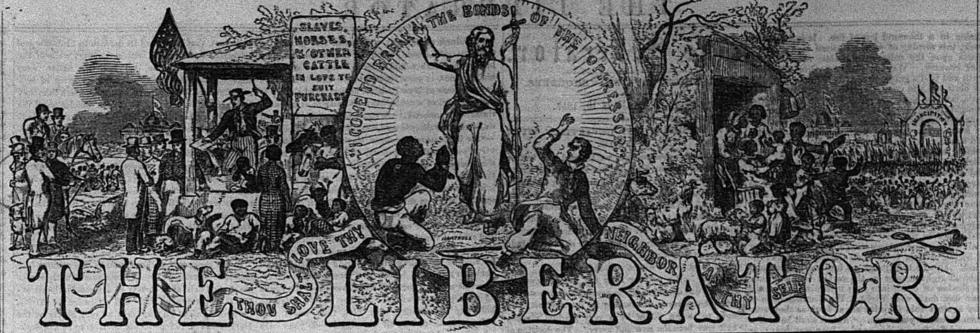
HOBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent. TERMS - Two dollars and fifty cents per an-

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LLIES, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters laing to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inend three times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts. asrivania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery So-

is are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

The following gentlemen constitute the Pinan-Committee, but are not responsible for any of the as of the paper, viz: - Francis Jackson, Ellis BLY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK. WENDELL PHILLIPS.



The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell/

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without zcuse in aiding other States in binding on men an enrighteous goke. On this subject, our pathers, in PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE MOHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending. - WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 15.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 10, 1857.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1370.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

We copy the following bright article from the Sewberry, (S. C.) . Rising Sun : :-

GARRISON'S MADNESS.

Garrisin, the editor of the Liberator, an abolition apr, intoxicated with delight, gloats over the pro-per intoxicated with delight, gloats over the pro-period of George Fitzhugh, of Port Royal, Va., actival of Cannibals All; or, Slaves without Mas-ers, and labors to spit forth his venom, spleen and miticism on slaveholding States and slaveholders. brings to bear quotations from the Bible, from deson, to suit his diabolical views. Who is it at cannot garble? Who is it that cannot utter as ravings when under the influence of a legion

divils?

The eternal condemnation of slavery,' says Garrish, is found in every specification and requirement. Four millions of people deprived of marriage,
of the Bible, of recognized parental and filial conanguinity, of all testimony against their merciless
swers and drivers, of all right of self-defence, of all
their to industry and their of all against their ntives to industry and thrift, of all available protection against any and every kind of bru-y, of all freedom of locomotion, of all choice of lyment, of all free will and conscience, of all nation and moral culture, of all rights and all sperty, and thus sunk to the level of cattle and sine, present the most affecting and the most ap-alling spectacle to be found beneath the stars.' ike the ancient philosopher, Garrison is intent upon gazing at the stars above, unmindful of the earth upon which he walks, and stumbles and falls terery step. He is foolishly wrong in every specistree. We could easily disprove them, if we felt deposed to spare the time and space which it would mair and would occupy in our columns; but we satisfied that every man, in the least acquainted with the nature of the institution of slavery, as con-ductal at the South, knows them to be basely and signally false. Garrison, maddened, enraged, and indictive at the failures of diabolical abolitionism. with neither the feelings of shame, the reproaches of assiding, nor the dread of punishment, delights to single and deface with his abolition club. His lanage and instrument have a great connection with ish markets of New York, and we must say that hadles his weapon respectably. We are discool to believe that he has acquired his skill from ag acquaintance with the Bushmen of Africa. He as called all the flowers of the Five Points, the bilagagete of every old huckster, to have produced when article. He elevates his club, whirls it oft ever the head of the Southern slaveholder, but,

das! it hurts no one but its master.
Garrison is a clamorous, hot-headed, bull-necked, astical abolitionist, who is actually imposing apor thers by his own fallacies and false deductions. neer investigates, never examines, but asserts with-out the least foundation or basis. Blinded by fanaten and demoniacal fervor, truth has become to hin a shadow, and his mind is open and ready to redve, as well as believe, the wildest and most ab-

Not satisfied with affirming that slavery exercises main injurious influence upon religion, manners and briare that slavery impairs our wealth and checks our material progress. For instance, he says: 'The urtue, wealth, population and growth of these conflictive portions of the republic, the entire North and the entire South, is as great as exists between the effelgence of moonday and the darkness of midnight. Verily, this Garrison exhibits an utter want of acstance with the condition of the conflictive portions. He displays gross ignorance, damning igno-rance, as a man, the leader, the head and front of a

'Freedom in the world,' again says Garrison, 'is, as yet, only a comparative term, not an absolute posession. Where it most abounds, society is most England as demonstrative evidence of this.' Let us that pool of sickly, stagnant water, which taints the atmosphere without fertilizing the soil. Let us bold up the mirror, and there pass before it the Coburn and Dalton case, the aneful corruption of little girls in the public schools, the Kalloch case, the Elen Desmond affair, prize fights, poisoning case, the Parkman murder, scenes in spiritualism, infidel ministers, divorces without number. The State, of which this holy, sanctified Boston is the Capital, (leaving out Bunker's Hill, the field of Laington, and the sacred spots where may repose the dust of revolutionary heroes and sages with that of Welster,) we fearlessly say, is a shame and a disgrace to the Union.

Look at the entire North! Where exist viler and

Look at the entire North! Where exist viler and base characters? where are perpetrated such crimes? I you the columns of every journal from that land of wickelness, stand forth murders, rapes, swinding, poisoning, thefts, arsons, divorces, infidelity, startation, cruelty, plunder, rapine, together with every species of riot and disorder. Where rises on the catalogue of crime, a darker, bloodier deed than that of the murder of Burdell? Where such a case of swindling, as that of Huntingdon? Look up the page of history, Mr. Garrison, and point us out their equals—living, as you see they do, in a land to civilized and refined. so civilized and refined.

Such scenes, though base and murderous ones, too, have taken place in the South, are not com-mon, they are few and far between; but in the regon of the North and the East, they are every-day occurrences, and cannot be denied. They form a

jart of the occupation of the people.

Again, 'the astonishing contrast between the inselligence of Northern and Southern people.' This haane man terms isms and osms the height of intelligence. Because there emanate from that land occans of trashy stuff, in the shape of newspapers, which jumpliets and paste-board bound volumes, which are unworthy the reading, only sent forth to gather is dollars and cents, and which, unfortunately, the Southern people foolishly purchase, he usurps all intelligence and knowledge. We admit that there are intelligent men in the North, but the mass, in Foral, are a set of deluded, crazy, foolish simplements. Their very confidence in such a man as Gartison shows the weakless of their understanding. rism shows the weakness of their understanding.

As regards Garrison, we are aware, that attached to one set of ideas, prejudiced and fanatical, he can neither open his heart to new connections, nor his mind to better information. A character of his sort is the still the sti annoted to better information. A character of his sort is the soil fittest to produce that obstinate bigotry is politics, religion and everything else, which has conducted many a martyr to the block, and is yet to conduct many a man to the gallows.

With the completest depravity of heart, strangely united with a confusion of mind, Garrison employs the most include a product of the confusion of mind.

the most virulent exaggerations of party. He seeks, as all such defaunatory writers do,

Spargere voces, In vulgum ambiguas,

to arouse and engage the passions and suspicions of the Northern people. We would to God that our Northern brethren could be enlightened on this 'sub-

posed upon by artful and designing men as Garrison, Phillips, Beecher, Giddings and Parker, who desire nothing more than to involve this country is one common universal ruin. Hence it is that they are common universal ruin. Hence it is that they are common universal ruin. Hence it is that they are common universal ruin. Hence it is that they are common universal ruin. Hence it is that they are common universal ruin. Common universal ruin and void—that the Missouri common universal ruin. constantly aiming their weapons against those who stand forth as the bulwark of our national safety.

From the same number in which the above polite and amiable article appears, we copy the follow-

Also, a negro girl, Harriet Victoria, about seven fess to belong to the party of conservatism; to be vears old, levied on as the property of Mrs. Elizabeth especially devoted to the maintenance of Law and Strother, at the suit of John A. Cannon, Assignee, Order; and to entertain a peculiar veneration for

WM. W. HOUSEAL, s. N. D.

bond with approved sureties.
SILAS JOHNSON, c. E. N. D.

Com'r's Office, March 11, 1857.

ran away on the 26th October last.

age slightly, has a scar on the left arm.

WALKER & GLEN.
Newberry, C. H., Nov. 19.

Committed, To the jail of Newberry District, as a ity and humanity. We should not wonder, if, with-runaway, a mulatto boy, who says his name is GREEN, and that he belongs to Jesse DeBruhl, of Columbia, S. C. The owner is requested to come forward, prove property, pay charges, and take him spend their summers in the North, and their winters in the summ South. W. W. HOUSEAL, s. N. D.

Sale of Negroes-Thos. D. Condey sold yesterday Under Decree in Equity, a gang of 84 Negroes, for the sum of \$50,450—an average of \$600.

Prices of Negroes .- A lot of fifteen negroes sold in Christiansburg, Virginia, a few days since, for \$14,305, being an average of \$953 each.

Dadeville (Alab.) Banner :-

Chamber to Pike Counties, I will now pay ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS for his arrest [without serious injuries] and delivery to me at this place, or confinement in any Jail, so that I can get him.

Towns amongst us, and visit us, to break our bread, taste our sair, and drink our wine, and be a "halk fellow well met" with us, as he should

Sept. 18, 1856.

Sheriff's Sales.—Will be sold before the Court House door in the Town of Dadeville, Tallapoosa Co., between the usual hours of sale, the following property, to wit: one Jack, one bald-face Colt, and one negro Boy, named Jack, about 21 years of age. Levied on as the property of Zacariah Davis, fi. fa. in my hand in favor of T. Davis and others es. G. Davis.

Also, at the same time and place, one negro Box named Tom, about 12 years old, to satisfy a fi. fa. in my hand in favor of J. R. Hull vs. Redich Ste-

phens and William Milner. HUGH LOCKETT, Sheriff.

SPIRIT OF SLAVERY.

The following inhuman article appeared publicly in a North Carolina paper, as a matter of business. Read it, and then apologize for slavery, if you can!

State of North Carolina, Jones County .- Whereas, the Justices of the Peace of said county, by Franklin
B. Harrison of said county, planter, that a certain
male slave belonging to him, named Sam, hath abented himself from his master's services, and is lurking about said county, committing acts of felony and other misdeeds. These are, therefore, in the name other misdeeds. These are, therefore, in the name of the State, to command the said slave forthwith to surrender himself, and return home to his master; and we do hereby require the Sheriff of said County of Jones to make diligent search and pursuit after the said slave, and him having found, to apprehend and secure, so that he may be conveyed to his said master, or otherwise discharged as the law directs; and the said Sheriff is hereby authorized and empowered to raise and take with him such power of his county as he shall think fit for apprehending the county apprehending the county apprehending the county apprehending the county as he shall think fit for apprehending the county apprehending t county as he shall think fit for apprehending the said slave; and we do hereby, by virtue of the Act of Assembly in such case provided, intimate and declare that if the said slave, named Sam, doth not surrender himself and return home immediately after the publication of these presents, that any person must be a finality, so far as federal legislation on may kill and destroy the said slave, by such means as he or they may think fit, without accusation or gone forth, the Constitution has been construed, and impeachment of any crime or offence for so doing, Congress must reform. Abolitionism must now unand without incurring any penalty and forfeiture mask, and wage its warfare openly and above board

thereby.

Given under our hands and seals the 19th day of and pass off the stage.—Richmond (Va.) Enquirer.

A. McDANIEL, J. P.

me, or lodge him in any get him, or \$100 for his head.

F. B. HARRISON.

Compromise was unconstitutional and void-that Congress has no power to legislate on the subject in the States or Territories-that the master may travel and sojourn temporarily with his slave in any State or Territory in the Union.

That this is the most momentous decision made by

ing illustrative advertisements:—

Sheriff's Sales.— By virtue of sundry writs of fieri facias, to me directed, I will sell on the first Monday in April next, before the Court House door, in the town of Newberry, within the legal hours of sale, the following property, to wit:

1 Bureau, 1 Wardrobe, 4 Tables, 1 Bedstead, 2 Wash Stands, 1 Cupboard, lot of Books, 3 Bellows, and 3 Anvils, lot of Tongs and Hammers, 1 No. 1 Vice, 1 large Grindstone, 2 Screw Plates, lot of Horse-shoe Iron, and other articles, the property of Horse-shoe Iron, and other articles, the property of Lordon, a negro girl, Harriet Victoria, about seven

judicial tribunals, and especially the Supreme Court of the United States. Will they now, like good, loyal, and Union-loving citizens, submit to the de-Sheriff's Office, March 25th.

The State of South Carolina. In Equity. New-prry.—Sophia Diver vs. Jno. B. O'Neall, Trustee of the master to come with his slaves, into our very of the master to come with his slaves, into our very the company of the master to come with his slaves, into our very the company of the master to come with his slaves, into our very the company of the master to come with his slaves, into our very the company of the master to come with his slaves, into our very the company of the master to come with his slaves, into our very the company of the master to come with his slaves, into our very the company of th oerry.—Sophia Diver vs. Jno. B. O'Reall, Pruses of the master to come term in states, into our very et al. Petition to sell Trust Property. Pursuant to an order of the Court of Equity, I will sell, on the first Monday (the 6th day) of April next, in front of the Court House, HENRY, a slave, young and likely.

Terms—Credit of twelve months, with interest see the professors of that political faith bow in subfrom day of sale, (except so much as will pay the costs, which must be in cash.) Purchaser to give bond with approved suretics.

mission to the decree which annihilates them as a party, and pronounces the warfare which they have wag d against their brethren of the slaveholding States as, in substance, unconstitutional and trea sonable

One of the first results of this decision will be, to Twenty-five Dollars Reward will be paid for the disfranchise all the negro voters in the free States. arrest and delivery to us of our Negro Man, Sol, who The decision pronounces this Government to be one of White men, and not Africans, nor Chinese. And

Sol is about six feet and two inches high, shows no State law can make them citizens.

Another result will be, to bring among us a great many of our Southern friends, with their slaves, to sojourn temporarily; to spend their money amongst us; and to interchange the kind offices of bospitalin the sunny South.

And, what of it? Would it not really be a good

thing? Would it not tend to interfuse and inter-mingle the sentiments, customs and habits of all Committed, To the jail of Newberry District, on our country, and make us a more homog the 15th inst., a negro woman, who says her name is NANCY WILLSON, and that she belongs to Judy Willson, who resides in Laurens District. The owner will come forward, prove property, pay Union? And to come to the Yankeeism of the matter—to descend from the sublime to the ridiculous. ter-to descend from the sublime to the ridiculouscharges, and take her away.

W. W. HOUSEAL, S. N. D. ter—to descend from the sublime to the ridiculous—to come down from the lofty statesmanship of the subject to the vulgar matter of 'speculation would it not put dollars into our pockets?

And, in this state of things, we have consolation for our negrophilist friends. Would it add one more

for our negrophilist friends. Would it add one more to the present number of slaves, or reduce one more negro to slavery? It would not. Besides, it would tend to make the master more tender and careful of his slave. He would be among a watchful and jenl-ous people, who would look after him if he abused his bondman—if he administered more than neces-the we copy the following advertisements from the sary or salutary discipline. For these reasons, and ent, we advise our Black Republican friends to ac Catch the Villain!—Having been informed that my negro 'DICK,' advertised as a runaway in another column, was chased last week in Loacnapoka swamp, and made his escape, after killing some of the dogs that were after him, and being satisfied that he is scampering backwards and forwards from Chamber to Pite Counties, I will now may ONE with this poor slave Clanking in his charges.

would seem not,—for, when the Supreme Court, the highest legal authority in the United States, has spoken on any matter so as not exactly to be in accordance with his fanaticism, he has the audacity to preach, Sunday after Sunday, impugning their decision, defaming their judgment, and anathema-tizing their persons. What can be expected of re-spect from the profligate and the criminal, if the (soi-disant) ministers of religion, who are bound by their office (one would think) to preach peace, prostrate their office for political ends to insult the Majesty of the law? Would that some course Majesty of the law? Would that some course might be taken to check these pestilent disturbers of the peace, and to convince them that if they abuse complaint upon oath has this day been made to us, the peace, and to convince them that if they abuse Adonijah McDaniel and John N. Hyman, two of their office, their must not expect it to act as a

From the New York Express.

THE IRRELIGIOUS PRESS. The Independent thus cads a flaming column :-THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT IS THE MORAL ASSASSINATION OF A RACE, AND CANNOT BE OBEYED.

A FINALITY. The decision in the Dred Scott case

Sr. Louis, April 2d. Rumor says that 150 fili-One Hundred Dollars Researd!—I will give \$50 to me, or lodge him in any jail in the State so that I invade Costa Rica, and thus relieve Gen. Walker, by diverting the attention of his enemies to another point. Abundant means are said to be at the dis-possion this expedition.

SELECTIONS.

From the Nantucket Mirror. RESISTANCE TO OPPRESSION. In my former number, I gave the following quotation from the speech of J. R. Giddings:—

'That they, (the slaves,) may obtain their freedom, peacefully I hope and pray; but, if they cannot obtain it in that way, I still hope they may obtain it, at whatever expense it may be to the oppressor.'

