair Restorative and Olls, which will not only prevent the hair from falling off, but cause new hair to grow They are held in the highest estimation by all who have used them.

Madame C's references are from the first people in this and neighboring cities, by whom she has been liberally and neighboring cities, by whom she has been liberally.

and neighboring cities, by whom she has been libers patronised since the offer of her services to the public

OF TERES-Two dollars and fifty cents per annum Fire copies will be sent to one address for Tax

potters, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters rising to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (rost rame,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square ine jei three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennyirania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-

therised to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz :- FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SANUEL PHILDRICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of tery question are impartially allowed a hearing. WIN LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 51.

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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1856.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

WHOLE NUMBER 1354.

To REV. ORVILLE DEWEY : in the right of your own poor thought,' which,

asy, cries to heaven in its very weakness, and have lately denounced Southern society in your En-Tree Oration. Your friends in this region hought themselves able to say that you would not arouse the vulgar topics of the multitude; that pur literary taste and gentle philosophy would impyou aloof from the coarse stimulant which sch delights the passions of the people around ya; that you would not, at least, seek an oppor itr for indulging their gross appetite for abuse a Sauthern manners and morals. But we are atsurprised that the confidence has been mispleed. The occasion was too alluring-the excing subject, the sympathetic audience, the obmas expectation produced by your sojourn for two sinters in the very heart of Southern society, in the midst of Southern families, with every oppor mitt aff rded by their unsuspicious hospitality for marking the omissions and commissions of Southern life, and registering the misdeeds of the lerrers, which you seem to have detected-all his involved a temptation which it would be unresonable to expect you to resist. Your virtues are not ascetic. Why should you refrain from patifying the eager desire for detraction on the South which pervades your people! Why impose upon yourself an unprofitable self-denial in referme to a people whom you never expect to see sain! You have already reaped all the fruits but the Southern field directly produces, and it ras sound philosophy to secure from it the indi-net advantage which its offences afford. Your endemnation of the South gives pleasure to your fields and profit to yourself. It would be foodlish perpect that an idle motive of delicacy should leallowed to dehar you from so much enjoyment. Bat although not surprised, we are nevertheless

pieted at your Elm-Tree declamation. It strikes

his somehow not in strict accordance with true bed taste and sound judgment. There is in it meeting not easily reconciled with the position, slately held among us, which has enabled you to sy, the planters confess this, 'the Southern gendemen admit that,' it has done general harm. The advantage which your visit gave you for pre-pants materials in the South for a speech in New legiand could hardly be used as you have used then, without injury to the great cause of hospihity and social life. It must produce distrust is the South on all future occasions. They re-cited you with unsuspecting cordiality. Your sung the first opportunity to assail them may stress close their hearts and houses against futre lecturers from the same quarter. People do at ordinarily invite detraction to their homes, however willing to be hospitable. You have addsimother obstacle to those before existing in the my of social intercourse between the two sections the country. The reflection must be painful The worst would avoid ft. ninds us of the eastern story of Abu Kaled and his hone. The Emir Kaled was wealthy and charita-Among his riches was a horse which he valted above them all. The steed was the fleetest and est enduring in Arabia. A neighboring chief essied the Emir, and wished to lay hands on his poperty. In vain the chief used every art of pertion and offer of value. Abu Kaled was deal b terrything. One day, as he was riding his fatrite horse in the desert, he saw a man lying on the ground, writhing, and groaning, and uttering me and supplications for aid. The Emir dis bosnted, and hastened to help the afflicted stranpr. At that moment, the chief (for it was he from the ground, leapt into the saddle, and oped off on his prize. The Emir, waking from is surprise, called out to the flying robber to pure for an instant. . My friend, said the Emir, pa have gained your end, but, I pray you, never all any one in what way you have succeeded; it may prevent travellers hereafter from doing deeds debrity by the wayside.' The story adds, that the plunderer repented, restored the horse, and the peties became good friends ever after. You would thus of property and good name; whether the cumstances are not similar, and slether the last act of the repentant robber be not

bethy of imitation, it is for you to decide.

