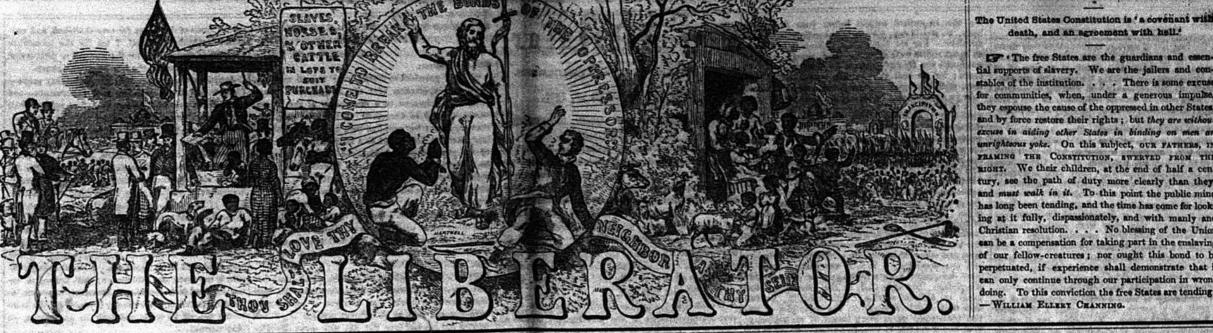
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The following gentlemen constitute the Finan Committee, but are not responsible for any of the of the paper, viz :- FRANCIS JACKSON, BLLIS LIT LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK. WESDELL PHILLIPS.



J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

death, and an agreement with hell.

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-

stables of the institution. . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse,

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

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an

unrighteous yeks. On this subject, our fathers, in

PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,

has long been tending, and the time has come for look-

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and

can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

and must walk in it. To this point the public mir

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 43.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1857.

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

WHOLE NUMBER, 1398.

-WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

gost are the relations and compromises of the U. WHAT SAY YOU, ALEXANDER HAMILTON?

The first thing objected to, is that clause which a representation for three-fifths of the ne-Much has been said of the impropriety of ating men who have no will of their own. wher this be reasoning or declamation, (!) I will appears to say. It is the unfortunate situation Southern States to have a great part of their calation, as well as property, in blacks. The calation complained of was one result of the spirit scammadation which governed the Convention; without this indulgence, NO UNION COULD POSSI HAVE BEEN FORMED. But, sir, considering some and wast that they should be gratified. athern States possess certain staples—tobacco, aties of commerce with foreign nations; and the chantage which they necessarily procure in these

WHAT SAY YOU, JAMES MADISON? Estract from No. LIV. of 'The Federalist,' on The Ratio of Representation.'

The next view which I shall take of the House Expresentatives relates to the apportionment of members to the several States, which is to be de-mined by the same rule with that of direct taxes. It will perhaps be said, But does it follow from admission of numbers for the measure of repre-station, or of slaves combined with free citizens, ea ratio of taxation, that slaves ought to be includthe numerical rule of representation? Slaves ar considered as property, not as persons. They egat, therefore, to be comprehended in estimates of action which are founded on property, and to be caladed from representation which is regulated by asus of persons. This is the objection, as I unretand it, stated in its full force. I shall be ally candid in stating the reasoning which may fired on the opposite side.

We subscribe to the doctrine, might one of our

outlern brethren observe, that representation reimmediately to property, and we join in the dication of this distinction to the case of our But we must deny the fact that slaves are siered merely as property, and in no respect atever as persons. The true state of the case is, they partake of both these qualities; being by our laws, in some respects as persons, in other respects as property. In being comvendible by one master to another master; being subject at all times to be restrained in rty, and chastised in his body, by the capris will of another, the slave may appear to be raid from the human rank, and classed with circuitonal animals which fall under the legal mination of property. In being protected, on other hand, in his life and in his limbs, against beviolence of all others, even the master of his sif for all violence committed against others, the save is no less evidently regarded by the law as a number of society, not as a part of the irrational tration; as a moral person, not as a mere article of property. The Federal Constitution, therefore, decals with great propriety on the case of our slaves, when it views them in the mixed character of persats and of property. This is, in fact, their true character. It is the character bestowed on them by the laws under which they live; and it will not be duied that these are the proper criterion. Let the case of the slaves be considered, as it is

truth, a peculiar one. Let the compromising exwhent of the Constitution be mutually adopted, shich regards them as inhabitants, but as debased is stritude below the equal level of free inhabiants; which regards the slave as divested of two-

What have you to say, Mr. Madison, in regard to

Another clause secures us that property which we these States where slaves are free, he become trapated by their laws; for the laws of the States " uncharitable (!) to one another in this respect; but in this Constitution, " No person held to ser-tice or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, ruping into another, shall, in consequence of any have regulation therein, be discharged from such strice or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be 442." This clause was expressly inserted to enaby security than any that now exists. No power s given to the General Government to interpose with respect to the property in slaves now held by

WHAT SAY YOU, DANIEL WEBSTER?

We have slavery already amongst us. The Con-sitution found it amongst us; it recognised it, and care it solemn guarantees. To the full extent of the it solemn guarantees. To the full extent of these guarantees, we are all bound, in honor, in paties, and by the Constitution. All the stipulatess contained in the Constitution in favor of the tarcholding Nater, which are already in the Union, with to be fulfilled, and so far as depends on me, shall be fulfilled, in the fulness of their spirit and to the exactness of their letter?!!!

WHAT SAY YOU, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS?

Il cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to se-care the perpetuity of their dominion over their The first was the immunity for twenty rars of preserving the African slave trade; the seend was the stipulation to surrender fugitive three an engagement positively prohibited by the law of God delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the

has of God delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the thation, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. The reluctance with which the freemen of the North submitted to the dictation of these conditions, is attested by the awkward and ambiguous anguage in which they are expressed. The word slave is most cautiously and fastidiously excluded from the whole instrument. A stranger, who should come from a foreign land, and read the Constitution of the United States, would not believe that slavery or a slave existed within the borders of our country. There is not a word in the Constitu-There is not a word in the Constituon apparently bearing upon the condition of slave-nor is there a provision but would be susceptible practical execution, if there were not a slave in a land

the representation, ostensibly of saves, under the name of persons, was in its operation an exclu-sive grant of power to one class of proprietors, owners of one species of property, to the detriment of all the rest of the community. This species of property was odious in its nature, held in direct violation of the natural and inalienable rights of man, and of the vital principles of Christianity; it was all accumulated in one geographical section of the country, and was all held by wealthy men, comparatively small in numbers, not amounting to a tenth part of the free white population of the States in which it was concentrated. In some of the ancient, and in some modern re-

cavalry of their armies, and the bushels of rings gathered by Hannibal from their dead bodies after made by the Eastern and Middle States, to the pecuthe battle of Cannae, amply prove that the special liar interests of the South.' Again :powers conferred upon them were no gratuitous frants. But in the Constitution of the United States, the political power invested in the conners of slaves is holding States the complete right and title of ownentirely gratuitous. No extraordinary service is re- ership in their slaves, as property, in every State in quired of them; they are, on the contrary, them-selves grievous burdens upon the community, al-State where they were held in servitude. The full ways threatened with the danger of insurrections, to be smothered in the blood of both parties, master to the security of this species of property in all the and slave, and always depressing the condition of slaveholding States; and, indeed, was so vital to the the poor free laborer, by competition with the labor preservation of their domestic interests and instituof the slave. The property in horses was the gift of God to man at the creation of the world; the property in slaves is property acquired and held by which the Union could not have been formed. Its give a prescriptive right. You are told that this is by preventing them from intermeddling with, or oblom and slavery is exclusively reserved to the con- slaves. sideration of the separate States. But if it be so, Referring to the clause, permitting a slave repreas to the mere question of right between master and slave, it is of tremendous concern to you, that this ittle cluster of slave owners should possess, besides their own share in the representative ball of the nation, the exclusive privilege of appointing two-fifths concession, confessedly unequal in its operation, but of the whole number of the representatives of the people. This is now your condition, under that declusive ambiguity of language and of principle, which begins by declaring the representation in the population, and political institutions. It was agreed that always should be represented and a third always always a should be represented and a third always a should be represented as a necessary sacrifice to that spirit of conciliation and political institutions. begins by declaring the representation in the popular branch of the legislature a representation of persons, and then provides that one class of persons shall have neither part nor lot in the choice of their representatives; but their elective franchise shall be represent the oppressed. The same perversion of the representative principle pollutes the composition of the colleges of electors of President and Vice President of the United States, and every department of the United States, and every department of the government of the Union is thus tainted at its source by the gangrene of slavery.

Judge Story says:

It was notorious that the postponement of an immediate abolition was indispensable to secure the adoption of the Constitution. It was a necessary sacrifice to the prejudices and interests of a portion of the Southern States.

But in the articles of confederation, there was o guarantee for the property of the slaveholder— o double representation of him in the Federal councils—no power of taxation—no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of povernment came to be delegated to the Union, the South—that is, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchment, should be saturated with the infection of slavery, which no fumigation could purify, no quarantine could extinguish. The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of slavery was infused into the Constitution of freedom. Its first cons quence has been to invert the first principle of democ racy, that the will of the majority of numbers shall rule the land. By means of the double representa-tion, the minority command the whole, and a knor OF SLAVEHOLDERS GIVE THE LAW AND PRESCRIBE THE POLICY OF THE COUNTRY. To acquire this superiority of a large majority of freemen, a persevering system of engrossing nearly all the seats of power and place is constantly for a long series of years pursued, and you have seen in a period of fifty-six years the chief magistracy of the Union held, during capital ways and nothing more.

These are our stipulations. We are to pass no law, make no regulation, by which the person established th forty-four of them, by the owners of slaves. The Executive departments, the Army and Navy, the Supreme Judicial Court, and diplomatic missions

tody of the wolf? '—' The representative is thus constituted, not the friend, agent and trustee of the person whom he represents, but the most inveterate of his foes.'—' It was one of the curses from that Pandora's box, adjusted at the time, as usual, by a compromise, the whole advantage of which enured to the benefit of the South, and to aggravate the burdens of the North.'—' If there be a parallel to it in homeon the south of the constitution of those who from the master's custody after he shall have taken him. This is the way in which he is to be delivered up, according to the high tribunal which is authorized to give construction to the Constitution; and it is worthy of remark, that a majority of the Court making this decision were slaveholders. They have determined our duties; I believe them in strict accordance with the intentions of those who framed the Constitution. ourgens of the North.— If there be a parallel to it in human history, it can only be that of the Roman Emperors, who, from the days when Julius Casar substituted a military despotism in the place of a republic, among the offices which they always concentrated upon themselves was that of tribune of the process. he people. A Roman Emperor tribune of the peothe people. A Roman Emperor tribune of the peo-ple, is an exact parallel to that feature in the Con-stitution of the United States which makes the mas-ter the representative of his slave.'—'The Constitu-tion of the United States expressly prescribes that no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. The spirit of this interdict is not a rooted antipathy to the grant of mere powerless empty titles, but to titles of nobility; to the fastitution of prevident orders of men. But what order of men ter the representative of his slave, — The Constitution of the United States expressly prescribes that no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. The spirit of this interdict is not a rooted antipathy to the grant of mere powerless empty titles, but to titles of nobility; to the fastitution of privileged orders of men. But what order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? — This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the commentity, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. There is no name in the language of mational jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution, and essential conditions of Union.

The Ziberator,

The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia of representation of property under the name of perinterpolation of the Convention from the free States imagine or forcese what a succession. The covernant with Death, and the freemen of the North, reduced to the alternative of departing from the vital principle of their liberty, or departing from the of forfeiting the Union itself, averted their faces, and with trembling hand subscribed the bond.

The representation, ostensibly of shaves, under the presentation, ostensibly of shaves, under the presentation, propagation, and persentation over that of the matter is, to establish an artificial faces, and with trembling hand subscribed the bond. PETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

WHAT SAY YOU, JUDGE JOSEPH STORY? Judge Story, in his Commentaries on the United States Constitution, referring to the clause, "No person held to service or labor," &c., says:—

'This clause was introduced into the Constitution solely for the benefit of the slaveholding States, to enable them to reclaim their fugitive slaves, who should have escaped into other States where slavery was not tolerated. The want of such a provision, then these privileges and these powers have been granted for the equivalent of extraordinary duties and services to the community required of the co and services to the community required of the farmet with open resistance. In fact, it cannot escape The Roman knights constituted the the attention of every intelligent reader, that many

'Historically, it is well known that the object of erimes, differing in no moral aspect from the pillage true design was to guard against the doctrines and of a freebooter, and to which no lapse of time can principles prevalent in the non-slaveholding States,

'The truth is, that the arrangement adopted by the Constitution was a matter of compromise an pellation of "other persons," not as free persons, but only in the proportion of three-fifths.'

Of the clause providing for the continuance of the transferred to their masters, and the oppressors shall foreign slave-trade for the term of twenty years, represent the oppressed. The same perversion of the Judge Story says:

WHAT SAY YOU, JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS? The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Burt)

The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Burr).

says he "should like to know what was contemplated by that clause in the Constitution which stipulates for the surrender of fugitive slaves, unless it be that their owners hold property in them." I answer, that clause means just what it says. It gives to the holder of slaves the right to pursue and recapture them in a free State, precisely as it gives me the right to pursue and retake my apprentice, or my son, in any State to which he may escape. If no more admits the slave to be property, than is admits the apprentice or the minor to be property. I am tired of hearing this clause of the Constitution quoted to prove almost every doctrine advanced b outhern men. Its provisions are of the most plai and obvious character. It merely provides for the recapture and return of slaves, and nothing more.

negative. We are not to act; we are to refrain from action—to leave master and slave to themselves.

'The latter part of the clause says, "He shall I abroad, all present the same spectacle;—an immense delivered up on claim of the person to whom such majority of power in the hands of a very small minority of the people—millions made for a fraction of This question is distinctly answered by the Supremental Control of the person to whom such a service or labor may be due." How delivered up the supremental control of the person to whom such a service or labor may be due. This question is distinctly answered by the Supremental control of the person to whom such as the person to whom the per few thousands.

Court of the United States, in the case of Prigg vs

What further have you to say, Mr. Adams, in regard

is to be delivered up in the same manner that we In outward show, it is a representation of persons in bondage; in fact, it is a representation of their masters—the oppressor representing the oppressed.'—'Is it in the compass of human imagination to devise a more perfect exemplification of the art of committing the lamb to the tender custody of the wolf?'—'The representative is thus constituted, not the friend, agent and trustee of the deliver up our friends to the civil officer in our

> the Constitution.
>
> 'We know, historically, that it was the intention of the framers of that instrument to do no more than to secure to the master the same right to pursue and capture his slave in a free State, that he possessed to pursue and capture his horse or mule. This was the view expressed by the Supreme Court in the case of Prigg vs. The Commonwealth of Penn-

WHAT SAY YOU, CHARLES SUMNER?

The Constitution requires the free States to send back to bondage the fugitive slave. Does this show powers vested in them by the Constitution for their that we have no concern with the domestic institu-own interests, as every other selfish association of tions of the South? that the guilt of them, if such men would have done, under the same circumstanthere be, is wholly theirs, and in no degree ours? This clause makes us direct partakers of the guilt; and, of consequence, we have a vital interest in the

and, of consequence, we have a vital interest in the matter of slavery.

It will be said, that the South will insist on this stipulation, because it is necessary to the support of her institutions.

If the necessity be real, then it follows that the free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution; and yet we are told that we sustain no relation to slavery that it is in no degree our concern.

'The Nebraska fraud is not the burden on which I intend now to speak. There is one nearer home, more immediately present, and more insupportable. Of what that burden is, I shall speak plainly.—
The obligation incumbent upon the free States, to deliver up fugitive slaves, is that burden—and it must be obliterated from the Constitution at every hazard.

Is there a man in Massachusetts, with a spirit so low, so debased, so corrupted by his fears or his fortune, that he is prepared to say, that this is a con-

by the are told that we sustain no relation to slavery, that it is in no degree our concern.

But it is said the South is passionate, and threatens to secode, if we agitate this subject of slavery.

In such an event, there would be no need of Anti-Slavery societies, of Abolition agitations, to convert the North. The blow that would sever the Union for this cause would produce an instantaneous explosion to shake the whole land. The moral sentiment against slavery, now kept down by the interests and duties which grow out of union, would burst its fetters, and be reinforced by the slave clause remains in the Constitution of the United States, unobliterated, it is an obligation perpetual upon them, as well as upon us.

So long as it remains, there is not a militia man in Massachusetts who may not be compelled, to-morrow, to cut the throat or blow out the brains of a fellow-citizen, at the will of the basest slaveholder.

But I hear some timid brother exclaim, 'Why.