I cannot justify the slaves in the deadly conflict, on the assumed heathenish and anti-Christian doc trine, that 'the end justifies the means;' but as this is the general teaching, why may he not be hailed as the 'Champion of Liberty,' in his vindication of the slave's murderous warfare upon his op-pressor? True, this is not 'beating the sword into a ploughshare,' &c.; but what of that? Is more expected from the politician than from the Chris-tian minister? Why should not the slave fight? Are his liberty and life of less value to him than these are to the white man? If the use of 'carnal weapons,' as a means of defence, is justified by the Christian Church, then why should there be such an outery about arming the slave for the vindication of his life, liberty, &c.? Why should J. R. Giddings be denounced for the avowal he has made? If the practical Christian motto is to love our friends, and hate and kill our enemics and oppressors, why should he not rather be commended and culogized? Is personal liberty less an object of interest than an inconsiderable tax upon tea? And yet how many there are who panegyrize Washington, and call him a patriot, and who maintain that the American Production has the spection of God, and of all good olution has the sanction of God, and of all good men! Church and State, with a few exceptions, endorse this sentiment; and now, taking these at their word, let us see how much condemnation and

The right '—the right to their nome and the subject their wives and children?

Starting with the above principle, let us look the subject directly in the face, and bring it to the assumed standard of eternal right and justice. Did our fathers suffer an oppression equal to that of the slave plantation? Let an intelligent slaveholder answer the question, even Thomas Jesterson himself; and no one perhaps will deny his authority. Did he not say, substantially, that 'one hour of the slave's bondage was more intolerable than ages of that against which our fathers rose in rebellion? If Jesterson's evidence is good for anything, whose if ght was paramount, that of Washington to throw his cannon-balls and bomb-shells from Dorchester Heights upon the British in Boston harbor, or that of his slaves to sacrifice their oppressor? As I have to heir without exhibiting a warrant, 'You are my prison-the hotel, an American accosted me, and told me without exhibiting a warrant, 'You are my prison-tollow you.' He brought me to the Court House, where about twenty Americans had followed us. Is this your paper?' asked one of them, pointing to my 'Torch,' as corpus delicti. 'Yes, it is.' 'Have you written this?' asked he further, pointing to a pussage marked with a pencil: 'A President who is for the extension of slavery can be no blessing for freedom.' I answered in the affirmative. 'Is this your sentiment? Then you are an Abolitionist!' exclaimed several voices. 'I am none; I am an old Democrat of the Jestersonian school.'

been stricken, by the tribute money which was de-nied to the pirates of Algiers—I say, when he stood in Tremont Temple, Boston, the other day, and inin Tremont Temple, Boston, the other day, and insisted that the oppressed should take their freedom through the blood of their master, a chill of horror I had been delivered to the police for protection, unevidently ran through the multitude who heard his til further notice. After about an hour, two of my

escape from a tax upon tea? Which oppression, then, is the greater, in view of these facts?

Where are the advocates of a righteous physical

deadly resistance to aggression, oppression, tyranny and wrong? Are they not ready to carry out their principles, and put the sword into the hands of the slaves, and say to them:—'It is your duty to assert your right to life, liberty, &c., even though in maintaining it, the Southern plantation should be saturated with the blood of your oppressors?' Does not consistency require this?

If the war of our Revolution was a righteous war,

If the war of our Revolution was a righteous war, certainly they who eulogize it will nerve the arm of the slave, unless they desert their principles, and unworthily assume that a stamp and tea tax is more intolerable than that heart-withering and torturing oppression, which has turned the Southern prison-house and dungeon into the revolting exhibition of massacre, and slaughter, and blood!

But if like herets its like, and if brute force never But if like begets its like, and if brute force never

But if like begets its like, and if brute force never changed an enemy to a friend, then even Saul, in the dark period of a darker age, bore a testimony upon which the Christian professor of the present day, in his assumption of an intelligence so enlarged and elevating, may well ponder, when the guilty king magnanimously pronounced his verdict upon David, in a blessing so inimitably beautiful, that its inspiration touches every heart as it turns the

uplifted hand of violence and extermination aside, with the humiliating and yet noble confession, 'Thou art more righteous than I; for thou hast rewarded me good, whereas I have rewarded thee evil; forasmuch as when the Lord delivered me into thy hand, thou killest me not.' Shall such a benediction, such testimony of one living under a retaliatory law, be deemed worthy of acceptation, or shall it pass unheeded, and human blood still saturate the earth, with the assumption that it is an ordination of a beneficent and merciful Creator? What advantage, then, has the Christian over the Mosaic law?

To sum it up in a single sentence—Washington is called a Benefactor and Patriot, a Christian hero; while the slave who seeks to break his chain is consigned to unmitigated torture—to the gallows and stake; and yet scarce a voice of remonstrance is heard against the injustice and barbarity which enact such an atrocity and wrong.

We presume this article is from the pen of our Quaker friend, NATHANIEL BARNEY.]-Ed. Lib.

MR. LUDVIGH AND A DEMOCRATIC MOB. Mr. Ludvigh, editor of a German newspaper published at Baltimore, Maryland, made several speeches in the West last fall, in favor of Fremont, and advocated his election at home. He is well known as a talented and patriotic German. The following letter from him explains itself :-

New ORLEANS, February 22, 1857. DEAR H.: -On Washington's birthday I have to nform you of an event which happened me in the

inform you of an event which happened me in the South, and which doubtless will interest you. On the 13th of February, I celebrated in Charleston, S. C., my fifty-sixth birthday, and on the 14th, had hung over my old democratic neck, in Savannah, Georgia, not the sword of Damoeles, but the rope of 'Moboeles.' I had stopped there at the Pulaski House, where I registered, as usual, my name, which I never yet had any occasion to conceal or to be their word, let a vituperation should be meted to J. R. Giddings for his honestly expressed opinions in coincidence with these sacred teachings. Why may he not 'knock the slave-catcher down,' as he says he will, under certain circumstances, 'who obtrudes himself over man merchants, one from New York, the other from Savannah, with whom I became speedily acquainted, his threshold?' And why may he not justify the slaves in any movement which may secure 'an inaliemable right'—the right to their home and fireside—to their wives and children?

After dinner, one of these gentlemen told me confidentally; that a plot had been concocted against me, and that I had better be cautious.

When I intended to continue my calls on the subscribers of my paper during the afternoon, and left

of his slaves to sacrifice their oppressor? As I have said, let us look at this question fairly, severe though the interrogation may seem, and award such a judgment as the advocates of violence claim, when they talk of 'a righteous war, of righteous retribution, &c.' Whether then of the two is the greater patriot, George Washington, or the slave insurrection—tions. I have taken the post Office, I was told. He was asked if he ist? According to the doctrine of Jefferson, most surely the latter, inasmuch as his oppression had no limit, while that of the former was somewhat defi-statute of Georgia was shown me, and my attention And yet, so morbid is the public sentiment, that when Frederick Douglass, standing erect in the dignity of an immortal being, and stung with the bitter remembrance that he, too, was born to a life of slavery, and that from his limbs its iron shackles had been stricken by the tribute means which was defined any treason, and I am not afraid of this law, was my answer. Then they read the law fixing one year in the State's Prison, with hard labor, for disseminating abolition documents. I replied, I did not fear it, either; and further, that I would cladly submit to a large and further, that I

would gladly submit to a jury, and to the law.

After several questions and answers, they gave me through the blood of their master, a chill of hortoevidently ran through the multitude who heard his
appeal! 'Why,' said Douglass, 'is the black man
despised? Because he suffers himself to be enslaved;
a condition at which manhood rebels. My people
can never be elevated till they elevate themselves,
by fighting for their freedom, and by the sword obtaining it.'

And why do church and elergy, state and people
condemn Frederick Douglass for his appeal to the
sword, when their general teaching is, that 'resistance to tyrants is obedience to God?' Has slavery
coased to be a tyranny since John Q. Adams desword, when their general teaching is, that 'resistance to tyrants is obedience to God?' Has slavery after six o'clock, five Americans came, and a processed to be a tyranny since John Q. Adams declared, twenty years ago, on the floor of Congress, that a slave mother, confined with her two childen in the slave prison on Seventh Street and Maryland Avenue, with none but her sleeping children in the lone dungeon, had murdered the children of her own body; and then, laying violent hands upon herself, had rushed to the presence of her God, and there made her appeal for vengeance upon those who sustain the laws under which she was subjected to slavery?'

'Has the tyranny of slavery been mitigated, since in Covington, Ky., a father and mother, with their three children, shut up in a slave dungeon, and doomed to a Southern slave market, when there was no eye to pity, and no arm to save, sent the souls of their children and themselves, by mutual agreement, to heaven, rather,' as J. R. Giddings says, 'than suffer them to descend to the hell of slavery; and thus make their appeal against those who now sustain crimes which rise to Heaven, and call for vengeance upon our guilty land!'

And within a year, 'did not Margaret Garner, in Cincinnati, Ohio, bathe her hands in the blood of her babe, rather than permit the slave-catcher to carry it back to a life of chains, and sighs, and tears, and swinging ?' Let him who is ready to condemn, yea, almost to execrate J. R. Giddings, ask himself what mother of that 'glorious Revolution' of our fathers, sacrificed herself and her children, to escape from a tax upon tes? Which oppression, then, is the greater, in view of these facts?'

Three hours dinericans came, and a processor for deal once in quality and when I repeated once more that I was opposed to shary extension in the North-West Territorics, they shall have a nice froite! I understood what these words meant, and I believed I had the greatening had been and believed I had the same words meant, and in believed I had the same wo

LUDVIGH.

From the Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle. THE OHIO LEGISLATURE ON THE DISSO. LUTION OF THE UNION.

Senator Brown, from Portage county, was sometime since appointed a Committee of one, to report on sundry petitions asking for a dissolution of the Union, in consequence of its support of slavery. Mr. Brown was appointed to the same service last year, and very promptly reported, without leaving the hall, against the prayer of the petitioners. This year, the Committee of one seems to have acted with much more deliberation, but to have come to the same conclusion. Not having seen the report, we cannot speak of its character. All we know of it is contained in the following paragraph from the Columbus correspondent of the Cleveland Leader:—

'It (the report) is moken of as a worst seathing.

'It [the report] is spoken of as a most scathing document, walking into the ranks of the pro-slavery, aham Democratic disunionists without ceremony, dealing vigorous blows without mercy, and fastening the charge of disunion, by reference to documents, speech-

Since the above was prepared, we find the following in the Cincinnati Gazette of the 23d inst.:—

COLUMBUS, March 21, 1857. Mr. Brown, the Select Committee to whom have been referred several petitions for the dissolution of the Union, coming from certain mistaken enthusiasts, near and about Salem, in Columbiana county, yes-terday laid before the Senate his report upon the subject. It is an admirable document. While it deprecates any attempt to dissolve the Union, it shows convincingly that there is far less danger to the confederacy in the mild madness of Garrisonian zealots, who neither fight nor vote, than in the vio-lence, ruffianism, and avowed disunionism of the Democratic party at the South, and the unrebuking silence of that organization at the North. The re-port grouped together many startling facts in rela-tion to the factious, disunion sentiments of the sup-porters of James Buchanan, and exhibited the base hypocrisy of their pretended loyalty to the Union of these States. In conclusion, Mr. Brown offered

the following resolution :-Resolved by the Senate of Ohio, That we look with pain and regret upon any attempt to destroy the Union, whether made by Garrisonians, Democrats, or others.

Col. Holmes said he would vote for this resolution if it were amended so as to read, 'whether made by Garrisonians, Democrats, Republicans, or others.'

Mr. Griswold did not see the propriety of the ameridment. Nothing but affection and fidelity to the Union had ever been breathed by the Republican party, and it was idle to class it with those from whom danger was apprehended.

Mr. Phelps denied that the Democratic party was false to the Union. Mr. Brown had collected the ravings of fire-eaters, and he had no sympathy with fire caters, North or South. Doubtless, if he would take the time, he could find sentiments equally seditions in Republican newspapers and speeches. It if it were amended so as to read, 'whether made by

tious in Republican newspapers and speeches. It was an insult to class Democrats with Garrisonians. (I think it was; and a resolution of respectful (I think it was; and a resolution of respectful apology ought to be tendered to the Garrisonians.)

Mr. Brown defied Mr. Phelps to point to a single expression in favor of disunion in all the Republican papers and speeches of the last campaign.

Mr. Phelps replied that this was not the time nor place to discuss these matters.

Col. Holmes, on the assurance of Mr. Brown that he would himself amend the resolution as follows, withdraw his appendment, and it was passed in this

withdrew his amendment, and it was passed in this

Resolved by the Senate of Ohio, That we look with in and regret upon any attempt to destroy the Union, whomsoever made.

The vote in favor of this resolution was unanious, and the whole trouble ended with ordering the report to be printed in the appendix to the Sen-ate Journal, and the usual number of copies to be printed for the Senators besides. But it was laughable to witness the surprise, not to say consterna-tion, of the Democratic Senators, on hearing their virtuous and loyal Locofoco party proven a mere band of organized disunionists; and finding them-selves called upon to deprecate the seditious designs of 'Garrisonians, Democrats, and others.'

FUGITIVE SLAVES NOT TO BE IMPRISONED IN OUR JAILS. The House recently passed a bill, forbidding the use of the Jails of the State for the confinement of persons not charged with crime. Subsequently, the bill came before the Senate, and, after discusstructions to say, in unmistakable language, that no Jail in Ohio shall be used for the confinement of Fugitive Slaves, or any person charged with any constructive offence, arising out of the relation of Master and Slave.' Afterwards, this Committee reported back the bill, with the first section amended

'That it shall be unlawful to confine in the Penitentiary of this State, or in the Jails of any county of this State, any person or persons charged with simply being a fugitive from slavery."

The report of the Committee was agreed to; th bill ordered to its engrossment and third reading at the Clerk's deek, and passed. Yes 22; nays 8. On motion of Mr. Kelly, the title was then amended so as to read, 'An act to prohibit the confinement of fugitives from slavery in the jails of Ohio.' The Senate has also moved in relation to the late

decision of the Supreme Court. After an appro-priate speech, Mr. Kelly, of Franklin, introduced n the Senate the following preamble and resolution :

Whereas, The Supreme Court of the United States have, in their late decision of the case of Dred Scott, virtually decided that the owners of slaves may bring or send them into States where slavery is prohibited, and still retain their ownership in such slaves—which decision, in effect, declares that slavery may exist in this and other free States; and, Whereas, It is deemed as essential to the welfare of this State, that slavery be utterly excluded from its

limits; therefore,

Resolved, That the Standing Committee on Federal
Relations be instructed to inquire whether any, and if
any, what legislation is required to prevent the introduction of slavery into this State, and that said Committee report by bill or otherwise.

This resolution was subsequently discussed.

Mr. Kelly said, that the freemen of the North
must form themselves into a cordon of liberty. They
must say to the South, in the language of the Macedonians, 'If you come to us, you come upon our
spears.' Or, as the Creator said to the sea, 'Hith-

donians, 'If you come to us, you come upon our spears.' Or, as the Oreator said to the sea, 'Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further; here shall thy proud waves be stayed.' God forbid we should ever be driven to the last ultimatum!

Mr. Matthews opposed the resolutions as premature, for the real opinion of the court was not yet known this side of the mountains. Our only information in regard to it was by newspaper accounts; and we should wait for the publication of the decision itself. He denounced slavery as the greatest curse that had ever afflicted this or any other people. But he believed that, instead of gaining, it was daily losing strength. Every such attempt as this to encroach upon liberty was but an evidence of its weakness.

Mr. Marsh followed in sturdy and eloquent support of the resolutions, and congratulated Mr. Matthews upon taking a step toward returning to the house hold of his first love—a phrase perhaps more charac-

teristic than happy.

The resolutions were adopted—yeas 24, nays 6.

From the Oneida Sachem.

'LET THE UNION SLIDE."

MR. EDITOR:—In common with all who loved the Union as a land of liberty, and who revered the Constitution because they believed it to be an instrument of impartial freedom, I have denounced WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON as a fanatic for declaring that this Union was 'an agreement with death, and a bargain with hell,' and I have looked upon him as a libeller and slanderer of the framers of the Constitution, when he denounced that instrument as an engine of oppression. But I can do so no longer. The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that Garrison was right! The legal interpreter of the Constitution has decided that the men of the Revolution fought only for themselves, and not for

mankind. It has asserted that when Jefferson and Jay, Adams and Hamilton, talked liberty, they meant slavery. It has proclaimed slavery national, freedom sectional, and is anxiously waiting for the Lemmon case to come before it, to fulfill the prophecy of John C. Caldioun, made fifteen years ago, tha 'in less than twenty years, slavery would be re-es tablished throughout the whole North,' and to veri fy the prediction of Tooms, that he would 'yet call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill, and hire them out to hoe corn in Ohio.' It has converted our boasted republic into a cruel despotism by erecting a standard of citizenship not based on religion, wealth, intelligence, or manhood, but on that meanest and lowest of all foundations, the color of the skin! thus dooming five millions of native Americans and their posterity to forever remain aliens in the land of their birth! Who that has loved the Constitu tion, but must hate it now? Who that has cherish ed the Union, but must now pray for its spealy dis-solution? Who that once felt a flush of pride at the mention of America, but must now blush to hea the mention of America, but must now blush to hear the name? For one, I am no longer a Unionist. I must either give up my love for the Union or my love for mankind. 'Let the Union side.' It has proved a failure. It has joined hands with the op-pressor against the oppressed, with the strong against the weak. If, henceforth, to work and pray for a separation of the North from the South will be trea-son, then will I be a traitor. I have here. son, then will I be a traitor. I have been a Repub lican ; I am a Garrisonian.

ROBERT TOMPKINS.

From the Ohlo Anti-Slavery Bugle.

BRAVE WORDS.

The Washington correspondent, 'J. S. P.,' of the New York Trouze, who does up a great part of the more thorough anti-slavery work of that paper, and whose labors are often neutralized by the counter efforts of his more conservative co-laborers, write an admirable letter on this subject. We know no how better to occupy our space than by quoting largely from it. In answer to the taunting inquiry of Democratic submissionists, 'What are you going to do about it?' the writer replies:—

' For one, we make answer to the insulting inquir by prompt and unequivocal reply. We propose to revolutionize the revolution. We design to prose cute countervailing measures to the usurpation, which shall be sufficiently radical and effective to accomplish its overthrow. We intend to strike directly at the usurping power. That power is slavery. We propose to drive directly at its vitals, wherever it exists. Forced into war, driven into straits where one party or the other must sink, we go for sinking slavery. In a contest of vital consequence and far-reaching results, we cannot stand upon ceremony. Having no alternative but to yield to slavery or to conquer slavery, we strike for its unconditional extinction in this Government, whether by expulsion or otherwise. Upon this ground we believe the battle should be fought by all who do not intend to be victimized and degraded by the gross and insulting rule of the Slave Power.

