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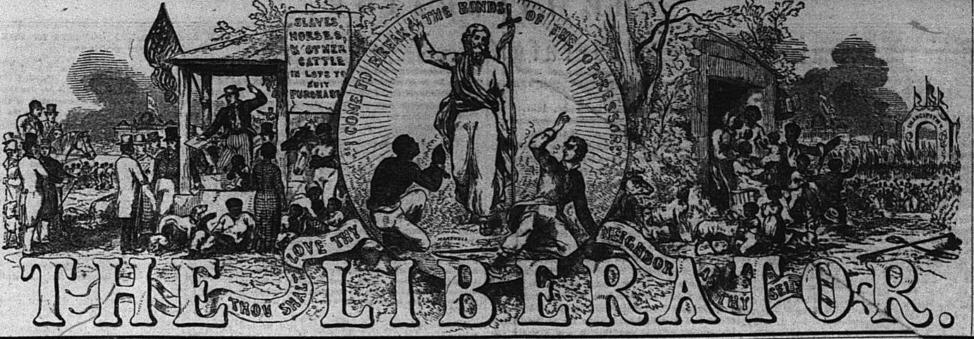
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Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Sodeties are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE The following gentlemen constitute the Pinan-

cial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz: - PRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LORING. EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.



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

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The free States are the guardians and ess tial 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 yoke. On this subject, our pathens, in FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE Me their children, at the end of half a contury, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union ean 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 ean only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending. - WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

L. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 51.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1857.

# WHOLE NUMBER, 1406.

## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

BLACK REPUBLICAN COLONY IN VIR-GINIA-ITS ORGAN. When Eli Thayer first unfolded his scheme to abelitionize the Old Dominion, most of our contemporaries of the State press were disposed to treat in matter as an elaborate joke. They regarded it ine matter as an elaborate joke. They regarded it as the very distinction of crazy fanaticism. As well might we expect an irruption of those fabulous monsters that inhabit the moon, as that a colony of real bona fide abolitionists, headed by Mr. Eli Thayer, would dare pitch their tents upon the soil of Virginia. The idea was simply preposterous, and ought to be scouted by every same mind in the Commissional that is a simply preposterous, and the commission of the commission o letters to James Gordon Bennett, explaining the na-ture of his project, detailing the extent of his opertare of his project, detailing the extent of his operations, and declaiming rapturously of the evidences of ecohragement and success, which greeted his philanthropic exertions. The 'Homestead Aid Society' warduly organized, millions at once subscribed to the capital stock, Thayer unanimously elected Presidon, and the grand scheme was launched upon the ga of experiment, with sanguine cheer and stream-es gay. In selecting the site of this colony, the empany displayed a commendable degree of discretion. In the valley of Guyandotte, close upon the Onia border, they ventured to lay the foundation of their important enterprise, so as to have a door of scape always opened in case their visit might be ac-edentally shortened. We all know how they were welcomed by the citizens of Guyandotte, how the casty Eli Thayer addressed the citizens of that manity, who, fortunately for him, were as innocent of the purposes of his mission, as were the aborigial Maxicans of the designs of Cortez. When, heaver, the primary object of his free labor scheme as discovered, and the history of its origin and progress, with a frontis piece of its author in his true character, laid before their eyes, the indignatisa of the people of Cabell county against Eli and his Abolition colony fulmined in a preamble and scriss of resolutions as long as a man's arm. Here, we thought, was the 'end on 't.' The veil was reat, and the whole affair stood revealed in its hid-eas deformity. The armed brood had been dis-loged, and the wooden monster ejected from the walls of Troy. Far from it. Eli was no more in-imidated by this terrible demonstration of popular with, than were his onion-eating ancestors of the

Narragansett by the sulphurous proclamation of the valorous William the Testy. He informed the shabitants in the blandest manner in the world, that they need give themselves no uncasiness on accant of his presence; that he had chosen a delight-fil region in Wayne county as his future abode and that of his followers, and regarded the hostile meeting as a mere ebullition of chagrin, because Wayne county had been preferred to Cabell by Northern snigrants.' And true enough, in the county of Wayne, these Yankee Ishmuelites have founded a new empire, and sat down to repose beneath their own vine and fig tree. Ceredo, situated on the Ohio river, a short distance from Guyandotte, is the name of their incipient city. Here they are begaining to strengthen their position, and preparing to extend the sphere of their influence. A press as been established and an Abolition journal is printsland circulated throughout the State. Before us is a copy of the first number of the 'Ceredo Cresa paper ' which has the honor of being the first ever issued in Wayne county.' It declares that the 'agency of the press' is absolutely necessary in g the objects of this colonization sche and sets about its task in a manner which cannot ful to produce the most serious results, unless its appeals are at once exposed. We quote a single extract, that our readers may see the danger which is lurking within our borders:

Let every one carefully read Mr. Thayer's last addresses to the people of this county. In the resolutions passed at that meeting, every one can see for himself the sentiments of the people of Wayne. A great change is visible in the minds many who were formerly somewhat hostile scheme of emigration, and in doubt how to act. Since the lucid exposition by Mr. Thayer of the designs of the enterprise, they are filled with confidence and hope. They believe now that the contry can develop more fully and rapidly through the indence of Mr. Thayer, and that he is the man

In the extract we have taken from the Richmond uirer, assurance is given that the Democracy of drinis will welcome with a friendly hand, good Awful citizens coming from other States to the Dominion. The characteristic hospitality of South is not yet extinct. Away with all party tim sities, and act in harmony in the accomplishant of a great enterprise which is destined to renow the bitter prejudices existing between men of the North and men of the South, and unite them met firmly in fraternal bonds.

It is but just to the Enquirer to say that the artithe cited had no reference whatever to Thayer's 'en-lencise.' Eli's speech at Ceredo, on the 12th Oct.. It contains a narrative of the reption and gradual development of his plan of remeration, interlarded with savory anecdotes and been at the 'peculiar institution.' He says he has bit with two classes of men among the defenders of

The first class contends that the Institution is of bring origin, and must endure forever. Yet they sepect ererything not originated by themselves of Drine institutions is this? What kind of faith a Divine institutions? It is He that sitteth upon e circuit of the heavens, and before Him all the mbabitants of the earth are as grasshoppers. Now, if He has established certain relations between grassappears of color and grasshoppers without color, do suppose a few Yankees can reverse the decrees and subvert the plans of the eternal? Nonsense. Ether the Institution is Divine or it is not. If it is, it will stand. If it is not, it must take its chances with other human institutions,

0 matchless Eli! what a subtle logician you are Man is either of Divine origin or he is not. If of Divine origin, he cannot be murdered; if not, he must take his chances with the brutes that perish. Ergo-do your worst, assassin.' The other class are 'so certain of the permanency

avery that they are willing any experiment may here Mr Eli Thayer could have met with such Ompoops as he he here describes, and of whom faith worthy of great men. I cannot but respect the calm and secure trust of such; wisely calm and wisely secure, whether the institution be divine or not. Was ever irony more delicate? The fool in the fable, who left his purse in the crowded thorsughfare to show his confidence in the universal lonesty of mankind, is a fit type of this kind of the

esenders of slavery,

But we will not pursue the theme at present.

Enough has been said to open the eyes of the peo-

ple of Virginia to the vilainous machinations of this arch-Abolitionist. If any are so simple as to be longer duped by his wiles, we fear they are beyond the reach of all appliances which human ingenuity can command. Their delusion is certainly incurable. -Richmond South.

#### From the Charleston, S. C. Mercury. THE SLAVE TRADE.

The report of the Special Committee on so much of Gov. Adams's Message as relates to the Slave Trade, has been submitted to the Senate, and the following abstract of it is given in the Carolinian:

Mazyek, Chairman—submit for the consideration of the Senate the following resolutions:

Resolved. That the chief and almost entire productive industry of the slaveholding States is agriculture, to their successful prosecution of which the labor of peerce slaves is indispensely prosecution, and no slavery shall exist in the State of the state of the state of the state of the slaver of the slaver of the slaver of the state of the slaver of the state of the state of the state of the slaver of the state of the state of the slaver of negro slaves is indispensably necessary.

Resolved, That there is a great and growing deficiency of agricultural labor in the said States, which the natural increase of the slave population

is inadequate to supply.

Resolved, That the effect of prohibiting the importation of slaves from abroad is to limit the expansion of the productive industry of the said States, and of the population which that industry sustains, to the ratio of the natural increase of the slave pop-

Resolved, That the importation of slaves from abroad would accelerate the development of the agricultural resources of the slaveholding States, and promote their progress in wealth, population and general improvement, and that such importa-tion, carried under proper regulations, would not be inconsistent with the principles of justice and hu-

Resolved, That the effect of an entire suppression of the African slave trade would be to confine the negroes to their own country, and preclude them from such means of relief from the pressure of a redundant population, as might be afforded by emigration in the only form in which its benefits can be extended to them.

Resolved, That the Act of Congress declaring the African slave trade to be piracy, if it be understood as affirming that it is piracy in the nature of things and in the sense of the Constitution, affirms what is untrue; and inasmuch as it purports and intends to convert into piracy what is not so in the nature of things and in the sense of the Constitution, the said Act is unconstitutional, null and void.

A minority report was made, declaring that and says: the introduction of barbarians, whether slave or free, from any part of the world, would be injurious to the best interests of South Carolina '-&c.

### FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR IN VIRGINIA.

in that State-says :-

ing States of the Union. I doubt both the policy of the Convention. In addition to what I have and justice of this plan. Its reason assigned is, in a stated, it embraces a provision continuing in force appreciate the nature of the negro. But that spirit, the Legislature of the State to always blind, isapt to mistake in this, and the result provisions of this Constitution. would be rather to make many missionaries among the foes to our institutions and to our people, to harden them against as rather than to convert them Besides, they would, on this plan, have to be sent North, to a climate not suited to their habits or natures; and it would be harsh thus to subject them to wholesale dispersion, disease and ex-tinction. Such is their fate in the free States and in cold climates. They are not fit for freedom or frost, unless they are among friends who will provide for them; and slaveholders, at least, are the best friends of the African race, and their climate and location are most kindly to their natures and habits. It would be more humane, and more just to them, to take from them their liberty at once, and sell them wholesale into slavery, without their consent. But the moral sense of our people would revolt at a violation of individual and personal rights like this, and no such usurpation would be tolerated by public sentiment. What then, if they ought not to be sent North to the free States and sense of public worship and inot to be sent North to the free States and he tender mercies of fanatics and frost, nor to the South and slavery? The answer is, that we ought to colonize as many as we can in Liberia; to take back under masters as many as are willing to return to the patriarchal protection of slavery; to encourage the virtuous and industrious among them, by seeing that they are compelled to learn valuable trades and arts; and to reform our penal code so as to punish capitally certain of their higher offences; to punish their secondary offences with solitary im-prisonment; and to condemn the minor offenders and the idle to labor on the public works. A code of liscipline would soon rid us of all the vicious and lissolute, and retain to us the trustworthy, the virtuous and industrious.

## NORTHERN DEMOCRACY.

Southern men of all parties are as true to the inoutnern hea of an parties are as true to the in-stitution of slavery as was ever knight to his lady, or mother to her child. And we trust that the danger of division in our ranks needs no farther ex-emplification to induce the South, at the next Preemplification to induce the South, at the next Presidential election, to centre all her strength upon a single candidate. To the Democracy of the North we look, as Napoleon looked for Grouchy at Water-loo; not so vamly, however, we hope. They were almost overpowered in the last onset. But here and there, in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, in Illinois and Indiana, they won the day. And backed by an almost unanimous South, a signal victory was achieved, and the Union saved four years more. And it is to those same brave bands of indomitable Democrats, who were driven before the enemy like

four years, and victory then will secure the South for-

KANSAS A SLAVE STATE.

It is clear that the pro-slavery party have com-pletely outwitted Walker and Stanton, and the whole Black Republican party; and that, after all, Kansas will apply to Congress for admission as a. Slave State, with a pro-slavery Constitution. The Washington Union knowing the consequence of this state of things, tries hard to wink it out of existence. It quotes, with warm approbation, an article ence. It quotes, with warm approbation, an article from the New York *Times*, which gravely contends, that if the Black Republicans will vote out of the Constitution the article to be submitted to the peo-Trade, has been submitted to the Senate, and the following abstract of it is given in the Carolinian:

This report enters at once into the question of slavery and the slave trade, and defends the one whilst advocating the revival of the other. This revival, it is contended, is demanded by the wants of the Southern agricultural States. The Committee—Mr.

Mazyek, Chairman—submit for the consideration of it, the colleges advanced to the people of Kansas for rejection or acceptance, slavery will be abolished in Kansas. The first difficulty, however, is, that the Black Republicans will not constitution, will slavery be abolished in Kansas? The Times contends that it will, and quotes to prove

'The article providing for slavery shall be stricken from the Constitution by the President of this Con-vention, and no slavery shall exist in the State of Kansas, except that the right of property in slaves now in this Territory shall in no manner be interfered

The Times prints in large capitals the words, and no slavery shall exist in the State of Kansas; and then continues the words which follow in italies: 'except that the right of property in slaves now in this Territory shall in no manner be interfered with.' Now, if 'the right of property in slaves now in the Territory shall in no manner be interfered with,' how is slavery abolished? It not only exists, but here is a guarantee that it shall in no manner terfered with. We have not a doubt that the first terfered with. We have not a doubt that the first part of the clause, seeming/y abolishing slavery, was inserted for the benefit of just such people in the North as the editors of the New York Times and the Washington Union. It will give them a small plank on which they may stand, in practising their juggling feats of humbuggery; whilst the prohibition in the latter part of the clause secures to the probabory party substantially Kansas as a Slave pro-slavery party, substantially, Kansas as a Slave State. But the mists seem to be clearing away, and when entirely dispelled, it will be seen that the whole labor of the summer to make Kansas a Free State is lost.—Charleston Mercury.

#### THE KANSAS CONSTITUTION.

The Mississippian (Jackson) has a letter from a friend in the Lecompton bogus Convention, whom it indorses as 'a distinguished Democrat of Kansas,' and 'a good and true Southerner,' who, writing on the night that the Convention concluded its labors, sums up the Constitution with its dodge submission,

'Thus you see that while, by submitting the question in this form, they are bound to have a ratification of the one or the other, and that while it seems to be an election between a Free-State and Pro-Slavery Constitution, it is in fact but a question of Gov. Wise, in his recent message to the Legisla-ture of Virginia—referring to the free colored people basis on which to rest their vindication of the admission of Kansas as a State under it into the Union, while they would not have it sent directly from the

But what is to be done with them is the question , nd it is difficult to settle it justly and to our fatis- Convention.

Convention.

'It is the very best proposition for making Kansas.'

'It is the very best proposition for making Kansas.' faction. Several modes have been proposed. One is to send them, in one exodus, to the non-slavehold- a Slave State that was submitted for the consideration and justice of this plan. Its reason assigned is, in a stated, it embraces a provision continuing in force vindictive spirit, to teach abolitionists how better to appreciate the nature of the negro. But that spirit, the Legislature of the State to be elected under the

### SELECTIONS:

From the Practical Christian

THE MORAL CONDITION OF BOSTON. In the Boston Journal of the 28th ult., we find sketches of several discourses delivered on Thanks-giving Day by eminent city clergymen. We Miner. It seems to deal plainly and faithfully in facts—to give us a view of Boston is it is, morally

spects is worthy of eulogy. We have in the c some one hundred places of public worship and stitutions upon which large sums of money are an-nually expended; public and private schools—some two hundred and fifty educational institutions dropped down all over the city; many charitable in-stitutions, hospitals, etc., and we annually disburse large sums of money among the poor and needy. Would that we could stop here, and say that this was all that Boston is doing. But, said the speaker, when I reflect on the way in which things are tending in this city, I feel there is nothing to be thankful for; if we but turn the next leaf, and look upon the other page, we find that while we have one hundred churches and two hundred and fifty schools—even more, perhaps—we have, according to the testimony of the Chief of Police, scarcely less than two thousand dram shows. less than two thousand dram-shops, two hundred and thirty-five houses of ill-fame, and including private houses in which liquor is furnished by the glass, the whole number is but little less than three thousand. We have four hundred churches and schools-God be praised! We have three thousand iquor shops—and who have we to thank for that? ight to one, or the whole number in the ratio of eight to one, or the whole number in the ratio of twelve to one. Here are two classes directly array-ed against each other, and having but little-sympa-thy and mingling but little with each other. The tendencies of the one class are towards Christiani-ty and enlightenment; on the other hand, towards barbarism and crime. The two classes will not join hands, and cannot walk together. Had we a clear idea of this power of barbarism?

by an almost unanimous South, a signal victory was achieved, and the Union saved four years more. And it is to those same brave bands of indomitable Democrats, who were driven before the enemy like leaves before the hurricane, throughout the North, except in those States to which we have alluded; it is to that broken host of hero-patriots, we say, we look with an anxious eye in anticipation of the next contest for mastery of the Government. Beaten, but not dismayed in November, they have rallied again, and are already winning victories over the enemy, who so recently routed them.

The Democratey of those States which were overrun by abolitionism in November, claiming to be, as they are, an honest portion of the great National party now in power, were solaced in their own local defeat, of last fall, by the victory tor which they, as well as we, so carnestly fought. And, in remembrance of both, they are encouraged to rally again with renovated vigor.

