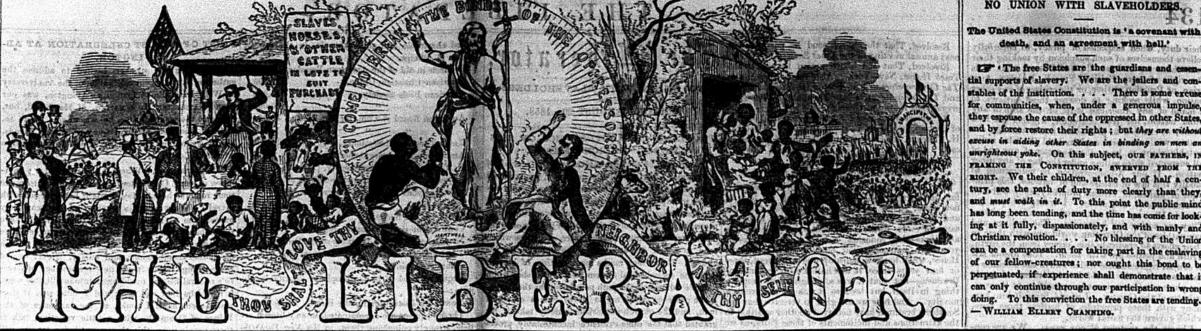
-AT THE-ANTI-SLAVERY OPPICE, 21 CORNHILL.

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The free States are the guardians and

for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States,

and by force restore their rights; but they are without

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an

unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our Fathers, in FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWEEVED FROM THE

MIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, 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 look-

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union

can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving

of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

doeth, and an agreement with hell.

VOL. XXVIII. NO. 34.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1858. WHOLE NUMBER, 1444.

- WILLIAM BLIERY CHANNING.

## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Richmond Daily Enquirer, July 10,

THE PROBLEM OF THE FREE NEGROES.

The effect of the general discussion elicited by the The effect of the general discussion elicited by the mancipation delate in the General Assembly was a powerful reaction in public opinion upon the subject of Slavery. The writings which chiefly contributed to this result were B. W. Leigh's essays and Professor Dew's pamphlet. In these documents, the folly of a general emancipation, without deportation, and the impracticability of deporting so large a popula-tion, were clearly demonstrated. The Anti-Slavery tide which had long been rising in Virginia, and which culminated in the debate in the House of Delegates, was arrested at its flood, and has been ebbing ever since. Some over-ardent colonizationist had put forward the Colonization Society as competent to effect the deportation of the whole black population. This was a mistake, and tended to con-band the Colonization Society with the emancipationists. It was against this aspect of colonization that Professor Dew levelled his tremendous batteries. he interpreted the design of the Society, his argument was unanswerable and fatal ; but, in truth. e picture which he had in view was a mere cari eature. Even Mr. Jefferson, as may be seen in his letter to Sparks, only thought of Africa as an asylum for the free negroes; this he regarded as the 'greatest of missionary schemes.' But he was also an emancipationist, looking to the ultimate extinction of Slavery. These he proposed to send to the West Indies. Mr. Jefferson should not be confounded with modern Abolitionists; they insist upon immediate abolition; he was in favor of gradual emanci-

pation; they deny the right of property in slaves; he distinctly recognized it, and would compensate them for the loss out of the public lands. In this view, Madison and Marshall concurred with him. The Abolitionists will not have emancipation with deportation; Mr. Jefferson would not emancipate without deportation. When the smoke of the fierce conflict of opinion passed away, the Colonization Society was seen un-

der its true colors and its real purpose rightfully ap-preciated. Accordingly, at the very next session, a bill appropriating \$18,000 to the colonizing of the free negroes in Africa, was advocated by Messrs. Gilmer Brown, of Petersburg, Gholson, and other leading men, and passed by the general assembly. This appropriation, for reasons hereafter to be assigned, not called for. About this time, Garrison, after publishing his