Brave words and fitly spoken are these. And nov that his blood is stirred, the writer proposes to do in substance what the Disunion Abolitionists have all along been urging: that the States in their inde pendent capacity must do the work; that all hope from national politics has proved utterly futile, and so must continue. For years, Wendell Phillips has devoted all the energy of his intellect and power of his eloquence to impress this fact upon the mind of the nation, but only to be jeered at; and with quite as good will by national Republicans, as by national as good will by national Republicans, as by national Democrats. It is encouraging to find an auxiliary coming up from the Republican camp. Thanks to Judge Taney for so hopeful an indication! The writer proceeds:—

'This war upon slavery must be made by the Fre States acting in their own sovereign capacity, or by such comparative union among them as shall be deemed best by the parties. It cannot be effectively carried on to its successful completion by the sole ac-tion of Federal agencies. It is too late for that. This plan has been tried and found wanting. The reasons why, might be given at length, but we must omit them here. The lower House of Congress may, where possible, be used as an auxiliary force, but this is all. The Free States, acting in their own separate and independent capacity, must accomplish the work. What those States must first do is to rise from their dependent, secondary, half torpid position, and assume the attitude of independent, self-respecting, self-reliant States. They need or-ganization. They must be aroused to feel and to de-clare their rights. It is time to shake off the dust and sloth of generations, and to assert their powers so long in abeyance. They have need to recur to first principles, to brush away the cobwebs which have accumulated upon their books of constitutional law; restore to light their almost forgotten reserved rights, erect their prostrate political status upon a pedestal where it can be seen of all men. They must train their people, and organize their military resources, not for war but for defence. They must as sert their sovereignty, and be ready to defy all pos ble assaults upon it. Thus they may at one and the same time secure peace and command respect.

'This done, and it may be quickly done, let them

hurl their bolts into the ranks of slavery. Let them begin their approaches and prosecute their as whatever manner and direction can be shown to be most effectual. This work may in fact be carried along pari passu with the work of preparing the Free States for whatever emergency their position may induce. They may be skirmishing against the enemy while being disciplined. At prest, the Anti-Slavery spirit of the North lies bosomed in a mere mob of numbers. The Yankeer are, to too great an extent, degenerated to school mastering and huckstering. They are cultivated effeminates, like the last of the Greeks. All this wind the men of culture round their finger. Determination, discipline, organization, must take the becility as was witnessed in that disgraceful specta-cle, the Anthony Burns mob. In a word, the North must learn to act as well as talk. Do we need to intimate in what direction? We think not, except to wilful obtuseness. Wisconsin has taken one string the true path. Yet, nobly as she has acted, and gratefully as her early ascertion of State independent be pointed to only as one of a glorious galaxy, with which the future shall overspread the heavens that was the first to shine out from the unbroken darkness of a once murky sky."

From the New York Independent.

THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT. We are to remember the exceeding and distinct solemnity with which the great God of truth and justice has appointed the judgment scat, and laid down his laws for the conduct of the judges. 'I charged your judges, saying: Hear the causes be-tween your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgment: but we shall hear the small as well as great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man, for dgment is God's. Judges shalt thou mak thee, and they shall judge the people with just judg-ment. Thou shalt not wrest judgment, nor respect persons. That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live.' Now there is not only no acknowledgment of the authority of God, no reference to it, nor any intimation of the binding force of equity, truth, and justice, in the decision of the judges lavelving the rights, the fate, the charof the judges iavolving the rights, the fate, the character, the humanity, of millions of mankind, but God's law is contravened by it in every way, not in spirit merely, but in the violation of particular, well defined, unmistakable, and indisputable statutes. And if this decision is accepted as law, if it be not purged off, resisted, exploded, hissed off, by the moral smose of the community, by the fervid, glowing, and sensitive conscience of the people, as liquid ratsbane would be hissed and sputtered off, if turned upon red-hot steel; if it be not denied, and trampled on, and cast out as a carcass to be buried, then pled on, and cast out as a carcass to be buried, ther there is an established, adopted, open controversy between us and God. But may God have mercy upon us, and make the conscience of the country like a range of ten thousand volcanoes against this

wickedness!

For indeed there ought to be such an explosive power of outraged moral sense, such an irritated an gry repugnancy and power of repulsion in the mind and heart of a free community, against such treason, that when these usurpers attempt to run the elements of their cruelty and tyranny into the moulds, as the imagine, prepared for them, it shall be as when by careless founders the extaract of molten iron or brass poured from the furnace into the sluice, falls upo an unknown drop of water, and instantly the whole burning liquid mass is scattered with terrific explosion in a thousand jets of fire. It is dangerous work, this turning of your concected lava of wick-edness upon the enlightened public conscience of your country. We tell you, one drop of God's truth and God's grace, in one single conscience, may yet blow you and your depravities, torn limb from limb, into the sky; one drop may do it, and you thought, perhaps, because you had no such drop in your own cauldron, there was none such in the public heart; you thought perhaps that conservative, and time-serving, and slavery-apologizing, and slave-holding ministers and churches, and Young Men's Christian Associations, and pro-slavery newspapers, had done your insurance work for you; had prepared your moulds, had so ossified the heart, and so thoroughly dried and petrified the public veins, that your work was perfectly insured against disaster. your work was perfectly insured against disaster. But we tell you, 'Cursed be he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger!' God himself has kindled a fire in the very wall of your iniquity, that shall devour your palaces with a shouting in the day of battle, with a tempest in the day of the whirfwind. Ye who turn judgment into wormwood, and leave off righteousness in the earth, God will pour the shadow of death into your mourning, and make your day dark with night. The denunciations of God against this iniquity are as fresh as they were three thousand years ago. 'And it shall be as if a man did fice from a lion, and a bear met him; or with hell are we at agreement: when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, Judgment will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; and your covenant with death shall be disannulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then ye shall be trodden down by it, and it shall be a vexation only to understand the report.'

The decision of the Supreme Court against God's word and the Constitution of our country has no more authority upon any of us, or in any depart-ment, than the command of Satan to the Lord Je-sus to fall down and worship him, on the pretence that all the kingdoms of the world were his. These cruel and wicked laws are no more laws to be ac cepted and obeyed, than were those of Omri, Ahab and Manasseh, with which they compelled Israel to sin. The perversion of the Constitution is not the law of the land, though commanded by a thousand judges; but the Constitution itself still continues the law of the land. The Supreme Court was not appointed over the Constitution, but under it; not to define it, or prescribe its interpretation, but to carry into effect all laws in accordance with it. The Supreme Court has no power to make laws, nor to force new constructions of law against equity. The Supreme Court has no power to restrict the liberbut only to confirm and secure them in the broadest manner the Constitu-tion will allow; not to create caste, but to prevent it; not to disfranchise, but to enfranchise; not for purposes of oppression, but to increase and maintain liberty; not to make as few citizens as possible, but as many: not to exclude men from the privileges of the Constitution, but to admit them. And in all cases of doubt, the presumption, under a free Constitution, is in favor of the person whose freedom is endangered, not certainly against him, because the Constitution is for liberty and equity, and not for tyranny, slavery, and injustice. Even in the case of criminals, the doubt must go in behalf of the accused, and not of the government. If it were doubtful whether the Constitution would admit punishment for death by a particular offence, the doubt is fatal to the power, even though the offence were clearly proved, for the punishment must be clearly within the law, and not grow out of a forced construction of it for the purpose. The Constitution is not a thing to be put into a hot-house of tyranny, and by the application of principles as dry, hot, and burning as guano or sulphuric acid, to be made precociously to sprout with buds and blossoms of slavery. Neither is it a plant on which can be grafted, and by its original vigor made to grow, the poisonous, deadly fruits of despotism.—But the Supreme Court are just perverting it into a stock on which to graft the worst and intensest doctrines of slavery, making it a vast overshadowing mit punishment for death by a particular offence, trines of slavery, making it a vast overshadowing Upas, instead of a tree of life. And it is just the ost abandoned corruption and putridity of national most abandoned corruption and putridity of national selfishness and avarice, the very faces of moral de-pravity on the dunghill of the world, which the Chief-Justice applies in his reasoning, for the quick-ening into life of his immoral principles.

fRev. George B. Cheever.

Mr. SUMNER .- This notorious man and ignoble MR. SUMPER.—This notorious man and ignoble senator—rendered notorious and ignoble at once, by prostituting his high position to the defamation of a venerable and distinguished public servant and falsification of history, has bid a temporary adieu to the land he disgraced. He quite recently sailed for Europe, and while in New York an attempt was to create some excitement to do him The demonstration, however, was a very slight one. The 'Young Men's Republican Club' met him at the ship, and saw him embark, but the masses could not be moved. They were inexorable, and Mr. Sumner went to sea with but few to witness his exit It is believed that the day of his martyrdom is past, the public mind having been already too much ex-cited to bear more.

Sumner's career ought to teach demagogues an impressive lesson. Taking Abolitionism in Massa-chusetts at its flood, he was soon wafted into the United States Senate. A blind and reckless fanaticism made all solicitude or inquiry as to his fitness or qualifications as a statesman impossible. No one inquired, because no one cared. It is even believed that the same vote that elected Sumner would, with equal alacrity, have sent Theodore Parker, William Lloyd Garrison, Abby Kelley or Lucy Stone to the Senate of the United States! As an evidence of this, it has been asserted that some of those who voted for Sumner have publicly declared that so far as the great purpose of sending him to the Senate was concerned, Abby and Lucy would have done the work much more effectually! This purpose was avowed to be the agitation of the Slavery question. Had they asserted the conviction that Abby and Lucy would have shown more gallantry and less of the craven-hearted on a certain occasion in the Senate chamber, we would have agreed with them. Less courage or more cowardice they could not have shown.

By the almost unanimous verdict of the brave and the true, wherever found, the infamous speech in the Senate, for which he was chastised, stands without a parallel in the history of all parliamentary debate. It was a deliberate, offensive, personal ha-rangue. It alluded to Senators by hame who had never named him! It assaulted men, in the most violent terms, who had never made any allusion to Mr. Sumner. It even maligned sovereign States, that if the owners of any kind of property, especwhile he knew that their Constitutional defenders ially slave property, not only have no disposition to with malice aforethought. It was an assault delib erate, malicious, unprovoked, with a weapon more deadly than the bludgeon or the sword. No resolutions or votes can remove the stain from his shield. No sympathy for his personal sufferings can hide fact that the provocation he gave was unparal-land intense. The moral verdict is seen in the leled and intense public pulse. He came back to the Senate after a long absence, unattended. His presence in the Sen-ate Chamber was unnoticed, except by a few partisans, of which the Boston press complained. left the Capitol as he had come, unattended, and sailed for the Old World with the smallest possible mount of sympathy or excitement, as we have seen

May such ever be the fortune of all cowards and

ANOTHER OFFER. A correspondent of the Richmond Enquirer, who signs himself 'Aristides,' offers, if Gen. Pierce will turn his face to the South, and if Gen. Pierce will turn his face to the South, and cast his lines in 'Ole Virginny,' to give him 200 acres of land 'near Elysium Springs,' where he can have the benefit of that 'pure, balmy atmosphere, well impregnated with the purest Democracy!' As this is probably 'poor Pierce's' last chance to get 'near Elysium,' we earnestly advise him to consider this 'the sium,' we earnestly advise him to accepted time.'—Concord Dem.

The Liberator

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, MARCH 10, 1857.

HOW TO DRAW OUT LEVIATHAN WITH A HOOK.

clivered in the City Hall, at New Bedford, by ELLING BURRITY, on 'The Project of Emancipating the Slaves at the South, by compensation from the National Treasury.' There was a small audience. Be fore proceeding to criticise it, we propose to make brief reference to some of the many chimerical methods which have been devised, ostensibly either wholly to terminate the system of slavery in the course of time

or else to confine it within certain limits. I. For half a century after the independence America was declared, it was every where common admit that slavery was wrong in the abstract, and ought to be got rid of by a very gradual process half way between now and never.' The doctrine man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him; or went into the house, and leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent bit him. The very songs of the temple shall be howlings in that day. Though they dig into hell, there shall my hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down. Wherefore, hear the word of the Lord, ye scornful men that rule this people. Because ye have said, We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at a treatment when the overflowing a sid, We have made a covenant when the overflowing a sid did the code me of the inherent sinfulness of the inherent sinfulness of the inherent sinfulness of the coverflowing. immediate and unconditional emancipation was ever slaveholding, and conceding to the oppressor all that he cared to claim in practice. It was equally unprincipled and visionary; yet it deluded many person whose integrity of character and benevolence of pur pose no one presumed to question. At the preser day, it finds very few advocates at the North-hardly one at the South. The conflict which is now shaking the land is for the immediate extinction of slavery, or the one hand, or else for its universal extension an perpetuity, on the other. The sham of GRADUALISM

> II. Next, the scheme of African colonization wa presented as calculated to induce emancipation, by the expatriation of those set free, together with the free colored population. The scheme was two-faced, exhibiting one aspect to the South, and quite another to the North. It was so 'full of all deceivableness of unrighteousness'-it affected such concern for the civ ilization and evangelization of 'poor benighted Afri ca'-it jumped so agreeably with the complexiona prejudice every where abounding, from the most refined to the most vulgar-it changed its mask so adroitly, according to circumstances—that almost 'the very elect' were deceived for a time, (including Will BERFORCE and CLARKSON in England, and many dis tinguished philanthropists in this country,) and they gave it their warmest countenance. But, at last, it true character, its pernicious tendency, its wicked de sign, were clearly revealed, and demonstrated beyond successful refutation; and, accordingly, it was speedi ly abandoned by those who had espoused it from pure motives, with a sincere desire to let the oppressed go free. Its power to mislead the intelligent has long since gone, and those who now rally around it are left without excuse. No one is now so idiotic as to pretend that it will affect slavery injuriously, or haste

> the day of emancipation.
> III. Another plausible scheme for the abolition of the slave system, which was urged for a time with great zeal and conscientiousness on the part of a con siderable number of true-hearted anti-slavery mer and women, while it furnished a convenient subter fuge for pro-slavery Quakerism, was that of abstinence from slave-grown produce. This scheme never excited a wide-spread interest, and at the present time is without a public advocate.

> IV. Another plan, if not to abolish, at least t ripple slavery, is that which the Republican party supported with such zeal during the late Presidentia campaign-namely, the non-extension theory, bounded by 36 degrees 30 minutes North latitude.' Its impotency is seen in the successful conquest of Kansas by Southern slaveholding ruffianism and Norther Democratic complicity, and in the fiat of the United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case.

V. Another scheme is, to place an anti-slavery cor struction upon the Constitution, and under it to en force emancipation in all the slave States, at the point of the bayonet, if necessary. As this scheme flies directly in the face of all legislative and judicial action in our land, and of the understanding and interpret The Carolina Times, Columbia, S. C., thus ex-tion of the Constitution by the people, without dis-ults over the departure of Senator Sumner for Eu-tinction of party, ever since its adoption, (nearly three score years and ten,)-as its enforcement would assuredly lead to a bloody resistance on the part of the South,-and as the whole nation remains to be wor over to its support, which is equivalent to making a new government,-it is too preposterous to deserve anything more than a passing reference. The hold it has upon the popular conviction was indicated in the number of votes cast for Gerrit Smith as President at the late election-less than one hundred and fifty, out of nearly three millions !

VI. The last nostrum presented is this scheme of Mr. BURRITT, to buy up the whole slave population at a fair market value, taking the money out of the national treasury. This is the hook with which levia than is to be drawn out and destroyed, without creating even a ripple upon the face of the deep,-for Mr B. has no taste for agitation.

In a famous receipt for cooking a fish, the direction runs, ' first, catch it.' Nothing can be more sensible than such advice; for, if there be no fish to cook, of what avail is any instruction as to its treatment? At convention of mice, on a certain occasion, it was unanimously resolved, that it was only necessary, for their safety, to cause a bell to be appended to the neck of their blood-thirsty enemy, grimalkin, so that they might be duly warned of her approach; but when the question was asked, 'Who will bell the cat?' a silence ensued which has never yet been broken. An ingenious mechanic once boasted that he had made a machine to effect perpetual motion; it had only one defect-it would not go. I came very near getting wife once,' said one man to another. 'How near? Why, I asked the woman I liked if she would have me, and she said no. If she had said yes, I should have succeeded.'