We can see nothing new and strong in your atact on slavery. Your reasonings, however appladed by your hearers, are feeble and flimsy to is Nowithstanding your emphatic declaration h the Southern people, You are in the wrong; has ecertainly in the wrong; your judgment is that; your course is wrong; the argument of speech does not weigh with them a straw, and your selemn assurance is without authority.

behining grounds of Africa, over the neck a wild horse, and subject him to domestic use, a would be right; but if he should throw his lasthe neck of a man roving wild and free in be wilderness, should tear him from his wife and hen, put chains on his limbs, and sell him a baseling wrong. 'And no talk,' you add, mastrons wrong.' And no talk,' you and took ivilizing or Christianizing or improving a African race could ever stand against that talking the mode of tening which the abolitionists use, on the substatery, that something is always introinto the statement which does not necessary eling to it, and so uses and abuses, subes and accident, are mixed up in endless conee the poup and circumstance, the lasso, the ground, the tearing from wife and chilwhich would viriate your argument if thrown logical form, and it amouts to this: you mean ay that the seizure of a tribe of wild Africans, hissporting them to a country where they be tivilized, Christianized and improved, would enstrous wrong. This is your proposition. stated, and relieved from the ornaments professed rhetorician so naturally finds This is your position, and, if I were to deal in ex-cathedra phrases, I sy, as you say to us: 'You are in the you are certainly in the wrong; your ent is wrong; your course is wrong.' You also the blessings of civilization, the far blessings of Christianity, if you think carly bought by the restraints imposed, in its aniand, on heather sayages. You prefer to blessings the wild freedom of the barbabeless and honeless. for ages past and ages pless and hopeless, for ages past and ages the end! The wild man's brute freedom is

From the New York Times.

THE QUESTION OF BLAVERY.

LETTER FROM SUNDRY SLAVEHOLD.

ERS TO REV. ORVILLE DEWEY.

11711 TO HIS ELE-TREE ORATION.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Wednesday, Oct. 29, 1856.

TO THE QUESTION OF CONTRESSION.

INCLUDENCE OF OPPRESSION.

INCLUDENCE OF O ly, sir, this is strange doctrine for a Christian pervades all parties. It is as nearly universal as teacher. It is not the doctrine of apostles and public opinion can ever be. prophets. Paul and Moses would repudiate it. But, suppose your statement to be correct, and and brand it as heresy, as hostile to the teaching the quoted sentence about partisan zeal and public which counts all things to be but dross in com-

v the gallows, garote and guillotine are worse. no talk, as your phrase gove, of Christianity or civilization, or moral improvement, can justify the taking of savage freedom, can any talk excase the taking of the civilized man's life!

But suppose your argument sound, and that no talk of giving to the African the freedom with which Christ alone can make him free, wil! justify us in going into his hunting grounds and depriving him, with lasso, of his wild liberty. This will not affect the merits of the true question. Your statement of the case is not candid. Our fathers, to whose opinion you love to appeal, did not go, as your fancy implies, with lassos, into the African hunting grounds, to make slaves. They found them ready made to their hands. The negroes were slaves already. In all time they have been slaves. Captives in war, conquered slave soldiers, seventeen out of twenty retain their sentiments; prisoners whose skulls would have formed pyrathat the great conservative depths of society are mids or paved the court square of the king of undisturbed. You approve of this old idea, that, Ashantee or Dehomy—they were saved from in the South, negro slavery should be 'tolerated,' slaughter to continue slaves. It is better, you not 'esponsed,' because it would be confined to think, that they should die heathens, that their the rice fields where 'it may be modified, where it

d, under any circumstances, still your arafter their former fashion, to the Southern States, to be made useful Christian laborers, blessing, with their industry, all the peoples of the world, in a greater degree than the African tribes, token together, have been able to do since the beginning of their race-if, in obtaining slaves, the crews employed were about to seize upon free men of Afat least have the merit of being to the point. But always and everywhere a moral wrong, a transand seizing on your wife and children, compel were my dear sir, that one of your landless socialists except it be from your interference.

