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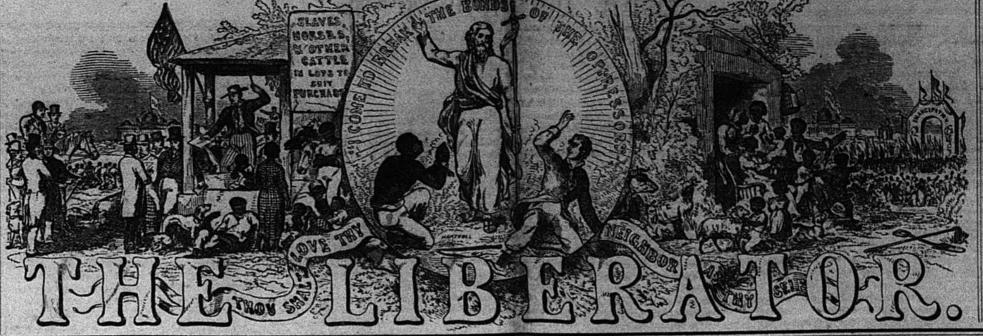
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The following gentlemen constitute the Pinanmittee, but are not responsible for any of the ble of the paper, viz : - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS 614 LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK. of WENDELL PHILLIPS.



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 es tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-stables of the institution. . . There is some excuse mmunities, when, under a generous impulse they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other Stat and by force restore their rights; but they are with unrightsous yoke. On this subject, our pathers, in PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE tury, 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 b 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. 34.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, 1857.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1389.

## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

LETTER FROM THE SOUTH.

RICHMOND, Va., July, 1857. Ms. EDITOR-In my last, I stated some reasons they read the history of this agitation for the at thirty years, they see that it has steadily pro-Sates, in order to abolish slavery.

All Anti-Slavery Agitation Hastening to one Re-In this opinion, the Southern mind is daily united. It sees that even the more conservasanti-slavery feeling of the North is fast growing a sympathy with the ultra and infidel school of arisan—that the evangelical pulpit of the North becoming auxiliary to the godless philosophy, the shaman philanthropy, of that school. I do not so that the evangelical anti-slavery ministers of North will now admit this, or that even the a the pulpit of the Church of the Puritans, on sin Square, will admit what is so evident to oth-Yet it is reported that he said, in one of his d Scott discourses, ' that to talk, as some men 61, about God, in his providence, bringing negroes il in the evangelization and civilization of Africa, as enough to make the Devil vomit. When has sistellity, or atheism, uttered more bitter scoffing at the providence of God? Is it any breach of charity usy of a minister of the gospel, who allows him-eff to speak thus, when ministering in the name of in the place of the Lord Jesus Christ, that he new was tamed, nor can any man tame him? Has is Garrison school ever uttered anything more irperent, if not blasphemous and infidel? more dery to the providence of God, or to the name office of a Christian minister?

If I remember correctly, it was reported in one or mere of your city papers, that the occupant of one of your prominent Orthodox pulpits declared to a mangel and excited audience lately, that the sellby of religious negroes at auction was bringing fist and the Holy Ghost to the block. Can you mader that sober men here believe that the anti-favory Christianity of the North is running into a meant infidelity, and breaking down the power of the Bible on the masses, and demoralizing their asscience? I do not suppose these men will admit that they are now, Jehu-like, driving an infidel earlot; but so sure as reason and reverence for same in the human mind, will they look at this put problem of slavery with another and higher sadeount than they now do, and with a clearer

pat problem of slavery with another and algale-ized-point than they now do, and with a clearer use of God's plan for governing, in order to re-ism and clevate a depraved race. So long as their anti-slavery zeal expresses itself at temper so unchristian, in language so vitupera-tic and irreverent of God and his providence, in ares so violent, what sensible, sober man, North south, can fail to see that all this tends to the are result—the dissolution of this Union, as inevially as the bolder and more direct efforts of the ol in their warfare on the Constitu-

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With either, the inhuman result-eminently inwith either, the inhuman result—eminently inluman to the colored race—is only a question of
sec. Can the most judicious men here be suspectal of their Christianity or their patriotism, or human regard for the colored men under their care,
leause they are suspicious of or object to anything
published or done at the North, with the consent or
approval of such men, however loudly they boast of
the superiority of our Northern Christianity, morsuperiority of our Northern Christianity, morand humanity? Nor is this infidel tendency and ectional result, and the bitter fruits they have aldeveloped, the only ground of the suspicion and alienation felt here.

Incredulity of the North respecting the True then of the Slaves. The incredulity of these anti-tary men is shown by their unworthy distrust of almost respecting the actual working of slavery salments respecting the actual working of slavery mathe moral and religious character of the colors people as a whole—and of their humane treatments—statements by one on the spot, going from North with the usual ignorance and prejudices a Northern man, respecting slavery—a man every as a competent to take as comprehensive and inshout Christian view of the present and prospect-ments of the system on the colored race—to esti-ate facts as candidly, and report as honestly, as a yother man, North or South—a man whose tes-mony on any other subject, no man in Boston Tof confidence—received as such by scholars, and his brethren in this country and in England, and an honor to the Christian literature of the aget am of whom one of the first Christian scholars of legiand, writing to a friend in this country on making his discourse, says, with his fine imagination and his faultless style, he is the Washington Irv-

of sermon writers. distinguished Christian scholar of the North and that to write the 'South-Side View,' was the living a life for. This is the judgment of a may who, though born in Virginia, was educated and who, though born in Virginia, was educated and has lived from early youth in the North, and as ben for fifty years intimately acquainted with practical working of the system, and is one of hast men to express a hasty and ill-considered pulso on any subject. His opinion, with all cannot men who know him, we are willing to place in seales with the hasty, heated opinion of a thousal Northern men, who have never resided in the bath, and whose information is limited to novels, and to instances of individual violence and wrong, the strated to influence the North, and so greedily grated to influence the North, and so greedi allowed as a demonstration of the tyranny and resion of all slaveholders. Men here, of the thest character for intelligence and candor, in the men of long post character for intelligence and candor, in the limitry, in the Church and out of it—men of long the interpretary, in the Church and out of it—men of long the interpretary in the Church and wise philanthropy, as who are believers on all subjects of which they are informed, and whose word would be taken unsatisfied in any Court, or in any business transacton, assure me that Dr. N. Adams's South-Side has of Slavery is a fair, candid and honest statem of facts respecting the good and the evil contract with the system. To this testimony I cheerally aid my own. More than thirty years since, any business called me to reside in South Carolina, and in the most extensively cotton-producing distort. I have had occasion to travel in that State and also in Virginia, East or West. With any insurmountable objections to the continuance of the system a moment longer than the true wellar, not of one individual slave, but of the colored with in the most extensively cotton-producing Province opens the way to place them in a position one favorable for this, I must say that the statement and views contained in that book correspond with what I observed and learned while in the midst starry. Who that has read that book does not have that it contains facts and opinions directly from the state of the system, and condemnatory of the man and abuses incident to the system, as well as all despotic power? This is admitted by Christian and the content of the system, as well as all despotic power? This is admitted by Christian and the character of the system, as well as all despotic power? This is admitted by Christian and the character of the system as well as all despotic power? This is admitted by Christian and the character of the char

tian masters, and acknowledged to be so because the abuses and wrongs are stated with a kind and candid spirit and in decorous language.

There are, to my knowledge, many masters in the South, whose consciences have been quickened by this book to correct these abuses, and who will testify that that much maligned book and its author's visit have done more towards reforming these abuses and wrongs than all the anti-slavery books and novele sever written at the North. Now, when men here see a Northern gentleman who has the courage, honesty and magnanimity to state the results of his own careful observation and inquiry, in the kind and Christian spirit of his book, pursued with such a malignant and bitter spirit as Dr. Adams has been, and this too by some of his own bretbrea in the ministry, and as I am told by some who had not even read his book, who can be surprised at the suspicions of the South? or what reasonable man would expect that Southern brothern should yield their own better knowledge and equally, at least, to correct judgment and conscience to the dictation of their Northern bretheren is to the best manner of dealing with this great problem of American slavery, be especially when they treat a Christian brother with so much heat and passion for having simply expressed his own honest opinions on the subject?

I have been asked to explain this treatment of Dr. Adams by Christian ministers. Why do they pursue him with such bitter hate? Why seek to drive

ments, the evangelical character and catholic spirit that Mr. Alger had denounced the introduction of and object of the Society, as expressed in its Constitution? The Constitution being the law to the ComComplimentary flunkeyism. That was the oration mittee in acting for the Society, as well as to its members in electing its officers, they insist, is the only proper standard by which to judge of his qualifications to serve on the Committee. They strenuously object to making his sympathy with any sentiment prevailing at any time, on any outside question of reforms, any more than his political preferences, when politics are so mixed with these reforms, or his views on infant baptism or predestination. These reforms, as such, they urge, are not embraced, or implied, in the object, scope or spirit of the Society, and, besides, sentiment or opinion in regard to them is ever changing, and never long stable.

Then again these resistances and disseminating their treasonable doctrines. The curiosity of the public, and the immediate profit of gratifying the morbid popular taste for novelties and prodigies, of whatever sort, have given to these violent men, few in number as they are, and despised as they professedly are, the fullest advantages of the public press. No sayings have been more amply reported than theirs; and if it has been evil and dangerous to utter their seditious and malignant speeches, it has been a question with us, whether the newspaper press were not extended.

stable.

Then again, they say, if the objection of his opponents is the true test, how can they tolerate him any longer as a member of the Prudential Commit
We are inclined to think, on the whole, that the

THE ABINGTON CELEBRATION.

The soi-disant 'friends of freedom,' as our readers are aware, had a gathering at Abington on the lat inst., to celebrate the anniversary of negro emancipation in the British West Indies. The commemoration was under the auspices of the Massiehusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and differed in no respect from the ordinary musters of the mad men and mad women who compose this band of agitators it is matters little what the occasion of these assemblages may be; the themes of harangue are ever the same. With a harp of a single string, they produce a thousand strains. We have already noticed, but very generally, the protectings at this meeting. The Lubraton furnishes us, ex cathedra, with a full account, some points of which, we think, may be of interest to our readers.

Much as the clergy is despised, professedly, in that quarter, we observe that the chief speakers at the commemoration were equally the subjects of their idolary and abuse. The Rev. Mr. May presided, the Reverend Messrs. Foss and J. F. Clarke made the principal speeches, The Reverned Mr. Alger's name was greeted with general cheering, and the vilest abuse heaped upon the Revuerad Drs. Adams, and Lord, and Hopkins, was received with langiter and applause. A Miss Gardner, of Nantucket, opened the declamastory exercises by a repetition, in sweet, pretty words, of the stale denunciations of 'that blood stained compact, mismaned the American Union.'

In trampling the Constitution under foot. Our belief is that radical, destructive Abolitionism is making progress, but that this progress, far from being in the direction of emancipation of amelioration of shavery, is towards disunion and political anarchy. It is progress; but that this progress, but that this progress, but that this progress, but that this progress; but that this progress; but that the interiction of emancipation on and political anarchy. It is mind of unreflecting community, and by its skillula and constant goading of those political anarchy. It is progress is by specio

Adams by Christian ministers. Why do they pursue him with such bitter hate? Why seek to drive him from the Publishing Committee of the American Tract Society?

They say to me, that Society is national; it belongs as much to the South as to the North; from silly story about a man who test railed and worse than longs as much to the South as to the North; from silly story about a man who test railed and so the south as to the North; from silly story about a man who test railed and so the south as a man who test railed and so the south as a south a him from the Publishing Committee of the American Trate Society? They say to me, that Society is national; it be longs as much to the South as to the North; from the beginning, the South united cordially with it, merged their own Tract Societies in it, and have staadily contributed to its funds; that the South as not and cannot have (being so remote) a resident member on that Committee; but Dr. Adams is a man who understands the South and slavery as it is, and has dealt fairly with the subject, and is a man in whom we have confidence. Does not Christian candor and charity demand some deference to the feelings of Southern Christians, in a Society in essential?

A False Issue. The only defence I could make was, the assertion of Dr. Adams's opponents, that he does not represent the public sentiment of the North on the subject of slavery. I assured them that it was evident, from his book, that he was an anislavery in principle—opposed to its continual ance a day longer than its removal would be a blessing to the colored race, and was opposed to its extension anywhere—but that he was not anti-slavery in the spirit and measures of his opponents for its removal. As to his not representing the sentiment of the North, or of the members of the Society on the spirit and object of the Society on the represent the sentiments of the majority of the Tract Society?

The True Test of his Qualification. They insist that the only valid question is—does Dr. Adams the conversion of the Society on the terminal principle and the proposed to the Society on the represent the sentiments of the majority of the Tract Society?

The True Test of his Qualification. They insist that the only valid question is—does Dr. Adams the convertion of the Society, as expressed in its Constitution is—does Dr. Adams and object of the Society, as expressed in its Constitution is—does Dr. Adams and object of the Society, as expressed in its Constitution is—does on the Committee of the Society as constitution being the proposed to the Society and object of

Complimentary flunkeyism! That was the oration
a volume condensed in two words.

We have sometimes thought it unwise to aid the

any longer as a member of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Foreign Missions, who decide on all the Board publishes or does? Logically, how can they stop short of driving him from that Committee, from the pulpit of Essex Street Church, from his ministerial association, and from the society of Christian gentlemen? For if he is not fit to be on the Tract Committee, much less is he fit to fill a so much more responsible position. Must not that be a very illogical logic that stops short of this result?

The Grand Issue Changed. In the treatment which Dr. Adams and his book receives from his Northern brothren, it is plain enough to us, that the evil in this case is not one which can either be silenced by contempt or corrected by concealment, and that the duty of the newspaper press is to expose it, and apply an antidote. The general impression is, that radical Abolitionism has made little or no progress among us for the last twenty years. We see upon the stage the same men and the same wild vagaries and the same rebellious theories; and if it were not for some favoring 'crisis,' with which they always seem to be blessed—some 7th of March speech; some south side view of slavery; some assault upon free speech in the Senate; some Dred judicial decision; it would seem that this whole exwhich Dr. Adams and his book receives from his Northern brethren, it is plain enough to us, that they have changed the issue on slavery from that of the bondage of the colored man in the South, to that of the freedom of the white man of the North!

How is it, that those who, while they claim to be champions, par excellence, of freedom, cannot tole-crate freedom of opinion, and a kind and candid statement of facts, on the testimony of an eye-witness, merely because they oppose their theories and prejudices. Has not passion and ignorance vitiated your Northern logic and your Christian charity? I must confess that I felt the reasonableness and force of these views, and as yet I do not see how they can be evaded.

In my next, I will give you what I have learned of the effects, on good men here, of the late action of the Tract Society, in accepting the report of the Committee of Inquiry.

O. C.

The soi-disant ' friends of freedom,' as our read-interior of the thing of the thing of the progress; but that this progress, far from being progress is the progr

and 27th of August next; there to discuss and devel-op some plan of emancipation which shall fully re-cognise the principle and policy of a fair and honora-ble compensation to the slaveholders for the manu-mission of their slaves:

tained in the State of Delaware alone.

We rejoice that this Convention is to be held, and

and the widen and policy of an offer from any the widen and policy of an offer from any the policy of a second and any offer from any the policy of a second and any offer from any the policy of any region of objections may be used to it, secure great industrial, pecuniary and social advantage to the shaveholding class as individuals, and generally. These are the elemental fallacies whereby Shavery is this day upheld, and wind and dread to with facts and arguments showing the necessary injustice and inmorality of the shave holding system, and the turns upon you with the question. Without Shavery, bow shall the world be supplied with Cotton, Sugar, Coffee and Tohocot (and the policy of any region it rules, as is clearly winced by the passe population and low praces of lands in Shave as compared with Free States. We do not, of curse, maintain that the identical individuals now growing Sugar and Cotton we they do in Slavery, the policy of any region it rules, as is clearly evinced by the sparse population and low praces of lands in Slave as compared with Free States. We do not, of curse, maintain that the identical individuals now growing Sugar and Cotton we they do in Slavery, they are the supplement of the supplement

ABOLITION OF BLAVERY.