Now, we respectfully submit to Mr. BURRITT, that his field of labor, just at this interesting crisis, is to be found at the South, rather than at the North : that Richmond, or Savannah, or Charleston, or New Orleans, constitutes a more salient point than either Boston, or New York, or Philadelphia, or Cincinnati; sell out, but declare their purpose never to part with it on any consideration, it is a misuse of time and a waste of rhetoric to go from town to town, urging others to enter into this speculation as something that will 'pay.' It is certainly remarkable-to us it is wholly inexplicable on the ground of common sensethat Mr. BURRITT should come forward to advocat the purchase of all the slaves precisely at the time when the South is seeking to extend and eternize her slave system-will listen to no proposition for its abolition-declares it to be essential to her safety and prosperity, the corner-stone of our republican edifice the very cement of the Union-ignores and anathematires freedom in every shape—maintains that slavery is the normal condition of the mass of mankind—and ayows her determination, if possible, to uproot every free institution as a curse to the world! Now, under these circumstances, how can the North trade with her? Does it not require two to make a bargain? And is it not plain that his work is first to be ac

Mr. BURRITT would get rid of the sum of all villa nies,' by buying it in the lump, forgooth ! But his proposition to buy carries with it an imputation of the

plished south of Mason and Dixon's line?

seeks its extinction. Such an imputation made by attempted assassination, within the very walls of the him at the South would subject him to a coat of tar Capitol! As if, while one half the nation were and feathers, or peradventure to the fate of Haman ! In his lecture at New Bedford, he compared slavery to rats on board of a noble ship; he spoke of it as a delirium; he denounced it as a national wrong-this great sin, ever generating discord, confusion, strife, bloodshed - the immeasurable evils of slavery. He exclaimed, · Overboard with it at once, and let it sink in the slime beneath, with all its yokes and fetters! Now, to this language we take no exception; on the contrary it is what we are in the habit of using, whenever w speak or write on this subject; but what if Mr. Bus RITT should venture to go South, and rehearse such declarations in the ears of those who traffic in * slave and souls of men '? How far would he probably get to be something more or less than a joke to the peron his journey, how many public audiences would he be allowed to address, before being lynched? And yet what less could he say as a reason why the over ure was made to purchase the slaves out of the hand of their present owners? If they should deign to hold any conversation with him, they would say You propose to buy all our niggers-do you? Or what ground?' 'O, because slavery is all wrongits evils are terrible-it is a great sin.' 'You're damned abolitionist,' would be the reply; 'cut and liberty to change their residence when they find it unrun, or you shall swing for it.' Should he venture to expostulate, and attempt to show the blessings that would attend the beneficent act of emancipation, Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, would reply, in the language of his speech made at Washington,- History tells us that when the working classes stepped out of the condition of bondage, by the process of emancipation they branched into four recurring subdivisions-the hireling, the beggar, the thief, and the prostitutewhich have no general existence in slave countries unless there has been a commencement of emancipa

It is mere child's play, therefore-with the Souther conscience seared as with a red hot iron, her hear harder than adamant, her spirit utterly demoniaca on this question of slavery,-for Mr. BURRITT to declaim before any Northern audience in favor of securing the freedom of those in bondage by a ransom. It indicates an astonishing lack of discernment, and is utterly impracticable.

Let us proceed one step further. Mr. B's propos tion is to buy the slaves. But what are they worth, at a fair market value? His own estimate is, \$200 each, old and young, the blind and the halt, &c. ; and reckoning their numbers at three millions and a half, the sum total is \$700,000,000. The value of the public lands he estimates at \$1200,000,000, at 75 cents per acre; making a sum more than sufficient to ransom the entire slave population, leaving several millions surplus in the treasury. But, supposing the South were willing to abandon her slave system for a pecuniary consideration, she would cipher out a very different sum. She would justly reckon the number of her slaves at 4,000,000, and their average value at \$500 each-making the sum of \$2,000,000,000, or thirteen hundred millions more than Mr. B's estimate, and eight hundred more than the value of all the public lands. A very material difference, certainly! To show the present value of slaves in the market, take the following items :-

The Prices of Slaves in South Carolina.—At a repersonal property, fifteen slaves, men, women and children, brought upwards of \$15,000.—Greenville (S. C.) Patriot.

We attended the sale of the property belonging to the estate of Smith Bradley, deceased, on Tuesday last. Ten negroes were sold at an average of \$730. One negro man, field hand, sold for \$1,900; a boy One negro man, nett hand, somether at \$970. Negro-fifteen years old, at \$1,000; another at \$970. Negro-men and girls brought as high as \$900. Of the women and girls brought as high as \$900. Of the number sold, there was one child two years old, and one five years old .- Greenville Enterprise.

Estate Sale .- At the sale of the personal property of John Couch, deceased, on the 27th ult, seventeen negroes averaged \$944 50 each. In the lot were two old negroes who sold for less than \$50, and two small children. One negro man brought \$1,610.—Keotees Courier.

The fact is unquestionable, that the present value of slave property reaches a point unparalleled in its history, and more than double the estimate made by Mr. BURRITT.

As for appropriating the public lands for any such purpose as he designs, there are two insuperable obstacles in the way. The first is, the South owns her lawful proportion of them, and therefore will not ed as to vote to pay herself with her own money! The second is, that the Slave Power has all these lands within its own grasp, and means to use them for its own aggrandizement in the acquisition of Cuba, Mexico, Central America, Hayti, Brazil, &c., &c.

But-leaving all other considerations out of sight -we should like to know where Congress is empewered constitutionally to make such a contract for the abolition of slavery. Assuredly, that body has now no such power; and, in order to possess it, a change in the Constitution is necessary, which can be effected only by the concurrence of three fourths of all the States. The whole thing is pre-

There are other considerations which we are obliged to defer, but may present them in another number.

SOUTHERN ASSUMPTIONS.

It is curious to notice how much of the matter set language, even after its efficiency has been dini :- desires :) ished, and its absurdity increased, by a better knowl- Whom, I say, did the bill wrong? To whom did

on the bill to admit Kansas as a State under the Toreka Constitution, purporting to have been delivered in the House of Representatives, June 28th, 1856, by Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, who must therefore bear the responsibility for it, whether or 10; it were actually delivered as printed, and whether or not he be considered as its author.

The portion of this speech which attempts to prov the rightfulness of slaveholding is very brief, consisting merely of a couple of pages at its close; but an elaborate attempt is made, through its whole previous part, to prepare the way for this argument, by the simple process of taking for granted most of the matters in debate. Thus Mr. Alexander H. Stephens assumes, with an air implying that every well-informed person must at once agree with him, with a quiet assurance that could not be exceeded even if the things were true, the following points :-

1. He assumes that this nation is enjoying a highly satisfactory state of internal concord, quietness and

'The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Campbell] said the

As if the stump speakers and political presses of his own party had not been, and were not at that monent, shricking against (what they declared) the imminent peril of Disunion, and the anarchy and absolute ruin which (they said) would follow in its train, as loudly as the Republicans 'shrieked' against slavery in Kansas! As if, whether in peril or not, the whole country had not been in tumult about the extension of slavery! As if, only a month before, one of his brother Representatives had not found their extension of the Union, to permit them to enjoy an equal and fair I articipation of the public domain purchased by the common blood and common treasure of all? Was

wrongfulness of alavery; and it is on this ground he argument, that he trusted its defence to club-law and on, within the very walls of the stamping this deed with its appropriate terms of repen, and finding in it a nearer approach than they had yet realized to the need of a di Union, the other half, Mr. Stephens's friends and col-leagues, had not been triumphing in the act, and show-ering gifts and congratulations upon the perpetrator!

2. He assumes that a large number of people who were born, and have always lived, in this country, and whose parents were born, and have always lived in this country, and of whose blood one-half, or three-quar ters, or seven-eighths, comes from the ' first familie Virginia and Georgia, are 'Africans'! Facetious Mr. Stephens! He will have his little joke. But it proves sons thus commented on; for,

3. He assumes that the persons in this country thu onclusively settled to be Africans, as well as those who are ranked to be such merely on the old-fashioned evidence of parentage, birth and education in Africa have no rights at all; not only no such liberty as the Declaration of Independence declares to be the inalienable right of every man, but no liberty at all; n liberty to seek and pursue an honest occupation; no healthy or undesirable; no liberty to marry; no liberty to live even with a temporary husband or wife without permission of some friend of Mr. Stephens no right to keep the temporary wife, if Mr. Stephens's friend takes a fancy to her himself; no right to bring up decently and bonestly any children which the temporary wife may have borne, if Mr. Stephens's friend wants them for himself; in short, no right to be, or to do any thing whatever, without permission from this exalted personage, whose right to monopolize the rights of both parties Mr. Stephens thus pithily sets forth:

. Where, then, is the wrong of this bill? It con sists in nothing but permitting the freemen of ou own race to settle this question of the status of the African amongst themselves, as they in their wisdom and patriotism may think best for the happiness of both

"Our own race'! What a certificate of merit, who

patent of nobility is contained in those words! And what a pity that might does not always accompan right in this world! Then the worthy people of Ma acca and Sumatra, who used formerly to act on Mr Stephens's excellent rule, sometimes by stabbing and drowning, sometimes by broiling and eating, such straggling parties of foreign races (Africans to them) as providentially came in their way, would not have been so unmercifully peppered for it by retaliatory ships of war. Had they not a right to determine the status of aliens, foreigners, people of a different rac and color, who, with or without compulsion, came amongst them? If they, in their wisdom and patri otism, thought it best for the happiness of both races that they should eat the foreigners, and if the foreigners, when eaten, did not disagree with them, where was the harm? To look at 'our own race' from another point of

view-What unalloyed purity, what unmixed aboriginal excellence, are implied in that expression 'Our own race,' in the case of Mr. Stephens and his friends, shows a pure, unmixed stream of Anglo-Saxon, Norman, Celtic, Scandinavian, Teutonic, Mile sian, Cambrian, Caledonian, Swiss, Jewish, Hessian Bavarian, Hungarian and Everythingarian blood, the true red blood, (scarlet in the arteries and purple in the veins, in both cases unmistakably royal in color, which marks the high caste, the superior race, the emnently noble and manly character. Prick one of these men, and the red blood appears at once to con-

Now although, if we should descend to the level of sidering those vulgar things called facts, we should undoubtedly find it true that the noble Georgian blood and the noble Alabamian blood are each accustomed to mix oftener with the despised African blood (that is, with the white female natives of those States who are theoretically designated Africans) than with each other, this danger to our theory of pure blood may be woided in either of two ways. First, by ignoring th facts, and saying nothing about them whatever; and next by saying that which is not; denying the mixture, and accounting for the white Africans by the influence of climate; just as you may call the cow's tail a leg, and say she has five legs, if you choose to take the natural consequences of that way of speak-

After all, this fine theory of Mr. Stephens, of the right of 'our own race' to ignore all rights on the part of a minority resident among us alleged to be foreign-and so alleged none the less pertinaciously in the teeth of opposing facts-is subject to this slight inconvenience, that, while each nation continues to think better of itself than of its neighbors, the theo ry authorizes each to decide the status of any unfortunate minority of either of the others which may fall within its power, and use up such minority, by working, hanging or eating, in such way as the stronger, in its wisdom and patriotism, might think best for the happiness of both. We submit, with deference to Mr. Stephens's better judgment, that the universal adoption of his rule would unpleasantly interfere with commerce and foreign travel, not to speak of the progress of civilization and Christianity.

4. He assumes that, the slave being a slave, it is first, no injury, and, next, a positive benefit, to the forth as argument, by the advocates of slavery, is slave himself, to work him on new lands instead of mere assumption, a quiet taking for granted of the old. (We beg that people who are not conscious of very points in debate. The representatives of the the possession of great intellectual keenness will attend South have heretofore accomplished so much in t is very carefully to the following quotation, lest they way, that they naturally continue to use the same should fail to answer Mr. Stephens in the manner ha

edge, widely diffused through the community, of the subject to which it relates.

Whom, I say, and the only wrong: To which the slave, the African, whom his Southern master might take there? How could it be unjust even to him? Is not his condition as much bettered by new lands and virgin soils as the Congressional Globe office in Washington, a speech

Now this is such a sort of statement as superficial and narrow-minded people, like the abolitionists, are wont to call impudent and preposterous. But when you look carefully, closely, deeply into it, (assisting the intellectual process by inclining the head slightly to one side, compressing the mouth and half closing one eye,) you see the practical difference which must exist, and which the slave, therefore, must appreciate, between have no rights on new land, and having no rights on old land; between being flogged on a wide fertile Territory, and being flogged on a pine-barren; between having his wife sold to the highest bidder on a broad prairie, and sold to the highest bidder in a narrow auction-room; between having his daughter ravished on a virgin soil, and ravished on an old plantation so exhausted by slave labor as to be no longer worth cultivating; between having no right to learn to read in an expanding, increasing population, and having no right to learn to read in an old, meagre, and constantly diminishing population; between being forbidd go off the plantatian without a 'pass' in the free, The gentleman from Ohio Mr. Campbell; said the other day, and again says, that the passage of the Nebraska bill was the origin of all the troubles in the country. Sir, what troubles does he allude to? What troubles have we upon us? Standing in my place in the Hall of the Representatives of the United States, I ask to-day, what troubles is the country laboring under to help himself or receive help from any one else in the wilderness, and not daring to help himself or receive. help himself or receive help from any one else in the wilderness, and not daring to help himself or receive Were any people of the world ever more prosperous wilderness, and not daring to help himself or receive than the people of the United States now are? p. 5. help from any one else in the cotton field; in short between being a piece of property with the disadvan tage of possessing a skin that can feel, a mind that can compare, and a soul that can aspire, in Kansas, and being a piece of property with the same disadvar tages in Georgia. The d

5. He assumes that the North and the South have an equal right to claim, and an equal interest in so curing, the establishment of slavery in Kansas.

it wrong or unjust to permit the people of New York.

Massachusetts and other States of the North Ford into a new territory, to be as free there as they am in their native homes?" p. 7.

As far as the people of New York and Massel As not as concerned, we cannot allow Mr. Steples, cause to suffer by the magnanimous undereause to suher by the has made above. They would lead of it which he has would be in certain parishin much more free in Kansas, under the proposed a rangement, than at home. They would be for h compel their poorer neighbors to work for then will out wages; they would be free to put in Irice, as sell at auction, such new comers into their ten as proved to have no 'free papers,' and to be either as proved to have than seven-eighths, of there are not all, or not more than the to suppress the use of be speech and a free press; to drive a portion of them dren away from the public schools; and to white the dren away from the patient while the and-feather, and violently expel from their teritor any persons who might think, or be suspected of the any persons who majority; and, smally, day would be free to be imprisoned at hard labor from to would be free to be into five years, 100 sections 11 and 12 of the 151st the ter of the laws of Kansas, quoted below, none of what inestimable rights they can enjoy in New York e Massachusetts.

SEC. 11. If any person print, write, introduce ; Sec. 11. If any person print, write, introduce into publish, or circulate, or cause to be brought into printed, written, published, or circulated of sind knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, pak lishing, or circulating within this Territory, any body paper, pamphlet, magazine, handbill, or circulate, on taining any statements, arguments, opinions, section, doctrine, advice, or inuendo, calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous or rebellious disaffects among the slaves in this Territory, or to induce sensitaves to escape from the service of their master, or resist their authority, he shall be guilty of solar, and be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a territory of the states of their master, or resist their authority, he shall be guilty of solar, and be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a territor less than five years.

Sec. 12. If any free person, by speaking or writing assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall is.

SEC. 12. If any free person, by speaking or writing assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slawes in this Territory, or shall introduce inst this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or case to be written, printed, published, or circulated is to Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamplis, or circular, containing any denial of the right of such persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such persons shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than the years.

As to Mr. Stephens's theory of the public dense being purchased by the common blood and common treasure of North and South-we should be glad to hear his candid opinion of how far the fact quotel below respecting South Carolina represents the just history, present condition and future prospects of the other slaveholding States :-

· The Committee appointed to take into comiten-'The Committee appearated to take into considera-tion the circumstances of the Southern States, and the ways and means for their safety and defence, ripor, that the State of South Carolina, (as represented by the delegates of said State, and by Mr. Huger, who has come here at the request of the Governor of said State, to explain the circumstances thereof,) is trans-to make any effectual efforts with militia, by reason of the great proportion of citizens necessary to remain a home to prevent insurrection among the negroes, and to prevent the desertion of them to the enemy. That the state of the country, and the great number of these people among them, expose the inhabitants to great danger from the endeavor of the enemy to excite them to revolt or desert.'-(From the Secret Journal of the Continental Congress, vol. 1, p. 105, under date of March 29th, 1779.)

6. Mr. Stephens assumes that the transaction in Kansas which has been called a fraud, an iniquity and a crime, 'is the simple declaration of the principle that the people of the territory of Kansas should have the right, without limitation or restriction from any quarter, save the Constitution of the United States, to form and mould just such institutions for their over government as they pleased.' p. 6. Mr. Stephens lies, most obviously, under a michie

in this matter. Neither the principle above stated, nor the declaration of it, nor any action in confermity with it, has ever been called a fraud, an iniquity, or a crime. On the contrary, the Republican party, against whom he is arguing, have adopted, and endeavered to act upon, that very principle. They wished nothing better than the opportunity to act upon it, without limitation of restriction from any quarter. That his they have justly called a fraud, an iniquity, and a crime, was the forcible imposition of limitations and restrictions, in the shape of hands of armed men from Missouri and elsewhere, preventing the votes of actual settlers in Kansas, substituting illegal votes of their property, and persons of those settlers who were known or suspected to be opposed to slavery.

This brings us to the seventh unfounded assump-

7. Worthy Mr. Stephens is a zealous advocate of 'law and order '! He says, p. 18:-

A strong and general tendency to disregard law and order is one of the most lamentable evils of the day. It is not confined to Kansas, but it is seen and felt everywhere. And our object, and that of all good men, should be to check it, rather than excite it."

Now, strange as it may seem, the above calm and peaceful-looking sentiment is not uttered in condennation of the 'border ruffians' of Missouri, or of their outrages just mentioned. They were good and faithful servants of the cause, in another department of which Mr. Stephens is laboring. The 'law' which he befriends is the law of slavery. The 'order' which he wishes to maintain is the order that reigned is Warsaw-complete and utter subjugation of ri, ht to might-the stillness which follows after every elect to resist oppression has been conquered. So Mr. Stephens assumes the violations of law and order to have come from those who, after long and patient submi-

sion, at length took arms to repel force by force. 8. He assumes that the Constitution of the United States contains nothing inconsistent with slavery, or adverse to it. When asked, as the Republicans are constantly asked by the Abolitionists-Does not the Constitution contain some pro-slavery clauses?-Mr. Stephens replies, adopting literally and seriously the common Western formula of exaggeration-'It does't contain anything else! He entirely ignores the Preamble to the Constitution, setting forth the purpose for which that instrument was ordained and established. In his fanatic zeal for slavery, (which did, to the disgrace of our fathers, find a lodgement in tes or three clauses of the Constitution,) he utterly dist gards the account given by the instrument itself of its own purposes—namely, to form a more prilet Union, (which slavery perils,) to establish justice, (which slavery overthrows,) to ensure domestic trab quillity, (which slavery destroys,) to provide for the common defence, (which slavery prevents, is in the case of South Carolina above quoted,) to promote the general welfare, (which slavery fatally wounds with poisoned blade,) and finally, to secure the blesing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, (which sivery seriously limits to the nation at large, extensive and most injuriously limits to the small body of actual slaveholders, and annihilates to that considerable pro portion of their posterity which they hold, work, and ell as slaves.)

