death, and an agreement with hell."

The free States are the guardians and es

they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without

FRANING THE CONSTITUTION, EWERTED 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

THE LIBERATOR - IS FUBLISHED -EVERY FRIDAY MORNING, -AT THE-

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The following gentlemen constitute the Pinan-Committee, but are not responsible for any of the the of the paper, viz: - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GEST LORING. EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, MENDELL PHILLIPS.



of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending - WILLIAM BLIERY CHANNING.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 41.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1857.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1396.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

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rather say to inaugurate—a great movement, one that is full of promise to the slave and the slave holder, and our whole country. It is not so much to awaken interest in their behalf that we have come

and formal, and, as we hope, an impressive confession, that the North ought to share with the South in the temporary losses that will result from the ab-olition of Slavery. Indeed, such are our relations to the South in the matter of Slavery, that, on the score of simple honesty, we are bound to share in

It is not too much to say that, at the North, as truy as at the South, ecclesiastical as well as commeral and political gains have been sought for, by

ing, for the reason that, in proportion to her connection with and responsibility for slavery, she has lost as much by slavery as the South has. What if she has? Nevertheless, the fact remains that the North is rich, and the South comparatively poor. Now, the reason why we call on the North to help in this case is not alone because of her complicity, but also

berty.

But it is said that we ought not to offer in ad-

ment of himself, his family, and his friends. I invoke his reformation in the name of all the tenderest, and highest, and holiest motives. If, then, I add to these motives such as are inferior, do I necessarily sin? Oh, no! I do not sin in telling him that, in the event of his forsaking the intoxicating cup, I will bless him and his hungry family with the gift of a cow. My offer of the cow is useful in many respects. It serves to commend to him the sincerity which prompted me to array before him the better and nobler motives; and in doing this, I would, as a simple and short argument would suffice to show,

ter employed, and have too much of other and nobler work on hand. Yet, truth to say, the libellers are the liars in the matter—though very conscientious! I verily thought that I ought, &c.

Earnestness and zeal, if not governed by truth, become furious; and so much more mischievous than the evils they propose to exterminate. We may say that all mainly of the evil of this agitation has come of—extreme opinions, extremely intensified and deep sense of his sin, and thus to suggest that he, too, should cherish a deep sense of it. In a word, the offer is far more like to do him more like to be benefitted than injured, if, when I have set before him the high and commanding reasons why he should let the oppressed go free, and unconditionally; I prove my sincerity and my sense of the wickedness of his relation, by telling him that I will act a brother's part, and share with him in the loss of his terminating that guilty relation.

Compensated by Gerrit Smith, In the National Compensation Convention, held in Cleveland, all this of property in man. For one, I deny share when the save holder is righted of property in man. For one, I deny share when the save holder is righted or property in man. For one, I deny share when the save holder is righted property in man. For one, I deny share when the save holder is righted property in man. For one, I deny share when the save holder is not treated and thus to suggest that he, too, should cherish a deep sense of it. In a word, the offer is far more like to do him more like to be benefitted than injured, if, when I have set before him the high and commanding reasons why he should let the oppressed go free, and unconditionally; I prove my sincerity and my sense of the wickedness of his relation, by telling him that I will act a brother's part, and share with him in the loss of his terminating that guilty relation. A SPEECH BY GERRIT SMITH,

In the National Compensation Convention, held in Cleveland, Ohio, Aug. 25, 26 and 27, 1851.

Mr. President: Many are urging me to reply to the speeches made this afternoon by my friends Watkins and Pryne. Not all who make up the very large assembly this evening were present to hear those able and eloquent speeches, which, I confess, brought me to a solemn revision of my position. Sure am I that none who did hear them, envy me the task of replying to them. Why am I selected for this difficult service? Perhaps it is because they and I liaving worked together thus far, there is curiosity to see how we will behave toward each other, now that we have arrived at a point of divergence from each other. There is one consolation my circumstances—the strength of the opposition has been brought out, and if I can cope with what is before me, I shall have no reason to quail before the apprehension of what is to follow.

We are met, Sir, to initiate—I might perhaps rather say to inaugurate—a great movement, one that is full af provises the sales and the alexa and the sales and th tend to recognise therein the rightfulness of slave-holding. We make the offer because we believe fraternity and honesty require us to make it—fraternity and honesty both to slaveholder and slave. We deny all right of property in man. We believe that the image of God, no more than God Himself, is to be counted merchandize. We believe that im-

dity.
Whence comes it that we are changed with admitting property in man? It comes from a confusion of ideas in those who charge it. Our acknowledg-ment that the slaveholder would, in liberating his slaves, be entitled to our money, is reckoned by them Whether, in the eye of the Constitution, Slavery to be all one with our acknowledgment of his right to be all one with our acknowledgment of his right to our money is national or sectional, or whether there is, as I to hold his slaves. I admit his right to our money to hold his slaves. I admit his right to our money to hold his slaves. I admit his right to our money to hold his slaves. I admit his right to our money to hold his slaves. I admit his right to our money to hold his slaves. I admit his right to our money to hold his slaves. I admit his right to our money of the case, we are under moral obligation to give the hold there is, no authority for either, so it is that to be all one with our acknowledgment of his right

mortality is never to be confounded with a commo-

Both Mr. Pryne and Mr. Watkins say, 'If the slaveholder has the right to sell, he has the right to slaveholder has the right to sell, he has the right to buy. That is a true proposition. But we do not acknowledge his right to sell. We do do mean to buy from him. Even, however, if we did buy from him, we should not therein acknowledge his right to sell. If I buy my friend out from under the uplifted dagger of the murderer, I do not therein acknowledge the murderer's right to strike the blow. I will the the wedge the murderer's right to strike the blow. I said that we do not mean to buy the slaves. All that we mean (at least so far as I am concerned) is, that when they shall have been emancipated, we will share in the loss of the emancipators, and help them in their reduced circumstances. Did we mean to buy the slaves and sanction the selling of them, we should propose that the slaveholders receive the whole, instead of one-half of their market value. whole, instead of one-half of their market value. Liberally as we are willing to share in the loss of the slaveholder, we nevertheless mean that the greater part of it shall fall upon himself. This is but right. As he will be, in a moral point of view, the principal gainer from emancipation, so he can well afford to be the principal pecuniary loser from it.—

Let me here say that I am not one of those who would, by an extravagant offer of money, tempt the slaveholder to emancipate. Our offer must be rea-sonable—such an offer as wise and practical men would make—such as the North would approve and sustain. We must not in our eagerness to commend our plan to the South, forget that there is a North, and that the plan will come to nothing, unless its chief features are such as shall gain the cordial as-

chief features are such as shall gain the cordial assent of the North.

Another objection to our movement is, that the slaveholders will be richer after than they were before emancipation. The emancipating States I admit will be. But the slaveholders, in their new and strange circumstances, will, at least for a season, be comparatively helpless, unless they are aided by State or nation, or both.

It is also objected that such a sum as the slaveholders would accept would be much larger than the

It is also objected that such a sum as the slaveholders would accept would be much larger than the
North would consent to share in paying. But the
North could well afford to pay a very large sum for
the sake of delivering the slave from the most miserable, and the slaveholder from the most guilty of all
relations—especially since it is for the life of the nation that slavery be ended speedily and pencefully.

On the other hand is the objection, that any sum
the North might offer would be so small in the esteem of the South as to call out her indignant reiection, and breed a still worse temper than now ex-

jection, and breed a still worse temper than now ex-ists between them. But her actual rejection of it, however indignant, would not prove it to be too small; and as our anticipated rejection of it could not cancel our obligation to make the offer, so it should not be allowed to deter us from making it. It is said, too, that the South will regard as med-

It is said, too, that the South will regard as med-dlesome and offensive any action we may take on this subject, and even our entertainment of the sub-ject. A part of the South, doubtless, will. But even if the whole South should, that will not prove us to be wrong. At any rate, we must respect and respond to the claims of honesty and fraternity in our own consciences, however false the judgment that may therefore be put upon us. We must be faithful to our national relations, and show ourselves ready to assist our countrymen, however in turn we faithful to our national relations, and show ourselves ready to assist our countrymen, however in turn we be misunderstood or maligned. I do not deny my fears that the South will repel us, and reject every scheme and every idea of emancipation. Mighty are the habits of self-indulgence and despotism engendered by slavery. When has it been found possible to break those habits? When have any people been known to surrender them? Few are less hopeful than myself of the peaceful abolition of American slavery.

American slavery.

Another objection to our movement is that it will tend to supersede the means which are now employed to accomplish the overthrow of slavery—prayer, preaching, lecturing, voting, &c. Oh no! it will not have this tendency. On the contrary, it will concur with these means, and, as we hope, give ef-

this new measure will stand in the very way of the other measures for dverthrowing slavery.

Mr. Watkins thinks that the undertaking will administer to the self-complacency and triumphant air of the slavelolders, and that they will say to use.

Gentlemen, you have given up your principles, for you now wish to buy our slaves. He was the would call buying, and which is not buying, would be, not the abandonment, but the natural progress and legitimate effect of our principles. When the anti-slavery man has travelled quite across the low are now only and self-denying pecuniary sare done, and heavy and self-denying pecuniary sare the state of the same and the same are vectored, the same that the same are vectored, the carry him forward in the work of humanity and heaven.

Mr. Pryne holds that our scheme violates the Constitution. I readily admit that it does violence this and my views of both the Constitution in I readily admit that it does violence to his and my views of both the Constitution of the nation, has our government used its means in a way that justifies, so far at least as the question of constitution has our government to the protection of persons and any other than the provide in the Constitution for the raising of more to effect the abolition of slavery—for on all hands was it understood that slavery would come to its natural death in a few years. When Mr. Pryne said that I had been his political Ganalici, and that at my feet he had learned to restrict the whole province of government to the protection of persons and property, he both honored me and did justice to my rives of government of the protection of pressons and property, he both honored me and did justice to my rives of government of the protection of the American parties, and of the charles and property, he both honored me and did justice to my rives of government of the protection of the protection

constitutional, be justified, which will dry up that

swer, that we ought most emphatically, if we are their fellow-counterfeiters, and have encouraged them in the iniquity, and are able to help them. He asked whether we should share in the losses of a company of detected horse-thieves. Most certainly, if we are their fellow-thieves, and have it in our power to relieve their poverty. 'Honor among thieves' is a motto that the people of the North should feel the fair application and full force of, when called on to help their fellows of the South.

There is still another objection that I must no-

when called on to help their fellows of the South.

There is still another objection that I must notice. It is, that if compensation shall ever be in order, it will not be until the slavoholders shall have

Mr. Watkins referred to my own labors in the cause of Freedom, and in terms quite too complimentary for me to repeat. He predicts that they will be counteracted by this new movement. But happy, heaven-blessed and greatly successful will a regard these poor labors, if they shall be found to be at all instrumental in preparing the public mind for this movement, and in reconciling the people of the North to the idea of sharing with their Southern brethren in the temporary losses incident to the abolition of slavery. Mr. Pryne, too, believes that this new measure will stand in the very way of the other measures for overthrowing slavery.

Mr. Watkins thinks that the undertaking will administer to the self-complacency and triumphant

in no way authorized by the Constitution, and by the nature and office of civil government, yet would I have it saved.

John Quincy Adams held that, to save the nation, giving up his slaves. It is his right, his monal right, John Quincy Adams held that, to save the nation, Congress might abolish slavery.

Thomas Jefferson, and many of the statesmen of his day, denied that there was constitutional authority for extending the limits of the nation. An ericular thority for extending the limits of the nation of Louisiana, that they acquiesced in it. It is largely owing to this annexation that American slavery has attained its gigantic growth. Indeed, the evil could hardly have lived to the present day, had it been confined to its ancient boundaries. Now, if an unconstitutional measure, fraught, as was the annexation of Louisiana, with so much misery and rain, can be justified on the ground of national necessity, then surely can a measure, even if it is un-

cossity, then surely can a measure, even if it is unconstitutional, be justified, which will dry up that flood of misery, and save the nation.

There is another thing to be mentioned here. If our present movement does look to government for unconstitutional action—and, for the sake of the argument, we admit that it does—still, since such action will not take place till the people, North and South, East and West, shall call for it, its unconstitutionality will be comparatively unobjectionale. When all the people agree to make government their common agent in a work of salvation, the inquiry whether the work is constitutional has lost most of its importance.

Before leaving this topic of constitutionality, let me express the hope that nothing I have said will be construed into my admission of the lack of constitutional power to abolish slavery. That is not civil government, but, on the contrary, a detestable also, to save its subjects from being chattels.

Mr. Pryne likened the slaveholders to counterfeiters and thieves. He asked if we ought to help a gang of counterfeiters, who had become poor by being compelled to give up their counterfeiting. I answer, that we ought most emphatically, if we are their, fellow-counterfeiters, and have encouraged them in the injunity, and are able to help them.

If this gentleman's legs were as elastic as his principles, he would make the fortune of any circus manager who should be so fortunate as to secure his principles, he would make the fortune of any circus manager who should be so fortunate as to secure his principles, he would make the fortune of any circus manager who should be so fortunate as to secure his principles. He would exhibits uch specimens of 'sround and legal exhibits and her vince such the services. He would exhibits uch specimens of 'sround and legal to the true of the save before were witnessed in the ring. No man has more earnestly and constantly denounced slavery as pirace, and the slave holder as a pirate. This services. He would exhibits uch specimens o If this gentleman's legs were as clastic as his

of connected term, who had become poor by being compelled to give up their counterfeiting. I are sweep, that we ought most emphatically, if we are their follow-counterfeiters, and have encouraged them in the iniquity, and are able to help them. He saked whether we should share in the losses of a company of detected horse-thieves. Most certainly, if we are their fellow-thieves, and have it in our power to relieve their poverty. 'Honor among thieves' is a motto that the people of the North should feel the fair application and full force of, when called on to help their sellows of the South. There is still another objection that I must notice. It is, that if compensation shall ever be in order, it will not be until the slavoholders shall have truly repented. 'When the sky falls, we shall catch larks.' But will it ever be so condescending? Will the slaveholders ever take it upon themselves to repent? It is hardly probable that the mass of them will.

According to this objection, if I see a fined preparing to murder a whole family for the sake of money, and I know I can buy him off, I must not do so. The most that I shall be allowed to do is to give him money when he shall have shown himself to be the subject of Christian repentance. But ere that time has come, he will have shown himself to be the subject of Christian repentance. But ere that time has come, he will have shown himself to be the subject of Christian repentance. But ere that time has come, he will have shown himself to be the subject of Christian reportance. But ere that time has come, he will have shown himself to be the subject of Christian reportance. But ere that the has come, he will have shown himself to be the subject of Christian reportance. But ere that time has come, he will have shown himself to be the subject of Christian reportance. But ere that the hall pay him for the share believe the star of the salve hid we have the subject of the side of the salve hid we have the subject of the side of the salve hid we have the subject of the side of

fect to them. None the less will these means be wielded, after we shall have added to them this new one. On the contrary, these will then be wielded all the more carnestly and perseveringly, because all the more tapefully.

Mr. Watkins referred to my own labors in the cause of Freedom, and in terms quite too complimentary for me to repeat. He predicts that they will be counteracted by this new movement. But happy, heaven-blessed and greatly successful will I regard these poor labors, if they shall be found to be at all instrumental in preparing the public mind be at all instrumental in preparing the execute of all over the secondary of metals and proposed to the mind to the province of statesmanship is and always has been a failure, is just because love is not and has never been allowed to be its constant prompter and ever-burning and navy, the main use of which is to keep down negro insurrections, carry lack fugitive slaves, crush out the rights of the free men of Kansas, fight the battles for the conquest of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are some of the province of slave territory, &c. &c. These are

lessed before in a professed reformer?

If the slaves could be bought and set free, we should greatly rejoice in it, as an act of mercy to them, just as we should rejoice in the purchase of Christian captives from the pirates of Algiers. We have, however, but little faith in the feasibility of this scheme of compensated emancipation, and hence have taken but little interest in the movement. But to assert the moral right of the slaveholder to pay for his slaves, is to assert, to the fullest extent, the righteousness of slavery. If a man has a moral right to pay for a piece of property, then he has a moral right to hold that property. There is no pos-sible escape from this conclusion, and hence it fur-ther follows, if the slaveholder has a moral right to hold his slaves, that slavery is morally right. This is the very doctrine of Dr. Ross and his clique. We give them joy of their new convert, Gerrit Smith!

To say that because two rogues enter into a partnership to steal, that entitles either of them to

to compensation from the other for the stolen goods, is silly beyond measure. It entitles both of them to a place in the penitentiary; nothing more. Nor is the case at all altered, if twenty millions enter into a conspiracy to steal men, women and children, and throw around their piracy the mockery of the forms of law. The fact that they are many, and that they thus desecrate the form and name of law only adds to their guilt.

From the New York Tribune.