Should deliver lectures on the subject of property to those who own farms, maintaining that all appropriation by individuals of houses and lands should increase and multiply, living in the consumas a monstrous wrong; that property was theft, and therefore a sclear violation of the moral law world new comforts and riches, and to their native.

To place the subject in a simple light suppose be lad the proprise of better and brighter days. Not in part, my farm, and appropriate to your exclusive use the fruits and helds, which are the common gift of Nature to all; in doing this, are you
not violating the supreme law of the Creator! you are willing to bear with them; but when they
Would this be doing as you would be done by!

wrong to possess a certain property at all, if it is right, consistent with revelation, conductive to the wrong to acquire it by violent means. We do not advocate aron or murder, or the capture of free that conviction, to hold them as slaves. And this men with lassos, as you and Dr. Wayland sup- is most certainly the conviction of the Southern oose; we only vindicate our right to the property ctually in our possession.

Your main reason for being dissatisfied with the Southern people is that they have changed their views of slavery. It is a change, you say, that alters all your moral and political relations with relevant to the same of th lavery, except one—the old compact of non-inter-erence.' How the compact of non-interference makes an exception, it is not easy to understand. we see in the rhetoric nothing but the common-for nearly forty years, the North has waged war places of the Abolition pulpit; when you exclaim For nearly forty years, the North has waged war on the manners, customs and institutions of the South, hy every mode in their power—by speaking, writing, robbing them of their property, resisting their efforts to reclaim it, depriving them of their equal rights to the common territory of the Union, and exciting and fostering a spirit of hostility against them. You cannot name one mode of possible interference which your Northern people have not habitually practised. They have

dom that you would preserve has neither wisdom teen out of the twenty retained the opinion you nor goodness. It is license, not liberty. It is are pleased to approve—the opinion that slavery is the freedom of the wild horse. It is attended with an evil; that it must and would die out and disbrutal ignorance, with superstitions, gross, stu-pid, devilish, with the cruelty of the cannibal, the fined to the rice and cotton fields; that it is here, carnage of endless strife, the horrors, so hideous, they could not help it, and must get along with it of heathen African life. The African who is as they could.' Pardon me, sir. for saying this brought from it to slavery blesses God for the cannot be true. You have mistaken you have change. All these things are better, with wild misapprehended their views. If unity of sentificedom, than civilization and Christianity, with the restraints of slavery in a Christian land. Sureit is in the South, on the subject of slavery. It

parison with the excellency of a life in Carist. In the charge that you complain of—the reason by civilized society we fetter this wild freedom which which you justify the alteration of all your moral you so much admire, by the involuntary servitude and political relations with slavery? If three only of the penitentiary, for long years and for life, out of twenty have changed, with what propriety of the pentientiary, for long years and for life, out of twenty have changed, with what propriety We subdue it by the prison, the hangman and the gallows. We limit it, at every turn, in every department of society. Why will you permit these partment of society. Why will you permit these south! Because three out of twenty change, do abuses of wild freedom to exist! You take life to insure order in the State for others, and you think it a monstrous wrong to restrain the wild freedom altered these relations from any cause arising in the of the African savage, in order to impart religious South! The cause is among yourselves. It is Northtruth to the savage himself. The conquered bar- ern sentiment that is altered. Formerly Southern barian gives his freedom for his life. Is the life families could travel in New England, with their of the civilized white of less value than the free-servants, without the fear of being robbed; now dom of the savage black! If the lasso is bad, sure-they are plundered in the first village where they stop to rest. Formerly, the South was the subject of cology and fraternity; now every epithet of de-nunciation and abuse is lavished upon her. Your change is immeasurable from the slave ship to the Anti-Slavery pulpit, and Anti-Slavery legislation. It involves a settled hostility to the Southern States. The Missouri controversy, the Kansas dispute, are the occasions only, not the causes of the war. There are many exceptions, we know ; very many, we hope. But you are not of the number. It would be unreasonable to expect it. The moral courage of Lord and Adams is not an every-day virtue. It is as rare as it is admirable. (!!!)

