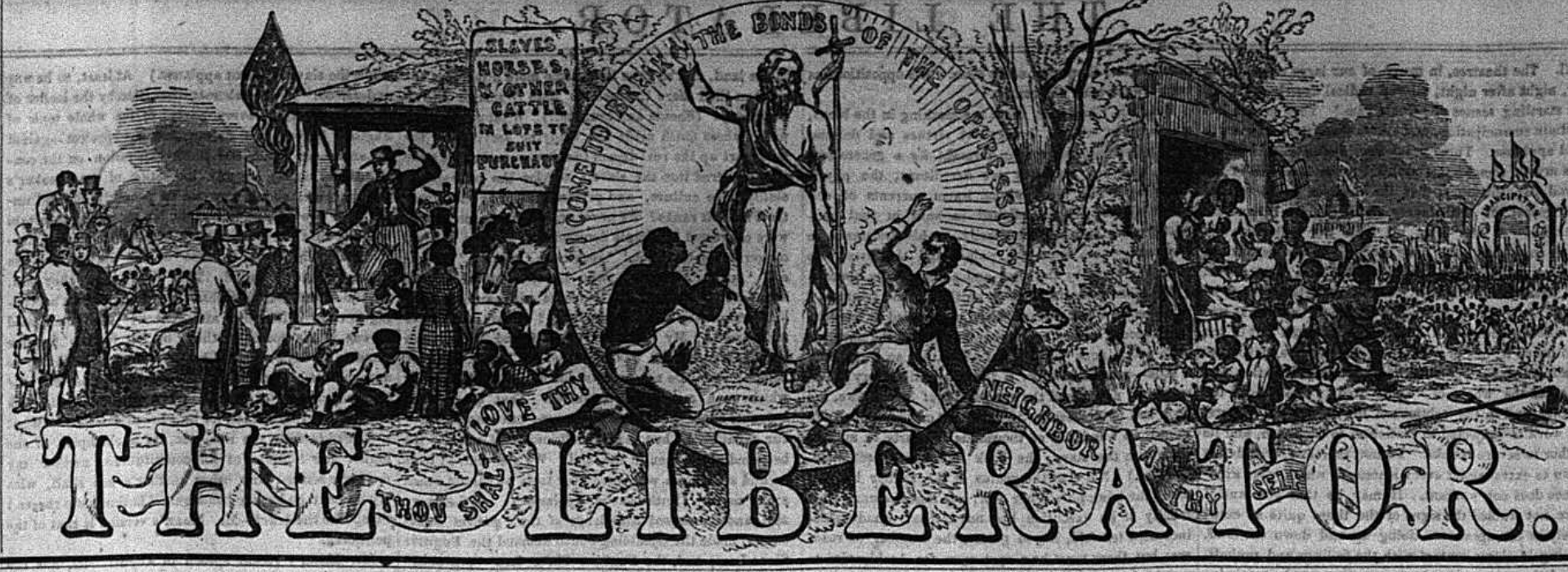


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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,
Maine and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-
thorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial
Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts
of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY,
LEWIS GUNST, SAMUEL PHILLIPS, and
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.



No Union with Slaveholders!
THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.
Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding
lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their
assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to
SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR
SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,
of preserving the African slave trade; the second was
the stipulation to Surrender FUGITIVE SLAVES—an
engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,
delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exact, fatal
to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-
sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under
the name of persons. . . . In fact, the oppressor repre-
sented the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-
stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of
mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of
riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the
government of the nation is to establish an artificial
majority in the slave representation over that of the
free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY
TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETU-
ATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT
OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—John Quincy Adams.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.
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THE LIBERATOR.

SPEECH
OF
WENDELL PHILLIPS

AT THE
Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts A. S. Society,
Thursday Evening, Jan. 27, 1853.

WENDELL PHILLIPS came forward, and was received
with loud cheering. He presented, from the Business
Committee, the following resolution:—
Resolved, That the object of this Society is now, as
it has been, to convince our countrymen, by ar-
gument addressed to their hearts and consciences, that
slavery is a heinous crime, and that the duty,
urgent and interest of all concerned, demand its im-
mediate abolition, without expatriation.
I wish, Mr. PRESIDENT, to notice some objections that
have been made to our course, ever since Mr. GAR-
RISON began his career, and some of which have been
repeated again and again, with considerable force and em-
phasis in the columns of the LIBERATOR, the able or-
gan of a very respectable and influential class in Eng-
land. I hope, Sir, you will not think it waste of time
to bring such a subject before you. I know these ob-
jections have been made a thousand times; that they
have been often answered; though we have generally
been silent in silence, willing to let results speak
for themselves. But there are times when justice to the
slave will allow us to be silent. There are many in this
country, many in England, who have had their atten-
tion turned, recently, to the anti-slavery cause. They
are asking, "which is the best and most efficient method
of doing it?" Engaged ourselves in an effort for the
slave, which time has tested and success hitherto ap-
proved, we are, very properly, desirous that they
should join us in our labors, and pour into this channel
the full force of their zeal and great resources.
Thoroughly convinced ourselves that our course is wise,
we are loath to give others to adopt it. Long experi-
ence gives us a right to advise. The fact that our
course, more than all other efforts, has caused that
growing class which has awakened these new converts, gives
us a right to counsel them. They are our spiritual
children; for their sakes, we would free the cause we
love and trust for every seeming defect and plausible
objection. For the slave's sake, we reiterate our ex-
hortations, and may lose no tithe of help by the
omission or misapplication of his friends.
All that I have to say on these points will be to you,
Mr. President, very true and familiar; but the facts
may be new to some, and I prefer to state them here,
in Boston, where we have lived and worked, because if
our statements are incorrect, if we claim too much, our
statements can be easily answered and disproved.
The charges to which I refer are these: That in
denying to slaveholders and their apologists, we in-
dulge in mere denunciations, instead of appealing to
their reason and common sense by plain statements and
their arguments;—that we might have won the sym-
pathy and support of the nation, if we would have sub-
mitted to argue this question with a manly patience;
but instead of this, we have outraged the feelings of the
community by attacks, unjust and unnecessarily severe,
on the most valued institutions, and gratified our spleen
by indiscriminate abuse of leading men, who were often
acting in their intentions, however mistaken in their
views;—that we have utterly neglected the simple means
that lay around us to convert the nation, submitted to
the denigration, formed no plan, been guided by no fore-
sight, but hurried on in a childish, reckless, blind and
headstrong manner;—that in the narrowness of our views,
and devotion to our blind fury of invective, and malig-
nant judgment of other men's motives.
There are some who come upon our platform, and
go on with all of names and reputations less burdened
than our own, with popular edum, who are perpetually
urging us to exercise charity in our judgments of those
men, and to consent to argue these questions.
These men are ever parsing their wish to draw a line
between themselves and us, because they must be per-
mitted to walk to trust more, to reason than feeling;—
to uphold a generous charity—to rely on the sure influ-
ence of simple truth, uttered in love, &c. &c. I reject
such views as these implications that our judgments are
uncharitable,—that we are lacking in patience,—that
we have any other dependence than on the simple truth,
spoken with Christian frankness yet with Christian love.
These lectures, to which you, Sir, and all of us, have
not listened, would be impertinent, if they were
not so utterly ridiculous for the gross ignorance they be-
tray of the community, of the cause, and of the whole
of our friends.
The article in the LEADER to which I refer is signed
"A. S." and may be found in the LIBERATOR of Decem-
ber 17, 1852. The writer is cordial and generous in
his recognition of Mr. Garrison's claim to be the repre-
sentative of the anti-slavery movement, and does entire
justice to his motives and character. The criticisms of
this movement, as represented in the CHRISTIAN REGISTER, of this
city, and that paper, with their usual Christian cour-
tesy, love of truth, and fair-dealing, omitted all Iox's
objections to regard for Mr. GARRISON and apprecia-
tion of his motives, and reprinted only those parts of
the article which undervalued his sagacity and influence,
and endeavored the common objections to his method and
course. You will see in a moment, Mr. President, that
the writer has not been sufficiently wise and patient in win-
ning them out of the spot, it would tire even his patience
to read that of the drunken Helio—a warning to
others, he would see that the best and only use to be
made of them is to let them unfast their own charac-
ters, and show the world how rotten our Politics
and Religion are, that they bear naturally such fruit.
Mr. GARRISON'S original declaration, in THE
LIBERATOR—
"I am aware that many object to the severity of my
denunciations; but there is no cause for severity. I will
not be silent in the presence of a truth, and as uncompromising as justice.
I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be
heard."

