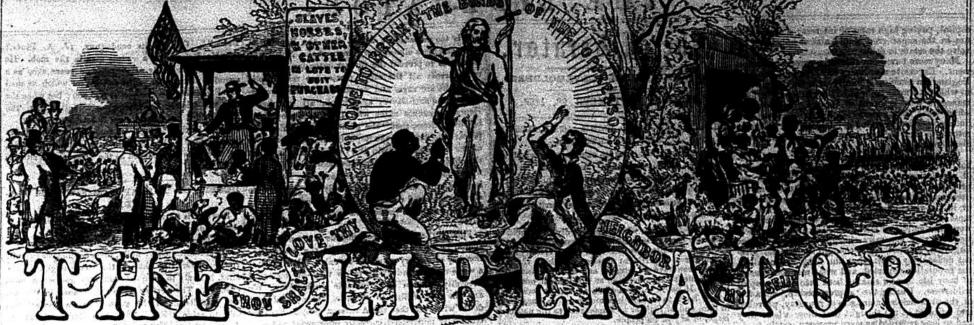
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The following gentlemen constitute the Pinan-Committee, but are not responsible for any of the ibbs of the paper, viz:-PRANCIS JACKSON, EDgene terner. EDWIND JACKSON, and WENDELL



The United States Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with helicard, to

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jallers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without use in aiding other States in binding on men an righteous yoke. On this subject, our satuens, in FRANCIS THE CONSTITUTION, SWEETED FROM THE nour. We their children, at the end of half a cer tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with marry and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enalsying of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wron doing. To this conviction the free States are tending WILLIAM BLINKY CRANSTONOS 1 & LOSS ST.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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# REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Journal of Commerce.

MRS. L. MARIA CHILD AGAIN. The New York Journal of Commerce has recently satisfied the same statement which we copied last Mana Child, copied from a correspondent of the New Orleans Prosyume, to the effect that this lady has a suffering daughter at the South to whom she pays no beed, leaving her dependent upon the charity of strangers. While we do not admire Mrs. C., and have

cen taught to regard her opinions and her action, touching the great modern martyr of crime at Hargoedning the great was the most utter and pernicious 'twad-ger's Ferry, as the most utter and pernicious 'twad-die, still we were willing to, and did, make amends for having been innocently misled by the statement in e Picayune, which proves to want any foundation .-

In a note to the Editor of the Sentinel, Mrs. Child In a note to the Editor of the Sentines, Jack Child states that she always has been childless,—or rather, has been, up to the date of the note,— thus refuting the charge above referred to.—Journal of Commerce. The main facts in the article in the Picayune are

ubstantially correct, except that the lady referred o is not a daughter of Mrs. L. Maria Child. But the is a young lady from Massachusetts, and spells her name Childs instead of Child.

I am acquainted with the facts of the case, having mysell taught school in the Leigh family (not Lee, as printed in the Journal of Commerce) previ-cus to the employment of Miss Childs. I have hird in the vicinity ever since. Such acts of kind-ness as shown by the Leigh family to Miss Childs are acts of true benevolence, true philanthropy. It is not that misguided, morbid philanthropy exhibited by L. Maria Child when she hastened to the son of John Brown, who was clearly proved to mo. ii may be, by the same morbid philamahropy that some Miss. Child to his prison. Abolition phi-lanthropy is call assorbed and false, though I do not doubt that Mrs. Child and thousands like her are meere in their acts. But could not Mrs. Child have found some objects of benevolence nearer home, eren in Massachusetts, really needing assistance, blood, and were guilty of no crime, but were re-duced to suffering and want by misfortune or the providence of God? I have seen many such cases Massachusetts, where I formerly lived and reerred my education. But all such cases are over-loxed by Abolition philanthropy. Distance lends enchantment to the view. Charity with them never begins at home, but it must be lavished upon he negro of the South, who has more enjoyment and happiness than his master.

The worst enemy of the slave is the Abolitionist, such as Mrs. Child, Garrison, Giddings, Phillips, and others alike fanatical and misguided. They have done more to 'tighten the chains of the slave' than all the 'pro-slavery' men of the North. Be-fere they commenced their tirades against the South, he negro enjoyed more privileges and liberty than now. There was an opportunity to teach them to read and write. But their incendiary publications cattered over the land, inciting the slave to bloodshed, murder and rebellion, closed the door to instructions in this way. What instructions they

get now in morals and religion, is verbal.

In my younger and more ignorant days, I was a reader of Garrison's paper, the Liberator. Ignorant days. Yes, I say ignorant, though I had then received a collegiate education. I was as truly ignorant of the system of slavery, socially and morally, as if I had been born and educated in Japan. more I read such papers as the Liberator, the more really ignorant I became. I relied upon a blind, or false guide, and found myself in the ditch. Yet this paper was not them near as ultra and sedi-tious as now; not more so than many Republican papers of the present day. Garrisonism is the adranced guard of Republicanism; certainly as such Republicanism as is represented by Sumner, Wilson, and Lovejoy. Conservative Republicans will halt when they once see where their advanced guard are and they once see where their authors by the beding them. But I did not take my pen to write on politics; I am no politician. I only wished to state that the Miss Childs above referred to was not the daughter of L. Maria Child. Duck Hill. Miss.

for od-

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# From the New York Journal of Commerce.

To THE EDITORS :- The life of Abolitionism lies in this that thousands of honest men do not see the or service, and therefore assume that no reason exsts, and war against the Constitution and the law or upholding the rights of masters. We shall never have peace on the subject till the reason is pointed out. This I have briefly done in the followng article; and I beg you to print it. No man can understand what I have written without admitting that our slave laws have a basis of justice, even though a had use may sometimes be made of them, even as bad land-owners can use their power for the

oppression of the poor.

Aggres slavery is not the only slavery, nor the worst. Every act of human government is necessarily, so far as it is operative, an abridgement of sarily so far as it is operative. individual liberty, to be justified only on the score of public necessity, or the lack of wisdom and honesty on the part of individuals to practise self-government; i. e., to do what is wisest and best for themselves and for society without external force.
The more 'liberty' the wicked and foolish enjoy, the more slavery they inflict and suffer. Base na-tures suffer lar more from too much liberty than

These are truisms, but the insanity of the age calls for their frequent utterance. False notions of lib-erty threaten the destruction of all liberty. We are already much more free than honest. If the Aboli-lionists would but abolish Dishonesty, not only ne-gre slavery but all slavery would abolish itself, and the Millenium would follow.

# SOUTHERN AGGRESSION.

The Southern States of this confederacy have about 4,000,000 negroes, African savages or their descrimts, to deal with. To leave these negroes free to follow their own inclinations would be a virtual appearation of the Southern States to Hayti or to Congo; for it would establish the same state of things there that exists in Congo-free polygamy. free laziness, free stealing from the nearest sheep-fold or hen-roost, and free seizures of the most docile by the most savage, to be held as slaves. To save those States from such anarchy and barbarism, the civilized whites, by legal enactments, have sought to repress the liberty of idleness. They do not per-mait their savages to live mit their savages to live as savages or as vagabonds, but encourage white men to take them into their fields, and set them at work. To overcome the conaside, and set them at work. To overcome the con-stitutional laziness of the negro is no easy matter. To make a negro do work enough to pay for his housing and keeping from infancy to old age, is no easy matter. No white man can be expected to do it for nothing. To induce white men to do it, and to do it well, the law allows them a permanent property in every savage whom they redoem from

barbarism and vagabondage, by teaching him to work at any honest or useful calling. The law, if lower, filled with men, intelligent, conscientious, to regress heing slaves. By this official corporate while requiring the white man to use his barbarians with all the necessaries of life, gives him full power to direct the industry of life, gives him full power to direct the industry he may rescue from vagabondage, and to dispose of the rive and cotton that, but for him, would have never existed. Such were the laws and usages of the rive and cotton that, but for him, would have every American colony and community, when the every American colony and community, when the Declaration of Independence was written, and of Declaration of Independence was written, and of Declaration of Massachusetts for fifty years produce.

That the Representatives are desired to promote willing to occupy the time or attention of Index in the laws and the surface willing to occupy the time or attention of Index in the laws and the surface willing to occupy the time or attention of Index in the laws and the surface willing to occupy the time or attention of Index in the possible to the prize the prize and corporate address, but we feel that there are desired to promote the willing to occupy the time or attention of Index in the laws and the surface willing to occupy the time or attention of a separation for such range of a separation to the past of the prize of the time or attention of Index in the possible to the prize of the bright of the prize of the time or attention of Index in the prize of the prize of the time or attention of a separation to the prize of the time or attention of a separation to the past of the prize of the time or attention of a separation to the past of the prize of the prize of the prize of the prize of the strict in the prize of the every State South of Massachusetts for fifty years profane, afterwards. Acting according to the laws and policy thus indicated by necessity, thousands of From curses, . . . . who had learned their only prayers white men became voluntary teachers and guardians and who carried in their hold that barbarous slavery, white men became voluntary teachers and guardians of beastly savages, whom they redeemed from all the worst evils of barbarism, and whose industrial energies, from being a waste or a curse, they converted into a mighty source of private and national wealth. The cotton and other products thus educed from barbarism have always been a chief, if not the sole support of our export trade, and thus an essential prop to our banking system, our domestic trade, and our whole system of commerce. Let this prop be withdrawn, and we should be at once precipitated into such a financial and commercial revulsion as we have never yet known. One-half of our Territory would become an African juugle, where free laziness for negroes would result in free stealing for everyfor negroes would result in free stealing for every-body, and civilization and industry would alike perish , while the other half would flounder in bank-

ruptcy and anarchy for a life time, if not for ever. The Southern States have uniformly resisted all attempts to demoralize and to run off their reclaimed savages, whether by Abolition Societies and negrostealers, or by demagogues and incendiaries; and it is their resistance to such attempts that constitutes the main staple of what their assailants term Southern Aggression.' If they have committed any other aggressions upon us, what are they? When have they filled the mails with incendiary cuts and banditti? When did they forward strychnine to

One point more. When we seek to make the the negroes as 100 to 1, the rule whereby Southern legislators shall govern their action, do we not commit an 'aggression' upon the Southern States? Where a single negro is thrown among a hundred white men, there are many chances that the indus-trial momentum of the hundred may so far overcome the inertia of the one, as to make him carn his support without giving him a special guardian and mas-ter by law. There are many chances that some one of the hundred may learn him some useful employter by law. There are many chances that some one of the hundred may learn him some useful employment out of charity, or from a hope of profiting by the teachings given to the negro, when the negro shall have learnt to work. And even should the negro the teachings given to the negro, when the negro shall have learnt to work. And even should the nedustrial education of a negro multitude cannot be managed without fixed and responsible masters, endowed with all necessary authority by law, and stimulated by some surer reward than the chance wages to be derived from negro conscientiousness and negro gratitude. No man would house, and clothe, and feed a family of negroes from birth to maturity for such amount of work as they might please to give him after they were grown up; yet the whole tendency of Abelitionism is, to require the Southern tendency of Abolitionism is, to require the Southern land-holders to do this, and to strip the negroes born at the South of all civilized protection and guidance, save such as the few white capitalists amongst whom they are scattered, may be able and willing to give them for nothing! Men at the North, who rarely allow a poor white family to live in one of their tenant houses a single month without paying a whacking rent, (often in advance,) demand that the Southern planters should harbor whole households of negroes all their life for nothing; for, whatever of their measures. Why do men call such aggression as this, 'Southern Aggression'? J. H. H.

# SELECTIONS.

MASSACHUSETTS AND VIRGINIA.

States, we might hesitate, yet, as citizens of Massacro. States, we might hesitate, yet, as citizens of Massacro. And still further, there were times when the negro, chusetts, we are not allowed to hesitate. By the example of our fathers, who laid the foundations of our Commonwealth in knowledge and in justice—who built schools and set their faces a rainst slavery—we are urged to special efforts. As their children, there were times when the negro, which they had so much at heart, and which constitute their true glory.

In 1770, for what is known as the Boston Massacro. And still further, there were times when the negro, whether bond or free, was enlisted in the militia, and 'cripioned to attend trainings as well as the English.' Indeed, as early as 1643, on the muster-roll of Plymouth is the name of 'Abraham Pease, the blackamore.' Thus, though slavery had a cerderen, we must strive to develop and extend those the body politic and to the social life of Massacha—which constitute their true glory. tory; so that if, as men or as citizens of the United

against her. But it is in vain. From the past, perpetual memory. A Boston ship had brought learn the future. See how from the beginning she home two negroes kidnapped on the coast of Guinea. has led the way. This has been her office. She led Thus spoke the Massachusetts of that day: has led the way. This has been ber office. She led in the long battle of argument, which ended in the war of Independence; so that European historians have called our Revolutionary Fathers simply 'the in the long battle of argument, which ended in the war of Independence; so that European historians have called our Revolutionary Fathers simply 'the insurgents of Boston,' and have announced the object of the war as simply 'justice to Boston.' And she has led also in all enterprises of human improvement, especially in the establishment of public schools and the abolition of slavery. We are told that a little leaven shall leaven the whole lump, and it is the Massachusetts leaven which is now stirring the whole country. Wherever education is organized at the public expense, or human rights organized at the public expense, or human rights are respected, there is seen the influence of Massa-

are respected, there is seen the influence of Massachusetts, who has been not only school master, but
chain-breaker. Such are her titles. Men may rail,
but they cannot rail these away. Look at them in
her history.

In the winter of 1620, the May Flower landed its
precious cargo at Plymouth Hock. This small band,
cheered by the valedictory prayers of the Puritan
pastor, John Robinson, braved sees and wilderness,
for the sake of liberty. In this inspiration our
Commonwealth began. That same year, another
cargo, of another character, was landed at Jamestewn in Virginia. It was sincteen alaves—the first
that ever touched and darkened our soil. Never in

. . . . who had learned their only prayers

words, 'had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the first things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministry shall lie in the dust.' In this spirit, it was ordered by the General Court as early as 1642, 'That in every town, the chosen men appointed for managing the prudential affairs of the same shall have power to take account of all parents and masters of their children, especially of their ability to read and unplacards calculated to array Northern poverty and labor against Northern capitalists? When have they violated the Constitution by passing 'Personal Liberty Bills'? When have they sent fire-brands into our Northern factories, or got up John Brown expeditions to organize our social malecontents into handitit? When did they forward strephning to resort to it to write and read,' and every town with Northern servants, that they might poison their en-vied masters? Let Seward, Weed and Greeley an-school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the univer-One point more. When we seek to make the sity; and this law in its preamble assigned as its slight necessity for special legislation in regard to object, to counteract one chief project of the old negroes that is felt in States where the whites are to deluder Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures,' and also 'that learning may not be buried in the graves of our fathers, in the Church and Commonwealth.' To nothing in her history can Massachusetts look with more pride than to this commanding example, which, whenever fol-lowed, must open wide the gates of human im-

Nor is this all. Mindful that the press is the in-

Meanwhile, the slave-ship had continued its voygro grow up a mere vagrant and parasite, there are ages and discharged its baleful cargoes. Virginia so many industrious white men around, for him to prey upon, that his pickings and stealings will not fall ruinously hard upon any one. But the case is very different in those States where negroes are found by the thousand. There is no alternative Sir William Berkely, said, in 1671, 'I thank God there is the case of the case is school-master is shut out. One of her Governors, for William Berkely, said, in 1671, 'I thank God there, between discipline and barbarism. The in-dustrial education of a negro multitude cannot be we shall not have these hundred years, for learning

been increasing ever since. The evidence is unim-penchable, whether we consult the faithful historian who tells us that at the beginning of the last century, Boston alone contained five printing office and many booksellers, while there was not a single bookseller in Virginia, Maryland or Carolina; or whether we consult the various statistics of the census in our day, where figures speak with most persuasive power for the May-Flower against the

lave ship.

But while Massachusetts thus founded the School the professions or even the intentions of Northern and the Printing Press, what was her course on meddlers may be, that would be the practical result Slavery? Alas! not all that we could wish; but still enough to make her an example. Unhappily slavery, although in a much mitigated form, came to be recognized here. But it never flourished, and it was from the beginning surrounded with impediments to its increase. To our glory, let it be known, that no person could be born a slave on our soil. This odious yoke was not transmissible in the blood. t ended with life, and did not visit itself upon the It ended with life, and did not visit itself upon the children of the slave-mother. It appears also that the slave could take and hold property,—which no American slave can now do. He could also testify in courts of justice, like a white man, which no American slave, nor colored person in a slave State, can now do. A slave, called 'Andrew, Mr. Oliver Wendell's negro,' also 'Cato, a negro,' were wittenly but re-inforced by circumstances in her history: so that if, as men or as citizens of the United. in 1770, for what is known as the Boston Massacre.

which constitute their true glory.