There are favorable indications of a partial, if not a radical revolution in the North within the next four years, and victory then will secure the South forfour years, and victory then will secure the South for-

The Decision in the church, will say to the minister, Touch not upon certain topics, or my influence will be thrown against you.' Said the speaker, I know where ministers have been compelled to abandon their pulpits for this reason. In how many pulpits in this city do you hear anything in relation to these evils? Christianity is fettered here, and has shacked in the court of the decision in this portant case, briefly announced by telegraph:

Supreme Court—General Term. Before the les on its limbs and a gag in its mouth. Ministers may talk of Babylon and Ninevel, and sinners, but

day.

The next method we could bring to bear in this

taken an oath to carry out such a law. followi evils of this city are as completely in the hands of the police as are your taxes when they choose to call for them. They have a law, and a law which, if they only desired it, will tend to the accomplishment of the work to be done.'

merchants, real estate owners, and employers? Let a census be fairly taken of the leading influences in Boston, (and elsewhere too,) under something like the following schedule:—

Number of clergymen who continue to set the de-noralizing example of using wine and other intoxi-

cating liquors as a beverage.

Number of church members do. Number of lawyers do. Number of civil and military officers do. Number of physicians do. Number or editors and other literati do. Number of bankers, brokers, etc. do. Number of wealthy mechanics, etc, do. Number of large employers, etc. do.

Number of real estate owners who rent buildings rumsellers, bawds, gamblers, etc., etc. Number of influential pew-owners who object to

Number of 'prudent' clergymen who keep dark on all 'exciting topics,' and never quarrel with respectable sinners to the hazard of their salaries.

Subdivision 3 of that section is confined to the case of a person held to service or labor escaping from one State into another: it does not extend to Such a census, giving also the righteous side of the case under each head, would reveal the real 'mystery of iniquity.' Leave small folks out of the account, and the whole fag-end of society. Only show us where the leading influences stand, and we shall see, as in an open book, why the world goes wrong end foremost, in spite of moral suasion and even of legal coercion. Friends of moral and social reform, dig away the earth till you find the main roots of these popular upas trees. Then see that yourselves have no complicity with them. Then ply the axe of reform; throw the responsibility where it belongs; and you will succeed.

from one State into another: it does not extend to the person voluntarily brought by his master into another State for any period of time; it cannot, by any rule of construction, be extended to such a case. It is 'No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, &c.

The clause of the Constitution giving to Congress power 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States and with the Indian tribes,' confers no power on Congress to declare the status which any person shall sustain while in any State of the Union. This power belonged original-

#### From the same. DEATH OF BROTHER JOHN CALKINS.

Br. John Calkins, of South Wilbraham, a devoted friend of God and humanity, died on the 3d inst., after a protracted illness, in the 68th year of his after a protracted illness, in the 68th year of his age. 'Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.' These words of the Savior are justly applicable to the deceased. He has been faithful over a few things, and has entered among the spirits of the just into the joy of Christ. He was of humble birth, a plain shoemaker in a rural vicinage. He began life poor, with little learning, and a sickly constitution. For several years of his life, though expert at his trade, he could earn but prohibiting the presents to twenty five cents per day by reason of his life, though expert at his trade, he could earn but twenty to twenty-five cents per day, by reason of his fill-health. He lived and died in a small, unpainted house, worth perhaps three hundred dollars, high posted enough to allow him a little chamber room. There in his obscure attic he had his shop—his shoemaker's bench and a couch. And there he would work and rest alternately from hour to hour, as he felt from day to day. But he had excellent judgment, an ever active mind, and most masterly economy. He brought up his family accordingly. So they all lived within their scanty income, and something was left wherewith to do good. And here we come to the noble characteristics of the man. He was honest, conscientious, religious and philanthropic, in the best sense of these terms—a practical Christian indeed.

We first knew him more than twenty-five years

The judgment of slaves into that State for the purposes of sale. The same Court has held that goods when imported can (notwithstanding any that goods when imported can (notwithstandi Christian indeed.

We first knew him more than twenty-five years

We first knew him more than twenty-five years ago as a staunch Restorationist, and baptized him by immersion. Subsequently he took hold devotedly of all the moral Reforms, Temperance, Anti-siavery, Christian Non-resistance, etc. He has been for many years a true and faithful member of The Hopedale Community, though not residing with us. He was also a rational Christian Spiritualist. His head, his heart, his tongue, his pen, his hard carned, carefully saved money, and his exemplary life, were freely offered on the altar of what he deemed divine principles. It was wonderful to see one. freely offered on the altar of what he deemed divine principles. It was wonderful to see one, who seemed a miser in saving, handing out his dollars to poor neighbors in distress, his fives, his tens, and his fities, to succor and redeem the panting fugitive slave, or to clothe him in his Canada home, or to feed the starving Irish in the time of their famine, or to pay the expenses of promulgating the gospel in its reformatory purity as uttered through the living voice and the press. But all this he did, to the astonishment of lookers on, and even of his friends. He was against all that be deemed hostile to human elevation: he was in earnest for all that he desmed

iquities? If you do not, then you must wait until the judgments rise higher, and until the thunder-bolts are aimed at your own heads.

We could easily have a change of things. When we want a quiet night before the fourth of July, we have it. With two hundred and fifty police, we can close the grog-shope, if our votes at the ballot-box were only cast towards such a result.

There were two methods by which these evils could be done away with. The one was by Christian influence. Yet there were sometimes difficulties standing in the way of such a result. Sometimes it happens that a rich man who holds a prominent place in the church, will say to the minister, Touch not upon certain topics, or my influence will read to the church of the chu

We copy from the New York Evening Post the annexed full statement of the decision in this im-Supreme Court-General Term. Before the full

may talk of Babylon and Nineven, and sinners, but nothing about the living, real, active issues of the day.

Jonathan Lemon, in error, agt. Louis Napoleon, defendant, in error.

The general term has rendered a verdict in the The next method we could bring to bear in this matter was Associated Effort. The speaker then glanced at the recommendation of the report of the Chief of Police, which intimated that if we only had the proper law, we could prevent many of the great evils in our midst. We had just such a law as that suggested by the report, and the police had taken an oath to carry out such a law.

In concluding, the speaker said, remember the

The act of the legislature of this State, passed in 1817, and re-enacted in parts in 1830, (1 R. S., 656.) declaring that 'no person held as a slave shall be imported, introduced or brought into this State on REMARKS.

Remarks.

Is this Boston—the metropolis of New England!

Is the case to be done.

Any pretence whatsoever, except in the cases herein specified, and that 'every such person shall
be free,' applies to this case. The slaves in this case Is this Boston—the metropolis of New England! Is such the antagonistic state of society in the most civilized, refined, moral city on earth! It is even so. Mr. Miner evidently thinks a great triumph over these twelve-to-one barbarian forces might be achieved, if law could be enforced: which could be achieved, if law could be enforced: which could be done, if people would vote right; which would come to pass undoubtedly, if there were a will. Here is the grand desideratum, of a will. And if there were a will, (not in the majority, but in the governing few.) doubtless much evil could be speedily done away without resorting to legal and political coercion. Where stand the church members, pewowners and clergy of Boston on all these subjects of moral and social reform? Where the lawyers, doctors, and literati? Where the leading bankers, merchants, real estate owners, and employers? Let overy person brought into this State as a slave, except as authorized by this title, shall be FREE.'

One of the exceptions mentioned in this title allowed a person not an inhabitant of this State, travelling to or from, or passing through this State, to bring his slave here, and take him away again, provided

his slave here, and take him away again, provided that if the slave continued here more than nine months, he should be from. These exceptions are repealed by the act of 1841.

Comity does not require any State to extend any greater privileges to the citizens of another State than it grants to its own. As this State does not allow its own citizens to bring a slave here, even in transitu, and to hold him as a slave for any portion of time it cannot be expected to allow the citizens. of time, it cannot be expected to allow the citizens art. 4 of the Constitution of the United States makes this measure of comity a right, but with the limitation above stated, it gives to the citizens of a sister State only the same privileges and immuni-ties in our State which our laws give to our citizens blain, pungent preaching against these and other oppular vices; who want only 'the gospel' in the entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citi-

ens in the several States.'
Subdivision 3 of that section is confined to the

The clause of the Constitution giving to Congress power 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States and with the Indian tribes,' confers no power on Congress to declare the status which any person shall sustain while in any State of the Union. This power belonged originally to each State by virtue of its sovereign and independent character, and has never been surrendered. It has not been conferred on Congress or forbidden to the States, (unless in some provisions in favor of personal rights,) and is, therefore, retained by each State, and may be exercised as well in relation to persons in transitu as in relation to those remaining in the State.

The power to regulate commerce may be exer-

The power to regulate commerce may be exercised over persons, as passengers, only while on the ocean and until they come under State jurisdiction. It ceases when the voyage ends, and then the State

This power to regulate commerce, it has been expressly declared by the Supreme Court of the United States, did not prevent the State of Mississippi from prohibiting the importation of elaves into that State

The judgment or order below should be affirmed with costs.

. The capitals are so in the statute.

### SLAVE HUNTING.

Another of those outrages and tyrannical acts which are peculiar to the slavery-fostering government of the United States, was perpetrated in this town on the night of Wednesday last. A file of soldiers, at the dead of night, were marched up to the residence of Mr. John Ritchey, immediate on the outskirts of the town, headed by that pusillanimous tool of Bogus Law and slave-catchers, Deputy Marshal Butcher, who, it will be remembered, made us a similar visit about three weeks ago. The object of this visit, as before, was to capture some alleged fugitive slaves, whom the Deputy and one Mills, their pretended owner, believed to be secreted here.

ment of lookers on, and even of his friends. He was against all that he deemed hostile to human elevation: he was in carnest for all that he deemed wholesome for the human race. Yet he was not wild, fanatical, and ultra as a reformer and progression.

How long our citizens are to be harrs way, the sanctity of their dwellings outraged, this selves subjected to pillage and insult, is a questive to be answered. Its continuance or cessation depends entirely upon the answer which the people themselves shall give to it. Time was when a man's house was his castle, into which no power could venture with impunity, without due process of law. Shall that time ever return? It is for the people of Kansus to say whether a band of assassins and mountebanks, who pretend to administer law in this Territory, shall continue to desecrate their dwellings, prostitute justice, and set at naught the most sacred and inalienable of rights. Let Deputy Marshal Butcher, or any other man who shall attempt to violate the sacredness of the home circle, as has been done in this instance, feel at once the vengcance of done in this instance, feel at once the vengcance of a sovereign citizen, and the extent of the peril which he thereby incurs. Let him be made an ex-ample, for the benefit of all who are now or who ample, for the benefit of all who are how or who hereafter may be disposed to trample upon individual rights, while engaged in the nefarious business of slave-hunting. With a proper example made of such men, before their eyes, we apprehend that the business of slave-catching in this Territory will speedily come to an end, and the man who strikes the first blow in resistance will secure for himself a place in history beside the heroes of the revolution who periled their lives in the cause of human free. who periled their lives in the cause of human freedom and resistance to tyranny.—Kansas Tribune.

#### NEW ENGLAND REBUKED.

His mightiness, James Buchanan, President of the United States, has seen fit, in the plenitude of his power, to rebuke the people of New England for their manifold political heresies. He has done this in a manner so dignified, and yet so cool and cutting, that it may reasonably be expected the people of this section will humble themselves in the dust at the feet of the autocrat.

It is awful to labor under the Presidential displeasure, as our people already know to their continuous.

pleasure, as our people already know to their cost Are not our two New England Navy Yards constantly Are not our two New England Navy Yards constantly idle, while the Southern yards are overrun with work? Were not the applications of our mechanics to build one of the new steam sloops-of-war treated with contempt? What chance have New England men, even though they be good Democrats, to obtain government offices at Washington? Can anything good, in Presidential estimation, come out of New England?

For years the President's Message has been sent to Boston as well as to New York and Philadelphia, in advance of its delivery. From Boston it naturally found its way through the columns of the popular press, all over New England. The arrangement was regarded more as a matter of course, than as a matter of favor. No one questioned its propriety,

matter of favor. No one questioned its propriety, and it had not been abused. This year the President sees fit to ignore the reading public of New England in making his arrangements for the transmission of his message. He sends copies in advance to New York, but New England must remain in the to New York, but New England must remain in the dark as to the message and its contents until in due course of mail it reaches them from a more favored region. But to make the rebuke more pointed, the reports of the Cabinet officers are sent to Boston in a sealed package, and when a dispatch was sent to the post office department to learn the contents of the package, an answer so ambiguous was returned, that the press was justified in believing that it actually contained the message, and completed their arrangements for its immediate publication. The postmaster general doubtless smiled, and the autocrat chuckled at the probable success of this petty trick chuckled at the probable success of this petty trick upon the 'black-Republican' Yankees. But they are welcome to all the glory the act will confer upon

the administration.

The people of New England survived the displeasure of the last administration, and having so long been cast into outer darkness, they will not miss the been cast into outer darkness, they will not hiss the light of the Presidential countenance which turns so benignantly towards the sunny South. We do not believe that even the characteristic regard of the people for 'the main chance' will induce them to court executive favor, for the chances are that this is the last administration that will ignore the sentiments and interests of New England.

#### SPEECH OF HON. A. S. DOUGLAS ON THE KANSAS QUESTION

The following is the concluding portion of Senator Douglas's speech on the Kansas question and the President's message, delivered in the U. S. Senate on the 9th inst. :--

Mr. President, that may be true. It is no part of my purpose to deny the proposition that that Con-stitution would have been voted down by a majority of four to one. I am informed by men well posted there—Democrats—that it would be voted down by there—Democrats—that it would be voted down by ten to one; some say by twenty to one. But is it a good reason why you should declare it in force, without submitting it to the people, merely because it would have been voted down by five to one if you had submitted it? What does that fact prove? Does it not show undeniably that an overwhelming majority of the people of Kansas are unalterably opposed to that Constitution? Will you force it on them against their will simply because they would have voted it down if you had consulted them? If you will, are you going to force it upon them under the plea of leaving them perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way? Is that the mode in which I am called upon to carry out the principle of self-government and popular sovereignty in the Territories—to force a

regulate their domestic institutions in their own way? Is that the mode in which I am called upon to carry out the principle of self-government and popular sovereignty in the Territories—to force a Constitution on the people against their will, in opposition to their protest, with a knowledge of the fact, and then to assign, as a reason for my tranny, that they would be so obstinate and so perverse as to vote down the Constitution if I had given them an opportunity to be consulted about it?

Sir, I deny your right or mine to inquire of these people what their objections to that Constitution are. They have a right to judge for themselves whether they like or dislike it. It is no answer to tell me that the Constitution is a good one and unobjectionable. It is not satisfactory to me to have the President say in his Message that the Constitutions of the new States that have been recently formed. Whether good or bad, whether obnazious or not, is none of my business and none of yours. It is their business and not ours. I care not what they have in their Constitution, so that it suits them and does not violate the Constitution of the United States and the fundamental principles of liberty upon which our institutions rest. I am not going to argue the question whether the banking system established in that Constitution is wise or unwise. It says there shall be no monopolies, but there shall be one bank of discount in the State, with two branches. All I have to say on that point is, if they want a banking system, let them have it; if they do not

want it, let them prohibit it. If they want a bank with two branches, be it so; if they want twenty, it is none of my business; and it matters not to me whether one of them shall be on the north side and the other on the south side of the Kaw River, or

the real matter provides the

whether one of them shall be on the north star and the other on the south side of the Kaw River, or where they shall be.

While I have no right to expect to be consulted on that point, I do hold that the people of Kansas have the right to be consulted and to decide it, and you have no rightful authority to deprive them of that privilege. It is no justification, in my mind, to say that the provisions for the eligibility for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor require twenty years' citizenship in the United States. If men think that no person should vote or hold office until he has been here twenty years, they have a right to think so; and if a majority of the people of Congress think that no man of foreign birth should vote or hold office unless he has lived there twenty years, it is their right to say so, and I have no right to interfere with them; it is their business, not mine; but if I lived there, I should not be willing to have that provision in the constitution without being heard upon the subject, and allowed to record my protest against it. I have nothing to say about their system of taxation, in which they have gone back and resorted to the old exploded system that we tried in Illinois, but abandoned because we did not like it. If they wish to try it, and get tired of it and abundon it, he it say, but if I were a citizen not like it. If they wish to try it, and get tired of not like it. If they wish to try it, and get tired of it, and abandon it, be it sol; but if I were a citizen of Kansas, I would profit by the experience of Illinois on that subject, and defeat it if I could. Yet I have no objection to their having it if they want it; it is their business, not mine. So it is in regressible to the free negroes. They provide that no appose gro shall be permitted to live in Kansas. but if I they have a right to say so, if they choose they have a right to say so, if they choose we have a right to say so, if they choose we we, in Illinois, provide that ares. Take care of We, in Illinois, provide that tates, 'Take care of there. We say to the other will take care of ours.' your own free negroes, and ne negroes now there shall But we do not say the in Illimois, and I think the not be permitted ought to have the right to say people of Karill allow them to live there, and if whether the

hether the going to do so, how they are to dispose they apyou may go on with all the different clauses of the Constitution. They may be all right; they may be all wrong. That is a question on which my opinion is worth nothing. The opinion of the wise and patriotic Chief Magistrate of the United States is not worth anything as against that of the people of Kansas, for they have a right to judge for themselves, and neither Presidents, nor Senators, nor House of Representatives, nor any other power outside of Kansas has a right to judge for them. Hence, it is no justification, in my mind, for the violation of a great principle of self-government, to say that the Constitution you are forcing on them is not particularly obnoxious, or is excellent in its provisions. Perhaps, sir, the same thing might be said of the celebrated Topeka Constitution. I do not recollect its peculiar provisions. I know one thing: We Democrats, we Nebraska men, would not even look into it to see what its provisions were. Why? Because we said it was made by a political party, and not by the people; that it was made in defiance of the authority of Congress; that if it was as pure as the Bible, as holy as the ten commandments, yet we would not touch it until it was submitted to and ratified by the people of Kansas, in pursuance of the forms of law. Perhaps that Topeka Constitu-tion, but for the mode of making it, would have been unexceptionable. I do not know; I do not care. You have no right to force an unexceptionable Constitution on a people. It does not mitigate the evil, it does not diminish the insult, it does not ameliorate the wrong, that you are forcing a good

and act for myself.