the precipitancy of my measures. The charge is not
true. On this question, my influence, humble as it is,
is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall
be felt in coming years—not peremptorily, but beneficially—
not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will
bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God
that he enables me to disregard 'the fear of man which
bringeth a snare,' and to speak his truth in its simplicity
and power.
He then goes on to say:—
"This is a defence which has been generally accepted
on this side of the Atlantic, and many are the abolition-
ists among us, whom it has encouraged in honesty and
impotence; and whom it has converted into conscientious
hindrances."
"We would have Mr. Garrison to say, 'I will be as
harsh as progress, as uncompromising as success.' If
a man speaks for his own gratification, he may be as
'harsh' as he pleases; but if he speaks for the down-
trodden and oppressed, he must be content to put a curb
upon the tongue of holiest passion, and speak only as
harshly as is compatible with the restoration of the
evil he proposes to redress. Let the question be again
repeated: Do you seek for the slave vengeance or red-
ress? If you seek retaliation, go on denouncing. But
distant Europe honors Wm. Lloyd Garrison, because it
credits him with seeking for the slave simply redress."
We say, therefore, that "uncompromising" policy is
not to be measured by absolute justice, but by practical
amelioration of the slave's condition. Amelioration as
fast as you can get it—absolute justice as soon as you
can reach it.
He quotes the sentiment of Confucius, that he would
choose for a leader "a man who would maintain a steady
vigilance in the direction of affairs; who was capable
of forming plans, and of executing them," and says:—
"The philosopher was right in placing wisdom and
excellence above courage for those to be chosen. In our
popular movements are led by heroes who fear
nothing, and who win nothing."
"There is no question raised in these articles as to
the work to be done, but only as to the mode of really
doing it. The platform resounds with announcements of
principles, which is but asserting a right, while the
platform is concerned on policy which is the realization
of right. The air is filled with all high cries and
spirited denunciations; indignation is at a premium;
and this is called advocacy."
Further on, he observes:—
"If an artillery officer throws shells after shell which
never reach the enemy, he is replaced by some one with
a better eye and a surer aim. But in the artillery bat-
tle of opinion, to mean to hit is quite sufficient; and if
you have a certain general indifference as to whether you
hit or not, you may count on public applause."
"A man need be no less militant, as the soldier of
facts, than as the agent of words. But the arena of
argument needs discipline no less than that of arms.
It is this which the anti-slavery party seem to me not
only to overlook, but to despise. They do not put their
weight on the field, but on the platform; and they
encourage any inherent capacity of taking care of itself."
The writer then proceeds to make a quotation from
Mr. EXAMSON, the latter part of which I will read:—
"Let us withhold every reproachful, and, if we can,
every indignant remark. In this cause, we must re-
nounce our temper and the risings of pride. If there
be any man who thinks the ruin of a race of men a
small matter compared with the list decorations and
compliments of his own comfort—who would not so much
rather part with his liver-cream to save them from rapine and
manacles—I think I must not hesitate to satisfy that
man, that also his cream and vanilla are safer and
cheaper by placing the negro nation on a fair footing
than by robbing them. If the Virginia piques himself
on the picturesque luxury of his vassalage, on the heavy
Ethiopian manners of his house servants, their silent
obedience, their hue of bronze, their turbaned heads,
and would not exchange the more intelligent but pre-
carious hired service of whites, I shall not refuse to
show him that when their free papers are made out, it
will still be their interest to remain in his estates; and
that the oldest planters of Jamaica are convinced that
it is cheaper to pay wages than to own slaves."
The critic takes exception to Mr. Garrison's approval
of the denunciatory language in which Daniel O'Connell
reduced the giant sin of America, and concludes his
articles with this sentence:—
"When Wm. Lloyd Garrison praises the great Celtic
Monarch of invective for this dire outpouring, he acts
the part of the boy who fancies that the terror is in the
whisper of the savages, unmindful of the quieter
markets of the civilized infantry, whose unostentatious
execution blows whoop and tomahawk to the devil."
Before passing to a consideration of these remarks of
Iox, let me say a word in relation to Mr. EXAMSON. I
do not consider him as endorsing any of these criticisms
of the Abolitionists. His services to the most
radical anti-slavery movement have been generous and
marked. He has never shrunk from any odium which
lending his name and voice to it would incur. Making
fair allowance for his peculiar taste, habits and genius,
he has given a generous amount of aid to the anti-slavery
movement, and never let his friends want his cordial
"God-speed."
Iox's charges are the old ones, that we abolitionists
are hurting our own cause,—that, instead of waiting for
the community to come up to our views, and endeavor-
ing to remove prejudice and enlighten ignorance, by
patient explanation and fair argument, we fall at once,
like children, to abusing every thing and every body;—
that we imagine real will supply the place of common
sense,—that we have never shown any sagacity in adapt-
ing our means to our ends, have never studied the na-
tional character, or attempted to make use of the mat-
erials which lay all about us, to influence public opin-
ion, but by blind, childish, obstinate fury and indis-
criminate denunciation, have become 'honestly impotent
and conscientious hindrances.'
These, Sir, are the charges which have uniformly
been brought against all reformers in all ages. Iox
thinks the same faults are chargeable on the leaders of all
the 'popular movements' in England, which, he says,
are led by heroes who fear nothing, and who win
nothing. If the leaders of popular movements in
Great Britain for the last fifty years have been losers,
I should be curious to know what party, in Iox's opin-
ion, have won? My Lord Derby and his friends seem
to think Democracy has made and is making dangerous
headway. If the men who, by popular agitation, out-
side of Parliament, wrung from a perjured oligarchy
Parliamentary Reform, and the Abolition of the Test
Acts, of High Post Rates, of Catholic Disabilities, of
Negro Slavery and the Corn Laws, did 'not win any-
thing,' it would be hard to say what winning is. If the
men who, without the ballot, made Peel their tool and
conquered the Duke of Wellington, are considered un-
successful, pray what kind of a thing would success
be? Those who now, at the head of that same middle
class, demand the separation of Church and State, and
the Extension of the Ballot, may well grove, from the
flustering of the Whig and Tory devotes, that soon

they will 'win' that same 'nothing.' Heaven grant
they may enjoy the same ill success with their pre-
decessors! On our own side of the ocean, too, we tempt
deeply to sympathize with the leaders of the Temper-
ance movement in their entire want of success! If
Iox's mistakes about the anti-slavery cause lay as much
on the surface as those I have just noticed, it would be
hardly worth while to reply to him; for as to these, he
certainly exhibits only 'the extent and variety of his
mis-information.'
His remarks upon the anti-slavery movement are,
however, equally inaccurate. I claim, before you, who
know the true state of the case, I claim for the anti-
slavery movement with which this Society is identified,
that, looking back over its whole course, and consider-
ing the men connected with it in the mass, it has been
marked by the soundest judgment, the most unerring
fore-sight, the most sagacious adaptation of means to
ends, the strictest self-discipline, the most thorough re-
search, and an amount of patient and manly argument
addressed to the conscience and intellect of the nation,
such as no other cause of the kind, in England or this
country, has ever offered. I claim, also, that its course
has been marked by a cheerful surrender of all individ-
ual claims to merit or leadership—the most cordial
welcoming of the slightest effort, of every honest at-
tempt to lighten or to break the chain of the slave. I
need not waste time by repeating the superfluous con-
fession that we are men, and therefore do not claim to
be perfect. Neither would I be understood as denying
that we use denunciation, and ridicule, and every other
weapon that the human mind knows. We must plead guilty,
if guilty it be, not to be able to separate the sin from
the sinner. With all the fondness for abstractions attrib-
uted to us, we are not yet capable of that. We are fight-
ing a momentous battle at desperate odds—one against
a thousand. Every weapon that ability or ignorance,
wit, wealth, prejudice or fashion can command, is point-
ed against us. The guns are shot to their lips. The
arrows are poisoned. We cannot afford to confine our-
selves to any one weapon. The cause is not ours, so that
we might, rightfully, postpone or put in peril the vic-
tory by moderating our demands, stifling our convic-
tions, or filing down our rebukes, to gratify any sickly
taste of our own, or to spare the delicate nerves of our
neighbor. Our clients are three million of slaves, stand-
ing dumb suppliants at the threshold of the Christian
world. They have no voice but ours to utter their com-
plaints, or demand justice. The press, the pulpit,
the wealth, the literature, the prejudices, the political ar-
rangements, the present self-interest of the country,
are all against us. God has given us no weapon but
the truth, faithfully uttered, and addressed, with the old
prophets' directness, to the conscience of the individ-
ual sinner. The elements which control public opinion,
and mould the masses, are against us. We can but
pick off here and there a man from the triumphant ma-
jority. We have facts for those who think—arguments
for those who reason; but he who cannot be reasoned
out of his prejudices, must be laughed out of them; he
who cannot be argued out of his selfishness, must be
shamed out of it by the mirror of his hateful self
held up relentlessly before his eyes. We live in a land
where every man makes broad his phylactery, inscrib-
ing thereon, 'All men are created equal.'—God hath
created of one blood all the nations of men.' It seems
to us that in such a land there must be, on this ques-
tion of slavery, sluggards to be awakened, as well as
doubters to be convinced. Many more, we verily be-
lieve, of the first, than of the last. There are far more
dead hearts to be quickened than confused intellects to
be cleared up—more dumb dogs to be made to speak,
than doubting consciences to be enlightened. (Loud
cheers.) We have use, then, sometimes, for something
beyond argument.
What is the denunciation with which we are charged?
It is endeavoring, in our faltering human speech,
to declare the enormity of the sin of making merchan-
dise of men—of separating husband and wife—taking
the infant from its mother, and selling the daughter to
prostitution—of a professedly Christian nation denying,
by statute, the Bible to every sixth man and woman of
its population, and making it illegal for 'two or three'
to meet together, except a white man be present! What
is this harsh criticism of motives with which we are
charged? It is simply holding the intelligent and
deliberate actor responsible for the character and con-
sequences of his acts. Is there anything inherently
wrong in such denunciation or such criticism? This we
may claim—we have never judged a man out of his
own mouth. We have seldom, if ever, held him to
account, except for acts of which he and his own
friends were proud. All that we ask the world and
thoughtful men to note are the principles and deeds on
which the American pulpit and American public men
plain themselves. We always allow our opponents to
paint their own pictures. Our humble duty is to stand
by and assure the spectators, that what they would take
for a knave or a hypocrite is really, in American esti-
mation, a Doctor of Divinity or Secretary of State.
The South is one great brothel, where half a million of
women are flogged to prostitution, or, worse still, are de-
graded to believe it honorable. The public squares of
half our great cities echo to the wall of families torn
asunder at the auction-block—no one of our fair rivers
that has not closed over the negro seeking in death a
refuge from a life too wretched to bear—thousands of
fugitives skulk along our highways, afraid to tell their
names, and trembling at the sight of a human being—
free men are kidnapped in our streets, to be plunged
into that hell of slavery, and now and then one, as if
by miracle, after long years, returns to make men
agham with his tale. The Press says, 'It is all right';
and the Pulpit cries, 'Amen.' We print the Bible in
every tongue in which man utters his prayers—and get
the money to do so, by agreeing never to give the book,
in the language our mother taught us, to any negro,
free or bond, South of Mason and Dixon's line. The
Press says, 'It is all right'; and the Pulpit cries,
'Amen.' The slave lifts up his imploring eyes, and
sees in every face, but ours, the face of an enemy.
Prove to me now that harsh rebuke, indignant denun-
ciation, scathing sarcasm, and pitiless ridicule, are
wholly and always unjustifiable, else we dare not, in so
desperate a case, throw away any weapon which ever
broke up the crust of an ignorant prejudice, roused a
slumbering conscience, shamed a proud sinner, or
changed, in any way, the conduct of a human being.
Our aim is to alter public opinion. Did we live in a
market, our talk should be of dollars and cents, and we