In the recent conflicts of party, it is common to heap insults upon Massachusetts. Hard words are should bear witness against 'Man-stealing.' This often employed. Some of her own children turn it did as far back as 1646 in formal act, worthy of

The General Court, conceiving themselves bound

failing brightness.
Other official acts followed. In 1705, a heavy dnty was imposed upon every begro imported into Massachusetts. In 1712, the importation of Indians as servants or slaves was strictly forbidden. But the small number of slaves and the mildness with which their condition was tempered, or, perhaps, a still immature public opinion, postponed definitive action on this great question until our own controversy with the mather country, when the rights of the blacks were blended by all true pat-riots with the rights of the whites. James Otis, in pleading for the colonies, denounced slavery of all kinds, while Samuel Adams said to his wife, who had brought into his house a slave for a servant, ward ceased to be a slave. Sparing all unnecessary details, suffice it to say, that, as early as 1769, one of the courts of Massachusetts, anticipating the renowned judgment in Somersett's case, established the principle of emancipation, and, under its touch of benign power, changed a slave into a free-man. In the same spirit voluntary manumissions man. In the same spirit voluntary manumissions outcast slave can find a reluge from persecution, and took place, as by Jonathan Jackson, of Newbory. claim the equal protection of laws which repudiate port, who, in a deed, which may be found in the distinctions among men for the sake of color, and Probate Records of the County of Suffolk, declared recognize the Divine announcement that God has that it was in consideration of the impropriety made of one blood all nations to dwell on the face that it was 'in consideration of the impropriety long felt in beholding any person in constant bondage, more especially at a time when his country is so warmly contending for the liberty every man ought to enjoy.' At last, in 1780, even before the triumph of Yorktown had assured that peace which set its seal upon our National Independence, Massa-chusetts, enlightened by her common schools, filled by the sentiment of freedom, and guided by her revolutionary patriots, placed in front of her bill of rights the emphatic words all men are born free and equal,' and by this solemn declaration, afterwards enforced by her courts, made slavery impos-sible within her borders. From that time it ceased sible within her borders. From that time it ceased a copy of an address proposed to be presented to the to exist, so that the first ceases after the adoption Prince of Wales by the people of African descent of the Federal Constitution, in the enumeration residing in Western Canada. of slaves, contains a blank against the name of I am to inform you that His Royal Highness Massachusetts; and this is the only State which learns with much pleasure the assurances of loy-has this honor. Thus, of old, did Massachusetts alty contained in the address, but that the address

trict of Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, moved the prohibition of slavery in the Territories of the United States; and in 1789, Nathan Dane, another of her representatives, reported the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory, contain-ing this same prohibition. And, at a later day, sion, that same son of Massachusetts, Rufus King, whose home was now transferred to New York, taken in the position he has taken in relation to the showed himself inflexible against all compromise Address of the Colored People of that city to the sion, that same son of Massachusetts, Rufus King, whose home was now transferred to New York, showed himself inflexible against all compromises with slavery, and in the Senate of the United States, with all his weight of years, character, and ability led the effort to restrict it. John Quincy Adams, fear that there are sum of that strips,) will fall another son of Massachusetts, was at the time Secretary for the Colored Poole of the Co another son of Massachusetts, was at the time Scoretary of State, and he, too, enrolled himself on the
same side. Afterwards, when the discussion of stavery was renowed in Congress, this same champion,
then a representative from Massachusetts, entered
the list for freedom, and in his old age, after having
been President, achieved a second fame. Slavery,
which was now exalted by its partizans as beneficent
and just, he exposed in its enormity; the knot of
slave-masters who had domineered over the country,
tary, which will be found in another column, but which was now exalted by its partisans as beneacons which was now exalted by its partisans as beneacons and just, he expeed in its enormity; the knot of slave-masters who had domineered over the country, he denounced with withering scorn, while he vindicated the right of petition, which slave-masters assailed, and upheld the primal truths of the Declaration of Indapendence, which slave-masters had are sailed, and upheld the primal truths of the Declaration of Indapendence, which slave-masters had are subjects, residing in Canada, in one point of view, as owing the same allegiance to the British Crown, as owing the same privileges accroing from such parts.

Flower against the slave ship.

Nor is this all. There is a common band between the rising sun, as for any person to imagine the charities, so that one draws others in its train. that such a British sentiment as that could offend that such a British sentiment as that could offend And the grand charity for which we to-day bless our us! We offended at the very principles we have Commonwealth is only one of many lor which she is now illustrious. Goodness grows by activity, and the moral and intellectual character which inspired Massachusetts to do what she has done for freedom, has made her active wherever the suffering are to be relieved, wherever the ignorant are to be taught, or wherever the lowly are to be elevated, and has enwherever the lowly are to be elevated, and has ention of a man on account of color exists, proclaim abled her, though small in extent and churlish in that His Royal Highness declares. British subjects abled her, though small in extent and churism in that His keyal Highness declares. Drisin successful, to exert a wide-spread power. It is this charged in Canada, without respect to color, enjoy the same acter which has given her that name on the earth, which is a source of pride to her children. Strike out from her life all that is due to this influence, and how barren her history would seem! I do not say Wonder if His Highness will be allowed to stop in words and the strike and th how barren her history would seem! I do not say that her children would disown her; but they would

hardly rise up and call her blessed, as they now do.

It belongs to us to keep Massachusetts in her present leading position; true to berself in all respects; true to that Spirit of Liberty in which she had her origin; true to the inst and accordance. spects; true to that Spirit of Liberty in which she had her origin; true to the 'just and equal laws' promised in the May-Flower; true to her early and long-continued efforts against slavery; true to the declaration in her own Bill of Rights, by which slavery was solished within her borders; true to the granular of her illustricus representatives.

May it please His Royal Highness:

Her Majesty's subjects of African descent, resid-ing in the Western portion of Canada, desire to welcome the arrival of your Royal Highness in this Province. For ourselves and brethren of the same origin, we rejoice to have an opportunity to assure Her

Majesty through your Royal Highness, of our detion of the British Crown, and our admiration of the Christian and social virtues which so eminently adorn the personal character of our Gracious Boy-The large majority of us were once slaves in another land, the victims of a cruel oppression,

which proclaimed to us that, owing to our color, we had no claim to the ordinary rights of men, and were dome to hopeless bondage.

But, blessed be God, there still remains a country

on the North American continent, where the poor of the earth. That country is now our home; many of us have

sought it through great perils, and we rejoice to be permitted to account ourselves subjects of our be-loved Queen, within the vast dominions which hail her beneficent sway. May God bless our Gracious Queen and Your

Royal Highness!

Оттама, Sept. 1, 1860. Sir,-I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th August, enclosing

lead the way.

If all this be good for Missachusetts; if she has wisely rejected slavery, then is it her duty to do for others within the reach of her influence what she has done for herself. And here her sons have not always been remiss. Follow her history, and you shall find that, on the national field, they have stood forth for the good cause. In 1785, one of her representatives in the Continental Congress, the eminent Rufus King, at the time a citizen of the District of Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, moved

Your obedient servant, R. T. PENNEFATHER, Gov. Sec. A. T. Jones, Esq.

THE PRINCE AND THE COLORED PEO-

sailed, and upheld the primal truths of the Deciarus tion of Independence, which slave misters had audiciously denied. Thus constantly spoke Massachus and enjoying the same allegiance to the British Crown, and enjoying the same privileges accruing from such allegiance. We dissatisfied at that Heaven-born declaration! As well the day be dissatisfied at declaration!

To the President of the Liberty Party Convention, to be held in Syracuse, August 20th, 1860.

promised in the May-Flower: true to her early and long-continued efforts against slavery: true to the declaration in her own Bill of Rights, by which alsvery was abolished within her borders; true to the examples of her illustrious representatives. Rafus King, Nathan Dane and John Quincy Adams; and lastly, true to that moral and intellectual character, which has made her the home of generous charities, the nurse of true learning and the hand of churches. This is our daty.

From the Canada West True Royalist.

COLORED PROPLE'S ADDRESS.

Below will be found the correspondence that the taken place between Mr. Jones, a gentleman of color, and the Governor General, touching the presentation of an address from the colored population to the Prince of Wales. The documents will speak for themselves:—

London, C. W., Aug. 24th, 1850.

Six.—Her Majesty's subjects of African descent, residing in the western portion of Canada, desire to present an address to His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, on the occasion of his approaching visit to London.

Having been deputed by a committee to communicate with you. I have the honor to transmit to you a copy of the address which it is proposed to present, and respectively request that you will in the true protected of the Liberty Perty Convention, to the Liberty Perty Convention, to the the Autumn of 1938, the time to the church is the union of the later of propositions, to the person and property. Novertheless, my friends, and proposition of the Liberty Perty Convention, to the Liberty Perty Convention, to the address which is in proposed to color, and the Governor General, touching the presentation of the Liberty Perty Convention, to the Prince of Vales. The documents with speak for themselves.—

London, C. W., Aug. 24th, 1850.

Six.—Her Majesty's subjects of African descent, residing in the western portion of Canada, desire to present an address to His Royal Highness, the Prince of Majerty Perty Convention is to do no more for its subjects than to present and the Christian char

a good degree outgrown his religion. But the members of his church will, for they still make more account of the doutrinal than the practical. They still judge men more by their doctrines than their practices. He does not, and tind bless him that he es not. As to the government, no more need be said to indicate its character, than that it licenses dram-shops, and is the slaveholder's hound.

I trust that your Convention will make a national ticket, and also a New York State ticket. Not that I suppose either will get many votes; but that I warmly desire that the handlul who wish to yoke in accordance with the claims of absolute regitude, of justice and mercy, may have the needed facilities for doing so. A man is made better and stronger by voting in the way his pare conscience bids him vote; and happy is the influence of his example on those who see him so vote.

Long ago did I become convinced that the American people have not virtue enough to impel them to yote against slavery and the drain-shop. The bal-lot-box, if used to that end, would speedily bring slavery to a peaceful death. But the ballot-box must be left to serve slavery, and slavery must be shop be quickly voted to an end. Nevertheless, it will be left to manufacture paupers and madmen and blaspheners, to fill the land with peril to person and property; to take bread from the mouths of children and to break mothers' bearts.

As I view things, the Convention will do well not to call for any great outlay of time and money to increase the vote for its tickets. I have, from first to last, spent much time, and tens of thousands of dollars, in endeavors to increase our abolition and temperance vote. A little done in that way would have been well. But I did much more than was called for. The time and money were at least half wasted. Two years ago, I was simple enough to hope that, by great effort, we could carry our abolition and temperance vote in this State up to thirty or forty, or even fifty thousand. I expended between four and five thousand dollars in hiring halls, and in paying printers and lecturers, &c.; and I went to fifty-four meetings, and begged, as on my knees, for votes. But, instead of getting so many as would encourage us to try the ballot-box again, we got so few (but five to six thousand) as to leave as but little hope of soon, if indeed of ever, getting more. I would go into a county, and not be able to find a single man to vote our ticket. I was everywhere met by old fellow-laborers in the cause of freedom and temperance, who, instead of giving me their co-operation, told me that I was ruining the Republican party. It seemed not to have occurred to them that the Republican party had ruined them. Nor did it seem to have occurred to them that freedom and temperance were better worth saving than the Republican party. We do not need to employ presses and lecturers

to convince the people that slavery and the dram-shop are among the greatest crimes and abomina-tions. The people are already exturated with this conviction. But we do need to employ them to teach the people the true religion—the simple re-ligion of reason, common sense, and Jesus Christ, Had they this religion, they would be drawn to rational and righteous voting, as naturally and nec-essarily as the needle is drawn to the pole. to convince the people that slavery and the dram

You will need a fund of one or two hundred dollars to defray the expense of printing tickets, and getting them into the hands of suitable depositaries in different parts of the country, who, in their turn, will give them out to the half-dozen in this county and the dozen in that, who refuse to vote the tickets of any party which is so atheistic as to but the party which is so atheistic as to go but for white men, or so merciless as to recog-nize the lawfulness of slave-hunts, or sunk so low in its views of human dignity and human decency as to see in the dram-shop a human want. The enclosed draft for flity dellars is my contribution to

Think not that I shall be sorry to find your Con-vention refusing to partake of my tone of discour-agement. I shall rejoice if it can see encourage-ment to undertake to obtain a considerable vote at the approaching election; and if it can feel itself the approaching election; and if it can feel itself warranted to entertain the hope of a speedy over-throw of slavery and the dram-shop by the force of political action, I stand ready to work with your Uonvention even against hope. To work with those who are endeavoring by peaceful means to rid the world of oppression and intemperance would do me good, and them good, and the world good, even if the direct object of our work should remain entirely unaccomplished.

Your friend.

[GERRIT SMITH.]

Peterboro', August 27, 1860.

William Goodell, editor of The Principia, in s sharp review of Gerrit Smith's letter, says :-

sharp review of Gerrit Smith's letter, says:—

We are not pleased with the ides of going into battle under the leadership of a General who tells his army, before hand, that he has little or no hope of ultimate success in the undertaking. That there is, indeed, no prospect of a successful issue of the great struggle between Despotism and Freedom, or even of making what worldly politicians would reven of making what worldly politicians would regard a respectable commencement of that struggle, during the pending Presidential contest, no one needs be told. But, in a world wherein the most glorious and enduring achievements in behalf of human progress, whether moral, religious or political, are almost uniformly connected with the feebleit and most derided beginnings, a world in which the most glorious and enduring schievement ever witnessed was by a leader with but twelve followers, all of whom, in the hour of peril, forsock him and flod—in such a world, in prosecution of the same enterprise, and under the same patronage and guidance, we can by no means consent to listen to the desponding stones of the leader selected for the present campaign. Nor, on the supposition that so desponding stones of the leader selected, and that his proclamation of despondency was considerately and wisely embhasoned upon his banner, can we perceive the wisdom of selecting any leader, or of going into the battle at all. We are not certain that a man is made better and stronger by a struggle of desperation, without laith or hope, or that a happy influence is exerted by his example—a on those who see him ' thus struggling. Precisely the opposite effects we think we witness, daily, both open those who thus labors, and upon those who thus labors, and upon those who thus labors.

We hold to the sentiment of the old Roman, we We hold to the sentiment of the old Ros paraphrased by Addison, that

We hold, on (to us) a far higher authority, it here are no moral victorice for ' the fearful and t

believing '—shut up, as they are, to the alternation of turning aside in to crooked ways.

What cause, like discouragement, has paralyzed and thinned the ranks of radical abolitionists, for and thinned the ranks of radical additional states, of fifteen years past, and sent them running through the swampy thickets of expediency, after such will-o-wisps as Van Buren, Hale, and Fremont, (not to add Lincoln,) while notes of despondency and of semi-endorsements of such politicians have been consemi-endorsements of such politicians have been con-tinually sounding in their cars? Considering that those notes and semi-endorsements have come from their chief standard-bearer, after whose name they are commonly called, is it not almost a miracle that any of them still remain firm? Has the experiment of 'working against hope' proved a benefit, either to the worker, or to the lookers on? So long as the leader predicts defeat, is it creditable that a victory will be achieved? Was it thus that Joshua, Gideon Jepthe, Sampson, Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon did exploits? Was it thus that Paul and Luther

and Granville Sharpe triumphed?
The maxims of Christian heroism, ' What ought to be done can be done' - Expect great things, attempt great things'—have been pulled down, at Syracuse, and the watch-word, 'Expect nothing, attempt little,' has been run up in their stead. men be blamed, if, with such a banner before them, they fail to enlist? Or that, if enlisted, they should obey marching orders,-and by attempting little,

secomplish nothing?

Excuse us, brethren. We have witnessed such experiments long enough, and too long, already. We cannot fight our battles under that banner. We had rather go 'on our own hook.' We impuge the motives of no one. We censure no one. We withdraw friendship from no one. The brethren at Syracuse have done what they thought best. And

We cannot help to carry on a struggle at the a hopeless one, and that the bayonet of local resistance and bloodshed is, after all, to be the only hope for the slave or the country. We have no best membered, or we shall not fairly estimate the causes lief that a people, with the power of the ballot in their hands, and without faith, hope, courage and fidelity, to wield it wisely, will easy have the course of the slave of West Indian property. Another the causes of classic contributed to the ruin of so many undirections. The fortunate holders of West Indian property. Another examination of classic contributed to the ruin of so many undirections. fidelity, to wield it wisely, will ever have the courage, skill, and love of freedom, to preserve or to regain their liberties by fighting for them. Taking the proceedings of the Syracuse Convention, as a whole, its resolutions and the letter of its Presidential candidate, -however the documents may have been intended,-we cannot read them into anything more hopeful than this. So far, at least, as the support of the Presidential candidate is concerned can see no better destiny in prospect, by his own To the sound of such a trumpet, who shall prepare himself for the battle, or for anything but ignominious flight? We want a Joshua and a Caleb, in whose sight the hosts of Israel, as compared with their enemies, are not 'as grasshoppers,' but who will say to the people, 'Let us go up at once, and possess the land, for we are well able to overcome it.' Of Dr. Cheever bimself, the letter says :-

· He will not, himself, vote for dram-shops and slave-catchers, for he has, in a good degree, outg his religion.