Thus Mr. Stephens assumes that the Constitution wholly, thoroughly, and absolutely pro-slavery, mithat the claim of Constitutional action of course to

cludes everything opposed to slavery. 9. He assumes, (by quoting certain language of the advocates of the pro-slavery Kansas government such a connection as to show that he agrees with sai adopts it,) that the passage of laws imposing from tel to five years imprisonment at hard labor, for speaking writing, or publishing against slavery, is no interfeones with freedom of speech or of the press. Here's the language, on p. 8 of the pamphlet :--

There is nothing in the act itself, as has been charged, to prevent a free discussion of the subject a slavery. Its bearing on society, its merality or the dency, or whether it would be politic or impolite make this a slave State, can be discussed here as free as in any State in this Union, without infringing as

As if one should say-This law indeed permits the snking a man over the head with a gutta percha cane any time when his face is turned towards his desk is writing, and also the repetition of the blows until por are safe from the danger of immediate retaliation on his part; but, beyond this, there is no interference with the security of a man's writing at his own desk We do not find this figure of speech described by the modern writers on rhetoric; but an old au the damed Milton, quotes the following description as characterization of it by a personage called Gahoe, who was commenting on the language of a conproperty personage styled Satan :-

. To say and straight unsay, pretending first Wise to fly pain, professing next the spy, Argues no leader, but a liar, TRACED.

10. Mr. Stephens assumes that the language of the populican leaders, in Kansas and elsewhere, is design al to prepare the party for 'a crusade against the such and a war of extermination against their Southern brethren."

The foundation for this announcement, that a Northenforce is threatening to descend, with fire and sword. agen the peaceful plains of the South, is the followor passage from General Webb's Courier and Enor. After speaking of the extent to which the pence and peaceful forbearance of the Kansas peo ontinued to be abused, by the incursion of armed Missouri, partly to control the elections, mi partly to drive 'Free State men' from the Territer, the Courier and Enquirer said, (June 26th)-

The remedy is, to go to the polls, and through the bellst-box repudiate the infamous platform put forth at flacinnati, and over which the black flag of slavery were with characteristic impudence; and, failing i secable rights, and drive back, with arms, those who dare to trample upon our INHERITANCE.

To this announcement of an intention to repel the armed invaders of Kansas, Mr. Stephens replies-

Do you wish to go before the country with the approximation to inflame the public mind at the North, to mive their passions, to stir up their blood, and prepare their hearts for a war of extermination against their Suthern brethren? their Southern brethren t here that the great body of active business people at the North are prepared to join a set of reckless leaders in this crusade against "the South."

Such are some of the assumptions which Mr. Ste phens seems to regard as needful to be taken for grants ed, preliminary to an argument for the introduction of slavery into Kansas. C. K. W.

ELIHU BURRITT AND HIS SCHEME.

I suppose you are well aware, ere this, that a ne champion has entered the anti-slavery field. I refer of course, to ELIHU BURRITT. It seems our learned friend, neglecting his languages, has been dabbling little in commercial calculations, by taking a good likely negro for his divisor, and Uncle Sam's plethe ne pocket for the dividend; the quotient he takes for

the knotty problem of negro emancipation. Now, though our learned friend's calculations are faultless of themselves, vet I greatly fear, that in making up hs figures, he has lost sight of one fact that may alter the result materially. There is an old saying that it takes two to make a bargain. Now Mr. B., as tet, has gained the consent of neither party, North per South, nor is he likely to. The North will stand sloof through avarice, and the South through pride, grejudice, and love of power. They know well, if hey should emancipate their fifteen hundred millions of slave property to-morrow, that immediately such a tide of emigration would flow into the Southen States as would soon pay them four fold for the loss of their slaves in the enhanced value of lands. The South see this just as plain as Mr. B.; but they do not see, either in this or Mr. B's plan, any equivakat for the enormous power they are required to give up, which they hold through this system.

Though Mr. B's plan may be impracticable, yet it adicates the best of intentions, springing from a be sevolent heart; but those, I fear, will avail him but little. If he were as old a crusader in the anti-slaterr cause as Mr. Garrison, his battered belieft and of essayed armor would faithfully attest that the most self-sacrificing labors for the good of mankind, and the best of intentions, are often paid for in a currency harder than that 'Old Bullion' ever advocated.

Mr. B. need not now have any fear of personal violence in treating with the North; but I cannot, I must confess, say as much for the South : for a people that shoot Northern schoolmasters, mob Northern women, hang and burn their own colored Patrick Henrys and Wat Tylers, would not stickle much to interrupt our learned friend's negotiations for the peculiar institution with a little chivalric exhibition of the tight-rope performance, or at least a little 'slighto'-hand' with the negro whip; but should be even recape these, which I doubt, as Mr. B. would naturally pass for a schoolmaster—as I hinted, they are particularly partial to this class of men. Yet he will discover that a State, boasting of being the nursery of Presidents, that will extort an oppressive tax from a poor and down-trodden people for the avowed purpose of colonizing them, and then appropriate that sum to supply the deficiency in their own depleted treasury, the result of their sloth and indolence-a State that will do this, I say, and then, after robbing them of their money, advocate the robbing them of their bodies, and the selling of them into slavery-such s State would be a dangerous party to any bargain where a pecuniary consideration was involved. One hal better always keep his hand on his pocket-book in treating with such parties.

Mr. B., in his address here, was very eloquent, as he always is, and used a very beautiful metaphor, through which he culogized this 'glorious Union' of ours, enough to shame one of our modern . Union-savers. He likened our government to a noble ship, built and launched on the great political deep by our forefathers, into which, at the time of its building, somcontraband cargo had been smuggled, and that now this noble ship, flying before a dreadful storm, was in imminent danger of being dashed on the breakers of despotism, (here his metaphor seemed a little lame,) by the recklessness of a party, through some myste nous connection with this contraband cargo: and another party trying to save the ship in some unaccountable way, while a third party was trying to sare the ship, (perhaps you can guess, being a Yankee, who this party was,) to destroy this contraband targo, as well as themselves; when, just at this point, he appears, quiets the troubled waters, offers to pay for the contraband cargo, and throw it overboard. . The only fault I find with this metaphor is, it is not true. If the North side of the ship had been built of good sound oak, and the South side of rotten pine, through which the black waters of despotism poured, in spite of our political botchers and doughfaces at the pumps, his figure would have been somewhat nearer the truth; and then he would be forced to confess, that the only way to make the ship seaworthy would be to draw her upon the dry dock, and sheath her South side anew with good tough oak.

We should regard with suspicion those statesmen of philosophers who deal too lavishly in metaphors, figtres of speech, &c., which belong more properly to the province of the poet, who appeals to the passions rather than the judgment of men. Mr. B's address was somewhat faulty, I thought, in this respect; but, hevertheless, I wish him much success in his undertaking, and as soon as he converts the North, I am very enxious to witness his negotiations with the

Yours, truly, SPECTATOR. Painesville, (Ohio,) March 26, 1857.

WHAT ARE WE COMING TO

What are we to do? Is there no hope? Is Freedon to be crushed out from our country? Is Slavery to be tional to all practical intents and purposes. There was inaugurated over a whole people? Has the last battle nothing new in this decision; it was in perfect keepbetween Slavery and Preedom been fought? - Can we ing with the treatment of the colored people by the hope for liberty in the future? Certainly it looks American Government from the beginning to this day.

dark! Judging from the past, what have we to hope Mr. Purvis was asked by one of the audience if he for the future? These are most important questions. I fear when I attempt to answer them. But let us see—first, we can never cure a disease until we know Cabinet of General Jackson. He stated that, intend-

United States have foolishly attempted to run the ticket of leave sort of paper was sent to him in return gausslet between Freedom and Slavery, and come out of the race unscathed; the conservative taking the present Mayor, who was so indignant that he wrote to middle ground, while the ultra chose sides, either for Washington on the subject, and as the result, a formal Freedom or Starcey, where their inclination, tastes and passport, giving him the protection of the Govern principles led them; pressing eagerly on towards the ment, as a citizen of the United States, was sent to him thither end, while the two principles, Freedom and But, said Mr. Purvis, I was indebted for this not t Slavery, wide apart at the first, have been nearing the American Constitution or to the spirit of the each other until, within the last thirty-five years, American Government, but to the generous impulse there have been many collisions between the two op- of General Andrew Jackson, who had on more occa posite forces, and he who can run between these, was sions than one in the then late war publicly tendered sure to receive the lash from one or the other side, and his gratitude to colored citizens' for their brave as most likely both. But now the two opposite lines have sistance in the defence of the country. actually come into collision with each other, driving Mr. Purvis was followed by C. L. Remond, of Sa the gauntlet men to choose permanent sides, leaving lem, Mass., who, in reply to the same interrogator nothing for them to stand upon.

United States at this time. Never shall we again be the United States, but, like Mr. Purvis, he considable to move on harmoniously as one people in the har- ered this no proof that the Supreme Court was not ness of freedom and slavery. We have presented to vested with power to declare that people of Afrius three choices—Freedom, Slavery, and Dissolu-tion. Which shall we take? First. We certainly States. Mr. Remond then offered the following resowould prefer Freedom; but how are we to get rid of lutions, with a view, as he said, of making the exone sixth part of a whole people who are slaves? An- pression contained in those of Mr. Purvis more comswer me that. I can't. Second. There is Slavery. plete:-Shall we take that? It sometimes looks as though we forcibly as we shall in our vain attempts to equalize and harmonize these two opposite forces?

'It is vain to extenuate the matter. The war ha actually begun. Our brothers are already in the their hands imploringly to us for aid. The different parties may t cry peace, peace, but there is no their obedient dough-faced allies at the North to take What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace Federal. so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and horses' bridles, which hangs over our distracted country, is in repentance. But what is the crime of which we are guilty? This should be understood, that the When I contemplate this great crime, I tremble for our country.

For the last eighty years we, as a nation, have been committing the most stupendous and heinous offence against God and man, that our earth ever witnessed; a crime which transcends in enormity, as well as in magnitude, all other crimes put together-the crime of enslaving in body and mind an immortal being-God's child, our brother, throughout all his posterity-a crime which has made one-sixth part of a whole people liable to be sold and bought from the auctionblock-a crime which has, within the last eighty years, increased from a handful, (about 400,000,) to 3,700,000 -a crime which has extended itself, within the same which seeks to extend itself over the wisest and most progressive people the world ever produced.

Is there any hope that we shall repent, and that distributive justice. What must that repentance be? But is there any probability of this nation ceasing to uphold the system of human slavery? I see none. the Union!

I see no escape from this calamity but in dissolution. Let him who would be free, strike the first blow-hoist his flag high, inscribed upon its folds-'No Union with Slaveholders.' G. W. M. Ellsworth, (Me.) 1857.

CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA.

A large meeting of colored people was held on Friday evening last, in Israel Church, the object being as announced in the call . To consider the atrocions decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case. and other outrages to which the colored people are subjected under the Constitution of the United States." The meeting was organized by the appointment of James M. Buctel as Chairman, and William Still as Secretary. After some remarks made by Benjamin S. Jones, of Ohio, Robert Purvis took the floor, and offered the following preamble and resolutions :-

Whereas, The Supreme Court of the United States has decided in the case of Dred Scott, that people of African descent are not and cannot be citizens of the United States, and cannot sue in any of the United States Courts; and whereas, the Court in rendering its decision has declared that 'this unfortunate class have, with the civilized and enlightened portion of the world, for more than a century, been regarded as being of an inferior order, and unfit associates for the white race either socially or politically, having no rights which white men are bound to respect; and whereas, this Supreme Court is the constitutionally approved tribunal to determine all such questions; therefore,

Resolved. That this atrocious decision furnishes final confirmation of the already well known fact that under the Constitution and Government of the United States the colored people are nothing, and can be nothing bu an alien, disfranchised and degraded class.

Resolved, That to attempt, as some do, to prove that there is no support given to Slavery in the Constitution and essential structure of the American Government, is to argue against reason and common sense, to ignore history and shut our eyes against palpable facts; and that while it may suit white men who do not feel the iron heel, to please themselves with such theories, it ill becomes the man of color whose daily experience refutes the absurdity, to indulge in any such idle phantasies.

Resolved, That to persist in supporting a Govern ment which holds and exercises the power, as distinctly set forth by a tribunal from which there is no ap peal, to trample a class under foot as an inferior and degraded race, is on the part of the colored man at once the height of folly and the depth of pusillanimity.

Resolved, That no allegiance is due from any man or any class of men, to a Government founded and administered in iniquity, and that the only duty the colored man owes to a Constitution under which he is declared to be an inferior and degraded being, having England Anti-Slavery Convention in May last, or no rights which white men are bound to respect, is to unce and repudiate it, and to do what he can by all proper means to bring it into contempt.

Mr. Purvis's speech in support of these resolution was brief and earnest. He scouted the idea of colored people taking comfort from the pretence that this de-

The Supreme Court, he said, was the appointed tribu nal, and what it said was constitutional, was constit ts character.

For the last eighty-five years, the people of the Secretary of State for a passport, and an informal

THE LII

He showed this to Mr. Robert Vaux, father of the

stated that his father, being an immigrant from the This is the actual condition of the people of the West Indies, was formally naturalized as a citizen of

Resolved, That though many of our fathers and should-yet I believe it can't be. Then what next? some of us have, in times past, exercised the right of Why, Dissolution of the Union. Is there any thing American citizenship; this was when a better spirit in the way? Do we not desire freedom more than pervaded the land, and when the patriotic services any thing else? and does not the South desire slavery of colored men in the defence of the country wer more than any thing else? Shall we continue as one fresh in the minds of the people; but that the power people when we are brought into collision and civil to oppress us lurked all the time in the Constitution war? May we not dissolve peaceably if we can, but only waiting to be developed; and that now when i suits the slave oligarchy to assert that power, we ar made to feel its grinding weight.

Resolved, That what little remains to us of political rights in individual States, we hold, as we conceive field, upon the plains of Kansas, and holding out only by sufferance; and that when it suits the purposes of the slave power to do so, they will comma neace,' and never can be, between these two con- these rights away from us, and leave us no more place flicting elements. What is it that gentlemen wish? under the State Government than we have under the

Resolved, That we rejoice that slave holding despotsleavry?' Forbid it, indulgent Father! The only ism lays its ruthless hand not only on the humble black escape from the impending storm of blood, to the man, but on the proud Northern white man; and our hope is, that when our white fellow slaves in these so called free States see that they are alike subject with us to the slave oligarchy, the difference in our servirepentance may be in proportion to the offence. tude being only in degree, they will make common cause with us, and that throwing off the yoke and striking for impartial liberty, they will join with us in our efforts to recover the long lost boon of Freedom.

Mr. Remond spoke at length and with much fervor He considered that for colored people, after this, to persist in claiming citizenship under the United States Constitution would be mean-spirited and craven. We owe no allegiance to a country which grinds us under its iron hoof and treats us like dogs. The time has gone by for colored people to talk of patriotism. He used to be proud that the first blood shed in the American Revolution (that of Attacks, who fell in Boston was that of a colored man. He used to be proud tha his grandfather, on his mother's side, fought for libtime, over five times its original territory-a crime erty in the Revolutionary war. But that time had passed by. The liberty purchased by the Revolution ary men was used to enslave and degrade the colored man, and, as a colored man, he loathed and abhorre the repentance will be in proportion to the offence? the government that could perpetrate such outrages For this law holds good, as well of nations as of He repudiated, he denounced the American Union in men, that no crime can be committed with impunity, strong terms. People might talk to him of 'patience.' and there is no guarantee to men or nations of per- He had no patience to submit quietly to chains and petuity, success and happiness, but in equal rights and oppression. Let others bare their backs to the lash, and meekly and submissively wear their chains. That It is answered in a few words-Cease to do wrong. was not his idea of duty, or of manhood, or of selfrespect.

Mr. Remond made many remarks on other subject The slave-master will never let go his gripe until blood as did also Mr. Purvis, who again took the floor flows thick and fast; and if we have to pay for this When the resolutions came to be put, some opposi great crime of our nation in blood, how much shall tion was made, and a rambling and somewhat perit be, and how many heaps of slain? O, God! save sonal debate ensued; the end of which was, that the us from this awful punishment by a dissolution of question was taken on the resolutions as a whole and the chair pronounced them carried.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

DANIEL FOSTER, Chaplain of the House of Repre sentatives, is about to go to Kansas to settle there, and to aid in upholding the cause of Freedom. He wishe to secure a few hundred dollars, that he may leav SPIRITED MEETING OF THE COLORED his family in comfortable circumstances till he can remove them to a safe home in that 'far off West.' For this purpose, he is advised to give his lecture or The Jesuit and the Puritan in America.' This lecture has been received with favor by intelligent audi ences in New York city, Bangor, Concord, and many other places. Mr. Foster will deliver it in the Meions on, Monday evening, April 13th, commencing at 74 o'clock. Tickets 25 cents; can be procured at the following places, to wit: At the Emigrant Aid Rooms, 3 Winter street; at the Rooms of the State Kansas Committee, 1 Niles' Block; at the Post-Office of the State House, at the Clothing Store of Lewis Hayden, 99 Cambridge street, at 21 Cornhill, and at

We, the undersigned, cordially commend this lecture and its object to all the friends of Free Kansas. We hope and believe that Mr. Foster will receive a generous response to this appeal. We earnestly bespeak for him a full house.