Hence I assert that there is no justification to be made for this flagrant violation of popular rights in Kansas, on the plea that the constitution which they have made is not particularly obnoxious. But, sir, the President of the United States is really and sincerely of the opinion that the slavery clause has been fairly and impartially submitted to the free acceptance or rejection of the people of Kansas, and that, inasmuch as that was the exciting and paramount question, if they get the right to vote as they please on that subject they ought to be satisfied; and possibly it might be better if we would accept it, and put an end to the question. Let me ask, sir, is the slavery clause fairly submitted, so that the people can vote for or against it? Suppose I were a citizen of Kansas, and should go up to the

thing on them. I am not willing to be forced to do that which I would do, if I were left free to judge

were a citizen of Ransas, and should go up to the polls and say, 'I desire to vote to make Kansas a Slave State, here is my ballot.' They reply to me, 'Mr. Douglas, just vote for that constitution first, if you please.' Oh, no,'I answer, 'I cannot vote for that constitution conscientiously. I am opposed to the clause by which you locate certain railroads in such a way as to sacrifice my county and my part of the State. I am opposed to that banking system, I am opposed to this Know Nothing or American I cannot vote for it.' They then answer, 'You shall not vote on making it a Slave State.' then say, 'I want to make it a Free State.' They reply, 'Vote for that constitution first, and then you can vote to make it a Free State; otherwise you Thus they disqualify every Free State man who

will not first vote for the Constitution; they dis-qualify every Slave State man who will not first vote for the Constitution. No matter whether or not the voters state that they cannot conscientiously vote for those provisions, they reply, 'You cannot vote for or against Slavery here. Take the Constitution as we have made it, take the elective franchise as we have established it, take the railroad lines as we have located them, take the judiciary system as we have formed it, take it all as we have fixed it to suit ourselves, and ask no questions, but vote for it, or you shall not vote either for a Slave or a Free State. In other words, the legal effect of the schedule is this; All those who are in favor of this Constitution may vote for or against Slavery as they please; but all those who are against this Constitution are disfranchised, and shall not vote at all. That is the mode in which the slavery proposition is submitted. Every man opposed to the Constitution is disfranslavery clause. How many are they They tell you there is a majority, for they say the Constitution will be voted down instantly, by an overwhelming majority, if you allow a negative vote. This shows that a majority are against it. They disqualify and disfranchise every man who is against it, thus referring the slavery minority of the people of Kansas, and leaving that minority free to vote for or against the slavery clause, as they choose.

Let me ask you if that is a fair mode of submit-

ting the slavery clause? Does that mode of submitting that particular clause leave the people perfectly free to vote for or against slavery as they Am I free to vote as I choose on the slavery question, if you tell me I shall not vote for the Maine liquor law? Am I free to vote on the slavery question if law? Am I free to vote on the slavery question, if you tell me that I shall not vote either way until I vote for a bank? Is it freedom of election to make your right to vote upon one question depend upon the mode in which you are going to vote on some other question which has no connection with it? Is that freedom of election? Is that the great fundamental principle of self-government, for which we combined and struggled, in this body, and throughout the country, to establish as the rule of me? The President of the action in all time to co United States has made some remarks in his Message which, it strikes me, it would be very appropriate to read in this connection. He says:

'The friends and supporters of the Nebraska and

'The friends and supporters of the Nebraska and Kansas Act, when struggling on a recent occasion to sustain its wise provisions before the great tribunal of the American people, never differed about its true meaning on this subject. Every where throughout the Union, they publicly pledged thair faith and honor that they would cheerfully submit the question of slavery to the decision of the bone fide records of Kansas or that they would cheerfully submit the question of slavery to the decision of the bong fide people of Kansas, without any restriction or qualification whatever. All were cordially united upon the great doctrine of popular sovereignty, which is the vital principle of our free institutions.

· Had it then been insinuated, from any quarter that it would have been sufficient compliance with the requisitions of the organic law for the members of a Convention, thereafter to be elected, to withhold the question of slavery from the people, and to sub-stitute their own will for that of a legally ascertained

majority of their constituents, this would have been instantly rejected. Yes, sir, and I will add further, had it been ther intimated from any quarter, and believed by the American people, that we would have submitted the slavery clause in such a manner as to compel a man to vote for that which his conscience did not approve, in order to vote on the slavery clause, not only

the state of the state of

would the idea have been rejected, but the Demoeratic candidate for the Presidency would have been rejected, and every man who backed him would have been rejected too.

The President tells us in his Message that the

The President tells us in his Message that the whole party pledged our faith and our honor that the slavery question should be submitted to the people, without any restriction, or qualification whatever. Does this schedule submit it without qualification? It qualifies it by saying, 'You may vote on slavery, if you will vote for the Constitution; but you shall not do so without doing that.' That is a very important qualification—a qualification that controls a man's vote, and his action and his conscience, if he is an honest man—a qualification

be attained? Cui bono? What are you to gain by with a disposition to hear what might be said, and it? Will you sustain the party by violating its not on the score of an idle curiosity; for, in all principles? Do you propose to keep the narty principles? Do you propose to keep the party united by forcing a division? Stand by the doctrine that leaves the people perfectly free to form and regulate their institutions for themselves in their own way, and your party will be united and irresistible in power. Abandon that great princi- accordance with our wishes, (for we both solicited irresistible in power. Abandon that great principle, and the party is not worth saving, and cannot the largest freedom of discussion, and were very be saved, after it shall be violated. I trust we are desirous of hearing from any who might dissent not to be rushed upon this question. Why shall it be done? Who is to be benefitted? Is the South be done? Who is to be benefitted? Is the South to be the gainer? Is the North to be the gainer? one felt disposed to call in question any thing ad-Neither the North nor the South has the right to vanced by us, at least before the assembly. It may election on the 21st of December. I am told that

perhaps that will put it all right, and will save the difficulty. How can it? Perhaps there may Why wait for the mockery of an election, when it is provided unalterably that the people cannot vote—when the majority are disfranchised? But I am told on all sides, 'Oh, just wait; the pro-slavery clause will be voted down.' That does not obviate any of my objections; it does not diminish any of depicted, and the duty of espousing the cause them. You have no more right to force a free State Constitution on Kansas than a slave State Constitution. If Kansas wants a slave State Constitution, she has a right to it; if she wants a free State Constitution, she has a right to it. It is none cided. I care not whether it is voted down or voted up. Do you suppose, after the pledges of my honor, that I would go for that principle and leave the people to vote as they choose, that I would now degrade granted that it will be voted up. I think I have seen enough in the last three days to make it certain that it will be returned out, no matter how the matter may stand. (Laughter.) Sir, I am opposed to that concern, because it looks

to me like a system of trickery and jugglery to de-feat the fair expression of the will of the people. forever, but not one of them ventures to show him-There is no necessity for crowding this measure, so unfair, so unjust as it is in all its aspects, upon us. Why can we not now do what we proposed to do in man, claiming to be governed by Christian principles, the last Congress? We then voted through the come forward to defend the Constitution of the Unit-Senate an enabling act, called 'the Toombs bill,' ed States, as always interpreted and enforced by the nounced to be almost perfect by the Senator from New Hampshire, (Mr. Hale,) only he did not like the man then President of the United States, who would have to make the appointments. Why can we not take that bill, and, out of compliment to the President, add to it a clausa taken from the Minnesota act, which he thinks should be a general rule, requiring the Constitution to be submitted to the people and pass that? That unites the party Vou people, and pass that? That unites the party. You all voted, with me, for that bill, at the last Congress. Why not stand by the same bill now? Ignore Lecompton, ignore Topeka, treat both those our sacred cause before their fellow-citizens, we urge sill—the one we framed ourselves when we were acting as a unit - have a fair election, and you will have peace in the Democratic party, and peace throughout the country, in ninety days. The people want a fair vote. They will never be satisfied with-

out it. They never should be satisfied without a fair vote on the Constitution.

If the Toombs' bill does not suit my friends, take the Minnesota bill of the last session — the one so much commended by the President, in his Message, as a model. Let us pass that as an enabling act, and allow the people of all parties to come together and have a fair vote, and I will go for it. Frame brutal, we admit,) she has not been a sufferer in conany other bill that secures a fair, honest vote to men of all parties, and carries out the pledge that the people shall be left free to decide on their domestic people shall be left free to decide on their domestic institutions for themselves, and I will go with you avowed herself inimical to the abolitionists, favorable with pleasure, and with all the energy I may postoses. But if this Constitution is to be forced down and paid court to the very class who have subjected that is a mockery and insult, painful as it will be to me, I must break all associations or connections rather than forfeit my principles. I have no fear of any party associations being severed. I should of the true friends of the oppressed; and where she regret to see social and political ties severed; but if is best known (nexticularly in Western State of the oppressed). it must be—if I cannot act with you, and preserve my faith and my honor—I will stand on the great principle of popular sovereignty, which declares the right of all people to be left perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way. I will follow that principle wherever its legal way. I will follow that principle wherever its legal and logical consequences may take me, and I will endeavor to defend it against assault from any and all quarters. No mortal man shall be responsible for my action but myself. By my action I will compromit no man. (Loud applause.)

KANSAS AND SENATOR DOUGLAS. The Washing ton correspondent of the New York Tribune thus notices Mr. Douglas's speech on Kansas affairs:

'The speech of Senator Douglas to-day is universally admitted to be a great speech, perhaps the greatest he has ever made. It is admired by all sides for its compact force and plain, solid strength. He dissected and exposed with masterly skill the manifold absurdities of the Lecompton plan-its in-consistency with reason and with right-with justice, honor or fairness—with the professions of the Democratic party, and with the principles of popular sovereignty, all of which demanded unequivocally that the whole Constitution should be submitted good faith to the people of Kansas.

Though his language was courteous, the manner Senator Douglas was bold, haughty and defiant the manner of a man who had deliberately assumed a perilous position, and had made up his mind to brave the consequences. His closing declaration, given with great energy, that if the administration and the Democratic party persisted in the course they were pursuing upon the Kansas question, he should be compelled by every consideration of honor, faith and consistency, to separate himself from them, was greeted with a round of applause by the crowd-

Another Washington correspondent says :-

. Mr. Douglas's manner was impassioned, and, to Ar. Douglas's manner was impassioned, and, to-wards the close, as he declared his separation from the party, he was deeply affected. There was ap-plause from all parts of the House at the close of the speech, which was evidently spontaneous and unpremeditated; but it so jarred upon the nerves of Mason, of Virginia, who had evidently been growing more sensitive during the speech, that he requested the galleries to be cleared; but the more amiable of his friends objected so strongly, that he was constrained to withdraw his motion.

To It is said that at a caucus of Southern Sena-tors, (thirteen in number,) held after the delivery of his speech, Senator Douglas was unanimously read his speech, Senator out of the party!

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, DECEMBER 18, 1857.

CONVENTION AT NASHUA.

On Saturday and Sunday last, we attended a and it is a very important qualification—a qualification of conscience, if he is an honest man—a qualification confessedly in violation of our platform. We are told by the President that our faith and our honor are pledged that the slavery clause should be as mitted without qualification of any kind who were research and the market and now am I to be called upon to forfiest by faith and my honor in order to enable a small minority of the people of Kansas to defraud the adjority of that the people of their elective frame fee?

Sir, my honor is pledged: ad before it shall be all to myself may come but never ask me to do an all to myself may come but never ask me to do pany with our friend, PARKER PILLSBURY, an from the doctrines we advocated,) but because no gain a sectional advantage by trickery or fraud.

But I am beseeched to wait until I hear from the effectually applied on the occasion, and our nation proved to be 'full of wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores'-yes, that 'from the crown of the be a large vote. There may be a large vote returned, head to the sole of the foot, there is no soundness (Laughter.) But I deny that it is possible to have in it.' The recreancy of the pulpit generally, and head to the sole of the foot, there is no soundness a fair vote on the slavery clause; and I say that it is not possible to have any vote on the Constitution. such—and also the fearful complicity of the North with the South, in various forms, but particularly through that 'covenant with death,' the American Union-in relation to the existence, growth and perpetuity of 'the sum of all villanies'-were strongly the oppressed, as 'remembering those in bonds as bound with them,' earnestly enforced. No one had any defence to make of the Church; and as for our blood-stained Union, there was none so poor as to of my business which way the slavery clause is de- do it reverence. Indeed, no fact is more noticeable -none, we think, more prophetic, certainly none more encouraging-in all the Anti-Slavery meetings we have attended during the last two or three years, myself by voting one way if the slavery clause be no matter in what section of the country, than this voted down, and another way if it be voted up? I -the assertion of the imperative moral duty of the care not how/that vote may stand. I take it for North to dissolve the bonds which bind her to the South is listened to, not only with forbearance and equanimity, but with the deepest seriousness, and with increasing conviction of its truthfulness. Political demagogues and religious hypocrites may make forever,' but not one of them ventures to show himself upon the Anti-Slavery platform; nor does any man, claiming to be governed by Christian principles, believed to be just and fair in all its provisions, pro- nation in regard to its slaveholding compromises. the higher law, cannot possess a firm basis, and in

> doubting that their numbers shall be increased, and the seed they sow shall bring forth abundantly-

For scattered truth is never, never wasted. We observed that placards were posted about the own, announcing that Miss Delia A. Webster would. on Monday evening, relate the narrative of her imprisonment and sufferings at the South, at the hands of slaveholders. We have repeatedly shown in Tue LIBERATOR, that, whatever injustice she may have experienced in that quarter, (and it has been very sequence of her abolitionism, or her zeal in bearing a faithful testimony sgainst slavery; for she has always our throats, in violation of the fundamental princi- her to the ill usage of which she complains—they suspecting her to have assisted certain slaves to make their escape. She is seeking her own private ends, and has no real claim for sympathy or aid on the part is best known, (particularly in Worcester.) is regarded as having forfeited both confidence and respect.

The prevailing 'democracy' in Nashua is of the satanic ' and ' border ruffian ' stamp-as illustrated by the fact, that not less than one hundred and ninety copies of that thoroughly diabolical paper, the New York Day-Book, (which, in its advocacy of both white and black slavery, is ambitious to outdo the vilest of all the Southern journals,) are taken in that town! Then there are nearly a hundred shops where intoxicating liquor is sold, in open defiance of the Maine Law-enough, together, to poison a much larger city. Nashua, indeed, is at present Republican in its municipal government; but the fear of losing votes, and giving offence, and the lack of moral courage, restrain the Mayor, we were told, from at tempting to enforce the law aforesaid.

O, for the moral regeneration of every community, through the bold proclamation and enforcement of the truth against whatever tends to debase and outrage our race! Every where society is corrupted to the core; unswerving adherence to principle is denounced as fanaticism; the 'higher law' is openly scoffed at; the inalienable rights of man are denied; the cause of the enslaved is scornfully rejected; profligacy and intemperance abound; and moral cowardice and political demagogueism are the prominent features of the times. 'Help, Lord! for the godly man ceaseth!'

NOTICE.

Our friends who have not yet paid for the preser ear, will bear in mind our rule, by which their papers must be cut off, if payment be not paid before February 1st. We hardly need add, that our subscription list needs greatly to be enlarged, and that any curtailment of it is most undesirable .- E. F. W.

Great disappointment was felt by a crowded audience at the Joy Street Church, in this city, last Sunday evening, by the non-appearance of WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., who was engaged to lecture before them. His absence was occasioned by illness in his family.

Rev. Dexter S. King kindly consented to appear his substitute, and delivered an interesting and instructive anti-slavery discourse. The promise of Mr. Phillips will be redeemed shortly, when due notice will be given .- w. c. x.