On this subject our fathers, in framing the Con- them any the more for this reiterated threat and

. We in the free States try to escape the reproach which falls on America, by saying that this institu-tion is not ours, that the foot of the slave never pressed our soil; but we cannot fly from the shame or guilt of the institution as long as we give it any support. Most unhappily, there are provisions of the Constitution binding us to give it support. Let us resolve to free ourselves from these. Let us say to the South, "We shall use no force to subvert your slavery; neither will we use it to uphold the evil." Let no temptations, no love of gain, seduce us to abet or sanction this wrong. There is some-thing worse than to be a slave. It is, to make

other men slaves. Better be trampled in the dust than trample on a fellow-creature. 'No blessings of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, f experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing .To this conviction the free States are tending.'

WHAT SAY YOU, EX-GOV. WILLIAM SLADE? 'The grant in the Constitution of a right to re-claim to bondage the fugitive, struggling and pant-ing for the enjoyment of his 'inalienable' rights, was as unjust as it was inconsistent with the funda-

mental principles of our government, and unpre-cedented in the history of the world. I cannot look at this feature of the Constitution without saying, in the language of Jefferson, that 'I tremble when I remember that God is just.' There is not a grown the agonized fugitive, forced back to bondage under the authority of that Constitution, that does not enter the cars of Him who heareth the sighing of the prisoner, and whose judgments guilty nations must, sooner or later, be made to feel.

'It is time that the nation should open its eyes to

he true character of this feature in its constitution d compact, as well as of that other provision which the three-fifths slave representation in Con gress. It is now apparent that these concessions to slavery did, in fact, yield up this nation to the do minion of the slave power for more than half a cen

WHAT SAY YOU, STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS? Politically considered, slavery must be traced back to the formation of the Federal Constitution. By recurring to the transactions of that period, we shall readily ascertam, that, not then content to withdraw itself from notice as a municipal institution, sufficiently sheltered within the Constitution of the States, it presented the first claim to the protection of the general government, and, by the guarantees which it exacted, became enabled to draw its life-blood from the vitals of the Union. By the political rower secured to it as a basis of representalitical power secured to it as a basis of representa-tion, by the obligation which is imposed upon every State government, and the citizens of every State, to recognize and enforce its claims, slavery stands forth in the Federal Constitution, and presents itself to the view of every observer of our institution as a

great national concern, and it is seen and felt that every State is thus made, in a measure, responsible for maintaining or submitting to it.

'Directly, then, in a manner and degree which should make us constantly realize our responsibility, are we of the free States required to exert our political influence in support of slavery. While the Federal Constitution lasts, it will be the free States, as much as the slave, that will sustain a relation to slawery indispensable to its security and continuance.—
To the slave panting for his liberty, the attempt is accompanied with but little risk, in most cases, to escape from his master in a slave State. He begins to realize his danger, and to encounter an insuperal le obstacle, from his master to assauding the his danger, and to encounter an insuperal le obstacle, when he feels the power of the Federal Government, upon reaching the confines of a free State. If he can but touch the soil which the monarchy of Great can but touch the soil which the monarchy of Great

ces, with the same powers, and under the same temptations.
The Nebraska fraud is not the burden on which

would burst its letters, and be removed by the lettow-citizen, it the wind the bussessmethater, who would burst its letters, and be removed by the lettow-citizen, it the wind the bussessmethater.

'But I hear some timid brother exclaim, 'Why, this is, in effect, a dissolution of the Union! Did not the Southern slaveholders tell us, before the adoption of the Constitution, that, without the function of the Constitution, that, without the function of the Constitution, that without the function of the Constitution of the Co under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore Union; and have they not told us every day since their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. STITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We, their speak a louder language than these threateners? 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 the subjection of their slaves? Why, the arm of fulls, dispressionately, and with means and Chris. fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Chris- the Union is the very sinew of that subjection! It is tian resolution. Its scarce and the Union is the very sinew of that subjection! It is continuance

is his forlorn hope.

'Many years ago, John Quincy Adams related a conversation which he once had with John C. Calnoun on this very subject. 'The impression which it produced upon my mind,' said Mr. Adams, 'is, that the bargain between Freedom and Slavery, contained in the Constitution of the United States, is morally and politically vicious, inconsistent with the principles on which alone our revolution can be justified, cruel and oppressive by rivet-ing the chains of slavery, by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master, and grossly unequal and impolitic by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in sub-jection, property to be secured and returned to their owners, and persons not to be represented themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a double share of representation. The consequence has been, that this slave representation has governed the Union. Benjamin's portion above his brethren has ravined as a wolf. In the morning he has devoured the prey, and in the evening has divided the spoil."

WHAT SAY YOU, HORACE MANN?

'There may be some further positive law, which, though it does not authorize the buying or selling provide that an escaped or caping slave may be re-captured, and re-delivered into bondage. Such is the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States. Such, too, is the Act of Congress of February 12, 1793, providing for the

recapture of fugitive slaves.

The debates, in all the conventions for adopting the Constitution of the United States, proceed upon the ground, that slavery depends upon positive law for its existence. If it did not—if a man who has a legal right to a slave in Virginia has a legal right to him anywhere—then the provision in the Constitu-tion, and the act of 1793 for recapturing fugitive

slaves, would have been unnecessary.

'In regard to this whole matter of slavery, the Constitution touches the subject with an averted face. The abhorred word "slave" is nowhere mentioned in it. The Constitution is assumed to utter such a name. The country, coming fresh from that baptism of fire—the American Revolution—would not profane its lips with this unhallowed word .-Hence, circumlocution is resorted to. It seeks to escape a guilty confession. Like a culprit, in whom some love of character still survives, it speaks of it offence without calling it by name. It uses the rep-utable and honorable word "persons," instead of the accursed word "slaves." As the Tyrian queen, about to perpetrate a deed which would consign her character to infamy, called it by the sacred name of " marriage," and committed it,-

"Hoc prætexit nomine culpam ;" so the Constitution, about to recognize the mo guilty and cruel of all relations between man and guity and cruel of all relations between man and man, sought to avert its eyes from the act, and to pacify the remonstrances of conscience against every participation in the crime, by hiding the deed under a reputable word.

The Constitution provides for the recapture of functive alaxes. Why did it was a recapture of functive alaxes.

fugitive slaves. Why did it not provide for the capture of a fugitive horse or ox? Why did it not provide that, if a horse or an ox should escape from a slave State into a free State, it should be delivered up, or be recoverable by legal process? Because horses and oxen are property, by the common con-sent of mankind. It needed no law to make them property. They are property by the law of nations, by the English common law, by the law of every State in this Union,—while men and women are not. An escaped slave could not be recovered before the adoption of the Constitution. The power to seize upon escaping slaves was one of the median

upon reaching the confines of a free State. If he can but touch the uoil which the monarchy of Great Britain has not yet surrendered to the republic of America, that moment he is free; but in each one of our free States, in Massachusetts, he must still be recognized as a slave, and it is our only duty, under the Federal Constitution, to rebind his chains, and to become instrumental in inflicting all the pange and hardships which await his return to bondage. It is true that public opinion, as it shall become enlightened, humanized, and Christianized, will render to adious and diagraceful the act of arresting fugitives for any to be willing to undertake it; but public opinion will then have outgrown the Constitution, and will then have outgrown the Constitution, and will then have outgrown the Constitution must be so far amended or arrises, the Constitution must be so far amended or repudated. While it lasts, and so long as we shall support it, slavery can be no abstraction to us; and in view of our liabilities in cases both of eccape and in view of our liabilities in cases both of eccape and in view of our liabilities in cases both of eccape and in view of our liabilities in cases both of eccape and states of the constitution which secure to the owners of alaves a representation in Congress, founded upon what is essentially a property basis, is in its nature so great an injury, to the people of the feet states, that it is their unquestionable right and duty to seek to apply the only remedy which the case admits.

which forbid slaves to cross bridges or ferries without a pass; but you can have no laws against sca-sons of low water. The old adage says, "Riches have wings." You will find that these riches have legs. The Mississippi and Ohio rivers, where they border upon free States, will be alive as with shoals of portropass. border upon free States, will be alive as with shoals of porpoises. Remember, there is no Constitution of the United States now! That you have broken. The free States are, therefore, absolved from all obligation to surrender fugitives. The law of 1793 is at an end. No action can be maintained for aiding them to escape, nor for harboring or concealing them. The distinguished senator from Kentucky (Mr. Clay) said, in his late speech, that no instance had ever come to his knowledge where an action for harboring runaways had been maintained in the courts of the free States, and damages not recovered. But this remedy you will have annulled. The Constitution of the United States, and the law of 1793, being at an end, the law of nature revives. By this law, every case of an escaping slave is but the selflaw, every case of an escaping slave is but the self-recovery of stolen goods. When they cross the line recovery of stolen goods. When they cross the line into a free State, they are free—as free as you or I. The States being separated, I would as soon return my own brother or sister into bondage, as I would

return a fugitive slave.
'Here, then, is a free land frontier of about 2000 miles, and a free ocean frontier of about 2500 miles; and more than one half of all your slaves are within two days' run of it! More than one quarter of them are within one night's run of it. Thousands and tens of thousands can escape, even while you are dining. Canada, now so distant, is brought 500 miles nearer. The underground railroad will be abandoned, and its stock so invested as to yield quicker returns. What facilities for escape, too, quicker returns. What facilities for escape, too, will the ocean present! Fleets of vessels are constantly passing and repassing within a few hours' sail of the coast. The day for the power and the triumph of those whom you hate as abolitionists will have arrived. Steamboats could lie out of sight of lead in the days are trivial. of land in the daytime, run in at night, and be out of sight again before the rising of the sun. To guard 2500 miles of coast is impossible. If you declare war in order to avenge your losses, then that war makes your coast lawfully accessible both by day and by night, and multiplies a hundred-fold the opportunities and facilities for this self-recovery of

stolen goods. Now, the ignorant slave knows but little of geography; but he would know of these avenues to freedom, and nothing but death could extinguish freedom, and nothing but death could extinguish such knowledge, and the hopes it would inspire.—
Under such circumstances, slavery would melt away upon your borders like an iceberg in the tropics. The particles, that is, the individuals of the exposed surface, would disappear; and you might as well attempt to stop solar evaporation by statutory laws, as to prevent their escape. Perhaps a dissolution of the Union is the means forcordained of God for the extinction of slavery.

the extinction of slavery.

'Will separation bring relief or security [to the South]? No, sir; it will enhance the danger a myriad-fold. Thousands will start up, who will think it as much a duty and an honor to assist the slaves in any contest with their masters, as to assist Greeks, or Poles, or Hungarians, in resisting their tyrants. Two things exist at the North which the South does not duly appreciate—the depth and intensity of our abhorrence of slavery, and that reverence for the law which keeps it in check. The erence for the law which keeps it in check. The latter counterpoises the former. We are a law-abiding people. But, release us from our obligations, tear off from the bond with your own hands the signatures which hind our consciences and rerepress our feelings, destroy those compensations which the world and which posterity would derive from a continuance of this Union, and well may you tremble for the result. Let men who live in a powder-mill beware how they madden pyrotechnists!

WHAT SAY YOU, TYRANTS OF THE SOUTH?

In the debate in Congress on the question of cen-suring John Quincy Adams for presenting a petition for a dissolution of the Union, Mr. Underwood, of

'They [the South] were the weaker portion, were in the minority. The North could do what they pleased with them; they could adopt their own measures. All he asked was, that they would let the South know what those measures were. One thing he knew well—that the State which he in part represented had perhaps a deeper interest in this subject than any other, except Maryland and a small portion of Virginia. And why? Because he knew that to dissolve the Union, and separate the different States composing this confederacy—making the Ohio River and Mason and Dixon's line the boundary line—he knew as soon as that was done. 'They [the South] were the weaker portion, were boundary line-he knew as soon as that was done, slavery was done in Kentucky, Maryland, and a large portion of Virginia, and it would extend to all the States south of this line. The dissolution of the Union was the dissolution of slavery. It had been the common practice for southern men to get up on this floor and say, "Touch this subject, and we will dissolve this Union as a remedy." Their remedy was the destruction of the thing which they wished to save, and any sensible man could see it. If the Union were dissolved into two parts, the slave would cross the line, and then turn round and curse his master from the other shore.'

Mr. Thomas D. Arnold, of Tennessee, in a speech on the same subject, spoke as follows:—

'The free States had now a majority of forty-four in that House. Under the new census, they would have fifty-three. The cause of the slaveholding States was getting weaker and weaker; and what were they to do? He would ask his southern friends what the South had to rely on, if the Union were dissolved? Suppose the dissolution could be peaceably effected, (if that did not involve a contradiction in terms,) what had the South to depend upon? All the crowned heads were against her. A million of slaves were ready to rise and strike for freedom at the first tap of the drum. Were they to cut loose from their friends at the North, (friends that ought to be, and without them the South had no friends,) whither were they to look for protection? How were they to sustain an assault from England or France, with that cancer at their vitals? The more the South reflected, the more clearly she must see that she had a deep and vital interest in maintaining the Union.' 'The free States had now a majority of forty-fou

The editor of the Maryville (Tennessee) Intelli-gencer, in an article on the slave population, says:

'We of the South are emphatically surrounded by a dangerous class of beings—degraded, stupid sav-ages—who, if they could but once entertain the idea that immediate and unconditional death would

From the Anti-Slavery Standard JUDGE JAY'S LETTER.

In the long list of services to the anti-elavery cause which stand, and ever will stand, recorded against the name of WILLIAM JAY, there is no one of so much importance, so striking for its evere and sim-ple truth, so full of manly and ethring eloquence, and so suggostive of serious reflection, as the letter we copy, is another column, in reply to an invita-tion to sign the Call for the Disunion Convention about to be held at Cleveland. True, he declines to sign the Call, and he believes that should those who compose this Convention succeed so far in their purpose as to destroy the reverence of the Union, and render its dissolution possible, that then to dissolve it will cease to be a desirable object. Its destruc-tion, moreover, he holds to be impossible, because a majority of the people are so degraded by a slave-holding tyranny, and so demoralized by participa-tion with infamy, that they have neither the will mor the power to sever their accursed bonds. It is nevertheless a striking incident in the history of the anti-slavery cause, that the son of him who, more than any other one man, abolished slavery in this State, and who was a chief among the founders of State, and who was a chief among the founders of the Republic, should bear this weighty and emphatic testimony to what a depth of degradation we have sunk, as a people, and to what a despotism that Republic has grown. To Judge Jay it might be pardoned—at least it would not be strange—if filial piety and historical association should hide from his eyes the damning facts which prove that the labors of the generation which preceded him, in the formation of the Federal Union, were worse than we are and futile. But if his sight is so clear, and vain and futile. But if his sight is so clear, and his judgment so unbiased, may we not accept it as a sign that the scales will soon fall from the eyes of all men, and that the time is not far distant when all the people shall judge with a righteous judg-

Perhaps it is owing to the influence of those very ssociations to which we have just alluded, that there is an undertone of despair running through this letter. It is easy to understand how the reflec-tions of one who looks back upon the labors of the life of a father, based so nobly upon a devotion to life of a father, based so notify upon a devotion to the rights of man; who remembers that the best years of his own life have been given to the same holy cause; and who sees at his side a son who has earned for himself the same high distinction—it is easy to understand how his reflections should be er sad than hopeful, when he considers how evil the times are upon which we have fallen, to how gigantic a growth wrong has reached among us, and how truth and righteousness have fallen, and been put away backward. The illusions of despair, however, are sometimes as natural as the illusions of hope, and any one may be purdoned if, on looking steadily at the dark side of the picture which this country presents, at this moment, he sees, so black

is it, nothing but blackness.

There is nevertheless a bright side, which is inevitably suggested by Judge Jay's letter. With all deference to one so much older and wiser than ourselves, we are more hopeful than he, because we think we see a cause for the gloomy state of afficient we see a cause for the gloomy state of affairs, which he sets forth in such dark and strong colors, that he fails to detect. It is not simply because we are governed by a base and ignoble and sordid party that we are a demoralized people, for all parties, of latter days, have been much alike in their subserviency to the Slave Power. The Whigs have been loud in anti-slavery professions when out of power, but they have been no better than the Democrats when the livery of Heaven has served their purpose, and the opportunity has been given them to serve the devil. The Republicans, we hope, are better, but as yet we have to take their virtue mainly upon trust; their chief merit, however, lying in this that as they promise less, we have a little more reason for hoping that they would be able and wil-ling to fulfil their promise. But the important truth is, and one which we cannot and must not forget, that it is not base and wicked parties which have made the Union a curse, but the Union itself which has made the parties base and wicked. It is not that the people are inherently and hopelessly deprayed, but that a radically vicious form of government has bound them hand and foot, and delivered them into the hands of a compact, tyrannical oligarchy, to be moulded to its will, and used at its pleasure. They have grown accustomed to their chains; and the deeper is their debasement, and the more contented are they in their enslavement, the more apparent do these become, and the more likely are they to continue. That Northern parties should be the most willing and the worst instruments of this despotism is not simply because that debasement brings its own reward, but they are so by the same law of the human mind which makes negroes the most cruel slave-drivers. They would rather wield the whip, and do it with a will, than feel it on their

Here there is a ground-work of our hope for the future. We began wrong as a nation, and evil is the fruit. Let us begin again and begin right, and reap the good. The Union has brought us nothing but sorrow and evil; what material blessings w but sorrow and evil; what material blessings we have come in spite of it. Let us get rid of the Union, and re-form our social compact, in which the great truth, that 'all men are born free and equal,' shall not be held as a 'glittering and sounding generality,' but a substantial and practical fact, which the humblest citizen may assert before the universe with the certainty that lawgivers and Constitutions will bow before it. If the South asks for admission to a Union on such a basis, bid her welcome. If she prefers her own social and political

institutions, then let her go to —— her own place.