Without stopping to inquire on what authority this distinction is made between the Church of the Puritans and Dr. Cheever, it is more directly to our purpose to ask what religion of Dr. Cheever it that he has in a good degree outgrown? Is it the religion of Justice and Mercy? Mr. Smith will not admit that this was his meaning. Was it any pro-slavery or anti-temperance religion that he formerly cherished? No. He never had any such religion. He has not changed his religion. He was early taught the religion of the Bible in the orthodox exposition of it, and espoused it as the vital element and rule of his life. When the temperance enterprize began, he espoused the temperance cause. When the anti-slavery enterprise began, he espoused the abolition cause, (as George Thompson lately tore testimony in London,) about the Gerrit Smith has admitted that he did - be cause he believed the orthodox doctrine of regeneration, a change of heart, immediate and unconditional repentance, a doctrine derived from the Bible and from the orthodox exposition of it, a doctrine that, like all the other doctrines of Bible orthodoxy, is of the most vital practical bearing, doctrine that cannot be heartily embraced and obeyed without producing the fruits of practical godliness, a doctrine congruous and in harmony with no intelligible system of religious instruction on earth, except the orthodox, one of the very shibboleths of the orthodox creed, as total abstinence is with the tetotallers—as immediate and uncondi tional emancipation is with abolitionists. By per severance in this orthodox doctrine, and especially by a more vigorous and distinct application of to the great sin of our country, and invigorated by all the kindred orthodox doctrines, Dr. Cheever is now dealing death-blows upon the monster, not giving way to discouragement, and predicting that nothing can be accomplished.

The following is the first of three Letters (all of which we shall publish) from ERNEST NORL, Esq., son of the Hon, and Rev. Baptist Noel, of England, respecting the Labor Question in the West Indies. They have been printed in tract form by the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society at Birmingham, having first made their appearance in the Leeds Mercury. They were written after a recent visit to the island of Jamaica, and contain much interesting information respecting the true state of things in the British West Indies, and the results of the abolition of slavery.

> LABOR IN THE WEST INDIES. No. I.

To the Editors of the Leeds Mercury :

GENTLEMEN,—The subject of free labor in our West India colonies has lately received considerable attention, and as there appears to be some misapprehension in many quarters as to the real state both of the negroes and the plantations, I venture to lay before the public a few facts.

It is commonly asserted that free negroes will not work; that the price of sugar will not repay the cost of production in most of our West India colonies; and that free labor cannot compete with slave labor in these possessions without a large immigra-tion from India or China.

I propose to consider these three statements as regards Jamaica, which, being the largest and at the same time least flourishing of the West India islands, deserves our attentive consideration.

During a visit to Jamaica last autumn, I sought

with great care for the causes which have reduced this fine island to its present condition; and although I do not pretend to have discovered all, and indeed should hardly feel at liberty to mention some of the defects of government which may have tended to lessen its prosperity, yet I think a sufficient number can be shown to explain the melancholy position of its proprietors, and to remove the idea that the emancipation of the slaves source of all its disasters. tion of the slaves has been the one fertile

We will first investigate the charge that the free negroes will not work. It might be said, as a writer in the Times has suggested, that this would be nothing very strange, for where the inducements to a life of case and iddeness are so great, and the requirements of nature so easily supplied, it would be natural that a half civilized population should decline the labors of the sugar field. But natural as this might have been, it is not the fact. It may fairly be said that the negro has not the energy of the European, but it is far from true that he is the idle, ent being some would have led us to believe Abundant proof can be afforded of this. I would point at once to several thriving plantations in Jamaica as a convincing refutation. How is it, then so many estates which under slavery were sending ne returns to their proprietors in England are now uncultivated, the owners perhaps ruined. and the population gone? It may be summed up in few words, by saying that absenteeism, heavy ortgages, want of capital, had management, unjust treatment of laborers, unpunctuality in paying wages, immoral conduct of overseers, want of tages, and want of labor, have each contributed to bring the island into its present condition.

The subject of absente m has been so thorough ly discussed in relation to Ireland, that it is needless my more than that its injurious effects are as plainly marked and as deeply felt in the West Indies

as in our sister island.

Some estates have been abandoned—and I could name several—owing to the proprietor receiving nothing from his property, the whole profits being swallowed up by a heavy mortgage, and the mortgage not being willing to invest more money or carry on the cultivation at his own risk. Such estates were not thrown out of cultivation from ' want of labor.' Others were worked entirely by borrowed

capital, paying high rates of interest; a single fail-ure in the sugar crop would almost hopelessly in-volve the estate in debt.

Many more have been ruined by gross mismanagement. Expensive machinery has been sent out from England, in some cases totally unfit for the purpose to which it was to be applied; in others the local managers were ignorant of its use, or refused to adopt what they considered worthless innovations. Such properties, bringing in but small and uncertain returns to their owners, have been in several cases abandoned.

On some estates there has been a real want of Is

On some estates there has been a real want of in-bor, but this in no way arising from either a want of population or the idleness of the negroes, but produced by the unjust and cruel treatment of the overseera, either during the time of apprenticeship or in the years immediately succeeding. This is a most important fact, and as most of the agents who were then employed have since died, and the proper-tics have very generally changed hands, it is now ties have very generally changed hands, it is now forgotten, and nothing is thought of but the pres-ent melancholy result, that the fields are untilled, the population departed, and what was once a scene of busy life is now sinking back into an unpeopled wilderness. During the 'apprenticeship,' not a tew of the unprincipled managers of property, provoked and irritated at the thought that those whom they had so long regarded as mere property, cattle to do their work, were soon to be as free as themselves, instead of relaxing the treatment of their partially emancipated slaves, showed the most brutal severity, and felt towards their wretched victims, what one of them had the courage to express. When a mismagistrate was about to receive fifty lashes, he ex-

On one property in Hanover, no negro received

among the hills. On another property in St. James's, six weeks and two months often elapsed without the payment of wages; and at the time of settlement, the negro's knowledge of arithmetic being extremely limited, he constantly thought himself defrauded of his due, but her feverish desire for expansion reveals its imwhich produced such discontent, that, whole famiare these isolated cases.

'want of labor' was adduced as the cause of their present abandoned condition, I found that an attempt had been made to coerce the people, by mixing up rent and wages, charging arbitrary and exorbitant rents for cottages, if any an the family refused to terrible system was mightily strengthened, new blood

of the overseers and bookkeepers prevented many negrees, who had become Christians, from permitting their children to work on such estates, saying it was better they should be somewhat poorer in life and the next.

The want of suitable cottages near the cane-fields have in some places aided in diminishing the available labor, as the negroes refused to walk five and six miles to their work.

the other branches of this subject, as I have already slave State. trespassed too long on your valuable space; but I hope to be permitted at some future time to continue this investigation.

I remain, Gentlemen, yours obediently, ERNEST NOEL. November 16th, 1859.

WM. B. BAILEY-CASSIUS M. CLAY. To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

SIR,-Some time since you published a card from U. M. Clay, recalling his letters of commendation | and preserving the Territories absolutely and beyond to myself. To correct wrong impressions where any a peradventure from the designs of the Slave Power, might exist, permit me to state in reply that he requested me last Fall to abandon my (our) Kentucky quested me last Fall to abardon my (our) Kentucky
Free-State Platform, stating that he (they of Madison County) had adopted simply the Philadelphia
Republican Platform of 1856. So I republished said
Republican Platform of 1856. platform, for the sake of unity, as we expected to vote with the Republican party in 1860, acknowledging Mr. Clay as our leader, but did not abandon our Kentucky State Platform, as he requested, for I still thought that the citizens of Kentucky should didates. Our answer is, that the greater includes the very among us, which, I thought, would be as con- ter of incomparably greater concern than an effort sistent as it was for other States that had done so,

on the 26th of April, 1860, Mr. Clay professed the holding guarantees of the Constitution are such as same friendship he had for many years previous, and morally to vitiate that instrument, and no party can parted with me in like manner at the close of the be justified on any pretence in swearing to uphold it; Convention. I never once dreamed that he held, intended to the convention of the conven

'extension' of slavery, and yet have nothing to say union must inevitably and speedily be the extinction against the evil of it in our own midst, would be, I of the slave system universally; and that to make no think, ridiculous before the world, and inconsistent compromise with oppressors that do the "the "blighest

I have no apology to make to Mr. Clay for my course, and if he has hope to make to me for his. I bid him farewell. His letter, I think, will do me but little harm. May it do as little to him. I wish him no ill. I have always been true to principle, and trust ever to remain so. But, I must say, his letter is a cold and unnatural thrust without cause. I have been his shield and helper, and now in a crushed condition and needy, he seeks my ruin.
Friends writing to me will please address Box
No. 10, Covington, Ky., instead of Newport.

Respectfully yours, WM. S. BAILEY.

THE WAY NORTHERN BUSINESS MEN ARE WELCOMED IN THE SOUTH.

The Utica Herald of the 21st has an account of the reception which Mr. John H. Keating, of that city, received recently at Savannah. Mr. Keating went to Georgia to canvass the State with a patent spring bed. He was a good Douglas Democrat, but and we trust it is not insincere. That the party is caused him to change his politics are thus set forth

nah, as has been stated. On the voyage a canvass stitutional agreement, is what we are constantly af-of the passengers was taken to learn their political firming; nevertheless, heterogeneous as it is in its predilections, as is common in these days. Mr. Keating announced himself for Douglas; one of the My. Keating and several persons from New York minister lynch law to all who are connected with it. were sent for by the authorities, and questioned as to their business, their residence, and their destina-They were acquitted of any suspicion of being abolition emissaries or distributors of incendiary documents. But they were notified that they must Seward, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Burlingame, leave by the return of the steamer which brought Mr. Hale, or any other leading Republican, should them thither. No pediers or sellers of patent rights from the North would be permitted at present to go through the State in the pursuit of their calling. This despotic command was rendered the more rigoracts which came to the cars of Mr. Keating and his companions. A Northern man at Alken had been caught reading the New York Tribune, and was tarred and feathered. An old resident of Savannah who refused to join a club to supervise the opinions and conduct of citizens and strangers, and The first

to abandon his business and migrate, to escape personal indignity and violence.

'So warned and commanded, Mr. Keating found it necessary to leave the State to which his business had called him. Rather, than return home, he determined to go on to Lauisiana, and had taken passage for New Orleans, when the captain of the vessel on which he was to sail warned him that he where they only remained for him to return to a State where men from whatever part of this or any other country may go where they list, and pursue an honest calling unshackled and free from such despotic surveillance.'

The Liberator.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 28, 1860. THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE .... THE REPITS

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

LICAN PARTY, &c. contained in the 'Address of the Pre-Constitutionalists to the People of the United States, ecently published in this city by Theyer & Eldridge Here is what is said in regard to the Territorial issue with the Slave Power :-

Whether a man, who is confessedly to be held as property, shall be so held in one place, rather than in another? in a State, rather than in a Territory? is a frivolous and impertinent question, in which the man himself can have no interest, and which is unworthy of a moment's consideration at this time, if not at all times. If he is to be a slave at all, the locality in which he is to be held is a matter of no importance to him, and of little or no importance to the nation at large, or any of its people. We must strongly dissent from this reasoning. I

is true, it may be a matter of little consequence to the slave, whether he is held in one locality or another; but it is a matter of the gravest concern to the South whether the Territories shall be consecrated to free dom or to slavery-whether her slave system shall be kept within its present limits, or be permitted to exclaimed, 'I have got you for two years yet, and kept within its present limits, or be permitted to ex-your life shall not be worth a farthing by that time.' tend indefinitely. She has not been aroused, and in-Can it be wondered at that slaves thus used, having flamed to madness, by a shadowy abstraction, but by flamed to madness, by a shadowy abstraction, but by fortunate holders of West Indian property. Anoth-er evident cause which led to this want of labor was tile soil, and requires new lands by constant acquisithe unwillingness of the masters at first to pay regu- tion to prevent its final extinction. The borderruffian invasion of Kansas was not a wanton and gratuitous outrage on her part, but deemed by her essen any payment in money for ten months, when a gen-eral defection took place; the laborers refusing any try. To limit is, in process of time, to destroy her longer to work for the benefit of others, sought empeculiar institution'; hence her desperation and ployment for themselves on land easily to be obtained fury in view of the purpose to prevent the extension On another property in St. James's, six weeks of slavery beyond her present boundaries. True, lies emigrating to the hills, the property had to be portance to her safety and power, and proves the is thrown out of cultivation for 'want of labor.' Nor sue to be one of the gravest consequences. Every new territory she can absorb, subjugate or annex, es-On other properties, where a similar complaint of pecially where soil and climate are favorable to slave productions, is a new lease of life for her slave system, against which appeals to reason and conscience are powerless. By the acquisition of Texas, that infused into all its veins, the market price of every In conversation with some exceedingly intelligent slave materially enhanced, and the domestic and negroes, I was informed that the gross immoralities foreign slave trade stimulated to the highest activity. The political struggle, therefore, now shaking the country like an earthquake, is not at all with reference to 'a frivolous and impertinent question,' but is stances than degraded and corrupted, ruined for this in the nature of things-a part of the irrepressible conflict' between justice and injustice, right and wrong, liberty and despotism-the product of the general moral agitation for the total and eternal abolition of chattel slavery in every part of the South The length of this letter precludes my entering on Hence the outlawry of the Republican party in every

> Moreover, with the acquisition of new Territories out of which to carve additional slave States ad libitum, comes not only a vast augmentation of value in existing slave property, but an essential and indispensable increase of political power in the hands of the slave oligarchy, to be wielded in Congress against whatever relates to the interests of the North.

> If, therefore, the Republican party shall succeed in getting the reins of government into its own hands, it will do no slight service to the cause of freedom; and to that extent, and for that reason, it has our

simply to prevent its extension; that 'an ounce of and that are now free. I think so still.

At the Republican Convention held in Covington remedy is worth a pound of cure'; that the slaveholding guarantees of the Constitution are such as went immediately home, and wrote the card in order to clear her skirts of blood guiltiness, instead of remaining an accomplice in slaveholding where it referred to.

For us Kentuckians to raise our voice against the now exists at the South; that the result of such discompromise with oppressors is to do the highest service to all classes and all interests in the land. It is not necessary for us to elucidate these points in this connexion, as it is our constant aim to show that upon the Northern banner should be inscribed the motto, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS! and the battle carried to the gate.

The next position laid down in the pamphlet under consideration is, that, of all the contending political parties, the Republican is the most thoroughly senseless, baseless, nimless, inconsistent and insincere. Certainly, see are not called upon to be the defender or apologist of the Republican party; but we do not hesitate to say that such an impeachment is lacking in discrimination and justice. Should it succeed, it will be in the power of the Republican party to secure every Territory to the service of free labor and free institutions, in accordance with its platform; so that, to this extent, it is neither aimless nor baseless, is now a Republican. The circumstances which inconsistent, and morally condemned out of its own mouth, in resisting the extension of slavery on the ground of its being a curse and crime, and then 'He sailed from New York on the 7th for Savan- supporting it where it exists and as it exists by confirming ; nevertheless, heterogeneous as it is in its materials, conflicting as are the utterances of its passengers, a slaveholder, voted for Lincoln, and the prominent supporters, it so speaks and so acts as to rest were for Breckinridge and Bell. Arrived at cause the slave-traffickers to gnash their teeth, and Savannah, and having located himself at his hotel, the entire body of Southern ruffians to desire to ad-South, and avows that he cannot safely visit the graves of his relatives in that section ! What if Mr. presume to advocate Mr. Lincoln's election at Richmond, Savannah, Mobile, or New Orleans? In all probability, death would be the consequence! (1)

> (1) The spirit of the whole South, in reference to the Republican party, is comprehensively evinced in the following paragraph from the New Orleans Com

opinions and conduct of citizens and strangers, and was therefore suspected of lacking scal for the punishment of offenders against slavery, was compelled to abandon his business and migrate, to escape personal indignity and violence.

'So warned and commanded, Mr. Keating found if necessary to leave the State to which his business had called him. Rather than return home, he determined to go on to Louisians, and had taken passage for New Orleans, when the captain of the versel on which he was to sail warned him that he would find no less obtacles there in his way. It only remained for him to return to a State where men from whatever part of this or any other country may go where they list, and pursue an honest calling unshackled and free from such despotic surveillance.

'The first object of the Constitutional Union men of the South is to defeat Lincoln. This is the object of all of them, without a single exception; and it is to, because they know that his election; they know that his election; they know that his election; they know that his election is to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone unions to defeat him. They will leave no stone they know that his election to defeat him. They will leave no stone they know that his election to defeat him. They will leave no stone they know that his election to defeat him. They 'The first object of the Constitutional Union

is anxious to prevent the further extension of shares ry; whereas all the other parties are made up of those who are eager and venomous for the suppression of the anti-slavery agustion in all its phases.

The fourth proposition is all the fourth proposition is all the fourth proposition of the same of those who described the fourth proposition is all the fourth proposition. Hence, we cannot agree with the fourth proposition in this Address, that 'the great object should be to procure the defeat of the Republicans,' and let either of the other parties win the victory! For it is not the object of the abolition movement to put up or to put down any political party as such; but, hold-ing the scales of justice impartially, it is to create such a moral and religious sentiment against alavery as shall mould all parties and acces to effect its over-

Finally, the Address recommends that a new party should be organized on the basis of the unco tionality of slavery wherever it exists. We doem it a waste of time and effort to do this-an historical are not only willing to concede, but entertain no was established at the moment when 'order' was alstently applied their own Constitution, ever since it; invited to see the 'patriarchal' character of slavery, adoption till now, in its relation to slavery; and the adaptation to the best interests of the slave—therefore we shall not try to convict them of ignorance those in which resistance or escape is felt to be rance or delusion in this matter, but, taking them at hopeless for the present, and the slave has no alterna-their word, and pointing to their pro-slavery deeds, tive except to die under the lash or put on the appearuniversal liberty.