ARE WE MISTAKEN P 'American slavery is upheld by two mighty prop —Church and State, religion and government—and when these are overthrown, that foul system shall fall to rise no more.'—Letter of Wm. Lloyd Garrison to the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

Our esteemed contemporary, the Anti-Slavery Standard, thinks we have mistaken the import of the above paragraph. He says :

the above paragraph. He says:

'If he will look again at the passage from which that sentence is taken, he will perceive that it was not intended to convey the sentiment to which he so strongly objects. The church and the government denounced by Mr. Garrison as "mighty props" of slavery are not the Church of Christ and Christian government, but the 'popular' or pro-slavery church, and the government of the United States, as now existing, under a pro-slavery constitution. These are not 'God's institutions,' but man's, and their destruction, in Mr. Garrison's opinion, and ours as well, would be the triumph of Christianity, not of the infidelity of the French revolutionists. The spirit of Mr. Garrison's letter is eminently religious and reverential towards God, and it is exceedingly unfair to detach therefrom a single sentence, and put upon it a construction so manifestly at war with the intent of the writer.'

We should be extremely glad to find that we had misapprehended the language of Mr. Garrison; and leavened with the same pro-slavery as itself, and need-that he does not seek the downfall of churches as ed similar rebuke and exposure. After action of this such, but only the reformation of their abuses. We should rejoice to be assured that the pioneer cham-pion of the anti-slavery cause in America does recognize those churches which are anti-slavery, as want of principle existing in the Church, the Church is God's institutions, but we do not remember ever found it needful to adopt defensive measures. The have seen any distinct avowal of such a sentiment from his pen. The language used by him in that to have seen any distinct avowal of such a sentiment from his pen. The language used by him, in the passage quoted above, and others which might be referred to, certainly conveys the idea that he is opposed to the existence of churches as such. It is not enough to say that Mr. Garrison's letter is eminently religious and reverential towards God; many persons would avow a general belief in religion, and a reverence for the Author of Christianity, who still reject the institutions of the New Testament, and are far from taking the Bible as the inscired and infallible guide of hymner conduct. spired and infallible guide of human conduct. We matter in their vicinity, take away that aliment which must have a more distinct avowal than is contained else would have conducted the great conflagration to in the above, before we can put any other construc-tion upon the passage quoted from Mr. Garrison, than the one we have already given.—Am. Baptist.

their very doors—thus seeming to help that which it pro-slavery course, and in past years, in pursuing their very doors—thus seeming to help that which it pro-slavery course, and increase they are now unanimous, in past years, in pursuing their very doors—thus seeming to help that which it pro-slavery course, and increase they are now unanimous, in past years, in pursuing their very doors—thus seeming to help that which it pro-slavery course, and increase they are now unanimous, in past years, in pursuing their very doors—thus seeming to help that which it pro-slavery course, and increase they are now unanimous, in past years, in pursuing their very doors—thus seeming to help that which it pro-slavery course, and increase they are now unanimous, in past years, in pursuing their very doors—thus seeming to help that which it pro-slavery course, and in past years, in pursuing the past years, in past years, in pursuing the past years, in past years, in pursuing the past years, in past years, in

REMARKS. If this cavil had been made by the New York Observer, we should not have been greatly surprised; but to see it in a paper so generally faithful on the subject of slavery as the American Baptist to make us 'an offender for a word,' by one whose sectarianism is paramount to his anti-slavery zeal. The Standard correctly interprets the language and scope of the sentence objected to in our letter; but, it seems, the Baptist critic is not satisfied, and demands of us 'a more distinct avowal.' How to be more explicit, we do not know. He does not deny what we assert, but runs off upon another issue, and wishes to know what we think of 'anti-slavery churches'! We said- American slavery is upheld by two mighty props-Church and State, religion and government -i. e., the religion and government of this nation, as interpreted and executed-not religion or government per se. Does the American Baptist call in question the truthfulness of our statement? No-nor will it venture to do so. 'When these are overthrown,' we added, (of course, by the substitution of that kingdom whose officers are peace, and whose exactors are righteousness-and of that church against which the gates of hell shall not prevail-or by a revolution in public sentiment,) 'that foul system shall fall to rise no more.' Will our Baptist interrogator pronounce this heretical? What is his motive in raising this false issue? He admits that our letter is 'eminently religious and reverential towards God,' and yet treats it as though it were highly irreligious!

As for those churches which are anti-slavery, when or where have we failed to recognize them gladly, or to do them full justice? How, as abolition ists, can we have any controversy with such?

But we are challenged to declare whether we recognize them 'as God's institutions.' In connection with the Anti-Slavery cause, the question is an extraneous one, which we are under no obligation to answer. Enough that we rejoice to see them true to those in bonds. No other issue is lawful, or in good faith, on the Anti-Slavery platform. But, waiving this-and speaking now, not as an abolitionist, but as an independent thinker-if our questioner wishes to know whether we regard any outward organizations. church or otherwise, however anti-slavery, as God's nitely. institutions,' we answer, No-ten thousand times, NO ! In an article entitled 'What should be done,' (Dec. We are not 'opposed to their existence as such'; but when they lay claim to special sanctity, insist upon connection with them as a religious duty, and profess to be divinely instituted, -or are clearly hostile to human development and progress,—then we go for their extirpation as speedily as possible, as animated by the spirit and guilty of the imposture of Rome herself.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

The Anti-Slavery Bazaar was opened in this city vesterday, with its usual display of beautiful, attractive and useful articles, at the Hall in Winter Street, No. 15. No other Bazaar, comparable to it, whether in regard to the abundance and variety of its goods, or to the grandeur and importance of the cause which it seeks to promote, is held annually in any part of the country. Who that would bring the reign of a desperate slave oligarchy to a speedy end, or check the usurpations of a most lawless administration, or hasten the day of universal emancipation, will not visit it personally, or send to it by proxy, to expend the last farthing he can readily command, in purchasing gifts for Christmas and New Year, or articles for usehold use? The Anti-Slavery treasury is not only empty, but the potent moral agencies on which the cause of freedom relies for its defence and triumph form no party combinations against these men, in must be measurably suspended, if the receipts of this whom it admits that its own confidence has been sha-Bazaar are allowed to be essentially diminished at this ken, and who are now grossly and doubly perverting time. If the Catholic Orphan Fair, recently held in the funds entrusted to them: 3. That the New Engthis city, could raise the sum of ten thousand dollars, in spite of the ' hard times,' for an object limited and local, though beneficent, how many thousands ought the Anti-Slavery Bazaar to realize, having for its aim Society, thus qualifying them to vote in it. [Note, the deliverance of four millions of God's imbruted children, the eternal overthrow of the remorseless Slave Power, and the rescue of the whole country side Adams, recognizing him as a Christian, and as a from impending destruction? Reader, do what in worthy minister of Christ.] 4. That the members of you lies to make up a cheering aggregate!

UNITARIAN PROSCRIPTION.

one which boasts itself the most of its liberality, we wring, that we quote it, as follows :trust the writer will pardon our use of his modest It is all-important to leave to the Committee

though in the minority, have triumphed. In three months my connection closes with this Society. Then institution too will end the chapter of my regular ministry. I can hire myself no longer, for any given period, to preach the theology or morals of any sect or church. While earning for myself the bread of daily life as I best can, I shall avail myself of those spheres of usefulness in which I can labor for the cause of truth and humanity.

I remain, yours truly, R. HASSALL

The Journal of Commerce correctly apprehends the function of the Liberator towards itself, and can-didly calls it the Lie-berater.'

Indefinitely Postponed.—The Senate of the State of posed of the report and resolutions in favor of re-

THE APPROACHING CONTEST IN THE TRACT SOCIETY.

The abolitionists long ago proved the Church t be the great bulwark of slavery. In preparing the way of the Lord in that direction, it became their duty to publish to the world this characteristic of the Church; and their converts within that body, by a faithful agitation for its reform, brought out before the eyes of men much additional evidence of its con ruption. One of the most useful acts in the life of the late James G. Birney was the publication of th able tract, entitled 'The American Church the Bulwark of Slavery,' in which he echoed, and illustrated by new evidence, the truth which Garrison had already told on that subject, bringing it, by favor of hi social and ecclesiastical position, before a new and en-larged audience. It may be mentioned here that, in its obituary notice, just published, of Mr. Birney, the Independent, with characteristic disingenuousness, has omitted all mention of this important fact in his Anti-Slavery career.

The abolitionists soon found that the great repre-

sentative bodies, through which the Church carried

on its more extended operations of proselytism, were sort had been taken, and continued long enough to enlighten 'the world,' to some extent, in regard to the when they have carried the new fire far enough to stop the progress of the old, they trample it out with their feet, as having accomplished its whole purpose. those unfaithful servants at the next meeting, and In this manner, when the delinquencies of the should know, by thorough previous inquiry, when Church and its pro-slavery Societies had been revealhas been, leads us to suspect that an occasion is sought ed beyond the power of further concealment, some members of them seemed to join the remonstrants without, in demanding a reform. But in every such case, it has now become plain that these movements were made in the interest of the delinquent bodies, and not of the reform demanded. The evidence of this has come out most fully and conclusively in the case of the Tract Society.

Our readers well know the past history of this body, and the exceeding skill with which the leaders of its protesting minority have trimmed between the Scylla of entire acquiescence in its pro-slavery position, and the Charybdis of such thorough reform as must necessarily divide, in order to purify it. In the fact of their shrinking from this ultimate division, and preferring to it the continued triumph of slavery in the Tract Society, -as well as in the ineffective, compromising manner in which they have carried on the whole [contest,-we see that even the heads of this remonstrating minority are far more desirous to help the Tract Society than the slave; and that if Thompson, Cheever and Beecher could get that Society out of a directly pro-slavery position, and out of the evil repute thence arising, they would willingly pledge themselves never to call upon it for antislavery action, or even for the purgation of its government from pro-slavery men like South-side Ad-

The Independent, after an attack on the pro-slavery attitude of the Tract Society so vigorous as really to awaken and alarm that quiescent body, and so promptly echoed by other members of the 'religious press' as to show that it might, if it would, have pressed forward to complete success, first slackened the fervor of its appeals, seemingly desirous to pause and count the cost once more; and has now thrown out overtures towards a reconciliation, plainly inviting compromise from the other side, implying its own willingness to split the difference' between them, and declaring its readiness to allow the Executive power to remain where it now is, for another year, and perhaps indefi-

Executive Committee has been shaken, and yet, in reply to letters of inquiry respecting a plan of operations for the future, it gives the following suggestions, the carrying out of which could hardly fail to reestablish the influence and control of that Committee for an indefinite period, and would certainly lose the ground gained by the agitations of the past three years mong the quasi reformatory church members.

Negatively, the Independent discountenances, 1. The organization of a movement in the Tract Society against its unfaithful Executive officers : 2. The withholding of funds from the Society, even while those funds are used to print and distribute pro-slavery circulars: 3. The withdrawal of members from the Society, either to form a new one, or to concentrate their means upon some unobjectionable one already in existence, as, for instance, (it says,) those at Boston and Cincinnati-thus incidentally naming the pro-slavery Boston Society as equally trustworthy with the really anti-slavery ' Reform Tract and Book Society ' at Cincinnati.

Positively, the Independent advises, 1. To leave the management of the Society and its funds in the hands of the present Executive Committee: 2. To land churches not only put their large annual contributions into the hands of these mismanagers, but make their ministers and deacons life-members of the that every one of these ministers and deacons is in ecclesiastical communion and fellowship with Souththe Society, looking well to their duties and rights at the next annual meeting, should perform the first by avoiding controversy, and secure the second by leav-Though the following was not written for publica- ing all further action to the Executive Committee tion, vet, as it helps to show the true character of our The language in which this last suicidal movement is sectarian religious (!) bodies, and especially of that urged is so choice a specimen of sophistical manou

statement of his own case. This adds another to a attitude of controversy and disorganization which they long catalogue of cases of similar proscription of men behalf of suffering men.—M.

HAVERHILL, Dec. 8, 1857.

Bro. May: I am voted out of this Unitarian pulpit at last. The opponents of free thought and speech, leave to the Committee all attempts to violate the same society and to leave to the Committee all attempts to violate the same leave to the Committee all attempts to violate the same leave to the Committee all attempts to violate the same leave to the Committee all attempts to violate the same society. leave to the Committee all attempts to violate the sa cred compact, and to dismember this now harmonic

> 'This now harmonious institution,' forsooth ! Doe the present position of the Tract Society really illustrate Dr. Thompson's idea of harmony?

The Independent craftily bases this counsel for escence instead of agitation, among those who desire reform in the Tract Society, upon the pretended supposition of an openly aggressive movement against them, by the Committee, at the annual meeting The Independent knows perfectly well that the strength of the Committee is to sit still; that their policy to win, like Fabius, by delay'; and that their cours at the annual meeting will be to sit passive, with the innocent aspect of lambs, consciously awaiting the sa South Carolina, on the 8th inst. without debate, dis- crifice. The safety of the Committee lies, first, in the good will of a majority of the Society to sustain the opening the slave trade, by indefinite postponement. | whole past, as well as their present course; and, next,

in their power of exciting sympathy among the other party by the iteration of pious phrases. So they all party by the iteration, what could we do? The roue o Christ constrained us! Tens, yea, hundreds of the sands of perishing souls in the South, crying to us jer sands of personny some in the bount, crying to us in reach of our operations by the action you desired and your Investigating Committee itself enjoined a and your Investigating Committee used enjoined to regard the scidest and best usefulness of the Soci ety THROUGHOUT OUR WHOLE COUNTRY. What e's could we have done, under this crushing weight of responsibility, and in view of our solemn final

This sort of talk is still found as effective to blind the eyes of men as if Jesus had never exposed the use lessness of repetitions of 'Lord, Lord! agement' of the Tract Society have often gained the point by means of the associations awakened by such point by means of the phrases, and they will do it many times more, though they could hardly succeed in it this time, and under the present circumstances, without the treachers complicity of the Independent.

For every honest remonstrant against the profign course of the Tract Society, AGITATION nov. 14 up to the time of the annual meeting, and through its sessions, is the one thing needful. When a let has become corrupt, or fallen under a control when perverts it from its legitimate purpose, the motta of those who would reform it should be, First pure THEN peaceable! Silence, quiescence, acquisecen inaction, all leave the mischief to grow and flours Discord and contention, in such a body, are the indispensable pre-requisites to reform. And if the man who counsels peace and quietness in such circumstances be not obviously a fool, we may well suspect him to be a knave.

Next in importance to agitation is pre-organization a thorough understanding, among all who seek reform in the Tract Society, of what new measures and ner men they should unite upon at the next annual meet ing. Since the whole government of the Societ have been unanimous, in past years, in pursuing those remonstrants should have plans carefully ma tured, beforehand, for the discharge of every one of trustworthy men would accept those positions, and thus be able unanimously to choose them when the time of election arrives. But it is just this action, indispensable to any effective reform, which the Ind. pendent opposes, and stigmatizes as 'sectional strike - partizan combination - disorganization - and 'dismemberment of a now harmonious institution.' The remonstrants, whose purpose of obtaining the

publication of tracts against slavery has been thus far foiled-mainly through the unfaithfulness of Dr. Thompson, and his associate leaders, in not nominating a new board of officers at the late annual meeting, to receive the votes of those who really wished for no form-are now writing letters, making inquirie asking instructions what to do at the next annual meeting, that their labors may not again be wasted, a on the last anniversary. Wonderful to tell, they no sort to the Independent for this information, in spite of their past experience. The Independent gives then counsel, the following of which, as a moment's reflection must show, will squander ineffectually all the momentum, and command on the public attention. which they have hitherto gained. It urges them to let that meeting pass by 'without controversy'though nothing but controversy can reverse the proent disgraceful attitude of the Society; it speaks of the errors, or even, if you please, the perverseness of the yearly Executive' as a matter of small cons quence, though well knowing that the annual elections are in fact merely a form and a farce, and that these officers are, practically, elected for life, and moreover that, while they remain, no essential change of policy will be put in practice, however decidedly ordered; it shows its own want of principle in regul to the demanded change, by saving that the Executive Committee should have published the pro-slaver tract (which they had already printed) on the Duties of Masters,' and that 'That book would have fairly interpreted the action of last May'; and that it is a volume of evangelical instruction; and its whole counsel seems designed to allay excitement, to postpone action, and to persuade these honest inquires to

rest while the enemy are working. If, with the obvious results of following this ruinous counsel before them, the remonstrant members the Tract Society leave their cause in the hands of the conductors of the Independent, and take, before the meeting, none of those measures which are indispensable to effective action at the meeting, and thus lose, for at least another year, the benefits of reform in that Society-what shall be said of them? Must not the explanation of such conduct be found in a dishonesty among the followers, such as we have heretefore proved to exist among the leaders! If even the better portion of the members of the Tract Society quit the vantage-ground they have now gained, and subside into a renewed support of its unchristian and inhuman policy, we shall have yet more evidence of the truth, that the Church corrupts those whom she influences, and that the Sadducee and the Publican are likely to be depraved instead of purified by joining her. -c. K. W.

THE SLAVE BETTY.

Our 'Refuge of Oppression,' last week, contained an article from the Boston Courier, in reference to the woman above named, who, it will be remembered, declined to accept the freedom offered her by the laws of Massachusetts, and returned, for reasons which no doubt seemed to her sufficient, with her master to Tennessee, throwing away what will probably be her

last chance of escape from slavery. The Courier graciously admits that those who advised the young woman to claim her liberty were well-meaning persons; and though quite unable to comprehend by what principles of morality they were actuated, it expressly refrains from charging them with either falsehood or perjury, and merely intimates that they tried to induce Betty to desert her husband and abandon her children, thus seeking to break the marriage tie, to inflict on Betty's husband and children the most cruel of the evils of slavery, and to rob them of wife and mother.