DEACON-COLONEL JOHN NETHERLAND, Deacon-Colonel John Netherland, of Tennessee, who figured more conspicuously than creditably in the flagellatory events which have given so much tame to the before obscure town of Rogersville, in that State, has published a long statement of the affair, in which the fact most conspicuously apparent is, that Col. John Netherland is in a very bad humor. He permits his angry passions to rise to the height of calling us 'a graceless scoundrel, who, if he had the opportunity, would sell his Savior for less than Judas did.' Not being a mau-stealing deacon or a baby-vending church member, we do not know what wickedness we might be betrayed into; but if Netherland will only promise not to pray for us, we may hope to escape any crying in-iquity. And if the Great Teacher to whom Neth-erland so irreverently alludes should again appear in the flesh, we think that he would be much safer rom sale, or even from scourging, in New York,

han in Rogersville. The knob of Netherland's statement is, that the Rev. Samuel Sawyer is a liar. We have a succession of point-blank contradictions. For instance, the boy Abe was not flogged at all severely, his blows, in the opinion of Deacon John, being abso-lutely affectionate caresses in comparison with those which should have been administered. Now we must tell Netherland very plainly that we do not believe him, and we do believe Sawyer, not, as the Deacon may think, because we are prejudiced, but simply because it is not reasonable to suppose that a elergyman who had been comfortably settled for a period of years over a church, and who must have known that falsehood would be followed by instant exposure, would gratuitously have gone to work and invented such a tale. The presumptions are all the other way. He would be more likely, instead of exaggerating, to extenuate the cruelties. He was writing of events of which all his neighbors were cognizant, and he must indeed have been mad to have devised a roorback which so many people were in a position to refute. Then, on the other hand, Netherland says distinctly that he was not present either at the Abe or the Anthony flogging, so that, by his own showing, he is not a competent witness. But, by his own confession, it appears that he did deliver up his own slave to be tortured by bruiser Blevens, and that he did incite that merchant of men to chas-

tise Abe.

The Deacon justified the flogging by saying that Abe ran away, that he was a bad boy, that he was intemperate, that he was this, that and the other. What seems to have been his great crime—greater in the opinion of Netherland than even the rape which this Abe is charged with committing upon the person of his own wife—is, that once having the person of his own wife — is, that once having run away, he refused to come back again. He even had the audacity to take shelter in a female college. So successful was he in evading pursuit, that for about two years all search for him was in vain. Now we do not know that it makes any difference as to the propriety or impropriety of torturing a man, whether he be sober or drunken, snart or laxy, chaste or incontinent. Admitting this slave to have been as bad as possible — and we certainly should not expect to find all the virtues in a chattel — we must say that the fact is more discreditable to his former master, the Reverend Dr. Ross, than to the boy himself. That eminent divine should have given him a better training. But, after all, is Abe the monster which he is represented to be by Netherland? We better training. But, after all, is Abe the monster which he is represented to be by Netherland? We have only the Deacon's word for it. On the other hand, we find that, for a long time, this deprayed wretch was fed, sheltered and concealed by the neighbors, white and black, which affords pretty good evidence that he was popular among them. The Deacon avers that he sold Abe to Blevins because his character was bad. Bad for what?—For running away? For being sullen under the lash? Abe cannot speak for himself, and we certainly shall not take Netherland's word as to his character.

character.

Concerning the flogging administered to Anthony, for refusing to disclose Abe's place of concealment, we have the distinct admission of Netherland himself, that he did surrender Anthony to Blevins, the slave-trader, in order that the secret of Abe's concealment might be flogged out of him. He also adds that Anthony was flogged at Bean's Station, 'very severely.' These are Netherland's own words. He admits that Anthony, received two distinct floggings, one at the station and the other at the jail. This coincides with Sawyer's statement. Indeed, the general effect of Netherland's letter is to strengthen our belief in the truth of all that was important in the first narration. We have the fact of both floggings admitted, and also the fact that Netherland assented to the one and advised the other. One of these castigations, he says, was 'very severe,' and we have the testimony of eye-witnesses to the cruelty of the second.

Moreover, if Netherland's manifesto did not contain these admissions, we find enough in it, upon his own showing, to impeach his character for truth and veracity. In the following sentence, he admits that he assisted in the invention of a lie, and instigated and encouraged another to utter it:

'Having made many fruitless searches for this desperate negro, and knowing that Anthony knew where

From the Washington Union. THE TRACT SOCIETY TO BE ABOLISHED.

NEW YORK, Sept. 20, 1857. The American Tract Society has been a great na-The American tract Society has been a great na-med society. Its field of operation was the whole Inion. Men, books, and colportours, bearing the impress of this society, were found in all sections of this land—among the pine forests and deep snows of Major, and on the broad savannas of the South—in hins, and on the broad savannas of the South—in the density-populated regions of the East and North, and among the hardy pioneers on the western fron-the—in the palaces of the wealthy, and among the gains of the slave—on the Atlantic coast and where g our Pacific possessions deep calls unto deep-

The abolition excitement came. In New York, the aboution excitement came. In New York, the clergy of the Congregational Church were few, and were overshadowed by the great, numerous, and sailty Presbyterian body. The Congregational clergy, Cheever, Beecher, Stowe, and others, sold not remain in the shade. To preach the Gosat and able than they were in the field. As these nen had no church south of Mason and Dixon's line, harm could come to them from the abolition extement. Anti-slavery became a part of their red. It filled their houses. It gave them fat sal-ries. It was coal, barrels of flour, and bread to As it did so much for the church, it was aght best to try the agitation on a larger scale. se moral vandals seized upon the Tract Society, and attempted to abolitionize that. In an evil hour the many rs quarrelled, and yielded to the clamor of sed magogues. They agreed to depart from a stem of action that had marked their career for enty-five years. They put in press a work on nery, on the duties of the 'master to the slave.' Tith the same propriety they could have issued other on the 'duties of 3,000 New England clermen to the government under which they live,' daties of Beecher, Bacon, and Cheever to ir family domestics.' The issue of the work wastorm about the heads of the society, that de the 'keepers of the house tremble.' All the th and Southwest arose as one man, repu-I the society, withdrew their contributions, sent their colporteurs, refused their books, and at alarm through all the society's ranks. An meeting was held the other day of the mana-Toe obnoxious book was withheld and with-

va, and the alarmed committee refused to carry ist meeting, and resolved to stand by the old a. This is what the society should have done at entset. They should have met the clamor of anatics at the start, as our noble President Silly-man and his New Haven crew. The old inal platform should have been regarded; the d chart and light-house been heeded; the Barne-at wrecker, with a lantern tied to the tail of a y horse, should have not been followed instead the fixed and safe light on shore. And now the shanned two years ago must now be met. The com-mittee of management have bidden defiance to these arthur fanatics. They have dared to brave the to the society which was polled under the same aspices that presided over the famed Kansas rifle mating in the Congregational church at New Haten, when Beecher got off his bloody joke about 'Killem' being a good name for a Kansas emigrant. Now will come the tug of war. If the Tract Society seemals, then its days are nonthead. In its ty succumb, then its days are numbered. In its tean will follow all the national societies. If it stand, it is destined to a green old age of usefulness. Falinghuysan, the president, did intend to resign

this fall; but he is a national man, and will see this fight out. The Independent and the Tribune are quite uncomfortably mad on this new action of

MANHATTAN. DR. COX ON AGITATORS. In the Genessee Ecangelist, the Rev. Dr. Cox is spaking of the Abolition Agitators in the New Short Assembly, and thus speaks of the late Rich-

mond Convention and its members : I am not about to praise my brethren, who have hen busy with this new quiddity at Richmond.— The wisdom of the man of Ross, his metaphysics, his dialectics, and his tactics, may be none the wisest and the best. Even Dr. Newton, Dr. Boyd, Dr. Rail, and other excellent brethren, may not be all just right, or as practically wise and calm and pa-tient, as we could wish they were. But—a queston remains! If they err, are we all innocent in the pre-disposing causes? Have we given them no occasion? Are their fears all ridiculous or gratuitous? Nay, have not we, and our goadish agitators, year after year continually, goaded them, pestered them, injured them, slandered them, wilfully disponed them till them that year to no soverness.

them, injured them, slandered them, wilfully dishoured them, till they had to do something—and possibly found not exactly the best thing and the wisst, after all? As said the venerable and excellent Dr. Hill, I heard him say it years ago, in the General Assembly, with tenderness and tears—'When we do come North to meet our brethren, they always set their dogs on us!' He is now in heaven.

However figurative was his rhetorie, it had a meaning. Some of our worst barkers have ever been the men of rabid zeal canine, who forgot that not zeal, but—wisdow, is profitable to direct. But them—they could not be the directors. Zeal and partiran nose-counts were with them about all of it. partizin pose-counts were with them about all of it ey forgot the Constitution, forgot the nature of Kingdom of Christ, forgot the plain facts of Scripture and its teachings, forgot common sensehow many this earthly fustian is better than the

With them, as some of us well know, to talk of Scripture or wisdom, or apostolic usage, especially when we are so cruel as to prove it, is to be an old fogy, a coward, a doomed 'conservative,' and an entry to all proper reforms. If a man dares to think for himself, he is sure to lose caste; to be inpeached, suspected, vilified—hence many, who might rather lead, only follow, like rotten wood at aron the freshet, whither soever the governor list ch. They acquiesce and conform for peace and popularity — while their sober convictions are coerced or tarity — while their sober convictions are converted to be crushed in the contest. Indeed, one often fears to be crushed in the contest. whom we refer as leaders and agitators, are not very whom we refer as leaders and agitators, are not very erupalous in their interferences and constructions. They, and what they think, are the only standard of recitude with them. To differ from them is the demonstration of sin; the indictment, the evidence, the verticit, the sentence, and almost its execution too.—
For example, by what rule do they slander a ministerial brother of pro-slavery, and call him suchwith a view to render him infamous? Is it not—
that he dares—to think differently—FROM THEM? that he dares—to think differently—from this ?
So really it seems to me. Well I know that the epithet is generally false. Yet must one be bound to run after the libel, and try to kill it, before it loss hreath and dies of itself? Some of us are bet-

together, as it is to give expression to such interest

—a practical and effective expression.

We are here for the purpose of making a public

our slavery is actually national. The whole nation has contributed to nationalize it—the whole nation our slavery is actually national. The whole nation has contributed to nationalize it—the whole nation has made itself responsible for it. The sin of extending the area of slavery, and of encouraging the tending the area of slavery, and of encouraging the slaveholders to multiply their investments in human slaveholders to multiply their investments in human slaveholders to door of the North as well as at the door of the North as well as at encountered. But, in admitting the emancipating, flesh, lies at the door of the North as well as at the door of the South. Northern commerce has the door of the South. Northern commerce has connived at, and openly upheld, slavery. So have Northern politics. And we have seen Churches, religious associations, institutions of learning, at the North as well as at the South, apologizing for slavery, and bowing quite down to the ground in presence, of the demon and in deference of his claims. Texas could not have been annexed, nor the Misson-Texas could not have been annexed, nor the Missouri Compromise repealed—no, nor established—with-out the help of the North. Without the help of her schools and churches, there never could have been a Pro-Slavery sentiment at the North. Nor could such a sentiment, nor could slavery itself, have ontinued to exist at the South, without such help.

sparing and flattering slavery.

Now, all this being true, it is very plain that the North, as well as the South, is bound to contribute to relieve the slaveholders in the straits to which hey would be reduced by the abolition of slavery, But, Mr. Pryne says the North should pay noth

ecause she is able to help.
Mr. Watkins says that the slave, and not the

slaveholder, is entitled to compensation, and he adds,
I put my feet on Mr. Smith's proposition. My
proposition was that the nation shall pay to the
mancipated slave \$25, and to his master \$150, and emancipated slave \$25, and to his master \$150, and that the emancipating State shall, by assessments on the lands within its limits (the value of such lands being greatly increased by the abolition of slavery), add \$75 to the \$150. I need not say that I have no sympathy with the plan of appropriating the public lands to this object. I am a land reformer, and public lands to this object. I am a man be referred and I hold that to the landless belong the vacant land. Slavery is a great evil; but the land monopoly, because it has manifold more victims, is a ar greater evil. Moreover, there could have been no slavery but for land monopoly; and to abolish the latter is the only sure way to abolish and prevent the return the only sure way to abolish and prevent the return of the former. I can, therefore, favor no plan which countenances land-monopoly, and recognizes Congress as a great landholder. But to return to Mr. Watkins. Is it nothing that, in addition to the \$25, I propose to give to the slave the slave's own self? Moreover, does not he see that to propose to give most of the money to the slave, instead of the slaveholder, would be to defeat all hope of cetting him free? Very gladly would I have all the getting him free? Very gladly would I have all the money given to the poor plundered slave, if the slaveholder would still be willing to give him his

vance to the slaveholder any measure of indemnity, because doing so is bribing him to do right. Now I readily admit that I would prefer to have the slave-I readily admit that I would prefer to have the slave-holder promptly to do right only by the purest and highest motives. I would have him emancipate his slaves immediately and unconditionally, because it is the slaves' right to be thus emancipated, and be-cause the slaveholder sins fearfully in resisting this right. Nevertheless, so guilty and horrible is the relation of slaveholder and slave, and so full of misery to both—aye, and so full of damage and peril to the whole nation—that I would be willing to make the most direct appeals to the selfishness of the slaveholder in aid of hurrying him to dissolve this relation. Besides, I am not willing to admit pentance rendered less probable by such appeals.

My neighbor is a drunkard, and therefore the

he was, Mr. Blevins believing that he could induce Anthony to disclose Abe's place of concealment, by taking possession of him, and pretending to him that he had purchased him, and he would take him South in Abe's place, unless he told him where Abe was. I consented to this arrangement.'

And a very pretty 'arrangement' it was for a Deacon of the Presbyterian Church to enter into.—The Journal of Commerce yesterday gave Netherland a very thick coat of the purest orthodox whitewash. What do the immaculate conductors of that saintly sheet think of a Deacon who enters into an 'ar rangement' with a trader in negroes, to tell lies to a simple old man, to induce him to betray the confi-dence which has been reposed in him? This little dence which has been reposed in him? This little confession settles Netherland in our estimation. We should not feel obliged to believe him, although he

made oath to the truth of his narrative.

In paying his personal compliments to the Tribune, near the close of his production, the Deacon bune, near the close of his production, the Deacon says: 'I have never whipped a grown negro in my life, though I have owned them ever since I owned property.' Pray is it the custom of Southern gentlemen to do their own flogging? We thought that it was rather the practice to keep a skilful professional flogger in pay, or to detail one or two of the stoutest slaves for the purpose, so that the Deacon's brag that he never whipped a grown negro in his life does not, after all, seem to amount to much. He hires it done. He deputes wandering slave-traders to do it as upon this occasion. He only exercises to do it, as upon this occasion. He only exercises now and then upon the piccaninnies.

From the New York Independent. LETTER FROM THE PROTESTANTS OF

The undersigned have been requested by the Protestant Christians of France to lay before their brethren in the United States the following appeal. The original document is in our possession. A copy of the appeal was sent to every Protestant church in France. This, when signed by the officers of the Church, was returned to the Committee in Paris who had the matter in charge. When all the signatures had been obtained, the several copies of the address were bound in volumes, and these have been forwarded to the care of the subscribers. The signatures number fire thousand four hundred and for natures number five thousand four hundred and for-ty-three. They include the names of the Pastors, Elders, and Deacons of all the *Reformed' churches of France; the Pastors and Elders of all the Evangelical churches constituted upon the Augsburg Confession; and the Pastors and other officers of all

the Independent Churches, i. e., those Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches that are independent of the State.

The undersigned have had no agency, not even by way of suggestion, in the preparation of this appeal, and are simply the selected agents of the Committee at Paris to bring it to the knowledge of American Christians. They respectfully request the editors of newspapers, both religious and secular, throughout the country, to aid in giving it the widest circulation. ALBERT WOODRUFF, 44 Front St.

Joseph P. Thompson, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church. New York, Sept. 26, 1857.

The Protestant Christians of France to all their Brethren in the United States of America, Greeting and Peace through Jesus Christ :

BRETHEN: -We come to you with a few words which we have so long held back that they weigh heavily upon our consciences. Yes, for a long time past—and we ought to have told you of it—we have followed you through the great and solemn crisis to which your noble country is a prey ;-we make your griefs and prayers our own. Forgive a silence which had it continued, would, in our view, have become

A question glowing with interest meets us when-ever we turn our thoughts toward the other side of ever we turn our thoughts toward the other side of the Atlantic—a question upon which recent events have concentrated the attention of all Europe—a question, in fact, so nearly allied to the honor of Protestantism, that we may no longer pass it by unnoticed. SLAVERY, (is it necessary to name the word?)—this is the subject upon which we would

now open our hearts to you.

Do we come before you as judges, as accusers? By no means. Our only aim is to make known to you our thoughts, our unanimous conviction, so as to encourage some, charitably to warn others, and openly to refute the calumnies brought against our

common faith.

Do you know what language daily greets our ears? 'Protestantism,' they say, 'and SLAVERY agree wonderfully well. In the United States this odious institution numbers many Christians amongst its advocates; they preach and pray in its behalf they labor to extend its territory. And this Slavery, for which they thus act, is the selling of families by retail; the breaking up of marriage; the yearly children, picked one by one from the plantations of thing, not merely revolting to pious minds, but at variance with the first elements of humanity. Nev-ertheless, the Protestants of America accept this state of things; they deem it in accordance with the Gospel, and the Protestants of Europe undoubt-edly think as they do, or they would have vented their feelings in one strong outery of grief and disapprobation!