R. 'Are you honest, Cudjo?'
C. 'What you give me, Massa?'

A National Convention of the advocates of Compensated Emancipation—that is, of the abolition of charging the cost of such Emancipation on the People of both the Free and Slave States—is called to meet in Cleveland, Ohio, on the 25th of August:

The undersigned, belonging to different political parties, being persuaded that it is very desirable that some practible and equitable plan should be brought forward, by which the people of the North may cooperate, in a generous and brotherly spirit, with the people of the South, and share with them the expense necessary to the extinction of slavery, would respectfully and earnestly invite those of all parties and sections of the Union who entertain the same opinion, to meet in National Convention, personally or by delegation, in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, on the 25th, 25th and 27th of August next; there to discuss and develop some plan of emancipation which shall fully reone, named Richard Hunter, not one has done for us a week's honest labor. I have taken them into my service, have fed and clothed them year after year on their arrival from the States; and in return have gen-erally found them rogues, and thieves, and a graceless, worthless, thriftless, lying set of vagabonds. This is my very plain and very simple description of the dar-kies as a body, and it would be indorsed by all the Western white men, with very few exceptions.

Of course, this is strongly put—we think more strongly than the facts will warrant—and it will ognise the principle and policy of a fair and honorable compensation to the slaveholders for the manumission of their slaves:

Eliphalet Nott, Schenectady, N. Y.; Mark Hopkins, Williamstown, Mass.; George Bethune, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Leonard Bacon, New Haven, Ct.; Dudley A. Tyng, Philadelphia, Pa.; Abel Stevens, New York, N. Y.; Joseph Brooks, St. Louis, Mo.; Thomas C. Upham, Brunswick, Me.; Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, N. Y.; George P. Magoun, Davenport, Ga.; Joel Hawes, Hartford, Ct.; Theodore North, Elmira, N. Y.; J. B. Bittinger, Cleveland, Ohio; Augustus W. Smith, Middletown, Ct.; John F. Eberhart, Dixon, Ill.; Elijah Coffin, Richmond, Ind.; Timothy Cooley, Granviller Mass.; Nicholas Patterson, Wilmington, Del.; Erastus Fairbanks, St. Johnsbury, Vt.; William W. Ellsworth, Hartford, Ct.; and others.

[As no society has yet been organized in connection with this movement, those desiring any additional information in reference to the Convention, may address their communications to Elihu Burritt, New Britain, Conn., up to the 20th August.]

In subordination to the above, we notice that a meeting to choose delegates was recently held at the manual transplant to the salve and honor and it will not apply to those who seek to live by agriculture so fully as it will to those who seek to live by agriculture so fully as it will to those who seek to live by agriculture so fully as it will to those who seek to live by agriculture so fully as it will to those who seek to live by agriculture so fully as it will to those who seek to live by agriculture so fully as it will to those who seek to live by acrom for their candid. We know honest, worth how know honest, worth hove know honest, worth In subordination to the above, we notice that a meeting to choose delegates was recently held at Schenectady, and that Dr. Nott. Platt Potter, and other respected and influential citizens, united in the call. We infer that the general call given above will soon appear with a long and strong list of signatures appended. Elihu Burritt, who is the main spring of this movement, is an earnest, indefatigable worker, with great experience in philanthropic agitation, and a perfect knowledge of the means where by public co-operation is secured. We understand that over a hundred signatures have been obtained in the State of Delaware alone.

We rejuice that this Convention is to be held, and the state of Delaware alone.

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We rejuice that this Convention is to be held, and the state of Delaware alone. trust it may be numerously attended. Let Slavery, like any other great social wrong, be discussed in every practicable light, and every possible mode and measure of redress be thoroughly considered. We will not say that some measure of National compensation to slaveholders may not ultimately, and wisely, be adopted. Certainly, if the slaveholding class were this day to make the offer—'Give us the Public Lands, and we will abolish Slavery;' or, 'Give us Twenty Millions' per annun for fifty us the Public Lands, and we will abolish Slavery; or, 'Give us Twenty Millions' per annun for fifty years from the Federal Treasury, and we will abolish Slavery to-morrow,' we should be inclined to answer, 'Take the Lands, or take the money, and let our country be a Republic in deed as well as in name;' but, in the absence of any such proffer, we demur to the wisdom and policy of an offer from our side, as we do to the justice of the proposed compensating system, for the following reasons:

I. It seems to ignore the essential error and wrong, the injustice and mischief, of slaveholding It tends to confirm the slaveholders in the error sedulously inculcated by the Pro-Slavery journals.

in man. The moment a compensation is offered to the master, the hold upon his conscience is relinquished. The right of property is admitted, and there is no room for charging him with the sin of holding it. In the language of a slaveholder—'If Government could purchase, it might hold slaves; if they could buy, they might sell.' It would be doing evil that good might come, and turning slaveholder to do away with slaveholding. If all the slaves should be bought up and set free, without destroying the principle of slavery, the masters might pocket the compensation money, and use it to purchase more slaves from abroad.

The rejection of compensation, as a principle of

chase more slaves from abroad.

The rejection of compensation, as a principle of emancipation, we hold essential to the integrity and success of the Anti-Slavery cause, and equally so to the preservation of correct Christian principles and universal freedom. Yet an appropriation for the relief of actual distress, whenever it might occur, would not be a compensation. Neither is an equal division of losses among partners in wickedness a 'compensation.' If pecuniary sacrifices should be made by emancipation, and if all the partners in the guilt of slavery should equally apportion the sacrifice, it might be done without involving the principle of compensation. We can never consent to pay hee, it might be done without involving the princi-ple of compensation. We can never consent to pay inen for having sinned, nor offer them money to leave off sinning. The world is not to be regener-ated in this way; nor have the graces of Christian penitence and amendment, from the days of Simon Magus to the present hour, been purchased with gold and silver.

TO WHOM COMPENSATION IS DUE. Extract from the 'Declaration of Sentiments' of he National Anti-Slavery Convention, adopted in Philadelphia, December, 1833 :-

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves—
Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property

Because SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THEREFORE IT B cause the holders of slaves are not the just

B cause the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim;—freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to the right owner;—it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself;

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers; and

Because if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

WHERE LIES THE INDEBTEDNESS. Extract from a speech delivered by George Thomp-

on, Esq., in Manchester, England, before the abolition of British West India slavery:-

I am very friendly to compensation. I should like the negro to be compensated. (Applause.) I should like them to show how much we owe the should like them to show how much we owe the negro for his hitherto uncompensated toil; what debt we owe to Africa, where no wind for ages has gone over her plains, without gathering up the sighs of bleeding, broken hearts; where there is no sand that has not been steeped with tears or the blood of captured victims. I should like to see what compensation we owe to the negro: how much to that aged man, tottering on the brink of the grave, whose limbs are now growing feeble, after years of unrequited toil;—how much to that poor woman torn from her infant, and set to labor in the field, if, indeed, a valuation can be put upon the natural feelings of a mother towards the offspring of her body; and then I should like to strike a balance between the compensation due to the negro, and the compensation due to the negro, and the eand arguments are made on the rights of the planter in the House of Commons, and echoed in the major and minor pro-slavery periodicals of the day. And at this moment, if Parliament were sitting, some West India partizan might be making an eloquent speech in favor of himself, and saying, 'Take care of the planter: only think of the melancholy condition of the planter's wife if you reduce his income, by not giving him power to raise large crops and dispose of them. Give additional bounties to his sugar; lay more prohibitory duties on free-grown produce. Mind that you protect the planter.' Next morning, some lady sipping her tea, and reading the Morning Post, might say, 'Dear me, what an amiable speech! How he plities the planter! Really, I feel inclined to pity the planter, too.' (Laughter.) And thus all the lady's sympathy would be on the side of the planter, and she would think nothing of the slave.

THE TRACT SOCIETY'S SOUTHERN FACE.

THE TRACT SOCIETY'S SOUTHERN FACE.

The managers at the Tract House, while treating with utter neglect all the appeals and remonstrances of such of the Northern supporters of the Society as desire them to publish something against slavery, appear to be busily engaged in conciliating the slavsholders at the South, and convincing them that the resolutions of the Committee of Investigation, which Dr. Thompson, of the Independent, so promptly accepted and endorsed, didn't mean anything in particular, and therefore should excite in their minds no apprehensions of evil to come upon the blessed institution by which they are enabled to extort labor without wages, and raise black habies for the market. We published, on the 18th alt., a Circular, privately addressed by the Secretaries to Southern Colporteurs, Agents, and others, evidently intended to counteract the impression that the Committee was about to do what the Independent and kindred journals assume that the Society had instructed them to do. And now we have before us the Easton (Md.) Star of the 7th ult.—a journal published in the very hothed of the domestic traffic in elaves—in which we find a communication signed, officially, by the General Agent of the Society for Maryland, District of Columbia, and Virginia. It is the reply to some criticism that had appeared in the Star, and concludes as follows:—

'G. W. KESNEDY,
'G. W. KESNEDY,
'TRAPPE, Talbot Co., Md.

The slave-breeding Christians (f) of the Chempake, thus reassured, will doubtles indicate their gratitude by their usual liberal contributions to the Society's treasury.—A. S. Standard.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, AUGUST 21, 1857.

THE A. B. C. F. M. AND THE INDEPEND

The Independent of August 13th contains two very remarkable and peculiar letters, from two American missionaries, who are editorially designated as 'two of the most able, devoted and successful missionaries in the East,' one ' in Western Asia,' and the other ' in a neighboring field.

The first of these letters, written from one mission ary to the other, is dated May 5th, 1857. The second letter, from the second missionary, and enclosing the letter of the first to some one in this country, is dated June 1st, 1857. We are left in entire ignorance from what particular places, and from what persons, and to what persons, these letters were sent. Why is this reserve? Is it because both letters express a very strong and heartfelt opposition to American slavery?

The Independent wishes these strong expressions of anti-slavery feeling to be heard and heeded, and calls attention to them in the following introductory para-

THE TESTIMONY OF MISSIONARIES AGAINST AMERICAN

SLAVERY. The Christian sentiment of the world, in every form, is arrayed against the system of slavery which exists in the United States. But perhaps no testimony against that system is so strong and so im-pressive as that which comes from American mission-aries, who from their distant fields of labor look back upon their native land. Their love for their country would incline them to look charitably upon her faults, while their relations to the Christian community dispose them always to speak with caution upon home affairs. They are removed for the country of the cou tion upon home affairs. They are removed from all party and sectional strife upon the subject of slave-ry, and therefore look upon that subject, not with the excited feelings of controversialists, but with the calmness of impartial observers. As a class, missionaries live near to God, and some of them are missionaries live near to God, and some of them are eminent for holiness. They are accustomed to look upon every institution, measure, or event, in its bearing upon the kingdom of Christ, and thus their feelings become as sensitive to anything affecting that kingdom as the barometer to changes of the atmosphere. The churches in this land, therefore, ought to give special heed to the views and feelings of missionaries on the subject of slavery. of missionaries on the subject of slavery. They are not "infidels," "radicals," or "fanatics."

'Formerly, our missionaries looked upon slavery as an evil which they had left far behind them, and

with which they had no concern. Now, however, since communication has been so freely opened with all parts of the world, they find the shame and scandal of American slavery a positive hindrance to their work. Converted heathen are amazed that slavery exists in this Christian land, and opposition to the Gospel among the unevangelized is strengthened by this monstrous incongruity. The lamented Stod-dard once said, "We do not dare to let our converts know that slavery exists in America; for how could we reconcile it with our professions as a Christian nation."

The language of the second of the letters referred to is so very peculiar and significant that I quote some of its first sentences :-

' June 1st, 1857. 'MY DEAR BROTHER,-The groanings of the mis sionary over his retrograding country ought perhaps sometimes to be heard. With this view, I send you the enclosed letter from Mr. — to myself, which you are at liberty to publish just as it is forwarded, if you think proper. Names need not be given; for the sentiment of the letter probably represents the feelings of most of our missionaries in these regions. It was of course not penned for the public eye; but the spontaneous gushings of an aching heart, poured into the ear of a brother missionary, are at least as true an index of that heart as any more formal expression could be.'

Why is the strong protest against slavery, (which is the prominent point in both the letters referred to) thus anonymously written and published? Why does the missionary say that his complaints upon this subject ought perhaps sometimes to be heard? Why does he say, in giving permission to publish the letter of his anti-slavery associate—'Names need not be given'? and why does he say, (as if it explained the propriety of withholding the names of persons and places,) 'for the sentiment of the letter probably represents the feelings of most of our missionaries in these regions?' In short, why must the anti-slavery sentiments of American missionaries in foreign lands be sent to this country stealthily, and published at second hand, with such precautions, instead of being sent directly to the Board, and published, with their other communications, in the Missionary Herald and the Annual Reports? The purpose of this paper is to answer these inquiries, and to do this, it is necessar ty to look as far back as 1837, in the history of the

In that year, several of the Sandwich Island mis sionaries became deeply impressed with a sense of the guilt of slavery, the danger incurred by their native country in supporting such a wicked system, and the responsibility of the church for its removal. I have now before me copies of letters from three of those persons, one from Rev. Jonathan S. Green, dated at Honolulu, Oahu, in May, one from Rev. Peter Gulick, from the same station, in June, and the third from Rev. H. R. Hitchcock, dated at Kalusaha in November. They all breathe the same spirit; but to show the strength of their sentiments and the vigor of their language, I subjoin extracts from the last two:

' HONOLULU, JUNE, 1837.

DEAR BROTHER WRIGHT,—I can hardly tell whether personal regard, or the warm sympathy I feel for you as one engaged, heart and soul, in the great, the blessed, the arduous cause of abolition, has the the blessed, the arduous cause of abolition, has the greater influence in prompting me to address you. Ever since I seriously considered the subject, my sympathies have been with the abolitionists, and those for whom they labor. It is, however, but recently I have become thoroughly convinced that the system of slavery ought to be immediately abolished. And yet this point seems about the system of the syst yet this po this point seems now so clear and plain, that I st wonder how any real Christian could hesitate a moment in coming to a right conclusion. Perhap one of the greatest causes of delusion in this and one of the greatest causes of deliasion in this and similar cases, is, our proneness to look at them in what we call the light of expediency. But what right have men, who have the Bible, to follow any other light than of Revelation? I believe, assuredby that abolition is the cause of God, and must be refere, triumph. The Lord hasten it in his tim therefore, triumph. The Lord hasten it in his time! I believe, too, that the reproach, abuse and violence which the friends of the cause (and yourself among others) are called to endure, in publishing the truth, will tend powerfully to accelerate the accomplishment of your desires. You will perceive by the preceding printed re-

lutions, that we, as a mission, do not forget our brethren who are in bonds. Indeed, the situation of the mass of this nation keeps the subject o slavery almost constantly before our eyes, and in our minds. The condition of the laboring class (which is almost the whole nation) is that of slavery in it mildest form, however. No corporeal punishment are resorted to, to extort labor, nor are familie broken up, and the marriage relation disregarded as in the slave States of my beloved, though guilt as in the slave States of my beloved, though country. Nor do the chiefs, who are the only re to exclude mental cultivation; but rat ters, desire to exclude mental cultivation; but rather endeavor to promote its general diffusion: still, with these and other palliations, the system tends strongly to idleness, (for who would love to work without recompense?) and is pregnant with evils ruinous to all classes. From the bottom of my heart, therefore, I say, 'God speed the abolitionists, till every yoke of oppression is broken throughout the whole earth.' Oppression has been greatly mitigated here by the introduction of the Gospel; but much remains still to be done.

P. GULICK.

KALUAAHA, Nov. 18, 1837.

To the Editor of the Emancipator : DEAR Sin,-An accidental perusal of so numbers of your paper induces me, though ger, to write you. I write on a sheet co

darkness.

'Though our fields of labor are at a great disparatively short space.

Until the Board were compelled, by the action of the compelled of the compell tance from each other, and are different in some respects, yet I feel that our object is the same,—that of breaking every bond, of letting the captives go free. Be assured, sir, that in the prosecution of this object, you have my prayers and best wishes for your success. No intelligence from my native land

of benevolent action in which they should do so. Of all the abominations that have cursed the earth, where is there one more flagrant than that of enslaving and crushing to dust our fellow men? Of all the sins, which Christians are called upon to oppose at the present day, where is there a more heinous one than the one your society are laboring to destroy? The mere fact that insisting upon the immediate abolition of slavery, and that describing in Bible language the odiousness of traffic in human flesh, will disoblige a class of interested persons, however great, is no proof that either sound prudence or the religion of Christ requires one to forbear. A neutral position in reference to the immediate destruction of slavery can be justified by the spirit of the gospel no more than the same position can be in reference to the destruction of intemperance, perjury. the gospel no more than the same position can be in reference to the destruction of intemperance, perjury, or highway robbery. And there can be little doubt that were those sins as intimately interwoven with the worldly interests and profits of so large a portion of the country as is the existence of slavery, the same policy which now keeps so many aloof from those who are laboring to put down the latter those who are laboring to put down the latter, would do the same in reference to those who should strive to put down the former. Were the sin of holding slaves confined to a few-and those few of little or no wealth or influence, the neutrality which now exists in reference to its immediate abolition would probably be unknown. How disconsonant to the benevolent, but uncompromising spirit of the Bible!

Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all dove and nine others, eight of them elergymen: such as are appointed to destruction. Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy,' is a divinely inspired injunction, which no

human policy whatever can justify us in evading.

I am happy to inform you of what I hope you may be officially informed hereafter: that this mission (so far as I know) TO A MAN, ARE IN FAVOR OF THE IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVE, and that we of course as a body are deeply interested in the success of the object to which your paper is devoted. As we do not get the which your paper is devoted. As we do not get the paper, or indeed any other exclusively devoted to the interests of the anti-slavery society, you would do me a favor, and perhaps promote the interests of the cause, by sending us a file. I think good use will be made of it.

As to the above resolutions, suffice it to say that

however they may fail to recommend themselves to the Christian public, they are the unanimous senti-ments of this body on the subjects to which they rements of this body on the subjects to which they re-fer. They were not adopted rushly, or under the impulse of convivial excitement; but after a prayer-ful and serious discussion. They are sentiments, in the promulgation of which we all feel the deepest interest. Should this strike you, sir, as just, you will do the cause of missions a favor by giving them

will do the cause of missions a missions a place in the Emancipator.

Let the importance of the cause, dear sir, excuse the obtrusion of this letter upon you, and believe me your cordial and respectful friend and fellow la-H. R. HITCHCOCK.

These, and others of the Sandwich Island missionaries, feeling at once the atrocious character of slavery itself, and its detrimental influence upon their missionary work, not only wrote letters like the above to their other friends, but made similar appeals to their employers, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, sending them, among other things, two anti-slavery documents printed on the mission press, one a tract, and the other a series of resolutions. printed on a letter sheet, referred to in the two preceding letters, both making a very earnest and affecting appeal to American Christians to apply themselves at once to the work of overthrowing American sla-

How were this appeal and these documents received by the Board

They referred the whole matter to a committee. consisting of Drs. Fay and Skinner, Rev. Henry Dwight, and John Tappan and Zechariah Lewis, Esqs., who reported the following resolution, which was adopted in September, 1837, and, after discussion reaffirmed, September, 1839, and which still remains in force :-

'In general, the sole object of the printing estab-lishments connected with the missions of the Board shall be to exert a direct influence upon the surrounding native population, and No MISSION OR MEM-BUR OF A MISSION WAY PRINT ANY LETTER, TRACT OR APPEAL, AT THESE ESTABLISHMENTS, AT THE EXPENSE OF THE BOARD, WITH A VIEW TO ITS BEING SENT TO of slavery has been in their own hands from the be INDIVIDUALS, OR COMMUNITIES, IN THE UNITED ginning, and how the corruption of the mission

This prohibition of the diffusion of such humane and Christian sentiments as, being contained in the preceding letters, we must suppose were repeated in the tract and the printed sheet of resolutions, is a fair | der ! Why did they keep these out of the Church, i specimen of the despotie style of administration, and of the pro-slavery character, which have been mani- they kept these out? It was their imperative duty, fest in the Board from that time to the present; but in founding a church, to brand as infamous, and ut the clause, 'AT THE EXPENSE OF THE BOARD' is a terly incompatible with the Christian character, par cruel addition of insult to injury, if we remember that the persons thus insolently rebuked had given themscives, with their small worldly possessions, to the which may subsequently be inflicted on them. I re Board, and thus had no means of uttering the honest convictions of their hearts to friends at a distance, ex- this infamy, from the beginning, was entirely in their cept by using the paper and ink purchased by the own hands. They did not use it. And when calle Board with the funds entrusted to them by Christians to account for it, they allege in excuse, that public sen for the diffusion of Christian light and knowledge. timent and ecclesiastical usage were not then oppose under the eye, and with the sanction of the Board, the Christian public to remonstrate against it?

The Board have chosen to suppress the important ed the world upside down! in the Independent referred to at the commence- principles of the Gospel'-to exist in their churche the supervision still exercised over the missioneries that even in writing private letters containing any protest against the enormous wickedness of slavery, they feel obliged to take precautions against the discovery of their names. I therefore call upon the Board -as an act of justice, alike to the missi whose letters to the Christian public they have thus unjustifiably suppressed, and to that public, who have a right to hear the appeals, and to know the sentiments, of the men who are supported by their contributions-to bring out from the files of the Mission House that tract and that printed sheet of resolution read them to the public at the approaching annua meeting in Providence, print them as an appendix to the Annual Report, and publish them in the Mission- What say the rem ary Herald; and I further call on them to rescind the shameful resolution quoted above, by which the mouths of their missionaries have been and still are gagged, and to call for, and publish when it comes, a free expression of opinion from the missionaries, the proper course to be adopted towards a sy which interferes so materially with their successions.

That the present position of the Board in re-

a sort of circular to Christians in form of resolu-lutions; not doubting that while you are engaged in the truly philanthropic and Christian work of pleading for the oppressed in the land of freedom, you have a deep interest also in the efforts of those who are laboring to break the bonds of pagan ns, but its substance can be given in a com

small but pertinacious minority, to pay some attentio this object, you have my prayers and best wishes for your success. No intelligence from my native land interests me more than that which announces the progress of the cause of the slave.

I write because it is a privilege for me, (as I think it should be for every Christian,) to take an open and cided stand in favor of those who are laboring to crush slavery. Especially is this a privilege at a time when morbid prudence or time-serving policy is setting afloat the sentiment that it is a subject with which the missionary should not intermeddle. I must confess that if the immediate abolition of slavery is a subject in which Christians of every ing the responsibility of publicly authenticating person as a Christian (as, by sending him forth as slavery is a subject in which Christians of every name, circumstance or occupation, whether public or private, individual or corporate, may not and should not take an open, undisguised, and active part, then there is no subject in all the wide field of benevolent action in which they should do so.

> ever small, was the representative of too much money as well as respectability, to be altogether disregarded to withdraw the support and countenance which they were affording to slavery. The petitions and memo rials thus presented were always referred to committees, and the committees generally recommended that the subject be let alone, expressing perfect satisfaction with the position of the Board.

> To give an idea of the manner in which this

As to declarations and measures of hostility slavery, the Committee recommend to the Board no new action, and refer the petitioners to the reports of

new action, and refer the petitioners to the reports of previous meetings, (which say that the Board cannot turn aside from its peculiar and appropriate work of preaching the Gospel, to condemn slavery.)

The only Mission Churches of which slaveholders are known to be members are among the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians. Slavery existed among them when the missionaries entered on their labors among these tribes. The qualification for membership in the mission-churches is "satisfactory evidence of a saving change of heart, and of repentance and faith saving change of heart, and of repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ." Sundry slaveholders, designing to continue such, were considered to have designing to continue such, were considered to have given this evidence, and were accordingly received anto the church. As to the kind and amount of instruction given by the missionaries in relation to slavery, the Committee quote the language of one of them, who says, "We give such instructions to masters and servants as are contained in the Epistles, and yet not in a way to give the subject a peculiar prominence; for then it would seem to be personal, as there are usually but one or two slaveholders at our meetings. In private, we converse about all the our meetings. In private, we converse about all the

our meetings. In private, we converse about an ease evils and dangers of slavery."

The Committee admit that the slave-laws among the Cherokees and Choctaws prohibit teaching slaves to read, throw impediments in the way of emancipato read, throw impediments in the way of emancipation, restrict slaves in the possession of property,
and embarrass the residence of free negroes among
them. They believe that the destructive influence
of slavery is seen on the morals of both master and
slave; that it sweeps away those barriers which every civilized community has erected to protect the
parity and chastity of the family relations, and that
it will ever present formidable obstacles to the right
training of the rising generation.

The Committee however believe, that the missionaries in these slaveholding communities have
been faithful to their work. They approve the admission of slaveholders to their churches, and have no
different plan to recommend to them for the future.

The report was unanimously adopted. After having delayed and protracted the matter a long as possible, the Board was compelled by the pertinacity of the remonstrants, to make and their decision, which still remains in force, is, that SLAVEHOLDERS MAY BE ADMITTED AS MEMBERS, IN GOOD AND REGULAR STAND-ING, OF THE MISSION CHURCHES. Board clearly implied their consent to the continu ance of this practice in the mission churches, at their meeting in Boston, in 1848; and they formally rati-

fied it at the meeting in Hartford, in 1854. In reading over the long array of reports and cor espondence relative to this matter in the Annual Reports of the Board, (in which pious language is frequently used to excuse impious conduct and wicker laws,) we see by the very spologies, both of the mis sionaries and the Board, how completely this matte churches has resulted from that of the missionari and their employers. Slavery existed when the mis sions were founded, by their own confession. So die drunkenness, so did theft, so did adultery, so did murthey let slavery in? Why did they let slavery in, i ticipation in that system which, by making chattels o men, women and children, authorizes any outrag peat it. The power to keep their churches pure from If the missionaries found a fire opened in their rear to slavery; and one of them gives, as his reason for by the shameless extension of heathenism at home, not dealing with slavery in the Church, after it has gained admission, that-it would have seemed person why should they not use the means furnished them by as but few slaveholders attended the church-meeting Worthy successors, these, of those spostles who turn

anti-slavery testimony sent them in 1837 (for the Christian community) by the Sandwich Island mis- of men whose daily avocation is the study and prosionaries, and to prohibit the printing of any more mulgation of good morals and religion, to suffer that similar messages to Christians in this country, on which they admit to be 'an anti-Christian' system' the Mission presses. And we see, by the letters at wart with the rights of man, and opposed to the ment of this article, that so arbitrary and stringent is without interference until it was assailed by 'the world' without (the printers, lawyers, butchers, car penters, &c., whose interest in religion was only per sonal, and not professional like their own, and toward whom they assume themselves to be as 'light' for guidance, and as 'salt' for preservation,) had not yet nounced this practice? Yet such is the position ssionaries and of the Board !

Thus, after many attempts to evade a formal en ression of opinion, the American Board of Foreign dissions, at its meeting in Hartford, in 1854, for ly ratified a theory in conformity with the long standing practice of its churches, TO ADMIT SLAVEHOLDERS TO CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP

trants, in regard to this aud cious baptism of slavery into full communion with What says the Indepe

on and others, who have here d very zealous against slavery ? Wonderful to tell, in an article (Aug. 13) en Wonderful to tell, in an article (Aug. 13) en Meeting of the American Board, in the very

Ann. Rep. of 1848, p. 107. †Ib., p. 105.

solumn to the extract we have quoted at the com mencement of this article, and by an 'incongruity'

This is even a more complete surrender than Dr. Thompson made of himself at the late annual meeting of the Tract Society. He was perfectly satisfied with the Report of its Investigating Committee, both upon its negative and positive side, (whatever new light upon it may since have reached him;) but this

The other side. The following article is not a contained but the first half was rejected, 'as not germaine to the subject,' and the last three or four periods, for some reason or other, but certainly, not for want of relevancy.

The prosecution has been heard at most inordinate article assumes that (at least as far as the Independent is concerned) no further protest is to be made recently, and much more is threatened. The editor, against the pro-slavery position of the Board during too, vouches for that side, 'as incapable of bearing the life-time of this generation. And, if silence gives consent, we must suppose all the former remonist there that I be heard at all, even to my third of one strants to have come to the same shameful conclu-Possibly, however, the Independent relied too

confidently on the degeneracy of the Church and its ministers. Possibly there may be one left, among thankfulness will be at least up to the grace thus exthe members of the Board, who is not willing to bow tended. It was indeed great grace, since my accuser the knee to this Baal. Possibly one may yet be found are 'INCAPABLE' of wrong! who is willing to stand forth alone, and break this deceitful peace which has usurped the place of purity, and demand, in the name of Christ, and of his breth- without any offence to ren the slaves of church-members under the super-vision of the American Board, that this covenant with death be annulled, that this agreement with hell be not suffered to stand. If there be a single member who wishes this to be done, let him not fail to do it. Let no supposed 'necessity of courtesy towards an associate'-no entreaty that the 'satisfactory basis' may be suffered 'to stand for this year'-no fear 'to provoke a personal discussion'-no 'high respect' for the representatives of pro-slavery piety, and no fear of 'wounding their sensibilities,' be suffered to prevent an earnest and vigorous protest, at the approaching meeting of the Board, against its shameful compromise with slavery. But if no one thus raises his voice, if no one dares, or, still worse, if no one cores, to speak for the cause of the slave before that great representative of the Church, that fact must go to swell the already long catalogue of proofs that the American Church is the bulwark of American slavery .- c. K. W.

From the Boston Transcript of August 12. THE STORY OF THE THREE BLACK CROWS OUTDONE.

'Beware of pocs.'
'Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart, all.' To the Editor of the Transcript :

SIR,-It would be an endless task for Abolitionist undertake to contradict the numberless misrepresentations concerning their course, which are maliciously circulated in every part of the land; and, therefore, they seldom attempt any correction. But, sometimes, an accusation may be brought, of such a nature, and under such circumstances, as to demand a prompt denial, in order that the libeller may be put to open shame, and the cause of the oppressed in our land may receive no injury.

The dog-ged perseverance of 'Sigma,' in renewing and reiterating the exploded libel against Mr. Parker Pillsbury, that, 'some years ago, he performed, in public, the ceremony of baptizing three dogs, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, calls for support of his foul charge, 'Sigma' quotes a lying statement which appeared in the Salem Register, made by an anonymous scribbler, and a most vindictive enemy of the Anti-Slavery cause—to this effect, namely, that 'on a Sabbath afternoon, Mr. Pillsbury doctrinal opinion, and made them give replies satis-factory to himself—that he propounded them—and finally administered the ecremony of baptism in the following words: "I baptize thee, Bose, in the name of the Father," &c. ; "I baptize thee, Tiger," &c.'- to give in brief, my own version of the transaction. the object of the peformer being, adds 'Sigma,' in Che whole was an attempt to illustrate and enferce consonance with his opposition to the Sabbath, to the sentiment, 'Slavery degrades man to a level with

Now, Mr. Editor, I aver that, of all wilful perve sions of facts, this has not been surpassed since the time when it was said of another notable disturber of the peace, 'He hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses? behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy.' I testify, 'as an eye and ear witness,' having been at the meeting alluded to, and heard every word uttered by Mr. Pillsbury on that occasion. The facts are these: In the course of one of the most impressive speeches to which I ever lisened. Mr. Pillsbury referred to the awful indifference with which the horrible act of reducing millions of mortal beings to the level of brutes, and the condition of property, was every where regarded in the land; and he then proceeded to reverse the case by asking, what would be said of the clergyman who church on a communion Sunday, and, professing to regard them as rational and accountable beings, should read to them the creed, and then, affecting to consider them as having given their assent to it, should proceed to baptize them in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? 'Would not a thrill of horror,' said Mr. Pillsbury, 'run through the community, in view of such a blasphemous procedure? And yet, which is the more blasphemous act—to hurl down those who are made a little lower than the angels among fourfooted beasts, or to attempt to elevate dogs to the position of men? But who thrills with indignation, or who lays it to heart, that so many of our fellow-creatures are thus dehumanized? While the canine farce. which has been hypothetically imagined, would ex cite universal disgust and horror, the terrible tragedy which is going on at the South causes no sens

Now, what could be more pertinent, more striking, or more effective than such an illustration? It certainly made a powerful impression upon the audien at the time, and helped to heighten their conception of the blasphemous nature of chattel slavery, to inten sify their abhorrence of it, and to quicken their zeal the invisible God into a chattel slave; and tread the for its eternal overthrow. How satanic must have been the spirit of the wretch, who, through the Salem Register, caricatured all that was said and done on the occasion, representing Mr. Pillsbury as having actually brought a troop of dogs into the church, and m in mockery of religion! And how malignant must be the man who will persist in quoting such a slanderer as authority, and reiterating the in-

'Sigma' says: 'We have, on our files, lette written at that period, from gentlemen of Danvers, of yea, and religiously too, swept in successions of gen he first respectability, confirming the statement, in zations, down from his heavenly estate, and made t all its minute particulars, (!!) upon the testing eye and ear witnesses. Now, sir, I challe production of any one of those letters, or of any one of those eye and ear witnesses. Against them, I will array hundreds of unimposchable persons, who heard what Mr. Pillsbury said, and who will readily to that he has been most shamefully belied. Let 'Sigma' romember how it turned out in apost

Yours, for the truth, WM. LLOYD GARRISON 14 Dix Place, Aug. 13, 1857.