We will imitate the liberal spirit of the Courier by making no charge against it of burglary or arsen in this case; but it cannot be so easily acquitted of sttempting grossly to mislead its readers, by the implication, which runs through the whole article, that marriage does belong to slaves, in law and in fat; that its rights are actually respected by the slave less and the slaveholders; and that Betty, by returning to slavery, has insured the continued possessin of her husband (so called) and her children, and of her can jugal and parental rights in them, until death shall part them. The Courier knows perfectly well that every item of this implication is false; and that the representations of an opposite character in 'popular anti-alayery novels' (to which it makes disparaging reference) are true; and it fortunately unmasks is own attempted deception by an incidental expressed in the pretended parallel between the positions of servant to an English lord and slave to a Southern despot

Suppose an English Lord and Lady were travelling together in this country, the latter accompanied by a female servant, who had left a husband and chis dren at home. She has been brought up with he mistress, and is attached to her, and wishes for nothing, when the journey is over, but to go home to he husband and children in England. Some realous Republicans get about her; tell her that monarchied government is another name for tyranny; that the English systems are the post; English aristocracy are cruel oppressors of the poet and exert themselves to the utmost to induce the Reglish mother and wife to abandon her husband and children, and remain in America. What would and children, and remain in America. What would be thought of the kindness—what would be thought of the morality of this transaction? And yet the case is not so strong as Betty's. The English woman's husband would find no legal difficulty in rejoining her in this country; poor Betty's husband would encounter the greatest difficulty in making his escape to join her, to say nothing of their children.

·His escape '! Indeed? Then Betty's husband i under-restraint! Having committed no crime, he is yet under the power of some one who is able and disposed to prevent him from joining his wife, when the care of her health requires that she should take up her residence in another State! Here, then, in the very case in which the Courier has been uttering the above calumnies, it is a slaveholder, not an abolitionist, who interferes with the sacred bond, of marriage, and separates husband from wife!

. But why talk of the separation which would have resulted if Betty had taken her freedom? This hushand and wife were already separated, and had been separated for months, by a power quite irrespective of their wishes or their rights. Who supposes that Betty was asked whether she was willing to leave her husband and children, and go to spend the summer at the North, without even the possibility of a letter passing between them to inform her of his continued health, or him when to expect her home? Who supposes that Betty's husband was asked whether he wa silling to lose the aid and solace of his wife's society for an indefinite period, that somebody else might have her to take care of somebody else's children. while his and her children were deprived of their mother? They were already compulsorily separated by the act of a slaveholder, the very person whom the Courier falsely asserts to have given Betty 'a comfortable home.

But let us look at this comfortable home, and see if even while Betty was living in Tennessee, she was living with her husband. Betty was living in the house, not of her husband, but her master. This master owned Betty, according to the theory which the Courier is doing its utmost to support. He required and compelled certain services from her, quite irrespective of whether her duties to her husband and children were performed or not. Even after the daily duties required by her owner are done, it does not follow, as a matter of course, that she can use the remainder of the day in enjoying her husband's socie-ty, or ministering tooms necessities; still less that she can spend the night in his hut, with the temporary comfort of feeling herself at home. She must obtain permission from her owner to go and see her husband. She must ask for a 'pass.' If he has nothing more for her to do, and does not want her society just then for himself, and is in a good humor, he will probably grant it. But it is always in his power to refuse it And this is the 'comfortable home,' and this 'the marriage tie' which the Courier is so anxious to preserve to Betty.

Let us see now how it is with Betty's husband He too is 'owned' by some one, whose claim upor him is stronger than his duties to his wife and children. His home is perhaps a street's length, perhaps five miles, distant from his wife's home. He also has the opportunity of asking leave, from his owner, to go to see his wife, after having spent the laboring hours of the day in something by which she is not at all to be benefitted. In free and Christian countries, the toil of the laborer is sweetened by the thought that its wages will promote the comfort and the welfare of his wife. Betty's husband cannot work at all for her, except he does so by abridging the ordinary and needful hours of rest.

What is the relation of Betty's husband to the children which are certainly hers, and which he thinks and hopes are his !-though of this such a person, in such circumstances, can never be sure. They belong, as matters of property, control and disposal, to Betty's owner, and, until he pleases to sell them, Betty's husband can have the privilege of seeing them whenever he is lucky enough, after the day's work, to get a 'pass' from his owner; but he has not one of a father's rights in them. He cannot control or regulate one of their movements. He can neither surround them with good, nor seclude them from evil influences. He cannot bring them up in the way they should go, nor teach them either the fear or love of the Lord, nor send them to school, nor teach them at home, nor prevent any excess of brutality with which their owner, or any member of his family, may choose to treat them. This is the family relation which the Courier is so anxious to preserve. And even this of either owner, at any moment, to sell either chattel.

It appears, then, that the conjugal relation (so called) of Betty and her (so called) husband is entirely dependent, both for its continued existence, and for the allowance of each part and function included in it, upon the pleasure, perhaps the caprice, of two other persons. And this miserable relation is what the Courier wishes to have retained, and dares to designate as marriage.

But, whatever were the limitations which circum scribed Betty's relation to her husband, it is plain that she loved him and her children, and made the fearful sacrifice of deciding to return to a slave State for their sakes: for even the Courier has not the impudence to ascribe this decision to any regard for the slaveholder under whose power she had fallen, or any admission, on-her part, of his right to control her movements. It is plain, we admit, that she valued such fragments as were left to her of the relation of wife and mother, and we will now look at the charge made by the Courier, that the abolitionists wished her to disregard these; wished her to desert husband

and children. Poor woman! she has probably before this time learned, perhaps from the lips of her husband himself, that her return has destroyed almost the only chance of their yet living together in freedom and real mar-Singe. Whatever may be the difficulties of his escaping to join her in Massachusetts, with or without the children, they would be more than doubled by an attempt of the whole family to escape together now. If she had had the wisdom and firmness to seize the blesing of freedom while it was within her reach, she might have found means afterwards to communicate with her husband, and direct him where and how to join her. But her 'owner' will, no doubt, bear in mind the necessary ripening of that seed of truth which has now been implanted in her mind by the thelitionists, and will take care to prevent her from plucking and eating the fruit. It is now unlikely that they will have the chance of escape, even separately. By returning to slavery, she has not only subjected her futpre children to that miserable condition, but has put it out of her power to help her present children, or her husband. She cannot retain even what comfort in those relations still remains to her, a moment after some caprice in the head, or some deficithey in the purse of either master, induces him to send his 'property' to the auction-block or the slave-trader. She cannot avert from either husband or children, while she remains with them, any calamity or misfortune which may befal them. If she should see her son brutally beaten, or her daughter ravished, she is atterly powerless to protect them. We hear, now and then, of a white woman at the South being ravbled by a negro. These are exceptional cases. It is strange that they are not more frequent, in spite of the terrible vengeance that is sure to follow, when we remember that the wives and daughters of the oppressed class are ravished, as a matter of course, whenever slavery has left them virtue enough to refuse criminal policitations; and that the Southern churches have deliberately taken away the last hope that remained to the slave of averting such evils, by unanimously deciding that the testimony of slaves shall not be taken against white people in the church, any more

than in the courts of law. Thus the slave who suf-

wherever the whim of her 'owner' suggests. But those who represent to Betty the folly of again placing herself in that position, and subjecting her future children to it, fall under the displeasure of the Courier.

It is hard, under our infamous laws, and under the sway of the infamous Church which backs them up, to do any thing for an individual slave who yet remains in the house of bondage. But the thorough and hearty devotion of a life to one purpose may de much, even in a case so difficult. If Betty, taking her own freedom when it was offered, had thenceforth devoted herself to the task of rescuing her husband and children, she might have succeeded in it; it is even probable that she would have rescued one of these dear ones; and in the effort to do this, she would surely have awakened a sympathy and interest which would have become helpful in the rescue of many a husband, wife and child, and hastened the overthrow of the whole villanous slave system. Now that chance is gone, probably never to return; and the Courier blames those whose humanity and good principle offered it to Betty !- c. K. W.

AN OLD FRIEND WITH A NEW FACE. Every body has heard of the inexpediency of carrying coals to Newcastle.

In the minority report of that Committee of the House of Representatives of South Carolina, to which was committed so much of the Governor's message as proposed a revival of the slave trade, the above idea is expressed in different words, with particular application to the State of South Carolina, as follows:

'Resolved, That, in the opinion of this body, the introduction of barbarians, whether slave or free, from any part of the world, would be injurious to the best interests of the State of South Carolina.'

Unfortunately, the majority of the Committee had not intelligence enough to recognize this truth.

> OUR CAUSE IN NEW JERSEY. AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY'S ROOMS, NEW YORK, Dec. 5, 1857.

DEAR MR. GARRISON: For several years past, it has been deemed import ant that as soon as there might be a tolerable prospect of a hearing, the claims of the Anti-Slavery cause should be presented in the surroundings of New York city. It is comparatively but a brief period since any attempt at anti-slavery labor in this latitude was a signal for mobocratic violence. Later, with commercial influences greatly predominating, there has been little to encourage an appeal in behalf of the slave. In view of the sudden reverse in the currents of commercial prosperity, and, as a consequence, that the people have been somewhat humbled in spirit, it was in our judgment a favorable time to undertake an anti-slavery campaign in this field.

Newark were hopeful and encouraging beyond our most sanguine expectation. The audiences were large and intelligent, and for the most part listened with much apparent interest to the presentation of our them than in many a slave-driver we have seen vauntdoctrines. Newark has a population of about sixty thousand, and is indeed a beautiful city. It has very extensive manufacturing interests. At one time, it manufactured and exported a large number of slave whips for the Southern plantations, but that shameful branch of business, I believe, has been nearly if not altogether abandoned. The Rev. ANTOINETTE Brown Blackwell resides in Newark, and gave to our meeting a cordial welcome and most valuable co-operation, and as kindly extended to us the hospitaliare described in the pamphlet, are now in this city, operation, and as kindly extended to us the hospitalities of her home.

and thoughtful people, who gave us a very attentive hearing. Two additional meetings were to be held there to-morrow afternoon and evening, but are un-avoidably deferred till a future Sunday. Our friend ger, who are but ill-prepared for the inclemencies of a New England winter, after so many years residence uncompromising abolitionist, and a reader of THE LIBERATOR. We are much indebted for his aid in arranging for the meetings, and for the hospitality and kindness of himself and household.

I suppose there is no place in the country which feels more keenly than Paterson the present depres-nakes their position somewhat awkward, though they sion in business. Out of a population of twenty-five preserve the cheerfulness, under their privations, thousand, it is estimated that from eight to ten thousand, thrown out of employment, will require support or aid of the city government during the present win-ter. There are several extensive establishments for commend these strangers in a strange land to the kind the mannufacture of railroad locomotives. I visited one in which are employed ordinarily about twelve hundred men, and now not more than one hundred, and, as I was informed, nearly all the numerous manpfacturing establishments of the place are in a similar condition. An early return of business activity is earnestly prayed for.

Next week, we are to visit Boonton and Morristown, and subsequently Bloomfield, Orange, Plaintield, and other towns in New Jersey.

We have been assisted in our meetings by Rev. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL, SYDNEY HOWARD LAND JOHNSON, and Dr. E. D. HUDSON.

My health, though much improved, is not as good as I could desire, and I greatly regret the necessity for increased care in my movements.

AARON M. POWELL.

THE REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING .- Among the press says : most prominent subjects to come before the incoming State Legislature, is the removal of Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate for Suf-folk County, which office he continues to hold, in defince of the laws of the Commonwealth, while, at the same time, adhering to his commission under the national government, authorizing him to act as agent in enforcing the infamous Fugitive Slave Act, against the moral sentiment of the people of the Common-

We are glad to learn that blank petitions, in large numbers, have been sent to every section of the State, numbers, have been sent to every section of the State, into every city and nearly every town, to be filled out by the appendage to them of the names of all, without distinction of party, who would like to see preserved intact the fair fame of the Commonwealth, which is now tarnished by the participation of one of her responsible agents in the disreputable business of slave catching. If that business must be participated in by any citizen of Massachusetts, let it be done by some one who holds no position at her hands. Then the stigma, necessarily attendant upon the transacthe stigma, necessarily attendant upon the transac-tion, will none of it attach to the Commonwealth.

It is indispensable that the petitions should be filled out and sent into head-quarters, in Boston, ready for presentation to the Legislature, early in January, in

order to secure seasonable action thereupon.

We trust that this year the voice of the people already so fully manifested by two Legislatures, will not be again thwarted through the unwillingness of the Executive to carry out that clearly and decidedly expressed will of the people of the Commonwealth, on this important matter.—Worcester Spy.

The will of the late George Washington Parke Custis was admitted to probate at the December term of the Alexandria County (Virginia) Court, and by it he directs that all of his slaves, some three hundred in number, be emancipated within five years, leaving it to his executors to provide funds for removing then from the Commonwealth. These slaves are mostly directly descended from those left to his grandmother by her second husband, George Washington. The families at 'Arlington' (his estate across the river from this city) are mulattos, some of them very light, but those on his lower Virginia plantation are black enough. Several of the Arlington slaves have, within a few years past, gone North by the underground line. 'Let'em go,' he used to say, 'a slave that will run away is not worth having.'

fers this outrage from a master who is a member of Baker Woodruff, of Louisiana, lately decease by his will liberated all his slaves, numbering about sixty, and left instructions that they should be conveyed to Pennsylvania, and prevision made for them for one year. Conscience is at work at the South. the same church with herself, even if he be the minister of that church, can obtain from it neither redress for herself nor censure for him. She is a moveable, a piece of furniture, and must submit to be moved

MEETINGS AT PITTSBURGH AND NEW BRIGHTON.

Mr. and Miss Remond, on their way home, held a meeting in New Brighton, also, one in Pittsburgh. The following account of the meeting at the former place we copy from the New Brighton Times:

place we copy from the New Brighton Times:

CHABLES LENOX REMOND. This talented colored gentleman addressed a large audience in the public School Hall in this place, on Tuesday evening last. His theme was, 'Prejudice against Color.' He chdeavored to show that it was of slaveholding, American origin—not having encountered anything of its unrighteous spirit during a two years' tour through Europe—not even in the highest social circles—in the society of such personages as Douglas Jerrold, Amelia Opic, Lady Byron, and others not less distinguished. But, on the contrary, he was treated by them with every mark of consideration and respect—as a man might expect to be treated by any one imbibing the spirit of the noble-hearted Bobby Burns, as expressed in these lines:—

What though on homely fare we dine, Wear hodden gray and a' that; Gie fools their silks and knaves their wine—

A man's a man for a' that; For a' that and a' that, Their tinsel show and a' that, The honest man, though e'er so poor, Is king o' men, for a' that.'

When the world shall learn that 'mind makes the man '—that goodness, moral worth, and integrity of soul, are the true tests of character, then prejudice against caste and color will cease to be.

The speaker claimed that this spirit was diffused and, made popular in the free Section 1.

made popular in the free States at the bidding of the slaveholder, as a means of strengthening the 'pecu-liar institution'; and that he (the slaveholder) had as much contempt for the white free laborers of the North as the latter could possibly have for the slave. The unscrupulous tyranny practised upon them in Kansas showed this. He called upon the opponents of slavery to use their influence against this unjust, un-Christian and unnatural spirit—for he claimed that it was unnatural, and ably sustained his position. As a speaker, he is calm, deliberate, and self-poised, and, at times, very earnest and eloquent. He is an intrepid champion for the rights of his race, whose in-

intrepid champion for the rights of his race, whose influence must be felt.

At the conclusion, this gentleman's sister—Miss Remond—made an eloquent appeal in behalf of her enslaved countrymen—placing her hope and trust in the God of Freedom, and in the prevalence of those eternal principles of justice and truth which will ultimately triumph, and right all wrongs.

At Pittsburgh, Lafayette Hall was procured, one of the best in the city. A correspondent, speaking of the best in the city. A correspondent, speaking of the meeting, says. 'It was altogether better than I expected. The Remonds acquitted themselves admirably. All present were highly pleased. Charles is certainly an admirable speaker, and the meeting, though not so large as could have been wished, will Much of the success of this meeting is to be attrib

uted to E. H. Irish, Esq., who kindly assumed the responsibility of making the necessary preparations. The Pittsburgh Gazette, speaking of the meeting,

Last evening, a large and attentive audience listen The work, under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, has been satisfactorily commenced by a series of meetings held in the cities of Newark and Paterson, N. J. The meetings held in Newark were hopeful and encouraging beyond our no rights which white men are bound to respect, spoke so well, so feelingly, so to the purpose, that we felt that there was much more that seemed human in ing his power and his prowess over women and chil-

Remond and his sister are on their way homeward, after a tour through Ohio and Michigan

THE FRENCH EXILES-ESCAPE FROM CAYENNE. The very interesting narrative of Mr. Leon Chautard, recently published in the Register, has been issued in a neat pamphlet of 63 pages from the Observer press, and will be sold for 25 cents each. The three ready and willing to accept of any honest employ ties of her home.