Brethren, we must not give our enemies occasion for such language. As for us, we feel the necessity of proclaiming abroad, that there is not amongst us one single Christian who has been able to reconcile with the law of love and holiness, the right of possession in one man over another, the making chandise of immortal beings, the barbarous brea up of family ties, the suppression of marriage, the

We know that under the conomy of the Old Tes tament — an economy which no longer exists—Slavery as well as Polygamy was tolerated; but toler with such restrictions that the law of Mose had almost suppressed it. We know that after-wards, at Rome and in Greece, the Apostles, brought face to face with Slavery, (and this Slavery was widely different from yours, since everything if the laws of those heathen nations favored emancipa tion,) — the Apostles, we say, faithful in this to their principle of never interfering with the civil law, did not and could not pronounce a decree of legal abolition, since such a proclamation on their part would have rendered impossible the spiritual revolution for which they labored, by transforming it into a social revolution. But we also know, that at the same time they spread throughout the whole world fruitful principles, whose development must everywhere overthrow that deplorable institution known under the name of Slavery.

Do not imagine that we fix our thoughts upon

few exceptional cases of cruelty, or that we deny the kindness and gentleness of many a slaveholder. We say that, independently of the cruelty of some and the kindness of very many masters, Slavery, such as it inevitably is, such as your laws and offi-cial declarations define it to be, is a most terrible calamity.

Do not think either that we protend to exalt our

selves above you. Our own evils are great, and we may not be proud. Who knows whether, if situated as slaveholders are, we would not yield to the same in-

Your difficulties are very great; not to make allowance for these would be unjust. Nothing short of Christian faith can triumph over them. But Faith will work miracles. Has it not, in spite of everything, already secured the abolition of English slavery? Victory with you will be much more diffi-cult; it will also be much more illustrious. It lies in your power to render to the cause of the Gospel, to the cause of Protestantism, the most signal ser-

to the cause of Protestantism, the most signal service they have received for ages.

Believe us, we feel for you, for your honor, for your country, a Christian jealousy. Your trials are our trials, and your success will be our success. We need to see you great and honored. When we see the respect and admiration once commanded by the United States daily on the decrease; when we see their enemies lift up their heads, and joyfully point to the rock upon which, in their opinion, America will wreck its fortunes, we are seized with bitter grief. And what? Shall so much of true liberty, so many noble examples, so many generous purposes, so many Christian deeds, disappear behind one monstrous scandal—the plans for the triumph of

American Slavery?

Scandal is the word! Our age, you may rest as sured, will not bear with it. One can easily under stand that States in which slavery already exist cannot rid themselves of it in a day; but to spread the leprosy into other territories; systematically to plan the extension of the disease; to take the slaver

ural that these who are acquainted with all the difficul-ties of the case; who are involved in the questions themselves, their families, and their property;—that those who are called upon to make sacrifices, and who also can best judge of the dangers, should be very cautious, and slow to decide. Upon this point alone do we entreat you to be unanimous—the desire to bring about the abolition of slavery, the inflexible resolution not to account the extension.

esolution not to permit its extension.

It is to your Christian feelings that we appeal. We wish neither to provoke noz ferment revolt .-God forbid! This would be disregarding the spirit al right of the man-stealer to a fair, just and hon of the Gospel, that spirit which at the same time orable Equivalent —to compensation. Next h teaches the slaves obedience and the masters justice; that spirit which is gentleness and strength, persevance and charity. God is witness that we love both masters and slaves. We desire the true welfare of both. We know that slavery is a terrible gift of a cow—making it a charitable set. Then, evil for both when hearts shall be emined over we again, he sneaks of it as a renow, exterted under the hare of both. We know that slavery is a terrible sevil for both. When hearts shall be gained over, we will rest satisfied. Great evangelical revolutions proceed from within outward; they move first upon the conscience; they convert souls in order to trans-

which now reaches you.

Doubly united to you as Christians and as Frenchmen, can we err in sending you this utterance, whose sincerity you cannot suspect? Have we presumed too far in believing that this unanimous appeal from sister churches would not in vain be cast Smith, that emancipation will greatly impoverish the into the scales where the destiny of American Chrisslaveholders, though 'the emancipating States' he tianity is now being weighed?

May the spirit of the God of Truth and of Love

be with you in this fearful crisis, and rest upon you, your churches, and your country!
Your Affectionate Bretheen in Jesus Christ.

(Here follow the Signatures.)

The Liberator

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 9, 1857.

GERRIT SMITH ON COMPENSATION.

On our first page we have placed the principal peech made by GERRIT SMITH at the National Comensation Convention held at Cleveland, as revised for the press by himself. It will, no doubt, receive a careful perusal on the part of our readers. We shall venture to offer a few remarks upon it, remembering that Mr. Smith is exceedingly sensitive in the matter of personal criticism, and therefore dealing with him and his speech as tenderly as possible.

He begins by designating the absurd and preposte ous scheme of compensation to the Southern lords of the lash, as 'a great movement-one full of prom ise to the slave and the slaveholder.' But with that singular forgetfulness, or blind inconsistency, which so frequently characterises his rhetorical efforts, he subsequently says- I do not deny my fears that the South will repel us, and reject every scheme and every idea of emancipation. . . . Few are less hopeful than myself of the peaceful abolition of slavery.' So, the movement, so 'full of promise,' really prom-

ises nothing at all but failure ! On the first day of the Convention, Mr. Smith expressed his astonishment that the Rev. John Rankin should deny 'the moral right of the slaveholder' to compensation, and declared-It is his right, his moral right, to demand a fair, just and honorable will not be backward in rendering whatever assistance EQUIVALENT for giving up his slaves, and it is our may be necessary. But what has this to do with the In this speech he eats up that declaration by saving-Very gladly would I have all the money given to the poor plundered slave, if the slaveholder would still be willing to give him his liberty '-thus clearly recognising ne moral right to any portion of the money on the part of the slaveholder, but submitting to his UNJUST EXACTION for the sake of liberating his victim. There is great incoherency in the ideas or the language of Mr. S. In one breath, he would have the slaveholder emancipate his slaves immediately and unconditionally, because it is the slave's ight,' and slaveholding is the most guilty of all relations'-in the next, he 'admits the slaveholder's right to our money-yes, his moral right' ! Now, he 'denies all right of property in man,' and denounces the guilty and horrible relation of slaveholder and slave '-anon, he talks of the duty of the North to give 'a fair, just and honorable equivalent' for such as shall have their fetters broken! In one sentence, he places his scheme entirely on the ground of policy, further refutation of it superfluous. saving that 'to propose to give most of the money t the slave would be to defeat all hope of getting him free in the next, he advocates compensation or principle, as a matter of duty, justice and honesty Now, he is 'willing to make the most direct appeals to the selfishness of the slaveholder,' and thinks his will eagerly clutch at, provided it be uttered 'in love'! Let Mr. Smith go to Carolina, and make this proposition, and he will never have another opportunity to deliver a double-and-twisted speech on compensation. At one time, it is the Northern sentiment that must be consulted :- 'Our offer must be such as the North would approve and sustain '-at another, he replies to the objection, that such a sum as the slaveholders would accept would be much larger than the North would consent to share in paying,' by saying-'The North could well afford to pay'-&c., thus letting the slaveholders dictate the terms, and making it of no consequence how the North might regard the matter! The whole speech is a jumble, from beginning to end.

This scheme necessarily pre-supposes repentance of the part of the slaveholders; for, otherwise, why ld they emancipate their slaves for one fourth -all that Mr. Smith proposes to offer them? Yet he ridicules the idea of their ever repenting, and stultifies himself by asking—'Will the slaveholders ever take it upon themselves to repent? It is hardly probable that the mass of them will. . . . If we wait for the slaveholders to repent, many more generations of our ill-starred brethren may have to pass through the torments of slavery.' In the name of common sense, then, what incentives can they have to relinquish their claim to their slave property? Are they to be found in Mr. Smith's ingenuous avowhopefully adding. 'The work on which we are now mighty and EFFECTUAL, -i. c., the

equivalent to a declaration of war,—this is what no human conscience can reconcile itself to; this is what should be stigmatized without mercy.

To persist in this line of conduct would be to rush into ruin, to give a legitimate subject for triumph to whoever envices and deplores the gigantic prosperity of the United States, to whoever seeks for a pretext that will enable him to represent the advances of their liberal and Protestant flag as a public misfortune.

You do not wish to give the enemies of the Gospel, the enemies of liberty, so sad a reason for rejoicing. You do not wish to grieve the Spirit of the Lord, nor abuse His forbearance.

God is aware of all the obstacles that lie in your path. He will not require of you more than you have found in his hand, he shall surely be contained. claim for pecuniary recompense in any direction. The only 'compensation' awarded to man-stealing, under the Mosaic code, was capital punishment:—'He that stealeth a MAN, [not a Jew,] and selleth him, or if he path. He will not require of you more than you be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death can do. Whatever He shall ask of you, He will That is the only 'compensation' decreed by the lay give you strength to accomplish.

That the Christians of America should differ about the means, the time, and many other quest tions, nothing can be more warrantable. It is national that those who are acquainted with all the difficulties of the case; who are involved in all the difficulties of the case; where the case in all the difficulties of the case; where the case

The term compensation implies the relinquishm of a claim, or right, or the possession of property founded in equity. To use it in the sense of aidin one who is suffering for his love of justice or human ity, is deceptive and unjustifiable. Yet Mr. Smit takes this liberty, and plays with words as with coun ters. He speaks of 'a confusion of ideas' in others -it is plainly in himself. First, he argues the 'mormakes it analogous to telling his drunken neighbor, cup, he will bless him and his hungry family with the form societies.

And now, brethren, will it be in vain that we And now, brethren, will it be in vain that we have opened our hearts to you? God knows. He knows also that it is from the very inmost recesses of our conscience that this universal cry goes forth duty—to ransom is not to recognize the right of the enslaver to compensation. A quid pro quo is equivalent for equivalent—to pity and relieve the suffering is a very different matter.

We are surprised at the reiterated assertion of Mr slaveholders, though 'the emancipating States' he concedes will be the richer for the act. Surely, this is to beg the question. We believe no such impoverishment will ensue: on the contrary, we maintain that the highest pecuniary as well as moral interest of the slaveholders calls for the immediate abolition of slavery. Do they not own all the ands! and with free laborers, instead of slaves, to cultivate those lands, will they not greatly increase their wealth, after the manner of the North? Every class at the South will be benefitted by emancipation - not one will be the loser, in any just sense. What that act will bring forth, in case every yoke be broken, is most cheeringly and truthfully set forth in the 58th chapter of Isaiah. Even if there should happen to be some 'temporary osses' in a few cases, this is what occurs in every change of policy - in the introduction of steam for borse power, railroads for turnpikes, and similar pubic benefits. They are too trivial for a moment's grave deliberation, or any public outcry.

'Let us hasten,' says Mr. Smith, 'to east away the colish and wicked prejudice (!) which stands in the way of our helping the slaveholder.' If this means any thing, it is an imputation upon the kindness and generosity of the North in general, and of the abolitionists in special, in case of positive distress assumed (falsely assumed) to be the consequence of universal mancipation-representing them to be mean, closefisted, and unwilling to extend a helping hand in a time of adversity! But as there is no ground whatever for it, this imputation is equally gratuitous and slanderous. There is no such 'foolish or wicked prejudice' existing any where at the North against relieving the poor and needy in any part of the country. In all cases of suffering at the South,-as illustrated again and again when she has been visited with pestilence, or extensive conflagrations, or any other public calamity,-the people of the North have ever been prompt to contribute most generously to her relief; and should the monstrous and incredible assumption of Mr. Smith prove true, that emancipation will be followed by disastrons consequences, they the day will be the evil thereof.' Let the suffering first be seen to be a reality, instead of a supposition. before demanding assistance. To assume that every slaveholder will suffer precisely to the extent indicated by the sum of \$250 for each emancipated slave

On being expostulated with, for allowing each slave only the small pittance of \$25, Mr. Smith graciously replies, 'Is it nothing that, in addition to the \$25, I propose to give to the slave the slave's own self? As the slave has a natural right to himself, we submit it hardly becomes an abolitionist to talk of making him a present to that extent, as though it were a charitable consideration !

To the plea of Mr. Smith, that the North having ncouraged slavery at the South, and profited thereby ought to share whatever loss may result from its abolition, the rejoinder made by the Free Presbyterian, in the article following his speech, renders any

Mr. Smith gives us a novel test of anti-slavery dis nterestedness and sincerity. He says :-

'Mr. Watkins thinks that the undertaking will administer to the self-complacency and triumphant air of the slaveholders, and that they will say to us, 'Gentlemen, you have given up your principles, for you now wish to buy our slaves.' But what they moral sense would not be weakened thereby—anon, he says we mean that the greater part of the loss of the slaveholder shall fall upon himself —a very enticing proposition, certainly, and one that the tyrant ticing proposition, certainly, and one that the tyrant anti-slavery man has travelled quite across the low er plane where not only words are spoken, but deeds are done, and heavy and self-denying pecuniary sa-crifices in the cause of the slave are welcomed, then has he proved, not the denial of his principles, but his attachment to them—not their worthlessness and impotence, but their great preciousness, and their power to carry him forward in the work of humanty and heaven.

This we understand to mean, in its connection, that the real proof of anti-slavery philanthropy is to be found in giving to the slaveholder \$250, and to his plundered and homeless slave \$25, in case of emancipation. We respectfully object to this test.

Here is an intimation that the abolitionists are lack ing both in heart and in love:-

'The abolitionists must infuse more love into thei efforts. Vigorous and clear as are their apprehensions of slavery—just and impressive as are their descriptions of it—that is not enough. They must have more heart; and they must have it not for the slave only, but for the slaveholder also. The chief A general impeachment like this can be met only

by a general plea of 'not guilty.' It is instructive al, 'We mean that the greater part of the loss shall and significant that it should have been made in such fall upon themselves'? O, most chimerical of pro- a Convention-made up of timid conservatives and jects! Nevertheless, oblivious to what he has been saying a moment before, of the absurdity of expecting that the slaveholders will repent, ('when the sky prove them, if found at all. Who has denounced falls, we shall eatch larks-but will it ever be so con- slaveholders in stronger terms than Gerrit Smith descending?') Mr. Smith proceeds exultingly to ex-claim, 'Long have I looked forward to this day'!— pirates'? And, hitherto, has he been deficient love'? If so, it is very proper for him to make con sky will fall, and we shall catch larks, in due time,—
the cause of bleeding humanity—we know of no reatif we shall make it a work of love! And he gives son why he should impeach his co-laborers.

LETTER PROM JUDGE JAY-THE NORTH- an outrage on the decencies of civilized life-and an PRN CONVENTION. BEDFORD, (N. Y.) Sept. 24, 1857.

I have been favored with your letter, inviting n to add my name to a Call for a Convention of cit of the free States, 'to consider the practicability,

probability and expediency of a separation between been to me one of deep and painful interest. Although
fully aware of the many social, commercial and political advantages resulting from the Federal Union, I
am nevertheless convinced that it is at present a most
grievous moral curse to the American people. To the
people of the South it is a curse, by fostering, strengtheping and extending an iniquitous and baneful instino moral treason, and incurs no reproach in a slavethan the south, and not not a few would be glad to insult Sumner, and the friends
of human freedom. Brooks had been removed beyound a 'gracious invitation,' but his culogist still
lived. True, that culogist was a disunionist in professeion, but then, a desire to dissolve the Union involves
moral treason, and incurs no reproach in a slavetution. To the millions among us of African de- holder. In a letter to Brooks's constituents, Masscent, itsis a curse, by riveting the chains of the bond- declared. 'I know of none whose public career I hold man and deepening the degradation of the freeman. more worthy of the free and cordial approbation of hi To the people of the Free States it is a curse, by constituents than his. He has shown himself alike of truth, justice and humanity, for those wages of of his constituents in debate and by vote, or to vindiiniquity with which the Pederal Government so abun- cate in a different mode, and under circumstances

dantly rewards apostates to liberty and righteousness. In my opinion, while the Union continues to be ow me to trespass a little upon your patience in explaining the grounds of this opinion.

An aristocracy, few in numbers, and scattered over tion, but solely of wealth in land, and in the bodies and souls of men-now governs with insolent and ar-Northern Democrats have deemed it expedient to form with these lords of the lash a most intimate and subsentiments of Jefferson on human rights, these pre-sentiments of Jefferson on human rights, these pre-tended friends of liberty and equality are now the humble and willing instruments of a crushing and its lips, and human bondage in its heart-a party alof the Southern Moloch. Discarding alike the deductions of reason and the monitions of conscience, this party adopts, with the unhesitating faith of a votary of an infallible Church, every doctrine, whether constitutional or political, which it may be the policy of the slaveholders to propound. Now, surely it is not to be expected that a party that lives and moves and has its being in its union with slaveholders, will aid you in dissolving that Union.

The slaveholders, in concert with their Northern allies, have established the trade of Union-saving, a trade exceedingly convenient to each party concern- neither sympathy for their wounded brother, nor indiged. Whenever a new aggression is to be made on the rights of the North, or a new outrage on humanity the thieves, bless them in the name of the Lord, and to be perpetrated, awful threats are fulminated from the South, that the Union shall expire in blood, unless the North will accede to the new demand. Instantly the Union-savers begin their work. They warn the people of their dependence on the South, and of the horrors of the impending civil war, and they insist on the reasonableness of the new claims. A panic is soon manufactured. Politicians become uneasy about the next election; the merchants are fearful lest grass will grow in our streets, if not trodden by Southern customers; and our cotton parsons pray and preach about the preservation of the Union. and the peace of the Church. The result of the continuance is a virtual submission to the mandates of the slaveholders, under the term of a compromise : the Union is saved for a while, and the farce ends with paying some of the savers, and leaving more to look or their reward the next time.