book against the colonization scheme, followed Mr. Crosson to England, for the purpose of counteracting the influence of that gentleman, who was comading the subject of African colonization to British philanthropists. Soon after his arrival, O'Connell and Wilberforce published a 'Protest against the Colonization Society,' which they alleged losters the spirit of caste, widens the breach between the two races, and divorts that feeling which we entertain that Slavery is incompatible with the law of God and the well-being of man. This move-ment probably led to the mission of that audacious British emissary, (Thompson,) who dishonored his country and disgraced himself by calumniating Southern slaveholders to Northern Abolitionists. These facts show with what relentless hostility the litionists. The Bible, the Constitution, the Union, and the Colonization Society, are their favorite themes of denunciation, because they oppose invincible barriers to the consummation of their treasonable projects. In 1835, the Anti-Slavery Society issued 175,000 copies of newspapers, &c., some of which were illustrated with hideous carricatures of South-ern men, women, and children, brandishing whips and other instruments of torture over crouching

By the mail, these seeds of insurrection were sown broadcast throughout the South. The result was an intense excitement among Southern people. Meetings were called, and measures suitable to the crisis adopted in our cities, and in many counties.

At the Gloucester meeting, John Tyler, then a Senator in Congress, made a powerful speech. Re-taliatory measures were recommended, privileges hitherto allowed to slaves were withdrawn, and n more rigorous policy adopted. The more conserva-tive and patriotic people of the North assembled in public meetings, and assured the South of their sympathy and support. Conspicuous among them was the renerable Harrison Gray Otis, of Boston, who came forth from his retirement, and, in accents trembling with age, made a speech in Fancuil Hall, which covered him with glory. With luminous reasoning, he demonstrated the revolutionary character of the Anti-Slavery proceedings, lifted up his roice in tones of such earnest remonstrance, and made such a patriotic and pathetic plea for the Constitution and the Union, as must have made a profound impression upon his hearers. In concluding,

I witnessed the adoption of the Constitution, and, through a long series of years, have been accus-tomed to rely upon an adherence to it as the foundation of all my hopes for posterity. It is threatened, I think, with the most portentous danger that has yet arisen. I pray it may be dissipated, that the thirteen stripes may not be merged in two dismal over me before the Union descends into hers.

Among the persons who were most efficient in ex-posing the new doctrines of the Abolitionists was oseph Tracy, the agent of the Massachusetts Colonization Society. The conservative ground taken by leading colonizationists all over the Union, drove off om them the famous Gerritt Smith, who assigned the following reasons for taking this step, viz. :

'The Colonization Society has been, and is now far more interested in the question of Slavery than in the work of colonization—in demolishing the Anti-Sarery Society, than in building up its celony.

CONFORTED. The Richmond South, says-The truth is, that the feeling or conviction of Abolitionism has decayed so rapidly within the last two years, that it now plays but an insignificant part in the politics of the North. Even the Anti-Slavery issue is ignored by the Anti-Slavery party. In Congress, we hear nothing about the wrongs of the negro. The newspapers of the North are engaged in the discussion of other topics. There is a disgust for Uncle Tom literature, and Mrs. Stowe is an obsolete available. bolete scribbler. And more significant than all, it is now perfectly plain that the Presidential election of 1860 will be suspended upon some other than the Slavery issue.'

The Cost of Fanaticism. The Legislature of Texas, at its last session, passed the following act:

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Texas, That the following sums be and they are hereby appropriated for the use and support of the State Penitentiary for the years 1858 and 1859: (After naming the various items, the law makes this further provision:) "For purchasing makes this further provision:) "For purchasing and putting up additional machinery, \$18,000: Provided, that no part of the same shall be expended in the State of Massachusetts, nor for machinery manufactured in said State."