would seek to prove only that slavery was an unprofit-
able investment. Were the nation one great, pure
Church, we would sit down and reason of 'righteous-
ness, temperance, and judgment to come.' Had slav-
ery fortified itself in a College, we would load our can-
non with cold facts, and wing our arrows with argu-
ments. But we happen to live in the world—the world
made up of thought and impulse of self-conceit, and
self-interest, of weak men and wicked. To conquer, we
must reach all. Our object is not to make every man
a Christian or philosopher, but to induce every one to
aid in the abolition of slavery. We expect to accom-
plish our object long before the nation is made over into
saints, or elevated into philosophers. To change public
opinion, we use the very tools by which it was form-
ed. That is, all such as an honest man may touch.
All this I am not only ready to allow, but I should
be ashamed to think of the slave, or to look into the face
of my fellow-man, if it were otherwise. It is the only
thing that justifies us to our own consciences, and makes
us able to say we have done or at least tried to do
our duty.
So far, however you distrust my philosophy, you will
not doubt my statements. That we have denounced and
rebuked with unsparring fidelity will not be denied.
Have we not also addressed ourselves to that other duty
of arguing our question thoroughly—of using due discre-
tion and fair sagacity in endeavoring to promote our
cause? Yes, we have. Every statement we have made
has been doubted. Every principle we have laid down
has been denied by overwhelming majorities against us.
No one step has ever been gained but by the most labor-
ious research and the most exhausting argument. And
no question has ever, since Revolutionary days, been so
thoroughly investigated or argued here, as that of
slavery. Of that research and that argument, of the
whole of it, the old-fashioned, fanatical, crazy, Garri-
sonian anti-slavery movement has been the author.
From this band of men has proceeded every important
argument or idea, that has been broached on the anti-
slavery question from 1830 to the present time. (Cheers.)
I am well aware of the extent of the claim I make. I
recognize as fully as any one can the ability of the new
laborers—the eloquence and genius with which they
have recommended this cause to the nation, and flashed
conviction home on the conscience of the community.
I do not mean, either, to assert that they have in every
instance borrowed from our treasury their facts and argu-
ments. Left to themselves, they would probably have
looked up the one and originated the other. As a mat-
ter of fact, however, they have generally made use of
the materials collected to their hands. But there are
some persons about us, sympathizers, to a great extent,
with Iox, who pretend that the anti-slavery movement
has been hitherto mere fanaticism, its only weapon argu-
ment. They are obliged to assert this, in order to justify
their past indifference or hostility. At present,
when it suits their purpose to give it some attention,
they endeavor to explain the charge by alleging that
now it has been taken up by men of thoughtful minds,
and its claims are urged by fair discussion and able argu-
ment. My claim, then, is this: that neither the
charity of the most timid of sects, the sagacity of our
wise converts, nor the culture of the ripest scholars,
though all have been aided by our twenty years' ex-
perience, has yet struck out any new method of reaching
the public mind, or originated any new argument or
train of thought, or discovered any new fact bearing on
the question. When once brought fully into the struggle,
they have found it necessary to adopt the same
means, to rely on the same arguments, to hold up the
same men and the same measures to public reprobation,
with the same bold rebuke and unsparring invective that
we have used. All their conciliatory bearing, their
pains-taking moderation, their constant and anxious
endeavor to draw a broad line between their camp and
ours, have been thrown away. Just so far as they have
been effective laborers, they have found, as we have,
their hands against every man, and every man's hand
against them. The most experienced of them are ready
to acknowledge that our plan has been wise, our course
efficient, and that our unpopularity is no fault of ours,
but flows necessarily and unavoidably from our position.
'I should suspect,' says old Fuller, 'that his preaching
had no salt in it, if no galled horse did wince.' Our
friends find, after all, that men do not so much hate us
as the truth we utter and the light we bring. They find
that the community are not the honest seekers after
truth which they fancied, but selfish politicians and
sectarian bigots, who shiver, like Alexander's butler,
whenever the sun shines on them. Experience has
diverted these new laborers back to our method. We have
no quarrel with them—would not steal one wreath of
their laurels. All we claim is, that if they are to be
complimented as prudent, moderate, Christian, sagacious,
statesmanlike reformers, we deserve the same
praise, for they have done nothing that we, in our
measures, did not attempt before. (Cheers.)
I claim this, that the cause, in its recent aspect, has
put on nothing but timidity. It has taken to itself no
new weapons of recent years; it has become more
promising—that is all! It has neither become more
persuasive, more learned, more Christian, more charita-
ble, nor more effective, than for the twenty years pre-
ceding. Mr. Hale, the head of the Free Soil movement,
after a career in the Senate that would do honor to any
man—after six years' course which entitles him to
the respect and confidence of the anti-slavery public—
can put his name, within the last month, to an appeal
from the city of Washington, signed by a Houston and
a Cass, for a monument to be raised to Henry Clay! If
that be the test of charity and courtesy, we cannot
give it to the world. (Loud cheers.) Some of the lead-
ers of the Free Soil party of Massachusetts, after ex-
hausting the whole capacity of our language to paint the
treachery of Daniel Webster to the cause of liberty, and
the evil they thought he was able and seeking to do—
after that, could feel it in their hearts to parade them-
selves in the funeral procession got up to do him hon-
or! In this we allow we cannot follow them. The defence
of every gentleman owes to the proprieties of
social life, that self-respect and regard to consistency
which is every man's duty, these, if no deeper feelings
ever prevent us from giving such proofs of their
newly-invented Christian courtesy. (Great cheering.)
We do not play politics; anti-slavery is no half-jest
with us; it is a terrible earnest, with life or death, worse
than life or death, on the issue. It is no law-suit, where
it matters not to the good feeling of opposing counsel
which way the verdict goes, and where advocates can

clasp hands after the decision as pleasantly as before.
When we look upon such a man as Henry Clay, his
long life, his mighty influence cast always into the scale
against the slave; of that irresistible fascination with which
he moulded every one to his will; when we remember
that, his conscience acknowledging the justice of our
cause, and his heart open on every other side to the
gentlest impulse, he could sacrifice so remorselessly his
convictions and the welfare of millions to his low ambi-
tion; when we think how the slave trembled at the
sound of his voice, and that, from a multitude of
breaking hearts, there went up nothing but gratitude
to God when it pleased Him to call that great sinner
from this world,—we cannot find it in our hearts;
we could not shape our lips to ask any man to do
him honor. (Great sensation.) No amount of vio-
lence, no shew of official position, no loud cry
of partisan friends, would ever lead us to ask mon-
uments or walk in fine processions for pirates; and
the sectarian zeal or selfish ambition which gives
up, deliberately and in full knowledge of the facts,
three million of human beings to hopeless ignorance,
daily robbery, systematic prostitution and murder,
which the law neither can nor undertakes to prevent or
avenge, is more monstrous, in our eyes, than the love
of gold which takes a score of lives with merciful
quickness on the high seas. Haynau on the Danube is
no more hateful to us than Haynau on the Potomac.
Why give mobs to one, and monuments to the other?
If these things be necessary to courtesy, I cannot
claim that we are courteous. We seek only to be honest
men, and speak the same of the dead as of the living.
If the grave that hides their bodies could swallow also
the evil they have done and the example they leave, we
might enjoy at least the luxury of forgetting them.
But the evil that men do lives after them, and Example
acquires tenfold authority when it speaks from the
grave. History, also, is to be written. How shall a
feeble minority, without weight or influence in the
community, with no jury of millions to appeal to,—de-
nounced, vilified and contemned,—how shall we make
way against the overwhelming weight of some colossal
reputation, if we do not turn from the idolatrous Pres-
ent, and appeal to the Human Race; saying to your
pious of to-day, 'Here we are defeated, but we will
write our judgment with the iron pen of a century to
come, and it shall never be forgotten, if we can help it,
that you were false in your generation to the claims of
the slave!' (Loud cheers.)
At present, our leading men, strong in the support
of large majorities, and counting safely on the prej-
udices of the community, can afford to despise us. They
know they can overawe or cajole the present; their
only fear is the judgment of the future. Strange fear,
perhaps, considering how short and local their fame!
But however little, it is their all. Our only hold upon
them is the thought of that bar of posterity, before
which we are all to stand. Thank God! there is the
elder brother of the Saxon race across the water—there
is the army of honest men to come! Before that jury
we summon you. We are weak here—out talked, out-
voted. You load our names with infamy, and shout
us down. But our words bide their time. We warn
the living that we have terrible memories, and that
their sins are never to be forgotten. We will gibbet
the name of every apostate so black and high that his chil-
dren's children shall blush to bear it. Yet we bear no
malice—cherish no resentment. We thank God that
the love of fame, 'that last infirmity of noble mind,'
is shared by the ignoble. In our necessity, we seize
this weapon in the slave's behalf, and teach caution to
the living by meting out relentless justice to the dead.
How strange the change death produces in the way a
man is talked about here! While leading men live,
they avoid as much as possible all mention of slavery,
from fear of being thought abolitionists. The moment
they are dead, their friends rake up every word they
ever contrived to whisper in a corner for liberty, and
parade it before the world; growing angry, all the
while, with us, because we insist on explaining these
chance expressions by the tenor of a long and base life.
While drunk with the temptations of the present hour,
men are willing to bow to any Moloch. When their
friends bury them, they feel what bitter mockery, a
hundred years hence, any epitaph will be, if it cannot
record of one living in this era, some service rendered
to the slave! These, Mr. Chairman, are the reasons
why we take care that 'the memory of the wicked shall
rot.'
I have claimed that the anti-slavery cause has, from
the first, been ably and dispassionately argued, every
objection candidly examined, and every difficulty or
doubt any where honestly entertained, treated with
respect. Let me glance at the literature of the cause,
and try not so much, in a brief hour, to prove this as-
sertion, as to point out the sources from which any one
may satisfy himself of its truth.
I will begin with certainly the ablest and perhaps
the most honest statesman who has ever touched the
slave question. When JOHN QUINCY ADAMS first broke
ground on the Texas Question, he confessed his debt
to the full and able exposure of the Texas Plot prepared
by Benj. Lundy. Every one acquainted with those
years will allow that the North owes its earliest knowl-
edge and first awakening on that subject to Mr. Lundy,
who made long journeys and devoted years to the in-
vestigation. His labors have this attestation, that they
stirred the zeal and strengthened the hands of such
men as Adams.
Look next at the Right of Petition. Long before any
member of Congress had opened his mouth in its de-
fence, the abolition presses and lecturers had examined
and defended the limits of this right, with profound
historical research and eminent constitutional ability.
So thoroughly had the work been done, that all classes
of the people had made up their minds about it, long
before any speaker of eminence had touched it in Con-
gress. The politicians were little aware of this. When
Mr. Adams threw himself so gallantly into the breach,
it is said he wrote anxiously home to know whether he
would be supported in Massachusetts; little aware of the
outburst of popular gratitude that the Northern
breeze was even then bringing him, deep and cordial
enough to wipe away the old grudge Massachusetts had
borne him so long. Mr. Adams himself was only in
favor of receiving the petitions, and advised to refuse
their prayer, which was the abolition of slavery in the
District. He doubted the power of Congress. His
doubts were examined by Mr. William Goodell, in two
letters of most able and acute logic, and of masterly