Whether the Union will be dissolved or not when the people shall be ready for its destruction, rather than consent, for another moment, to be, as they now are, the most submissive of slaves, while at the same time they are in league with the basest of ty rants, is, certainly, a question which we cannot now settle; and one which fortunately does not at all concern us. We see and we feel the Union to be what Judge Jay so vividly describes it. As we are patriots, Christians, men, we have only to work for the utter and instant overthrow of a form of govern-ment so accursed. Whether we are likely to succeed or not, our duty is unalterable, if the Union must be curse till we are ready to abolish it. For our part however, we believe that success is certain and inev itable, even as we believe that assaults upon Slaver itself will hasten its downfall. If we mean to at tack the citadel, shall we falter on its outer wall?

MEMORIAL OF THE COLORED CITIZENS OF WISCONSIN. To the Honorable, the Legislature of the State of

We the undersigned, colored inhabitants of th State of Wisconsin, would once more exercise the right, which is guaranteed to all the people, peaceably to assemble, and petition the Government for a redress of grievances. We complain of Art. 3d, Sec. 1st of the Constitution of the State of Wisconsin. We now ask your honorable body to regard our feeble request, and remove this heel of oppression and disability which rests upon us, as contained in the Article and Section referred to, and thereby give up an apportunity to become respected citizens of ps an opportunity to become respected citizens of the State. We complain of that part of the Sec-tion which disallows to us the right of franchise, and at the same time grants it to others who immigrate from foreign lands, and who do not understand the Constitution, Government and Laws as well as our selves. We do not say, neither do we believe, that men of foreign birth, immigrating to this asylum of the oppressed, should be deprived of any of the rights and blessings which this government has confirmed upon them; but we do say, that the same rights and blessings should be extended to us. In addition to all this, is it not proper to submit to your honorable body to say if it be right; justice, or common sense, that we should be subject to taxation without representation? selves. We do not say, neither do we believe, that

We are informed—by those who claim to know—that a vote was taken by the people in 1849, and that a majority of votes then cast was in favor of that a majority of votes then cast was in favor of suffrage—thereby taking away our disability, and restoring unto us the right of free suffrage. We would now ask your honorable body to confirm the vote taken in '49, (if it be correct,) and place it upon the Statute Book of Wisconsin; or, if the vote referred to be incorrect, then we ask that the question be once more submitted to the people, to say, by their vote, whether we shall be restored to equal citizenship with our neighbors. We claim that we are citizens of Wisconsin to all intents and purposes, and are of right entitled to all the immunities of citizens of the Commonwealth. And we believe with and are of right entitled to all the immunities of cit-izens of the Commonwealth. And we believe with the Fathers of 'Seventy-six,' that taxation and representation should go together; that to tax us, while we are not allowed to be represented, is but to enact, upon a grander scale, the outrages that forced our Revolutionary Fathers to treat King George to a Continental Tea Party in Boston Harbor. In lay-

ing this important subject before your honorable body, we would say, give us equal suffrage and immunities. For we believe the Almighty has given us equal rights with all men. But, surely, we need not quote the God of Nations for the justice of our cause; for no man that has the least moral perception, with this great truth of Revelation before him, 'As ye would that men should do unto you, do you even so to them,' can have the smallest doubt of the justice of our request. Our forefathers recognized this doctrine, when they declared that 'All men are justice of our request. Our forelathers recognized this doctrine, when they declared that 'All men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Crea-tor with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They also sustained the same principle, when King George 'imposed taxes on them without their consent,' in consequence of which they appealed to the Supremo tions. They also declared that the Constitution was tions. They also declared that the Constitution was ordained for the cryress purpose of 'establishing justice, and to ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.' We do not wish to trouble your honorable body with lengthy or unreasonable complaints; but since God, in His providence, has made us citizens of this Commonwealth, we feel that we would be recreant to the principles of justice contamned upon every breast, if we neglect to tice enstamped upon every breast, if we neglect to send this memorial to you, and thereby do all in our power to obtain this right for ourselves and our pos-terity. This we will ever pray.

From the New York Christian Inquires REV. GEORGE ARMSTRONG, OF BRISTOL, ENGLAND.

CINCINNATI, Sept. 22, 1857. The recent death of the above named distinguished minister will make the subjoined extracts from a letter, received by the writer, of deep and mournful interest. The letter was written June 20, and must therefore have been one of the last ever written by him, as the news of his death came, I believe, by the very next steamer. Mr. Armstrong was an old and long-tried friend of freedom in his own and this country, and these brief extracts show what interests were nearest when all was growing dim.

'I have watched them (the anti-slavery men in America) in their ever-faithful conflicts with the foul spirit of their age, and cannot sufficiently marvel that such eloquence, energy and heartiness should fail in carrying with them all that is rational and sound in any civilized community—much more in a Society such as the Unitarian, trained in the discipline of obloquy, versed in the weapons of the intellect, and professors and propagandists of the purest form of the precious faith of Christ. Surely 'God moves in a mysterious way,' or this could not be! But the finite can but faintly conceive of the Infnite; and, judging from the analogies of external nature, cycles of time would seem to be as nothing in the Divine contemplation. Yet one cannot easily even with the utmost stretch of these pious expedients, imagine a Providence of wisdom and love ordaining successive generations of intelligent creatures to pass away under the harrow of such dreadful affliction, suffering and degradation as befall the African race, and chiefly at the hands of the foremost and most civilized portion of the human race, the Anglo-Saxon. But these dark speculations aside, now one's heart is stunned, and one's hope almost quenched, at beholding a brother, whom we should otherwise regard and honor as a fellow-laborer in the vineyard, lending himself, under some infatuation of head or heart, to do not Christ's, but the devil's work, and playing into the hands of the en-

light is nearest, and, old as I am, even I cannot despair. But, for God's sake, no half courses, which only prove whole curses !-- for have not the compromises of the fathers of the Revolution so turned out Give my love to Samuel May, and my most honoring remembrance to Mr. Garrison, when you have opportunity. Mr. Wendell Phillips I know not personally, but in spirit and power I regard him as one of the noblest of God's creatures. Yours ever, faithfully,

GEORGE ARMSTRONG. CALEB CUSHING.

CALEB CUSHING loses no opportunity to stab the cause of liberty to the heart, and to further the satanic designs of the slave oligarchy. He recently made a speech at a dinner of the Essex Agricultural Society in Newburyport; upon a sentiment of which, the Haverhill Gazette comments as follows :-

We have a word of criticism upon Mr. Cushing speech at the dinner table. In the midst of a beautiful speech, which we were all waiting to applaud, it was entirely out of taste, and unworthy of the man and the occasion, to let off a poisoned arrow to and the feelings of three-fourths of all the inte ligent audience, who were hanging upon his lips.

All these things unhappy England has now upo ner hands in distracted and devistated india, (not e England, observe.) But tee—what is that we have for political trouble? Why, forsooth, some psity frontie squabble in Utah, Neotio, Dacotah, Nebraska, Kassa some other out of the way spot, with or without name, and of no more account any way in the great current of National welfare, than the bubbles which form and break at the great river at our feet.

The English language cannot express, in so many words, more strongly the utter disregard of the speaker for the rights of man, and the purity of our Republic. That the rights of a territory of a hun-dred thousand people have been wrested from them by an invasion from a neighboring State, and the wrong sustained by the strong arm of the United States Government, seeing that it did not interfere with his own aspirations or the power of his party, but rather sustained them, is of no more consequence in his mind, than the bubbles that float on the Merrimack! The crying wrong has been proved by hundred witnesses, before a Committee of Congress and condemned by a majority of the House of Re-presentatives of the United States, confirmed by two Democratic Governors, sent out there to support the Democratic Governors, sent out there to support the wrong, but who found them too outrageous, unlaw-ful, and unconstitutional to be supported; yet Mr. Cushing, because they are perpetrated by the party to which he has attached himself, considers them of no account, seeing they are in 'an out of the way spot'—a 'petty frontier squabble'—and do no violence to his feelings.

Does not Mr. Cushing know that Kansas is near-

er the geographical centre of the United States than Newburyport, or even Washington city? Does he not remember that, in the last days of Rome, the claim, 'I am a Roman citizen,' secured the sufferer from the socurge in its remotest province, and made the petty despots tremble? If he does not, the people know that the man who disregards the rights of a remote territory, or of an individual, disregards the rights of States, and the millions of American citiregisters, and cares not for law, constitution, or the nat-ural rights of man, any further than they can be made to promote the ambitious views of himself or his, party. Such an insult to his old constituents, to whom he was indebted for a seat in Congress, would be unworthy of Mr. Cushing at any time, but in an agricultural speech was most inappropriate and ill-timed, and merited, as it received, more hisses than

FEARPUL RAILROAD ACCIDENT. On Thursday ning, 16th inst., the mail train from the West went down an embankment at Beaver Meadow Brook, six miles from Syracuse, demolishing the engine, tender, baggage car, and three passenger cars, and killing and wounding the following persons:—

Miss Brown, of Toronto, dend.
R. Clinton Bronson, Westfield, Ct., fatally wo Since dead.]
John Oaksbury, rib broken, of Vermilyes, Jeffer.

Samuel Plumb, of New York, slightly injured.
Lizzie Franklin, Warren, R. L., rib broken.
Patrick Nolan, baggage master, badly injured; his
legs and shoulders being badly broken.
E. Pettinger, emigrant baggage master, collar bone

R. Haslup, engineer, bruised and arm scalded.
Fireman, badly bruised.
Mr. DeForrest, of New Haven, Conn., arm broken.
A cold, heavyrain was falling at the time of the accident, and the passengers were obliged to break up and burn one of the cars to keep themselves warm until relief reached them.
Miss Brown was a daughter of George Brown, Esq., editor of the Montreal Giobe. She was drowned in the car. She was in company with har father en route to England. He escaped with a few alight injuries.
A lady of a former pastor of the Washington Avenue, Methodist Church (we were unable to learn his R. Haslup, engineer, bruised and arm scalded.

The Liberator

NO UNION WITH BLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, OCTOBER 23, 1857.

POSTPONEMENT OF THE NORTHERN CONVENTION.

After grave and anxious deliberation, in view of the sudden paralytic shock which has fallen upon the whole country, in regard to its financial and business operations - which, at the present time absorbs the attention and tries the res classes—and which renders it certain that only a lo-cal gathering could be secured under such depressing circumstances - the Committee of Arrange have reluctantly assumed the responsibility of Post-PONING (pro tempore) the Northern Convention which was advertised to be held at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 28th and 29th inst.

Whilst this postponement will doubtless be a 's vere disappointment to the true hearted friends of freedom in Ohio, and to a few others who intended to be present from a distance, in spite of the pecu-niary pressure; yet it is deemed wisest and best, all things considered, to wait until the universal panic shall have subsided, and a better representation of Northern sentiment can be secured on the question of Disunion, than can now rationally be expected. Due notice will be given of the time at which

the Convention will be held. In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, WENDELL PHILLIPS,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. Boston, Oct. 17, 1857.

E Editors of newspapers are requested to an the postponement of the Convention.

In consequence of the very great local disapointment that will undoubtedly be felt by this unexected and unforceen postponement of the Conven tion, it is not improbable that the friends in Ohio may deem it advisable to hold meetings, on their own responsibility, at Cleveland, at the time originally designed for the Convention-to wit, on the 28th and 29th inst.; on which occasion, there would be no lack of able and effective speakers-among them, doubt less, would be Parker Pillsbury, A. T. Foss, Charles C. Burleigh, S. and A. K. Foster, C. L. Remond, &c. But, of course, we are not authorised to promise this.

THE CONSTITUTION AND UNION.

We have occupied the whole of the first page of our resent number with the testimonies of such men as lexander Hamilton, James Madison, Judge Story, Daniel Webster, Josiah Quincy, John Quincy Adams, Joshua R. Giddings, Horace Mann, Charles Sumner, Stephen C. Phillips, William Slade; and William Ellery Channing, in regard to the pro-slavery conditions upon which the Union was organized, and the slaveholding compromises embodied in the Constitution of the United States-all in perfect agreenent with each other-all sustained by the universal understanding of the people, and the uniform action of the several state and national governments-and all warranted by the facts of history. These might be multiplied indefinitely. We ask that they may be seriously pondered by all who mean to keep clean hands and a conscience void of offence, who claim to be true to freedom, who reject the doctrine that the end sanctifies the means, and whose aim is to extirpate slavery from the American soil. To such the appeal is solemnly made- If such be the bonds which mite the North and the South together, is it not nost sinful act to seek their perpetuity ?"

Originally, the following constituted the pro-slavery features of the Constitution, all of which remain unchanged, except the last :- 1. The three-fifths repre sentation of all the slaves, for their own destruction and the security of their tyrannical masters. 2. The right to hunt and recapture fugitive slaves, in all parts of the country. 3. The obligation of the North to assist in suppressing domestic insurrections. 4. The right to prosecute the foreign slave trade for twenty years after the adoption of the Constitution. Respect ing these features, no doubt has been entertained by opinion may have prevailed at any time in regard to ther portions of that instrument. Washington, Ham ilton, Jay, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall,-all the great men of the Revolution,-fully ecognized them as legitimate. But, framing or adopt ing the Constitution as they did, -some of them living nany years under its administration, -it was not pos sible for them to be guilty of such folly, or stricker with such idiocy, while retaining their faculties brigh in all other matters, if it contained no slaveholdin ompromises. To deny those compromises, to impeac the sanity of those giant minds, to declare that th people have always misconceived the spirit and design of their own government, is the work of a very fee verbal sophista and hair-splitters of our own day, upor whom it would be labor lost to bestow serious atten tion, and whose interpretation of the Constitution ustly rejected as false and perfidious by the entir ountry, without distinction of party. For twenty years, the stipulation respecting the foreign slave trad was observed, and not till the expiration of that tim did Congress dream that it had a constitutional right to prohibit it. For more than sixty years, a fugitive slave law has been in operation as a constitutions provision—the law of 1793 having been passed by ome of those who framed the Constitution, and ap pended their signatures thereto. For the same ex ended period, the right of the general government t summon all needed forces from the North to suppres a servile insurrection at the South, has not only bee everywhere acknowledged, but promptly exercise when called upon. For the same period, a slav representation, in the proportion of three fifths of the whole number, has been uniformly allowed in Cor gress, keeping pace with the growth of the slave por ulation-no man venturing, at any time, in eithe house, to question its validity. If, therefore, any thin is settled in relation to the Constitution, beyond all reasonable doubt or denial, it is its pro-slavery cha

To say that this is to strengthen the hands of th slaveholders, is an allegation equally false and absurd. It is the Constitution which pledges the whole power of the nation for the security of slavery; and in re cognizing this fact, we neither uphold that instrumen nor abet alavery, but adjudge them both to be worthy of everlasting condemnation. We take the American people at their word—measure them by their own acknowledged standard—and thereby convict them of having made, to promote their own selfish ends, 't sovenant with death, and an agreement with hell." The day has gone by for them to make any defend of their conduct: the conscientious among them are greatly troubled in spirit, the humane are filled with listress, disunionists are daily increasing in numbe while demagogues, parasites, shoulder-hitters, berder-ruffians, spurious republicans and sham democrats are shouting in unison, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians

Is Alexander Hamilton a competent witness? Wh does he say respecting the slave representation clause . It was one result of the spirit of accommodation (! which governed the Convention [to frame the Constitution]—and without this indulgence, NO UNION COU a]—and without this indulgence, NO UNION COULT BLY HAVE BUEN FOUNED. And so he went for

Alas I what shall be said of those who are read to fulfil that engagement, because it is 'in the bon Are they not to be associated with the crucifie us, whose justification was, 'We have a law, by that law he ought to die 17 or

Boston, Oct. 20, 1857.

DEAR FRIENDS: When I promised to attend your annual meeting it was my expectation that the Nourmann Conven that remains to be done.