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR OF BARBADOES.

classes, as on the general prosperity of the colonies. I do this the more readily, because, being thoroughly persuaded that most erroneous opinions on this would give £690 pounds; cost of clothing, food, most important subject prevail generally both in Europe and America, I think that every possible assistance should be given to those who take the trouble to inquire into the actual condition of these columber £4. The cost of maintenance of slaves is a mount to £11,000. This, at rix per cent. interest, which on such property is much too low an estimate, which on such property is much too low an estimate, which on such property is much too low an estimate, which on such property is much too low an estimate, and medical attendance I estimate at £3 10s—making £805; Total cost, £1495 or £10 12s per hogsistance should be given to those who take the trouble to inquire into the actual condition of these col-

item among many in the cost of producing sugar.

Other items, such as the maintenance of stock, fair illustration of the comparative productiveness lumber, manures, expenses of management, skilled workmen, casks, &c., must all be taken into account, and will be found to cost even more than similar results. the labor. But the most important item, perhaps, is the interest on invested capital. The expenses of complaint against the Creoles of African descent a Barbadoes estate capable of making two hundred that they are indolent, and that they have abandonhogsheads of sugar, on an average, may be stated as ed the sugar plantations. This is a subject involved

Labor in the field and boiling house, £1,200 sterling. Other items mentioned above, Interest on capital, 8 per cent. on £30,-

000 sterling,

2,400 £5,100

invested ought to yield eight per cent., and the price estimated, £30,000, for an estate capable of yielding two hundred hogsheads, is below that at which late sales have been made. The estimate of which late sales have been made. The estimate of these disadvantages, the small proprietors in this these disadvantages, the small proprietors in this labor and other expenses is based upon one furnished by two agricultural societies in this island, some ut I shall have occasion, before I close this letter, to furnish you with the actual cost of this letter, to lurnish you with the actual cost of labor on a well managed estate, which shows it to be only £4 per hogshead. The other expenses ought, I think, to be reduced by twenty per cent. It is desirable that you should clearly understand the proportion which field labor bears to the total cost f a hogshead of sugar. I have made many inquiries as to the relative cost of production in other colonies in this government, which comprises Barpadoes, St. Vincent, Grenada, St. Lucia and Tobago. The rate of wages is about the same in all, except Tobago, where it is rather less. It varies from ten one shilling for men, seven and one-half to ten pence for women, and six pence for children. Task work prevails generally in this island. The wages are not higher in any of the leeward islands, and in some of them they are lower. In British and in some of them they are lower. In British Guiana and Trinidad, wages are considerably higher than in the other colonies, and the demand for labor s increasing. I do not believe that in any of the other colonies estates are worth any thing like what they are in Barbadoes, and consequently they could all afford to give a much higher rate of wages. Trinidad, as in Cuba, uncultivated land can be obtained from government at a very moderate price. The value of the products of a sugar estate, the expense of which I have stated above, may be estimated as follows: Two hundred hogsheads of sugar, averaging fifteen hundred weight net in England, at £25, £5000; rum, molasses and provisions, £850; total, £5850 sterling. You will perceive that wages might be considerably increased at present prices, without real estate experiencing any material decline. Such is the result of the cultivation per task, and that rate prevails generally, with the of sugar by free labor.

Property, I need scarcely observe, has advanced these wages, a small allotment of land is usually in this island much beyond its value in the time of given, but a most uncertain tenure. The labore slavery. But what I desire to impress chiefly upon you is, that where rich land, adapted to sugar cultivation, can be obtained cheap, as in Trinidad and the estate. I am fully convinced that the abandon-Cuba, the price of labor is of secondary importance. ment of the estates is owing more to the tenure on Every effort will be used to obtain labor at any price, which alone the planters would lease land, than to and with equal facilities for getting to market, the any other cause.

rich virgin soils of the Mississippi Valley.