ability. If Mr. Adams still retained his doubts, it is
certain, at least, that he never expressed them after-
ward. When Mr. Clay paraded the same objections,
the whole question of the power of Congress over the
District was treated by T. D. Weld, in the fullest man-
ner, and with the widest research; indeed, leaving
nothing to be added. No answer was ever attempted.
The best proof of its ability is, that no one since has
presumed to doubt the power. Lawyers and statesmen
have tacitly settled down into its full acknowledgment.
The influence of the Colonization Society on the wel-
fare of the colored race was the first question our move-
ment encountered. To the close logic, eloquent appeal
and fully sustained charges of Mr. Garrison's Letters
on that subject, no answer was ever made. Judge Jay
followed with a work full and able, establishing every
charge by the most patient investigation of facts. It
is not too much to say of these two volumes, that they
left the Colonization Society hopeless at the North. It
dared never show its face before the people, and only
lingers in some few nooks of sectarian pride, so secluded
from the influence of present ideas as to be almost fas-
cinated in their character.
The practical working of the slave system, the slave
laws, the treatment of slaves, their food, the duration
of their lives, their ignorance and moral condition, and
the influence of Southern public opinion on their fate,
have been spread out in a detail and with a fullness of
evidence which no subject has ever received before in
this country. Witness the works of Phelps, Rankin,
Grimké, the 'Anti-Slavery Record,' and, above all,
that encyclopaedia of facts and storehouse of arguments,
the 'Thousand Witnesses' of Mr. T. D. Weld. Unique
in anti-slavery literature is Mrs. Child's 'Appeal,' one
of the ablest of our weapons, and one of the finest efforts
of her rare genius.
The Princeton Review, I believe, first challenged the
abolitionists to an investigation of the teachings of the
Bible on slavery. That field had been somewhat broken
by our English predecessors. But in England, the
pro-slavery party had been soon shamed out of the
attempt to drag the Bible into their service, and hence
the discussion there had been short and somewhat sur-
perfluous. The pro-slavery side of the question has been
eagerly sustained by Theological Reviews and Doctors
of Divinity without number, from the half way and
timid faltering of Wayland up to the unblushing and
melancholy recklessness of Stuart. The argument on
the other side has come wholly from the abolitionists.
For neither Dr. Hague nor Dr. Barnes can be said to
have added any thing to the wide research, critical
acumen and comprehensive views of T. D. Weld, Beriah
Green, J. G. Fee, and the old work of Duncan.
On the constitutional questions which have at various
times arisen,—the citizenship of the colored man, the
soundness of the 'Prigg' decision, the constitutionality
of the old Fugitive Slave Law, the true construction
of the slave code,—nothing has been added, either in
the way of fact or argument, to the works of Jay,
Weld, Alvan Stewart, E. G. Loring, S. E. Sewall,
Richard Hildreth, W. L. Bowditch, the masterly Essays
of the *Emancipator* at New York, and the *Liberator*
of Boston, and the various addresses of the Massachu-
setts and American Societies for the last twenty years.
The idea of the anti-slavery character of the Constitu-
tion—the opiate with which Free Soil quiets its con-
science for voting under a pro-slavery government—I
heard first suggested by Mr. Garrison in 1838. It was
elaborately argued in that year in all our anti-slavery
gatherings, both here and in New York; and sustained
with great ability by Alvan Stewart, and in part by
T. D. Weld. If it has either merit or truth, they are due
to no legal learning recently added to our ranks, but
to some of its old and well known pioneers. This topic
has received the fullest investigation from Mr. Lysander
Spoooner, who has urged it with all his unrivalled inge-
nuity, laborious research, and close logic. He writes
as a lawyer, and has no wish, I believe, to be ranked
with any class of anti-slavery men.
The influence of slavery on our government has re-
ceived the profoundest philosophical investigation from
the pen of Richard Hildreth, in his invaluable essay on
'Despotism in America,'—a work which deserves a place
by the side of the ablest political disquisitions of any
age.
Mrs. Chapman's survey of 'Ten Years of Anti-Slavery
Experience,' was the first attempt at a philosophical
discussion of the various aspects of the anti-slavery
cause, and the problems raised by its struggles with sect
and party. You, Mr. Chairman, (EDMUND QUINCY,
Esq.) in the elaborate Reports of the Massachusetts
Anti-Slavery Society for the last ten years, have fol-
lowed in the same path, making to American literature
a contribution of the highest value, and in a depart-
ment where you have few rivals and no superior.
Whoever shall write the history either of this move-
ment, or any other attempted under a Republican
Government, will find no where else so clear an in-
sight and so full an acquaintance with the most difficult
part of his subject.
Even the vigorous mind of Rantoul, the ablest man,
without doubt, of the Democratic party, and perhaps
the ablest politician in New England, added little or
nothing to the storehouse of anti-slavery argument.
The grasp of his intellect and the fullness of his learn-
ing every one will acknowledge. He never trusted
himself to speak on any subject till he had dug down to
its primal granite. He laid a most generous contribu-
tion on the altar of the anti-slavery cause. His speeches
on one question, too short and too few, are remarkable
for their compact statement, iron logic, bold denunciations,
and the wonderful light thrown back upon our
history. Yet how little do they present which was not
familiar for years in our anti-slavery meetings!
Look, too, at the last great effort of the idol of so
many thousands, Mr. Senator Sumner; a discussion of
a great national question, of which it has been said that
we must go back to Webster's Reply to Hayne, and
Fisher Ames on the Jay Treaty, to find its equal in
Congress;—praise which we might perhaps qualify, if
any adequate report were left us of some of those noble
orations of Ames. No one can be blind to the
skillful use he has made of his materials, the consum-
mate ability with which he has marshalled them, and
the radiant glow which his genius has thrown over all.
Yet, with the exception of his reference to the anti-slavery
debate in Congress in 1817, there is no train of
thought or argument, and no single fact in the whole
speech, which has not been familiar in our meetings
and essays for the last ten years.

...speech of any kind, except on slavery. Mr. ... at Niles's and elsewhere, generously ...

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders. BOSTON, FEBRUARY 18, 1853.

SPEECH OF MR. PHILLIPS. It is needless to call the special attention of the readers of THE LIBERATOR, on both sides of the Atlantic, to the luminous and eloquent defence of American abolitionists...

AN ATROCIOUS OUTRAGE. We copied into our last number, two most scurrilous and brutal articles from the Syracuse Star, (one of the vilest papers in the country, and Webster-Whig in its politics)...

TO THE PUBLIC. So much has been said and written upon the subject of the late affair at Fulton, that the Public by this time must have had nearly 'quantum sufficit'...

When we come to talk of statesmanship, of sagacity in choosing time and measures, of endeavor to do right, to the public mind, of keen insight into the present and potent way over the future...

Every thoughtful and unprejudiced mind must see that such an evil as slavery will yield only to the most radical treatment. If you consider the work we have done...

Another point is made in this article from Fulton, about the 'course we (the young lady and myself) were pursuing.' Now as the several hundred armed men strong, who came down upon us on Sunday night, and some newspaper editors, and this gentleman in particular, and the public very nearly in general, have taken the matter of judging...

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CASE OF ENOCH REED.

FRANCIS DODGSON, who was present at Albany, at the recent trial and conviction of ENOCH REED, a colored man, for having participated in the rescue of the fugitive slave JERRY, writes to his paper an account of the trial, in which he says—

We have spoken of the vindication of the Fugitive Slave Law, as it is called. But, in truth, the victory, after all, is not a victory of the Fugitive Slave Law. It has not been committed under the law. It has not been committed under the law. It has not been committed under the law...