We had at Paterson good-sized audiences, (though not so large as at Newark,) composed of intelligent and thoughtful people, who gave us a very attentive conveniently spare a small sum, because they will at the same time obtain a history of personal wrong and suffering, illustrating the fact that truth is often stran-

in a tropical climate.

Mr. Chautard, the writer of the narrative, is a very intelligent gentleman, a penman of unusual neatness and excellence, and has a good acquaintance with the English language. He has been separated from his family for nine years. His companions in misfortune, Paon and Biyors, do not speak English yet, which which is characteristic of their countrymen. Bivors has suffered from an affection of the lungs, contracted during his exile, and is far from well now, although

consideration of the benevolent. \*
We shall be happy to supply any of our readers who may wish to purchase, and who may not procure them elsewhere, with copies of the pamphlet, for the benefit of the French Exiles .- Salem Register.

This highly interesting and affecting narrative s for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, for the benefit of these unfortunate refugees, and we beseech as many as can to buy it.

REMOVAL OF SECRETARY STANTON. We have startling news from Washington with reference to Kansas. Secretary Stanton, in accordance with the well known convictions which he shares with Gov. Walker, hav-GAY, OLIVER JOHNSON, and PHILIP D. MOORE, who ing acceded at last to the almost unanimous prayers also assured of occasional aid from Lucy Stone, Rowing.) in order to give legal shape to the general re-sistance to the bogus convention, its constitution, and Calhoun regency, Mr. Buchanan on Wednesday scat to the Senate an executive message, removing Stanton, and appointing Gen. J. W. Denver (Commissioner of Indian Affairs) Secretary of Kansas in his stead!

The Washington correspondent of the New York Ex-

The President's removal of Acting-Governor Stan ton is too late. Stanton has convoked the legally elected Legislature for Dec. 7. His removal cannot clected Legislature for Dec. 7. His removal cannot reach him, even by telegraph, before the 13th or 14th. Hence the legal Legislature will be in session before the removal reaches the Acting-Governor, and when that Legislature is once in session, it will have legal power to act. Being Free State, it will but little respect the Calhoun snap-judgment Government.

The Calhoun election does not come off until Dec. 21, when the Free State Legislature will have been feartened days in session.

fourteen days in session.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES IN NEW YORK. We are rejoiced to learn from the Anti-Slavery Standard, that Miss Susan B. Anthony and Aaron M. Powell, Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, have com-menced a course of anti-slavery labors in the vicinity of New York city. Miss Anthony and Miss Powell are to be nided by the occasional labors of Mrs. Lucy Stone, Mrs. Antionette Brown Blackwell, Mr. Rowland Johnson, and the Editors of the Anti-Slavery Standard-Sydney Howard Gay and Oliver Johnson Such an array of talent and energy cannot fail to tell effectively upon the public sentiment of any commu-nity.—Bugle.

LAWRENCE, (K. T.) Nov. 19, 1857. Jenkins, the orator of the late bogus Convention died at Lecompton, this morning, of delirium tremens Poor Jenkins! with all his faults, he had some good qualities. Ultra pro-slavery, he was at least candid and consistent. He was born and reared in South Carolina, and probably never realized the blessed boon of human liberty, or that the 'government of the people' meant more than their right to have slaves.

DEATH OF WM. H. Torp. Most of our citizens knew and respected Mr. Torp. Although of the proscribed colored race, by his industry, enterprise, taste, intelligence and manly deportment, he had acquired a handsome property, and the confidence and friendship of all who knew him. He has, for several years, been sinking under the enervating influence of consumption; and that disease terminated fatally last night. Mr. Torp leaves a family and a good name behind him. He will be missed by the poor of his race and by the fleeing fugitives from slavery.—Alrace, and by the fleeing fugitives from slavery .- Al-

To Rev. John Pierpont has entered into conjugal relations with Mrs. Fowler, daughter of the late Ar-chibald Campbell, of Campbellville, N. Y. Mr. P. is

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR,

IS NOW OPEN AT 15 WINTER ST.

The Exhibition was never so exquisite in its artistic features, or so attractive in its choice selection of pe tits objets for the drawing-room, the toilette, the boudoir, the library, IF a vast proportion of which are

The admirable little gallery of photography, en graving and English water colors, merits study. There are, besides many fine architectural pieces of other countries, fifty-eight fine photographs of the MONUMENTS OF ROME, by MACPHERSON, the distinguished European artist, unsurpassed in ability and sources, accompanied with descriptive manuscript text by Mrs. Jameson. There are gight engravings of frescoes in the Sistine Chapel; representations of personages in the life of Moses and the Saviour, by Botticelli, Luca Signorelli, Roselli, Perugino, and Ghirlandajo. These are really admirable as works of art. Four engravings after Raphael, from the Camera della Segnatura, at the VATICAN. Two water-color drawings of St. Peter and St. Paul, by M. Soulacroix, a French artist of reputation. (The originals were destroyed under Paul IV.) Roman Bronze Inkstands. after Benevenuto Cellini-Ariosto's-the Temple of again to recommend to the Governor and Council, the the Sun-the tomb of Cecilia Metella. A beautiful bronze copy of a Pompejan lamp, and a most elegant, exact copy of an ancient Etruscan one, A bronze ring-stand - the original at Pompeil. A bronze bell-a copy of the bell of St. Peters. THIRTY-ONE presse papier Marbles (antique) found on the Via Appia-precious because no longer to be found, the very quarries being lost. They were found, and are given and authenticated by the Anna AULAMER, a virtuoso of profound research and rares taste and acquirement. A small Bronze Jupiter (the original antique.) Small bas reliefs of Pius IX. Sets of Roman Pearls, Bracelets and Pins for Coiffure, Scotch Mosaic Studs. A series of Sulphur Medals for Numismatic Students, Imitation Coral, Beautiful and fashionable Roman Scarves, large and small.

Photographs from the old masters, by the first French artists-from Palma Vecchio, Raphael, Paul Veronese, Correggio, and many others, among which may be mentioned the Vow of the Concini. Fine photographs of BERANGER, with two heads of the pas- show : tor ADOLPHE MONOD, perfect resemblances, with heads of Hugh Miller, Dr. Livingston, and many others. English water-color Landscapes. A portfolio just received of extraordinary inspiration—all by admired artists, sketched among Lake scenes and on the German Ocean, and made desirable by associations with distinguished individuals. An admirable copy, in oil, of the Infant Shepherdess, by Greuze, just received for this year's Bazaar. Charming etchings on Doyleys of Lake Scenery.

An exquisite selection of FLORENTINE MARBLES, o pure classic taste. Tazzas and Vases, carved in basso relievo. Warwick Vase in yerde-antique, Sarcophagi, Models of the Monuments of FLORENCE and PISA. Agate and Alabaster Flower-Stands. Statuettes of carved Alabaster and of white and tinted Biscuit, illustrating the Middle Ages, -the Falconers, -Knight and Lady,-the Red-cross Knight, Royalty, the Esmeralda of Victor Hugo, Uncle Tiff, by Eugene Barham. 'The Venus de' Medici and the Venus of

French Ebenisterie d'Art, in small pieces of boudoir and salon furniture. Ladies' lace toilettes. Choice Savres Porcelaine. The beautiful Dumfermline Table Linen-the identical web exhibited in Paris. A new and most beautiful style of boudoir chair-cover, of muslin and lace, brilliantly and delicately tamboured. The richest and heaviest Affghan blankets and silk patchwork for bed, table, chair and sofa covers. The splendid Halifax sofa-rugs, of the great Crossley from our immediate circle, as a dearly beloved person-Works. Every description of Berlin wool work of al friend. Yours, with sincere regard, rarest beauty. Every possible form of cotton and woollen crochet work. Black velvet brilliantly and artistically embroidered, perfumed Sachets and Cushions, Tabourets and Footstools. Bead-work, of a multitude of patterns, for household ornament and use. Children's Dresses. Ladies' dress patterns.

An admirable selection of the Mauchline clan Tar-Etruscan vases.

&c., which would afford most useful hints for private Theatricals or Bals costumes. THE BOOK TABLE will be supplied with every va-

riety of DE LA RUE'S beautiful ladies' writing materials, for elegant gentlemen's Christmas and New Year's presents. Every variety of the choicest Sheffield cutlery,-penknives, scissors, carvers,-of the finest ever sent to this country. Stereoscopic views. Views of Scotland, Westmoreland, the Holy Land. The Nursery Sketch Book, the Nursery Music Book. Tales by MARY Howirr. The (British) Christian Annual. Penn's 'No Cross no Crown,' Armistead's Negro's Me morial. Uncle Tom - Scotch edition. The Two Altars, in miniature form. A collection of English tales, not yet republished in this country. Eight volumes of Handel's Oratorios-very valuable edition Valuable Autographs-a list will be published here after. The slaveholding Bible and Book of Common Prayer, Lippincott's Philadelphia edition, published under the sanction of the Bishops. New Music. A new edition of 'The flying trunk.'

The true American Gift Book of the Season, THE LIBERTY BELL, will be published on the opening morning, in a fresh style of binding, and containing articles from the American statesman, jurist and literateur, the English poet, and French savant and philosopher,-all commending righteous Liberty to the

Wax Dolls, beautifully dressed, and named after their donors.

There will be a most attractive Tor TABLE, furnished with splendid Dolls, with an immense variety of Children's colored Picture-Books, by English Aunts and Grandmothers: and a REFRESHMENT TA-BLE, and for the latter, further supplies are entreated. MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, HELEN E. GARRISON, MARY MAY. MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, LOUISA LORING. HENRIETTA SARGENT. L. MARIA CRILD. Lypia D. PARKER. BLIZA LEE FOLLEN. ANN GREENE PRILLIPS, J. DE PEYSTER HOVET. FRANCES MARY ROBBINS, ANNA SHAW GREENE.

SPECIAL ADVERTISEMENT OF THE

BOOK TABLE, NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR, December 17, 15 Winter Street.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS. The Play-Fellow, by HAR HET MARTINEAU-comprising The Prince and the Peasant, Feats of the Fiord, The Crofton Boys, The Settlers at Home, all in separate volumes. Picture Books for Children: Aunt Mavor's Series; Mary Merry-Heart's Series; Little Stories of Many Howerr and Mrs. Sherwoon. Gilded miniature books. full bound. Gilt-edged miniature stories, among which are the following :- Many Calls; The Two Altars, by Mrs. Stown; Children's folio picture book; Imperishable Nursery Scrap Book; Do. Horn Book: Nursery Heroines of France; The Butterfly's Ball; History of our Pets; Tom Thumb's Alphabet Alphabet of Peace; Puss in Boots; The Lost Lamb.

The Christian Wreath-a beautifully illustrated annual; St. Werner's Chapel; The Tombs of Dumfermline; New Sacred Melodies; Faed's elegantly ilfermline; New Sacred Melodies; Faed's elegantly illustrated Tam o'Shanter; The Land of Robert Burns; with reliable advices in reference to Choice of Occupation, Health, Habits and Diet, Matrimonial Adaptation, Children—their management, Choice of Help, quette for Ladies; Biblical Gem; Tables of Criminal Clerks, &c., Self-Improvement in general. Statistics of England and Wales.

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representativ of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of this Commonwealth

espectfully represent—
That by a law passed May 21, 1855, by the Legis lature of Massachusetts, it was declared

'No person who holds any office under the laws of the United States, which qualifies him to issue any warrant or other process, or to grant any certificate under the acts of Congress named in the 9th section of this act, or to serve the same, shall, at the same time, hold any office of honor, trust or emolument under the laws of this Commonwealth.'

Your petitioners further represent-That in open defiance of this law, and of the vote of the people of Massachusetts, as expressed (without distinction of party) by the action of two separate Legislatures for his removal, but twice rendered inope-LEY LORING, while acting as a Commissioner of the United States, continues to hold the office of Judge of Probate for the county of Suffolk; thus setting an example of contumacy unbecoming a good citizen, and wantonly disregarding the moral convictions of the people of this State as pertaining to the enforcement of the odious Fugitive Slave Bill

They, therefore, earnestly pray the General Cour removal of the said EDWARD GREELEY LORING from the office of Judge of Probate; and thus enforce a wholesome law of the Commonwealth, which it is his declared purpose to disregard, and thereby vindicate the sovereignty of the people of this Commonwealth.

Here is a form of petition for such of the wo nen of Massachusetts to circulate and sign, as understand their rights, and mean to maintain them.

EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representative of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled :

Whereas, the women of the State of Massachu setts are disfranchised by the Constitution, solely on account of their sex-

We do, respectfully, demand for them the right of suffrage; a right which involves all other rights of citizenship, and one that cannot, justly, be withheld, as the following admitted principles of government

First. 'All men are born free and equal.' Second. 'Government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed.' Third. 'Taxation and representation are insepara-

We, the undersigned, therefore petition your honor-

able body to take the necessary steps for a revision of the Constitution, so that all citizens may enjoy equal political rights.

DEATH OF WILLIAM H. TOPP. - NEW YORK, Dec. 14, 1857. DEAR MR. GARRISON :

We have the painful intelligence of the death of our friend WILLIAM H. Topp, of Albany. After a season of severe physical suffering, he passed from this sphere of life on Friday evening, Dec. 11. He was a devoted philanthropist, a fond husband and parent, a beloved friend, a truly good and noble man. Few there are whose lives have been characterized by a more steadfast devotion to the interests of humanity,-especially to the well-being of the outraged American bondmen, and the nominally free, but persecuted and proscribed colored people of this country. But to you who knew him so well, any comment upon his character is unnecessary. He was in his fortyfifth year, and is thus early removed from a sphere of great usefulness,-but perhaps to one of still greater importance in his present abode. I mourn his loss

AARON M. POWELL.

This painful intelligence of the death of a be loved friend, whose merits are not exaggerated in the letter of Mr. Powell, comes to us most unexpectedly. Identified by complexion and destiny with the colored race, Mr. Topp was nevertheless one of the most cultan wood work, of a hundred charming little varieties. tivated, gentlemanly and estimable persons in the Figures in Terra Cotta, after the antique. Copies of wide range of our acquaintance. No citizen in Albany was more respected than himself. He was highly There are many prints, statuettes, dolls, dresses, circumspect in his walk and conversation, conscien tions in all his acts, and as noble as he was modest in his disposition. His is a great loss .- Ed. Lib.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

George L. Stearns, Medford, Mass. Essex Co. Anti-Slavery Society, by Parker Pillsbury, Mr. Roberts, Danvers, by Parker Pillsbury,

Collections in South Danvers, by do. Do. in Leominster, by do. Do. in Leominster, by do. Friends, by Samuel May, Jr., for publishing ac-

count, Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, being the proceeds of the Abington Fair, 65 00 R. H. Ober, Westminster, Mass., for tract fund, 2 00 FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer. Boston, Dec. 16, 1857.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY .- The annual meetng of the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society will e held at CONCORD, on Sunday, Dec. 20th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing after-noon and evening, which all are invited to attend who prefer Freedom to Slavery, and who mean to give no aid or comfort to the Slaveholder. Officers for

ensuing year to be chosen, &c.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, PARKER PILLSBURY, and probably other speakers, will be present.

WILLIAM WHITING, President.

STONEHAM. The Universalist Church in Stone ham will be occupied for an Anti-Slavery meeting, on Sunday, Dec. 27. PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the America Anti-Slavery Society, and probably other speakers, will be present.

CHARLES SPEAR will preach in the Unirian Church, Concord, N. H., next Sunday morning; and in the afternoon, in the Universalist Church. Subject: The Home and the Prison.

MARRIED-In Brighton, Thanksgiving evening, Nov. 26, by Rev. Mr. Mason, William T. Raymond to Louisa M. Hilton.

DIED-In this city, Dec. 15, ALICE T., daughter of Francis and Eliza Standin, aged 18 years. She bore her suffering with marked resignation, and yield-ed her earthly life in the triumphs of Christian faith. In Albany, on Friday evening, 11th inst., Mr. William H. Topp, in his 45th year.

HOPEDALE HOME SCHOOL THE next Term of this Institution will comme

on the first Wednesday in January, 1858, and continue fifteen weeks. For Catalogues, containing further information, please address W. S. HAYWOOD, ABBIE S. HAYWOOD, Principals.

Hopedale, Milford, Mass., Dec. 4, 1857. 2is 2os BOSTON



THE Subscriber, late with Fowlers, Wells & Co., announces to his friends and the public generally, that he has opened the above establishment expressly for the purpose of giving

Correct Phrenological Examinations.

IT IS NOT A DYE!

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S

HAIR RESTORER

#### WORLD'S Hair Dressing.

THE ONLY PREPARATIONS THAT HAVE A EUROPEAN REPUTATION!!

THE Restorer, used with the Zylobalsamum or Dressing, cures diseases of the hair or scalp, and RESTORES GRAY HAIR TO ITS NATURAL

The Zylobalsamum or Dressing alone is the best

hair dressing extant for young or old.
We take pleasure in presenting the following undeniable proofs that these are the best preparations either in Europe or America. They contain no deleterious ingredients—do not soil or stain anything. GREAT BRITAIN.