From a dizzy height of prosperity, which seemed to rest upon an indestructible basis, the nation has been instantaneously hurled into an abyss of bankruptcy, suffering and ruin, as though the seventh angel had poured out his vial into the air, and great Babylon had come in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.' In view of its centuries of bloody oppression-its incorporation of chattel slavery into its constitutional ing them to the level of beasts-its atheistical conthe lower law of the bottomless pit-its systematic and universal disregard of all the principles of justice and humanity, whereby the foundations of confidence, as between man and man, have been utterly removproclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the are appointed to destruction,' and shameless regard for wolves in sheep's clothing and profligate demagogues in the garb of patriotism-its extraordinary growth and abounding prosperity, nevertheless, causing it impiously to exclaim, 'Who shall bring me down to the ground?'-and its sudden fall to the earth, in its triumphal hour, as though smitten by a by selfishness of purpose, they are all with the oppresthunderbolt from a clear sky, causing 'men's hearts smite together, and the strength of the strongest to become as infantile weakness-it is as though a voice from heaven were saying, 'Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues; for her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her; for she saith in her heart. I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day; for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her. Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath

avenged you on her.' Of course, in this day of calamity, speculation is rangement of all our business affairs. The facts are obvious to the most superficial—that the strongest establishments have been crushed like cob-houses, 'in the twinkling of an eye'-that millionaires have found themselves swallowed up in a vortex of indebtedness-that failures in every department of trade are taking place unceasingly-that specie payment has been suspended every where, indicating a universal inability of the banks to meet their 'promises to pay,' which means, in other words, universal insolvency-that factories are fast being curtailed in their of artisans, operatives and laborers, have been thrown of extreme destitution-and that, in regard to all industrial pursuits and enterprises, congestion of the brain and paralysis of the limbs indicate the exact condition of our land, in this day of retributive judg-

Now, as to the causes of this astounding state things, there are various opinions-such as that they paper currency, in the abandoument of agriculture for raffic, in the vast indebtedness of the West, in speculation run mad, in the practice of giving general and possibility of income, in taxing certain raw materials from abroad for home manufacture, and thus rendering it impracticable for our manufacturers to compete in the market with those in other lands—&c. &c., &c. No doubt, all these suggestions are worthy of consideration, and embody a great deal of truth But the solution of the problem is contained in two ords NATIONAL DENORALIZATION.

We are a wicked nation and a 'fast' people. Our pride, our vanity, our ambition, are paralleled only by our impudence, our barbarity, and our oppression The god whom we serve is 'Manifest Destiny'; the Moloch at whose shrine we kngel is the Slave Power who causes all, 'both small and great, rich and poor free and bond, to receive a mark in their right ha or in their foreheads; ' and commands that ' no mar buy or sell save he that hath the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.' Like the ancient Jews, our feet run to evil, and we make haste to shed innocent blood; our lips have spoken lies, ou tongue hath muttered perverseness; we conceive mis-chief, and bring forth iniquity; we hatch cocatric eggs, and weave the spider's web; the act of violence is in our hands; we have made crooked paths, and there is no judgment in our goings : we wait for light, but behold obscurity; for brightness, but we walk in darkness; we grope for the wall like the blind, and we stumble at noon-day as in the night. Their confession must be ours, in the spirit of hearty repentance : - Our sins testify against us; and as for or iniquities, we know them; in transgressing and lying against the Lord, and departing away from our God; SPEAKING OPPRESSION AND REVOLT, conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood.

Every nation has its peculiar source of corrupti nisery and ruin. Ours is to be found in that Vesu vius of crime, that mælstrom of blood, that pand nium of oppression, the slave system. Until that b destroyed, there is no peace, no prosperity, no safety, time, as hitherto, we may 'wax fat and kick,' and audaciously echo the words of Pharaoh, 'Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go'; but there shall come upon us, in their order, those terribl plagues which shall make both man and beast cry out suffering, and cause our soil to be red with bl Let others talk of the immediate causes of the present chaotic state of things as they may; for one, I believe it is owing to the existence, growth, extens believe it is owing to the existence, growth, extension and supremacy of slavery, in a pre-eminent degree. Dishonesty must be an essential characteristic of a slaveholding people; and when was worldly success or Heaven's blessing ever promised in that direction? History, whether sacred or profane, teaches me only this as pertaining to despotism—that it curses the this as pertaining to despotism—that it cur soil, fetters industry, paralyzes invention, wealth, ahrivels population, impairs strength, to vengeance, spreads pollution, debauches conse-stultifies intellect, and breads exterminating ents. It teaches me, also, that in the train of peace. Hence, by my reverence for God-by my love of man-by my regard for the welfare and glory of the land of my birth-by my heartfelt desire to

STATE OF THE COUNTRY—RETRIBUTIVE see all forms of despotism for ever abolished, and uni-JUDGMENTS. versal brotherhood prevail, I am for the immediate polition of slavery, and for the removal or destruction of whatever stands in the way of emancipation.

American elavery is upheld by two mighty prope Church and State, religion and governm when these are overthrown, that foul system shall rrow, with reference to a dissolution of the Union, would be held at Cleveland, at the time originally fall to rise no more. The popular rengion is solven to the Anti-Slavery movement, and horotopone that Convention to a later period, on account of the paralysis with which the whole country has cheats, steals, commits adultery, enforces concubing the paralysis with which the whole country has cheats, steals, commits adultery, enforces concubing the paralysis with which the whole country has cheats, steals, commits adultery, enforces concubing the paralysis with which the whole country has cheats, steals, commits adultery, enforces concubing the paralysis with which the whole country has cheats, steals, commits adultery, enforces concubing the paralysis with which the whole country has cheats, steals, commits adultery, enforces concubing the paralysis with which the whole country has cheats, steals, commits adultery, enforces concubing the paralysis with which the whole country has cheats, steals, commits adultery, enforces concubing the paralysis with which the whole country has cheats, steals, commits adultery, enforces concubing the paralysis with which the whole country has cheats, steals, commits adultery, enforces concubing the paralysis with which the whole country has cheats, steals, commits adultery, enforces concubing the paralysis with which the whole country has cheats at the paralysis with the paralysis with which the whole country has cheat the paralysis with the paralysis wit and business relations, and which renders it impossi-ble, therefore, to obtain such an expression of North-Its climax of wickedness is in claiming to be the re ern feeling and sentiment upon that question as its ligion of Him who came to open the prison-doors, an importance demands, I beg you to excuse my absence, and allow me to send you an expression of my warm regards for you personally and collectively, and my testimony as to the state of our cause, and the work and good-will to all mankind. A slaveholding reli gion is my scorn and abhorrence; and, instead of be ing deterred from assailing it because it has taken to tself the name of Christianity, I would all the more coldly tear off its mask, and seek its extirpation, or

tion of religion, as such; so that the various bodie which make up what we comprehensively call the American Church are to be arraigned in detail, each existence—its robbery of one seventh portion of the by itself, none being responsible for the deeds of people of all their rights as human beings, and reduc- another. Thus, the American Tract Society, which now, through its Committees and Secretaries, avow tempt for the higher law of God, and idolatry for its determination not to publish a solitary word against the admitted moral evils and cruelties of slavery, because it would lose THE PRICE OF BLOOD which the South now casts into its polluted treasury, is to be held responsible on its own ground, and prono ed-its hot malignity against the divine command to worthy of universal execuation. To contribute to its support, under these circumstances, with an intelliinhabitants thereof '-its fierce persecution of such as gent knowledge of its position, is a more guilty act have been raised up to ' plead the cause of all such as than that of highway robbery. Let it be accursed, in the name of God and his Christ!

A similar condemnation should be bestowed upon that bloated, pharisaical, and self-perpetuating oligarchy, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and upon all the great religious scets and organizations in the land. By affinity of spirit, sor, 'on whose side there is power,' and governed, not to fail them for fear,' and the knees of the stoutest to by the Prince of Peace, but by 'the prince of the power of the air.' Spiritual wickedness is inaugurated by them in high places; and they have no other God, no other law, no other standard of judgment, than that of public opinion :- in other words, they are thoroughly ATHEISTICAL, in the most awful sense of that word. They recognise man-stealing as compatible with a Christian profession; they receive the slave-breeder to their communion as a brother in the Lord; they profess to find in the Bible, which they claim to be the inspired word of God, ample justification for making man the property of man, and make this test conclusive; thus revealing themselves to be cages of unclean birds, and synagogues of Satan.

But while, religiously, support of slavery is an individual or denominational act, it becomes national busy in tracing the causes of this wide-spread de- by incorporation with the government from which it mainly derives its sustenance and protection. Our fathers committed a fearful sin for themselves and their posterity, when they consented to those slaveholding compromises in the Constitution of the United States, whereby that instrument was made 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell,' from which have come all our woes as a people. We shall bring a heavier load of guilt upon our own souls, i we do not repudiate that Constitution with horror, and pronounce its requirements to be disloyalty to Heaven, and treason to the cause of human liberty univeroperations, or wholly closed-that tens of thousands sally. We see what our fathers did not see; we know what they did not know; and if for them there can out of employment, and are threatened with a winter be found a shadow of excuse, in the terrible exigencies by which they were surrounded, none can possi bly be found for us, if we imitate their example.

The great pressing duty of the hour, then, is, t seek the separation of the North from the South, the free States from the slave States-first, on the ground that we must not 'strike hands with thieves, nor consont with adulterers '-and secondly, because, both are to be found in female extravagance, in excess of by a physical and geographical necessity, that separation foreign importation, in fondness for display and high will inevitably give the death-blow to the whole living, in the creation of fictitious stock, ad infinitum, slave system, and thus terminate our arduous strugearth. If, as the venerable Jostan Quincy says, the Union is the slaveholder's main strength, and its con tinuance his forlorn hope ; if, as JOHN QUINCY AT extended credit, in excess of expenditure beyond all AMS says, 'The bargain between Freedom and Slavery, contained in the Constitution of the United States, is morally and politically vicious, and incon sistent with the principles on which alone our revo lution can be justified,' then our watch-word should be, 'LET THE COMPACT PERISH! NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

Here is solid ground—from this entrenchment an never be driven-this embodies all the issues with the Slave Power in one. It must be made the test o genuine patriotism, of incorruptible integrity, of en ghtened piety, and of Anti-Slavery fidelity. While the Union stands as it is-while the Constitution re nains what it is-the slave oligarchy will continue wield the destinies of the nation, and nothing car revent the success of their machinations.

Yours, to smite a slaveholding Union to the dus WM. LLOYD GARRISON. To the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Ant lavery Society at West Chester.

PORTBAIT OF MRS. ERNESTINE L. ROSE. A me xcellent and finely executed portrait of Mrs. Rose by Grozelier, has just been published by J. P. Men um, 45 Cornhill, Boston, where it can be obtained s also of Mr. William C. Nell, at 21 Cornhill,-Price \$1.00. The history, character, intellectual en dowments, mental independence, philanthropic spirit progressive nature, and rhetorical ability of Mrs. Ros nake her one of the most remarkable women of the age; and as the advocate of the rights of her sex, sh has no superior. The motto appended to her portrai human race is elevated in excellence and power, or kept back in progression, in accordance with the scale of woman's position in society. She is represented in a standing attitude, and drawn nearly at full length Grozelier has no rival in this style of lithography and his success in this case will enhance his reputat as a most skilful artist. We hope there are ver many who will be glad to procure this likeness, and thereby to show their appreciation of a noble and he-

Dr. J. S. Rock's lecture, lest Monday evening on 'The Lights and Shadows of Ancient and Moder Tribes of Africa, proved so highly interesting, tha he will soon comply with a general request for its re-petition. It is well adapted for a popular Lycoun lecture, and we hope he will receive many invitations during the season.

POLITICAL MEETING IN WARD SIX. Last Monde evening, the colored voters, and others, were elequently addressed on the questions involved in the comin addressed on the questions in the constant of oster, Wm. H. Newby, Esq., &c. The meeting ad ourned to next Monday evening, to be address.
hrles W. Slack, Esq., and others. The indican that quarter are for sustaining NATHANIEL P. BANK

hat no negro or mulatto shall come more, has be that State, under a penalty of a heavy fine, has be

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE LIFE OF HANDEL. By VICTOR SCHOLLER, New York: Mason Brothers. 1867. pp. 492. This is not only a highly interesting and a very This is not only a mignly interesting and a my valuable work, as pertaining to the grandest of all musical composers, but remarkable on the score of h authorship. Victor Schozzenen is one of the baauthorship. Vieros comments in one or the bablest of the French Republicans, who, for their by blest of the Francisco, Fraternity, and their rest. of Liberty, Equation of Louis Napoleon, THE PLA printous, were compelled to seek safety in flight from their native land, and are now living in ealle in vaous parts of the earth. He was a prominent member ous parts of the Chamber of Deputies, during the brief cus. of the Chamber of Depublic, and exerted himself more conspicuously than any other person to seem the immediate emancipation of all the slaves in the Prench colonies: and the most brilliant success crowned his philanthropic efforts. He is worthy to be associated with Wilberforce, Clarkson, Barton be associated by the same of t the struggle for the abolition of French colonial the very was comparatively brief, and unquestionably the consequence of the more sublime act of British West India emancipation, yet he had all that discterestedness of motive, earnestness of purpose, and fidelity to principle, for which those British philethropists were distinguished. We have a strong & sire to revisit England, - among other ressons, that we may have the privilege of taking by the hand one who has achieved so much for the cause of bleeding humanity, and who has so bravely dared to confront the despotism of Louis Napoleon, as Victor Sergi-

His LAPE OF HANDEL is the fruit of three your spent in zealous and assiduous labor. It indicates spirit of perseverance and a labor of research to an extraordinary extent. The list of works consulted by him in its preparation, alone occupies six printed pages, 'The necessary documents were not wanting,' he says, but they were scattered about in a thousand different places, and had never before been brought together. For more than a month, it was his daily lot to examine the eighty-seven volumes of Handel's own manuscript which are now in Buckingham Palace. With genuine enthusiasm he says- Those were the best moments which I spent upon my undertak-ing; for while I held in my hands the very pages which he had held in his, and examined his own handwriting, and copied his memoranda, and sought eagerly for the slightest particle of himself, it seemed to me as if I were living with Handel.' This cuthasiasm is the more noticeable, as Mr. Schottenta say he is no professed musician, and so untechnical that he would be hard put to it to read the gamut. The result of it is a work of lasting value, not only as it relates to the 'giant of music,' but as furnishing a curious and very exact insight into the musical history of England, especially of the period when the Italian opera was introduced into that country. Mr. S. seems to have acquired a perfect mastery of the English language, and writes with great clearness and pred-

It is curious to see what trials and vicisiteles. what rivalries and assaults, the peerless and unpproachable Handel was called to encounter, during his sojourn in England; and not less satisfactor to behold him perfectly self-reliant, always indomitable, and ultimately triumphant over all opposition. As an instance of the religious bigotry of the age, it's stated that when his great master-piece, The Minish was first brought out in London, it was announced by no other title than 'a sacred oratorio'-he being apprehensive, it is surmised, 'lest, by the assistance of the powerful enemies which were banded against him, the hypocrites might be able to arouse some scandal on seeing the name of The Messiah upon a playbill.' Six years afterwards, he ventured to announce it by its true title. According to Dr. Beattie, when it was first performed, the audience was exceedingly struck and affected by the music in general; but when the chorus struck up. For the Lord God omnipotent, in the Alleluia, they were so transported, that they altogether with the king (who was present) started up, and remained standing till the chara ended.

The empluments of his last years were such as to enable him to clear himself of the embarrasment which at one time pressed heavily upon him, and to very portly man. His gait was sauntering and mgraceful, his features were finely marked, and the general cast of his countenance placid, bespeaking dignity attempered with benevolence. Had he len as great a master of the English language as Seit, his bon mots would have been as frequent, and some what of the same quality. He was always givet, even when standing on the verge of ruin. He vs imperious, jealous of his musical abilities, impetes of rivalry, and extremely irritable. 'At the concerwhich he conducted for Frederic, Prince of Wales, ? the prince and his wife were not punctual, he used to be very violent, and if the ladies of the princes talked instead of listening, his rage was uncontrolable; whereupon the princess would say to the talkain ones, "Hush! hush! Handel is in a passion." He, however, always preserved his independence, ast would never seek for patronage. Being informed, a Aix-la-Chapelle, that the King of Prussia was coming. and wished to see him, he left the place before the monarch arrived. Beethoven, who had called his The monarch of the musical kingdom, was at the point of death when he received as a present farty volumes by Handel. He ordered that they should be brought into his chamber, gazed upon them with re-animated eye, and then, pointing to them, said

It seems that the present fashion of wearing innense hoops prevailed among the ladies of those days: so that when the oratorio was to be repeated, it was announced in the advertisement - Many ladies mi gentlemen who are well-wishers to this poble and grand charity, for which this oratorio was composed request it as a favor, that the ladies who honer is performance with their presence would be plant ! come without hoops, as it would greatly increase in charity by making room for more company. Or another occasion it was stated—'No ladies will be at mitted with hats, and they are particularly requests to come without feathers, and very small hoops, if any This highly interesting and valuable work is it sale by Crosby, Nichols & Co., Washington Street

THE LIPE-LANE OF THE LONE ONE; or, Autobiograph of the World's Child. By the Author. Bottle. Published by Bela Marsh, 14 Bromfeld god.