WILLIAM S. BAILEY, ESQ.

ceive such 'material aid' as will enable him to resume the publication of his fearless and well-confamily put in imminent peril-and every device of of Oppression." satanic, pro-slavery malignity resorted to, in order to suppress his paper, and drive him from the State. But he has maintained his ground with herois courand he will still keep at his post, provided he can obtain new printing materials for those the mob threw delay. Help him generously, friends of humanity!

Character of a Postmaster, and Sheriff of Newport, Free State Printing Presses.

From the Cincinnati Commercial of July 30, 1860. RICH DEVELOPMENT—THE CASE OF CHARLES WAG-J. Q. A. Foster, of Newport, Ky., under the head of Personal, in our advertising columns. It apper-Personal, in our naverusing countries tains to certain matters interesting to himself, to Sheriff Helm of Campbell country, and to the public. Dr. Foster tells who shared with him the money' which was realized in the sale of the kidnapped negro, Charles Waggoner. The card requires no comment. It is sworn to, and it speaks for itself:

A CARD.

NEWPORT, Ky., July 29, 1860. My apology for giving publicity to the following facts concerning some of the acts of H. D. Helm is, that I consider the manner in which he has treated me has absolved me from any obligation longer to shield am or his doings from the public view. I made a verbal statement of some of these matters, a few days since, to some of my friends, and I should he has, when I was not present, denied the truth of

some of my statements.

I have, as is well known, been a firm supporter of him for office ever since he first ran for one, and now, because I was unwilling to go around endorsing his action in betraying his constituents at Charleston and Baltimore, he makes, as he declares, a personal mat-

Some two years since, this H. D. Helm originated a secret organization, to be composed of several in-fluential Democrats in each precinct, who were bound by a written compact to abide the will of a majority the members in all cases; and it was their business to see that the conventions in the county were packed so as to insure the nomination of the persons previously agreed on, and they were pledged to stand each other, and keep one another in office. This clique is still in existence, nearly all the members are now in office, and all, except perhaps two, are sup-porting the same candidates for office at the coming

Any one desirous of seeing who were members o this body will find the compact in possession of Helm, in his own hand-writing, and his is the first signa-

in his own hand-writing, and his is the first signa-ture to it, unles he has very recently disposed of it. Again, every one in this community knows that I purchased, the colored boy known as Charles Wag-goner, who was sold by the Sheriff about the first of June last ; but it has not been known until now, that the Sheriff was in partnership with me in that pur-chase; yet such was the fact, and we were to share equally the profits of the transaction. This will acount for some things that before were not understood

J. Q. A. POSTER.

L. B. PATNE, J. P. C. C. We learn from the Free South of August 20th, published by Wm, Shreve Balley, at Newport, Ky., that this J. Q. A. Poster, Postmaster at Newport, was one of the leading men in mobbing Mr. Bailey's office, and advertised in some of the Cincinnati papers as one of 'the respectable citizens of Newport.' And we learn from the same paper that Sheriff Helm, whom Postmaster Foster exposes, above, absented himself from the mobbing of Mr. Bailey's office, that Foster and other respectable citizens might accomplish the destruction of the Free South without offi-

cial hindrance. The following is an extract from Sheriff Helm's reply to Postmaster Poster :-

Newront, Ky., July 30.

To the Editor of the Commercial:

J. Q. A. Foster, Postmaster at this place, in a card dated on yesterday, and published by you to-day, makes certain charges against me which it becomes necessary I should notice, only because his statement may be read by persons who do not know that individual, and might construe my silence into an admis-

sinu of his false charges.

J. Q. A. Foster prefaces his statement by an apology which could have been better made for him by hose who have witnessed the gradual self-destru tion of that once gentleman, but now almost demented inebriate, in the fact that he is not responsible for his statement If the testimony of these men is worth anything

against each other, they are both bad characters. If excellence, or in variety, to either of its predecessors their word is of no account, they are unworthy of no- It comprises thirteen lectures, the first to be given by

sen leader of the mob, and directed the attack upon announced, and probably all are already taken up. Mr. B's office, and consequent destruction. After this chivalrous fate of Mr. Hallam, the Governor of Ken-

his being the leader of the mob as above named. face of this, he persisted in sitting to try the case, and of course decided that Mr. Bailey was guilty of publishing an incendiary paper.

their cooperation is made a blessing to the community. The last weekly meeting of the Fraternity was made publishing an incendiary paper. publishing an incendiary paper.

Again, says the Free South, Let it be rem

ed that the Bank charter granted by the Legislatur last winter to certain parties in Newport, was on con-dition that the Free South newspaper be destroyed. the prespecity and usefulness of that Association, and House it has the name of the "Mob-Law Charter also of the 28th Congregational Society, from the comlast winter to certain parties in Newport, was on con-

Buch is the character of some of those who de sunce Mr. Bailey, and then, to injure him abroad, get themselves published as the 'respectable citizen

DECEIT OF THE APOLOGISTS FOR SLA-

Slavery is carried on by force. The defence of laveholding is carried on by fraud.

The force which keeps men enslaved is not ne sarily accompanied by noise, open conflict, or tumult. Its operation, like that of the steam-engine in the mint, is likely to be quiet and noiseless when most absurdity, and an unwarrantable assumption. We effective. The perfect success of tyranny in Warsaw doubt whatever, that the American people have in- said to reign there. The sace plantations at the telligently understood, correctly interpreted, and con- South-those to which visitors like person Adams are shall continue to show them their guilt, and call upon | ance of acquiescence in his condition, and say 'yes them to repent, by samulling their covenant with to all the villanous leading questions by which his death, and instituting a new government based upon | master's visitors extract their evidence of his 'perfect contentment.

The statements made in justification of slavery conaist mainly of direct and enormous falsehood, though This indomitable, true-hearted, untiring friend of slittle truth is generally mixed in, like hair with morimpartial freedom is now in this city, hoping to re- tar, to give it coherence. The fraud is most enormous and most unblushing, in the pious defences of slavery and in the statements, generally, respecting it, made ducted paper, ' The Free South,' in Newport, Ken- by the organs of piety. Such is the article from the tucky. Again and again has his printing-office been Journal of Commerce headed Southern Aggression, destroyed by the mob - the lives of himself and which will be found on our first page in the 'Refuge

The preface to this article assumes the slave's peivation of liberty to be the same in kind with the con essions made by every man in society, of some fracage, martyr-like endurance, and noble self-sacrifice; tional parts of his individual liberty and convenience for the common good. The apprentice or journeyman in a carpenter's shop is not allowed to throw his lightinto the Ohio river. These he ought to have without ed cigar among the shavings. The truckman, in s city, is required to keep on the right side of the street, and forbidden to keep on the left. Their natural lib erty is, to this extent, abridged. But their consent to Ky., by their own showing .- Advocates of mobbing this abridgment is shown by their remaining in the particular society in question, when they are perfectly free to go into some other, or into solitude. When the slave shall have perfect freedom of removal, with his father and mother, his wife and children, we shall be able to judge of his 'contentment.' Until then a classification of his bondage with the limitations inherent in free society is one of the most monstrous o

The body of this article proceeds to assume, as not only true but obvious, the following utterly false posi-

That a removal of the restraints of slavery would eave the slaves absolutely without restraint :-

That the motive for holding the slave in bondage is virtuous horror of indolence felt by the master :-That the negro has a 'constitutional laziness' entirely different from the indisposition of the white man to work at unprofitable labor :-

ers a gratuitous housing, clothing and feeding of negroes, from birth to maturity-a harboring of them all their lives for nothing :-

That Abolitionism demands of Southern landhold-

That the provisions of the slave-code are designed primarily, for the benefit of the slave :-That they are really suited to promote the welfare

of the slave :-That these arrangements are a voluntary beneficence

in the part of slaveholders :-That they are also an imperative social necessity the only remedy against worse evils :-

That the slave-code requires kind usage of the That the master actually bestows upon him kind

usage :--That civilization and industry in the South require

the continuance of slavery :-That bankruptcy and anarchy would be insured stealing, for a like period, to the blacks, by the aboli-

tion of slavery :--That the negro is 'reclaimed' by slavery, 'de-

moralized by freedom :-That the belping of the negro to what he seeks as an improved condition is Northern aggression-and that the intimation, in speech, writing or printing, of his right to seek for himself an improved condition,

is also Northern aggression :-STATE OF KENTUCKY, CAMPRELL Co. ss. Sworn That the forbearance of the South to circulate 'ino before me, by J. Q. A. Foster, this 20th day of cendiary cuts and placards,' inciting the Northern laborer against his employer, is a benevolent and

beneficent forbearance :-That help sent from the South to Northern laborers who need help, or suggestions to them of methods whereby their condition could be improved, would be an injury to Northern employers, and would be resented and opposed as such :- finally-

That the existing system of slavery is fairly called an industrial education of the negro race : that it is meant for education, in the ordinary meaning of that word I that it promotes industry, in the ordinary meaning of that word ! that its jurisdiction includes only negroes! and that the laziness of 'free' white men is harmless, working no such evils, and needing no such interference, as that of the slaves, including those who-as numerous advertisements in the Southern papers tell us-try to pass themselves off for white.'-c. K. W.

THE FRATERNITY LECTURES. The series of Lectures established by 'The Fraternity' of the 28th Congregational Society of Boston has for two years past been far the best, as well as the cheapest, which has been offered to the Boston public; and their audiences, filling the Tremont Temple at an

The programme for the present season (which has heretofore appeared in the Liberator) is not inferior in Charles Sumner on the first Monday in October. The Again: Mr. J. R. Hallam (not Helm) was the cho-

early hour, have given the highest proof of their at-

"The Fraternity" (an Association for recreation social culture, and development in manly and woman tucky appointed him Magistrate to fill a vacancy in ly excellence of every kind, composed of such mer Newport. When the Free South was revived, on the bers of the 28th Congregational Society as wish to appearance of the first issue, this Mr. Hallam caused join it,) is one of many monuments of the high and the arrest of Mr. Beiley, charging him with issuing an noble influence exercised by Theodore Parker upon incendiary paper, and, sitting as one of the two Jus- those around him. It was formed, not at his request tices of the examining Court, held him in the sum of but by the spontaneous action of those who had been \$1000, to appear at the next November term of the accustomed to hear him preach, and to feel the force of his oft repeated declaration that the business of On the same day of the arrest, before the trial, the human being in this world was to use, develop Squire Hallam expressed an opinion against the right and improve all parts of the nature which God has to suffer the publication of the Free South, and in favor given him. With the increased numbers of this Soof prosecuting Mr. B. Upon this ground, together with ciety has come a widening of the sphere of their operations, and this series of Lectures, the richest in Mr. Bailey made oath that he did not believe Mr. noble and suggestive thoughts ever given to the peo-Hallam would or could do him justice: but, in the ple of Boston, is only one of the methods by which

> of some tokens of their regard to Mr. John R. Man ley, a gentleman whose active and constant service

mencement of each. These gifts, which were not a surprise as well as a pleasure to the recipient to a surprise as well picture, valuable books (and them Ripley and Dana's New Cyclopedia, her h course of publication, of which but ten volume about a third part of the whole, have yet appear and a most elegant and commodious chair, capaling various convenient modifications, and solited to pa warious convenient of Mr. Manley's invalid et la well as his own. After the presentation (and the p propriate acknowledgement) of these articles at the Praternity meeting, they were carried in pressito the house of Mr. Manley, where the learn them were invited to another festive meeting of a agreeable character.-c. K. W.

BOUTHERN LITERATURE,

The Journal of Commerce, seeming to this de Southern Literature needs to be 'cracked by the an article enumerating its recent and propose triumphs, commencing with the declaration. In Southern mind is prolific of books."

Since we have often to notice deficiencia min perfections in the South, it is but candid to eat mention of those departments in which she is to tinguished and preeminent. We therefore prat & low, the entire catalogue of works actually pallate low, the entire within the year, and set forth under the delicit title of Southern Literature by the Journal of Commerce. Our space does not suffice for the sign tives with which the writer profusely bearisting books and their authors.

.The books in question are all novels, with the lowing titles, namely :-

> Beulah, Rutledge, The Actress in High Life, The Household of Bouvene,

All these, the exultant writer temarks, suppose his fact with a note of admiration- are from the inof Southern women ! "

And, he proceeds, the chronicle does not set here.' We should hope not, after such a bloving trumpets at the beginning. In fact, he mentions titles of several other books. But as none of the are yet before the public, the writer claiming a that some are in press, some about to be publish and others about to be written, we postpone the mainder of the catalogue to another opportun

COOL AS A CUCUMBER

Readers of the Liberator may remember that the Annual Meeting of the American Board of Co. missioners for Foreign Missions a year ago, in the en of Philadelphia, the efforts of Dr. Cheever to ena some modification in the pro-slavery policy of the body were opposed, not only by the accustomed distors of that policy, but by an English degran Rev. Dr. Waddington of London, who chanced the to be in our country. On his return to England h was called to account for this treachery to migr and humanity. He replied by gross calumnin ari the abolitionists, both in London newspaper and the Observer and Independent in this country, but put to open shame by the exposure of his frame tion with the most thorough clerical defenden slavery (for pecuniary purposes) during the whele his American tour.

The visit of Dr. Cheever to England has compelled the clerical opposers of anti-slavery, there as well ; here, to adopt new tactics; singe their column against the friends of the American Anti-Shree Society would be as destitute of plausibility as truth if applied to Dr. Cheever, and they must then fore confine themselves to countermining, instract directly opposing him. The Independent has for sen time been diligent in this work, and its efforts we see nided by a letter from the very Dr. Waddington show referred to, who is called by that paper (28th int. an English emancipationist.

In this letter, Dr. Waddington represents the ception of Dr. Cheever by the Congregational lesien in London as a 'cautious' one. He say-'Te were evidently unprepared to fraternize with the Ge risonian school, though ready to welcome the Abda of America'-and he names Rev. Dr. Campbell, Let George Smith, and Rev. John Stoughton, as the who particularly displayed the continues referred

Dr. Waddington's letter, however, is especially orthy for the refreshing co classes himself among 'carnest friends of exacts tion "-laments the apathy of the British public upa the question of slavery -fears that Dr. Chern vil find himself greatly disappointed in the standar as influence of English abolitionists-finds it unscount able that a cause so sacred and so inspiring should have been . left to its present leaders '-does set # member (!) an anti-slavery meeting of any important there within the last ten years-complains of the little manqueres to excite public notice, and the fire lous acts of annayance to religious scretis, fy which he probably means the exposure of the prtenders like himselt, and Dr. Pomrov, and Dr. len Stow, and Dr. Murray,)-and finally admits, with frcoitful mock-humility, . You are shead of u the immeasurably.' · Even your negroes surpas u a the eloquence with which they assert their own rith,

and in them those of our common humanity." One great advantage of Dr. Chever's rist to Estland will be the necessity that will thereby be imposed upon time-servers like Dr. Waddington, of gening into line with the anti-slavery movement. At present they throw in its way what obstruction they can, but when the tide turns, those very persons will mit themselves conspicuous in moving with it.-c. I. v.

NEW TRACTS. Two other valuable tracts have just been published by the American Anti-Slavery Sectty, in connection with the series already gires to the public. These are-

Testimonies of Capt. John Brown at Harper Ferry, with his Address to the Court. He, being inch. yet speaketh.' These Testimonies have been selected from various Letters written by Capt. Brown, while lying under sentence of death for his brave and deinterested efforts in behalf of the imbruted slave # Virginia. They make a tract of 16 pages, and & serve to be read and pondered by the whole America

2. The Patriarchal Institution, as described by Members of its own Family. Compiled by L Mais Child. This makes a tract of 55 pages, and furnished a compendious and admirable text-book for all and as are actively engaged in the Anti-Slavery streets. The first chapter is entitled Southern Propheries contained in the warning language of Jefferson Tiliam Pinkney, Patrick Henry, Luther Martin, M. respecting the dangerous and destructive tendered of slavery. The second chapter presents the Seathern fulfilment of those prophecies. Chapter this Southern statements of the happiness of shirts Chapter Tourth - Southern proofs that slares are cotented and happy: Chapter fifth - Southers post of the chivalrous and high-minded character produ by slavery. Chapter sixth- Southern proce the slavery is a parental relation. Chapter serent \* Southern proofs that the moral condition of slare better than that of Northern laborers. Chapeighth- Southern prospects for Northern labors and mechanics. Chapter ninth-Southern tomony concerning the effects of slavery on Shifts Chapter tenth- Southern opinions concerning the extension of alavery, Chapter eleventh - Souther and Northern Democrats now leagued for the external sion of slavery '-with concluding renarks by Ma.

The admirable paper upon Taxoposs Passa which we have copied from the October number the Atlantic Monthly, and which may be found on our fourth page, in from the pen of T. W. Higginson.

PROPOSITIONS RESPECTING SLAVERY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

1st. GENERAL.

(a) The basis, the primal object, of all constitutional law, is natural justice. To secure this is the universally admitted object of all human government. (b) All legislators and jurists acknowledge themselves bound, both in making, interpreting and applying constitutions and statutes, to conform to the plying countries of natural justice, and, as far as possible, to prevent their violation.