Now the question is, (and will be asked by the slaveholders, as well as by the people of the North,) Why did the government refuse to make an issue on the law of 1850, the law, and the only law intended to be defied and trampled upon by those who rescued Jerry from the officers who had him in charge on the 1st October, 1851? Why did they make an issue with the defendant on the law of '90, instead of the law of '50? They make an issue on a law which the defendant had, probably never heard until he was brought into court for trial. Why did they try him under a law no way odious, when the law, alleged to have been violated, provided the measure and manner of the punishment for its own infraction? Does the vindication of a general and popular law, vindicate and establish a peculiar, unpopular, and hateful one? Is not the fact that the law of 1850, instead of the law of 1850, was selected, a virtual confession of the doubtful constitutionality of the latter, by the Court?

So it will look at the South. If the Court had regarded the Fugitive Slave Law as adapted to accomplish the desired end, namely, the conviction and punishment of offenders against it, why did it not allow the case to be tried under that law, that it (not the law of '90) might be vindicated? Again, we ask, why was Enoch tried under the law of '90? Was it to lessen his punishment, if convicted, or to make his conviction difficult, and give him a better chance to escape the punishment which must be meted out under the Fugitive Slave Law? It would be pleasant to assign this last reason for the action of the government, if any one sane man in ten thousand would give it the slightest credence. Most plainly, the government took this course to make the conviction of Enoch easy and certain. The law of '50 lay bleeding at their feet—its wounds all open, and calling for help; but instead of coming to its relief, they set it up as nearly as the federal government itself, and have done so with its sacredness and majesty, when no one would either its majesty or sacredness. The whole thing, upon the face of it, bears the marks of being a most cowardly manoeuvre. Had Reed been tried under the law of 1850, the whole question of the constitutionality of that law would have been open. The counsel for the defence would have laid bare its gross unconstitutionality. They were ripe and ripe for that question. General N. M. Rogers, Sewick Hills, and Gerrit Smith, would have shaken the horrors of the structure to the ground. But not a word will his Honor, Judge Hall, hear on the subject. Mr. Smith, the body and soul of whose speech was to have been marshalled against the Fugitive Slave Law, to show its gross inhumanity, and its entire unconstitutionality, was completely cut off by the Court. The marked astonishment of not a few bystanders, Judge Hall declared that the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law had already been decided. To prove this, he cited several cases, which had been decided, in which cases, in reality, that question was not before the Court. He would not hear a word of argument on that point. This, of course, compelled Mr. Smith to desist, and, to some extent, crippled the defence. It gave the government marked advantage in summing up on their side. The advantage was not rejected by the government; it was used most skillfully.

This is the first conviction under the Fugitive Slave Law. The sacred majesty of Law is now vindicated, and the visionary, wild and reckless schemes of fanatical men are dashed to pieces. Thus rants the Syracuse Star, a Filmore organ of the baser sort, over the conviction of Enoch Reed, one of the alleged rescuers of Jerry. As false in fact as they are hypocritical in cant, the reckless assertions of that print can not deceive even the most credulous. So far from having been convicted under the Fugitive Slave Law, Enoch has adjudged guilty of having violated the law of 1790, and it is not ungenerous to suppose, would have been acquitted at all events, had a different style of defence been adopted in his case. The 'Rescue' trials, at Boston, in Pennsylvania, and in this State, so far from having attested the efficacy of the Fugitive Law, have proved the utter worthlessness of that bill of abominations. In view of these results, freedom may take fresh courage. The law of 1850 has proved itself being an object of loathing to be fit only for contempt. It may safely be jured at, spit upon, and kicked out of doors. It is an exploded humbug, a shared woolly horse—a codfish mermaid; and the Union-savvy showmen who have traveled with it, may be unceremoniously tumbled into the nearest creek, with perfect impunity.

The sacred majesty of Law, was 'vindicated,' and gloriously so, at Syracuse, on the first day of the year, 1853. It may be commemorated with bonfires and cannon, and with the blowing of horns, and the firing of guns, on the 17th of June and the 4th of July. The visionary, wild, and reckless schemes of demagogues, who had thought to detract the Higher Law, were there, in good earnest, 'dashed to pieces.' No wonder, then, that the heathen rage.—Madison County Journal.

IMPARTIAL JUSTICE. In the proceedings of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on Thursday last week, we find the following reported. It is a timely revival of a very interesting historical occurrence. Order submitted.—By Mr. FAYES of Essex.—That the special committee appointed to consider the expediency of indemnifying the Ursuline community, in quere if it be not equally just and expedient to indemnify William Lloyd Garrison, editor and proprietor of THE LIBERATOR, for the loss of property sustained by him, as well as serious inconvenience, and even jeopardy of life, occasioned by a lawless mob, said to have been composed of well-dressed gentlemen of property and standing, which occurred in the city of Boston in the year 1835—the next year after the destruction of the Ursuline Convent.

In explanation of his order, Mr. FAYES said he had dropped this matter into the House as a sort of plume, to sound the depth of the sympathy professedly evinced here towards those who have suffered the loss of property at the hands of a mob. He introduced it also in justice to his constituents, who are a very industrious, hard-working people, and do not wish to be taxed unnecessarily. He said that in the little ship-building town which he has the honor to represent, there was probably as much annually wrought out in the back-toil as in any other part of the State, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Now, if a bill shall ultimately be passed by the present Legislature to indemnify the Catholics for the loss of their convent, it is a question, (judging from the precedents of the State Treasury,) as much known to us from a high source,) as to be obliged to resort to a direct State Tax. And if his constituents were to be taxed to help indemnify Roman Catholics, they would be equally willing to pay a tax to indemnify Abolitionists against whom as great a prejudice has existed as the Catholics, though they might not wish to be taxed to indemnify a class. They desire no class legislation—no special act for Catholics or Protestants, but impartial justice towards all. If this order was likely to occasion much discussion, and to consume the valuable time of the House, he should be glad to see it pass. But he hoped it would be allowed quietly to pass, as it was only an order of inquiry.

Mr. WIGGINS, of Boston, said he would save the gentleman from Essex any apprehension about the effect of his order in consuming time or attention, by a very simple motion which he would make,—and that was, to lay it on the table.

MR. PILLSBURY'S LECTURE. FRIEND GARRISON: On Wednesday evening, 9th inst., our indomitable and indefatigable friend PARKER PILLSBURY delivered a lecture before the Lyceum in Essex, on the subject of the French Revolution of 1789. It was a lecture worth walking many miles to hear. It was elaborately written, embodying much historical information not readily accessible to the average portion of the community, and was in its style and diction vigorous, compact, fresh, inspiring,—free from the cob-web mustiness of stale conformity and cant. Besides these excellencies, it had another and higher merit, and that was its philosophic justice. It presented the Revolution of 1789 in a different aspect from that in which one-sided, ecclesiastically and politically bigoted and partially informed writers and speakers have been accustomed to represent it. He showed conclusively, by appeal to impartial and unimpeachable authorities, that the enormities and sacrilegious doctrines frequently associated with that great struggle for freedom have been greatly exaggerated, and that they were never sanctioned nor accepted by the Revolutionists generally, who honestly strove for liberty, and were not responsible for the extravagances of a few, whom for a time they partially trusted as leaders.

But I did not design writing a report, but only a notice of the lecture of Mr. Pillsbury. It was listened to by a large audience, who gave, for nearly an hour and a half, the most candid and undivided attention; and I do not think of many of them, at the close, found that the huge, shadowy Ogre of the awful, impious 'French Revolution,' which had haunted their imaginations from youth, was dissolved into thin air. At times, the speaker was thrillingly eloquent. Not long ago, he delivered the same lecture before a Lyceum in Beverly, and its audience of more than seven hundred, upon whose minds it left a decided 'impression.' J. PRINCE.

Mostly counterfeited, as seen clearly in the action of National and State Legislatures, the higher and lower courts, the leading religious bodies, and in the fact that millions of the American people are held in abject and degrading bondage, while the great majority of the people bravely pledge themselves to terminate this infernal system, as the foundation of our governmental and religious order.

In asking an intelligent friend his estimate of the sum for which this jewelry is annually sold, he said he presumed more than half a million of dollars were paid to the manufacturers each year for their shining but useless wares. The purchase of this jewelry is, to be sure, not the worst outlay of one's money. For instance, a man had better lay out fifty dollars for such articles, than to give it to Lemmon, when he loses his valid claim than he has to Jesus Christ. But still, a better disposition of money can be made than in the purchase of gaudy and useless splendors. How much better to bestow a few dollars upon the cause of suffering humanity! You remember, doubtless, the reply of John Wesley to the Assessor who asked him how much plate he had in his house. 'Two silver spoons, and I shall own no more, so long as the tolling poor are suffering for the comforts of life.' Such a feeling of love for needy man, leading to such a consecration to the work of divine redemption as this reply indicated, is a jewel of priceless value; yes, it is 'the pearl of great price,' which few indeed are so happy as to own.

Atleboro' is not doing as much in the work now going on for the redemption of the world as it is in the jewelry business; yet it is before many towns in the old Commonwealth in good deeds. There are a few true disciples there. I was welcomed to the home and hospitality of one of this class, on my arrival Saturday evening. I was observed by the sterling devotion to the cause of the slave manifested by this family, and by still another 'household of the faith' where I stopped on Sunday night. On Sunday, during the day, I spoke in the Methodist Hall, at the Falls, at present unoccupied, there being no minister now stationed there. I had full and interesting meetings, and took up a contribution in the afternoon of over three dollars. There is a good deal of reliable anti-slavery feeling in that place, and the field is worth cultivation by the Massachusetts Society.