The Democratic party, although wholly consecrated to slavery, does not embrace all the pro-slavery of the North. In every party, there are individuals who occasionally deem it prudent to bow down before the dark Idol. In general, the homage of all but Demorewarded. Still, adventurers from all parties are continually investing capital in the Union-saving trade. The painful experience of Mr. Webster seems to have is an enormity and a crime for which perdition has proved an unheeded lesson. His audacious plea for scarcely an adequate state of punishment.' In 1780, throwing open the new territories to slavery, that the church voted that it acknowledged that slavery The law of the formation of the earth settles for is contrary to the laws of God, man and nature, conever, with a strength beyond all terms of human trary to the dictates of conscience and true religion. enactment, that slavery cannot exist in California and In 1785, the Conference declared, 'We do hold in the New Mexico,' was received by those for whose favor he sacrificed himself with silent contempt; while 1836, when this condemnation of modern abolitioneven Southern jurists revolted from his hideous doctrine, that the rescue of a fugitive slave from the custody of an officer, by unarmed men, was a levying ever convinced of the great evil of slavery.' The of war against the United States, an act of high treaon, to be punished with death!!

while so many Northern men are willing to pay obsequious court to slaveholders, however personally odious, there can be little disposition at the North to ters. The Georgia Conference boldly threw aside part the chain which binds it to the slave re-

battle of Bunker Hill, connected with the inauguration of a statue to Warren. Wonderful as it may ed from the ministry the fathers of the Methodist insult to the champions of human rights. The notothe Bunker Hill Association' to witness the specta- pledge, as a condition of ordination, that he would cle. A distinguished gentleman of Boston, not pronever preach against a certain popular sin! Sooner telling them- 'The State of Virginia is represented Lord and Master. Did any church ever before behere to-day by a Senator in Congress, whom it has stow ordination on terms so iniquitous, so utterly at been my privilege to know personally in a sphere of variance with the duty of the Christian ministry, so than one generation for services in State and Nation- Jesus Christ? al councils, and whom I take pleasure in selecting 'A man with a black skin,' said John Wesley, 'behere on his first visit to New England soil'; and the ing wronged or outraged by a white man, can have Virginian, we are told by the papers, was received no redress; it being a law in all our colonies, that

That the full significance of the 'gracious invitaplause of the crowd may be understood, it must be same villany would be freely and gratuitously perperecollected, that all this incense was offered to the trated by a body of Methodist ministers professing author of the Fugitive Act, that accursed outrage on great respect for him, and pretending to hold his senthe rules of evidence, and the precepts of justice and timents on the subject of slavery! The General Contized by an eminent English jurist, (Dr. Lushington,) unjustifiable for any preacure to permit colored peras 'a measure as cruel and unchristian as ever disthat their judges, on entering the temple of justice, were required to do obeisance to that power which ery minister had full legal authority to admit what blems of its tyranny.

But James M. Mason had higher claims to the sympathies of a certain class than his authorship of the Fugitive Act. The Legislature of Massachusetts had esolved, that 'We have received with deep concern nformation of the recent violent assault com

Resolved, That we approve of Mr. Sumner's earnest and fearless declaration of free principles, and he manly defence of human rights and free territory.

This language of the Legislature respecting th outhern ruffian was of course distasteful to the slave holders, while the commendation bestowed on Sumne was necessarily felt by many in Boston as a rebuke o The subject you propose for consideration has long their own conduct. It might be for the commercial seven to me one of deep and painful interest. Although advantage of Boston to conciliate the South, and not empting them to trample under foot the obligations able and prompt to sustain the rights and sentiments painful pury, the honor of his friend.' In reference to the then pending election, he intimated that in case hus a curse, it will be indissoluble; and that should Premont should be chosen President, but one cours t ever cease to be a curse, it will be a blessing. Al- remained for the South-IMMEDIATE, ABSOLUTE, ETER-NAL SEPARATION.

Such was the man whom Boston gentlemen deemed proper to honor; such was the man who on Bunken an immense region, but from common interest acting Hill was received with applause !-applause which as a unit—an aristocracy, not of birth, nor of education and the English and the English and the English as a unit—an aristocracy, not of birth, nor of education and the English and the Sumner, rebuked the Legislature of Massachusetts for its regard for human rights, and breathed the aspirabitrary sway twenty-five millions of people. This united aristocracy, acting in concert with almost any political party at the North, can wield the vast and ncreasing patronage of the General Government. surpassed by the most ingenious servility. And think you, gentlemen, that men who thus prostrate themselves before the Slave Power will, from the love of missive alliance; and scorning and repudiating the liberty, aid you in rescuing the North from its de-

scene meets our view. The fine gold has become loathsome despotism. The seductions of the Federal dim-the salt has lost its savor. The Church whose Government, proffered through the friends of slavery, office it is to distribute the bread of life is scattering have converted the Northern Democracy into a stu- among the people the apples of Sodom. The great pendous organized LIE; a party with liberty ever on struggle of the Southern portion of the Church is at present to array 'the sum of all villanies' in the ways ready at the bidding of its patrons to sacrifice garments of Christianity, and to teach for doctrines liberty of speech, of the press, of legislative debate, the abominations of the slave code. Thank God, of petition, and even of the pulpit itself, on the altar some of these pro-slavery churches have severed their connection with their Northern sisters. The absence of Reverend and Right Reverend slave-breeders and traders from our church councils will tend to save those councils in future from much temptation and from much guilt. The Northern Church is, with rare exceptions

pursuing, in regard to slavery, a time-serving, manpleasing policy, probably still more offensive to God than that of our pro-slavery politicians. The larger portion of our clergy, like the Priest and Levite rebuked by our Lord, pass by on the other side, evincing nation against his assailants; while others pass over to aid in robbing their helpless victim. Of all our Northern churches, the Methodist has afforded the most striking and painful illustration of the corrupting influence of political and ecclesiastical union with slaveholders. The hypocrisy of this church is melancholy and astounding. Founded as an anti-slavery church, and recording in its standards the most express condemnation of slavery as sinful, it became the unscrupulous tool of the slaveholders. In 1836, the General Conference, alarmed by the awakening conscience of the North, and anxious to screen the church from the odium which was then attached to the utterance of anti-slavery sentiments, voted that it was decidedly opposed to modern abolition.' How far the modern abolition which they opposed differed from the ancient abolition of the fathers and standards of the church, it did not suit their purpose to explain. Said JOHN WESLEY-'I strike at the root of this complicated villany. I absolutely deny all slaveholding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice. Men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers." Said Dr. Coxe- The buying of men is complicated crime.' Said Bishop Assury-'O Lord, banish the was in some sort excusable, but among Christians, it deepest abhorrence the practice of slavery'; and in ism was fulminated, their book of discipline most untruly affirmed, 'We declare that we are as much as word 'modern' was a fraudulent but transparent veil, intended to hide, if possible, the hypocrisy of those A late occurrence in Boston may satisfy you, that who used it. The resolution was demanded to sat isfy the vast number of Methodist slaveholders and traders, and avowed pro-slavery Methodist minis · Slavery as it exists in the United States is not a moral evil.

seem, pains were taken to make this celebration a deinstration of respect for human bondage, and of the office of a deacon or elder in our church, unless he rious James M. Mason received, as he himself assert- from agitating the church with discussions on this subed, a 'gracious invitation' from the 'Gentlemen of jeet' [abolition]. Imagine John Wesley asked for lessing to be a Democrat, addressed the assembly, would he have gone to the stake, than thus betray hi mmon duty, whose name has been noted for more audaciously defiant of the principles of the Gospel of

the oath of a black against a white goes for nothing What villany is this !' Little did the father of Meth tion,' the complimentary introduction, and the ap- odism think, when writing this sentence, that this humanity; of that act which was most justly stigma- ference of 1840 resolved, 'That it is inexpedient and sons to give testimony against white persons, in any graced any country.' This vile statute, Boston gen- State where they are denied that privilege by law. emen of 'property and standing' had enforced by In no State did the law recognise these church courts nunicipal and military power; they had permitted held by Methodist preachers, nor attempt to define the very door of their court-house, in which was de- what persons might be admitted as witnesses; nor did tained a fugitive slave, to be fenced with chains, so the jurisdiction of these courts extend beyond controery minister had full legal authority to admit what tramples on all justice, by stooping beneath the em- witnesses he pleased. Yet to give the villany of the slave code the sanction of ecclesiastical example, these Methodist ministers, deliberately, and of their own free will, determine that in the Slave States, no man, bond or free, clergyman or layman, to whom God concern Almighty had given a dark complexion, should be utted in permitted to testify in their church courts, where a the Senate Chamber at Washington upon the person solite man was a party. The testimony of their own of the Hon. Charles Sumner, one of our representa-tives in Congress, by Preston S. Brooks, a member aside as unworthy of credit, on account of the tineto the House of Representatives, in Congress from ture of their skin! By this rule, moreover, the Southern preachers gave themselves the privilege of could justify—a gross breach of parliamentary privi-lege—a ruthless attack upon the liberty of speech—any immorality, provided there were none but col-

ored people' to witness their misdeeds. Surely, a cause of thankfulness, that those who see a cause of thankern Methodists into all this with ness have since withdrawn from the Conference ness have since by themselves, in which, with formed a Unuren by the luxury of despote ush rebuke, they can enjoy the laxury of despote sub-ity over the poor and helpless. I have referred as melancholy and humiliating history to show the moralizing influence, even over Christian minis moranzing main with slaveholders. But als: political union still existing is nearly as disagram our churches. It is to this union that we most go bute the unhappy position of the American Tracts ciety, and the false statements and jesuitical armenta by which those who control it either des themselves or try to deceive the public. Drive to the absurd pretence, that they were constitutes restrained from rebuking the sins of erangelied breeders and traders, while at full liberty to come syangelical smokers and dancers and novel resign evangenear survey that to offend the slaveholder w lessen the circulation of their tracts and curial receipts, and therefore they must do evil and tech countenance sin, for the glory of God and the ain tion of souls! So also, from the same hely motion as we may infer, this same Society, year after the submits all its publications to the absolute and sponsible consorship of a champion and sulgest of American slavery, and an unblushing spologist of it multiplied abominations. 'Again, then, I ask you, gentlemen, what possits

reason have you to expect, that these is Church as State who have surrendered their conscience to the seductions of the Union, will listen to your Call, ed. aid you in breaking a power which they glory in string ? While I believe you are doomed to disappoint. ment, I nevertheless rejoice in every exposure of the immoral influence exerted by the Union. I rejoin in such exposure, as tending, not to bring about disc lution, but to render it unnecessary. When the per ple of the North shall cease to idolize the Unit they will cease to offer on its altar their rights and their duties; when released from their self-impose thraldom to the Slave Power, they will cease to plan its minions in office; when no longer coverous of the trade and the votes of the South, they will no keep be bullied into all manner of wickedness, and into submission to all manner of insult, by the ide mi ever-repeated threats of dissolution. But when the day arrives, the Union will be converted from a care into a blessing. Our lower-law divines, instead of vindicating cruelty and oppression, and denouning as fanatics all who esteem the will of God a high law than an accursed act of Congress, will been preachers of righteousness. Democrats, seting the federal patronage wielded by the friends of ther and the rights of man, will, in the extent and mostly of their conversion to truth and justice, eclipseall the marvels of New England revivals; and men who have for long years been bowed to the earth by sond weakness, will, as by miracle, stand erect. Til g these things come to pass, the North, I am prouded, will continue its union with the South; and viet they do come to pass, you, gentlemen, will have to wish to see that union severed.

At the close of the war, Washington, solicitors the the divine favor might rest with the new-born is. public, publicly offered the prayer that God wall dispose us all to do justice and to love mercy.' May the Union, when exerting an influence in accordance with this prayer, be indissoluble; but God ferbidthet it may ever be saved by promoting, extending sel eperpetuating injustice and cruelty, by invoking the wrath of Heaven, and becoming a proverb and a reproach among the nations of the earth!

I am, very respectfully, Your obedient servant

WILLIAM JAY. Messrs. Higginson, Phillips, Many)

LETTER FROM HENRY C. WRIGHT. Dr. Channing on the Union-Rebellion equant to
Union the one paramount duty of the age and as-

tion-The great Northern Convention. FMYRNA, Chenango co., N. Y. Sunday, Sept. 27, 1857.

The American Union rushes to its doom. The question must soon be brought to a practical

tion, preservation and perpetuation of slavery continued, or shall it be dissolved, and a new Unite formed, on the basis of 'No Union with Slaveholden -of equal rights to all, without regard to color, cites or condition? 'To this point,' says William Eler Channing, has the public mind long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, is passionately, and with manly and Christian resistion,'-i. e., that 'No blessing of the Union can it a compensation for taking part in the enslaving our fellow-creatures : '- to 'this conviction the Fast States are tending.' . The Free States are the partians and essential supports of slavery. We on is jailors and constables of the institution.' Thusar and spoke Dr. Channing, some twelve year apwildered and timid in the stern conflicts of active its saw, as with anointed eyes, that Northern non-law States had ever been, and must ever be, the 'coms bles, jailors and guardians of slavery, while theps ent Union continued. As clearly did he see that's Free States would not always consent to act the per of 'jailars,' for the good of earth's most ruthles?" rants, and most shameless and malignant there as robbers.
Constables and jailors of slavery. It is Gall

truth. The Northern States are this, nothing more, the Northern Church and clergy are this, as a bolt. nothing more; all national political parties are this nothing more; —all, all mere 'constables and julies' to catch, chain, hold and guard slaves, while the Southern allies work their will upon them. In the present political relations to slaveholders, they st constables and jailors' to seize women, while the Southern confederates in the Union, whom East Burritt says it is their 'solemn duty to concluse whip and scourge them, and make them substruct to their brutal lusts. Constables and jules is they to hunt up and seize little children, and has them over to their Southern allies, to be source sold and imbruted. The Northern States, charles ministers and political parties thus consent to be de constables, jailors and guardians of slavery, to esciliate slaveholders, while in theory they proces regard them as the wolves and hyenas of making embodiments of the 'sum of all villany.' Far dis Gerrit Smith, Joshua R. Giddings, Charles Sented, Elihu Burritt, Henry Wilson, Horace Green, Herr W. Beecher, George B. Cheever and others profes regard those with whom they are politically and no giously affiliated. What must be the conditions in consciences, the instincts, and the moral arter & men who seek or continue in a political and response Union with those whom they thus regard! If the have any respect for themselves, any high and it appreciation of their own manhood, how can the trifle with the voice of God in their own souls! The voice assures them that slaveholders are incaration of the 'sum of all villany'; yet, 'to conciliate thes and 'preserve the Union,' they consent to at a constables and jailors' to catch and hold men. men and children for them to scourge, riolate, brute, enslave, dehumanize! They have ther: ward. They lose the distinctive attribute of huse ity, the power to distinguish between good and el and are left to put good for evil and evil for good truth for a lie and a lie for a truth, liberty for size and slavery for liberty. God gives them up to a blindness to believe a lie that they might be day ed.' Their damnation is just. They have sough compromise, to conciliate liberty and slavery, wh

can never be harmonized. They seek to conciliate. under the same form of government, what they believe to be two moral contradictions, and in their own souls they succeed; for there liberty and slavery exist in perfect harmony, and so far as regards any obstacle in their own minds, they could be slaveholde or not, as the case might be. This is the law of the Eternal. He who attempts to reconcile a lie with truth loses the power to discriminate between them, and finally comes into a mental condition in which he is as ready to tell a lie as to speak the truth.

All the above named men, except Gerrit Smith. propose to let slavery alone where it exists under State sovereignty. They consent to its sectional, but onpose its national existence. Politically, they propose not to let it alone, but to protect it in all its assumed rights where it is. Gerrit Smith, by his political ac tion, proposes to annihilate slavery every where. Thus he saves his own soul by rejecting all compromise with this sin. But those who, in any relation. political or religious, social, pecuniary or literary sanction it, must meet the terrors of that law which dooms every man who dares to attempt to reconcile

slavery and liberty. . To this conviction the Free States are tending 'to the conviction that the Union ought not to exist, if it cannot exist without slavery. So thought and spoke Dr. Channing. So says Nature's God, as he is revealed in the heart of every man and woman. Man is before and above the Union, and never to be enslaved to preserve it. The one great obstacle to freedom and justice in this land is, reverence for the American Union-that Union being simply an effort to reconcile liberty and slavery. Up, friends of God and man, and destroy in the North all reverence for this slave-hunting, kidnapping Union ! The moment the mind of any man or woman gets to the point where Dr. Channing stood, he or she has surmounted the great barrier to abolition, has taken the very citadel, or one of them, of slavery. Dr. Channing says, This Union ought not to exist, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in this wrong.' The moment reverence for Man shall supersede reverence for the Union, for money, for the Bible, that moment slavery dies. Cease not to say and do every thing it is right to say and do to destroy this reverence for the Constitution and Union. The only hope of the slave is in the annihilation of all reverence for the decisions of the Supreme Court, for the enactments of Congress, for the Constitution and Union; for then, and only then, can the people see and feel the truth, that Man is above Institutions; that the most abject slave is of more value, and more to be reverenced, than Bibles, creeds, churches, courts, constitutions and unions.