(e) All great social wrongs spring up gradually, and continue to exist, in opposition to natural justice; most of them by sufferance, in opposition to the agknowledged principles of natural justice where they do exist. Not a few are suffered to be continued. and even protected, while both the moral sense of the community and the enacted constitutional law are opposed to them. Such was the case with slavery under the British government in England, until the Somerset decision by Lord Mansfield; and subsequently in the American Colonics, subject to the same constitutional English law. Such was also the case with slavery in Massachusetts, from the adoption of its Constitution until it was officially pronounced unconstitutional, and so abolished in the State.

(d) History, as well as common sense, teaches that great social wrongs are never voluntarily abandoned er sholished, while the people are ignorant that they are wrongs; that when they are seen to be such, howerer clearly, they are seldom and with much difficulty abolished, while the fundamental law of the land is supposed to favor them; but, when both natural justice and the constitutional law are seen to be opposed to them, they are usually very easily and readily abolished. Moral conviction is a great power epposed to social wrong; but moral and legal conviction combined against any social wrong is a power doubly great-irresistible.

2d. SPECIAL. (a) From its first introduction to the present time, there has not been enacted the first syllable of law for the establishment of slavery in this country, either in the Colonies or in the States. This proposition is made on the assertion of Senator Mason of Virginia, Hon. Mr. Gurney of Alabama, and other able advoestes of slavery, as well as that of many others op-

(5) The Common Law decision of Lord Mansfield in the Somerset case, declaring that slavery is an institution so odious that nothing, except positive law, can make its existence legal, applied as legitimately to slavery in the British Colonies of America as to slavery on the British islands of Europe, and made playery illegal here as well as there.

(c) The Declaration of Independence was virtually a proclamation of liberty to every slave in the land. It was, in fact, the fundamental and constitutional law of the Confederated Colonies during the revolunon, and, therefore, made slavery illegal, no matter what its previous condition. No mester what the people who adopted it meant by it, its language is sufently clear, and its legal force is unavoidable. So the constitution of Massachusetts, adopting the same language in its preamble, was sub-equantly applied to the abolition of slavery in the State, without any migury as to what the slaveholding or nonslave miding portion of the community intended or thought when they adopted it. When jurists and the courts are honest, and when great human rights are at stake, and the language of the statute is clear enough, they never ask 'what the framers in-

(d) Nobody contends that the plain, unequivocal letter of the Constitution recognizes slavery as a legally existing institution, or that it was the intentun, either of the framers, or of the people who adopted it, to make a legal recognition of slavery in such a sense as to establish slavery legally where it previously had no legal existence. But if the Constatution makes any legal recognition of slavery in any of the States, then it there establishes slavery, because slavery had there previously no legal existence. Nor has it since been established by any law in any of the States. Hence, proposition

101 The Constitution cannot recognize slavery to be a legally existing institution, except in itself, thereby establishing its legality, and therefore establishing slavery itself.

(f) The just and acknowledged rules of interpretation of all statute law require that, if possible, if the language be irresistibly clear, and unsusceptible of any other construction, does not demand it, no selfevident truth, no natural right shall be violated; and, consequently, that no such requirement can be found within any statute by any aid foreign to the letter itself. There is not a word in the Constitution of the United States apparently bearing upon the condition of slavery, nor is there a provision but would be susceptible of practical execution, if there was not slave in the land.'-[John Quincy Adams.]

3d. The history of the Constitution-its powersits adoption-the people-what they thought of it, and intended by it-the practice of the government, &c., &c.- these things have no legitimate bearing upon the legal meaning we are justly and legally bound to accept from the language of the Constitution itself, as it was manifestly the purpose of all to express their final intention and meaning in the unambiguous words of the instrument, and at once and forever exclude all such outside influence, preserving their then expressed intention through all time. If a few of the framers intended to use ambiguous or circuitous language-and we know they did so intend-for the sake of shielding a great and at the time almost universally admitted wrong-be it remembered to their shame-we have no right to bring a worse shame upon curselves by supposing that all the people who adopted the Constitution so intended, and, by violating all acknowledged principles of just legal interpretation in construing that ambiguous language to favor the great wrong, and so perpetuate it in our day, when it has become tenfold greater.

But a few propositions as to the framers :-(a) Some of them ' thought it wrong to admit into the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man.

(b) In the famous importation clause, the word slares was unanimously objected to by vote of the

Convention. (c) In another clause, "the word "servitude" was struck out, and "service" unanimously inserted-the former being thought to express the condition of

slaves, and the latter the obligation of free persons." (d) Of the famous fugitive clause, 'the term "legally" was struck out, and the words, under the laws thereof, inserted after the word "State," in compli-

ance with the wish of some who thought the term legal equivocal, and favoring the idea that slavery was legal in a moral view." In the Virginia Convention for its ratification, Mr.

George Mason said- There is no clause in the Constitution that will prevent the Northern and Eastern States from meddling with our whole property of that kind. . . There ought to be a clause in the Constitution to secure us that property. . . There is no clause in the Constitution to secure it."

Mr. Henry, in the same Convention, said;

Among ten thousand implied powers which they (Congress) may assume, they may, if we be engaged in war, liberate every one of your slaves, if they please; and this must and will be done by men, a please; and this must and will be done by men, a majority of whom have not a common interest with you. . Another thing will contribute to bring this event about:—slavery is detested—we feel its Istal effects—we deplore it, with all the pity of humanity. Let all these considerations, at some future period, press with full force on the minds of Congress; let the urbanity, which I trust will distinguish America, and the necessity of national defence, let all these things operate on their minds, they will search that I aper, and see if they have the power of manumission. And have they not, sir? Have they not power to provide for the general defence and welfare? May

they not think that these call for the abolition of alavery? May they not pronounce all slaves free, and will they not be warranted in that power? There is no ambiguous implication or zoomat proportion. The paper speaks to the point. That may are POWER, IN CLEAR, UNEQUIVOCAL TREMS, and will clear-

This opinion as to the Constitution, and the power of the Federal Government to abolish slavery under it, thus expressed at the time by slaveholders themselves, proves the utter falsity and nonsense of the often repeated assumption that, at the time of its adoption, nobody thought it gave Congress power to abolish slavery in the States.

Mr. Spooner himself does not go beyond this asser tion of Patrick Henry of Virginia; and were Patrick Henry and George Mason the only persons who held these views of the Constitution! No! we could name many more. But, we repeat, all these outside expressions of opinions and intentions have no sort of legitimate bearing upon the meaning of the instrument itself. That is, strictly, a legal instrument, and not necessarily forbid.

CAPE COD CONVENTION.

The Cape Cod Anti-Slavery Convention assembled in Exchange Hall, Harwich, on Saturday, Sept. 22d, at 2 o'clock, P. M. Capt, Gilbert Smith was chosen Chairman, and Francis Hinckly and Edwin Coomba Secretaries.

efforts, to show that our movement is founded upon justice alone, and by the power of justice and truth must succeed.

The following persons were chosen a Business Com-Small.

Financial Committee-J. H. Robbins, Alice Thacher, Nancy L. Howes, Nathaniel Robbins, and Watson B. Kelley.

Mr. Heywood, from the Business Committee, presented the following resolutions :-

foreign slave trade, but with the natural and exhaust- himself, to go for them. A third, -Dr. Cutter,and convulse our nation, and whose continued ex- party that would take both positions! The fourth, istence is the utter subversion alike of liberty, law, Lucy Stone, -fixtly repudiated the entire proposi-

2. Resolved, That the American Union, being a reasons for so doing. confederacy between slave and free States, in which the latter are implicated in all the guilt of slavehold- and T. Locke, in general sympathy with the moveing, and bound under oath to recapture the slaves if ment; but the main talking was done by Mr. Foster they escape, and crush them with the whole federal and Mr. Douglass, who were the orators of the occapower if they revolt, every friend of impartial liberty sion. E. D. Draper of Hopedale, and Joseph A. should promptly repudiate it as a bold and impious Howland of this city, made brief criticisms upon the conspiracy against justice and humanity, and raise positions and avowals of the exponent speakers of the war-cry of the Abolitionists, 'No union with the movement.

3. Resolved, That while we regard the Republican party as the outgrowth of the anti-slavery move- to eighty in number, and in the evening numbering ment, the spoils of this thirty years' war' upon sla- at most some two to three hundred. Pow of these very-its treacherous and unholy alliance with slave- were from out of town, and but a limited number holders, slave-traders and slave-breeders, its advo- appearing to sympathize fully with the movement; cacy and support of Abraham Lincoln for President, only some six, certainly not more than twelve, apwho endorses all the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution as expounded by Clay and Webster, and the infamous black laws of his own State; and its cruel and remorseless pledge to allow and compel four million slaves to perish in their chains, make it necessarily and inevitably the foe of impartial freedom. and require that it should be shunned by every Northern voter who would save his own soul from blood-guiltiness, or lift the yoke of oppression from cuse nominations of Smith and McFarland for the the bondmen of the South.

upon the soil of Massachusetts should be as revolting Massachusetts, in concurrence with Mr. Stephenson to the moral sense of the people as it is disgraceful to the high religious character and matchless heroism of our ancestry, and is recreant to every sontiment of justice, humanity and freedom; and we pledge our untiring exertion to secure a law for its immediate and pose of preparing the people to join this 'Union Dem-

eternal prohibition. 5. Resolved, That if the Church of Christ is the pillar and ground of truth, the light of the world, into this organization that Mr. Foster has heretoand the salt of the earth, then the great mass of the fore represented. religious organizations of this country, claiming to be Christian churches, are unworthy of the name, inasmuch as they give, some directly and some indirectly, efficient support to that system of falsehood,

darkness and corruption, American Slavery. Met in the evening, at 7 o'clock.

C. I. Remond and E. H. Heywood occupied the time in the evening, holding the audience by thrilling speeches to a late hour.

Adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock on Sunday morning. SUNDAY MORNING. On the assembling of the Con-

vention, Ezekiel Thacher was chosen Chairman. The resolutions were read again, and a lively dis-

cussion at once sprung up on the phraseology of the 4th of the series, participated in by C. L. Remond. C. C. Burleigh, - Doane and E. H. Heywood. The discussion was animated and interesting. Mr. Heywood then made a speech upon the Dis-

very pleasing to the audience.

At the close of Mr. Heywood's speech, the question of finance came up, and was briefly but pertinently spoken to by C. L. Remond, while the Com- the time of the last few years of his connection with mittee circulated through the hall, and took the the American Society, declined to discuss this point, freewill offerings of the people, which amounted to and when he did discuss it, used precisely the same

Adjourned to 2 o'clock, P. M.

The afternoon meeting was opened by a song from the friends of the slave, as were the previous sessions. Mr. Burleigh then brought forward the fifth resolution of the series, and proceeded to make a powerful speech upon the fourth, demonstrating beyond a per- strue the Constitution, which is so directly contrary adventure the importance of the resolution, and the to the letter of the Constitution which he now insists duty of us all to work for the proposed faw-ending on upholding, that a mere statement of the position with a most thrilling appeal against the terrible is its own entire refutation; the wisdom of this course plague of Southern slavery.

The Convention during the day was crowded to overflowing.

In the evening, a large and attentive andience asaddresses from Mr. Remond, Mr. Heywood, Mrs. Berths Chees, and Sylvanus Jagger.

After inserting in the fourth resolution the words should be, for sis, at the suggestion of Mr. Heywood, to meet the objection raised by Mr. Remond in the morning, the whole series were unanimously

up to the many previous ones which have made old Barnstable the Banner County of the Commonscealth. Adjourned sine die.

. EZEKIEL THACHER, Chairman. FRANCIS HINCKLEY, Secretary.

LECTURES BY MES. C. H. DALL. In addition to the movement. her other valuable lectures, we understand that Mrs. Dall has prepared three new lectures on 'Law,' in addition to the one the has written for the Fraternity Course. Lyceum committees, in completing their programme, should renember to include her in their list of lecturers.

THE POLITICAL ANTI-BLAVERY CON-VENTION AT WORCESTER.

WORDENTER, Sept. 22, 1850.

Mr. Garrison: The long and earnest effort of our friend S. S. Foster to organize a new political party on an anti-elevery basis culminated in a Convention in this city on Wednesday and Thursday of this week; which has come and gone, and the Fester party is organised, and will probably be in the field with its candidates for the various political offices, when it can discover in its ranks a sufficient number of men. or women, to nominate therefor,

Mr. Poster's movement and this Convention have proved something of a success, in the fact that a Convention was held, a platform adopted, and something alight in the way of an organization was effected.

But it has proved much more successful in demen strating the wisdom and discriminating judgment of the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in their non-acceptance of Mr. Foster's oft proffered resolutions affirming that the time has fulwe are bound to construe it agreeably to the just rules ly come for the organization of such a party, or that of legal interpretation, which require us to save liberty and all pateral riche if the exigencies of our cause imperiously demand. erty and all natural right, if the expressed terms do such an organization, or that 'a wise fidelity to the J. H. P. cause of the slave' makes it our duty to initiate such a party. These resolutions Mr. Poster has urged us to adopt, affirming that the day of talk was pastwe want acts now : the people were converted, and only waited an opportunity to march in crowds to the organization of a party of action.

The Convention was held, and failed to attract the attention of large numbers of the converted and Mr. Charles C. Burleigh was the first speaker. He anxious people, or to show any great array of able or made one of his very ablest, most logical and splendid prominent men or women on its side. Mr. Pierpont, the President of a previous Convention, and whose name is appended to the call for this one, was not here; he was detained by business. Mr. Stephenson, Mr. Foster's right hand man and strong remittee :- C. C. Burleigh, E. H. Heywood, and Z. H. liance, being detained by business, sent a letter, recommending the support of the Republican candidate for Governor, Mr. Andrew.

Of the eight advertised speakers, four only appeared; one of whom,-Frederick Douglass,-took Mr. Foster's view of the Constitution, and seemed to work very well with him, save that Mr. Douglass 1. Resolved, That since our first duty in relation to is a fighter and a voter, and Mr. Foster is neither. a sin against God, and a crime against man, is the Another, -Mr. Higginson, -was in the Convention a immediate repentance and abandonment of it; and short time, and said that he thought the argument since the incidents of a social evil can be removed for a pro-slavery construction of the Constitution was only by a removal of the evil itself; the issue of the quite weak, and the argument for the anti-slavery American Anti-Slavery Society is still, as heretofore, construction nearly as weak; and, on the whole, he not with the extension of slavery, the Dred Scott de- was glad of the excellence of the Republican nomicision, the Fugitive Slave Bill, or the domestic or nations for President and Governor, and intended, for less source of all these abominations, as established did not seem to believe the anti-slavery construction and sustained by State law, and intrenched within of the Constitution at all, but avowed his readiness to the Constitution, the slave system-of which it de- go for a party which should say that the Constitumands the immediate and uncenditional abolition as tion was anti-slavery, and that they would have it so, the duty of the master, the right of the slave, and any way, or for a party that should propose to amend the only relief from those outcrying evils which vex the Constitution so as to make it anti-slavery, or for a tions of Mr. Foster, and, in a brief speech, gave her

Some others spoke, as Dr. Mann, J. T. Hutchins,

The masses were very feebly represented, the attendance during the day sessions ranging from thirty pearing to vote on the adoption of the platform and resolutions. On account of the small number of friends present, no permanent organization of the meeting was made; but it existed comfortably with the aid of various temporary chairmen, sometimes with none at all, and with secretaries pro tem.

It made no nominations; but, on motion of Mr. Douglass, some half a dozen voted to ratify the Syra-Presidency and Vice Presidency, and yet neglected 4. Resolved, That the continuance of slave-hunting to ratify Mr. Andrew's nomination for Governor of

Resolutions were adopted, and a committee of correspondence chosen, looking to the formation of 'National Political Education Society,' for the purecratic party.' By which it would seem that there is not that entire preparation of the masses to rush

A large part of the business of this new party,if indeed it will not be its first duty, -would appear, from the speeches of Mr. Foster, to be the abolitio of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which he represented to be strangely but squarely in his way, and by its formidable opposition had hindered the movement heretofore, and kept the abolitionists away from the Convention. The manner of this opposition he described, on being questioned, to consist of the Society's unwillingness to discuss the questions with him at their meetings, the omission of the Standard and Liberator to publish the list of expected attractive speakers, and their further omission to speak a favorable word in behalf of the Convention-Mr Garrison characterizing it as a farce in the Liberator, and Mr. Phillips calling it, at its spring meeting in Boston, a nuisance and farce that would tend to the

demoralization of the public mind. The unwillingness to discuss with him he seemed anion doctrine, which was keen, lucid, eloquent, and to take as a matter of considerable grief, especially as he had affirmed that he had an entirely new view of the question to argue in its behalf. But when it is recollected that Mr. Poster himself, during most of arguments which would now be needed to meet his present position, and used them with unexampled potency, and to his own and others' conviction with entire success, and when it appears that his now 'new' and original proposition consists of the affirmation that the courts have no right or power to conof the friends of the Society is clearly apparent. The omission of the papers to publish his proffered list of names he admitted might have been in consequence of their non-reception of them, as he confessed he did sembled, and listened through another long session to not mail them till the last mail before their going to press, and a little delay of the post would explain the whole, which it was suggested to him was the more charitable conclusion, as both papers had unhesitatingly published his call in full, and kept its notice standing in the columns from the first.