The 'Love One,' who needlessly suppress name while affixing his portrait to his Autobiograph and resorts to a title, the frequent use of which somewhat annoying, is none other than Warm Chasz, widely known in the lecturing field as liformer and Spiritualist—a self-made man, obers born, rising through many vicissitudes and depress circumstances to public conspicuity a select for trath at whatever cost, a believer in everlasing to gress, an independent thinker, strong in his repowers, with large reflective faculties, a comp sive mind, and a benevolent heart. His book as unpretending narrative of the principal incident his life, and descriptions of persons who have befored ed him, or who are noted for their interest in the rmatory movements of the age — and also of plant high he has visited during his cheequered care berally interspersed with poetical quotations, while dieate good taste, and an appreciation of what is of them to sentiment and sublime in truth. It will be creating chiefly to the wide circle with which is it. dentified. We hope he will not be a loser by it, p enniarily.

It is a curious fact, that the representatives of the popular, or American, religion, while professing to take as their guides the apostles of the Christian and the prophets of the Jewish faith, and to take Jesus of Nazareth as their chief corner-stone, instead of copying the directness with which those noble reform assailed the vices of their times, and applied the principles of justice and righteousness to such wrongs as were popularly practised and defended in Church and State, are really and constantly aiming at a very different thing, namely-how to seem to fulfil that function without incurring the risk and reproach which an actual fulfilment of it would bring; how to speak against sin in such a manner that the sinner himself shall appland them, and even cooperate with them, without changing one iota of his sinful course; how to utter a testimony for righteousness which small be not only acceptable to him who lives on the wages of sin, but tolerant of his continuance in that life, while he professes piety, attains church-membership, and openly divides his worship between God and Mam-

The latest specimen of this sort is a correspondent of Zion's Herald, who has just addressed a series of three letters to Elihu Burritt, on his Compensation Scheme. Seeing the obvious truth, that that scheme cannot succeed, instead of tracing its inefficiency its want of anti-slavery principle-to its folly in undertaking to deal with a wrong as if it were a right, and with obstinate and abandoned sinners as if they were conscientiously doing as well as they knew how, and only needed help to do more-this writer proposes to make the central idea of that scheme yet available by diluting and gradualizing it, by under taking the same sort of thing less vigorously, addressing only the slaveholders who wish to sell, instead of the whole mass, using only individual instead of State action, and paying the slaveholders to do their duty only with voluntary contributions instead of the public And the sagacious deviser of this scheme flatters himself that, among its other advantages, it could unite together ' such men as Edward Everett and Gerrit Smith, James Buchanan and John C. Fremont Stephen A. Douglas and William Lloyd Garrison. The writer in question directs a ridicule justly de-

served upon Mr. Burritt's Society, when he says it ought to be called - The-persuading-of-the-slavehalding-South-to-offer-to-receive-compensation Society.' But his proposed amendment of this scheme consists in not even trying to do more than redee (and colonize) such slaves as their oppressors are now willing to sell, and to merge in this pitiful rehash of the Colonization scheme all the efforts that are now making by the abolitionists against the sins of slaveholding and slave-trading in the South, and by Republicans against the extension of these to the North. Mr. Burritt's scheme has the merit of wishing and proposing to put an end to slavery; this writer, who signs himself . Voluntary Compensationist, merely proposes a new market for those slaveholders who wish to sell, and a new place of expatriation (on American, instead of African soil,) for the emancipated, while no curb is even proposed for the limitation of slaveholding and slave-trading in the future, so that the parties who have sold off their damaged or superannuated slaves to the 'voluntary compensationists' may at once proceed to replenish their stock in the ordinary markets.

The main purpose, however, for which we have noticed this scheme, is to point out how its writer seeks to gain friends for it by concession and compromise, by falling in with popular prejudice, and by carefully abstaining from the rebuke of sin.

He assumes that the slaveholders deserve pity rather than blame, as having become honorably involved in a business which has ultimately and accidentally become dishonorable.

He assumes that they are unable to get out of this business - which was formerly quite correct, but which has become dishonorable-for want of pecuniary help.

He assumes that emancipation of the slave on the soil where he has always lived would be a disadvan-

He assumes that a sale of slaves for such a purpose at less than their market price would be a praise worthy liberality on the part of the slaveholders, instead of the mere beginning of an approach towards bare justice.

He assumes that the welfare of the bondman is now one largely influential element in the policy of the slaveholders, and that when 'the well-being of the freedman' under this new scheme should become manifest, great numbers of masters would hasten to avail themselves of it. In the same manner, he assumes that laws permitting emancipation on the soil would give a great impetus to his cause, as if one slaveholder in a thousand were now prevented by the existing laws from emancipating; as if the power were wanting, rather than the will.

Without attempting to enumerate all the sophistries in rhetoric and logic attempted by this writer, we will close by quoting his statement, that the movement he proposes would abate the prejudices of the South against abolitionism' !- as if a movement in favor of 'chalk' would naturally tend to abate any prejudice felt against 'cheese.'-c. K. W.

To Lyceum Committees. We beg leave, upon our own prompting, to recommend to the favorable consideration of Lyceum Committees, Mrs. CAROLINE H. DALL, of this city, as one of the most intelligent and acceptable lecturers in the country, both for her sterling sense and excellence of delivery. She has prepared three highly interesting and instructive lectures, which cannot fail to satisfy the most critical audiences :- one on Light and Color; another on Human Rights; and a third on the Power and Dignity of Woman. Her address is 49 Bradford street, Boston. We trust she will receive many applications during the coming lecturing season, as she cannot fail to give general satisfaction.

ERRATA. We regret that a few errors occurred in printing Mr. May's letter in our last week's paper, which we hasten to correct. In the third paragraph, for a little objection on the part of the North,' read 'little objection.' For 'personages,' read 'parsonages.' The sentence italicised in part should read, 'I repeat, it is a moral impossibility to continue the American Union on its present terms and conditions that is, to continue the present Union at all.'

In the last paragraph, for extension of slavery, read 'extinction of slavery."

The letter should not have been credited to the 'Anti-Slavery Reporter for September,' but to the 'Anti-Sla very Advocate for October.

THE CONVENTION. A letter from Rev. N. R. Jounston, pastor of a (Covenanter) Presbyterian Church in Vermont, mentions his purpose of attending the Disunion Convention at Cleveland, and says-

'I am very sorry that unavoidable circumstance will prevent many of the members of our Church from being at the Cleveland Convention, who otherwise would be there. Several of the Presbyteries meet on the very days of the Convention. This could not be avoided. The time of the meetings was fixed at the last Spring meetings. Were it not for this, I am sure that quite a number of the ministers in the Presby tery, in whose bounds Cleveland is, would be there.'

ELOCUTION. It will be seen, by referring to her advertisement in another column, that Miss H. G. Gun-DEESON has become Teacher of Elecution to the Mercantile Academy, 11 Mercantile Building, Summe Street, in this city. We congratulate her up success, and trust applications for her services will be numerous on the part of those who wish to acquire correct style of reading and speaking.

PROGRESS OF DISUNIONISM AT THE

BATTLE CREEK, Mich., Oct. 13, 1857. DEAR PRIEND GARRISON:

We have just closed the annual meeting of the Michigan 'Friends of Human Progress.' Five years ago, I attended a similar gathering in this same town. the fundamental basis of our institutions, inculeate i ago, I attended a similar gathering in this same town. Then, a little, old-fashioned Friends' meeting-house, a very little one, was ample for our accommodation, even on Sunday. This year, we occupied a most governments? The Declaration need not again be spacious hall, which we almost crowded on Saturday quoted, for every anti-slavery man is, or ought to be, and Monday, while on Sunday we had to resort to a large tent that holds easily ten or twelve hundred not a man, woman or child in this confederacy, who persons, and we certainly crowded it to its extremest will not positively assert that the war of the Revolu-capacity. The President was Judge Boardman, of tion was, on the part of Great Britain, an unjust, Waukegan, Illinois.

ly the Spiritualists predominated. But there were the right-natural, moral, or constitutional-to urge some who are still 'of the earth, earthy.' Abolitionists, temperance people, land reformers, socialists, and I kn w not what others, all claiming to come under the general denomination of 'Friends of Human Pro-gress,' and so were included in the Call. that Great Britain had not the power to enforce her government, unconstitutionally, upon the colonies.

and John S. Martin, (a fugitive slave.) Three days tional—to do so? No man who venerates the subwere never crowded with more speaking and business, lime doctrines of the Declaration of Independence

itualism, Anti-Slavery, and Woman's Rights. Other may be said that the British government exceeded the questions were raised, and resolutions were adopted limits of the British Constitution in the exercise of upon them, but without much discussion. Most power over the colonies. Of this fact there can be upon them, but without much discussion. Most properly the British Constitution was not a beautiful music was furnished us, both vocal and instrumental, by Mr. Higgins, of Chicago.

like the potato-rot, and was almost working its ruin. Lords and Commons denying it.

Many Spiritualists are Buchanan Democrats, up to Now, which was to be the judg border-ruffian' heat : multitudes have colorphobiaare all broke out with it; while almost all of them seem to dread Garrisonianism and Dissolution of the sole expositor of the Constitution in the last resort, Union more than sword, pestilence and famine .-There were some gone-to-seed, professed Abolitionists this confederacy. In fact, they laid no claim to sovamong them, whose arti-slavery seemed not to have ereignty, or to the allegiance of their inhabitants, who been very vital, for they have mostly discontinued their anti-slavery papers, too often leaving arrearages of from one to five or six dollars unpaid.

These disciples of Spiritualism appeared much annoyed, all of them, at the introduction of anti-slavery into our discussion. Many of them seemed to assume to institute new governments, laying their founda-the meeting as their own, and regarded Burleigh and tions on such principles, and organizing their powers myself only as interlopers. Some would not hear us patiently, if at all; and others declared they would not have come to the meeting, if they had known it It is certainly not too much to say, that there is not a more bigoted and intolerant class in the whole sister-

But there were others there, who, though fully be- 1782?lieving in the facts and phenomena of the new doctrine, only value them as they can be made to subserve the great interests of humanity. Of this number stood pre-eminently both Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Jackson Davis. Never have I seen such disappointment as was manifest when they, or when he, declared Spiritualism valueless, and far worse, only when viewed as an auxiliary to aid onwards every great work of reform; and when he added, that it was no test of character whatever, that a person might be even worse for being a Spiritualist, and that nothing could be more odious than for men to call themselves Spiritualists, while voting for Buchanan, or in any way giving voluntary countenance and aid to such a curse and crime as slavery. Mrs. Davis was equally firm and decided, and a more essential service was hardly ever done the Anti-Slavery cause than we were indebted to them for at this anniversary. Without them, I am sure we could not have adopted the following resolutions, covering, as you will see, the entire ground of a dissolution of the American Union:

length reached an intensity where its blazing atroci-ties eclipse every other curse endured or crime perpe-the citizens of one half of the States for 'bearing tru trated by the people, not only plunging millions of faith and allegiance to the sovereign authority men and angels to the lowest deeps of mental and Union, and exact this 'allegiance,' as heretofore shown moral darkness and despair, but also by its reflex in- to be claimed by each State of the confederacy. fluence, debasing and degrading the whole white pop- If this is not correct reasoning, from the positions conscience, controlling the religion, interpreting the that document was a sheer fraud got up for the occa-Constitution, enacting and enforcing the vilest and sion, in order to arouse the people of the colonies most unjust laws, dictating the diplomacy, and indeed rebel against their acknowledged sovereign. Again every other department of the government, and all to if this position is erroneous, the whole question resubserve its own unballowed designs; and.

Whereas, the two grand supports of the system are, first, the government, based on the Constitution and Union, and, secondly, the religion, which, in all the most powerful and popular denominations, still fellowships the slave-breeder, the slave-trader and slave-holder, all as Christians and ministers; there-

Resolved. That we hereby register our most solemn testimony against the slave-system, and the two great elements on which it leans for support. And, Resolved, That, in our opinion, the time has fully

come when the Northern and nominally free States of the Union should demand an entire separation from the slave States, and proclaim the American Union a wild and guilty attempt to bind together elements and principles which God and all nature have eternally disjoined, and then to found a FREE NORTHERN CON-PEDERACY, whose atmosphere should never be polluted by the breath of a slaveholder, and whose soil should never shudder under the tread of the Divine image enslaved.

The Battle Creek meeting was a cordial to the hearts of all the true friends of humanity present, and its influence must be most salutary all over the State. Anti-Slavery was drooping under the blighting influence of a wild fanaticism, that was gazing away into darkness for spirits to come and do its work and, worse than that, the controlling genius of the delusion was, in the true spirit of the Dred Scott decision, that black men and Garrisonians have no rights which white men are bound to respect.'

and Waltons, Glaziers and Weekses, Moors and Ful- to do so? lers, Merritts, Tituses and Willises, with many others, whose feet are planted on the rock of eternal truth; and though many of them believe confidently in the correspondence of spirits departed with their friends left behind, still, they would know and recognise them only as they aid, comfort and instruct them in doing and suffering the great work and experiences of active, earnest life. The slave could ask no better

I never went to a meeting with such reluctance as to this, but seldom have enjoyed one more, or been much better satisfied with the apparent results. I have seen too many tests of the spiritual science, with my own eyes, to doubt the reality of some kind of agency not laid down or described in the books, or taught in the schools or churches of past years. But grants the right to quell your revolution by force, as

quainted than ever before, and certainly, to know him well is to esteem him most highly. No man seems more consecrated to the work of the world's redemption, and no one can do more, here in the West, than he can, to open the ear and search the heart; and better yet, he seems now fully engaged in his mission, with an expression of purpose that must ensure success.

In heart, but truly, yours.

In haste, but truly, yours,

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. MR. GARRISON:

The position taken in concluding some of your readers may think too strong for the

Now, what does the Declaration of Inde wicked, and unholy war against the good people The elements composing this large assemblage were the colonics. And why was it an unjust war? Beas multifarious almost as the race, though numericals cause the government which had the power had not gress, and so were included in the Call.

The principal speakers on the occasion were Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Jackson Davis, Miss Charlotte M. she would have enforced it; but, let me ask, would Bebee, C. C. Burleigh, S. C. Hewitt, Sojourner Truth, she have had the right—moral, natural, or constitutional labels of the power of the po such as it was, than were the three of that meeting. will give an affirmative answer to this question, be-The most prominent subjects considered were Spir- cause to do so would be to stultify himself. But it The greatest good accomplished at this meeting, at issue between the mother country and her colonies perhaps, was to separate the Anti-Slavery cause from the colonies asserting this to be the fact upon which morbid, mawkish Spiritualism, that had infested it they based their resistance to tyranny—the King

Now, which was to be the judge? According to the despetic doctrines of Gen. Jackson's Proclama-tion, the British Government most assuredly was "the for the colonies were not sovereign, like the States o acknowledged themselves to be British subjects, (a word unknown in our political institutions,) owing allegiance to the British king as sovereign or supreme ruler; and yet the Declaration of Independence as serts, and truthfully asserts, the right of the colonies in such forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

If, then, this was a truthful assertion of the right was to be open to any thing but their favorite idolatry. of British subjects against their acknowledged sover eign, what, let me ask, have we gained by the following acknowledgment of this British king, in the first hood of sects, than this type of so-called Spiritualists, article of the provisional agreement of Nov. 30th,

> 'His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, namely, New Hampshire, Massachu-setts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Carolina and Georgia, to be free, sovereign and inde-pendent States; that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, property and territorial rights of the same and seven Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Sout

> This acknowledgment, wrested from the British king by the united bravery of the Saxon, the Celt, and the African, does not assert that 'this "one peo ple," by this declaration, [Declaration of Independ ence] affirmed their separate NATIONALITY, in the out set-separate from other nations, but united with each other'; but that the colonies had become 'free sovereign and independent States,'-that is, nations The colonies won, by a long, arduous and bloody

war, their inherent right to self-government, from tyrannical king, and have gained nothing by the struggle, if, by adopting, as they supposed, a Federal Government of limited powers, which, contrary t Whereas, the slave system of this nation has at their authority, wits practical operation, as the judge immortal beings down from their high estate among their respective States, should they secode from the

> solves itself into a duestion of power, instead of a question of right.

> Had the colonies failed in that bloody struggle against despotism, some of the leaders would unques tionably have been hung for' high treason'; but is there a man among us who will admit that the British Government had a right, natural, moral or constitutional, to hang them? No! emphatically No would be the soul-stirring response of every man wh venerates the sublime doctrines announced to mankind in the Declaration of Independence; and every man who would give a negative answer would have been,

had he lived in those perilous times, a 'tory.'

The fact that the colonies triumphed does change wrong into right, nor would their failure have transmuted right into wrong. Right and wrong, vice and virtue, are eternally the same, irrespective of human dogmas or of human legislation, which too often attempts to bolster up crime under the sanction of what is called law. Under a failure, then, the action of the colonies would have been exactly the same in character which it is now claimed to be.