In the evening, our meeting was in the spacious and convenient hall owned by Mr. Richards. It was opened without charge. The evening was dark and stormy, and the water was overflows in many places in the road, so that no ladies could attend. The meeting was consequently small. The collection amounted to \$1.88. If the evening had been pleasant, we should have had a full meeting and a large contribution. Wm. Lloyd Garrison had recently spent a Sunday in North Attleboro', lecturing Saturday and Sunday. That visit did much to dissipate the insane prejudice which is so generally cherished against one who only needs to be known to be respected, trusted and loved by every candid and earnest seeker after truth and righteousness. Wherever I go, there is an earnest desire expressed to hear Mr. Garrison, and I am sure that no more efficient anti-slavery labor can be performed than to have the Word of the Gospel spoken as widely as possible by the Editor of THE LIBERATOR, to those who 'sit in darkness and the shadow of death.' I am also requested to ask the Massachusetts Society to send Miss Holley or Miss Stone to North Attleboro', as soon as possible, giving due notice thereof beforehand, to remain a number of days, and get up an efficient sewing circle. Friends think they can accomplish something important for the Society, if this plan can be carried out.

Monday, it stormed so severely that I sent a letter to Sharon withdrawing my appointment there, and came on to my 'happy Eden,' where I am now resting for a brief space, ere I resume my arduous but beloved toil for the oppressed. Yours fraternally, SAXON. CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 8th, 1853.

LUOY STONE AT BRATTLEBORO'. BRATTLEBORO', (Vt.) Feb. 9, 1853. DEAR SIR: 'It is not often that a single speech reverses the public sentiment of a whole town.' This was the expression used by a lady of this place yesterday, in describing to me the effect produced by the recent address of our friend LUCY STONE, on Woman's Rights. During a stay of a few days in this place, I have derived no small pleasure from the universal testimony to the same effect. Among a large circle of relatives and acquaintances, I have not found a single exception to the general delight and admiration. Yet, among these are persons whom I know to have felt the strongest prejudices against this whole 'Woman's Rights' movement, and even against the public oratory of women; and who went to hear Miss Stone only by my urgent solicitation.

I believe Miss STONE was invited to come here in consequence of a lecture by Rev. A. L. Stone of Boston, in which the whole movement she represents was severely attacked. And so general was the spirit of ridicule created by that lecture, that serious fears were entertained lest it would be actually unsafe for a woman to lecture in Brattleboro'—a place in many respects very conservative. But her lecture (which was fully attended) so charmed all who heard it, that there was not only the most respectful attention throughout, but the result appears to have been a change in public sympathy such as I have described.

I mention this thus publicly, not merely as an act of justice to one of the most delightful public speakers whom I have ever heard, and a simple, noble, and most womanly woman, but for another purpose. I do not wish Miss Stone to wear herself out in the cause, but I wish that its friends should endeavor to secure her services in all the large towns of Massachusetts, previous to the Constitutional Convention in May. The subject will most probably be brought before the Convention, and it is desirable, for the sake of reason and good taste, if not for humanity, that there should be men in that body, who, if they must still oppose the just claims of woman, can at least oppose them by some other weapon than insult and buffoonery. This, at least, may be hoped. But I am bound to add, that the entire argument for the equal political rights of the whole human race appears so simple and palpable, that it is a mystery to me how any man with a clear head (to say nothing of a heart) can for a moment resist it.

Yours respectfully, T. W. HIGGINSON. [The Windham County Democrat, published at Brattleboro', and ably edited by Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, we find the following notice of Miss Stone's lectures, confirmatory of Mr. HIGGINSON'S fine panegyric.] Miss LUCY STONE'S LECTURE. We have not words to express the breadth and depth of our satisfaction at the intellectual expression of admiration and gratification which has followed Miss Stone's presentation of woman's legal and civil rights, in their bearing upon and connection with her social and industrial position. Not that we invited her here with any expectation of a different result, for we knew the merits of the subject, and its power in her soul-drawn eloquence and logic; and we sincerely believed that Brattleboro' intelligence and Brattleboro' heart would respond as it has responded. It is asserted, and without a dissenting voice, we believe, that her lectures have not been surpassed, in interest or merit, by any of the more general courses thus far. Some of our best men do say that her lectures are worth all the rest; and to know what high praise this is, our readers are assured that the same persons were delighted listeners to a Pierpont, a Beecher, and a Mayhew. We are happily indebted to a gentleman, whose character for intelligence and integrity makes him acceptable authority in such matters, for the following notice—'as just as it is delicate—of the manner and subject matter of Miss Stone's lectures.

[The notice of the lectures here alluded to we shall copy into the next number of THE LIBERATOR.]

Dreadful Explosion.—The steamer J. Wilson, while landing at Columbia, Ark., on the 5th Feb., burst two of her boilers, killing, it is supposed, about forty persons, including two of the engineers. One of the boilers was blown to pieces, a distance more than fifty yards. In its passage it struck the upper story of the Phoenix Coffee House, which it entirely demolished. The wreck drifted down the river about 12 miles, and sunk in six fathoms of water. She was a new boat, cost about \$18,000, and was insured for \$9,000. As usual, none of the officers were to blame—though it is said the Captain had been drunk all the morning previous to the occurrence. A Mr. Whitwell, of Clark county, was among the killed.—Little Rock (Ark.) Gazette.

Confession of a Double Murder.—Thomas Casey, who is in jail on a charge of murdering Orrin Taylor and his wife, at Natick, in September last, has made a full confession of his guilt. He says he quarrelled with Taylor about half a dollar, and killed him; and that Mrs. Taylor being awakened by the struggle, came to the door, when he also killed her with an axe. Casey is 20 years of age.

The Jerry Rescue Trials. We learn from Albany, that the jury, in the case of Cobb, one of the Jerry rescuers, were unable to agree, and have been discharged.

Burlington, Vt., Feb. 15. Official returns of the vote upon the Vermont liquor law, in the several counties heard from, are as follows:—For the Law, 15,724; Against it, 18,648; Majority for the Law, 1,866.

Notices of Meetings, &c. DANIEL FOSTER, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:— Norton, Friday, Feb. 18. South Acton, Sunday, " 20. West Acton, Tuesday, " 22. Shelburne, Saturday eve, " 26. West Wrentham, Sunday, " 27. Mansfield, Monday, " 28.

REV. ANDREW T. FOSS, Agent of Worcester County South District Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at SOUTHBORO', on Sunday next, Feb. 20. Also, at MILLBURY, on Sunday, Feb. 27. During the intervening week, he will lecture in GRAFTON, and other places in that vicinity.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER and PARKER PILLSBURY, on behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings in DOVER, N. H., on Sunday next, Feb. 20. Also, in LEE, N. H., and vicinity, on the 22d; and at PORTSMOUTH, on Wednesday, 26th, and following days.

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. A. S. Society, will lecture as follows:— Blackstone, Sunday, February 20. Milford, Thursday, " 24. Upton, Sunday, " 27. Webster, Wednesday, March 2.

The third Lecture before the Worcester City Anti-Slavery Society will be delivered by FRANKIE DOUGLASS, THIS (Friday) Evening, Feb. 18, at 7 1/2 o'clock, P. M. T. W. HIGGINSON, President. O. K. EARLE, Sec'y.

N. Y. FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.—The Ninth Term will commence on WASHINGTON, March 2, 1853, and continue four months. Professors—Wm. M. Cornell, M. D., Physiology, Hygiene and Medical Jurisprudence; Enoch C. Rolfe, M. D., Surgery and Materia Medica; Elwood Harvey, M. D., Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; Abraham Livercy, M. D., Principles and Practice of Medicine; Seth Paine, M. D., Anatomy; Samuel Gregory, A. M., Chemistry; Almira L. Fowler, M. D., Demonstrator of Anatomy.

Free—To each Professor, \$10; to the Demonstrator, \$5. LEMUEL SHATTUCK, President. SAMUEL GREGORY, Secretary, 15 Cornhill, Boston.

CORRECTION. GILBERT MARTIN: In the obituary notice of RUTH CALVERT, there is a typographical error, which, in justice to her memory, should be corrected. It reads, 'She was fond of reading novels and biographies.' It should read, 'She was fond of reading travels and biographies.' She was not particularly fond of novels, though she read select ones at times. She had no taste for any amusement which was not connected with utility. She ever insisted that our amusements should consist in doing that which is useful. She deemed the culture of flowers a wasteful amusement; and was often seen among her flowers when she was hourly expecting to be called to another state. Her passion for sweet and beautiful flowers remained while life lasted. Scarcely any maxim was more prominently taught in her conversation and life, than that of combining amusement with physical, intellectual and social health and improvement.—Ohio Anti-Slavery Gazette.

The same error was made in THE LIBERATOR, in publishing the biographical notice of this excellent woman from the BOULE.

MARRIED.—In Stoneham, Dec. 26, by Rev. Wm. C. Whitcomb, WILLIAM MESSER to SCRAE A. ROWE, both of S.

TO BOOKSELLERS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. MRS. H. B. STOWE'S NEW WORK. A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, Presenting the Original Facts and Documents on which the Story is founded; together with Corroborative Statements, verifying the truth of the work.

We shall publish, during the month of February, the above valuable work, which is destined to have a run second only to that of Uncle Tom's Cabin. We have orders already on hand for nearly 20,000 copies, in advance of publication; and but a small proportion of the trade have yet ordered. The Key will contain as much matter as Uncle Tom's Cabin, but we shall make the original issue in the same form as the cheap edition of Uncle Tom, viz., in one royal 8vo. pamphlet, double columns. The retail and wholesale prices will be the same as the cheap edition of Uncle Tom. Orders from the trade are most respectfully solicited at an early day, to govern us in the size of the first edition to be printed, in order, if possible, to avoid the trouble and perplexity of not having half books enough to answer first orders.