Up, then, all lovers of liberty and haters of slavery Up, all who believe that resistance to slaveholders is obedience to God !-up, all who believe that slavebreeders, slave-drivers, slave-traders, slave-hunters, slave-holders, as such, with all their religious, politi-cal and social abettors and apologists, must be swept, as with a moral and social besom of destruction, from the face of the earth !-up, all in whose souls one spark of manhood or womanhood and self-respec yet remains, and go up to Cleveland on the 28th and 29th of October, and there lend your aid to root out of the Northern heart the last vestige of reverence for this kindnapping Union! The God of the slave will be there to inspire our souls with the spirit of moral and social rebellion against this slave-hunting confederacy. The God of justice, of liberty and humanity, will nerve our souls to the holy act of treason against this ' agreement with hell.' Treason, rebellion against the American Union, moral, social, political and religious treason, is the one paramount duty of the Northern States, at this hour. That man who sustains the American Union, and becomes or continues a part of it, believing it the ally and bulwark of slavery, is a traitor to liberty and humanity, the deadly enemy of his kind. Four millions of men, women and children, turned into brutes and chattels by this Union, cry to Ged and man against marauders and pirates. Their prayer will be heard and answered at Cleveland, I trust.

I have lectured in Hartwick and Jacksonville or these matters, and to-day I speak here, to-morrow in Eastville, next day in Hamilton, and next Sunday. Oct. 4th, in Louisville, Otsego county. Then I go to Norwich, then to Binghampton and to Pennsylvania, to prepare my own soul, by communion with God, for the most imperative and sacred duty of my life, for the time being, i. c., Theason, moral, social, political and religious rebellion, AGAINST THE AMERICAN Union. God speed the right!

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

STATE RIGHTS-THE GOVERNMENT.

Mr. GARRISON: Having taken the unpopular position, that the federal branch of the State governments is not a . Nation. al government,' in the common acceptation of tha phrase, the position will now be proven; or, at least, it will be shown, if this is, in fact, a government of one nation, State or Republic, composed of the whole people of the United States, that it is the most absurd, unjust and anti-Democratic representative government

that ever existed among men. This popular theory of our system necessarily need an examination of all its details. First, then, of the Legislative department.

The two Senators for each State, irrespective of population, are chosen by the State Legislatures. This no one will pretend is a proof of the 'nationality' of the Federal Government, while it does prove the 'nationality of the separate States. Let us see how this startling disparity practically operates among the people of this nameless and imaginary 'nation.'

New York, with a population of 3,097,394, is represented in the United States Senate by but two Senators, while Delaware, with but 91,532 inhabitants, has two members in the Senate. Thus it is proven, by the unerring certainty of figures, that New York actually has more than three millions of her intelligent inhabitants without a shadow of representation in the United States Senate, as compared with Delaware. Admirable equality, this wholesale disfranchisemen of more than three millions of the people of New York in the Senate of the 'nation' !- if it is a 'na tion, and not a confederacy of nations.

In the House of Representatives, each State has one member for every 83,000 inhabitants, and the fractions under that number are not represented in any of the States; and yet these fractions might amount to a population that would give thirty additional members to the House of Representatives. Now, the actual fractions in each State are not represented, not would the supposed fractions, though entitled to thirty members, be represented, although both are entitled to an equal representation with their more favored fellow-citizens, if ours is a 'National' Gov-

This disparity is not, however, so monstrous as in the case of the Senate, but it is equally unjust, because it is exactly the same in principle.

Now, if our theory, that taxation and representation are indissolubly united, be true, then there are over three millions of the people of New York who are taxed without the shadow of representation in the Senate—the most important branch of the Legislature, on account of its extensive powers.

Second, of the Executive department. In electing the President and Vice President, Delaware, with only 91,532 inhabitants, has three votes, that is, one vote for every 30,500 inhabitants; while New York. with 3,097,394 inhabitants, has but thirty-five votes but one vote for every 88,496 inhabitants, leaving the Executive department more than two millions of her intelligent inhabitants who have no choice in selecting the Executive department of the government Nor have they a voice in electing the Vice President, who has the casting vote in the Senate.

ment diminished by its corrupting the other depart-ments, through sustaining the 'Fugitive Slave Law,' believe that it was right of him to buy and sell his in usurping the reserved right of the States, each fellow-man. I can imagine that other size for itself, to determine what 'persons held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, shall be that the man-buyer always acts against his own condelivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be pur.' Not even the 'Dred Scott decision,' base, and contrary to historical facts, as it is, can shake the blind popular devotion to this depart- not consider their slaves as brutes, but as men. ment of the Federal Government. It is true, that I often feel desirous of letting you know, that this decision may have shaken the confidence of some continue to sympathize with you in your labors, and of the old admirers of the judicial department, but that I would gladly aid you, if I had it in my power where now is the Democratic party, once the justly to give you any effectual help. I am moved to its friends? Forgetful alike of the common rights of your side the world, lately sent me by a friend in this humanity, and its old political creed, the Democratic city, whose accompanying remarks I enclose. The party is now basely cringing to the Federal Judiciary paper is, 'The Irish News,' 'Now York, August 15, by sustaining its decisions on the Fugitive Slave Law, and in the Dred Scott Case -both alike destructive of the reserved rights of the States as 'sovereign parties to the Federal Constitution.

Report on the Virginia Resolutions, an extract from paper I send you, as it contains a letter from Joux

the Democratic 'Text Book':-· But it is objected, that the Judicial authority is ous to the essential rights of the parties to it. The resolution supposes that dangerous powers, not delegated, may not only be usurped and executed by the other departments, but that the Judicial department also may exercise or sanction dangerous powers, beyond the grants of the Constitution; and, consequently, that the ultimate right of the parties to judge whether the compact has been dangerously violated must extend to violations by one delegated authority, as well as by another; by the Judiciary as well as the another by the Judiciary as well as the suppose.

rights of the parties to the constitutional compact, rights of the parties to the constitutional compact, from which the Judicial, as well as the other departments, hold their delegated trusts. On any other hypothesis, the delegation of Judicial power would annul the authority delegating it; and the concurrence of this department with the others in usurped powers might subvert for ever, and beyond the possible reach of any rightful remedy, the very Constitution which all were instituted to preserve.

present Executive, in his inaugural, utterly repudiat- has given rise to feelings of loathing and of sorrow sion of the Federal Judiciary, in the then pending the man, who comes forward with a virtuous indigna case of 'Dred Scott,' as he hoped 'every good citizen tion against the too prevailing cant and hypocrisy of

renouncing its political creed, as laid down in the a renewal of the slave trade; and in the support of 'Madison Report,' and succumbing to the Supreme that system of indescribable villany in America, Court, 'as the sole expositor of the Constitution in which her own best citizens have designated, over and the last resort'? If it does, then it denies the sover- over again, as being without a parallel on earth. eignty of the States, sanctions the Federal Govern- Jefferson, himself a slaveholder, declared that God ment in usurping their reserved rights, and will, of had no attribute which could take part with the slavecourse, denounce as a 'traitor' every 'State-Rights' holder, and that one hour of the slave's wrongs was man who, planting himself on the Republican doc- greater than whole ages of such tyranny as American trine of Mr. Jefferson, dares to meet in convention to rose up in rebellion against England to overthow. discuss the question of dissolving this 'confederacy of free, sovereign and independent States.'

Mr. Jefferson says- They would, indeed, consider press my sorrow that such should be the case, in too such a rupture as among the greatest calamities which could befal them; but not the greatest. There is one world by such conduct, which it is hard to account for, yet greater-submission to a government of unlimited

Now, it is an unquestionable fact, that there is no practical difference between submission to a government of unlimited powers,' and submission to a government which is the sole judge of its powers, against the sovereign power of the States who created it. And this is exactly the character of the Federal tion in the last resort.'

and historical facts.

B. G. WRIGHT. Rock Island Co., Ill., Sept. 24, 1857.

INTERESTING LETTER FROM JAMES HAUGHTON, ESQ., OF DUBLIN. No. 35 Eccles St., Dublin,

Sept. 15, 1857.

atrocious expediency of placing man upon the auction -Erin go bragh! block, and knocking him down to the highest bidder. In this noble warfare, you have gathered around you in America some of the best spirits of the age, who Intemperance and drunkenness ruin our people. Our are laboring with you to overthrow one of the great country is now in a prosperous condition; the people impediments to the progress of material comfort, of are employed at fair wages. If they were wise, they civilization and virtue, in the world. Your success could realize comforts not known for many generain this great struggle sometimes seems to be near at tions; but our drinking customs tend greatly to mar hand; sometimes dark clouds intervene, and shut out our present pleasant prospects. These present the the pleasing prospect. Such is the fate of every hugreat bas to our improvement. Great efforts are beman effort to place the happiness of man on a better ing made in Great Britain, and in Ireland also, to and firmer foundation than preceding generations had create a public opinion powerful enough to carry a been able to construct. You are doing a good worka successful good work, I trust—in undermining cant, plished.

I have taken up so much space with other matter, these evils, and in directing attention to that manly as to have left myself little room to say any thing of and straightforward course to the right and the true, the happy fortnight we have just had in Dublin, durwhich all who would improve themselves, and, in so doing, help to improve others, must run, if they would for the Advancement of Science.' I think it probareach the goal. Slavery, that bitter curse, which has ble that the success of this Association may give rise its support as much in the love of power as in the love to a similar movement in America. There is work in of gain, seems to be tottering towards its fall, in your abundance to be done in all directions of human land. The might of a growing enlightened public labor. opinion appears to be increasing in strength; yet you Morally, physically and intellectually, man will have still many barriers to surmount, before the great ever have a wide field open, inviting him to work enday of freedom shall dawn upon your colored race, ergetically for the attainment of higher and nobler and give to all the inhabitants of your States those objects than he has yet secured. Physically and inequal rights, of which none should be deprived in tellectually, what rapid strides have we not made! any land. Injustice, in a greater or less degree, pre- Morally, our course has been indeed slow in compar rails everywhere; there is need of continued vigilance to prevent its encroachments under every form of gov- future. China and India tell a sad and awful tale ernment; the rich are too often unmindful of the rights of the poor, and the poor, in return, are envious of the rich. These evils seem to be inseparable the sword, or, in other words, injustice will bring from our nature; but it is the part of civilization to lessen them as much as possible. It has not yet found out the means of raising the masses to that po-sition of comfort and intelligence, which they, as the architects of all the wealth which exists, are entitled to; but this secret is, I trust, in course of discovery, and that the means of more widely diffusing material wealth and moral good will be found out and acted on. Some view these evils as analogous to slavery, FRANCIS MULLIGAN TO JAS, HAUGHTON, much because of our ignorance of those laws which DEAR SIR: govern the social harmony, as from any real desire to perpetuate the mischiefs complained of; the latter is of the 'Irish Ness,' the leading article of which is

In the third place comes the Judicial department, which, in popular estimation, is the crowning glory of this imaginary, but, as viewed and administered, alarmingly dangerous 'National' Government. Nor is this absurd devotion to the opinions of this depart-

icalous foe to the pretensions of this department and you at present, by the perusal of a newspaper from 1857, owned and edited by THOMAS FRANCIS MEAG-HER, (I send it you per post,) a man whom I once thought as fine and manly a fellow as could be found, and as little likely to abet the enslavement of any of In proof of this, let me quote, from 'Madison's his fellow-creatures, as any other man I knew. This MITCUELL, another Irishman whom I once highly es teemed. A sickening feeling comes over my sou when I consider the conduct of these men, since the But it is objected, that the Judicial authority is to be regarded as the sole expositor of the Constitution in the last resort. • • • 'The proper answer to this objection is, that the resolution of the General Assembly relates to those great and extraordinary cases in which all the forms of the Constitution may prove ineffectual against infractions dangerous to the essential rights of the parties to it. The be found the best and fullest development of man's be found the best and fullest development of man's by the Executive or the Legislative.

'However true, therefore, it may be that the Judicial department is, in all questions submitted to it, by the forms of the Constitution, to decide in the last reprosperity and happiness. John Mitchell, the man who was one of the foremost in endeavoring to estabsort, this resort must necessarily be deemed the last in Ireland, flies from English tyranny to America, and relation to the authorities of the other departments of the Federal Government; not in relation to the porter of that system of unheard of wickedness which rights of the residue of the resort. prevails there, than is perhaps to be found among all those who were born and bred under its influence.

Publish FRANCIS MULLIGAN'S honest and manly letter. I dare say J. Mitchell knows him. At all events, he will take it, if he should see it, as the true sentiment of many a man in Ireland, who once looked on him as a true-hearted friend of liberty, but in This 'Text Book' of the Democratic party, the whose hearts his own published self-condemnation ed, by avowing his determination to abide the deci- We are at one moment astonished at the audacity of the world, to outrage whatever is good and virtuous Will the Democratic party sustain the President in on earth by an unblushing advocacy of slavery, and

What blight is it that comes over the true heart of Irishmen when they land in America? Why do In order to avoid the charge of misstating Mr. Jef- they shake hands with the oppressor? I cannot stop ferson, let me quote his own words, written in 1825. to answer these questions. I have only time to ex many instances. Our country is disgraced before the as the hearts of Irishmen, while at home, do beat in favor of freedom; and the history of our country proves, that, in days of old, our forefathers nobly washed their hands of slavery, because it was an iniquity in the sight of God and man. And furthermore, no slave ship ever sailed from an Irish port.

Irishmen in America, think of these things! The ancient renown of your country pleads with you in Government, if, contrary to the Republican doctaine favor of the rights of man; her present and future of 1796, the Supreme Court of the United States is honor and glory depend on the adherence of her sons to be regarded as the sole expositor of the Constitu- and her daughters to the principles of truth, honor, and justice. I entreat it of you not to allow any sotles the question whether the secession of one or more stand in America for freedom; not freedom for a sec-States would, or would not, constitute the crime of tion, but freedom for all the people. He is recreant treason, it cannot be too thoroughly examined; and to God, unjust to man, faithless to virtue and honor, nothing is better calculated to aid this examination himself a slave in heart and soul, who hesitates to than a reference to the opinions of our early states- proclaim that all men are born free and equal, and men, sustained as they are by irrefutable arguments alike entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' and who will not willingly accord these right to all men, of whatever color and whatever creed. Let it be no longer said that Irishmen in America vote for the continued enslavement of the colored race, or that they are unwilling, or afraid, to meet them in fair, and open, and manly competition for the wealth and honors and comforts of social life. Act thus fairly and wisely in the land of your adoption, and you will gain that respect which you have failed You are still battling against the great crime of to secure by a contrary policy. Add to which, you making merchandise of human beings-against the will reflect bright and unfading honor on Old Ireland

While you are battling in America against slavery, we have a terrible evil to contend against in Ireland.

ison. May we all strive to pull up this lee-way in against us. To the end of the chapter it will prove

I must conclude hastily, with the kindest regards

Your affectionate friend, JAMES HAUGHTON.

Some friend in New York has forwarded me a copa direct and high-handed infringement of the plain letter in defence of slavery (!!) by a ci-devant Irish and indubitable right of every man, in virtue of his patriot (?) Joux Mirchell.

manhood. To place an intelligent being, who, if his faculties be expanded, is capable of thinking and rearecorded sentiments of one with whom I once had a soning as man does, beyond all other animals on sympathy, and although you too must feel mortified earth, in the same category as the unreaconing—or in reading the unblushing spottacy of one with whom

you have been on terms of intimacy, yet still, as he does you the favor of sneering at your name, I send

men will stoop, when they abandon the pilotage of principle, and are only guided by sordid interests. While in Ireland, had John Mitchel sighed for a plantation in Alabama, or speculated, as he now says h does, in the fall in price of human cattle, and attempted to give currency to such sentiments while here, he would have been justly hooted from the community, and branded as a diabolical monster, and his papers would have been no more read than if each communicated a plague. But a change of climate brought on a change of feeling. He who was here a zealous patriot,—who spoke loudest, and wrote ablest, while in Ireland,-when in Tennessee, sustained by its slave-driving population, boldly endorses all the inequalities of this most iniquitous system, and with more than the ferocity of a Legree, hopes for the extension of the trade, that the South may become still richer! There are many sentiments in the letter far too horrible to be calmly reasoned with; but, to me, the bitterest reflection is, that the writer is one who was at one time looked upon in this country as a respectable

Most respectfully, FRANCIS MULLIGAN. J. HAUGHTON, Esq.

MOND with the Anti-Slavery movement, his well attested eloquence on both sides of the Atlantic, and also his identity by race and complexion with the enslaved of this country, would commend him to the people of Cleveland, more strongly than almost any ther of our lecturing auxiliaries. Arrangements were made for three evenings, but a combination of causes has defeated the whole object.

On the first evening, the equinoctial storm, which had been impending for a day or two, had fairly set in, and the wind and rain were most executive. Of course, no one thought of going to the lecture, though both the speakers were on the spot at the hour.

The second evening was more favorable as to the weather, but the attendance was meagre enough; and to-day, the storm has returned with increasing fury. So nothing will be done; and the Disunion Convention will find almost entirely a virgin soil on which to commence its revolutionary operations.