I have but little means of comparing the present interest of the laborer and proprietor that such land cost of slave and free labor. I have no doubt, how-should be cultivated in canes, which the tenant ever, from what I have heard, that the slaves in would necessarily have to bring to the mill of the Cuba are worked much harder than they were in proprietor, and this would have tended to keep up a the British West Indies, or than they now are in good understanding. Liberal wages would have the United States. The fairest test, perhaps, of induced such tenants to labor on the estates, which the comparative cost of slave and free labor, is to they could easily have done without interfering with compare the wages paid to the free laborer with the compare the wages paid to the free laborer with their own cultivation. The rate of wages should be rate demanded by those who let out slaves to hire. The owners of slaves in Cuba are in the habit of hiring them in gangs, and I understand that the rate some years ago, when sugar was much lower in price, was \$17 per month, which, allowing twenty-price, was \$17 per month, which, allowing twenty-price, was \$17 per month, which, allowing twenty-price was sharely some reduced when the price of sugar. If the laborers were increased in proportion, they would willingly submit to reduction during a period of low prices. The experience in some colonies, I regret to say, has a rate far exceeding the price of free labor in any of the British colonies. I am not certain whether the food is provided by the owner, or by the persons hirseems almost incomprehensible that labor should be

As to the relative cost of slave and free labor in this colony, I can supply you with facts, in which the most implicit reliance may be placed. They have been furnished to me by the proprietor of an estate containing three hundred acres of land, and situated at a distance of about twelve miles from the situated at a distance of about twelve miles from the cause, however, of opinion that high wages constitute the best kind of inducement. On the contrary, look-shiring, port. The state referred to replaced. shipping port. The estate referred to produced, ing to the nature of the demand for labor, which, during slavery, equal on an average, to one hundred during the reaping and manufacture of the crop, is and forty hogsheads of sugar of the present weight,

SELECTIONS.

and required two hundred and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers, sixty adults and the true policy would be to encourage the industri-town account the industri-town account the proprietors. The encouragement, which I believe would be sufficient, would be the concession of small allotments of land at fair rents, but on such a tenure as would render the laborer in the concession of small allotments of land at fair rents, but on such a tenure as would render the laborer in dependent. It may be said that, if so situated, be one courseling the late their own ground-time, and could be obtained on their own account the tenure, and, generally speaking, there is no difficult. In all colonies, the laborers with labor on their own account the tenure, and, GOVERNMENT HOUSE, BARRADOES, of seventeen hundred pounds. The average of pounds of sugar to each laborer during slavery was MY DEAR SIR,—I willingly comply with your request that I should communicate to you the opin-the cost of slave labor, the value of two hundred and ions I have formed as to the results of the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, as well in at what would have been a low average, 50 pounds their bearing on the civilization of the emancipated sterling each, which would make the entire stock amount to £11,500. This, at six per cent. interest, point on which I have not been able to get any reli-The errors to which I shall more especially advert are, first, the assertion that slave labor is cheaper than free; second, the charge of habitual indolence advanced against the Creoles of African descent, which has led, it is alleged, to the abandonment of the sugar estates and the consequent ruin of the proprietors.

point on which I have not been able to get any remarks that I have had able information. The highest estimate I have had able information. The highest estimate I have had able information. The highest estimate I have had able to get any remarks that is a point on which I have not been able to get any remarks that is able information. The highest estimate I have had able to get any remarks that is able information. The highest estimate I have had able information. The highest estimate I have had able information. The highest estimate I have had are, first, the assertion that shall more especially advert able information. The highest estimate I have had ance now as far as these colonies are concerned, but in comparing the cost of free labor with slave in the present day, it is desirable to be accurate. I have been told that the average cost in Cuba is \$30 per annum, and if so, there can be no doubt that this, on the first point, viz., the comparative cost of added to the interest on the value of the slaves, free and slave labor, I believe that little if any difference of opinion prevails among the proprietors of price than that given for free labor in any of the this island. It is, however, much to be regretted British colonies. I need scarcely remind you that that the West India planters have more than once the cost per head of slaves must be calculated on the since the period of emancipation made formal com-plaints to the Imperial Parliament, founded on their siderable percentage of which will furnish no labor

inability to compete in the production of sugar by in return.