You justify, then, your alteration of moral and political relations with slavery because the South has changed its opinions, and you assure us. at the same time, that the South is not changed; that heads should become paving stones for a pagan may die out; and you condemn the new opinion, potentate, than that they should be civilized, Christianized and improved by slavery in a land of Christian liberty. This is your position.

The potential in the condemn the new opinion, as you think it, that slavery is right because it would extend, because the three millions will become thirty. Under the system or sentiment that But admit it to be a monstrous wrong to inter- you are pleased to tolerate, the negro race would fere in these enjoyments of American freedom, and die out; under that which you consider intolerable, to bring the African from the blessings of his nuthe first, we the last cendition of the race, as the gument is wide of the true question at issue. If most humane, to say the least of it. What, in that question were, shall the slave-trade with Af- Heaven's name, you ask, are use to do with it? All rica be re-opened! if your ships were about to go we ask you to do with it, in the case supposed, is again to the coast of Guinea to bring emigrants, not to interfere. For ourselves we have no apprehensions. Thirty millions of blacks will not be one too many for fifty millions of whites. They will grow, you say, in intelligence. We have no doubt of it. We know that every new generation We know that every new generation ligent than the old. We think it to is more intelligent than the old. be desired, not deprecated. There is an immense distance between the negroes of the present generarica, and drag them into slavery—then your argu- tion and their harbarian fathers. The proportion ment, whatever it may be worth otherwise, would between the three millions now existing and the at least have the merit of being to the point.

it is not to the point in the great practical question now at issue. It is like that of Dr. Wayland, the thirty which you seem to anticipate. And yet, the matter in dispute. Dr. there is no part of the world more secure than the three hundred thousand said to have been importthat slavery, or the holding of men in bondage, is from their intelligence servile wars. In the great slaveholding States of antiquity, in Greece ar gression of the law of the Creator. To put this Rome, the rulers of the world and parents of art subject in a simple light, suppose that your family and science, poets and philosophers, were in the and mine were neighbors, suppose that I should number of their slaves; but no servile wars sprang set fire to your house, shoot you as you came out. from poets and philosophers. The few that area from escaped bands of ignorant and brutal them to work for my benefit, without their con- Gladiators, led on perhaps and excited by turbulent the supreme law of the Creator? You oppose the same slavery by a similar argument. I will answer the one supposition by another. Suppose, orders of hireling States. We apprehend none,

To place the subject in a simple light, suppose he land the promise of better and brighter days. Nor should say to-day to the audience, your families can we understand how a teacher of ethics, as you should say to-day to the audience, your families can we understand now a teacher of cance, as you and mine are neighbors; you seize me with a lasare, can hold the opinions you profess. So long as so, or you drag me and my children away from the South only tolerated slavery, you were able to our natural rights; you take what ought to be, approve; but when they changed from a mere tolerated slavery you take what ought to be, approve; but when they changed from a mere tolerated slavery.

Your proposition is, that all property in man is sin; the socialist's, that all property in land is tian teacher can tolerate or excuse one who lives in sin. If he begs the question as to one kind of the habitual commission of a sin, and makes no effort, so do you of the other. You think your fort to forsake it. If slavery is a sin, it ought not to exist in a Christian land. It should be abanyour position by irrelevant suppositions: he does doned forthwith. If we admit it to be a sin, and he same. His doctrine is as tenable, as plausible, continue to practise it, we deserve no sympathy. the same. His doctrine is as tenable, as plausible, continue to practise it, we deserve no sympathy, and will be, by and by, more acceptable to your application or forbearance from Dr. Dewer. We should have, as we think, far juster claims on him, nasses than your own is now. should have, as we think, far juster claims on him You both rest on the same fallacy, that it is if, believing that the slavery of the Negro race is people-a conviction growing stronger as the questhetic contiment, will weigh with us a rush in the discussion. When you declaim at the Elm Tree, we see in the rhetoric nothing but the commo - God forbid that the number of slaves or slave