The promise and prospect for that occasion are most favorable. Cleveland, on account of its commerce and other considerations, may not show it much favor; but the country is getting tired of its league with southern plunderers and pirates; -and many are not less tired of depending on political parties, to rid them of such alliance. The Republican party, by its late action on colored suffrage in Connecticut, New York, Iowa, Minnesota and Kansas, has confirmed most conclusively its own oft-repeated declaration, that it is only the ' White Man's Party '-and it has re-affirmed, with most stunning power, the Dred Scott Decision, that the black man has no rights which the white man is bound to respect. And then the determination to support the least Anti-Slavery, instead of the most Anti-Slavery men, for every important office, (like Nathaniel P. Banks in Massachusetts, and Salmon P. Chase in Ohio,) is fast opening the eyes of the public to the real character of those who govern its councils, and enjoy the spoils. And so, very many are ready to take a revolutionary position.

The Convention will not awaken the opposition we had reason to expect. The sorcery of the word Union is broken. The true value of the Union is now well understood. Even Daniel Webster would not now ask to be its saviour, to take his pay in the Presidency We shall hear few more threats to dissolve it, coming up from the South. Nor will Wilson and Hale ever make any more such speeches in the Senate, to its honor and praise, as those made last winter in 'de-fence of the Republican party.' Both sides of Mason, R. J. Hinton, Lawrence, Karsis, and Dixon's line, the people are fast coming to their senses. The South see that slavery must be their damnation, without the Union; but the North also sec, that the Union must ever be a curse to them, with slavery in it; - and we shall soon have the battle joined.

The Convention could not be at a better time. Yourself, PHILLIPS, and HIGGINSON, are waited for here at the West most impatiently. Your words will go forth with power. Never, surely, were expectations so great. Ever yours,

PARKER PILLSBURY.

COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION. A Proposal to pay the robber nine times as much as the robbed-A Convention of Fogies-O, the folly of sinners!

CORNVILLE, (Me.) Sept. 13, 1857.

with what deep disgust must every true lover of truth and right feel at the blasphemous doings of the above described Convention! What idea of the principles of right has any man, who offers to a slaveholder who has lived all his life-time in idleness, two hundred and fifty dollars, and then insults the slave by offering him the mere pittance of twenty-five dollars? Insult! Mockery! Shame on the men! God search they may never hold a second Convention !

Compensated emancipation! The people who met in that Convention see no sin in slavery. They do not look upon the slave as good as the one who calls himself by that unchristian word, master. They look upon the slave himself by that unchristian word, master. They look upon the slaveholder as a gentleman, whose pocket they will proceed to the Twelfth Baptist vestry, and participate in a social entertainment. must be full of money, while the poor slave must not have more than enough to support himself three months. Akin, of South Carolina, with a thousand slaves, must have the snug little sum of \$250,000 in his pocket, while one of his crippled and broken-down slaves is to receive the mighty sum of \$25! That was in my opinion, the most outrageous Convention eve held in this country. Pay the robber-for what? Is slaveholding right ? This is the first question to be settled. If slaveholding is right, then we will stop talking about it forever. But if it is a sin, a crime of the deepest dye, then it is certainly a sin to offer to pay the robber to relinquish his grasp upon the throat of his victim. Ye advocates of compensated emanci-pation, is there to be no repentance for this 'sum of all villanies'? I wish to know what are your ideas of right and wrong. Afflicted brothers and sisters groaning to be delivered from your terrible oppression, look not to these men as your helpers, for they are not. You have true friends, who are striking for your deliverance—even against this infernal governs and when it goes down, you shall go free.
Yours for the redemption of man,

8. MITCHELL.

APPOINTMENT. Mrs. FRANCES H. DRAKE, O minster, has been appointed by the Executive very Society, and a Collecting Agent for the Anti-Slavery Tract Fund. [Standard, please copy.]

We would remind all concerned that Plede made to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society at its annual meeting in January last, or previously to that time, are now payable. The amounts may be ded to SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer, or to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 21 Cornhill, Boston.

From Steamship Central America.—The Bremes bark Laura, from Bremen, arrived at New York, reports: Sept. 28th, lat. 40.54, long. 60, at 2 P. M. spoke Br. brig Mary, of Greenock, from Cardenas for Queenstown, and took from her J. Tice, 2d engineer: Alexander Grant, fireman, and G. W. Dawson, a passenger, whom the Mary had rescued from the Central America.

ral America.

Mr. Tice was 72 hours drifting on a plank. On the fourth morning, drifted by a boat, and succeeded getting into her, and on the 5th picked up Alexander Grant, a fireman, who had been five days on part of the company of the boat of the boat of the company o getting into her, and on the 5th picked up Alexander Grant, a fireman, who had been five days on part of the hurricane deck. Grant having swam to the boat, the two then pulled for the hurricane deck, and took from it G. W. Dawson, a passenger. There had been 12 men on that part of the wreck, the names of some of whom are, George Buddington, 3d Engineer, 'died;' John Bank, Coal passer, 'died;' Patrick Card, do; Evers, a fireman and 6 passers, names unknown, all 'died.' Messrs. Tice, Dawson, and Grant, were 8 days without water or provisions, the sea making a breach over them most of the time. The 2d day after the steamer went down, saw a number of passengers on pieces of wreck, but could not assist them.—Mr. Tice saw Capt. Herndon just before the ship went down.

down.

Messrs. Tice, Dawson and Grant are in a sad condition, having been badly bruised, and are full of boils, having been constantly in the water.

Pennstivania Annual Meeting. The Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society is to be held this year in West Chester, on Friday and Saturday, the 23d and 24th of October. Wm. LLOYD GARRISON is to be present; and as the time and place are such as to make it easily practicable, it is believed that others from New England, who may LETTER FROM PARKER PILLSBURY.

CLEVELAND, (Ohio,) October 2, 1857.

DRAR FRIEND GARRISON:

Our noble and untiring friend, Mr. WILLIAM PARKER, of this city, invited Mr. and Miss Remond to come and give the people a few lectures on the subject of slavery, as a preparatory step to the Disunion Convention, to be field here the last of this month.—

It was presumed that the long connection of Mr. Remond with the Anti-Slavery movement, his well at-

TREASURER'S REPORT Of Receipts from August 1st to October 1st, 1857. Rec'd from Francis Jackson, to redeem pledges,

From S. May, Jr., for collections from Abijah Allen, Millbury, Mrs. Denny, Clappville, William Sparrell, Boston, Joseph Goddard, New York, 2 00 5 00 S. May, Jr., (all to redeem pledges,) 10 00 from a friend in Dorchester, 1 00-Rec'd from S. May, Jr., am't of collec-1 00-131 39

Rec'd from A. T. Foss, for collec-tions in Blackstone, R. I., \$11, Millville 2 61, Southboro' 2 25, Manchester 2, 4 25 Marlboro' 4 20, Milford 2 17, 6 37 Marlboro' 4 20, Milford 2 17, Hyannis 3 60, F. Hinckley 3, D. Hinckley 2, 8 60-32 8

From S. May, Jr. for collections from Rev. F. Frothingham, Portland, to redeem pledge, 1 Nancy L. Howes, Barnstable, to redeem pledge, Mrs. E. Smith, Charlestown, Bal. of collection 1st Aug., at Abing-5 00- 21 00 ton,

From C. L. Remond, for collections in Sandwich 3, Nantucket 12 69, Nantucket A. S. Society, 15 69 10 00--25 69 From S. May, Jr., for collections, viz., G. and H. B. Draper, Hopedale, to 50 00

redeem pledge, in part, C. B. McIntire, Reading, 5 00; R. W. Henshaw, Boston, 5 00 : John C. Haynes, Boston, 10 00; Mrs. Ma-lone, Boston, 3 00; Miss Williamson, 1 00; Maria W.Chapman 20 00; (all to redeem pledges,)

44 00

Friend in Cambridgeport 50c, A. D.

Tasker, West Milan, N. H., 2 50, 3 00

Collection at Plorence, Mass., 4 14
Do. at Cummington Convention, 26 69 Samuel L. Hill, Florence, 8 50 1 00—137 3: SAMUEL PHILERICK, Treasurer Mass. A. S. Society. Brookline, Oct. 1, 1857.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Donations for the Tract Fund.

Friend in Portland, Me., for Rev. F. Frothingham' FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

COLLECTIONS at the Cummington Meeting, for the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society.

Richmond Kingman \$5, Nathaniel Tower 3, Nelso Brown 1, John Everett 50c, Hiram Steele 50c, Hiram Holmes 1, Alden Tower 1, Hiram Brown, Jr., 2, Asa Merritt 1, H. Brown 50c, James Trow 25c, E. Hunt 25c, E. B. Knapp 50c, Levi Kingman 1, E. B. Cole 25c, G. W. Gurney 50c, A. Brewster 25c, C. W. Tillson 25c, A. D. Bates 25c, H. D. Reed 25c, F. E. Shaw 25c, Milton Brewster 20c, cash, in various sums, 6 29.

THE WEYMOUTH ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR will be opened on Monday Evening, THE SECOND OF NOVEMBER, at Mr. WALES'S HALL, Weymouth

Landing.

The Managers earnestly solicit the aid of their fellow citizens of the town and county to make this lit-tle effort even more worthy than ever of the great Cause that involves the honor and salvation of all

NOTICE.-THE LADIES' BENEVOLENT FIRM

Services at the church will commence at half-past 7 o'clock, to which all their friends and the public are GEORGIANA O. SMITH, President.

ELIZABETH C. SMITH, Secretary pro ten AARON M. POWELL, an Agent of the

American Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture in Sherman, Chataque Co., N. Y., Saturday and Sun-day, Oct. 10 and 11.

CF SUSAN B. ANTHONY and AARON M. POWELL, Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings at Westfield, Cha. Co.,, N. Y., Oct. 5 and 6. Laodi. " " 7 and 8. " 7 and 8. Laodi, " " " "

CONVENTIONS at Linesville, Pa. Saturd vy and Sunday, Oct. 17 and 18. Painesville, Ohio, Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 17

To be attended by Wm. Wells Brown, Aaron M. Powell, and Susan B. Anthony. EF WM. WELLS BROWN will speak at Lock-

port. Pa., Thursday, Oct. 15. SUSAN B. ANTHONY will lecture at Stockton, N. Y., Friday, Hartfield, " Sunday, Oct. 9.

EF SITUATION WANTED.—An able-bodied an, well recommended, wants work on a farm, or herwise. Apply to WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

TO LECTURE COMMITTEES.

Prof. Wr. Stramorov Brown, M. D., intimates that his new lectures, 'Facts, Fun, and Fancy about the Nervous System,' and 'The Poetry and Magic of Science,' are ready for delivery before Lyceums, ac. The latter will be illustrated by many curious experiments, including the new one of lighting a candle with an icicle!

Address, 274 Washington street.

DIED-In this city, on Friday morning last, Oct. 2d, Charlotte E. Newell, widow of the late Thoxas Newell, of Lowell, in the 64th year of her ago.

A NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE

PHILLIPS, SAMPSON & CO.

RESPECTIVILLY ANNOUNCE, THAT, ON THE FIRST OF NOVEMBER, THEY WILL COMMENCE THE ISSUE OF

THE Atlantic Monthly.

THEY will aim to furnish the reading public a no source of amusement and instruction, and to give
to authors a new and independent vehicle of thought.
The current literature, and the prominent questions
of the day, will receive due attention; while, at the
same time, no pains will be spared to present an attractive miscellany of tales, sketches, and poetry, from

the best writers.

Among other contributors, they are permitted to name the following, from whom articles may be ex-

WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT,
RAIPH WALDO EMERSON,
WM. C. BRYANT,
HENRY W. LONGFELLOW,
Rev. F. H. HEDGE, D.D.,
South, 'etc.

Mrs. H. BERCHER STOWE,
Mrs. GASKELL,
Author of 'Ruth,' 'Marry Barton,' 'North and
South,' etc. Mrs. H. BERCHER STOWE. South, etc. Mrs. L. MARIA CRILD, NATR'L HAWTHORNE, JOHN G. WHITTIER, JORN G. WHITTER, Mrs. C. M. KIRKLAND,
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, Mrs. PIKE,
JAMES R. LOWELL,
J. LOTHROP MOTLEY,
Caste, etc. Miss Rose Terry.

MILEIE COLLINS,
Author of the 'Dead
Secret,' etc.
C. RUPPINI,
Author of 'Doctor An-E. P. WHIPPLE, EDMUND QUINCY, Author of 'Wensley,'
J. T. TROWREIDOE,
Author of 'Neighbor tonio, etc. SHIRLEY BROOKS, Court, etc.

E. M. WHITTY,

Political Author of 'Aspen C. W. PHILLEO, Author of Twice Married,

HERMAN MELLVILLE,

Author of 'I Portraits,' &c. Author of 'Wice Married, Author of 'Singleton Fon- C. F. Bruges, tenoy,' Thos. W. Pansons.

The attention of authors is respectfully invited to this advertisement. All articles received will be carefully examined, and, if accepted, will be liberally paid

for.

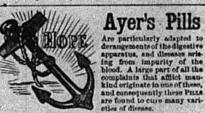
The publishers will aim to have each number ready in time for distribution and sale in the more remote parts of the country, on or before the first day of the month for which it is intended.

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apparatus, and diseases arising from impurity of the blood. A large part of all the complaints that afflict man-kind originate is one of these, and consequently these Pitta are found to cupe many vari-cties of disease.

As a FAMILY PHYSIC.

From Dr. E. W. Corneright, of New Orleans.

"Your Pills are the prince of purges. Their excellent qualities surpass any catharite we possess. They are mild, but very certain and effectual in their action on the bowels, which makes them invaluable to us in the daily treatments.

From Dr. Theodore Bell, of New York City.

"Not only are your Pills admirably adapted to their purpose as an aperient, but I find their beneficial effects upon the Liver very marked indeed. They have in my practice proved more effectual for the cure of billious complaints than any one remody I can mention. I sincerely rejoice that we have at length a purgative which is worthy the confidence of the profession and the people." DYSPERSIA - INDIGESTION.

DYSPHYSIA — INDIGESTION.

From Dr. Henry J. Ener, of St. Louis.

The PILLS you were kind enough to send me have been all used in my practice, and have satisfied me that they are truly an extraordinary medicine. So peculiarly are they adapted to the diseases of the human system, that they seem to work upon them alone. I have cured some cases of dysperia and indigestion with them, which had resisted the other remedies we commonly use. Indeed I have experimentally found them to be effectual in almost all the complaints for which you recommend them.

DYSENTERY — DIARRHURA — RELAX.

Fram Dr. J. G. Green, of Chicago.

"Your PILS have had a long trial in my practice, and I hold them in esteem as one of the best aperients I have ever found. Their alterative effect upon the liver makes them an excellent remedy, when given in small doses, for believes dysentery and diarrhent. Their sugar-coaling makes them very acceptable and convenient for the use of women and children."

INTERNAL OBSTRUCTION-WORMS-SUPPRESSION From Mrs. E. Stuart, who practices as a Physical England. "I find one or two large doses of your Pills, taken at the proper time, are excellent promotives of the natural secre-tion when wholly or partially suppressed, and also very effectual to cleaned the atomach and expel worms. They are so much the best physic we have that I recommend no other to my patients."

CONSTIPATION — COSTIVENESS.

From Dr. J. P. Vusqua, Montreal, Cossada.

"Too much cannot be said of your PILEs for the curs of controvers. If others of our fraternity have found them as efficacious as I have, they should join me in proclaiming it for the bensit of the multitudes who suffer from that complaint, which, although bad enough in itself, is the progenitor of others that are worse. I believe contieness to originate in the liver, but your Piles affect that organ and cure the disease."

originate in the liver, but your Fills affect that organ and cure the disease."

IMPURITIES OF THE BLOOD — SCROPULA — ERYSIPELAS — SALT RHEUM — TETTER — TUMORS
— RHEUMATISM — GOUT — NEURLAGIA.

"You were right, bootor, in saying that your Pills purify
the blood. They do that. I have used them of late years in
my practice, and serve with your statements of their efficacy.
They stimulate the exerviories, and carry off the impurities
that stagnate in the blood, engendering disease. They
stimulate the organs of digestion, and infuse vitality and
vigor into the system.
"Such remedies as you prepare are a national benefit, and
you deserve great credit for them."

POR HEADACHE — SICK HEADACHE—FOUL STOM.

you deserve great credit for them."

FOR HEADACHE — SICK HEADACHE — FOUL STOMACH — PILES — DROPSY — PLETHORA — PARALYSIS — FIRS — &C.

From Dr. Edward Boyd, Baltimore.

"DIAR DR. ATER: I cannot answer you what complaints I have cured with your Pills better than to say dil that we eare treat with a purgative molicine. I place great dependence on an effectual cathartic is my daily contest with disease, and believing as I do that your Pills afford us the best we have, I of course value them lighty."

E3— Most of the Pills in market contain Mercury, which, although a valuable remedy in skilful hands, is dangerous in a public pill, from the dreadful consequences that frequently follow its incautious use. These contain no markey ry or mineral substance whatever.