But although be complained often of this om as affecting the numbers of the Convention, yet it would seem to have been a very providential occurrence; for had the people been attracted, by his advertised list of speakers, to the Convention, expecting they were all to support Mr. Foster's new party, they would have been sadly disappointed, if they had not felt imposed on, by finding only half the list of speakers present, and only one of these in sympathy with

Garrison having called this meeting a farce, by as-perting that the Liberator had called the meeting of the Garrit Smith party, at Syraquee, a farce, and as this meeting was in sympathy with that, and anxili-ary to it, the characterisation applied to this. But

when, by referring to the Liberator, it was found that Mr. Garrison had only characterized the action of the Syracuse Convention in nominating candidates for the Presidency, etc., in view of the smallness of its numbers, as extremely farcical; and when it was suggested that it had not appeared in any announce-ment or action of the movement previous to this statement that this was connected, by auxiliaryship or otherwise, with the Gerrit Smith movement the charge seemed to be nothing more than a quib

Mr. Douglass seemed to come quite readily into the work of the annihilation of the American A.S. Society, and in his various speeches took frequent occa-sion to misrepresent its character, and with his inimitable powers of sarcasm to caricature its positions and measures. At one time, in urging the support of this new movement, he said that it was the only organization that proposed the abolition of slavery Mr. Howland suggested the incorrectness of this asser tion. In reply, Mr. Douglass said, I know that our Slavery Society is the abolition of slavery, but he is mistaken, for the object of that Society is the dissolution of the American Union. To be sure, they hold that the abolition of slavery will follow the dissolution of slavery will be slavery will be slavery will be slavery will be slaver

view of some of the sophistries and falsifications of history whereon Mr. Douglass had based his constitutional argument, and took occasion to say, in sustaining the position and character of the American Anti-Slavery Society, that when Mr. Douglass asserted that the abolition of slavery was not the object or purpose of that Society, he made a false assertion, and one that he knew to be false, Whereupon Mr. Foster called to order. The temporary Chairman told Mr. Howland that his remark was neither parliamentary nor pretty, and Mr. Douglass thought that he ought to take it back. But as Mr. Douglass showed no disposition to retract his audacious libel, Mr. Howland did not retract his characterization of it. Had Mr. Douglass simply said that, in his opinion, the position or action of the American Anti-Slavery Society could not result in the abolition of slavery, or even explained that this was what he meant in what even explained that this was what he meant in what he did say, it would have clearly appeared to be his Mrs. Rebecca Moore, Manchester, Eng., paying 23 00 right to hold and express this opinion, and Mr. How-Miss Estlin, Bristol, do., to Jan. 1st, 1861, land's remark would have been out of place as well as Wm. Robson, Esq., Warrington, do., to Jan. 1st, out of taste. But he did no such thing. And it is to be hoped that whenever he utters so atrocious a slander, some one will have the manliness to rebuke him with as plain Anglo-Saxon speech as Mr. Howland did on this occasion.

Mr. Foster's self-sacrificing devotion, his transparent sincerity and his untiring zeal are not at all matters of ridicule or of light esteem. Still, the enthusiasm of his carnestness sometimes leads him to

Jan. 1st, 1861, thusiasm of his earnestness sometimes leads him to make very strange assertions, and to take very ridiculous positions; and when the mountain labors, and brings forth only a mouse, it is still a farce, however honest and sincere the mountain may be. So is this movement, as a political movement, which has no power but that of numbers; the few numbers which it attracts make it really a farce in its results. But it is otherwise in moral movements, for there one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to

This new project of Mr. Foster, in so far as it tends to furnish those who propose to continue active under a pro-slavery government with the shield of an avowed belief in an anti-slavery construction of the Constitution for an excuse, and in so far as it shall be a success that will tend to divide abolitionists where union is the great desideratum, and in so far as it shall tend to complicate and confuse anti-slavery office, shall tend to complicate and confuse anti-slavery shall tend to complicate and confuse anti-slavery measures and action, can prove to be nothing but a

If Mr. Foster shall succeed to any extent in prevailing upon the masses to ignore the facts of history, to withstand their own reason and common sense, by calling the United States Constitution an anti-slavery instrument, and promising and swearing a faith to that Constitution that they do not intend to keep, in so much will be demoralize and debauch the public con-J. A. H.

'THE DIAL' is a monthly magazine for Literaway, and published at 76 West Third Street, Cincin- factory that we have yet seen of him. The been published, evincing scholarly taste and ability, adding somewhat to its expense. -Ed. Lib. editorial tact and judgment, a broadly reformatory spirit, and a truth-seeking purpose. The work deserves extensive patronage.

MEETINGS AT THE CAPE. We are extremely gratified to learn that the annual gathering of the friends of freedom at Harwich, on Saturday and Sunday last, indescribable wrongs done to the oppressed, the con-was eminently successful both in reference to the gious sects to demand the abolition of slavery, the in-numbers that attended, and the high-toned anti-urease of the slave trade, the strength and design as numbers that attended, and the high-toned anti- crease of the slave trade, the strength and daring atany disappointment, let them all be assured that our ment, and the new reign of terror in the South, as any disappointment, let them all be assured that our regret, on being obliged to remain at home in consequence of illness and loss of voice, was very great; friends of freedom without distinction. for no part of the Commonwealth do we ever visit with more pleasure than the Cape.

NEW Music. Oliver Ditson & Co. have just published the following pieces of music:—I. I'm leaving before the people.

The friends of freedom in other States are invited. home, my Willie. Scotch ballad. Music by M. W. Ralfe .- 2. I would not to earth recall them. Written and composed by J. E. Darling. Arranged by F. Romer.—3. Do you think of the days that are Herwood of Boston, and H. Fond Douglass of Chiagone, Jesnie? Ballad by Henry Smart.—4. Gercago, Ill., eloquent champions of freedom, besides
others in our own State, will address the meeting. mania new Vocal Gems from the German. 'Circled round with Jasmine spray, &c .- 5. Jamie. Ballad. Words by J. E. Carpenter. Music by F. Wallerstein .- 6. The Spirit of Light. Cavatina. Music by L. Williams .- 7. Quick, arise, maiden mine! Air Styrien. Music by J. Dessauer.

Ox FILE. We have on file, for insertion in the Liberator next week, the following :- Proceedings of the Political Anti-Slavery Convention held at Worcester on the 19th inst.—Letter from Hon. Daniel E. Melndoes Falls, Somes, of Maine, to Gerrit Smith.—Letter from Hen-St. Johnsbury. ry C. Wright .- Self-Contradictions of the Bible, by C. K. W .- Political Indifference a Pavorable Sign, by W .- Communication from Worcester, signed Mary. - Proceedings of a Convention of Free Inquirers in matters of Religion and Reform in Ellen-

PORTRAIT OF JOHN A. ANDREW, Esq. C. H Brainard, 322 Washington Street, Boston, has just published an admirably executed lithographic portrait of the Republican candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, from a photograph by Black & Batchelder As a likeness, it cannot be excelled, and must give the highest satisfaction to the numeraus friends and admirers of Mr. Andrew. [N. B. The Courier and the Post will please immediately communicate the startling and significant fact to their readers, that the Liberator endorses the accuracy of Mr. A.'s portrait as to them it will furnish additional proof that he cannot be safely elected Governor of the old Bay State! 4 Treason I treason I']

A CITIER OF MAINE WHIPPED IN SOUTH CARO LINA,-The Charleston Mercury of the 18th has the following, under the head, 'Served Him Right':-'A man named Wm. 8. McClure, halling from th

FUGITIVE SLAVE EXCITEMENT IN OHIO-SLAVE RE-

FURITIVE SLAVE EXCITEMENT IN ORIO—SLAVE REMINDED—COLLISION NUTWERN U. S. OFFICIES AND TWE PROFILE.—Clackessoft, Sept. 23d.—On Thereday less the U. S. Marshel, with two Deputies and eight or ten men, went to Iberia, Morgan county, in this State, to arrest three slaves, who ran away from Germantown, Ky., about four months since. One was captured by the Marshel, and after an examination by the Commissioner, was remanded to the custody of his former master.

One of the Deputies in attempting to capture another negro was set upon by the crowd, who tore off his clothing and took away his warrant and money, and threatened to hang or shoot him, but after ecopping his hair, they allowed him to depart without the negro. The other Deputy was fired upon while attempting to arrest a third negro, and returning the fire shot the fingers off the hand of one of the rioters, but was obliged to leave without the negro.

DISTRESS IN KANSAS. - Thaddens Hyatt writes fro Anderson county, K. T., giving a distressing account of the drought—whole families with nothing to estativation begun—great stampede among the settlers—organization of relief committees, &c. Mr. Hyattimplores assistance, as follows:—

Priend of humanity, wait not, O, wait not, I be that the abolition of slavery will follow the diasolution of the Union, but that is a matter of opinion.
In my opinion it would not.

When Mr. Douglass was through, Mr. Howland took
the floor, and without attempting to make a full constitutional argument, confined himself to a brief re-

The General Agent of the Liberator acknowledges the receipt of the following sums from subscribers in England and Ireland, remitted by R. D. Webb of Dublin

From Miss H. Lupton, Leeds, Eng., paying From Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Liverpool Eng., Jan. 1st, 1860. From Joshua Sharratt, Buckley, Eng., to Jan. 1st, 1861; From Mrs. Wicksteed, Hafod, Wales, to Jan. Prom James Haughton, Dublin, Ireland, to Jan. 1st, 1861. From Mrs. Eliza Jacob, Ballytore, Ireland, to July 1st, 1860.

The following sums, received from other subscribers in a previous remittance by the same hand should have been acknowledged at the time :-

1860, Joseph Lupton, Leeds, do., to Jan. 1st, 1860. Rev. Dr. Jos. Hutton, Derby, do., to Jan. 1st, Joseph Cowan, Jr.. Newcastle, do., to Jan. 1st, John Mawson, do., do., to Jan. 1st, 1860, 7
John Hindhaugh, do., do., to Jan. 1st, 1860, 7
Richard Allen, Dublin, Ireland, to Jan. 1st, 1860, 9

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Collections by Andrew T. Foss. Of Jacob Powell, Sterling, Ill., Samuel Albertson, do., Henry S. Powell, do., At Waukegan, By Parker Pillsbury. At the Cummington, Mass. Convention, Sept. 2d and 3d,

PORTRAIT OF GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ. The owner of incomparably the best portrait of 221 Washington Street, and the price ascertained on application to Mr. Wallout. The possession of such a portrait should be a matter of emulation among the numerous friends and admirers of Mr. Thompson, whose services in the abolition of West India slavery whose services in the aboution of the chair of the oppressed natives in India, in the repeal of the Corn Laws, in curtailing the despotic power of the British East India Company, in the extension of British suffrage, in the promotion of the cause of peace and other beneficent movements, and in co-operation with the friends of freedom here for

stand high on the list of the benefactors of mankind. We endorse the accuracy of this likeness of ture, Philosophy and Religion, edited by M. D. Con- Mr. Thompson as the best finished and the most satisnati-price \$2.00 per annum. Nine numbers have process makes it very enduring, though necessarily

the overthrow of American slavery, entitle him to

STATE CONVENTION. The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Convention will be held at Brancond, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 17th and 18th of Oc-

tober next.
The enslavement of four millions in our land, the

Seeking the emancipation of the enslaved, and the highest good of our common country, let the earnest friends of human rights, in obedience to the voice of God, of humanity and of patriotism, come together for a full and free disquesion of the great questions now

to attend, and join in the deliberations of the Conven-CHARLES LENOX REMOND of Salem, Mass., B. H.

The sessions of the Convention will open on Wednesday, at 10 o'clock, and continue through the two days and evenings.

In behalf of the State Committee,

J. M. COBURN, JEHIEL CLAFLIN, JAS. HUTCHINSON, JR., N. R. JOHNSTON.

CHARLES L. REMOND and H. FORD DOUGLASS will speak in Vermont as follows :-Oct. 19 Newbury, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, 20 and 21. Monday, Oct. 22. Tuesday, 23. Wednesday, 24. Ryegate, som sil Thursday, paris and the Washington, West Brookfield, Friday, Sat. and Sun., 27, 28. The friends in the several towns where Mesers. Remond and Douglass will speak are requested to make the requisite arrangements for the meetings.

LF E. H. HEYWOOD will speak at Great Palls, N. H., Priday evening, Sept. 28.
Dover, Sunday 30.
Milford, Mass., Sunday after- Oct. 14. noon and evening.

EF C. L. REMOND and B. H. HEYWOOD will speak at Topsham, Vt., Tuesday evening, Oct. 16. UF WM. WELLS BROWN will lecture in the following places in Maine:

Buxton, Sunday, Sept. 30.

Auburn, Tuesday, Oct. 3.

EF G. W. STACY, of Milford, will speak at Wast

WERNERAM, pert Sunday, Sept. 30, in the Universalist Church, at the usual hours. Subject—Christianity applied to the Uses of Life. SELF-CONTRADICTIONS OF THE BIBLE.

ONE HUNDRED AND PORTY-POUR PRO O positions, theological, moral, historical and spec-slative, each proved affirmatively and regatively, by quotations from Scripture, without comment; em-bodying most of the palpable and striking self-con-tradictions of the re-called inspired Word of God. Third edition. Price 15 cents, post-paid. Eight for a dollar.

A. J. DAVIS & CO., 274 Canal street, New York.

Is there any virtue in MAR. S. A. ATTERNES

# HATR RESTORER?

READ THE FOLLOWING, AND JUDGE FOR YOURSELF

TO HER BU'S OF EVANORIES:—'My age is sixty.

One year ago, my hair was very gray, and had been gradually falling, until, on the crown, it had become quite thin. About the let of Mareis, of the present year, I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Restorer, No. 1, according to the directions, and have continued to apply a slight dressing of the same once in three or four weeks, on retiring to bed. My hair is now almost restored to its original color, and the hue appears to be permanent. I AM SATISFIED THAT THE PREPARATION IS NOTHING LIER A DYE, BUT OPERATES UPON THE SECRETIONS. My hair ceases to fall, which is certainly an TIONS. My heir ceases to fall, which is certainly an advantage to one who was in danger of becoming bald.

Bridgewater, Oneida Co., N. Y., Nov. 22, 1855.

President J. L. BATON, L.L. D., Union University, Murfreesboro', Tennessee

· Manax-I would state, that some time last spring 'MADAW—I would state, that some time last spring I found my mare radiant our. I concluded to purchase a bottle of 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorer, 'Sc., and give it a trial. I commenced using it, but very irregularly; but notwithstanding this irregularity, I found that its influence was distinctly visible, the falling off or radia creased, and my locks, which before were quite gray, where changed to before were quite gray, were changed to before were quite gray, were changed to be accomplishing what I have seen of its effects in my own case, I have reason to believe that it is capable of accomplishing what it purports to do, via. The yeart the RAIR FROM FALING OFF, and to bestore CHAT LOCKS TO THEIR ORIGINAL COLOR.

Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK,

Editor 'Ladies' Repository, incinnati, Ohio.
'I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylobalsamum with much satisfaction in dressing my own and children's hair. After trying various articles manufactured for the hair, I feel no hesitation in recommending yours as the best I have ever used. It gives the hair a soft, glossy appearance, and retains it in any position desired.

Rev. JOHN E. ROBIE, Editor Christian Advocate, Buffalo, N. Y. Your Hair Restorer and Zylobalsa is in is the best I have ever known. It has restored my hair to its

natural color.' &c. Rev. E. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. American and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y. City. Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum have been used in my family with beneficial effects; and I take pleaure in recommending them to such as have occasion to use such preparations.

Rev. A. WEBSTER, Editor ' Christian Era,' Boston

· Having used numerous specifics to little purpose, I discarded all, believing them to be of no value. So I regarded your World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, yet personal friends prevailed on me to use it. I have done so for several months past with good effect and entire satisfaction. I am now neither bald nor gray; my hair was dry and brittle, but has re-gained the softness of my earlier years.

Rev. H. V. DEGEN, Ed. Guide to Holiness, Boston. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, found among our other advertisements, we insert from act-ual experiment. That it promotes the growth of the hair where baldness had commenced, we have now tne evidence of our own eyes. We can testify to its good effects.'

Rev. S. B. MORLEY, Pastor Congregational Church, Attleboro', Mass. I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Re-

storer and Zylobalsamum. The effect of the Hair Re-storer has been to change the 'crown of glory' which belongs to old men to the original hue of youth. This was done, by a single bottle used according to direc-tions. Others of my acquaintance have used it with the same effect. The Zylobalsamum I regard as an invaluable dressing for the hair.' Rev. DANIEL T. WOOD, Middletown, Orange Co.,

· My hair has greatly thickened upon my head, and put on a very lively, healthy appearance. The same is true of my daughter; HER HAIR HAD BE-COME THIN, AND CAME OUT CONSTANT-LY, UNTIL WE THOUGHT THE HEAD WOULD BE ALMOST BARE; HER HAIR HAS HANDSOMBLY THICKENED UP, AND
ALSO HAS A HEALTHY APPEARANCE. We
are thankful to you, and feel that we have full valne of our money

GREAT BRITAIN.