GERMAN UNCLE TOM. We take pleasure in announcing that the German translation of this great work is now printing, and will be ready for delivery before the 16th of February, complete in one royal 8vo. volume, double columns, printed from new and beautiful type, on thick and fine paper. To retail at 50 cents. Same discount as upon the other editions. Early orders solicited.

Also, in Press, and nearly ready, the Second Edition, making 5000 copies of the SUPERB ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, with 153 Engravings.

A SPLENDID BOOK IN PRESS. BY HON. CHARLES SUMNER, M. C. White Slavery in the Barbary States With 40 splendid Illustrations by BILLINGS, engraved by BAKER & SMITH. This will make one beautiful, 16mo volume of about 140 pages, bound in cloth, with boards, printed in the most elegant style, on the best paper. Price at retail, 50 or 62 cents. Ready about the 20th of February.

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THE SPEECHES OF HON. J. R. GIDDINGS, WITH A PORTRAIT. In one volume 12mo, of about 600 pages, cloth, price, \$1. A valuable volume of original and truthful utterances from the Ohio veteran, who is still in the harness.

THE WRITINGS OF HON. WILLIAM JAY, On the Slavery Question and on War. This volume will be a most invaluable contribution to the standard literature of our country. No man stands higher in the estimation of the truly great and good, than the venerable Judge Jay. And no one has contributed a greater number of articles of sterling value to the cause of freedom and peace than he. To be published in one 12mo volume of about 600 pages, with a fine Portrait of the Author. Price, \$1.

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., 17 and 19 Cornhill, Boston.

THE ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE OF ART.

ON January the 1st, 1853, will be published the first part of a magazine...

THE ILLUSTRATIONS will be entrusted to the first hand...

FOUR SUPERB ENGRAVINGS. In each monthly part, to be printed separately...

THE WORKS OF THE GREAT MASTERS. Selected from the principal Galleries of Art in the world...

THE LADIES' WORK-TABLE DEPARTMENT. Will contain a rich variety of original and original patterns...

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POETRY.

GRAVES OF PENN, PENNINGTON, AND ELLWOOD.

In the ancient burial-ground of the Society of Friends, called "Jordan," in Buckinghamshire, are the graves of William Penn, Isaac Pennington, Thomas Ellwood, and other distinguished men of the early days of the Society.

Graves of the righteous, of the noble dead, Whose annals have adorned the rolls of time, And as memorials, o'er their tombs have spread An unction peaceful, sacred, and sublime.

Graves of the righteous, which their names have made More honored than the sepulchres of kings; More consecrated than the rain parade Of superstition and its garrulous things.

For them no organ's proud and lordly peal A requiem sounded through the lofty aisles; For them, no mitred priest, with raptur'd zeal, Proclaimed a victor's laurels, blood, and spoils.

They were the champions of a high vocation, And more than conquerors thro' their Leader's love; Sustained by Him, they passed through tribulation, Prepared for their immortal crown above.

The gospel theme of grace, and truth, and light, Was in their hearts enshrined, and sanctified; They preached it in a dark and sullen night, Amidst persecution, bigotry, and pride.

Undaunted, they for sacred Freedom stood, Unwearied, strove in Mercy's holy cause; True patriots, who placed their country's good In Christian virtues, and in Christian laws.

And when their patient faith was ended, And their blest work of righteousness was done, The tears of man around their biers were blended, The peace of Heaven upon their spirits shone.

Then prayer and praise those sainted spirits lighted, Safe through the shadowy valley of the tomb, Till with the "glorious multitude" united, In their congenial and resplendent home.

LIFE.

Life is a battle, and the world The field whereon we fight; There are our banners all unfurled, There flash our falchions bright.

Either we shall be found with Truth,— The warriors on her side, Stout Faith, wise Age, and generous Youth, And Duty, sternly tried;

Or with that dark, yet crowded host, The myriads none can name, Who rear the banner of the lost, And glory in their shame.

Then rouse, O sleeper! grasp the sword, The trump sounds in thine ears, Bear forth the spirit and the word, Scatter thy doubts and fears;

And move into the thick array, To battle for the Right, And thou shalt win the bloody day, The prize of Life and Light.

For thus alone our peace is won,— Through many pangs and woes The victor's golden race is run,— Till only yields repose.

Then be a warrior, stout and brave,— And Death—why grimly greet him? Let him not seek thee as a slave, But boldly march to meet him.

So fight the good fight of thy life, And then thine end shall be, As his, who, from a glorious strife, Comes crowned with victory.

MOVE ON!

The march of life should never stay— All things should onward tend, Man should not clog progression's way, But strive to move and mend.

The waters move in depths of ocean, The streams along the dales, And rivulets, with onward motion, Through sweet and verdant vales.

The clouds move gently through the sky, The earth rolls ever on; Time swiftly in its course runs by, And years pass, one by one.

Men, too, should strive to follow them, In this their onward way, Permitting nought the tide to stem, But ever, day by day,

Men may be wiser, if they strive— More virtuous, if they will; And who, within this world, would thrive, Must aim at higher still!

Let bigots stand by doctrines old, The wise will pass them by, Weak minds may cling, with subtle hold, But strong ones valiantly

Like waters rolling to the ocean, Down mountains piled on high— Like clouds forever in commotion, That move across the sky—

We will forever onward press, Thus fettered and free; And deeming virtue happiness, Our watchword ever be,

THE MORAL HERO.

Suggested by the late Speech in Congress of Mr. Giddings, and more especially by its closing passage.

The third of Fame inspires the soul to breathe, And bids the canvass glow, the marble breathe; O, Immortality! thy burning wreath Hath led the human soul through every age!

Nor vain the hope, even in this earthly stage; Nor ought, even here, save virtue, gives the crown! 'Twas twined for Phocion, Cato, 'neath the frown Of fortune, and the flicker peo's rage,

And brighter blooms while sculpture fails to dust; Even thus, O, Giddings! shall I deck thy brow, While all earth's marble piles betray their trust; Yet 'neath "Modern Capitol" to time must bow— But bravely, sternly, 'obstinately just."

A victor of the immortal heights art thou!

TRUST.

The same old baffling questions! O, my friend, I cannot answer them. In vain I send My soul into the dark, where never burn The lamps of science, nor the natural light Of Reason's sun and stars. I cannot learn Their great and solemn meanings, nor discern The awful secrets of the eyes that turn

Evermore on us through the day and night, With silent challenge and a dumb demand, Proferring the riddles of the dread unknown, Like the calm Sphinxes, with their eyes of stone, Questioning the centuries from their veils of sand; I have no answer for myself or thee, Save that I learned beside my mother's knee:

'All is of God that is, or is to be, And God is good.' Let this suffice us still, Resting in childlike trust upon His will, Who moves to His great ends, unthwarted by the ill!

SELECTIONS.

THE CLERGY AND TOBACCO.

AN APPEAL OF REV. MR. TRASK TO CLERGYMEN OF EVERY ORDER.

FATHERS AND BROTHERS!—Permit me, a fellow-laborer in the vineyard, to address you in the fewest words I can command, on a theme to which I have devoted considerable attention; I refer to Tobacco, as used in fashionable forms all over our land.

I believe this subject has special claims on your consideration, as ministers of Christ, who professedly minister for the salvation of men, whom I have not a doubt this narcotic is destroying upon a broad and fearful scale.

I believe the evidence is mournfully conclusive, that it is weaving Death's winding sheet around the souls of multitudes, of hundreds of young men, in a special sense.

Presenting a more ominous of thought, which I should be glad to fill up and enlarge upon, if necessary, and if brevity were not so desirable.

Respecting the Cultivation, Commerce, and Cost of Tobacco, I rely on statistics of Macgregor, and on the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, for the year 1851.

We export Tobacco to 22 nations or provinces of the earth; we import it from 21. The value of exports is \$2,119,261. The value of imports (chiefly only) \$2,520,812. We cultivate Tobacco in 28 of the States and Territories of the Union; the cultivation is on rapid increase. In 1851, we raised 199,522,494 lbs. National consumption 100,000,000 lbs. Cost to the consumers, \$20,000,000. New York city pays \$10,000 a day for cigars; \$8,500 for bread.

On the authority of Dr. Coles I would add, the American Church annually expends \$5,000,000 on this vile narcotic, and less than \$1,000,000 on benevolent objects, or for the conversion of the world.

In 1840 we employed 1,500,000 men in the cultivation and manufacture of Tobacco, and many more at the present time.

Respecting the nature and effects of Tobacco, I rely chiefly upon the testimony of chemists and physicians of Europe, and in our own land. I repose some confidence, moreover, in what I have seen, heard, and know.

The use of Tobacco clearly constitutes a violation of the laws of life. Physiologically and philosophically considered, the use of it is a violation of physical, intellectual, and moral life.

With respect to its action on the body, it evidently injures the teeth, the voice, and breath. It squanders the liquids of life, and thereby brings on biliousness, a sunken cheek, a cadaverous eye, discolored skin, debility, trembling joints, and has power enough to load the system from crown to foot with disease.

In the estimation of such authorities as Rush, Waterhouse, Twitwell and others, it often leads to apoplexy, epilepsy, palsy, &c. &c. &c. It causes a general debility, and Respectable physicians have said, that not less than some 20,000 annually die among us, by the use of this narcotic.

It injures the mind. This it does, if we understand the matter; 1, by its intense activity, and insidious power as a poison; 2, by its direct bearing on the nervous arrangement. In other words, mind is connected with nerves—nerves are brought into intimate connection with this narcotic, and are excited and exasperated by its power; and hence mind is so disturbed, passion is urged forward beyond what is nature or endurable, that it often breaks down, as an over-driven animal, or an over-driven engine breaks down upon the road.