SIGMA AND HIS DOGS.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON: After the stunning vollies of slander and abuse of my humble self which have filled the atmosphere of both hemispheres about a monstrous 'dog baptism, that, it is alleged, I performed, several of my friend such a purpose, after all that had been fulminated on the other side. The following article is not a column

length, through many columns, years ago and more column? Surely, my accusers being so immaculate and with so omniscient a surety for them, too, as the Transcript's editor must be, it was more than magnanimity, to indulge me in a single word. I trust my

The whole article is now offered to THE LIBERATOR You can reject it, if you have more important matter,

Your ever faithful friend. PARKER PILLSBURY.

Lynn, 16th August, 1857.

TO THE EDITOR: Sra .- When Daniel Webster was once asked why ne did not reply to the malicious charges against him from his political opponents, he said, 'I don't dig my paths till it has done snowing.' That is true philosophy, and I generally act on it myself.

The other day, however, a friend sent me two three of your papers, with some articles signed 'Sigma, reviving an old slander which the same ' Sigma most industriously circulated through the same chan nel, several years since, charging me with administering the ordinance of baptism to sundry dogs at an anti-slavery meeting. In a series of long communications at that time, he stated the offence, proved it blasphemy, to his own satisfaction, at least, and more than once called upon the Grand Jury to proceed with me accordingly-which they never did.

I was sorry to fall under the displeasure of your distinguished correspondent. I had before only known and honored him as one of the very chiefest spostles in the earlier years of the Temperance Reform. I once rode with another gentleman fifteen miles to hear him give an evening lecture, and returned home in the dark hours of midnight, over the high hills and rough roads of New Hampshire, feeling richly comsensated for both the labor and expense of the journey. I had read, admired and circulated his capital Temperance Tales,' with all the ardor of a young man profoundly impressed with the importance of the Temperance cause, and of the value of those inimita ble tales to promote it.

My zeal in the Anti-Slavery enterprise is of the ame honest, earnest character; consistent and harmonious, I trust, with the interest I feel in every other noble and philanthropic institution to elevate and benefit man. If at any time I overstep the bounds of a fresh protest against such flagrant injustice. In prudence and propriety, one might hope that even your correspondent would 'pardon something to the spirit of liberty,' in a country like ours, at a time like

the present, when cruelty and crime abound.

The old slander, however, about the Dog Baptism now so vigorously revived, cannot cause me, on my went through a mock ceremony of taking several dogs own account, a throb of repentance or a moment of into the church—that he questioned them as to their regret. Had 'Sigma' been present and witnessed the scene, he would have approved, if not applanded it, as did every right-minded person in the whole as-

them often, speak them often, think them often; but do we, can we feel their fearful force and meaning They are short, plain words; a very little sentence altogether; and yet can the very 'blasphemy agains the Holy Ghost' be more dreadful than the sentiment contained in them ! I spoke of the nature of man; his heavenly origin, inconceivable capacities and powers ;-and then of his immortal destiny. And this, I said, is he whom slavery hurls down from companionship with angels, and oneness with Divinity Himself, to a level with four-footed beasts and

creeping things.

And then, to reveal more clearly this mystery of iniquity, I added, What if we should reverse the terrible proposition, and by an infamous outrage on the economy of God's government, attempt to lift should bring sundry dogs into the broad aisle of his the brute up into that 'Holy of Holies,' where only man has right to stand! Suppose we were, as Church, to celebrate the sacrament of the Supper and to admit new members to our communion. The stand forward, assent to our Articles of Faith and for of Covenant, and then receive the ordinance of Baptism. All this might be witnessed, without peculia

But what if we should then proceed to call to th altar, some four-footed beasts, some dogs, for instance that might be near, and conduct them through the sa scenes, reading to them our creed and covenant, and sprinkling them with holy water, calling their names and saying, Lion or Tiger, I baptize thee in the nar of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Could any of us look on such God-defyir

depravity as this, unmoved?

To any I never beheld a more impressive scene wou be only to repeat what many others said at the clos of the meeting. The deep silence of the audience an found attention, bore witness to the force and fidelity of the illustration; while the solemnity that sat or every face was proof positive that for once we had be gun to see and feel what it was to sink the image loftiest work of His hand down among the slimy reptiles of the earth.

There needed little explaining or enforcing the sub-ject. I did ask, is it any farther from the beast up to the man, than from the man down to the beast? Or would the outrage be more daring, or the attack on the divine appointments more defiant, were a poor brute actually thus made for once the mirth and mockery of thoughtless or deprayed scoffers, than when man, all immortal, is constantly, deliberately, legally, ions, down from his heavenly estate, and made th nsible, inanimate thing, tool, machine, of task ers and tyrants, whose rage or lust is law to the ms above all that is God, in earth or heaven Let even the ever-scrupulous 'Sigms' himself consider the question; for here was my blasphemy-ar

I afterwards used the same illustration in all it erts, both in America and Great Britain. It was often reported and commented upon, in both coun ries, by editors and others who heard it, and always at, on the other side of the Atlantic, with th ighest approval. And it remained for your corr nut it, except through a most silly, as well as see alanderous and lying rumor, to discover

more than once to demand of the Grand Jury to proceed with it accordingly. Nor have the many man and emphatic denials of my friends, in many plan and emphatic delination among the number, had my and papers, your or lighten his vision or abate his

pparent effect to entigmen his vision or soits is sengeance. Perhaps this effort of mine will equily PARKER PILLSBURY. Concord, N. H., August 14, 1857. Mr. Pillsbury's letter was written being

> SIGMA AND THE THREE DOGS. Leicester, August 16, 1857.

seeing ours to the editor of the Transcript, in his defence against the libellous charge of Sigma. The

reader will compare the two statements together.

DEAR MR. GARRISON: May I ask a little space in THE LIBERATOR for the following article, which I say to the Transcript on Thursday last; but which I set terwards withdrew, considering it unnecessary that it ahould appear in that paper, after the publication there of yours of the same date. As it contains the evidence of yours of the same the transcript, prosents on which my first letter to the Transcript, prosents. ing Sigma's charge false, was founded, I should be glad to have it put on record in your paper.

Respectfully. 8. M., Jr.

To the Editor of the Transcript :

In your paper of Saturday last, Sigme asserted that Parker Pillabury, some years ago, performed in pub. lie the ceremony of baptizing three dogs in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. In your paper of Tuesday appeared a note from me, prosonning per of Tuesday appeared a not home pronouncing In threatening style, Sigma returns to the subject in your paper of last (Wednesday) evening; but the render will see that he retreats from and changes his first position. He now says that 'it was not pretend. ed that dogs were actually present.' Indeed! Let any person look at his Saturday evening's article, (the words are exactly quoted above,) and say if this be not the unavoidable meaning of the words he need He charges Mr. Pillsbury with having 'performed in public the ceremony of baptizing three dogs.' I pronounce this false. And Sigma now admits it to be false, by admitting that no dogs were introduced-This, however, is, comparatively, immaterial. Ile does not improve his case at all by his new position He now says, 'that a mock ceremony was performed, and they [i. e. the three dogs] were imaginarily received or taken into the church, in baptism.' And with a cool assumption of super-human knowledge of motives and purposes, he adds-the object of the performer being . . . to bring the ordinance of beptism into contempt."

This statement also of Sigma, like his first, is false in every respect; and common justice between man and man demands that he should correct it, and spiogise for it. Mr. Pillsbury's words, at the Daven meeting to which Sigma alludes, were falsified and perverted by the Salem reporter, who first set this malignant story affoat. No reflecting person will be at a loss to understand why the discourse of a preminent abolitionist was thus falsified, in those day when pulpit, bar, and rostrum vied with each che in defence of the Fugitive Slave Law, then just estering on its cruel and infamous work.

As briefly as possible, I will give what Mr. Pillsbur did say at the Danvers meeting, as reported by one present, who heard and comprehended :-

In consequence of the crowded state of our elums, we are obliged to omit the quotation referred to: it agrees, however, almost verbatim, with the root in our article on the same subject, in a preceding column, to which, in this connection, the reader's attestion is called .- Ed. Lib.

Such was the sum and substance of what Mr. Pillsbury said. Corroborative evidence of the truth of the foregoing report, from gentlemen of the highest reputation in Danvers, Salem and Lynn, (who also were present,) can be had to any extent.

The fact is that Mr. Pillsbury performed no erremony, mock or otherwise, of baptism of dogs-went through no ceremony of admitting or taking dogs isto the church. None of these things, as alleged by Sigma, are true, but gross perversions of the truth. I will not charge Sigma with wilful misrepresentation; for he may never have been aware that the mistepresentation was exposed and corrected in the anti-slavery papers generally, and in many others, the New York he were, or if he were not, he is in either case unfitted for publicly writing about the matter. Sigms warms me of the 'mire' into which I way fall. While defending a worthy man from an injurious calumny, I fear no 'miro,' not even that which Sigma can three. But none can question which of two parties really is in the mire-he who wakes up from oblivion, and persists in repeating, a refuted slander, or he who de-8. M. Jr. nies and disproves it. Thursday, August 14.

THE SLANDERER 'SIGMA.'

A highly esteemed correspondent, referring to the venomous attack made upon Mr. Pillsavar by Sg. ma,' in the Transcript, says :-

"I was very much delighted, when the Tressript came to hand last evening, to find your article in it using Sigma up so completely. If Sigma, with all is pretension, were any thing of a gentleman, or a man of honor, he not only would perceive the gross misrepresentation of which he has been guity, (that indeed he can see now,) but he would wknowledge it frankly, and have done with it. As it is, he will doubtless have another emission of hile is the Transcript, facing out his lie as well as he can.

Monday, 17. As I anticipated, Sigma is about his dirty work again in the Transcript of Saturday or ning. And his assurance is enough to asterish end an abolitionist, who has done being astonished at my thing. He was challenged to produce an eye or serwitness, or respectable testimony of any kind, to the truth of his assertions. And what does he product as proof positive of the story? Will any one bellen that he has the audacity (a clear case of contempt a court, i.e. of the public to which he appeals, who at abused and insulted by such statement,) to produce un old letter from the original author of the like as falsehood himself!! and to print it in support of the truth of the story so concocted! The criginal cominal is brought to the witness-stand, and allows there to re-affirm his former lie, and Signs has the coolness to turn and say to court and jury, Hos gentlemen, you have the truth of this gen original story, and of my repetition of it, fally of

But this is not the whole—there is literally more of the same sort.' As we listen to this calumn testimony on the witness's stand, we find him tomb ting, quite casually, indeed, as a thing of no case quence, that the 'dog-service' did Nor come take his 'own observation'; but he heard the circum stances stated 'from many and various sources, and never heard them denied.' Effrontery can surely so further go! Sigma is challenged to produce as or and ear witness; and he gives us a man who at our says he was reither the one nor the other, but pa his information second-hand !! He is challenged produce competent testimony, and he leads for by the hand—par ig-nobile fratrum—the author as concoctor of the lie himself!! This is Signal as tion of justice, decency, and truth!

THE DOGGISH 'SIGMA.

Mn. Enron- Sigma, of the Transcript, rtaken to make a tremendous onslaught on lisbury, and the result to himself is shame cat ho has ' gone to the dogs'! Whatever may be, 'Sigma' evinces all the qualities of a man, quarrelsome, insolent puppy. DIVISION OF THE UNION.

My attention is attracted, by THE LIBERATOR and other papers, to a 'Call' for a Convention of delegates from all the free States, to be held in October, 'to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation between the free and slave States; and to take such other measures as the condition of the times may require.' Although it is probable that but a small portion of the citizens of either section of the Union contemplate, or even tolerate, the idea of such a separation, yet as it is warmly threatened at the Southern extremity, and is fairly started on the consideration of the North, it seems highly important that some such Convention should be held, by which the reasons for or against it-now imperfectly understood-should be developed, and the respective proportions of citizens on either side ascertained. It is well that all the free States should be invited to participate in this Convention, as it would be little less than madness for a single State, or eren two or three, if small ones, to attempt a secession without concurrence of others. It is also highly expedient that the Convention should be composed of representations of the free States only, as admissions of delegates from the slave States could produce nothing but discord: no determination of judgment or policy could result. If a separation should be decided upon and adopted by the free States, then would there be time enough for a conference with the slave States, to settle peaceably the terms of such

eparation.
Impressed with these views of the Convention, I desire, by this communication, to prepare the minds of those who may see it, and who may be called to attend, for a well-considered discussion. I shall not offer the arguments against a separation, as the community has been well apprised of them by conservative presses and speeches, but only those, less understood, in favor of such separation. The four points to be considered are well distinguished in the Circular for signatures to the Call, as quoted above; and I take them separately, changing only their order, and limiting the fourth to the subject proposed for the

First, as to the probability of separation; that is, supposing no steps should be taken by the free State governments to promote or prevent that separation. I take this point first, to open the subject for discussion for there are many persons in the North, who feel the evils of their connection with slaveholders, but who yet, dreading more those of disunion, will not even look at the question while they believe the Union can be maintained; but who, if they perceived that separation would probably occur in any event, and especially if deemed inevitable, would readily join in deliberations respecting the best methods of effect-

Nothing is more apparent, or would probably be more generally agreed to, than that the pro-slavery sentiment of the South has vastly increased since the Revolution; and, on the other hand, that the antislavery sentiment of the North has, within a few years, acquired a rapid extension and intensity, till these sentiments have now become so divergent, and so hostile, that no reconciliation can be reasonably expected; and while, in political Union, no harmony between the parties can be maintained, unless by the application of military force by the Federal Government, which I trust the people of this country will never hear. . The writers and speakers of the free and the slave States, each, complain of the alleged encroachments of the other, and this with apparent sincerity and passion; and the submission of either par ty to the claims of the other is refused as disgraceful and ruinous, and with all the spirit of resistance to tyranny which characterizes our nation. It is a dispute which cannot be settled by legislation, or the ballot-box; and an attempt so to enforce a settlement by either party which may be in the ascendant, could only lead to a civil war. Believing that this result would be shunned in horror by both, I see no alternative but a peaceful separation. The methods proposed for effecting the abolition of slavery without this—such as limiting it by preventing its extension, or by settlements of free laborers in the slave States, or by offering compensation for emancipation-are too slow in their operation, and would arrive at their completion too late to avert the embittered conflict which is plainly impending over us.

hope to show, the necessity for measures on the part of the free States for a peaceful division of the Union. This is to be drawn from the proposition, that nothing other than this will calm the present hostile agitation, or avert the sanguinary conflict we have reason to dread. The extension of the area of slavery was believed to be demanded for its maintenance; and if the Slave Power, from its low and seemingly declining condition after the Revolution, has so extended itself as to become the ruling power of the Union, the attempt is hopeless to suppress, by as slavery and the spirit of pro-slavery exist. Under the Union, then, we cannot expect any terminaion of the present existing conflict, or an escape from is threatened evils, unless by a total abolition of slavery in all the States; but as there is no constitutional power under the Union for the free States to do this, and no indication of a willingness in the Southern slave States to do it for themselves, the only peaceful mode of effecting the abolition of slavery, or otherwise exempting ourselves from its evils, is by separation.

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That a separation of the free from the slave States would effect a total abolition of slavery, and in a shorter time than in any other, mode, may be easily shown. Reflection on the connection of the States will show that the maintenance of slavery is more dependent upon the support given to it at the North, than on the power of the governments of the South. The slaves are well aware, that the free States are under an obligation to restore those who escape to their masters; and should this obligation cease, as it would by separation, they would escape by thousands where they do now by tens. They also know that the Federal Government is obliged to suppress any insurrection at the South; and when this is dissolved, they would have only their own masters to contend with; and if they now see such open military precautions taken against insurrection, and if the least rumor of a rising now creates such a visible alarm, would not the increased frequency and extent of such insurrections, after separation, compel the slaveholders to resort to emancipation or extermination of the blacks for the safety of their lives? Some persons, indeed profess to see this risk in emancipation; but the exam ple of it in the West Indies shows that the danger in slavery, not in freedom. No man there has now the least of that fear, which was so provalent in the time

The financial embarrassments now depressing the prosperity of the slave States would be much augented when the national revenues, now chiefly raised at the North, and chiefly expended at the South, should be withdrawn. The evil would be seen, as it is not now, to lie in slavery, and its wretch ed system of cultivation; and enlightened self-interest would prompt to emancipation; and, lastly, the imminent danger of foreign war, which the renewal of the slave trade, and the encroachments arising from the necessary extension of the area of slavery, would provoke, and which is now averted by the respect paid to the power and intelligence of the free Stat as it would be by servile insurrection, would compel

Having shown the probability and expediency of separation of the States, I have now to consider the ation of the States, I have a contact that purpose. shall not disguise from myself or others that formidable obstacle to this achievement. This obstaele consists in the deep laid and warm attachn

persons in the North, and perhaps of a majority of the slave, was first enunciated, that the cause of freethose at the South. So sacred is the Union consider-ed by the mass of our citizens, that the fear of its in a brief period, such a change in Parliament, as freedom to withhold their efforts for its predominance, sure on the 1st of August, 1834, the emancipation of and even to oppose those who are striving to preserve the enslaved. The men and women engaged in the it; and the pretence of that fear, in pro-slavery par-ties, has enabled their minority to establish an irresist-sible to be brought against them. Lords laughed to ible domination over the more extensive anti-slavery scorn the idea that the planters should give up their sentiment of the country. While this attachment to property. Wilnearonce was laughed at by a member the Union continues in its present prevalence and intensity, all efforts for its peaceful dissolution are hopeless; it must be suffered to 'slide' to its fate in its inevitable, and, I fear, disastrous course. To give was passed, and 800,000 human beings, children of any prospect of success, this attachment must be eradicated from the public mind; and for this purpose, the proposed Convention is to be called,—that chattels, degraded to the condition of beastsby such expositions as I have now attempted to make of the necessity and expediency of a projected peaceful separation, it shall become an object of desire, and those who were to be emancipate no longer of fear. Such a Convention will open the There were men and women at that time fearful that, gent reasons for it may be made so clear, that we may would rise, and scatter death and devastation through

States is their political connection with the South. Was there any bloodshed? None at all. The gift of It adds nothing to their power, for slavery is an ele-freedom was received by them with thanksgiving to as we should have an internal as well as external foe to contend against. It certainly enhances not our national character abroad; as every travelling American and the contend against as every travelling American and the contend against as every travelling American are the contend against as every travelling as every lowed by emancipation at the South-as I have en- peace, happiness and tranquillity. deavored to show-as the population, wealth and prosperity of that section would be rapidly increased, the consumption, and consequent commerce with the North, would be also greatly augmented.