GEORGE L. STEARNS, ALEX. H. TWOMBLY S. G. Howe, WM. LLOYD GARRISON. WM. R. LAWRENCE, CHARLES W. UPHAM, G. R. RUSSELL, B. C. CLARK, G. W. MESSINGER, R. J. BURBANK, CHARLES A. PHELPS, W. B. SPOONER, ALBERT BLISS. A. J. WRIGHT.

MEETINGS ON FAST DAY. Readers will notice that two important county Anti-Slavery Meetings are to be held on Fast Day, (April 16th,) at two prominent and accessible places; and the friends of the cause should give these meetings the widest possible no tice, that none, who desire to listen to the noblest eloquence of the land, devoted to the highest duty which the American people has to discharge, may lose these rare opportunities

It will be seen that WM. LLOYD GARRISON and PARKER PILLSBURY are to speak at the annual meeting of the Worcester County North Society at Leominster, and WENDELL PHILLIPS and others at the meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society at Abington.

Dover, N. H. Friends in Dover and the vicinity will observe that PARKER PILLSBURY is to give an address on Slavery on Sunday evening next. Let every one, who can, hear this eloquent and able advocate of the great truths of Freedom and Humanity

NOTICE.-Pledges of aid to the Mass anti-Slavery Society, which were made at the New previously, are now payable, and may be sent to Sam-UEL PHILBRICK, (Treasurer,) or to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., General Agent,) at 21 Cornhill, Boston.

The Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY is to be held in the city of New cision of the Supreme Court was unconstitutional York on Tuesday, May 12th.

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON TEMPERANCE. Mercantile Hall was densely crowded on Sundayening on the occasion of an address on Temperane

by Wendell Phillips.

The meeting was opened with a few remarks from Joseph Story, Esq.

In commencing, Mr. Phillips said he was glad to be able to be there, to throw the least weight into the scale of this great movement. Twenty years ago he became a teetotaler, and it had become so much of an element in his nature that he had almost forgotten the arguments with which it was sustained. He had not been able to give much to the cause other than an example, and that every one owed. He did not think with a man of forty a temperance speech could open example, and that every one owed. He did not think with a man of forty a temperance speech could open a new light, for he could look back over his whole life, and see in his own experience the whole argument for temperance. Much had been gained in twenty years in this cause; a drinking life had come to be looked upon with disgust; this was a great step.—Formerly, you could not enter a public house but what in the very vestibule all the apparatus of intemperance stared you in the face. Twenty years ago, if you went to the Astor House, you had only to enter its doors to see the character of an American gentleman; now you had to go down stairs in order to find it out. In this country public opinion was the controlling power—get the ideas right, and the customs will soon follow. He was in favor of prohibitory law to stop the vice of intemperance. Few young men were able to say 'no.' It was an angel wandered down from heaven who could say 'no' under all temptations; it was the highest of human attainments. But as so few were gifted with the power, it was the duty of society to say 'no,' and thereby protect its members.

If a man lived through means of the ligner traffic

tect its members.

If a man lived through means of the liquor traffic brand him with the name. Nay, if he died by it, and it was necessary to write an obituary, put it at the

It had been said that public opinion was not up to It had been said that public opinion was not up to the law, but the difficulty was that those men who went for the law left it to stand alone. The gentle-man who had spoken before him said he rejoiced in the success of the movement, but the reform could never be dispensed with; when we had saved that young man, we had not saved the one that comes di-rectly behind him. He was inclined to believe that the temperance cause had been narrowed down too

nuch.

It had been said by those who had visited Italy and Spain, and other European countries, that there was not so much drinking there as in this country; there was a good reason for it—they could not afford it; money was not so easily gained as it was in this country, and brandy was very dear. The great secret of so much intemperance in our country was that wealth was so easily gained by the masses. Temperance was not abstinence alone, it was cultivation and education. If you drive the devil out, you must supply the plac with something nobler—tempt the higher faculties t expand.

If you cannot give a man the highest intellectual

basis, give him the next position below-do not seek to narrow down and contract the workings of the mind. If we took away the amusement which was furnished by the custom of drinking, we must supply its place with something else. The will, great as it is, cannot stand alone; but he did not wish to doubt the power of the will. A little word accomplished great things at times. He once knew a man who, when a boy of nineteen, was about to start for the sea. When at the garden gate his mother came to him, and said, 'My boy, I never saw the sea, but those who has the lime that the search of t said, 'My boy, I never saw the sea, but those who have tell me that you are going where the temptation to drink is great; promise me that you will never touch the cup.' He said, 'Mother, I do.' And he told me that this promise haunted him all round the world, and whenever he was tempted, that mother at the garden gate, with tears in her eyes, rose up before him, and he was saved. Years after, when he had settled down in life, a man came to him, and thanked him for repeating that scene to him—it had saved him for repeating that scene to him—it had saved him from a drunkard's grave. It took long ages to develop great ideas. He supposed that it would take a hundred years to develop the sentiment in this country which would acknowledge that a man had the right to speak as he thought, and a hundred years longer to acknowledge that a negro has a right to his personal self. He never saw a young man at the threshold of manhood, without trembling at the gaunt-let which was to be run. It was a glorious thing for a man to be able to say in the autumn of life, that if he had never spoken brave words for humanity, he had not committed a single act which had tended to lower his brother in the scale. If we know the value of temperance to its opposite, we should welcome it and support it with all the powers with which we were

His closing appeal to the young men present most beautiful production.—Boston Telegraph.

EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURL

At the Democratic Convention to nominate city officers, held in the city of St. Louis, on Saturday last, the following resolutions on the subject of emancipation were adopted by acclamation :-

· Whereas, the pro-slavery party of this State, call ing themselves National Democrats, by their course in the last session of the Legislature, renewed the agitation of the slavery question, and forced the emancipation question upon the people; and, whereas, the Democracy of this city deem this a fit opportunity to declare the sentiments, in regard to this question; therefore, be it Resolved, That we heartily endorse the course of York.

our delegates in the last Legislature.

Resolved, That the gradual emancipation of slavery Resolved, That the gradual emancipation of slavery in the State of Missouri, in the opinion of this convention, is an open question, and one of vital importance to the people of this State; that we disapprove of the resolutions on this subject, introduced by Mr. Carr, in resolutions on this subject, introduced by Mr. Carr, in the Legislature, during its last session, as an attempt to gag the free expression of opinion upon the freedom of speech and of the press.

Resolved, That the Constitution of this State pro-

Resolved, That the Constitution of this State provides that slaves may be emancipated by the consent of the owners, by making compensation for the same—and that gradual emancipation, upon the terms provided in the Constitution, is neither 'impracticable, unwise, or unjust,' if it shall appear to be for the best interests of the people of this State; and the only mode of ascertaining this important fact is by full and free discussion of the entire system.'

It will be remembered that one of the St. Louis Delegates whose course is here theartily endorsed is provided in the Constitution, is neither 'impracticable, unwise, or unjust,' if it shall appear to be for the best interests of the people of this State; and the only mode of ascertaining this important fact is by full and free discussion of the entire system.'

It will be remembered that one of the St. Louis Delegates whose course is here the entire system.'

whose course is here 'heartily endorsed,' B. Gratz Brown, whose emancipation speech in the Legislature created such a sensation a few weeks ago.

St. Louis, April 7 .- Incomplete returns of our city election yesterday, foot up for mayor as follows:—
Wimer, emancipationist, 4331; Pratt, democrat,
3080; Lane, American, 1626. A large number of
Americans voted for Wimer, whose majority will be
about 1500, and a majority of the emancipation ticket

EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES. The Baton Rouge Ad-

The Senate yesterday passed the Bill recently introduced by Senator Hyams, of New Orleans, prohibiting the future emancipation of slaves in this State, except such as are specified in the 2d section of the Act. viz. :

· That the prohibition contained in the foregoing

section shall not apply to the slave who may have saved the life of his or her owner, or his or her own-er's spouse, or the life of the child of either of them. Gen. Munday, of East Feliciana, offered an amend-ment to this section, which was adopted, including likewise any slave that renders service to the State, by giving information that would lead to the detection of any insurrection or conspiracy, and in this shape the bill passed. The amendment is very well conceived, and renders the bill every way acceptable. It could be improved in the House by further amending it so as to require all emancipated slaves to be removed from the State, at the expense of their former amending it would be the company of t removed from the state, at the expense of their former owners, immediately on becoming free. No effort should be spared to prevent the further increase, un-less by natural means, of free negroes among us.

and venerable Secretary of State has commenced his diplomatic difficulties with a correspondence with the Chevalier Hulsemann. The Chevalier had some dispute with the master of a negro woman that he had hired as a servant, and the master meeting her in the hired as a servant, and the master meeting her in the street, told her to go home to his house. The woman did so, and the Chevalier has invoked the interposi-tion of the State Department to defend his right as Minister Plenipotentiary of Austria against interfer-ence with his servants. In the correspondence with Secretary Cass, the nature of the patriarchal institu-tion is a subject of discussion.

The Right of Africans as Citizens in Maine.—
The Supreme Court of the United States having decided that persons of African descent are not citizens of the United States within the meaning of the Federal Constitution—and as the Constitution of Maine makes citizenship of the United States a requisite for the right of suffrage—the Senate of this State has requested the opinions of the several Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court upon the subject.

These opinions will be looked for with much interist, not only by our own citizens, but by those of other states, whose Constitutions are similar to that of Maine in this respect.—Portland Advertiser. THE RIGHT OF APRICANS AS CITIZENS IN MAINE.-

ne admitted that he killed Frederick Brown. He said that he was with the advance guard of the army that destroyed Osawatomie last August. They met Fred-erick Brown on the road before they got to Osawat-omie. White ordered him to halt, which he did not do, when he, White, 'let him have it, and he whirled over.' This was received in the Legislature with tre-mendous applause.

Black and White.—A negro woman residing at No. 3 Richmond street, Boston, gave birth on Sunday to two living infants, one of which is black and the other white.—Exchange.

Qr. How would Chief Justice Taney draw the dis-tinction between the two, as regards their being or not being citizens of the United States? Can one sue in the federal courts, and not the other? Or are both thut out in consequence of the African blood which is presumptively in them?

Cuba, has lately been sentenced to three years' hard labor in the chain gang, and to settle an annuity of \$1000 per year upon a young man whose eyes he had hired a negro to put out with vitriol. This diabolical outrage was committed because the young man had bought a female slave with whom he was in love, and whose possession the Spaniard himself coveted. The Great Horse Race .- The great race between the

alton and Taylor horses for 100 miles, from Albany o Whitesboro, came off yesterday. The time made by Taylor's horse was 12 hours and 22 minutes, and by Dalton's 12 hours and 25 minutes, the former beating

The whole affair was a piece of barbarism, of which all concerned in it ought to be ashamed.—Albany Argus, March 31.

Brutal Price Fight.—It is said there was a great dog fight at Broute, Canada, on Thursday, 5th inst. The match was for \$5,000 a side, and the result was the death of the Buffalo dog, which expired after a severe combat of two hours and fifteen minutes, the Montreal dog, although victor, barely escaping alive. Parties of the 'fancy' were there from all parts of the United States and Canada. The Buffalo Republic says there was a loss in bets of about \$40,000 to the American party. After the death of 'Tinker,' he was deposited in a handsome black walnut coffin, and brought to Buffalo for burial. It is said that many of the Buffalo gentry were so affected at the death of their favorite, that they actually shed tears over the dead body of Tinker.

We learn by telegraph accounts of two sad cas actions by fire, occurring Saturday and Sunday mornings. At Cape Vincent, N. Y., the dwelling-house of Mr. Grimshaw was destroyed, and himself, his vife, and siz children perished in the flames! At Oswego, three children of a Prench family named Pleonta were burned to death in their father's house.

Goold Brown, the celebrated writer upon Engish Grammar, died in Lynn, on Tuesday, last week of a disease of the lungs, aged 66,-

Gerrit Smith has contributed \$1,000 to the Dudley Observatory at Albany.

FEVERY READER A Will please notice the advertisement descriptive of MR. SEARS' PICTORIAL FAMILY BIBLE, and send for the Printed Catalogue of all our Illustrated

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PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS. The undersigned, a Committee appointed for that purpose, hereby give notice, that the FIFTH YHARLY MEETING OF THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS OF PENNSYLVANIA will convene in the Longwood meeting-house, Chester County, on the FIRST DAY, the 17th of

Fifth month, 1857, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continu its sessions, probably, for three successive days.

Joseph A. Dugdale, Ruhaney Way, Oliver Johnson, Thomas Garrett, H. M. Darlington, Isaac Mendenhall, Philena Heald, William Bernard. Ruth Dugdale, Franklin Parlington John G. Jackson, Lizzie McFarlan, Josiah Wilson, Susanna Chambers, Hannah P. Hanway, Sarah M. Barnard, Rachel Wilson, Sarah A. Entriken Agnes Sanders. COMMUNICATIONS for the Meeting may be addressed

to Joseph A. Dugdale, Hamorton, Chester Co., Pa., or to Oliver Johnson, Anti-Slavery Office, New LONGWOOD MEETING-HOUSE is one mile west of

Hamorton, on the road leading to Kennett Square. Strangers are informed that a daily mail coach runs to the latter place from Wilmington, Del., passing directly by the meeting-house. The distance from Wilmington to Longwood is 13 miles. Between Philadelphia and Wilmington there is daily communica-

DE AARON M. POWELL and SUSAN R. AN.

OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY .- A quar terly meeting of this Society will be held at the Universalist Church, CENTRE ABINGTON, on Thursday (Fast Day,) April 16, commencing at 10 o'clock, A.M. WENDELL PHILLIPS and others are expected to be

S. DYER, Secretary.

S. Abington, April 1, 1857.

WORCESTER NORTH.—The Annual Meet Les Workelster Routers.—The Annual Meeting of the Worcester County North Division Anti-Stavery Society will be held at LEOMINSTER, on Thursday, April 16, (Fast Day,) commencing at 104 o'clock, A. M. Members of the Society are requested to give a general and punctual attendance, and all persons are invited.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON and PARKER PILLSBURY ex-

pect to be present at the meeting. JOEL SMITH, President

Annual Meeting of the Worcester South Division Anti-Slavery Society will be held in WORCESTER on Sunday, April 19, at the usual hours of public meet-sunday, April 19, at the usual hours of public meeting, morning, afternoon and evening, which all persons are invited to attend. The Let there be no giving way on the part of those who have taken on themselves the name of Anti-Slavery. Further particulars, as to place, speakers, &c., next

week. EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, President.

DOVER, N. H .- PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will deliver an address on Slavery at the City Hall, in Dover, N. H., on Sunday evening next, April 12th.

DR. WM. SYMINGTON BROWN will de liver a second Anti-Slavery Lecture, in the School-House, Greenwood, Mass., on Sunday, April 13, at 5 o'clock, P. M. Subject: The Remedy.

CANS.—Two young men, well recommended for their qualifications as book-keepers, are in want of situations; another, well qualified as an operator in the several departments of the Daguerrootypean and Ambretypean arts.

These young men have devoted themselves assidu-busly to their respective occupations, and it is hoped that an opening may soon gladden their prospects. Apply to WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

Norten. The Post Office address of Mrs. Lucy Srows will be, for the present, No. 140 Fulton street, New York, care C. M. Saxton & Co. SALLIE HOLLEY'S post-office address, un til the second week in May, is Jonesville, Michigan.

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edness to the present state of science and literature, the most valuable work of the kind that I have ever een in our language. - Pres. Wayland. Published by G. & C. Merriam, Springfield, Mass Sold by all booksellers,

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WESTBORO', MASS Distant from the Railroad station nearly one and a half miles, is beautifully located on clevated ground, amid the highly cultivated lands of an agricultural district. The house is large and the rooms are all the control in the con amid the highly cultivated lands of an agricultural district. The house is large and the rooms numerous, and it has an excellent hall for gymnastics and recreation. The water, which, for purity and softness, is rarely equalled, is conveyed to the building by wood conduits, and thus escapes metalic oxydation. The bath rooms and appurtenances are ample and commodious, and in the regulation of temperature as well as general arrangements, the establishment offers superior facilities for winter or summer treatment.

Its hygienic and 'out of door' influences are superior. The hard, dry roads, with convenient grades, the 'wild wood' groves, a romantic lake, (Great Chauncy,) upon the Northern shore of which, high perched, are the symmetrical and magnificent build-

Chauncy,) upon the Northern shore of which, high perched, are the symmetrical and magnificent buildings of the Reform School; the exquisite landscape scenery from Raymond Hill, with the dry and exhibitanting atmosphere, all combine to rouse the exhausted energies of patients suffering from chronic disease. To make the Cure still more inviting, the proprietor, in addition to the 'old elms,' has transplanted into its grounds more than one hundred and fifty forest trees, some of large growth, &c. It is the desire and intention of these interested to make this traits.

some of large growth, &c. It is the desire and intention of those interested, to make this truly a RETREAT FOR INVALIDS, where every proper influence shall be made to do its appropriate work of restoration.

Persons desiring additional information, will please address the resident physician, Dr. J. H. HERO, or the consulting physician, DR. GEORGE HOYT, of Boston, 77 Bedford street, who visits the institution semi-weekly, and attends to calls in the city and country.

April 10.

HOPEDALE HOME SCHOOL For Children & Youth of both Sexes

THIS School is located in the pleasant and quiet village of Hopedale, Milford, Mass., within two hours' ride of Boston, Worcester and Providence.—a place admirably fitted for an Educational Institution which is designed to combine with intellectual training proper attention to the physical health and com-fort, and a watchful regard to the moral and social culture of those who may share its privileges and oppor-tunities. Its success, since it has been under the superintence of its present Principals, together with their former experience, and general qualification for the position they occupy, increases the hope and the belief that they may prove themselves worthy of the confidence and patronage, not only of their friends, but of the friends of a true and comprehensive educa-

but of the friends of a true and comprehensive education, and of the public at large.