But it is conceded that the States have a natural right to secede from the Union, and even this concession is granted as a boon more than as a right; for those who make this concession, which they could not well avoid, as all despotic governments concede same, claim a corellative natural right, as well as a moral and constitutional right, by military coercion to prevent the exercise of this natural right by the States to whom they concede it. Of what use, then, is a 'natural right,' the exercise of which subjects But the cause of freedom is still safe in Michigan. him who uses it to be hung for 'treason' by those There are Chandlers there, and Hayballs, Mickleys who claim the natural, moral and constitutional right

It is no matter how great the necessity of dissolv ing the Union may be, in order to abolish slavery, these who advocate this remedy concede to their op-ponents that the proposed measure would be a 'revo-lutionary,' and not a constitutional, mode of effecting the object in view. The remedy which you prop and which has my cordial approbation, provided is necessity is established, you well know is exceedingl necessity is established, you well know is exceedingly unpopular, as well as those who recommend it to the public favor. No epithets are too gross, no billings gate too foul, to be heaped upon your devoted heads alander and persecution to which you but even the slander and persecution to wh are so unjustly subjected cannot render the as yet, I am not able to see the good done, or begun, which both worlds ought to do, should they really take hold together.

With Andrew Jackson Davis I am now better acquainted than ever before, and certainly, to know him with the result is to retem him most highly. No man account of this result, and the fear of being darks.

gether under an iron-heeled despotism, which, as the judge of its own powers, can annihilate the sov-creign parties who created it, and all its 'trust' pow-ers, and who breathed into its nostrils the breath of life, and that the States, and they only, have the right to continue its existence or to annihilate it and all its powers, and down goes the profitable business of the

If the views here advanced, or rather compiled from our ablest statesmen, are false, it is easy to refute them. If they are true, though ever so unpopular, the task will be a herculean one. B. G. WRIGHT.

Rock Island Co., Ill., Sept. 24, 1857.

LETTER FROM MRS. LUCY N. COLMAN. FAIRMOUNT, Ohio, Oct. 10, 1857.

Your kind letter has just reached me, for which you have my sincere thanks. Words of sympathy ar ever pleasant, but when we are far from home, in the midst of strangers, contending with the pro-slavery spirit, which, having become desperate, breaks out into the vilest personal abuse, answering arguments for freedom with stones and eggs, -at such times, words of sympathy and encouragement are particularly grateful. Our meetings, up to this time, have been well at-

ended. Mr. Poss discussed the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, a few days since, with a Mr. McGaw, a Wesleyan minister. He (Mr. McGaw) had taken great pains to circulate, through Harrison and Carrol counties, the boast that he would annihilate any Garrisonian who should dare to meet him in discussion. Mr. Foss was referred to, and met the boaster. He proved himself a very poor opponent, having no argument of his own, and consequently consumed most of his time in reading from Goodell, stopping sometimes to make an assertion in favor of the author whose words he was presenting. - I think the discussion was well, as friend Foss made a very clear statement of the character of the Constitution and an argument which it seemed to me could not be gainsaid. It certainly was not met by Mr. McGaw It seems to me very inconsistent and dishonest that such persons, who strongly contend that there is no law sustaining slavery, should be electioneering for the Republican party, contending loudly for the antislavery character of Salmon P. Chase, and urging his reelection. But as Mr. Pryne has set the example it may not be a marvel that smaller men, like Mr. Foss's opponent, should follow in his wake. You have probably seen a report of the meeting

Progressive Friends, held in Salem, commencing the third of the present month. It was, upon the whole, a very good meeting; but I was far from satisfied with its anti-slavery work. Mr. Foss presented a resolution to the Business Committee, in substance, that slavery is a crime, and consequently, that all ly said by a New England poet of the earlier time, connection with it, ecclesiastical or political, involved criminality; but it was considered too strong to be offered to the meeting, by the majority of that Committee, and hence, though it was approved and strongly urged by the Chairman, it was ruled objectionable and thrown aside, and in its stead resolutions were offered deprecating, the Dred Scott decision, and the admission of Kansas as a slave State. Mr. Foss made an earnest, but short speech, lamenting that the meet- Northern-born, interfering with matters that do not ing was not willing to discuss the Disunion question and stating why he considered that the important of the benefits we have received from the anti-slavery point to be discussed. He was followed by Joshus cause, desiring to communicate them to others. We R. Giddings, in what I have no doubt he meant should have all been connected personally with the system of be an anti-slavery speech, but really what seemed to slavery. One has known the evil power of its money me an earnest appeal to the voters of Salem and vi- temptations; another has felt its political despotism; cinity to remember to do anti-slavery work, by using another its perverting social influence; another its the ballot-box to re-elect Salmon P. Chase as Gover- corrupting, ecclesiastical bondage; another yet has nor of Ohio. Ah me! I wonder if the news of the been identified by Southern birth and education with triumph of the Republican party in the State of Ohio the slaveholders, and sustained the legal relation of would carry one throb of joy to the heart of poor ownership to the slaves; while not unfrequently among Margaret Garner! Would she, in view of such a our most efficient members have been the wives of fact, again attempt to make her escape from the hands slaves, driven from us by the operation of laws from of those who so wickedly enslave her? Would there which we cannot protect them, and which make us be any probability that her liberty would be secured? liable to ruinous fine and crushing imprisonment, as I think not. A State government that can offer noth- they have done our associates erewhile. But we all, ing better than the giving up of those who have done with one accord, testify to the truth of the anti-slaso much to obtain their freedom, is not worthy the very principles, and entreat the aid of all whom this name of even a sovereign government, much less an anti-slavery government.

Yours, for the slave, LUCY N. COLMAN.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY AMERICAN BRETEREN:

The refusal of the Publishing Committee of the American Tract Society to plead for kind treatmen of the four millions of men, women and children, who in our country have fallen into the hands of person who are robbing them of their God-given rights; going farther than did the thieves into whose hands certain man fell when he went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, inasmuch as they deny them the owner-ship of their physical frames; to my mind calls for a serious consideration of the following questions by the Committee of the Tract Society, by the publishers of all religious journals, by all preachers of religion, and by all the people of the United States of

America.

Is it desirable to have a religion inculeated, which shuts the mouths of its converts from any condemna-tion of the sin of oppression? While we contribute liberally to the distribution of Bibles and other religious publications, do we publish any protest against the exclusion of one-sixth part of all the men, women and children in our country from the privilege of reading those publications? Do we bear in mind the Scriptural declaration, 'Whose stoppeth his ears to the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard'? Have we preached 'to all nations' the command of Jesus Christ, 'Call no man master, for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren'? Do we practically regard the command of God, 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto thee, but he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him'?

Has not the time come for us to obey the come

of God, which our fathers inscribed on the bell which they rung while they were reading the Declaration of American Independence, 'Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof' Are we acting toward the poor sufferers the part of the Good Samaritan, as commanded by Jesus Christ? or are we following the example of the bye-passing priest and Levite?

faring sumptuously every day, with four millions of poo beggars at our gates, desiring the crumbs of privilege and comforts which we enjoy, are we adm to their wants? Or while we are enjoying our goo things, do we leave the poor beggars to suffer evil onsequences that are to result from the transac-mentioned in connection with that word, as used Americans. in the 35th and 42d verses of the 25th chapter of Matthew? Have we decided for ourselves which of as toward the four millions of

nuntrymen who are in the prison of slavery?
se questions are respectfully and conscientiously
sted for publication by the American or any
Tract Society, and for the consideration of all the American people who are permitted to be instructed in the art of reading, by ARNOLD BUFFUM.

Perth Amboy, (N. J.) Oct. 12, 1857.

THE TWENTY-POURTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

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

ON THE 17TH OF DECEMBER.

Contributions of money at the present time will enable members of the Committee now in Europe to add to the sitractions of the exhibition still further, and, in consequence, to increase the funds; which are to be expended, as heretofore, by the American Anti-Slavery Society, in awakening the whole country, through its newspapers, books and various agencies to the not saity of extinguishing slavery. Our principle is too well known to need more than

a mere statement. It is, immediate, unconditional neans. From a growing conviction of the justic and necessity of this work, for the good and honor of all concerned, every measure possible to be taken will inevitably spring without delay. Our funds, there-fore, will be devoted to the primary work of arousing and engaging the public mind; which, as fast as it awakens, never fails to find a way to work its will,through church action, by agitation and withdrawal,by state action, through the customary political channels, or by the profounder policy of creating others,— by legislative and judicial_changes,—by individua efforts in the manumission of slaves and the protection of fugitives,—by economical measures prompted by the greater advantages of free labor, -by humane feel ings creating a preference for its products.

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

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

in every Northern man a betrayer, bound to that base function by the great organic law of his country, take the means most effectual to turn the betrayer into the protector, by helping us every where to awaken a stronger sentiment than compassion for the millions who cannot fly: of whose case it was so truefore school-books were expurgated by slavery-'Their wrongs compassion cannot speak.'

Let all take warning to co-operate with us, from thos earlier days when slavery, instead of dying out, as was prophesied, began to grow stronger, because there was then no such fountain head of moral power as we commend to the attention of the whole land to-day. We do not make this appeal in a sectional spirit as

concern us. We make it in grateful acknowledgment appeal reaches, to deliver the country from such a despotism, by their promulgation.

THE LIBERTY BELL will be published a usual; and we entreat all our friends who have heresfore aided us by literary or pecuniary contribution

13 Our friends in Europe will not fail to take no tice that the Bazaar is to open a week earlier than

Contributions may be addressed to Mrs. CHAPMAN 21 Cornhill, Boston, or to the other members of the Committee, at their respective homes.

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

THE WEYMOUTH ANTI-SLAVERY PAIN will be opened on MONDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 16. at Mr. WALES'S HALL, Weymouth Landing. WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., will speak on Thursday

ELIZA H. APTHORP.

MATTIE GRIFFITH.

JUSTINE DE PEYSTER HOVEY,

THE SOCIAL DANCING PARTY will be bel

The Managers earnestly solicit the aid of their fellow citizens of the town and county to make this litred the instruction expressed in the word 'Por,' and the effort even more worthy than over of the great Cause that involves the honor and salvation of all

> which enable them to give their friends and the pub lic assurance of a far more attractive exhibition

> EF Supplies for the Refreshment Table are esp ally desirable, and will be managed with the great discretion, as well as received with the utmotude.

Weymouth, Oct. 20, 1867.

THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHT CONVENTION will be held during the areas of May, 1858, in New York City. LUCY STONE, See

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY COLLECTIONS FOR THE TRACT FUND, BY MES. P. R. DRAKE

In Athol, Mass.—Samuel Clapp 25c, Wm. B. Lee, Jr., 25c, Rev. Mr. Mars 25c, Harriet M. Bartlett 25c, D. Gage 25c, Mrs. J. R. Pierce 25c, J. S. Goulding 50c, friend 50c, do. 10c, C. C. Bassett 50c, Mrs. Ainsworth 25c, Dr. Colony 25c, Mrs. Charles Farr 25c, Mrs. J. S. Parmenter 25c.

In Gardner, Mass.—Mrs. J. M. Moore 25c.

In South Acton, Mass.—Jrene Meriam 25c, Mrs. Mead 20c.

20c.
In Townsend, Mass.—Milo Scales 25c, Sarah Boutelle
10c, T. B. Treadwell 25c, M. A. Stevens 10c,
friend 25c, B. E. Weatherbee 25c.
In New Ipswich, N. H.—Eliza Gould \$1, friend 26c,
Earl Boynton 20c, ——40c.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY, COLLECTED BY MRS. DRAKE. Reuben H. Ober, Boston. \$5; John Clement, Townsend, Mass., 1, Elizabeth S. Preston I, Wm. Boynton 50c, Henry Gould 50c, of Ipswich, N. H.; Benjamin Hutchinson, Milford, N. H., 50c. FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasur

TO LECTURE COMMITTEES. Prof. WM. SYMINOTON 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, &c. The latter will be illustrated by many curious experiments, including the new one of lighting a candle with an icicle!

Address, 274 Washington street.

IF GIVE THE COLORED BOYS TRADES .-A bright, robust and active colored Boy desires a Address WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornbill. SITUATION WANTED .- An able-bodied

man, well recommended, wants work on a farm, of otherwise. Apply to WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

NOTICE.—ABBY KELLEY FOSTER'S post-office ddress will be Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio, until further notice.

MARRIED-In Bath, Steuben Co., N. Y., Oct. 7, by Rev. Mr. Reed, Mr. HENRY, DORSEY to Miss JEN NY M. PUTNAM.

Representative Women.

THIS magnificent group includes the Portraite LUCRETIA MOTT, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

ABBY KELLEY FOSTER. LYDIA MARIA CHILD, HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, LUCY STONE, ANTOINETTE L. BROWN,

Copies of which will be sent to any part of the United States by inail, free of postage, and in a safe manner, at the reduced price of one dollar.

A few copies of the above Heads separate from the group can be furnished at 25 cents each, and in

group can be furnished at 25 cents each, and in square gilt frames at 75 cents.

An arrangement has been made by which a copy each of the Heralds and Champions, and of Ernestins L. Rose, can accompany the Representative Women at the low price of \$4 for one set.

Agents supplied on the most liberal terms.

WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

October 23.

NEW ENGLAND PEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

THE Tenth Annual Term will commence on th first Wednesday of November, 1857, and continue seventeen weeks. Proressons: Enoch C. Rolfe, tinue seventeen weeks. Proposons: 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., Anatomy and Surgery; 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 Instructor

Fees, \$5 for each of the seven Tickets. Free tuiforty Students, in Massachusetts, from State Scholarships.
SAMUEL GREGORY, M. D., SEC'Y, Boston,

Sept. 11.

THE PRIENDS OF THE PUGITIVES PROM SLAVERY.

THE Members of the Syracuse Fugitive Aid Society find it no longer convenient nor necessary to keep up their organization. The labor of sheltering those who flee from American tyranny, providing for their immediate wants, and helping them to find safe homes in this country or in Canada, must needs devolve, as it always has devolved, upon a very few individuals. Hitherto, since 1850, it has been done, for the most part, by Rev. J. W. Loguen. He having been a slave and a fugitive himself, knows best how to provide for that class of sufferers, and to guard against imposition.

Mr. Loguen has agreed to devote himself wholly to this humane work; and to depend, for the support of

Mr. Loguen has agreed to devote nimself wholly to this humane work; and to depend, for the support of himself and family, as well as the maintenance of this Depot, on the Underground Railroad, upon what the benevolent and friendly may give him.

benevolent and friendly may give him.

We, therefore, hereby request that all fugitives from slavery, coming this way, may be directed to the care of Rev. J. W. Loguen; also, that all monies contributed or subscribed may be paid directly to him; and that all clothing or provisions contributed may be sent to his house, or such places as he may designate.

Mr. Loguen will make semi-annual reports of his seceipts of money, clothing, or provisions; and of the number of fugitives taken care of and provided for by him; and he will submit his accounts, at an the inspection of any persons who are infe the success of the Underground Railroad. SAMUEL J. MAY, WILLIAM E. ABBOTT, JAMES FULLER, LUCIUS J. ORMSBEE, JOSEPH A. ALLEN, HORACE B. KNIGHT.

MR. LOGUEN'S CARD.

Syracuse, Sept. 17, 1867.

To the Priends of Humanity:

The entire care of the Fugitives who may stop at Syracuse, for comfort and assistance, having been devolved upon me by the Fugitive Aid Society, I hereby give notice that I shall devote myself assidnously to the duties I have undertaken to discharge. I must depend for the support of my family, and for the operations I am to conduct, upon the liberality of the friends of freedom. I shall gratefully receive money, clothes and provisions. I will make a faithful use of the same, and will report semi-annually (in Frederick Douglass's Paper, and the Syracuse Sandard and Journal.) the amounts that I have received, and of the number of Fugitives that I have sheltered and found homes for Meanwhile, and at all times, my accounts will be open for the inspection of any friends of the cause.

E. W. LOGUEN. TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY: of the cause. Syracuse, Sept. 17, 1857.

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

CAMPBELL'S TRICHOGENOUS PLUID. nd which I believe to be the best article in the mar-

and which I believe to be the best struce in the mar 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 eradication of dandruff and, independent of its restorative qualities, is a ver-

A. GIBBS CAMPBELL, Druggist, Trenton, New Jers

· POETRY.

PERSEVERE Persevere, be not disheartened. Earnest Christians-noble band! Who to the oppress'd and needy Lend a ready, belping hand.

But, when persecution bitter Meets you on your heavenward way. This remember, 'deepest darkness Just precedes the dawn of day.'

Let not earthly power nor favor Bid you from the right depart; Look for your reward to Heaven, And to an approving heart.

Persevere, and never falter; Soon the glorious light of day, Breaking o'er your path, shall scatter All the shades of night away. Haverbill Mass.