Rev. W. B. THORNELOE, Prescot, Lancashire, England.

Your Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After having used it for six weeks, my extremely gray hair was restored to its natural color,—not the wig-like rn' natural olor, which satisfies my mind that it is not a dye. I can strongly recommend it, and shall feel happy in answering the queries of any you may refer to me.

[The above clergyman is well known throughout Great Britain, and to many in the United States.] HAVTI.

Rev. Mrs. E. S. ANDRUS, (many years Missionary to Hayti,) Martineburgh, N. Y. In consequence of her long residence in aforenamed island, her hair and souly were in a very unhealthy condition. After trying various articles without success, and eventually using Mrs. S. A. Allen's, she writes to the American Baptist, -I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorm and Zylobalsamum; I have tried many other reseedies for my hair, but never any thing that so materially and permanently bonefit-ted me as those of Mrs. S. A. Allen.

Rev. J. WEST, 6 Washington Place, (Pacific street,)

Brooklyn. 'I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's, in the most literal sense, and also thankfully acknowledge the use of it in curing my baldness and grayness."

Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. Presbyterian Wit-

· It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till see know it is what it purports to be. Having opportunity and being satisfied of the merits of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, I would be pleased to insert adversisement, So. Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of Ed-

Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of Education R. D. Church, 337 Broadway, N. Y., and New Baltimore, Greens county, N. Y.

'Some time since, I procured a bottle of your World's Hair Restorer, &c., for the use of a relative; and I am happy to say, that is prevented the falling of the hair, and restored it from being gray to its original glossy and beautiful black.'

Rev. JAS. McPARLANE, Partor Prot. Dutch Church Esopus, Ulster county, N. Y. 'I have no hesitation in certifying that Mrs. S. A. Ailen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum have produced all the effects described in her advertisement, in restoring the color and increasing the growth of the hair; and I would cheerfully recommend it to those whose hair may either begin to fail in color or decrease in luxuriance.

Rev. B. C. SMITH, Pratteburg, N. Y. 'I was really surprised to find my gray hair soon turned as black as when I was a young man.'

Rev M. C. KLING, Lewistown, Pennsylvania It has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused a new growth, although I did not attend to it as your directions require. Rev. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, N. H.

We think very highly of your preparations, and have no doubt, if you had an agent in this vicinity, a large quantity might be disposed of. We think that if there fail to convince, a less than a trial will. Some few dealers try to sell article on which they make more profit than on these; alway

INBIBY on having these... These are the only preparations exported in any

Quantity to Europe,

We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced.
One bottle of the Restorer will last a year; \$1.50
a bottle. Balsam, 374 cents per bottle.

Address all letters for information, &c., to 'Mrs.
S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer Depot, No. 355
Broome Street, New York.' The Geneme has 'Mrs.
S. A. Allen,' signed in Red Ink to outside wrappers, and in Biack Ink to directions pasted on bottles—none other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgery, and will be presented by us as a criminal offence.

SOLD BY STREY DRUG AND FARCY GOODS DRALES.

Oct 1859. 17cop

## POETRY

From the Atlantic Monthly. THE CHILDREN'S HOUR. Between the dark and the daylight.

When the nightlis beginning to lower, Comes a pause in the day's occupations, That is known as the Children's Hour.

I hear in the chamber above me The patter of little feet. The sound of a door that is opened, And voices soft and sweet.

From my study I see in the lamplight, Descending the broad hall stair. Grave Alice, and laughing Allegra, And Edith with golden hair.

A whisper, and then a silence: Yet I know by their merry eyes They are plotting and planning together To take me by surprise.

A sudden rush from the stairway, A sudden raid from the hall ! By three doors left unguarded, They enter my castle wall.

They climb up into my turret, O'er the arms and back of my chair; If I try to escape, they surround me; They seem to be everywhere.

They almost devour me with kisses, Their arms about me entwine, Till I think of the Bishop of Binger In his Mouse-Tower on the Rhine!

Do you think, O blue-eyed banditti, Because you have scaled the wall, Such an old moustache as I am, Is not a match for you all?

I have you fast in my fortress, And will not let you depart, But put you down into the dungeons In the round-tower of my heart. And the will I keep you forever,

Yes, forever and a day, Till the walls shall crumble to ruin, And moulder infdust away.

### SONG OF PREEDOM.

Patriot, on, where duty leads! Onward, for thy country bleeds! Dare for her in noble deeds,-. Be not faithless now : Hearts of true men beat for thee, Thousands bend the prayerful knee, Wait to shout when victory Crowns thine ample brow.

'Freedom !' be your battle-cry-Let it flash from every eye-Lift your glorious benner high, In the strength of God : He who ope'd the roaring sea, That his chosen ones might fice. Will your mighty helper be: Emmbly take his rod.

Many hopes may sink and rise, Many clouds o'erspread the skies, Paithful hearts grow faint with sighs, Ere the happy morn; But a star bespeaks it near-See Oppression's coward fear ! Soon the bondman's joyful tear Shall usher in the dawn !

For a day though tempests lower, Virtue bleed, and vice devour, Tyrants triumph for an hour, Yet an end shall come : Ruffians bruise the honored head,

Strew the plains with noble dead; God will watch the martyr's bed Till that day of doom!

# TRUE MANHOOD.

I love the man whose honest heart Will bravely bear and bravely do, Who ne'er will act a coward's part, But, strong in right, will right pursue. Whose knee, ne'er bending at the nod

Of titled pomp, or regal power, But bows alone before his God, With hope his crown, and love his bower:

Who dares to face a world of scorn, And dares a brother's hand to span, Though dark the skin and rough the form. If yet that brother be a man :

Who strikes wherever wrong is found, And brands a tyrant to his face; Nor courts applause-an empty sound-But firmly treads in virtue's trace.

Such are the men who've stemmed the tide. And clove their way through giant wrong Who've fought triumphant, side by side, Through perils deep and trials long :

Whose martyred forms are thickly strewn On many ancient fields of crime: But seeds of truth they've widely sown, To blossom rich in coming time.

Amid that army of the dead, Whose legions pale and silent lie. They have a passing fregrance shed-Their names, immortal; ne'er shall die.

### ROUSE, YE FREEMEN! BY R. W. LOCKE.

Rouse, ye freemen, from your slumbers ! Seize your arms and count your numbers! Now sathe time for deeds of bravery! Freedom grapples now with Slavery! CHORUS.

Hurrah! hurrah! the foe's divided! Press them hard, their fate's decided; Cheering thought to bold endeavor, Freedom's cause shall live forever !

Mark the flag of Slavery's minions ! Bludgeon versus free opinions! Rule or ruin-pledges broken-Choke free words before they're spoken !

# Hurrah ! hurrah ! &c.

Are we cowards now to falter? Have we nought for Freedom's altar? Shall our forces, by division, Reap defeat and bold decision ? Never! never! All are ready; Every column marching steady; True as were our sires before us, Marching steady to the Chorus.

Hurrah! hurrah! &c.

Scourge of scourges, shall it longer, Year by year, grow strong and stronger? Shall we spread the deadly cancer ! Shew us by your acts your answer! Neven! about our swarming workshops; Navan ! echo all our hill-topa ; Free-born millions thunder, Navas Slavery's reign is closed forever!

THE LIBERATOR.

From the Atlantic Monthly for October

THEODORE PARKER.

day, sometimes, and that for several days together, and bimself, but them; for each assumed that he must at pressing. Thirty years after, that same man sat in the r ichest private library in Boston, working habitually from twelve to seventeen hours a day in severer toil, its value was increased in a sufficient ratio to The interval was crowded with labors, with acquisitions, with reproaches, with victories, with honors; and he who experienced all this died exhausted at the was his parish, though this was not an adequate exend of it, less than fifty years old, but looking seventy. That man was Theodore Parker.

The time is far distant when, out of a hundred different statements of contemporaries, some calm biogra-ing Sclavonic dialects? No doubt his work in the pher will extract sufficient materials for a true picture world was greatly aided both by the fact and the of the man; and, meanwhile, all that each can do fame of learning, and, as he himself somewhat disis to give fearlessly his own howest impressions, and dainfully said, the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew so tempt others to give theirs. Of the multitude of was 'a convenience' in theological discussions ; but. different photographers, each perchance may catch after all, his popular power did not mainly depend some one trait, without which the whole portraiture on his mastery of twenty languages, but of one. would have remained incomplete; and the time to Theodore Parker's learning was undoubtedly a valuaccure this is now, while his features are fresh in our ble possession to the community, but it was not worth mi nds. It is a daring effort, but it needs to be made, the price of Theodore Parker's life. Yet Theodore Parker was so strong and self-suffi-

any other, while giving so freely to all, that one from speaking of them precisely as one saw them; tempt it.

fading untimely into heaven, was ever more passion- ready to take all the parts. ately beloved than this white-haired and world- In the same way he distanced everybody; ever weary man. As he sat in his library, during his life- companion-scholar found soon that it was impossible time, he was not only the awakener of a thousand to keep pace with one who was always accumulating, intellects, but the centre of a thousand hearts ;-he and losing nothing. Most students find it necessar furnished the natural home for every foreign refugee, to be constantly forgetting some things to make room every hunted slave, every stray thinker, every vexed for later arrivals; but the peculiarity of his memory and sorrowing woman. And never was there one of was, that he let nothing go. I have more than once these who went away uncomforted, and from every heard him give a minute analysis of the contents of part of this broad nation their scattered hands now some dull book read twenty years before, and have fling roses upon his grave.

by any mere isolated acts of virtue; indeed, it never have ever seen which reminded one of the Astor,-alis so bought; love never is won but by a nobleness though latterly collected more for public than perwhich pervades the life. In the midst of his great-sonal uses, was one which no other man in the naest cares, there never was a moment when he was not tion, probably, had sufficient bibliographical knowlall too generous of his time, his wisdom, and his edge single-handed to select, and we have very few m oney. Borne down by the accumulation of labors, men capable of fully appreciating its scholarly value g rudging, as a student grudges, the precious hour as it stands. It seems as if its possessor, putting all that, once lost, can never be won back, he yet was his practical and popular side into his eloquence and al ways holding himself at the call of some poor crim- action, had indemnified himself by investing all his inal at the police office, or some sick girl in a subur- scholarship in a library of which less than a quarter ban town, not of his recognized parish, perhaps, but of the books were in the English language. longing for the ministry of the only preacher who All unusual learning, however, brings with it the had touched her soul. Not a mere wholesale reform- suspicion of superficiality; and in this country, where ences to the poorest comer. Not generous in money ful of education, but scarce one a full meal, - where direction had few equals, he always hastened past ripe scholar, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish that minor bestowal to ask if there were not some the true from the counterfeit. It is, however, possible correspondence, some life-blood, in short, to be lay- the few undoubted classical scholars, in the old-fasheral donation of dollars.

Unforgetting he certainly was; for he had no power in this direction, and with utter contempt of those of of forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had Daniel Webster, always became enthusiastic on co none of that convenient oblivion which in softer na- ing to Theodore Parker. 'He is the only man,' said tures covers sin and saintliness with one common, Mr. King more than once to the writer, 'with whom careless pall. So long as a man persisted in a wrong. I can sit down, and seriously discuss a disputed readattitude before God or man, there was no day so la- ing, and find him familiar with all that has been borious or exhausting, no night so long or drowsy, written upon it.' Yet Greek and Latin were only but Theodore Parker's unsleeping memory stood on the preliminaries of Mr. Parker's scholarship. guard, full-armed, ready to do battle at a moment's warning. This is generally known; but what may bear the same testimony, that I never went to Mr not be known so widely is, that, the moment the adversary lowered his spear, were it for only an inch or a speciality, without finding that on that particular an instant, that moment Theodore Parker's weapons matter he happened to know, without any special inwere down, and his arms open. Make but the slight- vestigation, more than I did. This extended beyond est concession, give him but the least excuse to love books, sometimes stretching into things where his you, and never was there seen such promptness in questioner's opportunities for knowledge had seemed forgiving. His friends found it sometimes harder to considerably greater, as, for instance, in points conjustify his mildness than his severity. I confess that nected with the habits of our native animals and the I, with others, have often felt inclined to criticise a phenomena of out-door Nature. Such were his won certain caustic tone of his, in private talk, when the derful quickness and his infallible memory, tha name of an offender was alluded to; but I have also glimpses of these things did for him the work o felt almost indignant at his lenient good-nature to years. But, of course, it was in the world of books that very person, let him once show the smallest that this wonderful superiority was chiefly seen, and symptom of contrition, or seek, even in the clumsiest the following example may serve as one of the mos way, or for the most selfish purpose, to disarm his striking among many :enerous antagonist. His forgiveness in such cases was more exuberant than his wrath had ever been.

It is inevitable, in describing him, to characterize his life first by its quantity. He belonged to the the Middle Ages, -s the Salic, Burgundian, and true race of the giants of learning; he took in knowl- Ripuarian, - before the time of Charlemagne. The dge at every pore, and his desires were insatiable. common historians, even Hallam, gave no very satis-Not, perhaps, precocious in boyhood,—for it is not factory information, and referred to no very available recocity to begin Latin at ten and Greek at eleven, books; and supposing it to be a matter of which every o enter the Freshman class at twenty, and the proessional school at twenty-three, he was equalled by ew students in the tremendous rate at which he pur- fession within my reach. He regretted his inabilit ued every study, when once begun. With strong ody and great constitutional industry, always acuiring and never forgetting, he was doubtless, at the already eminent for legal learning. The friend soon me of his death, the most variously learned of liv- arrived, but owned, with some regret, that he had ng Americans, as well as one of the most prolific of paid no attention to that particular subject, and did

ived farmers behind him, and had their strength of Charlemagne. 'Charlemagne?' responded my to draw upon. All his physical habits, except in this lord judge, rubbing his burleigh brow, Charleried no dangerous experiments, committed no ex- sure of one man, at least, to whom law meant he fact,) without ultimate self-destruction. Nor was to Theodore Parker. I did so. "Go," replied he is in is the practice during his period of health alone, but stantly, 'to alcove twenty-four, abelf one hundred is was pushed to the last moment: he continued in and thirteen, of the College Library at Cambridge, he pulpit long after a withdrawal was peremptorily rescribed for him; and when forbidden to leave quarto, bound in vellum; and lettered." Potglesser de tome for lecturing, during the winter of 1858, he Statu Servorum." I straightway went for Potglesser. traightway prepared the most laborious literary works ser, and found my fortune made. It was one of the d his life, for delivery as lectures in the Fraternity

new systems of Scriptural exegesis. He did not, for a day in the year, nor an hour in the day, make rest a matter of principle, nor did he ever indulgs in it as a pleasure, for he knew no enjoyment so great as inbor. Wordsworth's wise passiveness was utterly foreign to his nature. Had he been a mere student, this had been less destructive. But to take the stand-'Sir Launcelot! ther thou yest: thou were never matched of none earthly knights liands: thou were the truest friends to thy fover that ever bestrood horse; and thou were the kindest man that ever strooke with sword; and thou were the sternest knight to thy mortall foe that ever put spere in the rest.'—La Moris D'Arthur.