I am aware that the vast extent of dominion pos sessed by the United States is a subject of pride to American citizens, who anticipate a condition which shall make our government not merely a first-rate power, but the very highest among nations; and of the delusion that this pride is a patriotic one. The clearer sight of the Christian moralist, however, perceives that true patriotism rejoices more in the justice and beneficence, than in the extent of his country. He sees no cause of patriotic pride in an empire which covers the continent, if acquired by the crimes of war, or tainted with the turpitude of slavery. Indeed, the patriot who takes pride in his country for its freedom, has reason to dread the increase of its extent and power; for history furnishes no example of a republic which has swelled into an empire, which has not immersed its liberty and purity in military despotism and its concurrent vices. The only check on this course is the partial independence of the several States; but this is perpetually chipped away by encroaching judicial constructions, and the vast and increasing amount of official patronage; and the plain be torn from your sight, and reduced to a state in prospect before us is that of a concentrated dominion. A separation which should give a new model to the connection of the free States, reserving more power to each, would avoid this destiny, and be a shelter to liberty from the perils of extension.

Still, the ambitious patriot, who glories in the

magnitude of his country, and deprecates the excision of any part of it, may console himself for such a loss of Carolina, or the cotton-fields of the more Southby the expectation that it will be only temporary. ern States! Trying things by the Golden Rule The anti-slavery movements now visible in border there is no crime so great, no iniquity so glaring, no slave States-Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky and Mis- wrong that so outrages all feelings of humanity, I next consider the expediency, or, perhaps, as I souri, -indicate a growing conviction of the ruinous as that which exists, and which has been perpetolicy of slave institutions, compared with those of freedom; and, in the event of a peaceful separation, eration, by statutory law, in this land of ours,they would doubtless ally themselves with the Northern division; and some such measure as that of compensated emancipation, which they would gladly accept, would unite them in freedom. Very soon, the citizens of the Southern Republic would discover, what they do not now discern, that they could not maintain their government, with the loss of capital of men in chains? When one man undertakes to and revenue, and in face of the scorn of the world, make slaves of ten of his neighbors, is it possible for and the imminent danger of a servile war; and would him to succeed? How happens it that one man

> ture, blessed with entire deliverance from the curse of he possesses in his own person? No, he has allie slavery, and with the extension to all parts of the ed- to sustain and support him in the outrage. This govacational system of the North, and with a Constitu- ernment of ours is itself a system devised for perpet tion which should better guard against the danger of unting and strengthening slavery. I am no states centralization,—rapidly increasing in population and man; but those who are statesmen—John Q. Ansettlement, which a free soil only encourages,—would Ams and others—say that at this present day, one realize the highest anticipations of the aspiring patri- great purpose of this government is to fortify and deot, and present before the world the long-desired example for the regeneration of nations. This result can only be produced by previous separation; and to achieve it, the lover of his country and his race must give his aid to the movement for that purpose. J. P. B.

SPEECH OF WM. S. HAYWOOD, At the First of August Celebration at Hopedale, Mass. [Phonographically reported by DAN A. CONSTOCK.]

We are gathered here to-day, friends, in commemration of one of the noblest events that brighten the page of history. We are here to celebrate the emanipation of eight hundred thousand slaves, and the levation of those, who, for ages, in themselves and their ancestors, had been victims of cruel oppression, to the condition and enjoyment of the rights of freemen. It is good, as it seems to me, to gather together, as has been our wont on this first of August, and call to mind the event which, twenty-three years ago to-day, was consummated, and to lend our rejoicings to those who, in the isles of the sea, now lift their unfettered hands to thank God that they are free. It is good for us to rejoice with those who rejoice, whereever they may be-good for us to blend our sympathies with our fellow-creatures, whatever may be their country to a just sense of their duty to the slaves, and condition, or in whatever clime they may exist. I of the immense wrong that has been heaped on them am glad to greet you on this occasion, and join as slaves. At first, they thought it was only necessawith you in the celebration of an event so truly glorious as that to which I have referred. Long weary
years the iron hand of oppression had crushed out the
one had only to tell us of the existence of slavery, of life of thousands of our fellow-creatures, under the the ignorance, degradation, prostitution -of the rule of Great Britain. The whip, the yoke and the thumbscrews, and other tortures, all necessary accom fetter had been imposed upon them, generation after paniments of the system—to make us promise, before generation. A few men thought it a dreadful wrong, that was thus being inflicted. At length, men and will serve freedom, and only freedom, all the days women, moved by the better instincts of their na- of our lives. But how has it been? The same sad women, moved by the better instincts of their na-ture,—moved, perhaps, by the plainest and simplest precepts of the Creator,—seeing the evil inflicted in some measure falling upon themselves, endeavored to form in Great Britain such a public sentiment, such a feeling against the wrong, as should insure its overa feeling against the wrong, as should insure its over-throw. Year after year they toiled on, endeavoring to instil into the hearts of the British people the princi-ple, that freedom is the birthright of man. SHARFR and WILBERTORCE, and others, endeavored to devise some means whereby a gradual process of enfranchise-ment should work out the freedom of the enslaved; ditional emancipation—first proclaimed by a woman, solves nor your fellow-men.

mark!—as the duty of the master and the right of It is not my forte to make anti-slavery sp

lution has induced many of the sincere friends of well as among the people of Great Britain, as to enthe same God with the King of England and mem-

There were great apprehensions of the rising of those who were to be emancipated under this Act. sion of disunion before the public; and the co- no sooner than the slaves should become free, they the land-as if, when men begin to do justice and Other considerations than those relating to the abolition of slavery may be adduced for the separation feared, and everything is liable to go to rack and of the Union. They may be introduced by asking ruin! The 1st of August came—the day on which the question-Of what value to the people of the free the slaves were to go free. What was the result? ment of weakness, and not of strength; and in the God. The idea of revenge never entered their hearts event of a war with a powerful foreign nation, the Indeed, if we are to place any reliance upon the hisdefence of the slave States would be our greatest peril, tory of that event, the boon of freedom was received ican finds to his mortification, that the greatest re- but that they received it so lovingly and peacefully, proach to our country is elicited by its slavery, which The event stands a living fact on the page of history, affords the greatest triumph to the advocates of des- and is a testimony against all those persons who are potism; and this is a reproach from which a distinct afraid to do justice-afraid to strike the fetters from republic of free States would be exempt. Many per- the bondmen in our own land, lest the Union be desons think that commerce would suffer by our disrup- stroyed, or some dire catastrophe should come upon tion from the South, but intelligent merchants know them or their fellow-men. The lesson which this that the amount of commerce does not depend upon event teaches is, that it is best, safest and wisest to do national ties. It is probable that our commerce with right. If we are engaged in any work for the eleva-Great Britain, for instance, is now as great, if not tion of the race, and there are those who oppose us by greater, than if we still remained her colonies; and endeavoring to show the evil results that will follow while the reciprocal wants of the North and South let us rest assured that, first of all things, it is our should remain the same, their mutual traffic would duty to be in the right; that doing justly, endeavorbe as great when they were two, as if they were only ing to establish freedom and equality, to strike the one Republic. Indeed, if separation should be fol- fetter from the limbs of the slave, is sure to bring

We are not here to rejoice only in this event; for while it is our duty to give due attention to this, let us not be so foolish as to forget that, in our own country, there are four millions of beings enduring a bondage even worse in some of its features than that from which the British slaves were delivered. Our duty is to rejoice with those who rejoice, and weep with those who weep, and to endeavor, by all the means which God has given us, to hasten the time when the millions of the oppressed in this country shall be free. Think of it, friends! To-day, in this so-called Christian land, where men profess to believe in the doctrine of Jesus Christ-in the Golden Rule, Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them'-in this so-called republic, where men profess to honor the Declaration of Independence, which declares that 'all men are created free and equal '-in this professedly Christian and republican nation of ours, there are four millions of human beings, created in the Divine image, reduced to the condition of brutes and merchantable commodities! You, friends, have parents, children, husbands, wives, brothers and sisters, in whose love and friendship you rejoice. Nothing could be more terrible to you, no crime greater, than for one of these to which four millions of your own countrymen now live. Think of it, father, mother, who now, as you increase of happiness in future, think if that daughte were to be seized and thrust into the Southern seraglio, or that son should be doomed to the rice-fields uated year after year, and generation after gen Think, too, that while these slaveholders South are grinding these millions under foot, the people of the North are in political compact with them, to continue the wrong and the crime! How is it, do you suppose, that a few hundred thousand slaveholders belo Mason and Dixon's line manage to keep four million be compelled to emancipation, as their only refuse. | South is enabled to retain a dozen in slavery? By his A reunion, then, of all the States, present and fu- own cunning or physical might-by any power which fend the system of slavery; and no man can take cognizance of what has transpired within a few years past in this country, without feeling assured that the government is in the hands of the Slave Power.

ready to do its bidding and perform its work. We are here, to-day, not only to sympathise with the millions of bondmen in our own country, but to have our hearts stirred up, if possible, to a deeper hatred of the power that enslaves them. A year ago, it was fondly hoped by friends then present at our celebration, that the political excitement through which the country was passing would settle this whole matter for ever.

How is it? We went through the excitement and fury of that campaign, and slavery lives yet. Nothing has been settled. My friends, the duty for you and for me is simply, Hands off !- let go the foul system! Have nothing to do with supporting it. either personally, socially, ecclesiastically, or politically !- and then to strive to stir up each other's minds and hearts to so hate slavery, and love freedom, (that glorious gift of God to all men,) as that all may be induced to take the right position.

Here are a few men who have for the past twenty five years been endeavoring to rouse the people of this stories have been told over and over again, and still day, to tell any thing new, but once more to affirm, that freedom is the glorious gift of God to all his children, and that slavery is the sum of all villanies. curse—have nothing to do with it. Enslave not you selves nor your fellow-men.

My sympathies, if I understand my heart, are on the side of the oppressed, and of that great cause of Anti-Slavery whose interests we have met to-day to promote. I wish to lend my influence in hastening on the time when the shouts of joy and gladness shall come up from the oppressed in our own land, as they did from the isles of the sea. Here are a few faithful men and women, laboring for the cause of the slavepassing through reproach, obloquy, vituperation, evew thing that human nature can experience. They are ever been found faithful and true. If we look into the history of this movement in our country, nothing will appear more prominent than the unyielding perseverance of American abolitionists. There are others, to be sure, who profess to be laboring for he welfare of the slave; but where are those to be found who are true to their great purpose, like the few abolitionists, with our friend Garrison at their head? I think we must accord to them honesty of purpose, integrity of character, and a great living love, firing up their souls for their fellow-men. If they are actuated in their labors by any merely persona onsideration, then I know not know not how to judge of purity of motive or integrity of character.

#### THE TWENTY-POURTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

The undersigned again call on all interested in their cause, -the cause of Freedom, so deeply important, not only to the three millions of American slaves, but to the American nation and to entire humanity,-for nmediate aid, by contributions of money and materials, and by purchase at the next Bazaar; to be open

ON THE 17TH OF DECEMBER.

Contributions of money at the present time mable members of the Committee now in Europe to add to the attractions of the exhibition still further, and, in consequence, to increase the funds; which are to be expended, as heretofore, by the American Anti-Slavery Society, in awakening the whole country, through its newspapers, books and various agencies, to the necessity of extinguishing slavery.

Our principle is too well known to need more than mere statement. It is, immediate, unconditional emancipation, without expatriation, and by peaceful means. From a growing conviction of the justice and necessity of this work, for the good and honor of all concerned, every measure possible to be taken will inevitably spring without delay. Our funds, therefore, will be devoted to the primary work of arousing and engaging the public mind; which, as fast as it awakens, never fails to find a way to work its will,through church action, by agitation and withdrawal,by state action, through the customary political channels, or by the profounder policy of creating others,— by legislative and judicial changes,—by individual efforts in the manumission of slaves and the protection of fugitives,-by economical measures prompted by the greater advantages of free labor, -by humane feelings creating a preference for its products.

What we ask of the citizens around us, just awakening to some one or other of the manifold aspects of this great question, is, to enable us to continue the use of the means that have proved so efficacions in their own case, and to sustain the primary cause of whatever Anti-Slavery effects they observe and desire

Let those who labor for an Anti-Slavery national and State administration, furnish voters with the only sufficient motive to any Anti-Slavery effort, by working with us, so to excite the love of liberty, that every man shall take the risk of trampling down slavery wherever it meets him.

Let them that pity the hunted fugitive, who sees in every Northern man a betrayer, bound to that base function by the great organic law of his country, take the means most effectual to turn the betrayawaken a stronger sentiment than compassion for the millions who cannot fly: of whose case it was so truly said by a New England poet of the earlier time, fore school-books were expurgated by slavery-

Their wrongs compassion cannot speak.

we commend to the attention of the whole land today.

We do not make this appeal in a sectional spirit as
Northern-born, interfering with matters that do not
concern us. We make it in grateful acknowledgment
of the benefits we have received from the anti-slavery
cause, desiring to communicate them to others. We
have all been connected personally with the system of
alavery. One has known the evil power of its money
temptations; another has felt its political despotism;
nother its perverting social influence; another its
corrupting ecclesiastical bondage; another yet has
been identified by Southern birth and education with
the slaveholders, and sustained the legal relation of
ownership to the slaves; while not unfrequently among
our most efficient members have been the wives of
slaves, driven from us by the operation of laws from

same.

A stampede of some three individuals took
place from one of our churches last Sabbath afternoon. The pulpit was filled from abroad, and very
ably, as we understand. In the forence, they are in all the series of the old Bible sin of profane swearing, and
excited considerable commendatory remark; but in
the afternoon, slavery being alluded to as another of
the sins spoken of in the old-fashioned Bible, these
gentlemen, using none but the new Democratic version, which preclaims slavery to be right and in strict
accordance with divine truth, were grievously wounded in feeling, and could not remain. One of the trio,
were understand, was not a ragular worshipper at this
church, and only straved in for the afternoon, but
feeling so deeply wounded, he was obliged to violate
common courtesy by leaving. The Reverend gentleman, who, no doubt innocently, gave so much offence,
will probably procure a new Taney Bible when he attempts to fill that pulpit again.—Belfast P. Age. slaves, driven from us by the operation of laws from which we cannot protect them, and which make us liable to ruinous fine and crushing imprisonment, as they have done our associates crewhile. But we all. with one accord, testify to the truth of the anti-slavery principles, and entreat the aid of all whom this appeal reaches, to deliver the country from such a

espotism, by their promulgation.

THE LIBERTY BELL will be published a usual: and we entreat all our friends who have heretofore aided us by literary or pecuniary contributions to let us hear from them once again, as speedily as

Our friends in Europe will not fail to take notice that the Bazaar is to open a week earlier than Contributions may be addressed to Mrs. CHAPMAN,

21 Cornhill, Boston, or to the other members of the Committee, at their respective homes. MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,

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

ence is received of the death of E ne, author of 'The Mysteries of Paris' and 'The andering Jew.' Also, of the death of the reners is Thomas Dick, LL.D., of Scotland,

THE NINTH Worcester Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

Week, September 21—25, 1857.