The design of this School is to educate in the highest and best sense of the term; to exalt substance above show, attainment above accomplishment, merit above appearance, being above seeming; to make neither parrots, puppets, nor pedants, but thinkers; to aid in the formation of a symmetrical, harmonious, substantial character; to fit its pupils for any truly honorable calling, and for solid usefulness in life. Hence, the superficialities, mockeries, and shams, that so often characterize popular and fashionable boarding schools, will be studiously avoided, and thoroughness rather than extent—quality rather than quantity—will be carefully regarded.

Parents and Guardians desirous of finding a pleasant and comfortable HOME for their children or wards while prosecuting their studies, where they will be

while prosecuting their studies, where they will be well cared for, and kindly treated—where they will be well cared for, and kindly treated—where they will be removed from the evils and temptations of common society, and from the corrupting power of prevailing wickedness—where they will be nurtured in virtue, humanity and pure religion, will find here an unusually favorable opportunity of realizing their wishes.

As this Institution is thoroughly Reformatory and Progressive in its purpose and spirit, it must necessarily rely to a very great extent upon the friends of Reform and Progress for its prespective and support

Reform and Progress for its prosperity and su To all such, its claims and merits are respectfully and confidently submitted. To those desiring it, the names of persons who have

had children or wards at the School, and of others competent to judge in the matter, will be given, on application, for purposes of reference and particular information.

The next,-Summer Term,-of this Institution will commence on Wednesday, April 15, 1857, and continue twelve and a half weeks.

For further information and particulars, see large Circular—to be obtained by addressing either of the Principals., Hopedale, Milford, Mass. WILLIAM S. HAYWOOD, Principals.

WILLIAM S. HAY ABBIE HAYWOOD, 3wis3wos 'It is not Good for man to be Alone.'

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VIOLET:

THE CROSS AND THE CROWN. BY MARIA J. McINTOSH.

The Tenth Thousand of this most charming ook is ready this morning. JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY, Publishers. M6 6w

A NEW PRUIT AND PLOWER CATA-LOGUE, POR 1857.

WITH description and prices of all Trees and Plants needed in the Garden, Lawn, Orchard, Green House, Vinery or Nursery, with the latest novelties, will be forwarded on application. Carriage of all packages paid to Boston or New York

B. M. WATSON,

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Old Colony Nurseries, Plymouth, Mass.

POETRY.

A SCENE IN PALESTINE EIGHTEEN CEN-TURIES AGO. In Rome's proud streets the chained and squalid slave Trembles beneath his master's angry frown;

Through the known world the weak, the conquered, The poor, the helpless, friendless-all are slaves; Their tyrants see not, nor consider, how Those haughty States, built on vile Slavery's pillars Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Are sunk in Ruin's deepest gulf-ure no Except in History's pages. Judah, even, Ages preserved, and prophet-warned, sees not She stands on ruin's brink. She holds as slaves Her poorer children; Slavery is her doom.

In a small town of Galilee, despised As vile by haughty Pharisees and priests, There rises, in its humble synagogue, A holy, just, truthful, and pious man, Whom all have seen at the mechanic's bench, Whom some have, wondering, heard proclaimed

The stern, new preacher, 'Lamb of God! I am Unworthy to unloose thy sandal!' He rises, calm, but dignified; he takes The Holy Book ; he reads, ' God's spirit is Upon me; and he hath anointed me His chosen messenger unto the poor, With glorious tidings of a purer faith, With truth's rich light to eyes long dimmed by erro With liberty to captives; and to all Outraged, enslaved, opprest, degraded, wronged, To preach God's year of Jubilee, of Freedom.

The Book is closed: the wondering listeners gaze As their young townsman, now their God-sent Teacher, Unfolds to their charmed ears it is of him, Of him, the carpenter, Isaiah speaks; And while they gaze, they see a grace, a grandeur They never marked before, as the glad tidings Of God's paternal and His equal love To rich and poor, to bond and free-to all-Flow in sweet eloquence from those pure lips.

And shall a few weak tyrants on God's earth Make vain His prophet's words; nay, even make vain Those gracious, wondrous words uttered by one Than greatest prophet nobler--God's own Christ, Gifted with higher prescience than Isaiah?

Slaveholders, Slavery's advocates, beware! Remember sage Gamaliel's counsel wise, Lest haply ye yourselves be also found Vainly contending 'gainst Almighty power. JANE ASHBY.

Tenterden, (Kent,) England.

For the Liberator. TO MY WIFE.

When first mine eyes encountered thine, dear Anna

dost thou say, That crimson flushes o'er my face 'made quite bright display '?

Just so the joyous eastern skies their roseate hues put When Day's refulgent King appears to cheer and bles

No wonder that the crimson flood, the currents of my - life.

Should upward rush, elate with joy, to greet my future wife : For with that glance th' impression came as quick as

lightnings glide, That she whose form I looked upon ere long would be

And so it proved. A few short weeks scarce sped their rapid course.

Ere each of us the other took, 'for better or for warse': And from that day to this, my love, though year

have rolled between. I know thou'lt say, without reserve, that we've most happy been.

I've seen the cherub in thine arms-Tre held it in mi

O, those are more than golden hours that over us have flown:

Our sky has ever been as clear as where the eagles

Where cloudless azure drinks the light that shining systems pour. Let others boast the dubious bliss divided love ensures

And revel in the strange delight 'variety' procures, As Luna's clear and silvery beam more light to earth

Than all the twinkling, sparkling rays that dart from stiller orbs :

So the pure glow of one true heart, all poured upor Excels by far the transient gleams from all the socia

I've ever found thee true to me as needle to the pole And deeply is thy worth impressed upon my inmos

I love thee for thy kindly heart, that leaps to bless the That never empty turns away the needy from thy

I love thy independent mind, that spurns vain fash

ion's sway, Nor fears to tread the narrow path-the unfrequente

That follows close the latest light that on its pathway Deems present truth more precious far than error' ancient shrines.

All who, to elevate mankind, employ their hands or All who their honest wisdom use to right all human

wrongs--And all who demonstrate or prove, from Nature' boundless lore,

That progress is man's destiny through life forever

And in thy warmest sympathies do always share part.

May God's great, glorious host unseen make us their constant care, And when our mortal toils shall close, we will their

But while this world our efforts claim, we'll fellow helpers be.

And quiet shed on all around the sweets of CHARITY Springfield, March, 1857. E. W. T.

FRATERNITY. What though the crowds who shout the word,

Pervert the meaning it should bear, And feel their hearts with hatred stirred. E'en while their plaudits load the air; Yet shall not we, thou mighty thought, Despair thy triumph yet to see, Nor doubt the good that shall be wrought In thy great name, Fraternity!

By prophets told, by psalmists sung, Preached on the Mount by lips sublime, The theme of every sage's tongue For twice a thousand years of time; What happy progress hast thou made! What bliss to man hath flowed from thee What war and bloodshed hast thou stayed! What peace affirmed! Fraternity! -CHARLES MACKAY. The Liberator.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

Rule or Ruin the Watchword of Slaveholders-Price paid by the North for the Union-Northern Women presiding over Southern Harems to save the Union! PROVIDENCE, March 28, 1857.

Last Sunday, Parker Pillsbury and myself held meetings all day and evening in this city, to discuss the questions-Has the American Union proved a failure ?- Can it exist without Slavery ?- If not, ought it to exist at all ?-Ought not the people of the North to withdraw from such covenant with death, and form a Northern Republic on the principle of No Union WITH SLAVEHOLDERS? Many gathered to consider these questions, and the impression seemed to be deep and settled that the only way to save the North from the horrors of slavery or of civil war was to dissolve this inhuman alliance with slavery, and form a Northern Confederacy. Rule or Ruin is clearly the determination of slaveholders. The recent decision of the Supreme Court, the refusal to reappoint Geary to the Governorship of Kansas, and the appointment of one of the most thorough slaveholders and filibusters in the nation to take his place, in utter contempt of threefourths of the people of Kansas; the avowed determination of the Government to support the Border Ruffians in whatever enormities and murders they may see fit to perpetrate on the friends of freedom there, and every movement of the slaveholders. demonstrate that they are determined to rule the North or ruin it. If they rule, they will ruin; if they do not rule, they will ruin-if they can. Will

It is no vain threat of the slaveholder that he will enslave the Northern laborers, or deluge the land with their blood.' It is but a just retribution. Those who become the allies of robbers and pirates must expect to be robbed and murdered. Those who enter into a political, religious and social alliance with kidnappers must expect the treatment such felons bestow on their victims. If CHARLES SUMNER will enter a den of ruffians to recognize them as honorable men, and join them to make laws for the nation, it is a just retribution that they should knock him in the head as they do their other victims. If Massachusetts will enter into an alliance with those who live by plunder and murder, she must not complain if her own citizens are plundered and murdered. The law is just and eternal: those who help to enslave will themselves be enslayed. Those who will enslave and murder one, will enslave and murder all, if they have the power, and a strong temptation be presented. The North lies humbled and subdued, prostrate at the feet of slaveholders. Will she ever rise? Is her manhood clean gone forever? Must the posterity of Warren and Hancock ever cower before tyrants?

the North let them?

What has the North paid for the Union? The South said to the North, ' Give us Louisiana, give us Florida, give us Missouri, give us Texas, give us the Eugitive Slave Law of 1850, abolish the Missouri Compromise, give us Kansas, open the whole national domain, or we will dissolve the Union.' The North bow ed and said, 'Take all-we give you all you ask, we will do any thing, pay you five hundred millions of dollars, murder one hundred thousand Mexicans, and open all the States and Territories to slavery, ignore our manhood, give up our wives and daughters to your passions, only do not leave us-let us live as brethren in political union.' The South says, 'Give us your daughters in marriage to rule our harems, or we will dissolve the Union.' So the North gives up her daughters to preside over the slave-breeders' harems. . Take all, says the North- take our reason our conscience, our affections, our character, our religion, our God-only let us remain with you in the glorious Union.'

. The Union must and shall be preserved! So said Webster and Clay; so say Wilson, Seward, Hale, and the leading politicians and priests of the North No matter at what cost, the Union must be preserved. A fearful price has the North paid for the Union, and yet more must and will she pay. Her moral nature, her reason, her conscience and her God, have all been laid on the altar of slavery to save the Union. Her power to discriminate between liberty and slavery, between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, jus-What more can she pay? Has the time for reaction come? Must Slavery and the Union go down in blood? IN BLOOD is the only response. The issue is a fearful one, but it is upon us, and the North must meet it.

Why do not the Republicans and all friends of freedom call Conventions of the people to awaken the North to a stern moral resistance to slaveholders Let the watchword be, ' Resistance to Turants is obedience to God!' Let a warning voice go through the North, that shall arouse the Intellect and the Heart of the people to stern, uncompromising resistance to the Slave Power. Then let one and all show that mental and moral resistance by such ways and means as they shall deem just and expedient. He that would breeders to save the Union is a traitor to his own his neighbor's wife and daughters.

would give up two millions of the wives, mothers, substitute a system of concubinage and pollution-to talk of their reverence for woman, and their respect for marriage and parentage, while they confederate pretensions are a lie. Were they sincere and honest, hear slaveholders and their Northern allies declaim deed, and say, 'So be it. This price must be paid to tian brother. save the Union. The Union must and shall be pre-

the North, will soon give to woman her right of suf- very from the Bible. Well, let him go; it is his ow frage, and then we shall see whether the women will chosen way, to take the side of the tyrant and oppres join the men to consign these two millions of their sistor. He is himself a tyrant, a despiser of his race, ters to prostitution, to save the Union. Would they? and an enemy to his God. Put him in the same cat-How will the extension of the right of suffrage to the egory with the notorious Dewey, Lord, Adams, women of the North affect the condition of the slave? Spring, and many other Doctors of Divinity-blind Will it hasten their deliverance, or will it rivet their leaders of the blind.

Push on the Woman's Rights question! Let wo man come to the polls, if she wishes, to express her sympathy for the down-trodden; and see if Anti-Slavery does not instantly acquire an accession of power which the kidapping South cannot withstand!

God speed the people of Warren in their effort to call a State Convention in Worcester, to stir up the people to reverse or to annul the Decision of the Supreme Court. Will the Republicans come forward interpretations, and grafted some new, v and aid? or will they cower before the threat of disunion, to save the party? Oh, for a voice like the partial modifications are the most vital part of the

We publish the following communication as sent to us, leaving our readers to judge of its significance and authenticity :-

SPIRITUAL COMMUNICATIONS. Boston, March 25, 1857.

DEAR MR. GARRISON The following commu nications were recently receiv ed at a private circle in this vicinity. Both were give for Henry C. Wright. The one touching his m woman, in her relations to man, both in and out of the body, purports to be from N. P. Rogers; the one ouching slavery, a dissolution of the Union, and the formation of a Northern Confederation, purports to be

from Charles Follen.
Several persons, all, but one, well known to the ublic as speakers, lecturers and statesmen, were siting at a table. The presence of N. P. Rogers was ndicated by unmistakable signs. He gave by alphabet his name, and the following communication for H. C. W., touching his mission to woman in her va-

Vou shall go down into Hades after abused an prostituted woman, to bring her back to love and to life-to win her to a higher and nobler life, in legs marriage and out of it-to elevate her, in her rela tions to man, from the hell of sensualism in which she is now confined and crushed, up to a higher and more spiritual plane-to a heaven of love, purity and no bleness. We are preparing you for this work.'

Many other things were communicated from N. P.

Charles Follen then indicated his presence by spel ling out his name, and said he, too, had a message Henry C. Wright. A test was called for-a test that might be unmistakably recognized. One of the me diums present directly became cold, and much agitated, shuddering greatly, and seemingly suffocating as one drowning, and said, 'I am chilled through—but my head is on fire. I am dreadfully distressed.' The chest heaved convulsively. 'I am surrounded by fire and water.' The extremities were cold as if life was indeed passing away. This state lasted but a short time, when the communication continued, the following questions being put, and answered mostly by al-

'Do you and your associate spirits interest you selves in the present struggle between the North and South in regard to liberty and slavery?

'Yes, most deeply we do-ever watching the Anti Slavery movement with deepest interest.' . Can you tell the result of this conflict?

'We can-the certain dissolution of the preser slaveholding Union, the formation of a Northern Republic on the principle of "No Union with Slaveholders," and the abolition of slavery."

How is this to be done? ONLY BY BLOOD!

At this point, one of the mediums saw, with th learness of light, in a trance state, the fearful scene of onflict, and became greatly agitated-wept bitterlythrew up her arms and exclaimed, 'You have never seen a FIELD OF BLOOD. This is frightful! This influence must be removed, or I shall die.' Soon a sound trance-like state succeeded, and the following was written with a pencil:

'This vision shall surely be realized. Waves of de olation shall roll, in quick succession, over this devoted nation. They set at nought all the laws of justice, and defy the Supreme Judge of all the earth, and are filled with their own devices. They have drunken in iniquity like water. I WILL GIVE THEM BLOOD TO DRINK.

Where will this bloody conflict be?" 'In Washington and the border States,'

Do you approve of this way of abolishing slavery nd the Union ?

·There is no other way now left by which to abolish slavery but by BLOOD. The day of peaceful setlement of this question of slavery and the Union s past, no more to return. The responsibility of the blood that must flow must rest on those in Church and State, who, twenty years ago, had the power to forestall the fearful bloody tragedy, but who were too busy in opposing and denouncing abolitionists to do it. The blood of the slave, and of those who shall fall in the conflict between the North and the South-between Liberty and Slavery-will be required at their hands.

This, in substance, and by far the most part in words, is what was given by N. P. Rogers and Charles Follen tice and injustice, has been sacrified to save the Union. to H. C. Wright. A presence filled the room while pressed, even to tears, those who were in the circle. Well may Humanity weep over woman in her existing relations to man, and over the doom that hangs over this most guilty of all nations!

> RIGHTS OF CHILDREN. PROVIDENCE, March 30, 1857.

I want to say a few words to you about the meet ings held here yesterday in the New High Street Hall, by that earnest and able advocate, our friend HENRY C. WRIGHT. He took the very important question, morning, afternoon and evening, for his leeture, 'Marriage, and the Antenatal Rights of Chilnot give up his wife and daughter to the lust of slave- dren.' The Hall was crowded with attentive listeners, of both sexes, who manifested a deep interest principle, and a base and bad man, who would give up in the subject, which must have been new to nearly all. But they will never forget what they heard. I would see the Union in hell,' said a Democrat to They cannot obliterate the many startling truths that me last fall, 'before I would give up my daughters to fell from the speaker's lips; and could he come and slavery to save it. Yet, he and his fellow-voters give the same lecture a week hence, a much larger hall could be filled. That every child has a right to daughters and sisters of their neighbors to save the a healthy body, to a healthy soul, to a kind and locable Union! They do this every day; thus destroying all disposition, was dwelt upon by the speaker with great respect for woman, all reverence for marriage and pa- force. But how can children have a healthy body rentage, and all the endearments of domestic life, and and other essentials to happiness and comfort in this world, if born from debauched and diseased parents save the Union! It is vain for priests or politicians to and who do not possess conjugal love? There can be no mistake in these facts, for they are truths which none can dispute. He also called attention to with slaveholders, and consign every sixth woman in the fact that we have two millions of females in our the nation to prostitution, to save the Union. Their country, who have no protection for their virtue, and cannot be protected in honorable marriage, because they would instantly cut loose from this system of they are chattels personal, the same as a horse or a crime and pollution. Polygamy! How it sounds to cow. But the pulpits instruct not the people in these things; the dead theology of the past is all their against polygamy! It is sanctioned, in its most theme; the people cannot get enlightened or inform, by Church and State! The Northern structed from their teachings, for they teach not the priests and politicians, and Christians, hold two mil- things that make for peace, purity and happiness. lions of women, while their brutal allies work their They have little love or regard for the poor slave wo will upon them! And Northern women look on and man and her children, and the man that enslaves her see their husbands, brothers and fathers doing this they are willing to acknowledge and receive as a Chris-Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, has written his book

at last-the American Citizen'-and, in the sixth I hope Wisconsin, Ohio and Massachusetts, and all chapter of this book, he argues for the morality of sla-A. FAIRBANKS.