The object of the complainants doubtless was to obtain a continuance of the protective duties then levied upon foreign sugars. I can, however, state 300 acres of land, was worth during slavery £50 per with confidence, that many who at one time held acre, or £15,000; and I have estimated the slaves the opinion that the increased production of sugar round at £50 each, which would be £11,500. I am in Cuba was to be attributed to the cheapness of not aware what the compensation money amounted slave labor, have long since discovered their error. to per head in Barbadoes; but, I have no doubt to For my own part, I entertain no doubt that the productiveness of Cuba is to be mainly attributed to its the slaves, the estate was sold during the apprenticerich virgic soil, on which ratooning can be carried ship for £25,000, and was purchased a few years on for many years with little labor. Land in that island is abundant and cheap, and labor is in great demand for clearing and preparing it for cultivation. It must be borne in mind that field labor is but one taken the estate, regarding which I have furnished

I shall now proceed to the consideration of the complaint against the Creoles of African descent in much greater difficulty than the one on which I have already treated. I admit that the planters generally in several of the British colonies would vehemently maintain the correctness of this charge. I am, however, bound to affirm that, after a most patient investigation, I have been unable to arrive at such a conclusion. There is no doubt that the con-dition of the laboring classes ought to be worse in The foregoing is a very full (I think an exagge-rated) estimate of the cost of labor and other expenses, but the interest is not excessive. Money so invested ought to yield eight per cent., and the invested ought to yield eight per cent., and the wages are from ten pence to one shilling per day, as wages are from ten pence to one shilling per day, as Island, holding less than five acres of in sixteen years from about 1100 to 3537. I doubt much whether such a proof of industrious habits could be furnished with regard to a similar class of laborers in any other country in the world. I ad-duce the above remarkable fact to prove that in this Island there has been no want of industry on the part of the Creoles of African descent. I think that in those colonies in which the sugar estates have been partially abandoned, we must look to other causes than the indolence of the laborers. In all those colonies land is abundant and comparatively cheap, and I need not remind any one acquainted with the settlement of land in America, whether in the United States or the British Provinces, that where land is cheap and abundant, labor will be dear and scarce. The poor Irish immigrant pursues exactly the same course in Canada which the Creole of African descent does in Guiana or Trinidad. He endeavors to get, land of his own, and to become a proprietor instead of a laborer.

Unfortunately, the planters have never adopted a policy calculated to retain the Creoles on their plantations. Such, at least, is my opinion. A West Indian planter follows two occupations; he is an extensive agriculturist, and likewise a manufacturer. In these capacities he requires a considerable capital to enable him to succeed. I believe that the most profitable employment for labor in the West Indies the cultivation of the sugar cane, especially if prices anything like the present should be maintained. What, then, have been the inducements held

out to the laborers to work upon the sugar plantations? In Barbadoes, I have explained already that wages have ranged from ten pence to one shilling It would have been a wise policy old plantations could no more compete with the new for a proprietor to have given leases of small allotones, than your lands in New England with the ments in perpetuity, redeemable by the full payment rich virgin soils of the Mississippi Valley.

of the capital. It would have been the common six working days, would be sixty-five cents per day, been that wages have been reduced when the price of food is provided by the owner, or by the persons hiring the slaves. On these points, I shall have further
information ere long, but as you intend to visit
to the raising of provisions for which there is but a
limited market, when it could be so much more profitably employed in the cultivation of the cane.

the Creole laborers, in a great degree, to the nature of their pursuits. They have not been enabled to raise on their own account any product for which dies a wealthy class of landed proprietors, on which there is any export demand. They have chiefly been engaged in the raising of provisions, for which there is only a local sale, and as increased production would cause a decline in price, there is no induce-