From the American, Waterbury, Ct. THE HAUNTED CHAMBER. BY SOLOMON SEAWEED. In thy heart there is a chamber-None but God and thou have seen it-Darkened by the sombre shadows From the folds of thought that screen it. On its walls are many pictures,

Painted by the hand of Time, Sketches of those mystic regions In the Infinite sublime. There are portraits of the faces That have passed away from earth; Glimpses of those sunny places

Sacred to thy childhood mirth. Of the homestead, old and mosay Close beside the meadow green, Where the brooks, like threads of silver.

Wound their graceful curve between. And it is a haunted chamber ; There the ghosts at midnight stray, Silent as the stars that wander Down the white-paved Milky Way.

You behold the light forms trembling In their pure robes, like a bride, And they look so much like living, You forget that they have died.

You forget the marble features Of the friend you laid to rest. You forget the pale hands folded On the pulseless, soulless breast. But you see him slowly walking

'Mid the glow life's sunset weaves, When his lips dropp'd farewell blessings, And the trees their autumn leaves. Thus comes he, long since departed,

Reaching out his hands to thine, And his lips unto thee murmur In a tone which seems divine. In this chamber stands a mirror,

Memory's lamp hangs overhead, Throwing down a soften'd radiance On these pictures of the dead.

In its clear depths we distinguish What we were, and what we are; There, our inner life reflected. Shows us hideous or fair.

Oh! 'tis in this secret chamber That we learn a solemn truth. As, in links of spirit union, Age is join'd again with youth. Trinity College, 1857.

From Sheldon Chadwick's new volume of Poems NO CROSS, NO CROWN. 'Tis eve, and in a lowly room A student sat in sombre gloom Twirling his fingers in his hair. Like one in reverie, or despair: Before him lay an open book, And as he trac'd the pages o'er. Four golden words his spirit bore-No cross no crown !

Around, in deathlike silence, stood The forms of many great and good-Prophets and martyrs crucified; Stern patriots, who for freedom died ; And poets, who died desolate, Scanning the wondrous scroll of fate; While glory round their foreheads shone, He read upon their lips of stone-No cross, no crown !

Hard was the toil through learning's lore, For one so young and worldly poor; His, books were precious, though but few And deathless fire from heaven he drew. Heart-wearied oft, and over-wrought, He traced in throbbing lines his thought, And 'mid his toil this seemed to be The voice alone of destiny-No cross, no crown !

This be the motto of the brave, And this the watchword of the slave; The patriot's with the people's scorn, The martyr's with his garland's thorn. Whoever seeks to win a name, Whoever toils for freedom's fame Whoever human tears would dry, Let this forever be his cry-No cross, no crown !

A HUNDRED YEARS TO COME. Oh, where will be the birds that sing, A hundred years to come & The flowers that now in beauty spring, A hundred years to come?

The rosy lip, the lofty brow, The heart that beats so gaily now? Oh, where will be love's beaming eye, Joy's pleasant smile, and Sorrow's sigh. A hundred years to come?

Who'll press for gold this crowded street, A hundred years to come? Who'll tread you church with willing feet, A hundred years to come? Pale, trembling age, and fiery youth, And childhood with its brow of truth, The rich and poor, on land and sea, Where will the mighty millions be,

We all within our graves shall sleep, A hundred years to come ! No living soul for us will weep, A hundred years to come ! But other men our lands will till, And others then our streets will fill; While other birds will sing as gay, As bright the sunshine as to-day, A hundred years to come!

A hundred years to come ?

If in one poor bleeding bosom. I a woe-swept chord have stilled : If a dark and restless spirit I with hope of heaven have filled; If I've made, for life's hard battle, One faint heart grow brave and strong; Then, my God, I thank thee, bless thee, For the precious gift of song. Currwood.

The Liberator.

To The anniversary of the famous ' Jerry Rescue To The anniversary of the famous 'Jerry Rescue' saved from inquiring into the relations of the Garriwas duly celebrated at Syracuse, (N. Y.,) on the 1st son party and the Radical Abolition party to the poor

ADDRESS. REPORTED BY GERRIT SMITH To the Jerry Rescue Convention, held in Syracuse, October 1, 1857.

The rescue of Jerry! Whata preacher of righteous ness! To tell what is right is good preaching, but to do what is right is better. The best of pulpits preaches for kidnapping Jerry, but all law for rescuing him. should be delivered: the rescuers of Jerry put the les-

And then, what a touchstone of character is the rescue of Jerry 1. Not a man can disapprove that rescue, and yet be a Christian. For not a man can disapprove it, and yet be honest. But honesty, in its comprehensive sense, -in the sense of doing unto others as we would have others do unto us, -is the soul and substance, and total sum of Christianity. Since there lives not a man who, if in the circumstances that poor Jerry was in, would not like to be delivered from them, then lives there not the man who can be a Christian, and yet be opposed to his deliverance. We do not deny that there are Christians who disapprove what has been imposed upon their credulity as the rescue of Jerry-who disapprove their own false conceptions of it; but the reality-the thing itselfno man can disapprove, and yet be a Christian. If we admit that a man can be a Christian, who defends what he mistakenly deems to be slavery, it nevertheless does not follow that we admit him to be a Christian, who justifies the reality of slavery, and endorses the very thing which is the highest crime against God and

A great touchstone of character did we call the rescue of Jerry. Wherever there is a Church which refuses to sanction that transaction, there we may be sure is not a Church of Jesus Christ. Dishonesty, and not honesty, is its chief characteristic. An honest man in such a Church is entirely out of place, and he should hasten to betake himself to better company.

The question often arises, whether the Methodist Church at the North; the New School Presbyterian Church; the Free-Will and Seventh Day and Close and Open Baptist Churches at the North; the Unitarians, and Universalists, and Lutherans, and Congregationalists, at the North, are right in regard to slavery. Not a moment need be wasted in finding an answer to it. Are they right in regard to the rescue of Jerry? The answer to this question involves the answer to the other. If they are willing to identify themselves apenly with the rescue, that is enough. It they are not, nothing else nor all else can be enough.

The Episcopal and Old School Presbyterian Churches, like the American Trace Society, are past all need of being tested. Their great pride is to have no heart for the slave, and to keep their sensibilities so high up in the region of everlasting snows as to be quite out of reach of all those vulgar agitations in behalf of hu-

The Roman Catholic Church seems not yet so much as even to have heard of the four millions of tortured American slaves. Now, however, since it has settled the great question about a dead woman, it may perhaps find time and heart to open its cars to the cries of living women, and of living men also.

All American clergymen should be tested with the question, whether their piety has risen up to the 'Jerry level.' None are ambassadors of Jesus Christ whose piety falls below it.

Compared with the rescue of Jerry, all the boasted tests of doctrine are of no value.

'I believe,' says one, 'in the Bible.' But do you believe in humanity? Vain is all your faith in the Bible, so long as the poor Jerries of earth fail to touch your heart. To tell us that you believe in the Bible, whilst you can look unmoved upon the slave, is but to tell us either that the Bible is wicked, or that your interpretation of it is false.

sin.' Yes, good brother, but do you believe that the mit that the Constitution has power to compel us to kidnapping of Jerry was sin, and that his rescue was inflict the deepest wrong upon our brother, and to righteousness? If you do not, then, however far damn our own souls? Reloading a man with th you may go back to get to the origin of sin, and even chains of slavery is worse than murder; and if he, though you believe in the very teetotalism of total who has a part in the diabolical work, does not bring depravity, your faith is but a guilty delusion.

'I believe,' continues our Orthodox brother, 'in Jesus Christ.' Yes, good brother, but if you do not of New York escaped immeasurable damage by the see Him in every poor Jerry, and feel a faith that im- failure of Field and Grover, and their fellows, to inpels you to rescue him, then is your faith in Jesus Christ but superstition or hypocrisy. The Christ who was crucified more than eighteen centuries ago, is reproduced in every despised Jerry-in every oppressed and crushed brother. The common impression, that it suffices to let our hearts flow out to the 'man of sorrows' in Judea, is but a common delusion. The Jerry of to-day is the Christ of to-day; and if we have not the anointed vision to discern it. then are we still blind to the original Christ, and all our faith in Him is vain. Not to recognize the Savior of the world when we meet Him in His suffering ones, and for Judge of the Court of Appeals. Timothy Jenkins in His 'least' ones, is to prove that we never knew Him, and never felt the significance of His life or death. Rarely, alas how very rarely! is He known, he finds nothing right in slavery, he finds no law for either within or without the churches! Never did slavery. If the people of New York should, as we you know Him, who can pass His poor by.

'I believe,' adds our Orthodox brother, 'in vicanot, if you cannot consent to give up ease, and repu- of slavery, with sacred, obligatory law. tation, and wealth. and social and political advanta- The friends of temperance may wish to learn of ges, and to risk even liberty and life, for the sake of the neighbors of Mr. Jenkins, what kind of tempehelping a Jerry out of the hands of his kidnappers. rance law he would regard as constitutional, and what Belief in the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus Christ is on kind as unconstitutional. On this point we can give the lips of millions; but it is in the hearts of none no precise information. Assured, however, they may that are not willing to suffer for others-yes, and in be that his judgment will not be swayed by his appethe place of others. The readiness of men on the tite-as it is nearly a quarter of a century since he night of the first of October, 1851, to put themselves drank intoxicating liquors. in the place of Jerry, and lose their own liberty for Fellow-rescuers of Jerry, and fellow-endorsers

whatever name.

was under discussion in England, the Quaker voters as to bring us into the fallest harmony with the res-would try the candidates for Parliament by thrusting cue of Jerry? If not, then is our own faith in his the image of a kneeling slave into their faces, and rescue deficient; and then do we not yield up our asking them, 'Canst thou go that?' American vo- selves anew to the high teachings and blessed infin ters should pursue a similar course, and should ask all ences of that great event. candidates, from pathmaster to President, whether Most emphatically would we ask whether we all they can go the rescue of Jerry?

The Republican party claims to be an anti-slavery

bleeding slave, we are saved all necessity of inquiry.

It laughs at him, as well as at * bleeding Kansaa' and them. Could we, on the night of the first of Octo 'bleeding Sumner.' It studies not to conceal, but ber, 1851, have voted Jerry out of the hands of his bleeding Summer. It studies not to concess, but boasts of its contempt of justice and mercy, and of the claims of God and man. It 'declares its sin as Sodom, and hides it not.' Whatever its other ambi-

tions, it is not perhaps too much to say, that the one great ambition of the Democratic party is to beat the

So, too, but for an entirely opposite reason, we are inst., by a public meeting, at which Gerrit Smith presided, and read the following Address which he had written for the occasion.

Son party and the Radical Adoltion party to the parties is as palpable as the unrighteousness of these parties is as palpable as the unrighteousness of the Democratic party. William Lloyd Garrison and William Goodell have never faltered in their fidelity to the slave. They have never consented to weigh judicial, legislative, or even Constitutional authority against his right to lib erty. And they, who sympathize and act with these noble leaders in the cause of American Liberty, know no law for slavery, but all law for its abolition; no law but in words: the rescue of Jerry preaches in deeds.

The abolition school teaches the lesson that the class The abolition school teaches the lesson that the slave slave? A party may be for the Union, or it may be against the Union-and yet be all wrong in regard to the slave. Is it for the rescue of all the Jerries, and for the punishment of all their kidnappers? This is

And another new party is springing up, There has recently been a National Convention at Cleveland composed, for the most part, of respectable conserva tive gentlemen. They call on their countryme to help improve the pecuniary circumstances of th slaveholder in the event of his emancipating his slaves That, however, does not prove them right. They may bestow all their goods to feed the slaveholders. But what will they do for the slaves ?- for the poor Jerries? We address these respectable conservative gentlemen, and indeed all other men, in the very lines save the change of a single word, written by good old John Newton :-

. What think you of Jerry's? the test To try both your state and your scheme; You cannot be right in the rest, Unless you think rightly of him.'

We need to be incessantly on our guard. The Re publican party, when we read some of its papers, and listen to some of its speeches, seems to be the real friend of freedom. Nevertheless, it may prove to be her most effective and deadly enemy. There is no fear that the Democratic party will corrupt any of the lovers of freedom. In their eyes, its abominations and devilisms have no attractions. Upon their spirit, its example can never pour contagious influences. But the Republican party has succeeded in absorbing the inti-slavery sentiment of the country, and in alluring to its ranks nearly all the abolitionists. How imnense, then, its damage to the cause of freeom and of human rights, should it be found to wield its accumulated power, not against slavery, but for it-not for the black man, but against him!

If the Republican party enjoys the confidence of the abolitionists, it is nevertheless not too much to say that it has not yet earned it. The recent Constitutional prescription of the black man in Iowa was owing to Republican as well as to Democratic votes. Minnesota, in her Republican as well as in her Democratic Constitutional Convention, proscribed the black man: The Republican party of Wisconsin has also sadly disappointed us. In its late nominating Convention, it did not dare to pledge the protection of the State to all the innocent men, black or white, who shall stand upon her soil. And the Republican party of our own State, in its Convention held last week in this city, failed also at this very point. It is true that the Convention, -thanks to such bold men as Briggs, and Snow, and Nve,-refused to say (though such poor cowards as Field and Grover wished it said) that our fathers agreed to cast back into the hell of slavery their poor guiltless brother, who might escape from it. But, though the Convention refused to say this wrong thing, it did not add to its negative merit the positive merit of saving the right thing. It did not go on to say that, come what will, the State of New York will shelter from his pursuers every slave who is so fortunate as to get within its limits.

By the way, how disgraceful and ruinous to a party to have such men as Field and Grover among its leaders! It should drum them out of camp. Ever and anon they get upon their feet, and assert as gravely as if the bald lie were an undoubted truth, that the Constitution provides for the recapture of fugitive 'I believe,' says our Orthodox brother, 'in original slaves. What, however, if it does? Are we to addamnation upon himself, then there is no damnation.

We add, that the morals of the people of the State duce the Convention to declare the returning of the fugitive slave to be a Constitutional duty. Such declaration would have done more to debauch the public conscience, and render powerless the principles of humanity and the spirit of Christ, than was ever done by any declaration of any party or any church that has existed in our State.

There is one thing in praise of this Republican Convention which we cannot refrain from adverting to. With our lamentations over its short-comings, we mingle our great joy at its selection of a candidate is one of those few lawyers, who always look to the right of the case for the law of the case. Hence, as have no doubt they will, elect Mr. Jenkins, they will then have at least one Judge, who will never confounrious sacrifice.' It is right that you do. But you do any piracy, and, least of all, the pre-eminent piracy

the sake of restoring his, was of its single self a far his rescue !- freely have we been examining and siftgreater evidence of likeness to Christ than it was pos- ing others; as freely let us examine and siftourselves sible for any man to give, however full of professions Let us apply to ourselves the very test which we have and prayers he might be, if, nevertheless, he refused applied to others. Do we ourselves believe in his to sympathize with Jerry, and to suffer for his sake. rescue? Do we apprehend all its import? Do we sub-Is there a political party that is unwilling to put scribe to all the principles wrapped up in it, and go the seal of its approbation upon the rescue of Jerry ?- along with them practically to their utmost scope then has an honest man nothing to do with such a Do we ignore as churches and ministers of Christ party but to oppose it. Until American slavery is all churches and ministers that refuse to approve it abolished, a Resolution endorsing the rescue of Jerry Do we withhold our rotes from all who refuse to apshould be brought into every political meeting in the prove it? In a word, are such our relations o God and land, Republican, Democratic, Native American, or of man-is such our love of him, who is the great Com mon Father of Jerry and ourselves -- is such our promp recognition of all the claims of human brotherho

recognize the obligation to rescue every Jerry-or, to use another word, every slave. It devolved on the The Republican party claims to be an anti-slavery size. It devoted on the party; but if it is unwilling to be known as a Jerry-rescue party, we are to be unwilling to belong to it.

The Native American party claims in some sections of the country to be anti-slavery; but, so long as 'Rescue of Jerry' is not among the mottoes which cover its banners, so long must we oppose it.

Into the relations of the Democratic party to the

ounder God, none but themselves.

Our words for this sixth anniversary of the rescue

these, or any of these, can or cannot contribute somewhat to the downfall of slavery-sure is it that its bloodless, peaceful end will never be reached until the bloodless, peaceful end will never be reached under the Jerry lev-friends of freedom shalf have mounted the Jerry lev-despair.

If we could whisper a word to one who finds himvery as a piracy and outlaw. When they shall have done this, then will that infernal system come down; and then, we add, will the monument to the rescuers of Jerry go up. For the present, these brave men are laughed at and defamed. The conception of their noble deeds, and the broad and blessed results that are to follow it, cannot be grasped by vulgar minds and little souls. But then, when juster views shall have obtained, no marble will be found too white, and no shaft too tall, to render to the immortal rescuers of Jerry that great honor which a regenerated public sentiment will call for.