The eight years during which this Bazaar has been held in this city have witnessed continued developments of the Slave Power more startling in their character than any that have preceded them. The Fugitive Slave Law, the revolting scenes attendant upon its repeated execution in this State, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the decision of Ludge Taney, though the legitimate results of the accursed system whence they sprung, have appalled us by the rapidity with which they have pressed the quession nearer to our own homes and firesides.

For all these things, who are responsible? Certainly, not merely the Legrees of the Southern plantation, the victims of a degradation that will well nigh quench every spark of their moral nature;—not they alone, who, steeped in the miasma of political corruption, can see nothing before them but the lure of office and the Almighty Dollar; but we, as individuals, standing behind the throne, are the power greater than the throne itself; who, by thought, word and deed can each do something to swell the mighty influence that shall hurl the oppressor from his seat. Though dark and threatening the clouds gather around us, we are not discouraged, for we know that just as sure as there is a God in heaven, his justice on earth will triumph soomer or later, and that it will triumph through us, the human instrumentalities He has provided to accomplish his purposes here. Our object is not merely to save Kansaa, or to exclude slavery from the free States, but to wage against it unceasing warfare wherever it exists on the national domain, until on the soil of the Carolinas the song of the freeman and the hum of free labor shall supplant the groan of the slave and the slave-driver's ong of the freeman and the hum of free labor shall upplant the groan of the slave and the slave-driver's

supplant the groan of the slave and the slave-driver's lash.

It is for this we ask your sympathy and your aid. We want to raise money to send out lecturers and publications to rouse the slumbering consciences of the people to a consciousness of the increasing importance of the Anti-Slavery cause.

Our controversy with the Church is because we think the Church is false to her trust, when, starting with the professed mission of saving souls, she enters into a complicity with that system which robs the suffering bondman of both body and soul. Our controversy with the State is because, in the face of the Declaration of Independence, which she proclaims every Fourth of July, she sits deliberately on the necks of four millions of her children, robbing them of every birthright God has given them.

Whatever product of taste, ingenuity or labor, whatever of money or refreshment any one will be disposed to give, will be thankfully received and judiciously appropriated. Communications may be sent

ciously appropriated. Communications may be to any member of the Committee.

SARAH H. EARLE, LUCY CHASE, ADELINE H. HOWLAND, ADELINE H. HOWLAND,
HANNAH M. ROGERS,
ABBY W. WYMAN,
SARAH L. BUTMAN,
HANNAH RICE,
OLIVE LOVELAND,
MARY C. HIGGINSON, of Worcester;
ELIZA A. STOWELL, of Warren;
SARAH R. MAY, of Leicester;
EMMA W. WYMAN, of Boston;
MARY E. HODGES, of Dorchester;
FRANCES H. DRAKE, of Leominater;
POLLY D. BRADISH, of Upton;
KATHERINE E. FARNUM, of Waterford;
MARIA P. FAIRBANKS, of Millville;
NANCY B, HILL, of Blackstone;
ABBY B. HUSSBY, of Lancaster;
LOUISA F. HALL, of Upton;
SUSAN B. EVERETT, of Princeton;
MARY ANN GRIFFIN, of Princeton;
ELIZA HOWE, of Princeton;
CAROLINE WAIT, of Hubbardston.

WAKING UP FAMOUS. Mr. Alger having treated the solid Aldermen, and Councillors of Boston to Waking up Famous. Mr. Alger having treated the solid Aldermen and Councillors of Boston to a 4th of July oration, which had some reference to slavery that they didn't like, that grave body refused to pass the usual vote of thanks, whereupon every one began to read the oration, to see what there was in it. Mr. Alger waked up to find himself famous. Had these great officials said nothing, no one would have read the oration—supposing it to be as stupid as such performances usually are. It may be that the truth should not be spoken at all times, and perhaps the last fourth was one of those times. If so, Mr. Alger is not to be pardoned,—Maine Evangelist.

SLAVERY IN OREGON. The New Orleans Delta has the following extract from a letter written by 'a gen-tleman in Oregon, who is thoroughly posted on such

Oregon will be the next slave State. I was in the Their wrongs compassion cannot speak.'

Let all take warning to co-operate with us, from those earlier days when slavery, instead of dying out, as was prophesied, began to grow stronger, because there was then no such fountain head of moral power as

He did not believe that a negro was a

\*\* He did not believe that a negro was a brother of his, or of any white man, and he doubted the right of the white man to corrupt his blood by making kin with an inferior race. —Douglas's Speech at Springfield, Ill.

'Those who know the kind of "kin" Mr. Douglas acquired by his first marriage, and particularly the history of a light mulatto girl sent from Mississippi to Cincinnati to be educated, will regard this as a most ungenerous fling at his first wife's relations. —Cincinnati Gazette.

Loss of the Bark Monasco-Fifty-four Persons Drowned.—On the 21st of July, the bark Monasco, Capt. Dailey, of Warren, Maine, was totally lost on the coast of Newfoundland, while on her way from Gottenburg to New York. She left Gottenburg June 13th, with 61 Swedish passengers, and a crew of 12 persons. On the night of July 21st, the bark ran upon a high rock on Corbin Head, N. F., and soon after went down, head foremost. By this disaster, 64 Swedish passengers perished.

Futal Steamboat Disaster.—About 2 o'clock on Saturday morning last, the steamer Metropolis, bound from Fall River to New York, just after passing the Falkland Islands, encountered the Propeller J. N. Harris under full headway, cutting her in twain amidships, and causing her to sink immediately. Twelve of the passengers and crew were picked up, and the remainder, sixteen in number, were lost. The steamer, which was but slightly injured on the bow, remained about the scene of the disaster for nearly three hours, and her boats were several times sent out in various directions, but after the first half hour, no trace of life was discoverable.

HOW TO DO BUSINESS.—A New Pocket MANUAL of Practical Affairs, and Guide to Success in the various Pursuits of Life.

IN THE COUNTING-ROOM, FOR THE CLERK,

EVERTWHERE,

The fifteenth Anniversary of the Western A Slavery Society will be held at ALLIANCE, Stark Coty, Ohio, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., on Saday, the 5th of September, and remaining in seasons of the state of the

day, the 5th of September, and remaining in session several days.

Every succeeding year brings with it new evidence of the strength of the Slave Power, and records new instances of its manifold aggressions. And this, not because there is not at the North power enough to successfully resist its encroachments, but because the anti-slavery feeling of the people has been made to subserve the purposes of those whose measure of moral duty has been limited by mistaken views of political expediency. State rights are here utterly ignored, and State laws are here trampled under foot by authority of United States Judges. If Ohio and the entire West are ever to be restored to freedom, if the doctrine of State sovereignty is ever again to live, and general usurpation die, all this must be wrought out, not by the effort of compromising, Union-saving politicians, but by the labor of uncompromising, radical Abolitionists.

We invite all those who love the slave better than party, who reverence principle more than power, to

we invite all those who love the slave better than party, who reverence principle more than power, to meet with us at Alliance for the accomplishment of this great purpose. Not only do we hope that the West will come up in its strength but we also have an expectation that ABBY K. and STEPHEN S. FOSTER, together with other of our Eastern friends, will be present

BENJAMIN S. JONES, Rec. Sec.

F ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION FOR THE CAPE.—The annual Barnetable County Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Exchange Hall, HARWICH, on Saturday and Sunday, August 29

and 30. We invite the friends of freedom, without We invite the friends of freedom, without distinction of party or of sect, all who believe in a practical democracy and republicanism, and a vital Christianity, all who desire to see the country saved from the disgrace and damning guilt of slavery, to come from every town in the county, and elsewhere, and swell the Convention to an unprecedented number, and make it tell mightily on the cause of the alave's deliverance and our country's redemption.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, and other speakers have engaged to be present.

NATHANIEL ROBBINS,

WATSON B. KELLEY, Z. H. SMALL, CYRUS CAHOON, Arrange JOSHUA H. ROBBINS, FRANCES E. WATKINS, of Baltimore, gent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will old a number of meetings in Vermont, as follows:-Aug. 21.

Saturday, Monday, Tuesday Wednesday, Montpelier, Topsham,

Thursday, Friday, Saturday, These meetings will commence at I o'clock, P. M. CHARLES L. REMOND, an Agent of the

Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture in Barnste ble county, as follows: Tuesday, August 25.
Wednesday, "26.
Thursday, "27.
Friday, 28. Yarmouth Port, Brewster, East Dennis.

HAVERHILL -- PARKER PILISBURY, AT Agent of the American A. S. Society, will lecture at the Town Hall in Haverhill, on Sunday next, 23d inst., at the usual hours of meeting, afternoon and WM. WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the

American Antl-Slavery Society, will lecture on Sla very at the following places:

Warren, Mass, Thursday, August 27.
Pittsfield, "Friday, "28.
Rome, N. Y., Sunday, "30.
Binghampton, N. Y. Wednesday, Sept. 2.

DR. WM. SYMINGTON BROWN will lecture on Temperance in Greenwood Hall, (S. Reading,) on Sunday, August 23.
Subject:—The Mental Causes, Manifestations, and Consequences of Drunkenness.

DIED—In Smyrna, Chenango Co., N. Y., eighth month, 6th, William Collins, formerly of Hopkinton, R. I., aged 87 years. He was a man of strict integrity, and throughout his long life, his sympathies were always with the oppressed and down-trodden. In the remembrance of a wall-spent life, he met the change without fear, and with bright hopes for the future.

R. I. papers please copy.

### Eagleswood School, PERTH AMBOY, NEW JERSEY.

THIS School opens on the 1st of October, and I closes on the 21st of July. The School consists of four quarters, of ten weeks each. There are three vacations—a week at Christmas, a week at the end of the third quarter, a from the close of the School year to the 1st of October.

The general design of this School is to combine the advantages of home nurture, in physical, mental, and moral training, with instruction in Literature, Science and Art

and Art.

The definite aim is to teach, first, the bra

The definite aim is to teach, first, the branches necessary for the prosecution of those general duties of life which none can escape; then the Sciences of Nature. Intellectual and Material; the usual Ancient and Modern Languages; History, Drawing, Painting and Music.

The intellectual and moral training and instruction of the pupils is conducted, and their out-of-school life, amusements and general behavior regulated by the Principal, assisted by competent teachers.

When the mind receives its appropriate nutriment, at the natural crises of its intellectual appetites, every artificial stimulus is a hindrance to true development. Such incentives, by exciting to unnatural action, not only defeat, in the end, their own object, but react, with distorting force, upon the whole mind and character.

The education of the sexes together, under a wise and watchful supervision, conduces eminently to simplicity, modesty, purity, and general elevation of character; quickens the perception of those nameless proprieties which adorn mutual relations; excites attention to personal habits; gives refinement of feeling, gentleness, grace and courtesy to manners, and symmetry to mental and moral development.

To provide for the children and youth, resorting hither for education, such conditions of developments as may be conducive to their innocence and growth in virtue, is a sacred and paramount aim. It is adopted as an inflexible condition of admission to the School, that no pupil of vicious habits shall be received. Profaneness, impure language, indecent actions, reckless violence, impracticable tempers, or habits of any kind, tending directly to counteract the processes of nutrure in others, will as effectually exclude their subject as an infectious disease. To such, and to those using to-bacco in any form, or intoxicating drinks as a beverage, the doors of our school cannot be opened.

Pupils can be admitted at any time, and will be charged from the date of entrance; but none will be received for a less period than two full quarters.

The terms are Sixty Dollars a quarter, payebb in adsance. There will be no deviation from these terms, except in cases provided for by special arrangement. This amount defrays the expense of tuition in all branches not included in the list of 'extra charges,'—washing, to the extent of one dozen pieces per week, bed, bedding, room, furniture, heat, lights, use of library, apparatus, gymnasium, and work shop.

Engleswood School is situated at the head of Raritan Bay, one mile from Perth Amboy, New Jarsey, on the route of the Camden and Amboy Line, from New York to Philadelphis.

Application for admission of pupils, or for further information, may be made to

THEODORE D. WELD, PRINCIPAL OF EAGLESWOOD SCHOOL, Perth Amboy, New Jersey

HOPEDALE

HOME SCHOOL HE next (Fall) Term of this Institution will en meace on WEDNESDAY, Sept. 2d, and confinition weeks. Applications for admissions must ade at an early date to insure acceptance. For a mation, please address.

wm. S. HAYWOOD, ABBIE S. HAYWOOD, ABBIE S. HAYWOOD, Tale, Millord, Mass. July 31, 1867.

### POETRY.

AN EVENING SCENE IN GALILEE, EIGHTEEN CENTURIES AGO. Through the long summer day th' increasing crowd Around the Savior gathered. Anxious friends Brought their afflicted ones; and there too bende

Among the poor and low, the rich and proud. His kind eye beams on all his pity heals, And to the penitent who meekly kneels, He breathes the words of pardon. He reproves Palsehood and vice, and they appear more vile. How glows his face, as on the theme he loves He dwells-the Father's mercy! Mark the smile

Of calm, firm confidence, while he appeals To noblest feelings of the human heart, Points to high motives, shows man's better part, The path of duty to their sight reveals-The sight undimmed by selfishness-which leads Thro' gloom and darkness, thro' gay smiling meads Beset with thorns and briers, or smooth and even, To endless peace and joy; to God and heaven.

Eager to teach and heal, the Lord sees not Dark, lengthening shadows stretch across the lake, Now calmly sleeping at the mountain's feet; Hunger and weariness alike forgot, He still will warn the erring, help the weak. But now the Twelve approach. 'Send them awa

To their far distant homes, ere close of day, Lest on the weary road they faint and fail, Shrinking before the chilling mountain gale." In the wild desert, tried by hunger's power,

Christ used for himself his mighty power; But now the Master turns his pitying eye, Marks the pale cheek, and hears the weary sigh. He bids the Twelve seat on the cool, green grass, The crowds in groups and families. They gaze

On the great Teacher, as to God he prays, Then breaks the food, and the apostles pass From rank to rank. And did not thanks and praise Flow from each heart and lip, whilst wonder filled All minds, and every doubt and passion stilled? The thousands homeward turn ere daylight ends O'er the still lake the little vessel wends; While Jesus, 'neath the cool, soft evening sky, Holds with his God and Father converse high.

Who can read this, believing, and then turn To Slavery's pens, where fellow-creatures stand Like cattle to be purchased with base gold ? Who can read this, believing, and not spurn

Slavery's vileness? Guilty, guilty land!

To blindness, cruelty, injustice sold! Seeing, thou wilt not see, nor, hearing, hear, Nor heed the Master's precepts, plain and clear, He came to save all, all who wear the frame, The human frame he wore, who bare the name Of man and woman. In his words we trace A universal law; nor clime nor race Is from this law exempt; the Christ who fed The wondering crowds upon that mountain, said, Do unto others as ye would desire

Others should do to you.' But act ye so, Slave-dealers, slavery's advocates? Inquire Of your own hearts, how could ye bear the woe Ye cause? Did negro power rule the earth-Did white complexions mark degraded birth,

Would ye contented be, penned in the marts, To stand like cattle, or contented toil Beneath the black man's lash? Oh, human hearts That make of other human hearts a spoil, Think of our noble Master, ere ve call Yourselves by his blest name; think of his love

To all God's children; think of God above, The all-seeing Father; Him, whose righteous sway Will one day judge ye; tremble, and obey. Tenterden, (England.) JANE ASHBY.

For the Liberator. REFLECTIONS. 'Tis a pleasant day in summer, And I'm in my country home, Listening to the birds' sweet singing, While my thoughts will often roam

To the dirty, festering city, Overrun with human souls, Where the rich folks live for dollars, And the poor ones die in holes.

Why this difference in the people God has made the world for all; He has given us air in plenty, And our earth, sure, is not small

He has formed the beauteous sunlight, Flow'ry fields and lovely wood. Sparkling waters from the hill-tops-Making all things fair and good.

Ignorance, the worst oppressor, Selfishness, the greatest knave, Cursing all wherein they enter, Filling earth with many a slave,

But the race shall yet be happy In bright Reason's glorious time; When sweet Love is all awakened, Earth shall see an Eden clime. DANIEL HITCHINGS.

Richfield, N. Y., Aug., 1857.

For the Liberator TO A DEW-DROP. Little dew-drop in the grass, How you glitter as I pass ! What a world of light you are Dazzling little rainbow star! Gems shine not 'mong tresses fair Brighter than the blossoms wear; Flashing diamonds never threw Richer or more brilliant hue, Or of colors other shade: Or was purer water made In the early morning light. Making earth so fresh and bright. How you gladden every sight! KATE.