immigration from other countries. The effect of the men of color, and of unmixed African descent, and immigration has been to render the proprietor to-day more independent of Creole labor and less wil- of the other colonies, the higher class has almost possible to supply it from the native population. Believing, as I have reason to do, that there is no probability of any extensive immigration from Africa to the West Indies, and that for many reasons, Coolie immigration should be avoided, if possible, my earnest desire would be that some satisfactory arrangement should be made by which free negroes from the United States and Canada could be induced to settle in the West Indies. It is, however, vain for the planters to look for immigration from America, unless they offer much greater inducements than they have ever yet done. Cheap land on a satisfactory tenure, combined with fair wages, would, I am inclined to think, operate as an encouragement free negroes of America to emigrate, as they would find the climate much more suitable to them than the Northern States, or Canada. The rate of wages ought to be 1s 6d per task, and I may observe, that an ordinary task can be finished with ease by an able-bodied man by noon, so that the rate of wages is really higher in the West Indies than would be supposed from its nominal rate. But it should be rigidly insisted on as a condition to any system of immigration, that land, from one-half an acre to two acres, according to the number in a family, should be leased in perpetuity at a rent equal to six per cent. on the value, and that the tenant should have the option of becoming the purchaser by paying up the capital. I am unaware of the value of land in Guinna, but in any of the other colonies, £25 per acre for land within half a mile of the sugar works would be a high rate. In some colonies, it should Whether such inducements would be suffibe less. Whether such inducements would be suffi-cient to direct the emigration of the free negroes cient to direct the emigration of the free negroes question before the American people would immedifrom the United States to the West Indies I am unately demonstrate him to be one of the veriest dreamage. ablato a v. but less. I am convinced, need not be

that emancipation has been a great boon to all their system, the whole power of the Democratic classes. Real estate has increased in price, and is a party, to which Mr. Choate belongs. The Slave more certain and advantageous investment than in the time of slavery ; the estates are much better and the right to hold these men. Pecuniary interest de more economically cultivated, and the property of the African race in this country are new as containing are, I am inclined to think, perfectly contented. In other colonies, the proprietors have suffered from a and the whole race, through a pro-slavery judiciary, are denied the privilege of citizenship and country. more economically cultivated, and the proprietors mands their retention in slavery. The majority of are, I am inclined to think, perfectly contented. In them for not having adopted a wiser policy toward. This pro-slavery power, not content with staying the laboring classes. They, as a general rule, where it is, and protecting itself, seeks to overrun the laboring classes. They, as a general rule, meant to act liberally, and, I have no doubt, believe that they have been treated with ingratitude. I am, nevertheless, convinced that the laboring classes have been blamed without cause. The tenure of It deprecates the abolition of slavery as the era o land (a tenancy at will) on the estates has driven political, social, moral, and financial death. the laborers from them; they have purchased or leased land elsewhere, it being cheap and abundant, and there has not been an adequate inducement in the form of wages offered to them by the estates. The majority of the proprietors were overwhelmed with debt at the period of emancipation, the value of property had been much too high, and these auses, combined with the reduction of the price of sugar, have produced much individual distress. It has been a most serious evil, too, that so many American history to know, that through the spirit West Indian proprietors have been non-residents. of compromise, which he so eloquently vaunts, the West Indian proprietors have been non-residents. The evil, however, will cure itself in time. Pro-

to complain, it would be in this Island, and it may How, then, shall we perform our share in the ab-

! He must be a fool who does not see that a spirit of

ficient inducement to his tenants to labor, by fur-color are, I think, fast dying away. Strangers are nishing them with facilities for the manufacture of apt to exaggerate the social distinctions, and to attheir crop; and even viewing the case in the worst tribute to prejudices regarding race, or color, what point of view for the proprietor, he would get an proceeds from entirely different causes. The classes ample rent for his land. I ascribe the indolence of of society are more marked in the West Indies than

ment to industry.

I cannot help thinking that the capitalists and laborers would have long since come to a satisfactory understanding, as to the terms on which the cultivation of the cane should be carried on, but for the black. There are, of course, exceptions to this refacilities afforded to the former of obtaining labor by mark. There are very poor whites, and wealthy

ling to offer the necessary inducements. There is at present a very active demand for labor, owing to the high prices of sugar, which have recently prevailed, and in several of the colonies, particularly British Guiana and Trinidad, it would, I presume, be impossible to sumply it from the native recently prevailed. have been formed after patient and impartial inqui-

ry, and are sincerely held. I am bound, however to add, that few of the planters would admit that I have assigned correct reasons for the abandonment of the estates by the laborers. I wish very much that the experiment could be tried of cultivating an estate in accordance with the principles which I have laid down.