REV. W. B. THORNELO. Prescot, Lancashire, says—'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum are perfect marvels. After us-

ing them six weeks, my extremely gray hair is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied it is not a dye." REV. MRS. B. C. ANDRUS, for many years Missionary to Hayti, now of Martinsburgh, N. Y. The climate having seriously affected her hair and scalp,

says, I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. I have tried various other remedies for my hair, but never anything that so materially and permanently benefitted me, as has Mrs. S. A. Al-J. H. EATON, Pres. Union Univ., Tenn. 'I have

used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum but very irregularly, but, notwithstanding, its influence was distinctly visible The falling off of hair ceased, and my locks, which were quite gray, restored to their original black. REV. H. V. DEGAN, Ed. Guide to Holiness, Bos-

ton, Mass. 'That Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum promotes the growth of the hair where baldness has commenced, we now have the evidence of our own eyes.' REV. J. A. H. CORNELL, Cor. Sec. B'd Educ'n N.

Y. City. 'I procured Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorative and Zylobalsamum for a relative. I am happy to say it prevented the falling off of the hair, and restored it, from being gray, to its natural glossy and beautiful black. REV. JNO. E. ROBIE, Ed. ' Chr. Adv.,' Buffalo, N. Y. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylo-

known. They have restored my hair to its original REV. J. WEST, Brooklyn, N. Y. 'I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, and also to acknowledge its curing my gray-

balsamum are the best hair preparations I have ever

ness and baldness." REV. GEO. M. SPRATT, Agt. Bap. Penn. Pub. Soc. We cheerfully recommend Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum.

REV. J. F. GRISWOLD, Washington, N. H. Please inform Mrs. — where Mrs. S. A. Al-len's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum can be had in Boston. You may say in my name that I know they are what they purport to be.'

REV. D. T. WOOD, Middletown, N. Y. 'My hair has greatly thickened. The same is true of another of my family, whose head we thought would become almost bare. Her hair has handsomely thickened, and has a handsome appearance since using Mrs. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum.

REV. MOSES THACHER (60 years of age,) Pitcher, N. Y. Since using Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorer and Zylobalsamum, my hair ceases to fall, and is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied 'tis nothing like a dve.'

REV. S. B. MORLEY, Attleboro', Mass. . The effect of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum has been to change the 'crown of glory' belonging to old men, to the original hue of youth. The same is true of others of my acquaint

REV. J. P. TUSTIN, Ed. ' South Baptist,' &c., Charleston, S. C. 'The white hair is becoming obviated by new and better hair forming, by the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsa-

REV. C. A. BUCKBEE, Treas. Am. Bible Union, N: Y. 'I cheerfully add my testimony to that of numerous other friends, to Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. The latter I have found superior to anything I ever used. REV. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, Ct. 'We

think very highly of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. REV. C. M. KLINCK, Lewistown, Pa. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum

has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused a new growth.' REV. WM. PORTEUS, Stanwich, Ct. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum

have met my most sanguine expectations in causing my hair to grow where it had fallen.' REV. D. MORRIS, Cross River, N. Y. 'I know of

a great many who have had their hair restored by the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. REV. JOS. McKEE, N.Y. City. 'Recommends them.'

REV. E. EVANS, Delhi, O. 'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. They have changed my hair to its natural color, and stopped its falling off.' REV. WM. R. DOWNS, Howard, N. Y. 'Mrs. S.

A. Allen's Hair Dressing has no superior. It cleanses the hair and scalp, removes harshness and dryness, and always produces the softness, silkiness and natural gloss so requisite to the human hair."

We might quote from others of the numerous letters we might quote from others of the numerous letters we have and are constantly receiving, but we deem the above sufficient to convince the most skeptical that we have at least the best preparations in the world for the hair of the young or old. We manufacture no other preparations. Occupying the large building, corner of Broome and Elizabeth streets, exclusively for office,

preparations. Occupying the large building, corner of Broome and Elizabeth streets, exclusively for office, salesroom and manufactory, we have no time or inclination to engage in other manufactures.

These are the only preparations exported in any quantity to Enrope.

We also would call strention to the fact that we have always avoided all charlatanism. Our preparations are the highest priced, but the cheapest, because it lasts longer, and does more good; the expense, in the end, less than others. We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced. One bottle of Restorer will last nearly a year. \$1.50 per bottle, Balsam, 374 cents per bottle.

GENUINE

has 'Mrs. S. A. Allen' signed in Red Ink to outside wrappers, and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bottles. Restorer bottles are of dark purple glass, with the words, Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hast Restorer, 355 Broome Street, New York, blown on them. The Balsam bottles are of green glass, with Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Balsam, 355 Broome Street, New York, blown on them. Circulars around bottles copyrighted. None on them. Circulars around bottles copyrighted. None other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgery, and will be prosecuted by us as a criminal offence. Some dealers try to sell other preparations on which they make more profit, instead of these; inests on these. Sold by nearly every drug and fancy goods dealer. Address all letters for information to

MRS. S. A. ALLENYS World's Hair Restorer Depot. NO. 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y. THOMAS VICKERS.

#### POETRY.

A BARGAIN. Going ! going ! gone ! Who bids for the mother's care, Who bids for the blue-eyed girl? Her skin is fair, and her soft brown hair Is guiltless of a curl.

The mother clasped her babe With an arm that love made strong : She heaved no sigh, but her burning eye Told of the spirit's wrong.

She gazed on the heartless crowd, But no pitying glance she saw, For the crushing woe her soul must know Was sanctioned by the law.

Going, gentlemen, going ! The child is worth your bids, Here's a bargain to be sold; This chubby thing will one day bring A pile of yellow gold.

Of the maniac mother, wild.

A dollar a pound, cries a voice, Hoarsely, from out the throng; Two, three, five, it calls, and the hammer falls ; Five dollars, gentlemen, gone! Five dollars a pound-and his hand, Just stretched to grasp the child, Is smitten aside by the giant might

One moment, and the loaded whip Is poised above her head. Then down, down, it came on her helpless frame, Like a crushing weight of lead.

With a lightning grasp on her kidnapped child She falls to the cold, damp ground; And the baby is laid on the scales and weighed And sold for five dollars per pound !

And the eye of the sun looks down Undimmed on such scenes of sin; And the freeman's tengue must be chained and dum Though his spirit burn within. O God, for a million of tongues,

To thunder Freedom's name, And to utter a cry which should pierce the sky,-The indignant cry of shame! Our eagle's talons are red

With the recking blood of the slave. And he kindly flings his protecting wings O'er the site of Freedom's grave. How long, O Lord, how long!

· Awake in thy mercy and might, And hasten the day which shall open the way Of Truth and Justice and Right!

From the N. Y. Evening Post. BORDER RUFFIAN 'PSALM OF LIFE. BY STRINGPELLOW.

Tell me not, in canting numbers, Earth is made for Liberty, For the soul of Freedom slumbers, And slaves are not to be free.

Chains are real, stripes are earnest, And become the Ethiop's back; Free thou art, and free remainest, Ne'er was spoken of the Black.

Not enjoyment, nought but sorrow Is his destined end or way: His to work, that each to-morrow Finds us richer than to-day.

Life is short, and time 's fleeting, And, no longer great nor brave, On the negro's back are beating Dirges o'er dead Freedom's grave. In the world's great field of battle,

In the bivouse of life, Spare not the dumb, driven cattle, Make them bear the brunt and strife.

Trust no slave; they're always stealing. Thousands Northward now have sped-Watch! watch! for they all are feeling Heart within, and God o'erhead.

Lives of blood-hounds all remind us We can make our hounds sublime, Blood-tracks on the sands of time

Blood-tracks that perhaps another, Running from his master's chain, Some escaped and errant brother, Seeing, may run back again!

Let us, then, be up and doing, With a heart for any fate, Still enslaving, still pursuing, Learn to plunder and to prate,

THE COMING WINTER. What will the coming winter bring For the favored ones of earth? Glowing grates, and cheerful hearths, And sounds of joyful mirth. The musical sleigh hells' merry chime Will ring on the frosty air. And luxury's mantle will banish cold From the great, the rich, the fair. What will the coming winter bring

To poverty's lowly home? A mournful wail-a grief untold, And hunger's fearful moan : A ragged mantle that will not shield The form from the frost-king's breath : Tears and sighs, despairing cries, And the icy touch of Death. Charity folds her shining wings,

And asks (will she ask in vain?) Help from the rich for the starving poor, That hope may be theirs again.

There are noble, kindly hearts to heed The call of her gentle voice; They will feel 'tis a blessed thing to give, Then go on their way and rejoice.

Tribute to Rich Men who are Generous in their Life-Time.

Enough of censure; let my humble lays Employ one moment in congenial praise. Let other pens with pious ardor paint The selfish virtues of the cloistered saint In lettered marble let the stranger read Of him, who, dying, did a worthy deed, And left to charity the cherished store, Which, to his sorrow, he could hoard no more I venerate the nobler man, who gives His generous dollars while the donor lives ; Gives with a heart as liberal as the palms That to the needy spread his honored alms; Gives with a head whose yet unclouded light To worthless objects points the giver's sight; Gives with a hand still potent to enforce His well-aimed bounty, and direct its course Such is the giver who must stand confest In giving glorious, and supremely blest.

FAITH.

Blessed are they who see, and yet believe not! Yes, blest are they who look on graves, and still Believe none dead ; who see proud tyrants ruling And yet believe not in the strength of Evil :-Blessed are they who see the wandering poor, And yet believe not that their God forsakes the And see the blind worm creeping, yet believe not That even that is left without a path.

# The Liberator.

REPLY TO 'JUSTICE! ANN ARBOR, (Mich.) Dec. 6, 1857.

In THE LIBERATOR of Nov. 23d is a letter animadverting upon one written by PARKER PILISBURY, giving an account of the Progressive Friends' meeting held at Battle Creek early in October. Without presuming that PARKER PILLSBURY or STEPHEN S. so, not the spirits, but his own spirit and character Poster need any aid in defending them before the public, but seeing no 'Justice' (only as a signature) it my duty to make a few strictures upon 'Justice,' more especially as he has essayed to give the cause of the apparent retrograde movement of anti-slavery in of the true mark.

fall of '55, and can therefore speak from personal are within his own consciousness, and elsewhere knowledge, from my stand-point. I thought then, only as myths, will be be self-reliant and practical, and will think, that if the disaffection and desertion of one's friends is one of the sorest trials, it costs ing for that in creeds, and spirits, and coming heaven. Foster 'something' still 'to be an Abolitionist.' As I wish to contrast some parts of 'Justice's' letter, and beatitude away back in the fountain sources of 1 will quote the third paragraph entire :-

'Three or four years ago, the cause of radical Ab olitionism was onward and upward in Michigan, with a bright prospect for the future. In this place, clubs were formed for The Liberator, Buole, &c. In the impartial and careful consideration. In deciding the a bright prospect for the future. In this place, cities were formed for The Laberator, Buole, &c. In the fall of '55, we were to hold the second anniversary of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society at Battle Creek, and among the speakers announced for the occasion was Stiffed Street St as no one but Stephen could myent; and action true Abolitionist can maintain the position they occupy, yet, after the special pains taken to get them in to hear, to be especially denounced as more damnable, "and doing more injury to the cause," in proportion as the position they occupied came near to the radical platform, and not on it, was more than they could bear. This last false position, and the offensive manner of presenting it, put the climax on the matter. The meeting broke up in some confusion. The people who had before regarded the radical movement at least with charitable feelings, and had come to the meeting with singers motives, were now thoroughly meeting with sincere motives, were now thoroughly disgusted with all Garrisonian Abolitionists, and no argument could mend it.'

· Justice' affirms that three or four years ago, the cause of radical Abolitionism was onward and upward in Michigan,' &c. &c. Up to that period, who had been the advocates of 'radical Abolitionism' in Michigan? S. S. and A. K. Poster, and James W. Walk-En ;-the legitimate inference from which would be that whatever the character of Mr. Foster's influence, in '55, 'three and four years previous,' it was not calamitous and 'disgusting.' The charge that Mr. Foster occupied the 'largest portion' of the time in denouncing those dissenting from him in the most · bitter and abusive terms,' is a misrepresentation of the facts in the case, that could only have obtained in the 'prejudice' that 'Justice' tells us existed against him. How any one who loves the slave can accuse Stephen S. Foster (a man utterly incapable of doing any person intentional wrong) of being 'abusive,' in manner or spirit, is beyond my comprehen sion; and so I will come to facts, to wit: Mr. Foster made but two speeches at length, one on the Republican party, by which he converted one of their prominent men, who owned his 'change of heart' publicly, and upon the spot. That was too bad, I know; and just before an election, too, when the political conscience is so tender! But who does not know that such a potent leaven, at work in their midst, would be 'thoroughly disgusting' to even Republi-

As regards the charge of abuse, while Mr. Foster treated all present at said meeting plainly, I admit, but fairly and honorably, many Republicans abused him shamefully. In the outset, he stated that he had to do with men's positions, not with their motives or the groundless complaint of personality, etc., repeatedly re-defining his position, his opponents, not being able to answer, but determined to cavil and misunderstand, drove him to say, as the only explanation of their course, that when men would persist, against both entreaty and denial, in the assertion that he was attacking their motives and characters, the reflection was, upon themselves, and at the expense of their candor and integrity. A rebuke administered wholly in self-defence, and as richly merited as it was

Again : 'Justice' admits that 'no true Abolition ist' could occupy their position, but says that after getting them in, at so much expense, with so much reluctance and prejudice on their part, it was unwarrantable to tell them that their position was a bad one, especially in Stephen Foster's way! I fear (at least. I hope) that my friend Mr. Foster will never appreciate such logic. If he had been a Democrat, he would have been a 'hard shell,' since lignumvitæ, cast-steel and granite are parts of his constitution; and when, on some warm, early summer day, (when Nature holds carnival,) you find the granite of his own native New Hampshire hills softer and more yielding than when earth is mantled in darkness and the tempest is abroad, then, and not till then, can you expect this MAN, 'into whose soul,' not the 'iron of slavery,' but the steel of liberty 'has entered,' to make an etiquette of his principles. Boneless men are for Buncomb and Barnum; spinal columns are the pillars of revolution.

One word about the charity and sincerity ( Justice being witness) of those whom he says came with 'charitable feelings' and 'sincere motives,' and ' were thoroughly disgusted with all Garrisonian Abolitionists.' Why? Because, forsooth, Mr. Foster had abused them ! This, I take it, is not the doctrine of 'imputed righteousness,' but of imputed condemnation (disgust). So much for their charity. I distinctly remember the reply of a prominent Republican, when fairly cornered by Mr. Foster- After election, we will listen to your philosophy.' Was not that sincere? Alas! the political Ephraims were joined to their idols, and Mr. Foster would not 'let them alone.'

The second speech referred to was on Sunday morn ing, not upon the Church, but upon the Rev. Mr. Pitkin, a popular and influential clergyman of Battle Creek, who had just returned from the 'St. Louis Synod,' where he had eaten 'Southern dirt' enough to metamorphose him into a sort of animated ' plumblead,' just fit for some slaveholding hierarch to sound the shoals and depths of perdition with. Mr. Foster's tone and manner were earnest and impressive. It was, in fact, the best speech I ever heard him make; and as I listened, I felt that any man, after dissecting a cradle-plunderer, aye, a pulpit cradle-plunderer, could well afford to enter upon a most ' practical investigation of Spiritualism and spirit life, by adopting that ancient language- Now let thy servant de-

part in peace." of Spiritualism, —I confess to me rather an intangi-ble back; but there is a kind, sacred as the nature annual meeting of the Friends of Human Progress they cover, and which have my sympathies; but I in Battle Creek. Without calling in question the suppose, while saddled with Justice, there's no danger motives of 'Justice,' I must say, that I consider the of their being galled or 'jaded.' And so I will pass to a consideration of the character and claims of Spir- truth than the one he confidently criticises. He says

fact (which is the only test Spiritualism ' proper' or improper makes) that spirits can and do communicate with those still in the form? Does the simple fact, then, that an individual believes this, change his character or his life? It may or it may not; that depends upon conditions; upon affinity—the law that blike attracts like, - the basis of social intercourse for all worlds. What is the result? Your Kentucky slaveholder is surrounded by disembodied, but actual Legrees, of different moral dyes, and corresponding with his own mental and spiritual developme determine the kind and quality of the spiritual influ he receives. Just as an honest, benevolent man joir in the communication referred to, and prompted by a church, and retains his integrity and kindness, and the sentiment, 'Honor to whom honor is due,' I feel a mean man retains his meanness, only the more despicable for the cloak he wears; and in either case the organization, not the 'faith' or belief, is influential over life and character. But never until man learns Michigan, and, in my judgment, has shot very wide the sacredness of his fellow-man and of his own nature, in the true 'faith' that his own soul is wo First. I attended the meeting referred to in the thy of his highest reverence, that heaven and hell and no longer a mere believer, an abstractionist, look his own being. 'Does Spiritualism necessarily conflict with the