NEW ENGLAND.

BY ALBERT LAIGHTON. What though they boast of fairer lands, Give me New England's hallowed soil : The fearless hearts, the swarthy hands Stamped with the heraldry of toil.

I love her valleys broad and fair, Each pathless wood, each gleaming lake, Her bold and rocky bastions, where The billows of the ocean break.

The grandeur of her granite peaks, Whose lordly brow the cloud-wreath binds; The music of the voice that speaks Forever in her mountain winds

For oh, thank God, as o'er the plains They sweep resistless to the sea, They bear no sound of clanking chains ut chant the anthems of the free!

Ah, Freedom's flag shall broader wave, And Freedom's bird shall heavenlier sing. Until, on earth, no trembling slave Shall crouch beneath her sheltering wing.

TRUE HONOR. The princely robe and beggar's cost, The scythe and sword, the plume and plow, Are in the grave of equal note-

Tis not the house that honor makes-True honor is a thing divine; It is the spirit makes the shrine.

# The Liberator.

ANOTHER CIRCUMLOCUTION OFFICE.

NEW YORK, Aug. 8, 1857.

Mr. Garrison:—It has been my good fortune to attend the New York State Teachers' Convention, at Binghamton, and to witness another instance of that universal proscription which is extended to all persons so unfortunate as not to have been born free white male citizens. Allow me, for the benefit of your readers, to give a short sketch of their peculiar r solving the problem of- How not to do it.

The avowed object of this Association is, as you know, to protect the interests of teachers and pupils, to elevate the occupation of teaching to the dignity a profession, and to form the nucleus of a great school system, whose veins and arteries shall radiate through the land. Inexperienced persons, who have never studied logic, and who are accustomed to take a common-sense view of things, would be apt to conclude at first sight, that female teachers and colored children were included in the formula; but a little observation would soon cure them of this insane idea .-Beyond a few flattering speeches and misty allusions they are completely ignored.

The inaugural commenced with summing up th great social and pecuniary advantages which the said Association had procured for sundry (male) teachers, and thence glanced off into a gratuitous insult to all the women present, declaring that if any lady wished to speak to a question, or even deemed it consistent with true feminine modesty and delicacy to nominate herself or some other woman to an office, she had a that I would not relinquish, before parting with itright to do so; yet warning the bold intruders that In the last paper, the selection from the Philadelphi any approach to the 'woman's rights question' was an apple of discord that would on no account be tolerated. Strange as it may appear, Miss Susan B. ANTHONY, of Rochester .- who has long been a thorn in the side of the ambitious members of the Convention, causing them to tremble for their prerogative of the loaves and fishes,-dared, notwithstanding the warning, to call down upon her head the thunders of the Vatican, by reading, in an audible voice, the following series of resolutions:-

1. Resolved, That the exclusion of colored children from our public schools, academies, colleges and universities, is the result of a wicked prejudice against

2. Resolved, That a flagrant outrage was perpetra ted against the teachers and pupils of the colored schools of New York city, in that no provision was made for their attendance at the free concerts given by Professor Thalberg to the public schools of that city. 3. Resolved. That the recent expulsion of Miss HELEN APPO and Miss ELIZABETH JENNINGS, graduates from the Colored Normal School of New York city, from the public diploma presentation at the Academy of Music, was a gross insult to their scholarship and their womanhood.

4. Resolved, That all proscription from educational advantages and honors, on account of color, is in perfect harmony with the infamous decision of Judge Taney, that 'black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect.'

The reading of these resolutions instantly called up memories of a hundred more important points, which the sessions were all too short to notice. It was as though a firebrand had been thrown among the knot of happy men who had been counting up their gains in the morning, and holding long debates on the best methods of flattering each other. Every quibble that could be devised was resorted to, in order to throw the resolutions over, and effectually quash the whole subject. After a sharp conflict, and an earnest speech from Miss Anthony, the resolutions were finally referred to a select committee, to be appointed by the President, who was courteous enough to appoint five men, after the expressed wish of the mover that women should also be appointed. Some, however, were generous enough to protest against this, and two ladies were finally added to the num-

The majority reported in favor of the resolutions with some slight verbal alterations. The following minority report was also made :-

Resolved, That in our opinion, the colored children of the State should enjoy equal advantages of education with the whites

classic phrase hath it.

The majority report was put to vote, without con sideration, and lost by a doubtful majority; and the minority report was adopted by a majority equally doubtful-all persons voting without regard to men bership. The whole proceeding was irregular in the

Nothing daunted by this, Miss Anthony proceeded to test the disposition to do justice to woman, by the following preamble and resolution :-

Whereas, the true and harmonious development of the race demands that the sexes be associated together in every department of life; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of all our sch colleges and universities, to open their doors to wo man, and to give her equal and identical educational advantages, side by side with her brother, man.

The President attempted to ignore this resolution but cries of 'Shame,' 'No gag-laws,' ! Free discus sion,' &c., compelled him to desist. Mr. McElligorr, of New York, though personally opposed to the motion, administered a scathing rebuke, declaring that no fairness had been shown, but that every expedient had been used to smother the resolutions, under frivolous pretexts. The fearless and noble stand taken in the discussion by Mr. CRITTENDEN, of New York, won for him the respect of every lover of justice. Prof. Davies, and some other gentlemen of suspicious temperament, who imagine that there is secret dagger hidden somewhere beneath the mantle of justice, treated us to some rare examples of rhetorical bigotry, which produced a deep impression on the men of little faith. The resolution was finally defeat-

ed, but by a small majority.

Later in the day, Miss Julia A. Wilbur, of Roch ester, offered resolutions to the effect,-that the practice of paying female teachers one half or one third the salaries received by men for performing the same services, is unjust and inconsistent; and that if a wo man does the same work as a man, and does it as well, she should receive the same pay for doing it.

These resolutions elicited some curious theories in political economy from Prof. Fowler, of the Roches ter University, who asserted that the expenses of woman were less than those of a man, and, therefore that her income should be less; that the demand wa always greater than the supply; that there were always more schools than teachers; and that women were never driven to degradation from an insufficience of employment, as Miss ANTHONY had asserted. Thes nding revelations of things new under the sun, that will gladden the hearts of the living Solo mons. 'Where does Prof. FowLER live?' was the surprised rejoinder of Miss ANTHONY; and she proceeded to relate that in Rochester, where she lived there were one hundred and twenty applicants for seventeen vacancies. The first of these resolution was finally adopted; the latter lost by one vote.

the real objects of this Association? Do they inten-to ignore the interests of the colored schools an s, or put them aside as things of little moment Are not the women, who are by far the larger num-ber of the teachers, and whom the popular theory de-clares to be the natural educators of children, to share in the advantages and emoluments obtained thereby Are they to sell their birthright for a mess of pottag and very bitter pottage at that—to stiffe all honorable ambition, all desire for a just compensation, in return for being called 'dear creatures,' as one learned Pro-

Now, in conclusion, it is well to inquire what ar

fessor insultingly called them; or being fed with more refined and delicate, yet as vapid and empty flattery? Many are beating their heads against the wires in the strong cage of social injustice—many, even, who would hardly confess it before men. Let these gen-tlemen tell us what they mean! It is time that we knew whether it is designed for the advantage of the whole, or for a privileged few; whether our common schools are to be institutions of caste, or desinstitutions; and whether it is intended sile exclude woman from a recognition in the only occu-pation which is fully open to her. The position has been boldly taken in this Convention, that woman hould not have, and must not have, any share in the High Priesthood of the new profession. Let us fac-the issue boldly, and see to it that, as heretofore, is the course of ages, women have been gradually and out from the medical and clerical professions, an ransformed to nurses and collectors of alms, they b not now degraded to the rank of sabordinates, excluded henceforth from all higher positions.

A tribute is due to the generous heroism of Mi Anthony, in fearlessly asserting the rights of her sex and opposing the selfish designs of those men wh care only to use it as a stepping-stone by which gain higher honors. May others be found to hold up her hands, and sustain her in the fulfilment of he

#### THE METHODIST CHURCH NORTH.

New GLOUCESTER, August 4, 1857. I have just received the last Liberator, and find myself instructed, entertained, strengthened and con firmed in reading it. There is nothing, short of bread instructive. O. Philadelphia! what a history is thine and, O, Methodism-pious, fervent, evangelical Meth odism! what a history is thine! Once the Metho dist church was an anti-slavery church; once she was humble, zealous for truth, and pure, so far as an organization can be pure; once her great glory was, Gospel salvation is preached to the poor.' In those days, she repudiated slavery. But she began to grow espectable-men of wealth and influence, no doubt ineerely converted to her doctrines and discipline, became members of her body—and then she began to look towards increasing that respectability by the acquisi tion of more men of wealth and influence, and, little by little, she became a proselyting instead of a soul-saving church, and then slavery began to creep in. Truly she has had her reward. Having been educated u der her auspices, I know her, and I know her only to lament over the corrupting influences she has wrough upon my Father's house, upon this very question of

Contemptible, disgusting, and painful as is the con duct of the Methodist Church in Philadelphia, a use ful lesson is here to be learned. The Conference Tract Society has done well to circulate Brownlow blackguardism. It will be the more read and the bet ter known, and reaction must come. And they have also done well in refusing to make sale of Mr. Long's book ; for, like Alger's oration, it will obtain a wide circulation, and be the better known, and help to expose the 'flunkeyism' which still remains in the Methodist Church North. I want to see the book.

Brownlow is a true champion of slavery, and a such, his weapons are appropriate and in character.-He does well to pour out his bile, and hatred, and murderous spirit. 'Graves should speak out, and if not sound, should be compelled to leave the State.'wish that no man, who is not a 'flunkey,' may b allowed to remain in a slave State; and I long to see the day when public opinion in the free States will allow no 'flunkeys' to remain among us. Let the wedge be driven home. Let the separation between Slavery and Liberty be complete in all the religiou organizations throughout the land. And it shall be The strength of the Slave Power is this day in the Church North. Let it be driven out, and

'Its final hour be come To hear its sentence, and receive its doom.'

How to Do Business: a New Pocket Manual of Prac tical Affairs, and Guide to Success in Life; embrac-ing the principles of business; advice in reference to a business education; choice of a pursuit; buy-ing and selling; general management; manufactur-ing; mechanical trades; farming; book and newsness maxims; letter to a young lawyer; business forms; legal and useful information; and a dictionary of commercial terms. Fowler and Wells, Publishers, No. 308 Broadway, New York. Price, prepaid by mail, 30 cents, paper; 50 cents, cloth.

'How to Do Business' is the most complete and thorough manual of practical affairs that has yet ap peared. It contains, in a condensed form, and me thodically arranged, an immense amount of informa tion on business in all its varied aspects-mercantile manufacturing, mechanical, agricultural, etc .- a great deal of sound and wholesome advice, valuable hints, timely words of warning, and useful suggestions, and points out very clearly the means of avoiding failur and securing success. To the merchant, the manufa turer, the mechanic, the farmer, the clerk, the ap prentice, the newspaper canvasser, the book agent. and the student, it is alike invaluable. It teaches how to choose a pursuit, how to educate one's self for it and how to pursue it with certain success. It deals with principles as well as with facts, and shows that failure and success are not mere matters of chance but that both have their easily ascertained causes. I is eminently a practical work, and adapted to the wants of all classes.

### NEW MUSIC.

We have received from OLIVER DITSON & Co Washington street, Boston, the following musica Beautiful Sea. A ballad composed by Edwin Ran

Floating Away. A ballad composed by John Block

When the quiet moon is beaming-(Wenn so sanft und mild selene.) A song composed by J. Schondorf with English and German words. The secret little maiden. A song. The words by

B. A. Perkins; the music by Frederick H. Pease. Near the broken stile. A song composed by Frank

Fredonia March. Composed by D. W. Lathrop. Beautiful star of the twilight. A duet compose by Miss Mary Blake. Bouquet of Beautiful Duets - 33 in number

tephen Glover. Beautiful Star, Happy Days, Voices of the Night, &c. &c. Quadrilles, from Verdi's opera of La Traviati

Arranged by T. Bissell. A re-publication of the favorite Adelaide Polka, by Passing Rainbow's Dream; being brilliant varia

ons on the Serious Family Polka, together with illiant variation arest spot of earth to me is home '-both arranged for the piano by Charles Grobe. We are indebted to Mesers. Russell & Rich

Rosex, 291 Washington street, Boston, for The Musician's Guide,-a descriptive cats Sheet Music and Musical Works, containing nearly

4000 vocal and instrumental compositions, including the works of the most celebrated composers. This work contains a life of Sigismund Thalberg, and nuch valuable information

From Honace Waters, 333 Broadway, New York We pitch our tents on the old camp gr

ideas, in a few verses, sung in a 'Few Days,' by few of the Tribe of Jesse. Arranged by Solomo

THE REPUBLICAN SCHOLAR OF NECES-

SITY AN AGITATOR. This was the theme of Wendell Phillips's oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Yale College Commencement. It is spoken of by all who heard it as a great production, and the papers of all shades of opinions have commended the effect as worthy of Mr. Phillips's high reputation as an orator. We take the following report of the address from the New York Tribune:—

New York Tribune:

In the evening, an oration was delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society by Wendell Phillips, Esq. His subject was 'The Republican Scholar of Necessity an Agitator.' He commenced by expressing his thanks that, although known as the advocate of opinions odious to a large part of the community, he had been invited to address the Society with a generous confidence which overlooked this wide difference. Some whom he addressed were about to leave college halls, and these he thanked for the opportunity to exert some influence, however slight, upon the decisions which they were about to form, and which would go far towards shaping their whole career. When a few years of practical life should have taught them how momentous is the influence which educated men exert upon the masses, in spite of all the doubts thrown upon classical education, they would appreciate better than now m spite of all the doubts thrown upon classical education, they would appreciate better than now the intense eagerness with which workers in the world's field look up to those academic heights, the inexpressible longing with which is clutched every opportunity of influencing their decisions. He addressed them as representatives of the educated class, opportunity of influencing their decisions. He ad-dressed them as representatives of the educated class, and it was of such men that he claimed that in a Republic they should be agitators. The word popular had come to mean that species of discussion which throws the gravest question upon the con-science and intellect of the masses. It comes out of that theory which not only repeats but believes the Declaration of Independence, that the people gov-ern, and that, whatever present evil may be felt, the ultimate result will be the best which humanity can secure. He called upon the educated men of the country to throw themselves into the movement —to recognize it, not as something to be subdued, but as something to be extended, and to be welcomed as the normal state of the Republic. It should not be thought he was turning aside from the genius of the occasion to a political address. Education was the great interest of educated men; the development of mind the great duty of scholars. Government is but a school, God's school to effect this development. Religion, liberty, commerce, art, are but the scaffolding to build up the structure man. He would change the words of the poet, and say:

"The commerce of the safety of Republics. If the Alps the towering in icy grandeur, are the emblem of conservative despotism, ours is the ever restless ocean which is always pure because it is never still. The venerable woods-rivers that move