The evils inflicted are variously developed. Sometimes they appear in the form of a treacherous memory, clouded perceptions, weak judgment, cowardice, irritability, idiosyncrasy and delirium; and sometimes in the mournful overthrow and eclipse of reason, and outright insanity. Asylums for the insane, far and near, eloquently sound out notes of alarm respecting its disastrous action on intellect.

Tobacco injures the soul. This it does both directly and indirectly. 1. It is an intoxicating, mortal, deadly drug; and, as such, it may stupefy the moral sensibilities, and shroud the soul in the slumbers of spiritual apathy, very much as this is done by alcohol and opium. The Patagonians, it is said, habitually get drunk on Tobacco. Churches in the Sandwich Islands discipline members for getting drunk on Tobacco; and there is not a doubt, but that by dragging the soul, it neutralizes the influence of the Gospel upon vast multitudes, especially the young.

It injures indirectly. It demoralizes in manifold ways. It is notoriously an ally of alcohol. It wastes time, poverty, health and strength, and becomes an idol to ten thousand thousand votaries, and often assumes that place in the soul which belongs to God only.

In view of this evil, presented in so brief a manner, permit me to ask, what can be done? This inquiry, I apprehend, is as fully propounded to you, my Brethren, as it can be to any body of men on the globe.

Your attainments, your profession and standing, give weight to all you say and do; your post is at the very fountains of influence, you shape public morals and manners, and to you are committed, in an eminent sense, the destinies of millions of rising youth! If there is power anywhere, it is with you. If there is responsibility anywhere, it is with you. If there is, therefore, if there is duty anywhere, it is with you. Hence, I repeat the inquiry, what can be done? It has been said, "I know not what to do, we should not do what we know not what."

Happily, we do, or may know, what to do touching the evil before us.

That we may meet the point clearly and at once, I remark, that we wish for no Legislation touching this abomination. There are many reasons for this, though we will name but one, viz: there is little or no conscience or moral sensibility respecting it, in State or Church, that would sustain Legislation, if obtained, and to legislate in such a case, is like building upon sand, or upon airy nothing.

We need no acrimonious zeal, nor furious blasts, or counterblasts, from thrones or pulpits; and we utterly misjudge, if sneers, sport, and ribaldry are becoming the ministers of Christ, when dealing with a sin which may be seriously affecting the present and future welfare of millions of fathers and sons, far and near, many of whom are beloved, it may be, whilst under the very voice of our ministry.

We need the naked truth respecting this grave matter; this will be heard, and this our Divine Master will bless; and in view of truth, we may soon learn, that the time to simply laugh has passed away, and the time to act has come.

Ministerial intellect, science, and moral energy, should be brought to bear upon this momentous subject, and be assured, such investigation would bring up to the surface of this ocean of iniquity, strange things,—impure and horrible things. Such a process upon the face of society would reveal one prolific cause of abounding miseries in relation to bodies and minds, and present a spectacle of corruption as impressive, as though you were to enter some grave yard, and lift up three or four feet of earth from the surface. Clear away the smoke, the smoke of the battle which Tobacco is waging upon man, and we shall see the dying and the dead all around us.

Let clergymen take this subject seriously in hand, and it would create individual and public conscience, wake up the nation and the church, and bring on a crisis like the Temperance crisis, and exercise, from the body politic, this huge ally of Alcohol, this progeny of the pit.

The mode of action, I conceive, requires no special originality. The *quo modo* is obvious. We need not look far. We have model reforms as precedents.

Action should be both individual and social. What, then, have we individually, personally, to do in this matter? It is plain, I think, that each minister who uses this narcotic as a luxury, can and should drop it; and his example will be his first and most influential step in measures of reform.

Each, it is fair to presume, can govern his own household; hence, he should banish the nuisance from his own premises.

Each in his own way can bring the truth to bear against this immorality, as well as against other immoralities; and that brother, I imagine, is not very rich in gifts, who can bring nothing thus so manifestly against the Bible, against a lust so manifestly at war with the soul.

It is true, the whole Bible might be used in assailing a habit so impure, expensive and useless; but in his straits, he might read certain passages in Leviticus to certain gentlemen who chew the cud

in the House of Worship; and if that does not answer the purpose, he might hurl the whole of that venerable economy, an economy of physical purity, upon them as an avalanche.

Individual influence, individual action, is peculiarly effective. It begins with our own persons, then moves as a friendly wave over the family, over the parish, over schools, towns, counties, and states; it is precisely that which is requisite to meet the enormous evil, and such as all can exercise. It is not utopian, but practical; direct, pungent, and does the work. There may be social action; the use of this poison is in many aspects a social vice, and measures to eradicate the use of it may assume social forms.

We are not indeed prepared to specify any particular form of organized effort; still, such effort is evidently feasible, and indispensable in successfully coping with an evil of such magnitude; an evil so completely entrenched in the vitals of the State and Church.

It is not to be expected that a reform pointedly in conflict with the most tenacious habit known in the history of our race, a habit which holds the vast majority in fascinating and bewitching bondage, can become popular in a day, or move onward unaided with a momentum of its own.

Neither should it be expected that individuals, men in humble circumstances, unpaid, uncheered by others, can breast this herculean evil, with any flattering hope of success.

There is a much public work that should be done. Schools, colleges, clerical and medical associations, should be addressed, and their co-operation solicited in this movement. Lectures may be delivered; tracts written; public journals fed with pertinent articles; statistics collected;—statistics respecting the terrific increase in its cultivation, manufacture, and traffic. In a word, a world of work is to be done, which, in current language, calls for "material aid;" together with the social and hearty co-operation of every patriot, and every Christian.

The evil is great, in a peculiar and obvious form,—it is becoming alarmingly so. Our young men and lads are becoming thoroughly poisoned, and either reform or a marked depreciation of the race must inevitably ensue.

But we despond not, for there is hope. Individual and social effort, well directed, of one half the amount, which has been expended upon Alcohol, I think, with the blessing of God, would thrash this mountain of evil till it shall become a plain, and that at no distant time.

Be this as it may, I am confident that Piety and Patriotism, Church and State, urge us, to do with what we can in repelling the ravages of this insidious destroyer.

Yours with sentiments of much esteem, GEORGE TRASK. FRENCHBURG, Feb. 5, 1853.

Editors favorably disposed are desired to give the above an insertion.

From the Tribune.

THE PATRIOT JULIA.

Mrs. Julia Gardiner Tyler, who has the felicity of being consort of His Excellency John Tyler, President of these United States, has been induced to sign her name to a letter of reply to the Address of the Duchess of Sutherland and other English ladies to the women of America on the subject of Slavery.

We are heartily sorry for her. Literature was not Julia's best point, for hitherto she has achieved less distinction with her head than her heels; but we are quite sure she never conceived this silly, heartless, petting production. It reads a good deal more like her husband, though we should suppose even his misstatements could hardly have supplied all the misstatements crowded into its three close columns—like the following:

"You have subscribed an Address, not prepared by yourselves, as the emanation of your susceptible hearts, but the admitted production of the newspaper press of England."

"The African, under her [England's] policy, and by her laws, becomes property" in her American colonies.

[This untruth is repeated in substance half a dozen times—the fact being that slaves were imported into Virginia, and an worked there, before England adopted any policy or laws on the subject. And even now, it would be hard to find any law whereby slaves were ever held in British Colonies, except those made by the slaveholding Colonies themselves.]

"The separation of husband and wife, parents and children, under our system of negro slavery, is a thing of rare occurrence among us, and then attended by peculiar circumstances."

Now, the writer of this letter knew perfectly well that there has not been a time for years when families were not offered for sale, together or separately, as they would bring most, in that very *Richmond Enquirer* through which his performance is given to the public, and that hundreds if not thousands of cases of such separation occur every year in Virginia alone.

We have intimated that the spirit of this letter is deeply discredit to the writer, and reflects injuriously on the body whose name is appended to it. For instance:

"The crocodile, good sisters of England, is said to cry most piteously; but we to the unhappy traveller who is beset by its tears."

"The newspaper press of England affects a mawkish sensibility on a subject with which it has nothing properly to do, and all for ends which every reflecting person cannot fail to understand."

"The African, under her policy, and by her laws, becomes property, has descended from father to son, and constitutes a large part of Southern wealth. We desire no intrusion of advice as to our individual property rights, at home or abroad. We meddle not with your laws of primogeniture and entail, although they are obnoxious to all our notions of justice, and violate in violation of the laws of nature."

"We are contented to leave England in the enjoyment of her peculiar institutions; and we insist upon the right to regulate ours without her aid. I pray you to bear in mind, that the golden rule of life is for each to attend to his own business, and let his neighbor's alone."

And this same rude, heartless, consciously guilty "Mind your own business!" is reiterated at every turn, with the concurrent assurance that we never meddle with any other folks' concerns; and all the time, the writer is telling the British ladies who own poor in London need all their sympathy—how they wretched the Scotch Highlanders, started the poor Irish, &c. &c. And all this is said in a spirit of taunt and recrimination, and with no intention of procuring amendment of the wrongs thus reproved. Now we do not care a pin whether Julia had seen fit to twist the British aristocracy of their own shortcomings or otherwise; but to affect prudery and forbearance on the subject, and yet do the very thing for which she berates the Stafford House gathering, is ridiculous.

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And besides, Julia, you ought to know the difference between the evil which men suffer in spite of the law, and those which are inflicted on them by virtue of the laws. There is much Pauperism, Vice, Degradation and Misery in Great Britain; but the laws of that realm deprive no human being of his right to sue or testify in a court of justice, and compel no woman to surrender herself or her child to reviling lechery or vindictive wrath.

Should the Duchess of Sutherland inflict a blow on her poorest, humblest child on her vast estates, she could be arraigned for the outrage