Anti-Slavery movement?' asks 'Justice. This is as no one but Stephen could invent; and although no not a question of morals or position, but a doctrinal question. What are the facts? Where do the magnates of Spiritualism stand on the Anti-Slavery question, with those noble exceptions, Mr. and Mrs. Davis, and perhaps a few others? Indeed, have they ever taken any stand, only to refuse to identify themselves with such 'pestilent fellows' as Abolitionists? I am personally acquainted with active and representative Spiritualists, so acknowledged by the ranks,-Republicans at that,-who think 'slavery good enough for niggers.' Even 'Justice' himself admits that many Spiritualists are Buchanan Demo crats,' and why not? Who else so well fitted to receive the messages, per spiritual telegraph, of James K. Polk and Bully Brooks? What if their position be inconsistent? Spiritualism, reaching men's position alone through their faith, and that faith invariably and inevitably being moulded by the character, does not necessarily, but only incidentally, affect or alter their position. Just precisely as Methodism and Presbyterianism are anti-slavery in one locality and in corresponding organizations, and pro-slavery in other and correlative latitudes and men, and for the same reason,-want of faith in man. While the old religions have sacrificed man to the 'glory of God,' the new will forget him while listening to the spirits I am speaking now of the ism itself, its sectariar tendency, not of exceptional and fational believers But does any one object that true Spiritualism does

no such thing? What devotee of slave-breeding and

slave-driving Christianity will not claim the same for it? and yet even 'Justice' affirms of the Church, that it is a slaveholding Church; and with equal justice I affirm Spiritualism proper, (but not its highest form for that can only obtain among humanitarians and philanthropists, lovers of the whole race, not careles nor indifferent to the rights of any,) to be pro-slave ry. Witness thousands of devoted Spiritualists, and equally devoted man-stealers and woman-whippers at the South. 'But Spiritualism will reform them,' says the sectarian Spiritualist. We have long heard of the reforming, saving, liberating power of evangelical religion, but where are the fruits, in either case? Today, Christian liberty and Spiritual salvation are on the auction-block and for sale to the highest bidder. It is time enough for rational men to believe a thing That many Spiritualists are Abolitionists is a fact: ther case, it demonstrates nothing of the character and tendency of the doctrine itself; that is to be found, not in the exceptions, but in the general rule The law of growth, of unfolding, in the nature of man, is germinal-from within, outward. All right ethics are central, and radiate thence; and not until this order of the moral universe is reversed will the most divine faith, unaided by unswerving fidelity to man-to man, even inside a black skin-have power to change the moral character and spiritual affection of man. By as natural and absolute a law as causes the spark to ascend and the stone to gravitate to the earth, do right morals, a life true to humanity, purify and spiritualize the 'faith' and aspirations of the human soul. In loing the work, good Samaritan like, man performs the only possible worship. Aye, I would give more for the spirit friends and guard ans of Stephen S. Foster, while he is true to the slave and to humanity, than for all the spirit patron of all the Republican, negro-hating Spiritualists in the universe. When this to me irrational and absurd claim that many make for Spiritualism, that it is necessarily anti-slavery, and by its superior excellence will abolish the function and mission of Abolitionism shall obtain my credence, I will then harness the car before my horse,' expecting them to move off in th

crisis of a new order. One word relative to the 'drooping of Anti-Slavery in Michigan,' and I have done. While Spiritualist has had an effect in that direction, I think there i another and more potent cause. The daring aggressions of the Slave Power since 1850 and '51 have drawn men from the moral into a political warfare with the monster Slavery. This cause has been universal in its operation, and will fully account for the falling away from the radical moral movement, not only in Michigan, but throughout the North, -eve where Stephen S. Foster has never been, and conse quently never has 'abused' any body. The history of political, especially of Republican Anti-Slavery commencing with Senator Wilson's threat to hang all Disunionists, -Messrs, Garrison and Phillips, Abby Kelley Foster and Lucretia Mott included,-down to the Minnesota Constitution, has already sealed its doom, and signally justified by its rottenness all the anathemas of Mr. Foster against it. When Spiritualism shall have been thoroughly winnowed, the chaff blown away, the wheat saved, as a valuable auxiliary, the radical Anti-Slavery movement will again lead the van in the conflict for universal liberty.

RICHARD GLAZIER.

'JUSTICE' AND S. S. FOSTER. ADRIAN, Mich., Dec. 5, 1857. DEAR FRIEND GARRISON :

In THE LIBERATOR of Nov. 20th is a communic tion signed 'Justice,' reviewing a letter from ou This brings me to the sadded and saddle-worn back friend PARKER PILLSBURY, which appeared in a reimpression given by his article much further from the the impression given by Parker that 'Anti-Slavery First, as to its character. Was not that Kentucky drooping under the influence of a wild fanaticism, slaveholder a Spiritualist? Who denies it? In fact, that is gazing away into darkness for spirits to come since Spiritualists have no Pope, who has any right to dony it? And why not? Does he not believe in the gree. This I regard as a very tame admission of

what I consider a notorious fact. So far as my obdence is not wanting to prove the correctness of Par- done, namely, the elevation of man. ker's position. I believe there are hundreds and thousands of Spiritualists throughout the State, who are doing just what Mr. Pillsbury says they are, looking for spirits to do the work which they, as true Friends of Human Progress, ought to be doing themselves; and the number of these at that meeting was not so very limited as 'Justice' seems to think, nor was the expressed disappointment with regard to the object of the meeting confined to a 'Kentucky slaveholder.' Several others were heard to say that they would not have attended, had they supposed it to be other than a Spiritual Convention, and that they did not want to I car so much upon the nigger question, &c.; plainly showing that however clear and clean' they might be above the 'creed-bound sectarian Church ' (which ' Justice ' speaks of, ) they were to the slave and his real friends.

Again, I cannot agree with 'Justice' in attributing That Stephen occupied a considerable portion of the that the anti-slavery of Michigan was of so feeble eliction of duty in a plain and sometimes severe manest portion of the meeting was occupied by Stephen in denouncing the above-named class in the most bitter and abusive terms,' &c., is more than the truth will

I apprehend that the cause of the 'drooping' spoken of by our friends is to be found elsewhere than in the plain criticisms of the politicians by Stephen S. seemed to be. The specious arguments of the Republican party thinned our ranks of many of the halfconverted; Spiritualism, with its ethereal speculations, attracted the attention of others from our movement: while a lack of zeal, mutual confidence and fidelity to the cause of the slave, has, in my opinion, brought us to our present position.

With this view of the subject, I see no occasion for making a scape-goat of Stephen S. Foster, or of any other individual. Truth, plainly spoken, may sound unpleasant, but it will enable the real friends of the slave to avoid much misapprehension.

Yours, truly.

ANTI-SLAVERY AND SPIRITUALISM IN MICHIGAN.

signed than those given by Mr. Pillsbury for the in- it. On the other hand, I am led to think that it ha

and of Mr. Foster's course there is concerned, if the writer had prefixed the world 'In' before 'Justice' it would, if it made the specific application; but failfrom my stand-point I should judge. It will be re- the very evils it could and should destroy. Hence the membered by those who attended that meeting, that need of specific organizations to do its neglected work the time and occasion demanded that the Free Soil Spiritualists say, 'Our movement is of itself capable, party should be exposed, and it seemed that S. S. and will reform and redeem the world.' Well, perlonger a Freesoiler, and that the position of that par- does the Church. ty could not be maintained by a true Abolitionist.

vately, 'he felt like bursting.' at present,) as more dangerous to the cause of the guilty of furnishing money to a knavish tool to buy from the Anti-Slavery movement in Michigan, and he ties were to divide the profits !! seems to become very positive here, and says ' we do with two of my neighbors, I attended the first Anyears quite an Abolitionist, both had contributed something to sustain anti-slavery labor, had interested prospect seemed to be that they would be a help to the cause which so much needs the aid of all the good and the true. But how has it been? They attended Spiritual meeting in Adrian at that time, -I believe the first they had ever attended,-and pretty soon they became very much interested in that direction The cause of the slave was made a secondary affair. Spiritualism is the hub of the wheel, say they, around which every thing else must revolve. The Anti-Slavery papers must be discontinued, Spiritual papers must be read; their donations to the Anti-Slavery cause must be withheld, and we must seek to be mediums, through which disembodied spirits may communicate to the children of earth; and such tomfoolery as they have carried on, in connection with some neighbors of the baser sort, in the name of Spiritualism, it never before was my lot to witness. It was but a few weeks ago that the Remonds were at our place, and had a meeting within a few rods of these same individuals, who, before they became immersed in a Spiritualism corresponding to themselves, had mani- I bear this testimony, because I feel impressed fested so much anti-slavery life, and they could now with my duty to do it; and yet I realize all the dansit at home at their ease within a few rods of where gers of it,—for I have found no sect, political or reli-Mr. Remond was speaking.

Now, Mr. Garrison, if this does not look like dropping off from the Anti-Slavery movement, in conspshould like to know it. And what is true of this spiritual 'devils as there are tiles on' the heads immediate neighborhood, I have abundant evidence to satisfy me, is also true of many other parts of Michigan.

In one part of his communication, 'Justice' speaks

But I have extended my communication too long, and so I will close, with the hope that we may all servation extends, (and I have seen something of the and so I will close, with the hope that we may all workings of radical anti-slavery in Michigan,) evi-

I remain, a friend of human pro SAMUEL D. MOORE. Ypailanti, Dec. 4th, 1857.

'JUSTICE' TO ALL PARTIES. CHERRY VALLEY, Ashtabula Co. (Ohio,) Dec. 5.

I am glad to see in THE LIBERATOR of Nov. 20 the letter of 'Justice' from Michigan, because have heard the same criticism as to S. S. Fosten's labors there made privately; and believing them to be erroneous, I am glad to have them brought to the public, in order that they may be refuted and si-

It is not my purpose to reply to that letter upon the matter of the facts of the influence of . Spiritualism still somewhat allied to that Church in their hostility or 'Fosterism' upon Michigan anti-slavery, for I am not conversant with their history, and am in no way implicated in the controversy. I leave that to Pillsthe decline of radical anti-slavery in Michigan to the bury, Foster, or others, who have been on the ground course pursued by STEPHEN S. FOSTER at the Anni- and made personal observation of the matter, as I have versary of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society in 1855. not. But I am quite sorry to learn from 'Justice time of the Convention in reviewing the position of nature, that the earnest and faithful labors of Foster the Republican party, and that he exposed their der- to purify and elevate it have caused it ta 'droop' so much, and cannot but think that his censures must ner, I freely admit; but the assertion that the 'larg- have been too true, and too much needed to expose the false character and sandy foundation of those wh wither so immediately at the touch of his Ithuriel spear. And I am a little surprised that 'Justice. while condemning the Foster position as to those nearest the right platform, but not on it, doing most injury to the cause, as false, deals out the same philosophy to Stephen, whom he eulogizes in one part of Foster and others, however severe they may have his letter, yet charges with having done the cause there the most harm of any person or thing beside.

But this is not to the purpose with which I sat down, which was to corroborate Parker Pillsbury's testimony, as to his observations on the results of Spiritualism in Michigan, as I have observed them elsewhere. I have found, in many places, that Anti-Slavery has ' drooped under the blighting influence of this wild fanaticism.' Not that it always takes the form of ' wild fanaticism,' or always exerts a ' blighting influence,' for I know many of the choicest spirits of the age, and of the Anti-Slavery movement, too, who are firm believers in the general facts and philosophy of Spiritualism, and yet are not fanatics, and cannot be made so by this or any thing else, and who receive or extend no blight from this belief. But I say, that the larger part of those whom I have met as decided Spiritualists have appeared to me to have been much In THE LIBERATOR of Nov. 20, I noticed a criticism blighted by it, and to be mere fanatics in their belief on PARKER PILLSBURY's letter, published in one of and action under it. If Spiritualism is a reform, and its former numbers, touching the Battle Creek meet- can or will do any good, of itself, or if it can coopeing of the Friends of Human Progress, and signed rate with or help forward anti-slavery or any other "Justice." Now, Mr. Editor, "Justice" (as he calls reform, I shall be as rejoiced as any one can, and will himself) seems to think there can be other reasons as- bid it as hearty a God-speed. But I have not so found

difference manifested by the people of Michigan for generally been useless of itself, and, further, has genthe bondman in his chains; and he goes on to inti- erally thrown a blight over all other reforms and remate that this indifference or dropping off could be formers that it has been able to reach. It seems to traced to the course taken by S. S. Foster at the sec- me to stand to reform in the same relation that the ond Anniversary of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Soci- Church does. The Church says, 'You do not need Temperance, Peace, or Anti-Slavery Societies; the Now, I think, as far as his expose of that meeting, influence of the Church and the preaching of its Gosto his name, it would have been more appropriate, as ing to do it, it becomes linked in with and endorses Foster was the man for the occasion; and we saw the haps it is and will, but I have found the masses of effects of his probing on the spot, in one of their own them just as unwilling to make the specific applicanumber, (and a stump-speaker at that,) J. T. Mott, tions needed as is the Church; hence they embrace who came forward, and openly and boildly, like an among their numbers as many proportionately of the honest, intelligent man, proclaimed that he was no warriors, extortioners, drunkards and slaveholders, as

'Justice' thinks the number of these classes in is not to be wondered at that those less intelligent Michigan is very limited. Perhaps it is; but my oband less conscientious should froth and foam, and try servation shows me, that elsewhere, this faith embraces to break up the meeting in confusion ; - just as increas- as freely and fully all classes of the community as does ing the fire under the boiling liquid causes the froth that of the Church; and ofttimes I find these worst to rise, and sometimes it runs over, as . Justice' seems and wickedest classes leading and controlling the to be running over, or, as one intimated to me pri- movement, and all the movers, of the place.

In one city that I visited, and attended on Sunday I think it was well that Mr. Pillsbury attended the one of the largest conferences of Spiritualists that I annual meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, ever attended, I found that the leaders were, in the and particularly that he wrote that letter to THE main, composed of Administration Democrats. One LIBERATOR, so as to give 'Justice' a chance to re- of them was a distiller, and another, who spoke an lieve his mind of what seems to have been resting on hour on 'Christian Spiritualism,' with the Bible in it for so many years, in regard to the position of the his hand, from which he read copious extracts to Free Soil party at that time, (and the same may in prove the Christian character of the movement, was a truth be said of the position of the Republican party well-known extortioner, and had recently been proven slave than the Democratic party. I think it was large house in a respectable part of the city, and fill it made so plain that no person, save a blind politician so full of low Irish families as to make it such a nuior a sectarian bigot, could help seeing it. Yet 'Jus- sance to the wealthy, respectable neighbors that they, tice' thinks this position, as taken and advocated by in self-defence, should be compelled to purchase the S. S. Foster, was the real cause of the dropping off house at an exorbitant price, and then the two par-

'Justice' says, 'The more glory for Spiritualism, if not guess, we know something of these effects.' Now, it has reached a class that nothing else would.' Yes; Mr. Editor, allow me to say, (without 'guessing,' ei-ther,) that I have reason to know that there is a spe-them, it made them better. But I find it reaches cies of Spiritualism in Michigan (which is by no them just as the Church does; it reaches and takes means unpopular) that does very much stand in the them in, just as they are; and this gives the endorseway of the true Anti-Slavery movement of the age. ment of their own character to its wickedness. The et me give you one single illustration. In company Spiritualists whom I have seen have generally been too busy with peeping under the corner of the 'blanket of niversary of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, held the dark, that they think is uplifted a little, in order at Addison, in 1854. One of them had been for some that they may see the glories beyond the veil that divides this world from the next, to turn their attention at all to the needed reforms of this world. And were themselves in getting up anti-slavery meetings, and in it possible for any light to shine under this uplifted various ways gave the cause their helping hand. corner, and illumine and uplift us, these zealots stand m was a paying subscriber to the Penn- so eagerly round the sperture, gloating their own eyes sylvania Freeman. They were both apparently very upon its glory, that they entirely obstruct the rays in much interested in the meeting at Addison, and the their merciful mission, and those beyond have not, as yet, received any benefit.

Let Anti-Slavery and Spiritualism go hand in hand, as kindred reforms, to redeem and regenerate the world, says 'Justice,' That sounds well, and could it be done, I would say Amen; but my obser vation has shown me, that the general result of Spiritualism taking the hand of Anti-Slavery has been not to lead it nearer the slave, but further from him usually into some darkened room, to spend its time and energies in listening to the ravishing spiritua music of hand-bells and dinner-horns, or to somlighter room, where round a pine table they could hand in hand ' join in the highly reformatory work of collecting, through a slow and painful process of rapping or tipping, the very valuable information that some departed spirit 'rests well,' 'is happy' and contented. How any reform necessarily results therefrom, I have been unable, after careful scrutiny, to discover. \_

gious, more bigoted, or sensitive to criticism, or restive under rebuke, or opposed to rational investigation of its claims, than these Spiritualists have shown uence of their dropping into Spiritualism, then I themselves to be. Yet, 'if I knew there were as many opiritualists, yet must I go forward and bear the tes-J. A. H.

A TERRIBLE CRIME. On the 5th inst., Jack, In one part of his communication, 'Justice' speaks of Spiritualism as being 'jaded and saddle-worn,' and then again of its rising 'clear and clean above all filth and slime, as no other reform hes ever dofe.' It seems to me that these two statements do not hang together very well.

A TERRIBLE CRIME. On the 3th instact can be a thin to the control of the slave of one L. L. Shreve, was arraigned before the Police Court of Louisville, on a charge of keeping a school for colored persons. The Courier says—'His master knew that Jack could not write, and did not know that he could read, but we suppass he knew the motions, and that was sufficient.' It being his first offence, he was released without punishment.' Ayer's Pills

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for which you recommend them."

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CONSTIPATION — COSTIVENES.

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sure the disease."

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