In majesty, and the complaining brooks
That make the meadows green, and poured round al Old ocean's gray and melancholy was Are but the solemn declarations all Of the great school of man. All history was but a school, and all institution

were valued only for the ideas which they have impressed. Centuries were consumed and the Jewish nation was used up in impressing upon the human race the idea of the unity of God. In this country

we have existed two centuries to learn the idea

national independence. It has been learned, and in such a manner that it could not be blotted out by any possible concurrence of circumstances. De mocracy here prevails in the widest and most unmixed theoretic form the world has ever seen. Our theory is that the people rule, and they do rule. If one too powerful element controls the government at Washington, it is because the people choose to have it. It is in vain for wealth to endeavor to create a bulwark against this power; it is in vain for education to claim a preponderating influence. In the long run, in the critical bour, the masses prevail. It is the duty of every American to recognize this state of things, and to learn the spirit of his times. The great difficulty is that we wait until triumph flares its exultation in our faces; we do not see the truth in its principle. Absolute democracy, the unqualified, unchecked opinion of the masses rules. For an illustration, go back twenty-five years, and we find the faith of the Empire State pledged to a set of individuals. Law, wealth, ancient privilege, were on their side, but the masses were against them; and where now are the manor rights of the old families of New York? That statesman who

has just closed his eyes at Saratoga was acustomed to say, 'I care not for what Napoleon thought of the influence of newspapers; the Press of New York is the organ of wealth, of intellect, of the Whig party; it is against me, but the masses are on my side, and I defy the Press.' He was right. Whatever undertakes to rule this Government, for good or evil, must reach the masses. We are accustomed to say that we live under the government of public opinion. We turn to the vision of the Hindoo, who in his dream saw mankind led out to its history. First appeared man, curbed, and with the force and brilliancy of genius, trained in the an iron bit in his mouth, from which the reins went best discipline of the schools and the university, despotism. The scene changed, and he saw man lead by threads, proceeding from the brain, and going back to an invisible hand. This was the government of ideas. All governments are those of ideas. back to an iron hand. This was the government of furnished with various learning, and polish ideas. The great question is how are the sentiments of the masses to be influenced? Men may say that they dislike agitation, but it is not a matter of choice. When Philip wrote to Aristotle that sublime letter which has floated down to us across the ages. he said, 'I thank the divinity not so much that he has given me Alexander, as that he has given me a day when you can form him worthy to rule Macedonia.' Every soul hore within Every soul born within our country is an Alexander, and must be formed to rule worthily Macedonia. When Madame de Stael, to flatter the Emperor Alexander, said to him, 'You, Sire, are a stitution,' he replied, 'No, Madam, I am but a py accident.' Here we have no such happy dents. Where are the schools in which these happy accident.' sovereigns are formed? Where is the mould in which public opinion is to be run? The Press is the ruling power of the times. The age of state-men is over, the age of bullets is over, and the age of the printing press has come. What the inven-tion of gunpowder was to the art of war, making any man who could pull a trigger equal to the most powerful warrior, the press is to a reading age. We have invented the pamphlet. We have called into existence the fourth estate of the realm, it is brains. Men sometimes think that the great brows at Wash Men sometimes think that the great brows at Washington control the nation. So the boy who first sees a steamboat, thinks that the walking beam is the propelling power, but below there is a 'fanatic' feeding the fires. Where is to be found the type of the scholarship of the present day? We have a subject in our midst which illustrates its spirit; and, although the instance is a homely one, yet a yardstick of Yankee pine will do as well as one of bronze, if it be of the right length. That subject is spiritualism. Suppose it an error: yet there are bronze, if it be of the right length. That subject is spiritualism. Suppose it an error; yet there are errors, says Coleridge, which no wise man will treat with rudeness, while there is a possibility that they may be the refraction of some great truth yet below the horizon. While the people are wandering about in a mist of facts or supposed facts, where is Science? Why does she not light her torch and say, This is the way here lies truth and here lies ence? Why does she not light her torch and say,
'This is the way; here lies truth, and here lies
error'? A scholar known throughout the world
goes to Albany, and asks a convention of scientific

men to give it an investigation, and they cover Dr. Hare with ridicule. As a further illustration of the cowardice of the scholarship of the present day, the

Hare with ridicule. As a further illustration of the cowardice of the scholarship of the present day, the orator referred to Edward Everett, who, undertaking in this age to tell the story of Washington's life, an age when if ever Washington had a claim upon the gratitude of his country, it is that, living in a Slave State, he rose above surrounding prejudices, and left upon record the most eloquent protests against the crime of Virginia; yet this American scholar remembers only-to forget that he ever uttered a word against Slavery.

[A few hisses were heard upon the delivery of this passage, but were quickly lost in a storm of applause.]

It was not upon scholarship like this that the popular mind must depend for the education which it needs. The age calls for martyrdom. Every country has had its martyr ages, which were only the spasms and fever fits of a corrupt political organization. What he claimed for the Republic was, that it should have an ever living, forlorn hope of martyrs. The claim was great, but the wider the gap of public necessity, the greater should be the readiness to fill it. The effect of a popular agitation directed toward a practical end was the most efficacious means of educating the people. The temperance movement has taught the masses more than all the logicians from Aristotle to Whately, or aperance movement has taught the masses more an all the logicians from Aristotle to Whately, or the preachers from Luther to Beacher. It is the arch after truth which is the glory of the mind, was better to go to the bar of judgment, covered to over with intellectual errors, but with a heart

beneath sincerely desirous of the truth, than to go armed with the five points of Calvinism, and the Compromise, which is the American devil, beneath. The agitation which he advocated was not an accident which could be got rid of. No; the manna of Republican liberty must be daily gathered, or it will rot. A Democrat in office will harden into a despot, unless a million of eyes watch him continually. A Tory is a young Democrat gone to seed. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; relax it, and despotism, like a mist, steals over the mirror of the Republic. Agitation by somebody there must be. Urop the truth in the midst of a nation, and there must be convulsions, as when the giant turns under

nust be convulsions, as when the giant turns under fount Etna. It is the indolent inactivity of the fount Etna. It is the indolent inactivity of the casses which has allowed the Government to drift oward despotism as far as it has.

Despotism is bold—the masses are timid. This it which endangers the Government to-day. Our ountry is not homogeneous. One half of it is eventeen hundred years behind the nineteenth cenury—that part where the faggot still burns, and where opinions are met with tortures. That country tury—that part where the faggot still burns, and where opinions are met with tortures. That country has ceased to be Republican which meets the wildest insanity with anything but argument. Universal suffrage implies the most unfettered wildness of thought; it presupposes the most unchecked individualism of opinion. Some men speak of the Empire as vigorous by its extent, and estimate its strength by the number of States. The American Republic exists to-day by the vigor of the Saxon race, which has covered sixteen States with industry; that race which has more brains in its hand than any other in its head. That race, with only New England for its anchorage, will cover the sea with commerce, and gather into its lap the wealth of the world. God asks of us faith—that sublime faith which believes not that human nature is per-

of the world. God asks of us faith—that sublime faith which believes not that human nature is perfect, but that truth launched upon the masses is as safe as harbored in some aristocratic class; that faith which regards toil, struggles and contests with error as a blessing sent from God. The natives of the Sandwich Islands believed that the life of the victim passed into that of the slayer; so every error gives back the strength with which it was baffled. Agitation is the safety of Republics. God grant that the tumult may never cease, but that from age to age prophets may arise to break up the monotony of wealth, and arouse the people to ideas fast fading out; to trouble the waters that there may be health in their glow. Agitation is the cold water and daily bread of Republican life for the human race wandering in the wilderness. There is no Canaan in politics. Distrust, says Demosthenes, is the safety of Republics. If the Alps,

The oration proceeded the poem, as the dinner precedes the dessert. What shall we say of the ora-tion? The orator, Mr. Wendell Phillips, had been tion? The orator, Mr. Wendell Phillips, had been a called, at short notice, to supply a vacancy. After the failure of Senator Sumner, who was the regular successor of Prof. Park, the last year's orator, Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, and some others, as we understand, had been successively elected, and had declined the service for want of time or for other reasons. At last, the choice of the Society fell on Mr. Phillips. His answer to the invitation was that he could not supply the vacancy at so short a notice, unless he might be permitted to take for his thesis 'The Scholar, in a Republic, necessarily an Agitator.' With this understanding on both sides, he came to meet a commencement audience in New Haven. And who is Mr. Phillips? He is vulgarly Abby Kelly, Stephen Foster, Henry C. Wright, and the rest of that troop, with whom, it must be ad-mitted, he is more familiar than we should desire to be. It has been assumed that, because he keeps company with such persons, and appears in the

ntions, his taste and intellectual culture, and his religious belief or unbelief, are the same with theirs. The fact is otherwise. some extravagant opinions on political and ecclesi-astical questions—as Roger Williams did two hun-dred years ago; but if he has been rightfully redred years ago; but if he has been rightfully reported to us by those who ought to know, he is no more an unbeliever than Roger Williams was. On this occasion, certainly, Mr. Phillips propounded neither treason nor infidelity. Nor was there in his discourse anything which went beyond the license heretofore taken by Commencement orators, and particularly by orators before the Phi Beta Kappa Society. Surely the Society which endured from one of its orators, not many years ago, an outright apology for the barbarism of duelling, might endure, patiently, much more than all that it heard from the eloquent lips of its latest orator; and his oration was, in effect, an apology for his own profession. Regarding that as his special vocation, he has devoted to it the activity of a mind gilted by nature with the force and brilliancy of genius, trained in the quisite culture. His long practice as a speaker before popular assemblies has made him, perhaps, as nearly perfect in the art of eloquence as any other living man. We have never seen an audience charmed into more absolute attention than was that audience which listened for an hour and a half while he argue to show that continual agitation is a necessity of free-dom, and that all well-informed and thoughtful men ought to be agitators.

### Correspondence of the Boston Traveller.

The people here are in much excitement about Wendell Phillips and his Phi Beta oration on Agitation. The majority appear to be strong in antislavery feeling, but very many doubt the courtesy or propriety of inviting him here just at this time. They say, and justly, that now, when so many Southern men were here, recalled, after so many years, to meet their several classes, it was in the worst taste to make the greatest of their oratoric assailants the chief ornament of the hour; and, assailants the chief ornament of the hour; and indeed, it seems like inviting men to your house, and then seizing the chance to score them for the faults of their families at home. I agree with Mr. Phil-

of their families at home. I agree with Mr. Phillips in many things, but must say that this view of his invited presence, here and now, rather staggers me. The eloquence of the brilliant agitator has, however, taken the town by storm. Much as people had heard about him, they did not anticipate so much pure oratory. Very little for so great a speaker has ever appeared about him. A good sketch or life of him would sell well. All public men may expect to be lifed in their lifetime. Phillips is undoubtedly the most brilliant man thrown up to celebrity by the abolition passion.

Dr. Rock at the Music Hall. This eloquent advocate of human rights delivered two very able and interesting lectures at the Music Hall on Sunday.—
The first was on the character of the negro races as they exist in their primitive home, Africa, and as modified in the victims of American slavery. The modified in the victims of American slavery. The design was to show that the negro is a man, and that the lowest and most degraded specimens have all the elements common to the human race, and that when placed in similar circumstances, rise with the other races, in intellect and refinement. He also showed that portions of the white race, placed in unfavorable circumstances, had in a few generations retrograded to harhester.

to barbarism.

The subject of the afternoon's discourse was 'The Unity of the Human Races.' The design of this lecture was not to prove a unity of origin of the various races of men, but to show the universality among races of men, but to show the universality among them, of all the attributes which are peculiar to humanity, thus establishing the fact of the brotherhood of the whole race of man. These lectures, both as to composition and delivery, would have been creditable to any writer or speaker in this country.

By his eloquence and earnestness, Dr. Rock engages the closest attention of the audience, making the longest discourses seem too short, and creating in them a strong desire to hear him again.

To gratify this desire of our citizens, he will lecture here again on the first Sunday in September next.—

Manchester (N. H.) Mirror.

BUTING UP MISSOURI. The free States are buying p Missouri. The St. Louis Democrat says the salest public lands in that district within the last sixty ays, reached 400,000 acres—more than had been sold or three years previously. The buyers were almost xclusively from the free States.

[CIRCULAR.]

WORCESTER, July 8, 1857.

DEAN SIR,—The State Disunion Convention, held DEAR SIE, January, 1857, recommended a at Worcester, Mass., January, 1007, recommended a Northern Convention, based on the same principle, during the present year. Your attention is respecfully invited to the accompanying Call, prepared by a sub-committee designated for that purpose.

The results of the Worcester Convention were in portant. It established the question of Union or Disinion, as an open question, among a large and infig. ential class who have hitherto shrunk from the con sideration of the subject. The able correspondents of the Convention, who deprecated Disunion, still recognized it as a legitimate matter of discussion. This was a great step. A great blow was struck at the popular, unreasoning idolatry. Such blows must be repeated. The Slave Power will have lost in chief weapon when the North has learned to calculate the weapon when the Artist that is done, there will value of the Union. Until that is done, there will always be a means of crushing us into submit

It may seem, to some, that the present is not a peculiarly favorable period for such a Convention. The year after a Presidential election is always a period of lull. 'Optimists and quietists' represent that the character of the new Administration and the new Congress are not yet definitely indicated. At present, affairs in Kansas look more propitious, while new light dawns in Missouri, and even, it is thought, in Virginia. The memory of the Sumner outrage is softened by the twin deaths of its author and its occasion. The Fugitive Slave Law and the repeal of the Min souri Compromise have ceased to be norelties; and the Dred Scott decision is acquiesced in, by many, as a merely abstract grievance.

But all this is merely a truce, not a peace. We

have no indemnity for the past, no security for the future. Not a wrong is yet redressed; Kansas is not yet saved; Sumner is not yet restored; Missoni is not yet freed; Virginia is not yet colonized. The future, in all these cases, is still clouded by uncertainties. If the Dred Scott case be an abstraction, it is one of those abstractions whose practical consequences convulse the world. For all our efforts, there is not yet an inch of truly Free Soil in the nation .-The great State of Ohio, under the ablest Republican government, has just been the scene of bloody and successful slave-hunts. That the new Adminis tion will be thoroughly subservient to the Size Power is a foregone conclusion. The existence of slavery is aggression, and new ingenuities of outrage may, at any moment, be sprung upon us.

From mere Politics there is little to be expected .-The Slave Power has always commanded just votes enough to carry its measures, and, under our present organization, always will. If the Republican party told the truth, last November, the Presidential eltion transferred the balance of power, more than ever, to the side of slavery. It has four years of corruption conquest and annexation before it, and it remains to be proved that any merely political combination car defeat it. On the other hand, the attitude of the Republican leaders is now, as always, one of timidity and compromise. They deprecate, with profuse can tion, the charge of any disposition to interfere with slavery, as it is, and claim the support of Southern men for their nominations, as affording undiminished security to slavery. It is evident that the mass of Republican voters, in many States, are becoming more radically anti-slavery. And nothing will do so much to promote that desirable change as the fearless discussion we propose. Undoubtedly, the first object is to create a united and determined North. But if there is even a chance that the ultimate result of that effort is to be Disunion, every one must admit the necessity of being prepared for it.

In view of these facts, we regard the present as an opportune period for our Convention. We wish to act with calmness, not with impetuosity; to be controlled, not by impulse, but by mature conviction.-It is not strange that such a Convention should be proposed in a period of excitement. That it should be held, in a period of comparative quiet, is a fact of momentous significance.

Such a Convention appeals to three distinct classe of persons :-

1. Those who repudiate the United States Constitution as essentially pro-slavery, and hence abjure all

union under it. 2. Those who, not accepting this view of the Conitution, still concur in the opinion that there can be no permanent union between Free and Slave States and that the only practicable solution will be found, sooner or later, in a separation.

3. Those who, believing in the ultimate triumph of Freedom, without Disunion, still approve of the agiation of the subject, because they admit Disunion to be a possible result; and because the discussion will tend, in any case, to strengthen and consolidate the North on the side of Freedom.

It has been determined to summon the Convention by means of a Call, to be signed by such persons as may, from either of the motives above indicated, sympathize with its object. By obtaining many such names, from every Free State, the existence and wide distribution of this sentiment will be exhibited, and increased interest will be given to the Convention.

You are therefore respectfully invited to append to this Call your own signature, and to obtain such others as may be within your reach. It is believed that any effort, so bestowed, will be useful anti-slavery work. All copies of the Call should be returned, (with signatures, and a memorandum of the place where obtained,) to Joseph A. Howland, Worcester, Mass., on or before Sept. 1st, 1857. THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON,

WENDELL PHILLIPS, DANIEL MANN, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, F. W. BIRD.

CALL FOR A NORTHERN CONVENTION. Whereas, it must be obvious to all, that the American Union is constantly becoming more and more divided, by Slavery, into two distinct and antagonistic nations, between whom harmony is impossible, and even ordinary intercourse is becoming dances.

And, whereas, Slavery has now gained entire con trol over the three branches of our National Gor-ernment, Executive, Judiciary, and Legislative, so interpreted the Constitution as to deny the right of Congress to establish freedom even in the territories, and by the same process has removed all legal ries, and by the same process has removed all legal ries, and by the same process has removed of the records of the records.

of Congress to establish freedom even in the terries, and by the same process has removed all legal protection from a large portion of the people of the free States, and has inflicted, at many times and places, outrages far greater than those which our fathers rose in arms to repel;

And, whereas, there seems no probability that he future will, in these respects, be different from the last, under existing State relations;

The undersigned respectfully invite their fellow-citizens of the Free States to meet in Convention, at practicability, probability, and expediency of a sparation of the Free and Slave States, and to take such other measures as the condition of the times may require.

LEGAL YOTERS.

OTHER PERSONS.

The question has been asked, How many name are wanted to this Call? Just as many, dear friend, as you can, by any possibility of exertion, obtain. Go far and wide, to every man and woman, and those who see the necessity of the Convention will sign the Call without any argument; others will need to be en-lightened. You cannot do better service to the cause of the slave, and of the whole country, than in this work. Pray do not delay, and spare no expense of

either time or money in making this Call a loud one.

Let it be distinctly understood that women as well
as men are desired and expected to sign the Call, and their most realous efforts are solicited to procure signatures to it, without regard to sex. The coust freedom demands united action.