'THEOLOGY IN AMERICA.'

Extracts from a Sermon on 'Theology in America by Rev. A. D. Maro, of Albany :-

It is not to be denied that the genius of our co

try has somewhat modified this organized statement of the Gospel. It has separated State and Church compelled larger latitude in the interpretation of these creeds; split churches again and again on suc trump of God, to arouse the dead North to a sense of the perils that encircle them!

Yours,

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

popular theology. They are illogical deductions from the radical ideas of the creeds; but the mass of religious people are not logicians, and fasten on them, thereby excusing the presence of the middle ages in the church. But notwithstanding these

ral. It is not disputed that it is often very beautiful and impressive, and meets the partial wants of many minds; but it does not express the profoundest religious convictions of the mass of people in America who think and feel on Christianity. It is a world of its own, artificial, skilfully adjusted to a world of its own, artificial, skilfully adjust appeal to various tendencies in the popular a but still artificial, and represents more certainly wealth and social life of the land than the reli faith, depending on the banker, the architect and the upholsterer no less than the Gospel for its exist-ence. We go out of America when we go into the ular church. One step from the pavement of adway in New York carries us over the threshold Broadway in New York carries us over the threshold of Trinity Church, its great temple, into the middle ages. Broadway has yet no characteristic American church, though the voices of righteons and eloquent men are heard therein. We all wait for the day when that temple arises whose doors shall not be the boundaries of ages, whose aisles shall be only the American street ascending towards the heights of our manhood; whose brotherhood shall be the summit where all noble and characteristic national tendencies culminate to produce the American type of culminate to produce the American type of

This church does not exist, neither can any man now draw the theological series of ideas that shall represent the best convictions of a truly republican-ized America concerning Christian truth, and which are to be organized into the American form. All we can do towards such a prediction is to observe carefully the present indications of its approach, and guide our conduct thereby till the work is more advanced. These indications are partly negative, partly positive; and although they may appear unsatisfactory and threatening to some minds, to me they are but the natural manifestations of a national faith.

The first present indication that the American form. All the Provincial Congress met at Cambridge in October, 1774, they addressed the following circular to the clergy:

*Rev. Sir: We cannot but acknowledge the goodness of Heaven in constantly supplying us with preachers of the gospel, whose concern has been the temporal and spiritual happiness of this people. In a day like this, when all the friends of civil and re-

of strength and confidence, it carries a timorous heart that quakes daily before the portents of Amerheart that quakes daily before the portents of American society. It is afraid of every living, characteristic development in our time; afraid of science, afraid of German theology, afraid of the best literature of the day, afraid of the socialists, the reformers, the spiritualists, the infidels—afraid of its own noblest men and women. It stands like a giant before the people—awful and authoritative; yet a close observer can detect in the quivering lip, the tremulous knees and the blanched cheek, the signs of a mortal fear. The Revival system is the most significant indication of the loss of self respect in the American church. Just as a proud man, who feels his strength going down, springs madly from his bed his strength going down, springs madly from his bed his strength going down, springs madly from his bed his strength going down, springs madly from his bed his strength going down, springs madly from his bed and tears through a two days' work in one, faneying every year blow all its trumpets, and for the hun-dredth time try to inflame the popular passions on the subject of eternal salvation. But the work is more feebly done every year. Old districts have been burned over,' and new excitements anticipate its efforts, and the disease is not cured or staved by this means, but only comes back more relentless in the hour of weariness and collapse. The popular theology is slowly dying because the vital blood of America no longer runs in its veins; it feels its fate dimly, and by frantic efforts would arrest it; but it mus

we are to expect during the season of its dissolution. Skepticism on the whole subject of religion now prevails in America to an extent that no good man dares confess to himself, and is more and more to prevail during the coming century. I doubt not much of this unbelief is the result of our one-sided, material businoss life; but the grand reason for its existence is found, not in the influence of German Rationalism, American 'Parkerism,' or any form of liberal faith, but, in the utter incompetency of the Popular Theology to deal with the great facts of our national life.

The masses are reared in the assent to this theology as religion; they grow up into our daily American existence and find themselves out of intimate sympa-thy with it in proportion as they fulfil the duties of their time and sphere. Many get along with grafting new ideas into their old creed; as the New England farmer, twenty-five years ago, built an addition to his house to accommodate every new married son or daughter. But thousands cannot live one to the surface of the surface o to his house to accommodate every new married son or daughter. But thousands cannot live on such a patch-work of opinions, and secretly let slip the whole catechism; and either do not concern themselves at all about religion, or form an anti-religious creed of their own. This state of things is increasing, and by and by, when the bands of the Roman Catholic church begin to shrivel in the fires of our letters. Such a such content of the authority of numan laws. If the pulpit be silent, whenever and wherever there may be a sinner, bloody with this guilt, within the hearing of its voice, the pulpit is false to its trust. We might bring much more evidence of this kind to show that public men have always appealed to the clergy, until of late, to 'thunder against oppression.' But we forbear. Catholic church begin to shrivel in the fires of our Democracy, there will be a falling away of its members into all kinds of disbeliefs, and such blasphemous Atheism as now raves through our lowest German prints. To a man who thinks the hope of religion in America rests on the success of the popular theology, this skepticism is a fearful development; here was Drs. Stiles and Hopkins, well-known for their substantial qualities and views, who led off in a terrible onslaught upon the rest of the popular theology, this skepticism is a fearful development;

are to rule the continent.

And this spirit not only affects the church in a negative way, but is making positive changes in its belief and form, which will open a door to innovation that all the councils in America cannot shut.

Savenoiders in his church, he attacked the wicked system in the pulpit, on the Sabbath. The first system is the pulpit system in the pulpit, on the Sabbath in the system in the pulpit, on the Sabbath. The first system in the pulpit, on the Sabbath in the system in the pulpit, on the Sabbath in the system in the pulpit, on the Sabbath in the system in the system in the pulpit system in the pulpit system in the sys The growth of Congregationalism is one of these most hopeful tendencies. In many parts of our from that church. His biographer says of that percountry, the first battle against the popular theology is to be fought on this field. Emancipate the churches from the church of the percondition of the first battles government, and oppression, foreign that now hold so many of them in bondage, and a

that now hold so many of them in bondage, and a work is done whose importance nobody can fairly estimate.

Another of these signs is seen in the increasing latitude of interpretation allowed in accepting the slaves, that many of the negroes become uneasy. Another of these signs is seen in the increasing latitude of interpretation allowed in accepting the creeds. Thousands of churches in America would be split in fragments by a rigid enforcement of the original meaning of their articles of faith as a test of membership. The sticklers for the straight interpretation have logic on their side, and they right-location have logic on their side, and they right-location for the church; but the latitudinarians have the spirit of the age on their side, and that law of the spirit of the age on their side, and that law of the spirit of the age on their side, and that law of the spirit of the age on their side, and that law of the spirit of the age on their side, and that law of the spirit of the spirit of the age on their side, and that law of the spirit of the spir of human nature which compels a man unconscious-ly to stretch every cord that binds him to a depart-Duties. Such sermons are now called 'fanatical,' ing opinion to the utmost before he breaks it. The time will come when sober men will be wearied of the endless hair-splitting of Park, and the obstinate mystification of Bushnell, and the wearisome theological war of words, in pulpits and newspapers, which means only this: that the American so-called by the solution of Park, and the obstinate mystification of Bushnell, and the wearisome theological war of words, in pulpits and newspapers, which means only this: that the American so-called by the solution of rulers and subjects, they accuse them of preaching

Among the people, the most striking movement towards a national theology is in the Reform movement. I know the thousand extravagances of the Reformers, and appreciate the conservative criticism on their philosophy and methods; but I must behold attack the devil in his American fortresses of Intemperance, Negro Slavery and wide-spread social wrong, the people are making a church of their own in which the lecturer is the priest, the mass meeting and convention the assembly, and the doing practical good the communion. They think, if Christianity means anything, it means that American shall not go to Hell in this world, while Americans are organizing to keep out of Hell in the next. Of that remote the logical danger they are somewhat uncertain; of the impending practical calamity they are in no doubt; and they believe the surest way to Heaven is to open a road of duty on earth which shall dip into the grave, trusting that God will continue it on the other side. This movement is mightily shaking the American church; sovering great Ecclesiastical bodies, rending churches, depopulating fashionably

From the Boston Telegraph. GOVERNOR GARDNER'S ADVICE TO THE

Governor Gardner's gratuitous advice to the clergy about their themes for Fast Day, is enough to excite the risibles of even men who never have been wont to smile. It is our opinion that his advice will only to smile. It is our opinion that his advice will only serve to call forth stronger expressions of rebuke than ever against cunning and knavery in high places, not excepting the Governorship of Massachusetts for the last two or three years. For the special benefit of 'Fogics,' I send you the following items of history. Let the reader compare them with Gov. Gardner's proclamation.

In Jefferson's Writings, vol. 1, page 6, we learn that when the General Assembly of Virginia had

that when the General Assembly of Virginia had their attention called to the position of Massachusetts, and Boston in particular, in relation to the Port Bill, the members decided upon a Day of Fast Port Bill, the members decided upon a Day of Fasting and Prayer, and made an appeal to the clergy; and Mr. Jefferson says, 'We returned home, and in our several counties, invited the clergy to meet assemblies of the people on the first of June, to perform the ceremonies of the day, and to address to them discourses suited to the occasion. The people met generally, with anxiety and alarm in their countenances, which we have the same than the first of the day through the whole call. ces, and the effect of the day through the whole col-ony was like a shock of electricity, arousing every man, and placing him erect and solidly on his cen-

The first negative indication of the growth of our people towards a new belief in religion, I find in the restless condition of the popular theology. A faith that truly expresses the life of a people is active; but with the vigor of advancing power and health, not the neuralgic energy witnessed in the fluctuations of the American church. This church is not content or self-sustained; but, under an outside show of strength of the people. In adaptive, when all the friends of civil and religious liberty are exerting themselves to deliver this country from its present calamities, we cannot but place great hope in an order of men, who have ever distinguished themselves in their country's cause, and do, therefore, recommend to the Ministers of the Gospel, in the several towns and other places in this colony, that they assist us in averting that dread of strength or the first needs of civil and re-ligious liberty are exerting themselves to deliver this country from its present calamities, we cannot but place great hope in an order of men, who have ever distinguished themselves in their country's cause, and do, therefore, recommend to the Ministers of the Gospel, in the several towns and other places in this country from its present calamities, we cannot but place great hope in an order of men, who have ever distinguished themselves in their country's cause, and do, therefore, recommend to the Ministers of the Gospel, in the several towns and other places in this country from its present calamities, we cannot but place great hope in an order of men, who have ever distinguished themselves in their country's cause, and do, therefore, recommend to the Ministers of the country from its present calamities, we cannot but place great hope in an order of men, who have ever distinguished themselves in their country's cause, and do, therefore, recommend to the Ministers of the country from its present calamities, we cannot be country from its present calamities. Colony, that they assist us in averting that dreadful slavery with which we are now threatened. — Holmes's Am. Annals, vol. 2, pp. 315, 316.

In June, 1775, John Adams wrote as follows to his wife: My Dear,—I have been this morning to

the Revolution, 'Let the pulpits thunder against op-pression!' And they did thunder, and hailstones of truth, too, upon their enemies, and they did about as much execution as leaden bullets. Even that con-servative divine, Dr. Spring, of New York, said, in a work published about ten years since, 'That great event in the history of the world, the American Revolution, never would have been achieved without the olution, never would have been achieved without the influence of the pulpit.' It was because they thundered. Why should they not thunder against oppression in the 19th century, especially when it is perpetrated by a professedly Christian people? It is more outrageous in this day of light, and in this highly-favored land. Shame on the inconsistency of crying aloud against the oppression of England, and holding the tongue about the more cruel wrongs of our own country! our own country!

It was in those days that Gen. Lincoln wrote as follows to Gen. Washington:— 'It is fortunate for

us that the clergy are pretty generally with us. They have in this State a very great influence over the people, and they will contribute much to the general peace and happiness.'s

It is well known that in the war of 1812, the

clergy, as well as others, were divided, in respect to its moral character, and they preached upon the sub-ject, in allusion to which Daniel Webster said, on one occasion, * there were pulpits on both sides.*
In December, 1820, Webster delivered his stun-

but to one who sees the real currents of American life, it is but an indication of a natural state of transition from the crumbling away of the old creeds to the building up of the new religious ideas that

which means only this: that the American so-called which means only this: that the American so-called Ecangetical Church does not believe in its own cate-chism; and leaving the old system in the hands of those prepared to defend it out and out, will begin to work independently for a theology.

They will not allow them to teach their hearers that religious instruction is necessary and useful in civil society.

They will not allow them to teach their hearers that religious instruction is necessary and useful in civil society. society. Now what is the duty of ministers of the gospel in this alarming situation of the country? Is it their duty to obey man rather than God? They never had a louder call, a fairer opportunity to stand in their lot, to set their faces as flint, and to oppose by all the force and audited. on their philosophy and methods; but I must behold in this mighty awakening of the American mind the dawn of a grand, religious idea, the application of religious instruction, atheism, deism, infidelity, and all the land-defiling iniquities. If they religion to life. Wearied of the incessant preaching of a salvation that concerns itself chiefly with the rescue of the soul from a future hell, and dares not attack the devil in his American fortresses of Intemperance, Negro Slavery and wide-spread social mutual duties and obligations, they may be instruments, the people are making a church of their own, from their errors in principle and practice which

other side. This movement is mightily shaking the American church: severing great Ecclesiastical bodies, rending churches, depopulating fashionably furnished temples, and every year coming up with increased assurance to demand of the popular theology an account of its stewardship. A portion of the churches have welcomed it, and will be saved by their wisdom; but woe to the sect or church that sets its face against it! It is not to be stayed by criticism from a theological or aesthetical point of view. Doubtless it is partial in philosophy and coarse in manners; but it is bound to see religion opplied to the every-day life of the nation, and will drive on to its end over the bodies of aristocratic churchism, literary dilettanteism, feeble refinement, theological bigotry, and political and commercial proscription; for the power of God is in it, and it must prevail.

the most spiritual sermons even on Fast Day, will find comfort somewhere. Their pisty is so much a advance of Elijah's, that we almost wonder that the did not go up long ago in a chariot of fire.

From the Boston Atlas. GOV. GARDNER AND THE CLERGY To the Editors of the Atlas :

Many years ago, as a rebuke to those elegand she denounced the sins of the nation, not sunga who denounced the sins of the nation, not expanding those high in authority, in their series a Thanksgiving and Fast Days, one of our Goeme, in enumerating our public blessings in his Probamation for Thanksgiving, called on the people to be thankful that our Commonwealth had been based with pious and faithful ministers, with some for One of these ministers, as a Roland for He Es.

One of these ministers, as a round for his ke-cellency's Oliver, called on his hearers to be that-ful that Massachusetts had been blessed with my with some few execution. ful that Massachusetts had been blessed with urgood Governors, with some few exceptions.

Now, having voted for Gov. Gardner, in the let election, and approving, as I do, his administrates in the main, I am not disposed to place him in the main, I am not disposed to place him in the main. latter class of his predecessors. I must coales, here ever, that I consider his acts and predamation. jects of commendation, 'with some few exercises

His Excellency closes his late Proclamation His Excellency closes his late Proclamatic appointing a day for public fasting and Prayer, said this admonitory paragraph:— May those sailed to minister at God's altar, impressed with the trait that national transgressions can only be correct by removing individual sins, abstain from polical by removing and secular considerations and alternations and alternations. discussions and secular considerations, and sales themselves to the wants of the individual sel.

It would seem that when the civil magnitude to dertakes to suggest to ministers appropriate adjects for discussion, as the Governor has done in the Proclamation, he invades the province of the de-Proclamation, he invades the province of the de-gyman, quite as much as the dergyman enracks on his domain who denounces the sins of the time whether they are committed in high or low plans, in the capital of the nation, or in the obscurst in lage of the land.

The imputation of preaching politics did not be

ter the prophet of old from denouncing wicks in lers and false priests, who cried, 'Peace! pas!' when there was no peace, calling them demb den who cannot bark, and greedy dogs, who cannot has who cannot bark, and greedy dogs, who cannot have enough.' As men, when aggregated togets, whether as legislators or as rulers, will often easing acts, which they would blush to commit a private individuals, it would seem that such acts as fitting topics for sermons, on the day set aparle public authority, for bewailing our public, as well

as private sins.

The Bishop, who did not always bridle his togos, but excused his profanity by saying, that he swan as a Lord, not as a Bishop, was shrewly related by his servant, who asked his master, what well have a first the Rishop when the day's saying first. ome of the Bishop when the devil carries of ar Lord? Well may we adopt the inquiry of the honor sp

acters, when called to an account for their police misdeeds. It will then be found that the public functionary will not fare better than a private onzen. Both are equally amenable to the intertial tribunal of Heaven.

As the great moral issues of the nation, such a

temperance, peace and freedom, have been brought into the arena of politics, according to the suggestions in the Proclamation they must not be discused in the pulpit. For the cause of temperate has been more or less connected with Neal Dow and the Maine Liquor Law. Peace is tabooed, as anto-nistic to fillibusterism and the Ostend Manifolio, and Freedom must not be alluded to, as it will be interfering with bogus legislation and the peculiar institution, which claims for its domain, territoris which have been consecrated to freedom and equa rights.

I trust that the clergy, (the Proclamation not withstanding,) will not cease to cry aloud, like the prophets of old, neither sparing the sins of the people. S. 6.

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