From the New York Evangelist LESSONS OF THE PANIC.

Our city at this time is passing through a financial crisis, such as it has not experienced before in twenty years. For any similar crash, we must go back to the great revulsions of 1837. This blow has come so suddenly, that the most prudent were nity like a peal of thunder from a clear sky But six weeks ago, the country seemed to be in the height of prosperity. All was confidence and se-curity. Money flowed easily through its natural channels, to stimulate industry and reward the labors of man. But to-day all is panic and fear.— Great fortunes have crumbled. Suddenly the money seems to have disappeared, as if all the treasures of the land had been swallowed up by an earthquake. The precious metals are heaped in vaults, or boarded in private stores. So little is circulating, that hose worth millions find it difficult to raise even a few thousand dollars. Men stand at the corner of the streets, and preach confidence. But a panie sweeps away all power of reflection and self-com-mand. At such a moment, it is as impossible to sestore order as to reform the broken ranks of an army routed and flying from the field of battle. To restore confidence and reopen the tessures of hoarded gold, must be the slow work of time.

course must in time bring its own recompense. The reverses which follow are the just punishment of

pride and folly.

But it would be most unjust to suppose that every man who is now embarrassed, and perhaps brought to the verge of ruin, has been reckless and extravagant. Many who have pursued only a legitimate business, and who have accumulated property by the patient industry of years, find themselves involved in the general calamity. Perhaps in the generous effort to save others, they have perilled their own

safety.

Such a time of disaster is a grand ordeal of charwho thinks that his own position is secure, and who has no heart to feel for others, avoids their presence lest he should be importuned for aid. Miserly wretches clutch every dollar with a death-gripe, and will not relax their hand to help or save a sinking brother. Perhaps they are busy contriving to make gain out of his misfortunes. Hard usurers lend money at enormous rates of interest, and perhaps rejoice in the public distress, since it enables them to grind the closer. Such creatures abound in times panic and distress. They go prowling about to k up the wrecks of oth

But on the other hand, in true men a time of gen eral calamity calls out all that is noble and heroic There are some who do not shun their neighbors at such a time, but who rather seek the unfortunate, and reach out to them the hand of friendly aid.— Many a man works as hard to save another as he would to save himself. Not seldom he stakes down give way. The last few weeks have witnessed hundreds of such acts of heroism, unknown to the world. Noble, generous men! Whatever may be the result to their property, the effect of such a scene of trial has been to develop an unexpected A general lesson of this wide-spread commercial

a crime for us to free them by force. We have but to vote the Federal Government into the hands of the abolitionists, and every chain would fall peacefully from every slave. Very rampant are the slaveholders now, because now the political reins are in their own hands. But very submissive will they be when the political reins shall have passed into the hands of the abolitionists.

It is the abolitionists, who, we said, must acquire the control of the Federal Government. We did not say this of the Republicans; for, whatever may be their merit in opposing the extension of slavery, we are not such simpletons as to look for its abolition by a party which refuses to oppose slavery where it is, and opposes it only where it is not. A mighty and prevailing party will the abolitionists be, when they shall have done forever with the folly of putting their cause into the hands of its enemies, and shall trust, under God, none but themselves.

Our words for this sixth anniversary of the rescue for the political reins are in their own hands. But very same the slavehold are in their before unlimited means, gives them such a pang; if this faint, thin shadow of want falling across their threshold, causes a chill to strike through the heart; let them consider what it must be to have poverty as a life-tong companion. Let them think of those dwellings where penury does not flit by only like the wind of the winter night, dying away in the distance with a melancholy moan, and awaking naught but troubled dreams; but where want comes, not as a stranger, but as a constant guest; where day by day that gaunt spectre looks in at the window, and crosses the threshold, and broods over the half-furnished dwelling, attrething out its pale fingers over the scanty meal, and flickering in the evening fire-light, where the window of the window, and crosses the threshold, and broods over the half-furnished dwelling, attrething out its pale fingers over the scanty meal, and flickering in the cr

of Jerry are now ended. Why is it that so little has been accomplished, during these six years, for the overthrow of slavery? It is because so few have dared to identify themselves with that rescue, and to espouse the great principle which underlies it—the principle that there is no law, and can be no law, for slavery.

The men who rescued Jerry did not pause to inquire that there is no law, and can be no law, for slavery. The men who rescued Jerry did not pause to inquire into the terms and terrors of the Fugitive Slave Act. Enough was it for them to know that no statutes, no decrees, nor even constitutions, pile them up ever so high, can create a law for slavery. They went straightforward to the work of mercy, because their minds were unembarrassed by the nonsense—the very guilty nonsense—that he, whom God has made a man, man can turn into a chattel; that he, whom God made to own property, is himself property; that he, whom God made a little lower than the angels, and crowned with glory and honor, is to be classed with horses and hogs.

Whether political parties, which do but go against the extension of slavery—whether Disunion Conventage. the extension of slavery-whether Disunion Conventaken from us-love, domestic tenderness, the prattions or Compensation Conventions—whether all the of children, the morning and evening prayer and these or any of these can or cannot contribute someseene like this, and be comforted. And then let him go back to business, and plunge into the battle, firm, resolute, persevering, but not trembling or in

self harassed and pressed on every side, we would urge him to make every honorable effort, to strain urge him to make every honorable effort, to strain every nerve, to make great sacrifices, to sustain his credit and position. But there is one thing which he must not sacrifice, even to save himself from utter wreck of property—and that is, principle and character. The temptations are great at such a moment to resort to every expedient to avoid loss, even to some which a high integrity must condemn. Let no man who believes in God stoop to such described in the property of t degradation. Far better it is to lose money than to lose character. A good name is the best inheritance a man can leave to his children. Let nothing swerre him from his integrity. He may not be rich. He may be even poor. But let him resolve to go down to the grave with the unbroken consciousness of being an honest man. Thus he may always preserve his self-respect and his peace of mind. Riches may take wings and fly away. But truth and virtue re-main, sustaining the soul by a firm trust in God, and an immortal hope.

From 'Life Illustrated.'

BREAD, COTTON, AND CASH. The harvest is finished, and our country has produced the elements of food in unprecedented a dance. The cotton crop of the year is less bountiful than usual. The currency of the country is deranged to an extent which has had no parallel since 1837. Assignments are frequent, explosions are numerous, and suspensions are the order of the day in business circles. But, in the language of the newspapers, the worst is over; ' as it always is as soon

financial crash or monetary pressure commences.

Our consolation is, that the 'crisis' may go or to the end, do its worst, continue a month or two, or a year or two, and then 'all will be for the best. We shall survive. The country will still live.— Change will not be in all cases a loss, as exchange is not always a gain. Revolution will not be ruin.

mand. At such a moment, it is as impossible to restore order as to reform the broken ranks of an army routed and flying from the field of battle. To restore confidence and reopen the transvers of hoarded gold, must be the slow work of time.

There are many attempts to explain this sudden and general alarm. It is imputed to the enormous sum consumed in the building of railroads—to excessive importations—and to the luxury and wasteful extravagance of our people. All these causes, no doubt, have helped to the general result. In the eager haste to be rich, men have rushed into the wildest speculations. And in their vanity they have squandered fortunes in idle display. We are the most extravagant people in the world. All over Europe, American travellers are noted for their lav-Europe, American travellers are noted for their lav-ish waste of money. At home, instead of living cult to get, but, fortunately, we can do with less modestly and within their means, men rush to the Cotton may retain its present high prices, but with most absurd display. No somer does a man begin to acquire a little money, than he must build a great house and keep his carriage. This reckless course must in time bring its own recompense. The nuity knows so well how to rejuvenate, whenever

necessity demands economy.

It would not hurt us much, nay, it would be god-send to the people of the United States, if our merchant princes would import less silks, satins, and other superfluities for a few years. We should not suffer at all if these items of our national extrava-gance should be cut down one hundred millions of

dollars per annum.

Our unsatisfied appetences, our debts, our poverty, and indeed our ignorance, if not our very vices, originate mainly from needless extravagance. We create artificial wants, and then toll incessantly to acter for a whole community. It brings out in strong relief the best and the worst qualities of human nature. Then is the time when the selfish and the mean shrink into themselves. The man who thinks that his own position is secure, and who has no heart to feel for others, avoids their presence

social abuses.

Who could believe, without a careful investigation of the subject, that the whole property of the whole civilized world is sunk, destroyed, once in whole civilized world is sunk, destroyed, once in whole civilized world is sunk, destroyed, once in every generation, by mere extravagance! Yet this is literally true. The real and personal property of these United States, which may be reckoned at some twenty billions, has actually to be produced, created as it were, once in thirty years! And all this because we are contending against nature, and quarrelling with ourselves.

The hope of the world lies in the correction of this great error. When mankind cease expending their energies for the accomplishment of that which never satisfies, and for the gratification of desires which are forever begetting others as morbid as

which are forever begetting others as morbid as themselves, they will have available mind, and time, and power to renovate and elevate the world, and achieve the true destiny of humanity.

NATIONAL DEMORADIZATION.

The degeneracy of the national sense of honesty—which is but a scrupulous regard for the rights of others—springs, as we believe, from the national contempt for the rights of the sixth of themselves A general lesson of this wide-spread commercial disaster is the folly of trusting in uncertain riches. Men who are surrounded with the signs of wealth, with houses and lands, are apt to feel that their mountain stands strong. They take insurances on their property, and set a constant watch and guard, and they feel that they cannot be moved. But a hurricane sweeps over the land, and their proud towers are levelled with the ground. Among the recent sufferers, we recognize one name long honored in the city of our former presidence, St. Louis, that of Pierre Chouteau, for many years at the head of the American Far Company. But a few weeks ago, this gentleman was reported to be worth millions. Long the associate of Astor in the Fur trade, he had secured a fertune and credit second only to his. But this year tenue and credit second only to his. But this year tenue and credit second only to his. But this vast wealth was widely extended, and could not be concentrated to meet sudden and unexpected demands. And thus this princely merchant, after commons sacrifices to sustain his credit, finds himself unable to meet his engagements, and his name, so long distinguished throughout the commercial world, now suffers dishonor. So little can men rely on extraordinary accomulations. What is the language of such reverses but his put not your trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God!

Again, such losses may teach the, rich to feel for those who bear the burden of constant powerly. In the case of these men of vast wealth, there is no danger that they will ever suffer in their private comforts. Though much may be sacrificed, amples will still remain to provide for every reasonable will still remain to provide for every reasonable will still remain to provide for every reasonable

Whatever may be the immediate cause of the present financial distress, the secondary one is the growing indifference to faith-keeping, and the primary the partnership with fraud and robbery which creates and fosters it. Dissolve the partnership with our dishonest partners at the South, and honesty may dishonest partners at the South, and honesty may begin to come into fashion again. Destroy slavery, as you will by this dissolution, and our national honor will cease to be a jest and bye-word to all the rest of the world.—Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE PANIC AND ABOLITIONISM.

The money pressure and financial panic supply the all-engrossing topic of the day, so far at least as the cities are concerned. The New York Hereld chuckles much over the idea that it is driving 'the nigger question' out of sight and out of mind. Financial questions, it thinks, will grow into new political issues, that will make the slavery issue a secondary one. We shall see. The years 1839-7-8, comprising the era of the last similar financial revulsion, was distinguished as the era of anti-slavery n, was distinguished as the era of anti-slavery vulsion, was distinguished as the era of anti-slavery agitation and progress. Why should it not be so again? Slavery was then found to lie at the bottom of our financial difficulties. Perhaps the same thing may appear again, before the storm blows over, though it is now boasted that the South stands firm, while the North is in trouble. We remember firm, while the North is in trouble. We remember that the same boast was made in the commencement of the revulsion of 1836-7, as well as in the previous revulsion of 1826. But the winding up of the business, in both instances, told a different story. The North suspended, but resumed. The South went into bankruptcy, and never paid ten cents on the dollar. When cotton falls, as it must fall, and when the South is called non the result. fall, and when the South is called upon to pay the North, we shall see where the pinch comes. The North, we shall see where the pinch comes. The South, with its crops and negroes, are usually mortgaged to the North a season or two in advance, in the best of times. All goes on quietly, till the North wants the money, and pay-day comes. Will the revulsion of 1857 prove an exception? We shall see. A nation, one half of which is attempted to be sustained by a system of unpaid labor—a nation thus poisoned by contempt and hatred of labor, with thus poisoned by contemps and narred of labor, with a corresponding love of idleness, gambling, speculation, filibustering, extravagance, recklessess, and debauchery—such a nation—and all slaveholding nations are necessarily such—are always subject to periodical financial revulsions, as inevitable as they are remediless, without repentance and reformatio



Subjoined are the statements from some eminent physicians, of their effects in their practice.

As a FAMILY PHYSIC. From Dr. E. W. Carteriold, of New Orleans.

"Your Pills are the prince of purges. Their excellent qualities surpass any cathartic we possess. They are mild, but very certaintand effectual in their action on the bowds, which makes them invaluable to us in the daily treatment

FOR JAUNDICE AND ALL LIVER COMPLAINTS. 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 buless complaints than any one remedy I can mention. I sincerely reploies that we have at length a purgative which is worthy the confidence of the profession and the people."

rejoice that we have at length a purcative which is worthy the confidence of the profession and the people."

DYSPEPSIA — INDIOESTION.

From Dr. Henry J. Kaar, 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. Fo peculiarly are the people of the diseases of the human system, that they seem to work upon them alone. I have cured some case of dispersion and indipertion 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 — DIARRHUBA — RELAX.

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

"Your Prils 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 then an excellent remedy, when given in small doses to tilens dynattry and diarrhow. Their sugar-coating make them very acceptable and convenient for the use of women and children."

INTERNAL OBSTRUCTION—WORMS—SUPPREMION.

INTERNAL OBSTRUCTION-WORMS-SUPPRESSION

"I find one or two large doses of your Pitts, taken at the proper time, are excellent promotives of the natural secretion when wholly or partially suppressed, and also very effectual to cleanse the stomach and expel worms. They are on much the best physic we have that I recommend no other to my patients." CONSTIPATION - COSTIVENESS.

From Dr. J. P. Youghn, Montreal, Canada.

Too much cannot be said of your Pills for the curs of years? If others of our traternity have found them conference. If others of our fraternity have some as efficacious as I have, they should join me in proclaiming it for the benefit of the multifudes who suffer from that complaint, which, although bad enough in itself, is the properties of others that are worse. I believe outliness to originate in the liver, but your Prils affect that organ and

IMPURITIES OF THE BLOOD — SCROPULA — ERYSIPELAS — SALT RHEUM — TETTER — TUMOES
— RHEUMATISM — GOUT — NEURALGIA.

"From Dr. Eschiel Hall, Philadelphia.
"You were right, Doctor, in saying that your Phila purify the blood. They do that. I have used them of late years in my practice, and agree with your statements of their efficacy. They stimulate the exceptories, and carry off the impurities that stagnate in the blood, engendering disease. They stimulate the organs of digestion, and infuse vitality and viror into the system. vigor into the system.

"Such remedies as you prepare are a national benefit, and
you deserve great credit for them."

FOR HEADACHE — SICK HEADACHE—FOUL STOM-ACH—PILES—DROPAY—PLETHORA—PARALYSIS — Fits — &c.

— Firs — &C.

Prom Dr. Edward Boyd, Baltimore.

"Draw Dr. Aver. I cannot answer you what complaints
I have cured with your PHILs better than to say oil that we seer treat with a purgative medicine. I place great dependence on an effectual catharite in my daily contest with disease, and believing as J do that your PHLs afford us the best we have, I of course value them highly."

we have, I of course value them highly."

27 Most of the Pills in market contain Mercury, which, although a valuable remedy in skifful hands, is dangerous in a public pill, from the draafful consequences that frequently follow its incantious use. These contain no mercury or mineral substance whatever.

Aver's Cherry Pectoral

Has long been manufactured by a practical chemist, and every ounce of it under his own eye, with invariable accuracy and care. It is sealed and protected by law from counterfeits, and consequentily can be relied on as geauing, without adulteration. It supplies the surest renedy the world has ever known for the cure of all palmonary complaints; for Coustre, Corns, Hoarsgries, Astina, Castr. Whoorize Count, Bronchittin, Incertisty Consentation, 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 reliance 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, Critical Priconal is known as the best of all remedies for diseases of the threat 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 dimperous affections of the lungs yield to it; if we can tended on the assurance of intelligent physicians, whose healess is to know; in short, if there is any reliance upon my thing, then is it irrefuntably proven that this medicine does cure the class of diseases it is designed for, beyond any and all other remedies known to mankind. Nothing but its littringle virtues, and the unmistakable benefit conferred on thousands of sufferers, could originate and maintain the reputation it enjoys. While many inferior remedies have been thrust upon the community, have failed, and bediescreded, the has gained friends by every trial, enferred benefits en the afflicted they can never forget, and produced cures too numerous and remarkable to be forgotted. Prepared by Dr. J. C. AYER,

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