for a son, 'not here, he must not stay here,' you State, while he condemns the chastisement, de-pronounce a libel on the parents of the South which clares that, if he had made the speech, he would nothing can excuse or palliate. Why, sir, do you not know that, where one youth from the South is educated at a Northern college, five hundred are educated at home; that every year adds to the number of colleges in the Southern States; that in each succeeding year there is a smaller number of young men sent for education to the North, from young men search to the control of t are better instructed, not in morals but in learning, or because of old attachments to the Alma Mater, where they have themselves been graduated. But you cannot lay your finger on one man who the man who makes it. If you share the excite-places his preference of a Northern college on the ment around you, your declaration is insincere; it has a you assign—there is not one man among us you do not, you are the more inexcusable for adso hase as to traduce the civilization, Christianity or morality of his own country. The few who send their sons to Northern colleges are among the very men who are most decided in the assertion of Southern rights, either of property or reputation. We believe that our churches are as pure, our preachers as devout, our people as moral and re-fined, as your own. It gives us no pleasure to say so, but for one act of violence with us, we will show three with you. The crimes of the United States which are marked with peculiar atrocity—the gi-gantic frauds, the infernal machines, the blowing up of houses, the burning and robbery of churches, the obstruction of railroads and their reckless management, the murders singularly horrible, where limbs of the victim are burnt, boxed up, thrown into vaults to be fished up at a convenient season; each act a repetition of the murder—these things belong to your latitude, not to ours.

We are sorry to see you adopt the coarse cant of the Abolition school, in charging the Southern planter with breeding negroes for sale. Slaves outgrow their homes, and go from Virginia, or are carried, if you please, to a larger field or bet. have no millionaires, but we have no street begter soil, as your laborers leave their homes in Massachusetts, or are sent by your aid societies to the fertile lands of the West. In either case, it may be said that the old State breeds laborers for the new. The phrase is as applicable in the one as in the other. In both cases, it is coarse and in had taste. It suits the slang of party only. Strictly taken, it is untrue. Neither hireling nor of the South; we deny it, and ask for evidence

ing and where we are going.' Certainly, my dear the other! Life deals, not in abstractions, but in sir, the world's opinion is worth something, but practical experiences. These are the guides of statesmen and States. be the sole or best standard of truth and right. fallacies only. We appeal from it to the law of God. We appeal from it, from what it now is, to what it may in the samper of until lately, always and every where, semper of ubique, among patriarchs and the nations nearest deciding differently—you sacrifice the life of the civilized man to preserve this civilization, and you carried freedom too precious to Christians. Serfage is hardly yet at an end in exchange for it. Germany. It prevails in Russia. The fashion, fifty years ago, was to bring the blacks from Africa ; it is now, to carry them there. Can you pretend to say what it may be fifty years Are you willing to make this unstable public opin then, will become of the particular church of which you are the boast and orniment! What says public opinion in reference to the tenets and doctrines of the Unitarian Church! Since the days of Arius, they have been condemned utterly. y Catholic, Greek, Armenian, Lutheran, Episcoalian. Presbyterian. Baptist and Methodist. with all Christendom. It is 'ostracised' by the whole Christian world, by the most pious saints. by the profoundest sages. The great Greek schol-ar. Porson, declared that if there is meaning in anguage, the Unitarians are wrong. They refuse o you the appellation of Christian. In the judgent of all Trinitarian churches, your church i o Christian church. Pray understand me; I do ot mean to say one word on the merits of the controversy. But I ask you whether this public power to decide it. Shall I adjure you, for of their homes; and you know that where one God's sake to consider what you are doing and youth goes to colleges at the North, five hundred there you are going'! You are a small people. not so large, not so compact, not so strong a are. You are not supported, as we are, by the tracism of the civilized world if we retain our very where, until very lately. Will you submit ! Will you leave your pulpit and abandon your own.
creed? Certainly not! You appeal to the Scriptures—so do we. You will maintain truth and cann right, as you conceive it, against the whole world so shall we. Even your speech and authority to not make us 'bate one jot of heart and hope.' If, sir, at any future period, you should visit the uncivilized, unchristian and demoralized society of the South, you will find that your elm tree oration, whatever admiration it may have produced in Massachusetts, has aroused among us no other

entiment than aversion and disgust.