Aver's Cherry Pectoral

Has long been manufactured by a practical chemist, and every onnce of it under his own eye, with invariable accuracy and care. It is sealed and protected by law from counterfolis, and consequently can be relied on as genuine, without adulteration. It supplies the surest remedy the world has ever known for the cure of all pulmonary complaints; for Course, Course, Hoarskrass, Astriba, Chour, Whoottson Course, Bouschittis, Inceriesty Consumerious, and for the relief of consumptive patients in advanced stages of the disease. As time makes these facts wider and better known, this medicine has gradually become the best railsance of the afflicted, from the log cabin of the American peasant to the palaces of European kings. Throughout this entire country, in every state and city, and indeed almost every hamlet it contains, Curaxy Perconat is known as the best of all remedies for diseases of the throat and lungs. In many foreign countries it is extensively used by their most intelligent physicians. If there is any dependence on what men of every station certify it has done for them; if we can trust our own senses when we see the dangerous affections of the lungs yield to it; if we can depend on the assurance of intelligent physicians, whose business is to know; in short, if there is any reliance upon any thing, then is it irrefutably proven that this medicine does cure the class of diseases if its designed for, beyond any and all other remodies known to mankind. Nothing but its intrinsic virtues, and the unmistakable bourfit conferred on thousands of enferers, could originate and manhain the reputation it enjoys. While many inferior remedies have been thrust upon the community, have falled, and been thrust upon the community, have falled, and been thrust upon the community, have falled, and been thrust upon the community hang forgot remedies have been thrust upon the community hang falled, and been thrust upon the community hang forgot remedies have been thrust upon the community hang falled, they can never forget, and

Prepared by Dr. J. C. AYER, PRACTICAL AND ANALYTICAL CHEMIST, LOWELL, MASS

NEW ENGLAND

PEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE. THE Tenth Annual Term will commence on the farst Wednesday of November, 1857, and continue seventeen weeks. Propressons: Enoch C. Rolfe, M. D., Theory and Practice of Medicine; John K. Palmer, M. D., Materia Medica, Therapeutics, and Chemistry; Wm. Symington Brown, M. D., Anntony and Surgary; Stephen Tracy, M. D., Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; Wm. Symington Brown, M. D., Physiology, Hygiene, and Medical Jurisprudence; Mary R. Jenks, M. D., Demonstrator of Anatomy; Frances S. Cooke, M. D., Assistant Intractor.

tructor.

Pees, \$5 for each of the seven Tickets. Free tul-ion to forty Students, in Massachusetts, from Stat-

SAMUEL GREGORY, M. D., Suo'r, Boston

Sept. 11.

Elizabeth R. Goodwin,

B. Chalenor, E. J. Humphrey,

Jason Barton.

O. Johnson

S. J. May,

Isanc Post,

L. Wetmore,

John Ketcham,

Henry B. Lord, David McCormick,

George B. Vashon,

John Goodrich,

John C. Porter.

M. J. Smith.

Azariah Smith,

James Boyle,

Thomas P. Nichols,

H. Morris Henry,

Alson Brownson,

Sarah Ann Dean,

L. L. Flower,

John Russell,

Elsie Smith,

Thomas Cole,

Ira Comstock

R. R. Chapin,

Thomas Barrow

Oliver Coleman,

Lucy Brownson,

Margaret Dean,

Aaron Marsh,

Job Crapo,

Elijah Moore.

J. K. Post,

Miles B. Fenton

Daniel Hitchings,

D. M. Anthony,

Thomas Hamilton,

Susan B. Anthony

Jennie C. Post,

Moses Tucker.

Silas Town.

Joseph A. Allen.

Alanson Thorpe,

Rowland Johnson,

Benjamin Rulon,

Philip Woolton,

Leonard Sparks,

Joseph Haines,

Frances Leap,

Anna M. Black,

Louisa K. Gaskill,

Anna E. Gaskill.

Mary Anna Black.

John Tillinghast.

W. W. Walker,

John Whitely,

Thomas Whitson,

Robert Dickey,

John Jay Porter.

Isaac Lardner.

C. St. John,

Milton Ayres,

Joseph Line,

Nelson J. Benedict,

William F. Parker,

F. J. Reeve,

Zaphna Stone,

M. R. Robinson,

Joshua Whinery

David Galbreath

Darius L. Oviatt,

Jacob Millisack,

Samuel Holmes,

B. M. Elliott,

J. Brockway,

MICHIGAN.

INDIANA.

ILLINOIS.

Iowa.

Abraham Allen

R. W. Melendy,

A. L. Power.

L. B. Russell.

W. Weeks,

J. H. Woods.

Cyrus Fuller,

Edwin Fuller.

Les W Gange

Harris Jennies.

T. T. Puckett,

Lemuel S. Jones,

John S. Stafford.

John Phinney,

John S. Stafford.

B. G. Wright.

D. H. Morgan,

W. S. Ottman.

E. D. Phelps,

Gilbert S. Skeel,

J. M. Westover,

Lot Holmes,

Edwin James.

Edward Turner,

Cromwell Wilson.

Benjamin D. Pierce.

A. R. Russell.

F. Hoover,

Thomas B. Morse,

John M. Thornburgh,

A. P. Swarthout,

Charles P. Walton

Thomas B. Thorn,

Thomas Casperson,

Seth H. Leap,

Sylvester C. Haynes,

G. W. Benson, Cornelius Bramhall, -

Valentine H. Hallock.

Lewis Spaulding,

Joseph Post,

NEW YORK.

Caroline H. Camp,

POETRY.

PROMETHEUS UNBOUND. Strength and Force their victim chained, and the mighty Titan anguished; He nor rest nor ease obtained ; Ages past, yet still he languished: Ages came, and ages past, Still the bolts and chains were fast.

Ages past; still Force and Strength Held their victim, justice scorning; But the dawn appears at length, Ushering the glorious morning When nor Strength nor Force shall bind Fetters round the free-born mind.

What does this old fable teach?-Throwing off the rude dominic Of brute Force, free Mind shall reach Heights unscaled by soaring pinion, Love and Duty leading on To the footstool of God's throne.

JANE ASHBY. Tenterden, (England.)

GOD.

WRITTEN BY THE RUSSIAN POET, DERZHAVEN. O Thou Eternal One! whose presence bright All space doth occupy, all motion guide, Unchanged through Time's all-devastating flight, Thou only God! there is no God beside! Being above all beings! Mighty One! Whom none can comprehend, and none explore; Who fill'st existence with Thyself alone-Embracing all—supporting—ruling o'er— Being whom we call God—and know no more!

In its sublime research, philosophy May measure out the ocean deep-may count The sands, or the sun's rays-but, God! for Thee There is no weight nor measure-none can mount Up to thy mysteries; Reason's brightest spark, Though kindled by Thy light, in vain may try To trace Thy counsels, infinite and dark; And thought is lost ere thought can soar so high, Even like past moments in eternity. .

Thou from primeval nothingness didst call First, chaos-then, existence-Lord, on Thee Eternity had its foundation-all Sprang forth from Thee-of light, joy, harmony, Sole origin-all life, all beauty Thine-Thy word created all, and doth create; Thy splendor fills all space with rays divine: Thou art, and wert, and shalt be! Glorious! great Life-giving, life-sustaining Potentate!

Thy chains the unmeasured universe surround-Upheld by Thee, by Thee inspired with breath: Thou the beginning with the end hast bound, And beautifully mingled life and death ! As sparks mount upwards from the fiery blaze, So suns are born, so worlds spring forth from Thee : And as the spangles in the sunny rays Shine round the silver snow, the pageantry Of Heaven's bright army glitters in Thy praise.

A million torches, lighted by Thy hand, Wander unwearied through the blue abyss; They own Thy power, accomplish Thy command, All gay with life, all eloquent with bliss. What shall we call them? Piles of crystal light?' A glorious company of golden streams? Lamps of celestial ether burning bright? Suns lighting systems with their joyous beams ?-But Thou to these art as the noon to night!

Yes, as a drop of water in the sea. All this magnificence in Thee is lost! What are ten thousand worlds compared to Thee? And what am I, then ? Heaven's unnumbered ho Though multiplied by myriads, and arrayed In all the glory of sublimest thought, Is but an atom in the balance, weighed Against Thy greatness-is a cipher brought Against Infinity! O, what am I, then? Nought!

Nought ! yet the effluence of Thy light divine, Pervading worlds, hath reached my bosom too; And in my spirit doth Thy spirit shine, As shines the sunbeam in a drop of dew. Nought! yet I live, and on Hope's pinions fly Eager towards Thy presence: for in Thee I live, and breathe, and dwell : aspiring high Even to the throne of Thy divinity :-I am, O God, and surely Thou must be !

Thou art! directing, guiding all, Thou art! Direct my understanding, then, to Thee; Control my spirit, guide my wandering heart: Though but an atom 'midst immensity, Still I am something, fashioned by Thy hand I hold a middle rank 'twixt heaven and earth, On the last verge of mortal being stand, Close to the realms where angels have their birth-Just on the boundary of the spirit land!

The chain of being is complete in me; In me is matter's last gradation lost : And the next step is spirit-Deity! I can command the lightning, and am dust! A monarch, and a slave-a worm, a God! Whence came I here? and how so marvellously Constructed and conceived? Unknown! This clod Lives surely through some higher energy, For from itself alone it could not be

Creator! Yes, Thy wisdom and Thy word Created me! Thou Source of life and good! Thou Spirit of my spirit, and my Lord! Thy light, thy love, in their bright plenitude, Filled me with an immortal soul, to spring Over the abyss of death, and bade it wear The garment of eternal day, and wing Its heavenly flight beyond this little sphere, Even to its source-to Thee-its author there. O, thought ineffable! O, vision blest! Though worthless our conceptions all of Thee, Yet shall Thy shadowed image fill our breast, And waft its homage to thy Deity. God! thus alone my lowly thoughts can soar; Thus seek thy presence-Being wise and good; Midst thy vast works admire, obey, adore; And when the tongue is eloquent no more,

OUR MISSION. Bravely the shocks of life to bear, The tasks of duty to perform-A calm, sweet look of faith to wear Alike in sunshine and in storm; The joys of others to prefer, And strive for, rather than our own Serenely every hope defer, And bear our sorrows all alone To walk this earth like Paul, and catch With him the Spirit of our Lord, Never so faintly-well might match The largest strength our souls afford Would we have character and name?

The soul shall speak in tears of gratitude!

HOLD UP YOUR HEAD! Hold up your head, O, man of grief, Nor longer to the tempest liend, Or soon or late must come relief-The coldest, darkest night will end Hope in the true heart never dies! Trust on-the day-star yet shall rise ! Conscious of purity and worth. You may with calm assurance wait The tardy recompense of earth;
And, e'en should justice come too late

To soothe the spirit's homeward flight,

Still Heaven, at last, the wrong will right.

Such be our mission, such our fame!

The Liberator.

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 mitions, between whom harmony is impossible, and even ordinary intercourse is becoming J. F. Cleveland,

possible, and even ordinary intercourse is becoming dangerous;

And, whereas, Slavery has now gained entire control over the three branches of our National Government, Executive, Judiciary, and Legislative; has 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 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 the Henry Northup,

fathers rose in arms to repel;
And, whereas, there seems no probability that the 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

CLEVELAND, (Ohio,) on Wednesday and Thurs-Richard Robbins, DAY, October 28th and 29th, 1857, to consider the Levi West. practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation of the Free and Slave States, and to take such other measures as the condition of the times

Levi West,

Levi Pect,

Benjamin Philbrick, may require.

MAINE. Peter Libbey,

Isaac J. Merrill,

Peter L. Morrill,

John O. Parmer.

M. F. Whittier.

Caroline Foster.

Sarah H. Southwick,

Elizabeth Mountfort.

Mary S. Mountfort,

Anne S. Mountfort,

Mary E. Lefavor,

B. F. Hutchinson

Joseph Philbrick,

Geo. O. Paul,

Nath'l White.

R. W. Higgins.

Nathaniel Esty,

Daniel Aldrich.

Gaius Hall,

Lucy Rickard,

Almira Allen.

Clarissa G. Olds.

Lucy M. Tilton,

Abby P. Browne,

Sarah A. Higgins,

E. S. Preston,

Abby Alcott,

A. D. Tasker.

N. R. Johnston,

Joshua Ross,

S. M. Seaver,

Parker McNiece.

L. G. Bigelow,

Rollin Bradley.

Wm. Weston,

T. Bigelow,

Wm. Dow,

John E. Palmer,

Samuel B. Nichols,

Hannah Raymond,

Jane D. Richardson

Elnathan Davis,

Nathaniel Hall,

John P. Jewett.

Charles F. Hovey,

Frank B. Sanborn,

Hiram Brown, Jr.,

Ebenezer White,

J. M. Wiley,

J. Q. Adams,

B. Carter.

Samuel May, Jr.

George H. Locke,

John Nesmith,

Henry Abbott,

David Tenny,

N. H. Whiting,

H. A. Philbrook,

D. W. Aldrich.

Arza Bardwell,

Wesley Barry,

William Ashby,

S. E. Bridgman,

Luther M. King,

Nathaniel Harlow.

Samuel Johnson, Jr.

Amory L. Babcock,

Sylvester C. Fay,

Jefferson Church,

Moses Sawin,

A. S. Currier.

Wm. H. Knapp

Charles C. Breck

Rebecca T. P. Collins

Rosamond S. Pool,

Nancy L. Howes,

Charlotte Roberts.

Harriette M. Carlton,

Cynthia C. Pomeroy,

Fanny Staples,

Martha Clapp,

Mary Willey,

A. R. Janes.

J. Towne,

A. Parmenter,

B. F. Lawton.

Samuel B. Chace,

Jonathan Chase,

James H. Chace,

Jane Wilkinson

Nancy Haswill.

William A. Sherma

Elizabeth S. Weeks.

Anna T. Fairbanks,

S. T. Janes, Elizabeth B. Chace,

M. E. Whitcomb

Louisa Chapin,

F. N. Rust.

Rebecca C. Trask

Stillman Smith.

Jonathan Buffum,

Rufus Rockwood,

Newland M. Merritt

Cromwell Leonard.

Chauncey Richardson,

Elhanan Winchester

R. K. Gould,

John R. Banton. William Cushman, J. B. Drew, John Hanscom S. S. Henderson. James Mountfort, Newell A. Foster. Joseph P. Fessenden Frank Wiggin, Ashbel Chaplin, Ansel S. Fitch,

NEW HAMPSHIRE. A. Bronson Alcott, Alonzo Allen, Benjamin Chase, Jehiel Claffin, P. B. Coggswell, John D. Norton, Levi Pickard, Alonzo Knight, Solomon Clement. George P. Robinson, Thomas L. Kennard, Wm. P. L. Badger, George K. Smith, James H. Swett. John Mills, Samuel Ames, Henry Gould, Wm. Boynton,

VERMONT. Alonzo Blair. T. S. Bliss, W. H. H. Claffin John Gilliss, William Hayward, Thomas N. Bradley, Alonzo Blair, Reuben Perkins, Milo Durfey, 2d, Samuel Robinson G. C. Hayward, D. F. Bolster, Benjamin Child, Asa Divoll,

John K. Walker.

Samuel Mills, MASSACHUSETTS. William I. Bowditch, Thomas Earle, Chauncey Clarke. C. H. Codman. James N. Buffum, Lewis Ford; Micah H. Pool, Philip R. Merriam, Alvan Howes, Samuel Philbrick, W. L. Burt, D. R. Samson, G. E. Child. Thomas Martin, Thomas A. Chandler, Charles Follen. George Atkinson, Richard Kingman, F. H. Dawes, Joseph Merrill, W. F. Endicott.

Richard Clap, Ira Adams, William Spooner, Benjamin Snow, Jr., P. S. Kimball, Spencer Hodges, Calvin Grover. Samuel Bent, John Sawin, B. L. Emerson Moses Wright, William Fearing Calvin H. Young John Cushing, William Tower, William B. Harrington Erastus Forbush, Samuel Henry, Eli Cross, Urbane Hitchcock, Charles H. White, Joseph Crafts, William Tucker, Effingham L. Capron, Caleb Capron, Alfred Wyman, John K. Crane,

Mary May, Frances H. Drake, Nancy H. Abbott, C. W. Mellen, (Rev.) Sophia Fay, Maria W. Chapmar Hannah C. Fifield. RHODE ISLAND. D. B. Harris, T. M. Hathaway,

J. C. Brown, Samuel B. Chase John Helme Clarke, Duty Evans, Asa Fairbanks, E. H. Perry, William Atkinson Benjamin Cutler, W. F. Pabodie, William Aplin, Stephen W. Remington, Nathaniel Phillips, Charles Aplin, Josiah F. Everett Samuel Whipple, Darius P. Lawton

Edward Allen,

Jonathan B. Bedwell

John H. Thompson

Noah Fifield,

Elias Richards,

Enos Crocker,

Dorcas Harmon. Albert E. Macomber, CONNECTICUT. J. B. Barnes, Eddy Harding, Riley Stillman. J. C. Hebard, Geo. W. Walbridge, J. B. Whitcomb. Merrill Humphrey, A. Pettibone, Edwin Scarboro J. D. Wright, Albert Austin, Perrin Scarboros Alexander Snow, M. H. Williams W. Willman, Maria S. Stetson,

Rollin O. Humphrey, Abel Camp, James Humphrey,

Levi West. Aaron M. Powell, Augustus Angell, N. C. Hogeboom, George Denning. Jacob Schultz, S. G. Graff, Adin Morton, E. H. Schenek, A. D. Bradley, D. H. Browne, John H. Crane, John P. Dickinson, John W. Lyon,

William Hanford, Jr. Thomas Elliott, H. Wilcox, Luke T. Merrill, George Cookingham, Mary Robbins, Sophia Henry, Caroline F. Putnam Sallie Holley, Mary B. Soines, Lizzie M. Powell, Deborah H. Macy, Eliza Ann Angell, Mary E. Van Buren, NEW JERSEY. A. G. Campbell,

William Coates. J. B. Grimes, J. P. Hutchinson Samuel S. James, William Phillips, George M. Ely, Marcus Evarts, Francis Phillips, Lucy Stone. Emmett Quinn. Thomas J. Black. David R. Black,

PENNSYLVANIA. Caleb C. Hood, W. W. Justice, Edward Paramor, J. M. McKim, Robert Purvis, Lauchland McIntosh, E. P. Townsend. G. B. White, Milo A. Townsend, Talbot Townsend, Lydia Irish, Elizabeth Townsend, Henry Bowman, Henry Brosius, Caleb Greenfield Eli Hambleton, Joseph Nixon, Joseph Brockway, Orlando Beldon, John Fidler, Jeremiah Brockway,

Abner Haines, Mary E. Hood, John H. Anderson A. R. McClure. John Todd, Joshua Carter, J. G. Thompson, L. Thomp DELAWARE. Milton Michener, Samuel Page, William H. Pennock, S. D. Forbes.