Our. Wordsworths

foreign to his nature. Had he been a mere student, this had been less destructive. But to take the standard of atudy of a German Professor, and superadd to that the separate exhaustions of a Sunday-preacher, strooke with sword; and thou were the sternest that the separate exhaustions of a Sunday-preacher, strooke with sword; and thou were the sternest that the separate exhaustions of a Sunday-preacher, strooke with sword; and thou were the sternest that the separate exhaustions of a Sunday-preacher, strooke with sword; and thou were the sternest the standard that the separate exhaustions of a Sunday-preacher, strooke with sword; and thou were the kindest man that ever strooke with sword; and thou were the kindest man that ever the sternest was a sunday preacher. It is not to take the standard that the separate exhaustions of a Sunday-preacher, strooke with sword; and thou were the kindest man that ever the sternest was a sunday preacher. It is not to take the standard that the separate exhaustions of a Sunday-preacher, strooke with sword; and thou were the kindest man that ever the strook with sword; and thou were the kindest man that ever the strook with sword; and thou were the kindest man that ever the strook with sword; and thou were the kindest man that ever the strook with sword; and thou were the kindest man that ever the strook with sword; and thou were the kindest man that ever the strook with sword; and thou were the kindest man that ever the strook with sword; and thou were the kindest man that ever the strook with the stroo In the year 1828, there was a young man of tinct suicides to the abbreviation of a single life, eighteen at work upon a farm at Lexington, performance as the property of the extent of twenty hours in a him, the tendency of his career was not only to kill least attempt what Theodore Parker accomplished. It is very certain that his career was much shortened

by these enormous labors, and it is not certain that compensate for that evil. He justified his incessant winter-lecturing by the fact that the whole country his great and wonderful power lay. Not an original cuse. But what right had he to deprive himself even of the accustomed summer respite of ordinary preachers, and waste the golden July hours in study-

· Strive constantly to consentrate yourself, said the cing upon his own ground, he needed so little from laborious Goethe; 'never dissipate your powers; incessant activity, of whatever kind, leads finally to would hardly venture to add anything to the autobi- bankruptey. But Theodore Parker's whole endeavoi ographies he has left, but for the high example he set of was to multiply his channels, and he exhausted his life fearlessness in dealing with the dead. There may be in the effort to do all men's work. He was a hard man some whose fame is so ill-established, that one shrinks to relieve, to help, or to co-operate with. Thus the 'Massachusetts Quarterly Review' began with quite but this man's place is secure, and that friend best a promising corps of contributors; but when it appraises him who paints him just se he seemed. To peared that its editor, if left alone, would willingly undepict him as he was must be the work of many men, dertake all the articles, -science, history, literature, and no single observer, however intimate, need at- everything,-of course the others yielded to inertia, and dropped away. So, some years later, when some The first thing that strikes an observer, in listening of us met at his room to consult on a cheap series of to the words of public and private feeling elicited by popular theological works, he himself wasso rich in his departure, is the predominance in them all of the his own private plans, that all the rest were impoversentiment of love. His services, his speculations, his | ished; nothing could be named but he had been plancontests, his copious elequence, his many languages, ning just that for years, and should by-and-by get lets these come in as secondary things, but the predominant ure for it, and there really was not enough left to call testimony is emotional. Men mourn the friend even out the energies of any one else. Not from any petty more than the warrior. No fragile and lovely girl, egotism, but simply from inordinate activity, he stood

afterwards found the statement correct and exhaust-This immense debt of gratitude was not bought ive. His great library,-the only private library l

er. he wore out his life by retailing its great influ- as Mr. Parker himself said, every one gets a mouthonly,-though the readiness of his beneficence in that every one who makes a Latin quotation is styled 's other added gift possible, some personal service or to apply some tests. I remember, for instance, that one of ished in some other form, to eke out the already lib- joined sense, whom New England has seen, - the late John Glen King of Salem, -while speaking with very There is an impression that he was unforgiving. limited respect of the acquirements of Rufus Choate

I know, for one,-and there are many who wil Parker to talk over a subject which I had just mad

It happened to me, some 'years since, in the course of some historical inquiries, to wish for fuller information in regard to the barbarous feudal codes of well-read lawyer would at least know something, asked help of the most scholarly member of that proto give me any aid, but referred me to a friend of his who was soon to visit him, a young man, who wa not even know what books to refer to; but he would Why did Theodore Parker die? He died prematurely, at least ascertain what they were, and let me know. worn out through this enormous activity, a warn- (N. B. I have never heard from him since.) ing as well as an example. To all appeals for mode- Stimulated by ill-success, I aimed higher, and struck ation, during the latter years of his life, he had but at the Supreme Bench of a certain State, breaking ne answer, -- that he had six generations of long in on the mighty repose of his Honor with the name espect, were unexceptionable: he was abstemious in magne lived, I think, in the sixth century?" Disict, but not ascetic, kept no unwholesome hours, mayed, I retreated, with little further inquiry; and esses. But there is no man who can habitually history and literature, I took refuge with Charles tudy from twelve to seventeen hours a day, (his Sumner. That accomplished scholar, himself for riend Mr. Clarke contracts it to from six to once at fault, could only frankly advise me to do at welve, but I have Mr. Parker's own statement of last what I ought to have done at first,—to apply ne men's life to compile, and another's to exha and I had no resem to suppose that any reader had disturbed its repose until that unwested industry had

explored the library,

Amid such multiplicity of details. he must

land than he can cultivate; and Theodore Parker was to let vast tracta lie fallow, and to miss something of wishes that he had studied less, and dreamed more,for less encyclopedic information, and more of his own rich brain. But it was in popularizing thought and knowledge that

thinker, in the same sense with Emerson, he yet trans-

lated for tens of thousands that which Emerson spoke to hundreds only. No matter who had been heard on any subject, the great mass of intelligent, 'progressive' New England thinkers waited to hear the thing sum. first or last, grow weary of the pulpit. But in his med up by Theodore Parker. This popular interest went far beyond the circle of his avowed sympathic quarter part of his vast congregation consisted of perzers ; he might be a heretic, but nobody could deny that he was a markaman. No matter how well oth. fore, and who might never hear him again. Not one ers seemed to have hit the target, his shot was the of those visitors must go away, therefore, without heartriumphant one, at last. Thinkers might find no ing the great preacher define his position on every new thought in the new discourse, leaders of action point,—not theology alone, but all current events and no new plan, yet, after all that had been said and permanent principles, the Presidential pomination or done, his was the statement that told upon the community. He knew this power of his, and had snalyzed some of the methods by which he attained it. though, after all, the best part was an unconscious and magnetic faculty. But he early learned, so he which begins with the creation of the universe, and once told me, that the New Bigland people dearly includes all subsequent facts incidentally. It is astonloved two things, - a philosophical arrangement and a ishing to look over his published sermons and address plenty of statistics. To these, therefore, he treated es, and see under how many different names the same them thoroughly ; in some of his 'Ten Sermons,' the stirring speech has been reprinted ;-new illustrations. demand made upon the systematizing power of new statistics, and all remoulded with such freshness his audience was really formidable; and I have al. that the hearer had no suspicions, nor the speaker glo-Saxons as the most wonderful instance that ever discourse, byceum lecture, convention speech, it made came within my knowledge of the adaptation of sol- no difference, he must cover all the points every time. id learning to the popular intellect. Nearly two No matter what theme might be announced, the peohours of almost unadorned fact,-for there was far ple got the whole latitude and longitude of Theodore less than usual of relief and illustration, and yet Parker, and that was precisely what they wanted. to them. So perfect was his sense of purpose and of the traditional non-committalism of the lecture-room, power, so clear and lucid was his delivery, with such and oxygenated all the lyceums of the land. He wonderful composure did he lay out, section by sec- thus multiplied his audience very greatly, while pertion, his historical chart, that he grasped his hearers haps losing to some degree the power of close logic Sanscrit Lexicon, and they would listen with ever fresh lancet to others, grant him only the hammer and the delight. Without grace or beauty or melody, his forge.

Ah, but the long centuries, where the reading of CARPETING delight. Without grace or beauty or melody, his forge. melody and grace and beauty might have sighed for books is concerned, set aside all considerations of in vain. And I always felt that he well described quantity, of popularity, of immediate influence, and his own eloquence while describing Luther's, in one sternly test by quality alone,-judge each author by of the most admirably moulded sentences he ever his most golden centence, and let all else go. The achieved,- The homely force of Luther, who, in the deeds make the man, but it is the style which makes language of the farm, the shop, the bost, the street or dooms the writer. History, which always sends or the nursery, told the high truths that reason or great men in groups, gave us Emerson by whom to religion taught, and took possession of his audience test the intellectual qualities of Parker. They coby a storm of speech, then poured upon them all operated in their work from the beginning, in much the riches of his brave plebeian soul, baptizing every the same mutual relation as now; in looking back head anew,-a man who with the people seemed over the rich volumes of the 'Dial,' the reader now more mob than they, and with kings the most impe- passes by the contributions of Parker to glean every

of training and sympathy. Surcharged with Euro- the two men form the complement to each other; i American scholar, he plunged deep into the current Divinity Hall. Thackeray, on his voyage to this country, declared the sea. that the thing in America which he most desired was The same want of fine discrimination was usually o hear Theodore Parker talk.

mer, when the conversation fell on agriculture: the it was Parker's Webster, not Emerson's Swedenborg farmer held his own ably for a time; but long after or Napoleon. he was drained dry, our wonderful companion still The same thing was often manifested in his criti-

one among his thousand departments, and his hearers with great force upon those who had not been swept felt, as was said of old Ruller, as if he had served his into the movement, and even upon some who had time at every trade in town.

But it must now be owned that these astonishing discourses as he would have preached in the time of which his nearer friends do not all recognize, but which many thought the one astonishing feature of which posterity will mourn. Such a rate of speed is the new excitement, its almost entire omission of the incompatible with the finest literary execution. A 'terrors of the Lord,' the far gentler and more windelicate literary ear he might have had, perhaps, but ning type of religion which it displayed, and from he very seldom stopped to cultivate or even indulge which it confessedly drew much of its power, this it. This neglect was not produced by his frequent was entirely ignored in Mr. Parker's sermons. He was habit of extemporaneous speech alone; for it is a too hard at work in combating the evangelical theosingular fact, that Wendell Phillips, who rarely writes logy to recognize its altered phases. Forging lighta line, yet contrives to give to his hastiest efforts the sir of elaborate preparation, while Theodore Parker's height of the storm had passed by. most scholarly performances were still stump-speckes.

These are legitimate criticisms to make on Theodore Vigorous, rich, brilliant, copious, they yet seldom afford a sentence which falls in perfect cadence upon the ear; under a show of regular method, they are remark that they do not touch the sky, and a man loose and diffuse, and often have the qualities which must comprise a great deal before we complain of him

clusions. But no one has any right to say that his position, cut him off from all high literary finish. He great acquirements were hought by any habitual sagreat acquirements were bought by any habitual sacrifice of thoroughness. To say that they sometimes impaired the quality of his thought would, undoubtedly, he more just; and this is a serious charge to the great stage, his eloquence became inevitably a bring. Learning is not accumulation, but assimilation; every man's real acquirements must pass into this own premignation and understance of the congregation at the fluid his whole life. For that great stage, his eloquence became inevitably a trial acquirements must pass into effects, but farewell forever to all finer touches and delicated and acquirements must pass into his own organization, and undue or hasty nutrition delicate gradations? No man can write for posterity does no good. The most priceless knowledge is not worth the smallest impairing of the quality of the thinking. The scholar cannot afford, any more than the farmer, to lavish his strength in clearing more roah and hurry of his life, he had no time to select, bed then be can obtain. to discriminate, to omit enything, or to mature any compelled, by the natural limits of time and strength, thing. He had the opportunities, the provocatives to let vast tracts lie fallow, and to miss something of and the drawbacks which make the work and mar the fame of the professional journalist. His intellectual existence, after he left the quiet of West Roxbury was from hand to mouth. Needing above all men to concentrate himself, he was compelled by his whole position to lead a profuse and miscellaneous life. All popular orators must necessarily repeat them

selves,-preschers chiefly among crators, and Theodore Parker chiefly among preachers. The mere fre quency of production makes this inevitable,-a fact which always makes every finely organized intellect, case there were other compulsions. Every Sunday a sons who had never, or scarcely ever, heard him bemessage, the laws of trade, the laws of Congress, woman's rights, woman's costume, Boston slave-kid-nappers, and Dr. Banbaby,—he must put it all in-His ample discourse must be like an Oriental poem ways remembered a certain lecture of his on the An- either, -and yet the same essential thing. Sunday the lyceum-audience listened to it as if an angel sang He, more than any other man among us, broke down as absolutely as he grasped his subject: one was com- and of addressing a specific statement to a special pelled to believe that he might read the people the point. Yet it seemed as if he could easily leave the Sanscrit Lexicon, and they would listen with ever fresh lancet to others, grant him only the hammer and the

sentence of Emerson's, but we have the latter's au-Another key to his strong hold upon the popular thority for the fact that it was the former's articles mind was to be found in his thorough Americanism which originally sold the numbers. Intellectually, pean learning, he yet remained at heart the Lexington is Parker who reaches the mass of the people, but it farmer's-boy, and his whole atmosphere was indigen- is probable that all his writings put together have not ous, not exotic. Not haunted by any of the distrust had so profound an influence on the intellectual leadand over-criticism which are apt to effeminate the ers of the nation as the single address of Emerson at

f hearty, national life around him, loved it, trusted | And it is difficult not to notice, in that essay in , believed in it; and the combination of this vital which Theodore Parker ventured on higher intellecfaith with such tremendous criticism of public and tual ground, perhaps, than anywhere else in his writprivate sins formed an irresistible power. He could lings, -his critique on Emerson in the 'Massachusette condemn without crushing, denounce mankind, yet Quarterly, the indications of this mental disparity. save it from despair. Thus his pulpit became one of It is in many respects a noble essay, full of fine moral the great forces of the nation, like the New York appreciations, bravely generous, admirable in the Tribuse. His printed volumes had but a limited cir- loyalty of spirit shown towards a superior mind, and culation, owing to a defective system of publication, all warm with a personal friendship which could find which his friends tried in vain to correct; but the cir- no superior. But so far as literary execution is conhe issued them faster and faster, latterly often in pairs, like fragments of carved marble from the rough plasand they instantly spread far and wide. Accordingly ter in which they are imbedded. Nor this alone; he found his listeners everywhere; he could not go so but, on drawing near the vestibule of the author's far West but his abundant fame had preceded him; finest thoughts, the critic almost always stops, unable his lecture-room in the remotest places was crowded, quite to enter their sphere. Subtile beauties puzzle and his hotel-chamber also, until late at night. Prob. him; the titles of the poems, for instance, giving by ably there was no private man in the nation, except, delicate allusion the key-note of each, -as 'Astresa. perhaps, Beecher and Greeley, whom personal strang- 'Mithridates,' Hamatreya,' and 'Btienne de la rs were so carer to see: while from a transatlantic Bocce, -seem to him the work of 'mere caprice' direction he was sought by visitors to whom the two he pronounces the poem of 'Monadnoc' 'poor and other names were utterly unknown. Learned men weak'; he condemns and satirizes the 'Wood-notes.' from the continent of Europe always found their way, and thinks that a pine-tree which should talk like irst or last, to Exeter Place; and it is said that Mr. Emerson's ought to be cut down and cast into

visible in his delineations of great men in public life. Indeed, his conversational power was so wonderful Immense in accumulation of details, terrible in the hat no one could go away from a first interview with justice which held the balance, they yet left one with out astonishment and delight. There are those among the feeling, that, after all, the delicate main-springs is, it may be, more brilliant in anecdote or repartee, of character had been missed. Broad contrasts, heaps ore eloquent, more profoundly suggestive; but for of good and evil, almost exaggerated praises, pungent se outpouring of vast floods of various and delight- satire, catalogues of sins that seemed pages from some ful information, I believe that he could have had no Recording Angel's book, - these were his mighty Anglo-Saxon rival, except Macaulay. And in Mr. methods; but for the subtilest analysis, the deepest Parker's case, at least, there was no alloy of conver- insight into the mysteries of character, one must lool sational arrogance or impatience of opposition. He elsewhere. It was still scene-painting, not portraiconopolized, not because he was ever unwilling to ture; and the same thing which overwhelmed with hear others, but because they did not care to hear wonder, when heard in the Music Hall, produced a themselves when he was by. The subject made no alight sense of insufficiency, when read in print. It difference; he could talk on anything. I was once was certainly very great in its way, but not in quite with him in the society of an intelligent Quaker far- the highest way; it was preliminary work, not final;

flowed on exhaustless, with accounts of Nova Scotia cisms on current events. The broad truths were ploughing and Tennessee hoeing, and all things rural, stated without fear or favor, the finer points passed ncient and modern, good and bad, till it seemed as if over, and the special trait of the particular phase the one amusing and interesting theme in the universe sometimes missed. His sermons on the last revivals. were the farm. But it soon proyed that this was only for instance, had an enormous circulation, and told results were bought by some intellectual sacrifices Edwards and the Great Awakening'; and the point

loose and diffuse, and often have the qualities which he himself stiributed to the style of John Quiney Adam, — disorderly, ill-compacted, and homely to a fault. He said of Dr. Channing, — Diffusences is the old Adam of the pulpit. There are always two ways of hitting the mark,—one with a single bullet, the other with a shower of small shot: Dr. Channing of the proclaim it, or, proclaiming, failed to give it force and power. He lived his life much as he walked the streets of Boston,—not quite gracefully, nor yet state-lily, but with quick, strong, solid step, with sagacious eyes wide open, and thrusting his broad shoulders a little forward, or if butting away the throng of evil

deeds around him, and scattering whole atmospher of unwholesome croud. If melever he went, then went a glance of sleepless vigilance, an unforgeting memory, a tongue that never faltered, and m any memory, a tong to the primarily an administration nor yet a military mind, he yet exerted a positive man nor yet a mineral trol over the whole community around him, by then mental and moral strength. He moved down in wests of svil as in his fouth he moved the gran, as vests of evil as in me your but whetting the spite And for this great work it was not essential that And for this great major's edge. Grant that Pater was not also Emerson; no matter, he was Pathe, p ever a man seemed sent into the world to find a tertain position, and found it, he was that man. Occup-ing a unique sphere of activity, he filled it with not ing a unique species, that there is now no one is the nation whom it would not seem an absurdity to acci-

nation whom it takes many instruments to cie. plete the orchestra, but the tones of this crea the Music Hall shall never hear again. One feels, since he is gone, that he made his gray qualities seem so natural and inevitable, we large that all did not share them. We forgot the scholar proverbial reproach of timidity and selfshres h watching him. While he lived, it reemed a matter of course that the greatest acquirements and the heartiest self-devotion should go together. Cas ve keep our strength, without the tonic of his example; How petty it now seems to ask for any fine-day subtilties of poet or seer in him who gave his life is the cause of the humblest! Life speaks the loader We do not ask what Luther said or wrote, but shy what he did; and the name of Theodore Parker all not only long outlive his books, but will lest far be youd the special occasions out of which he months his grand career.

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