You close your remarks on the subject of slavey by a number of sentences, which amount to reated asseverations only, that you do not love or dmire it. ' We do not like it, sirs; that is what It is quite true. we say to all its advocates.' That is very much all you do say, in various shapes and forms of words, from Corran's African or Indian sun, to the negro songs of white minstrels with blackened faces, which you seem to think are composed by Virginia slaves, and which you consider the strongest anti-slavery speeches you know. They are without doubt as good as the best, but the judgment you express of their significance or value is the most ridiculous tion of modern times.

enced, you tell us, by the excitement of the day. But, you add, there are ample causes for excitethe Senate Chamber, so atrocious that I have no name for it.' Never did men more thoroughly mistake his own feelings, motives and character, if, indeed, we are to consider you as being in earnest. You blow hot and cold with the same breath. You profess to stand aloof from the tumult, and trumpet on the seditious to the fray at the same in the same the same time. An unscrupulous declaimer in the Senate chooses to indulge in slander and abuse, for the poor reputation of imitating an ancient orator, and he is caned by one of the parties ag-grieved. A distinguished gentleman of your own

clares that, if he had made the speech, he would have deemed it prudent to carry an iron pot on his head. The punishment naturally followed the offence. It affected neither life nor limb. It mortified the self-conceit and curbed the arrogance only of an intellectual gladiator. And you speak of it without a word of censure on the libel that caused it, as an act so atrocious that you are unable to find a name for it. If it had been a murder like the blackest that darkens your annals, you could not have described it in more exaggerated terms. And then you tell us you are not influenced by the excitement of the time. Excuse me, sir; we can neither put faith in the assurance, nor respect ding fuel to the flame that threatens to destroy the

Country.

You profess to believe that, 'if slavery covered the whole world, it would, in a century, require another planet to sustain it.' In the time of the Apostles, it did cover the whole world; it covered the world for ages before, for ages after; and yet we are not aware that history speaks of any as-sistance having been required or sent from our neighbor the moon, except moonshine, which she now bestows equally on hireling and on slave States. We do not depend on you, either moral-ly, religiously or physically. Our people go among you to spend money; yours come here to make it. The South can not only sustain itself, but it finds a surplus to expend on itinerant vend-ers from the North of wares, wooden or intellectu-al, clocks or lectures, tin ware or sermons. We thought the hearing of yours a harmless amusement, nothing more. They were more profitable to you than to us. We have not the huge fortunes of your great merchants, but neither have we your sinks of filth, wretchedness and pauperism. gars. We have no poor to farm out to the lowest bidder, as you have in New England.

The South produces and exports cotton, grain, cattle; your State is unable to grow its own bread. I will not trouble you with statistical statements of the productions of the Southern States, productions that, in hundreds of millions, Strictly taken, it is untrue. Neither hireling nor sustain the foreign commerce of the whole coun-slave State breeds labor for export. You assert it try. You do not descend to these ordinary practical views. But we ask attention to one test of and proof, not declamation and the stratagems of the soundness of your opinion, which cannot be rhetoric. There are before your eyes two worlds You seem to be anxious for your lives and for-tunes, and gloomy apprehensions fill your mind as to the future condition of the Southern States. You paint coming events in sombre colors. Noth- and bloodthirstiness of an African state; the othing can help us. Whether in the Union or out er, a scene of unexampled wealth, prosperity and of the Union, we are never to escape the world's improvement, notwithstanding the continued inabuse and slander. 'If you could throw off troduction, by Yankee ingenuity, of new African Northern interference, and the Northern connec- barbarians. To restore freedom to Hayti would tion, you tell us, and form a Republic for your- be to restore peace and abundance. To abolish it selves, your Republic would lie under the social in Cuba would be to destroy it. How does your ostracism of the whole world.' And you ndjure philosophy explain the facts in these two West us, for God's sake to consider what we are do. India planets! Which is the most able to sustain

tour remarks, then, on slavery, are a se

1st. You prefer the brute liberty of the wild rom it, from what it now is, to what it has been, savage to the servitude which alone can give him think the African's savage freedom too precious to

2d. You mistake the question-it is not whether we shall make freemen slaves by violence, but whether we shall hold those as slaves who have never been free; it is not whether we shall seize on a farm by areon and murder, but whether we shall keep one inherited from our fathers.