Abraham Brooke, John DeGraw, Joseph Heighton, Robert Hiller, Chester Nash, Ezra Brannin, M. Wilson, Elizabeth Wilson. O. B. Case. Robert George, Luther Richardson,

Sarah Otis Ernst, J. Carroll. Edward Y. Cornell John E. Dey, Barton Durfee, F. G. Hooker. Thomas Chandler, Richard Glazier. Paul Geddes.

A. H. Buckman, I. M. Frost. William Hayward, Jehu Hiatt, John Jay, B. G. Wright,

Moses Bishop, C. B. Campbell, A. J. Grover, T. C. Haywood, A. S. Hoadley,

Alfred Aspinall, Benjamin Bollard. Lyman Brooks, Joseph Doolittle, N. W. Martin,

Elijah Bushby. Henry B. Clarke, J. P. Davis, O. Hambleton. W. H. Hanna,

Benj. B. Beall, A. E. Bemis, N. M. Bemis, O. C. Blakeslee, Henry Blakeslee

MINNESOTA. H. M. Blakesle J. Mortimer Hall, P. Sherman, Otis R. Spurr, J. M. Vining. More than 6400 names have been received

Norn. The unexpectedly large number of tures to this Call renders it impossible to prin than a few names from each State. It is evide by more systematic effort, the number might have been increased ten fold. As it is, however, it is not known that any Convention in the United States was ever summoned by so large a number of persons. THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, F. W. BIRD, WENDELL PHILLIPS, DANIEL MANN. WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Joseph A. Howkand, Secry.

THE NORTHERN CONVENTION - DISSO. TUTION OF THE UNION.

Many of the responses to the Call for the Northern convention have been accompanied with letters full of rempathy and encouragement to the movement. I have extracted from among a mass of correspondence a few brief, pithy, as well as curious scraps, indicative of the feelings of the writer, or his community, from which, perhaps, you may like to select a few for

· Many are in favor of the Convention, who are afraid to sign; as in olden time many believed in Jesus, but dare not confess him, lest they be cast out of the synagogue.' PETER LIBBY, Buxton, Me.

· Call for a National Convention. Talk moves the world. Let the truth be so put together that it will make the nation sweat. Let the big guns of Massachusetts speak. Let God be the judge and the angels the jury, and the verdict is ours." CHAUNCEY RICHARDSON, Woodstock, Vt.

Please confer upon myself and friends whose names I send, the honor of allowing our names to be appended to that Call.' J. M. HAWKES, Manchester, N. H.

I rejoice in the movement. I was ready several years ago to have this cradle-plundering, wo whipping Union dissolved.' JOHN CLEMENT, Townsend, Mass.

I sign the Oall with pleasure, and hope the Call

from the whole North will be loud enough to astonish the enemy." SAMUEL JOHNSON, Jr., Salem, Mass. 'Many are afraid of the movement, lest all shall

sink to perdition the moment the Union is dissolved. R. PLUMER, Newburyport, Mass.

*I have not much faith that the people are now, or that the North ever will be, willing to let their Gon, "Union." "slide." But then, I recognize the great Tompkins co., N. Y., by James A. Burr, sends 163 utility of agitation, and look forward hopefully to the names, 117 of which are voters; Reynoldsville, Tomptime when the South, stung to madness by our per- kins co., N. Y., by Alson Brownson, sends 96 names, sistent exposure of the diabolical character of their of whom 49 are voters; Norway, Fairfield and Salissystem, or finding us of no further use to them, shall bury, in Herkimer co., N. Y., send, by Thomas Cole kick us out of the Union. If there is no other way 160 names, 111 of which are voters; Pulaski, Law to rouse our dormant manhood and put us on our feet rence co., Pa., ty W. Walker, 110 names, 61 of whom again, we will spare no pains to hasten this catastro- are voters. Abraham Brooke sends, from the vicinity phe, humiliating as it may be to our self-respect and of Marlboro', Stark co., Ohio, 270 names, of whom vaunted love of truth and justice.' N. H. WHITING, Marshfield, Mass.

Believing in the ultimate triumph of Freedom, without Disunion, I still most earnestly unite in the on their knees, and wrote their names in a clear, bold Call for the Discussion of the great question, which hand. These cannot vote, however, in Ohio. While is no bugbear to me. Light is needed, and light we the ignorant white can vote, because he is white, the S. LASAR, New York city. 'You are at liberty to annex to each of our names

any other of like import, rather than that of "doughface," against which we should protest, as we detest his craven, cowardly and contemptible character.' WM. HANFORD, Jr., and 7 others, Etna, N. Y.

LUCY STONE, Orange, N. J. 'I believe slavery one of the greatest abomination of this land, and if it must exist in these States, then Ind., sends, by Jehu Hiatt, 178 names, 129 being I say divide them. I say, divide this Union, sooner

diency, and they are not ready to sign such a Call.'

than have one human being a slave." JOHN TILLINGHAST, Freewill Baptist minister, Factoryville, Wyoming Co., Pa.

'These signers are mostly Republicans, and oppos Disunion, but are in favor of the discussion. I meet with some Republicans, however, who are as bad or worse in sentiment than Democrats.'

Joseph Brockway, Jamestown, Pa. These signers are mostly Republicans. The sundry severe kicks and cuffs which these unruly bleached slaves of the North have received from their Southern masters have proved a very good salve for weak backbones, and I hope the medicine will continne to be administered until that most loathsome spinal disease is entirely removed. Success to the

W. W. WALKER, Pulaski, Lawrence Co., Pa. Robert George, Cedarville, Ohio.

'I enclose seventeen names, all of whom are willing to discuss the question of Dissolution, and most of them are believers in its practicability and expedien-ABEL FLETCHER, Massillon, Stark Co., O.

'The impression prevails in this community that we should investigate the subject, and that it is time we should begin to calculate the value of the Union.

ELIHU OREN, Wilmington, Clinton co., O. The within names were obtained by an acting Justice of the Peace.

J. M. Woons, Butler Township, Branch co., Mich.

'The general language is, "If I cannot be represented in Congress without being caned, or settle in the Territories without being shot, I am ready to go for a government that will protect me." The prevalence of the Disunion sentiment is more general than is supposed. Let an honest Republican be removed 60 names. 12 voters, 3 others. from the temptation of office, and he is ready to sign such a Call at any time."

' R. W. MELENDY, California, Mich. 'Yes, by all means put me down a Disunionist Do you think I would preserve this unholy Union that unites liberty with slavery? No, Sir!

GEORGE W. DAY, Lawton, Mich. Some are afraid of their bread and butter, some of their popularity, but most are loth to part with the "glorious Union." To such I would reply-

> Bid all your orators proclaim This ever-glorious prize, And when they mention Freedom's name, Extol them to the skies.

Your toasts to proud Columbia quaff, Home of the free and brave, For save three millions and a half. She's not a single slave.' JONATHAN HUDDLESTON, Dublin, Ind.

As man, our brother, is oppressed, As woman's wrongs are unredress'd And the poor child can find no rest, Our watchword is Disunion.

'The mother's shriek, the father's prayer, The babe's wild cry that rends the air, Still urge us on to do and dare-Our watchword is Disunion. 'The breastplate' of the North shall be

Inscribed with God and Liberty;

The tekel doom of slavery, Our watchword is Disunion Beyond the Eagle's† power of wing. Progression's pinions heavenward sweep, And millions yet in joy shall sing,

Where millions now are doomed to weep. · Progression's flag of heavenly blue, The stars of Freedom shall display, While Slavery's strargs of crimson hue, In Freedom's light shall fade away." WILLIAM HAYWARD, Silver Lake, Ind.

'I find a great many conservatives, afraid to to the Union. It appears as if they worshipped it more than God. • I feel to go into the measure with my might, having no fellowship with the Constitution or the Union while the rendition of fugitives, or the three-fifths representation remains.'

Mosas Bisnor Borns, Henry co., Ill.

Let us have the Convention, at all events, and if Distinion means the dissolution of a slaveholding gov-Disunion means the dis ernment, let us, for Humanity's sake, and for the

nor of God, have that.' CROMWELL WILSON, Green Bay, Iowa. I am invited to sign a Call for a Northern Conven tion to consider the propriety of the dissolution of this existing despotism called the United States, which professes freedom of thought and speech, but does not sustain it. I am young, and have but a very limited knowledge in matters of politics, but my own experi-

ence and observation teach me that we have much to fear and hope in this impending crisis, which will tend to the perpetuity and honor or everlasting dis-grace of a nation, founded, as is generally supposed, upon the most permanent basis of right, but which, by its acts, should, in my humble estimation, convince all men of its tyranny and oppression." BENJ. B. BALL, Wasiogo, Minnesota.

The people of Wisconsin are ahead of their com romising Republican leaders. Too long have they een fed on milk as babes; meat would now be a more suitable diet. O, for some one to preach the 'whole truth'! The harvest is plenteous, but the laborers are few. Could a Pillsbury or a Foster thrust his Danascus blade into the moral fields, ripe and waiting, he would, I am sure, reap abundantly.'
Mrs. C. L. Morgan, Sylvester, Wis.

West Boylston, in Worcester county, which is alnest entirely a Republican town, under the influence of Rev. Mr. Cross, a new-organized Abolitionist and bitter opponent of Garrisonianism, with but two Lib-ERATORS, sends 95 names, 86 of whom are voters collected by an Englishman, Thomas Martin, a shoc maker, who works on the bench for his daily bread. This is the banner town of Massachusetts, cons its population, which is about 2000.

Northampton, by Seth Hunt, sends 75 names, all but two voters; Danvers sends 100 names, 60 of whom are legal voters; Collinsville, Hartford co., Conn., sends 68 names, 42 of which are voters; Ludlowville 163 are those of voters. He says: 'Some white voters could not write, but made their marks. Next three fugitive slaves, in a field at work, put the pape intelligent educated black cannot, because he is black. Salem, Columbiana co., Ohio, sends 110 names, of whom 78 are voters; New Lyme, Ashtabula co., the title of "traitor," "rebel," "disorganizer," or Ohio, sends, by F. J. Pierce, 134 names, of whom 87 are voters; Fairmount, Miami co., Ohio, sends, by Robert Hiller, 92 names, all but 40 being voters; Welshfield, Granger co., Ohio, sends, by Chester Nash, 167 names, all but 77 being voters; Kinsman, The Jerseys, so far as I can see, grow only Expe- Trumbull co., Ohio, sends, by Zaphna Stone, 191 names, all but 28 being voters; New Garden, Columbiana co., Ohio, sends, by Joshua Whinery, 80 names, 57 being those of voters; Winchester, Randolph co., those of voters. And many other quite respectable lists of smaller size from various other places. The Western Reserve in Ohio leads all the other localities in the full response it gives to the Call.

The ease with which names have been procured in some localities is shown in the following extracts, which indicate that if a systematic and thorough canwass had been given to the Call, the returns would have been increased more than tenfold.

· Had I been able to circulate it as I could wish, I could easily have doubled the number of names. 61 voters, 49 others. W. W. WALKER, Pulaski, Pa.

'There is no difficulty in getting signatures, except expense of time, as fully two thirds of those whom I visited responded favorably. 17 voters. DANIEL MANN, Sterling, Mass.

Many more names might be obtained, but I think this number will do for our town,' 73 voters, 2 'I live in a district styled Republican, and once others. SETH HUNT, Northampton, Mass. there been a little more time.' 3 voters, 6 others.

> C. L. MORGAN, Sylvester, Wis. 'In consequence of sickness, &c., I am unable to end you one tenth as many names as I otherwise ould have done.' 8 voters.

> N. R. Johnston, Topsham, Vt. 'I have had much better success than I anticipated; found a majority of the people quite ready to sign such a Call; could have obtained many more had I time.' 90 voters, 77 others. CHESTER NASH, Welshfield, Ohio.

> Regretting that circumstances have not allowed ne to solicit more names, I feel confident that a goodly number might be had for the asking.' 3 vo-P. B. Cooswell, Concord, N. H.

'Had I been situated so that I could have attended to this matter thoroughly, I could have sent 50 or

THOS. C. HEIGHTON, New Milford, Ohio. But one man and one woman have refused to sign it, and had I time, I might very much enlarge the

list.' 36 voters, 37 others. ABRAHAM ALLEN, Oakland, Ohio. 'I could get 200 names in a short time, had I

opportunity.' 17 voters, 13 others.

JOSEPH HEIGHTON, Rootstown, Ohio. ' Very many more names might have been obtained. 28 voters, 13 others. W. WEERS, Ann Arbor, Mich.

'I think I could have doubled the number, had I and a week's time.' 25 voters, 18 others. A. H. BUCKMAN, Etna Green, Ind.

'These have been obtained with very little exer-on, and there is no doubt that we could get one half the voters by proper exertion.' 42 voters.

HARRIS JENNESS, Miama, Ind. P. S. Plenty more left of the same sort, at a cheap rate.' 33 voters, 12 others.

JOHN PRINNEY, Union Grove, Ill. 'I would not hesitate to say, that by giving a thorough circulation, 500 signatures might be obtained.' 9 voters, 9 others. S. C. FAY, Southboro', Mass.

'I have spent five days. Think I could treble the umber, if I had time.' 160 voters, 51 others. THOMAS COLE, Norway, Fairfield & Salisbury, N. H. · Hundreds of names might be got, if we had any

one to take hold of the matter, and work in earnest. 73 voters, 17 others. A. FAIRBANKS, Providence, R. I. 'Might get very many, at least half the people to

sign, had I the necessary time to devote to it, ex-plaining, arguing, &c. &c.' 117 voters, 46 others. J. A. Bunn, Ludlowville, N. Y. 'I have obtained these names with very little ef-

fort. The names of 1000 voters could be obtained in one week in this vicinity.' 112 votes, 55 others. EDWIN KING, Andover, Ohio.

'I return 38 names from Weymouth Landing, ass. -21 voters, and 17 others-obtained in most Mass .- 21 voters, and 17 others-Accurate Four out of five of the persons to whom it was presented signed without hesitation. Among them are the most respected and also the most conservative minds of the town.

that would be guilty of traitorism.' The joke of the matter is, that two respectable lists of names, with cordial sympathy expressed towards the movement, had

been previously received from that town. Another pleasant joke was the return of a list of names under the frank of Henry Wilson, the Union-

Yours, for the cause, JOSEPH A. HOWLAND.

A FAIR OFFER

AM a retail Druggist and Apothecary in Trenton, N. J. For some time past, I have made and sold preparation which I call

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ket for the prevention and cure of baldness.

I know that it has been successful in the complete cure of actual baldness, producing a new and vigor-ous growth of hair, where other much puffed-up arti-cles had been tried wholly in vain.

It is a fine article for the cradication of dandruf, and, independent of its restorative qualities : It is a fine article for the gradication of dandrug, and, independent of its restorative qualities, is a very pleasant dressing for the hair.

Persons who are losing their hair, or have already the training of the state of the

become bald, will do well to try it. become baid, will do well to try it.

Instead of putting up my preparation for the wholesale trade, I have decided to sell to individuals, for their own use, my formula, with full directions a

msking and using the preparation.

The materials are cheap, and may be had at any drug store in the United States.

Any person remitting me the sum of two dollars will receive my recipe, with full directions, as above.

Address, with money enclosed in stamped envelope,

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TS rapidly rising in favor, and a competent teacher of this art will supply a long-felt want. Miss H. G. GUNDERSON, Teacher to the Mercantile Acad-G. GUNDERSON, Teacher to the Mercantile Academy, No. 11 Mercantile Building, Summer street, offers her services in this department to College, Academies, Schools, professional gentlemen, ladies, and all who wish to acquire a correct style of reading and speaking.

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gentlemen :-G. F. THAYER, Esq., late Principal of the Chaunce

Amos Baken, Esq., Principal of Chapman Hall School.

School.

Rev. J. W. Olmstead, Editor of the Watchman and Reflector.

Rev. C. F. Babnard, Warren St. Chapel.

Prof. H. B. Hackett, Newton Theological Seminary.

Prof. ALVAH HOVEY, " "
Rev. O. S. STEARNS, Newton Centre. Rev. J. NEWTON BROWN, D. D., Philadelphia. Rev. L. F. BEECHER, D. D., Principal of Saratoga emale Seminary. Boston, May 1, 1857.

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