3d. You change your moral and political relations with the South, because it has changed its opinions, and you tell us at the same time that the South is not changed-you prefer the opinion un-der which slavery would die out and the slaves disappear, and look with horror to their increase in number and intelligence as disastrous to the country, forgetting that this is inhuman : that the slaves have already increased in proportion, you apprehend not to the danger but the profit of the country, and that a Christian African is more easily governed than an African savage.

4th. You think it more consistent with sound morality to believe slavery a sin, and to tolerate it, than to believe it no sin, and to maintain and defend it.

5th. You believe that Southern parents send their sons to the North to avoid the demoralization of their homes; and you know that where one are sent to those at home.

6th. You threaten us with the coming social os-

principles; and you disregard the religious ostracism of the Chtistian world condemning your

7th. You profess to believe that a slave State cannot exist without being sustained; and you know that the great nations of the world, the richest, strongest, most learned, most refined, have all

We have resorted to recriminations with reluc-

tance and pain. We make them in self-defence only. Then, surely, if ever, 'to recriminate is just.' When we are unjustly, falsely and scandalously assailed, we owe it to ourselves and to the world's opinion, which you so much revere, to protest against the wrong, and to show the unorthiness of those who make the attack. We lament the necessity. We would gladly-return to the mutual respect and confidence that prevailed with North and South at the close of the Revolution, and for thirty years afterwards. We have no sympathy with those who desire the destruction of the Federal Union. We would joyfully preserve it, and see its great and growing resources devoted, as they are, to the arts of peace, rather than wasted on the necessities of war. And this we say with the perfect conviction that, if the South should form a separate Republic, it would grow in strength and wealth, compact and complete, teres atque retundus—able to defy all enemies, and to confer benefits on every ally and friend. But to preserve peace and the Union, converged tracks on a warment course. There can your eternal attacks on us must cease. There can be no peace, if you are for ever presenting to us a

We have no ill-will towards you, Dr. Dewey Your conduct produces no feeling among us strong as resentment. It would have been wiser and purer for you, we think, to keep alcof, with-in the serene air of your hopeful and genial phi-losophy. But if you prefer the slough of party turmoil to the shady grove and smooth shaven green, we can only leave you in your mire, pity your moral taste, and hope to see and hear you no more.

SOME OF YOUR FORMER PRIENDS.

SELECTIONS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

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

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding

ords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their seent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro

SCORE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,

of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUCITIVE SLAVES—AB

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

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

the name of persons In fact, the oppressor repre-

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

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the

government of the nation is to establish an artificial

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

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

PATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.' -- John Quincy Adams.

SLAVERY DISCUSSION IN CONGRESS. In the U. S. House of Representatives, on Friday

Mr. SEITH (Va.) inquired whether Mr. Wash-burn would, by his vote, admit a new State into the Union, with the liberty of forming its own institutions according to the character of the peo-

Mr. Washburn replied, that when that question shall be presented, he would be prepared to act upon it. He would not shirk the issue. His vote ould depend on circumstances, but it should be in accordance with the principles of the Republi-can party. He would ask the gentleman from Vir-ginia, whether, if Utah presented herself for admission, with a Constitution recognizing polygamy, he would vote for it. (Laughter.)

Mr. Smrn—The gentleman is playing Yankes on me completely. (Laughter.) Before I answer his question, I want him to answer mine. I put t again to the gentleman.

Mr. Washnern-I put mine again. (Laughter.) I must wait till be answers it before I allow myself to be interrupted any further. Was it not strange, he asked, that the President should find strange, he asked, that the President should find all these outrages and wrongs to exist in the North only! These slanders emanate from one who came from the bosom of the North, and who, like the cow-boys of the Revolution, found no good in his own people, and no wrongs in the South. In conclusion, he argued the right to prevent the extension of slavery to free territories, and entered this president against the President's constitutional his protest against the President's constitutional doctrines in this connection.

Mr. Keirr said there was something ominous and gloomy in the aspect of affirs. The House parted last summer in the midst of a contest on the slavery question, and now, after the Presidential election, that party whose regiments were cut down and banners fallen in the fight, again sprung discussion upon that subject. They say, but for the action on the Democratic side and the Presidential dent's meseage, there would have been no discus-sion. But did not they on the first day of the ses-sion reopen it by objecting to the admission of the delegate from Kansas, who came with credentials nder the seal of the Governor of the Territory ! Having defined the Southern view of property, Mr. Keitt inquired of Mr. Washburn whether he and the Republican party would not, if they had the power, change the Constitution, so as to profor the emancipation of the slaves in the South.

Mr. WASHBURN replied that he would certainly not object to such a change in the Constitution as would give power to the Federal Government to do what Jefferson, Madison and Gen, Scott desired to do, namely, to ameliorate the condition of slavery, even to emancipation; but he did not think it wise now for the Government to exercise such power.

Mr. Keirr-If you had the power, would you not do it by progressive graduations!

Mr. WASHBURN-I am willing that the principles of the Declaration of American Indeper the Constitution and the Christian religion shall have free course to run and be glorified

Mr. KEITT-I asked whether the member from Maine would or not abolish the institution by progressive graduation, and he would not answer

Mr. STANTON-I do not propose to stand committed as asking any change of Constitution. My position, and that of the people I represent, I beieve, is, we will abide by the Constitution as it is; we ask no change, and will insist on its original construction as put in practice by its framers.

Mr. Keirr, resuming, said the remarks of Messrs. Washburn and Stanton only showed the differences of opinion entertained by members of the Republican party. He asked whether there could be a doubt as to the aims and tendencies of that party. Therefore, was not the President correct when he said their object was interference with the domestic institutions of the South. He insisted that the President was equally correct in describing the doctrines of the publicans as revolutionary. The States which formed the Constitution formed it as equals. As equals the delegates were elected; acted as equals when they adopted the Constitution, and equals they were. The South claims the right under this equality to go into the common territory with their slaves as property. The question of slavery as a political institution will come when the people get ready to form a State Constitution.

Mr. Gippings commenced by referring to the Declaration of Independence, and contending for the inalienable rights of man, namely: Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' This was wished to know whether Mr. Keitt would stand by this truth. Southern men deny the doctrine, nd Northern men dare not say Ay or No. There they sit — they are between heaven and hell. (Laughter.) Men are so enslaved as not to dare wow the sentiments which God has given them. From his inmost heart he (Giddings) pitied them. In the Senate, Mr. Pettit had denounced these truths as self-evident lies, while Messrs. Cass and Douglas, and other Democrats, listened to it

Mr. BENNETT (Miss.) sent to the Clerk's table a paper, which was read, attributing to Mr. Gid-dings the sentiment, that he looked forward to the day when there shall be a servile insurrection in the South: when the negroes, armed with Brit-ish bayonets, shall assert their freedom, and make incendiary shall burn out the last vestige of sla-very; and he would hall it as a political millenni-

Mr. BENNETT wanted to know whether Mr. Gidlings ever uttered this.

Mr. Gippings replied that there was a record of every thing he ever said in Congress. He saked when or where he ever attered these sentiments? The gentleman from Mississippi had been misled by nen who ought to know better.

Mr. BENNETT asked-Does the gentleman desire uch a state of things!

Mr. Gippings replied, that out of this hall he would pour forth his whole soul to the gentleman, but this question was not legitimate to the legislation of the country. No man ever heard him express a desire for the shedding of human blood. The utmost he had ever said was, that where oppression is exercised, the oppress get his freedom at whatever cost. He is oppression in all its forms. God and good men hate it. The Republicans hate it. (Laughter.) He would as soon see Mr. Pierce deprived of his liberty, and his wife sold into bondage, as that these things should happen to the humblest individual on God's footstool. He charged the Presi-