Meanwhile, it is sufficient for me further to ob-

serve, that it is generally admitted that the negro understands his own interest, and if, as all agree the most profitable cultivation in these islan that of the sugar cane, it must follow that the Cre-ole would pursue that branch of industry, if suffi-cient inducements were held out to him. I maintain, that wherever those inducements are offered he invariably does labor at cane cultivation.

Believe me, dear sir, Yours, very truly, FRANCIS HINCKS. CHARLES TAPPAN, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

> From the Springfield Republican. HOW SHALL WE DO IT?

One little sentence in the Fourth of July speech of Mr. Choate, at Boston, will attract the atten-tion of many eyes. It is this: 'Perform your share, for you have a share, in the abolition of slavery.' We suppose that Mr. Choate thinks he has told us how to do this, or under what conditions, by what role, with what spirit, we are to do this. But the statement of the position of this slavery ers under heaven. We have upwards of three miloffered. The preceding remarks apply chiefly to those points affecting the interests of the planters.

In this Island, there can be no doubt whatever of the United States, wielding, for the interests of territories, to spread and propagate itself, to plant itself, in effect, in free States; and not only seek to shape, but does shape, the policy of the country. The question, under this statement of facts, come

to us again-How shall we perform our share in the abolition of slavery? Now, Mr. Choate is neute enough to see that, in taking the very first step in this work, we are obliged to deal with extremes, and he is metaphysician enough to perceive that no means can be equal to the accomplishment of the end sought to be compassed that are not equally in the extreme. He is sufficiently familiar, too, with perty has been changing hands of late, and eventually I have no doubt that the proprietors generally will live on their own estates, and save the heavy expense of management.

With regard to the condition of the African which does not give it a victory. There are some who wonder wby the North always gets worsted in a compromise in the converse of management. slavery party has made its greatest advances. Every race, I can answer your queries with unmixed satisfaction, and with the conviction that there will be little if any difference of opinion among well-informed persons on that subject. The improvement which has taken place in the religious condition of the people of all classes, and the progress of education, are quite equal to what could reasonably have been expected. The Creoles are advancing rapidly in civilization. You have yourself made the accumintance of men who were formerly slaves, and backward step. It is to the spirit of compromise, idly in civilization. You have yourself made the acquaintance of men who were formerly slaves, and backward step. It is to the spirit of compromise, who are now in independent circumstances, and enjoying a large share of public respect. But the very causes which have led to the great prosperity of the planters of Barbadoes have been to a considerable extend unfavorable to the laboring classes. If any of that class in the British West Indies had cause cannot make it otherwise.

to complain, it would be in this Island, and it may be observed, that they can emigrate in a very few olition of slavery? We cannot do any thing toward hours, and at very little expense, to colonies where land is both abundant and cheap, and where higher wages prevail.

I shall now proceed to notice a few points referwages prevail.

I shall now proceed to notice a few points referred to in your printed queries, which I have not had coession to touch on. It is impossible to compare rotten. His idea of nationality and patriotism is the present statistics of crime with those during slavery, when the great bulk of our ordinary offences, out this spirit of compromise with evil, and Mr. Choate's nationality tumbles into ruins at once.

But, let us take a side question in this matter, were summarily punished.

the present statistics of crime with those during slavery, when the great bulk of our ordinary offences, petty thefts and assaults, were summarily punished by the managers and overseers of estates. You have had an opportunity of satisfying yourself that the offenses on this island are not of an aggravated character. That there is much greater security for person and property now than there was during slavery, does not admit of a doubt.

In Barbadoes, there is a complete separation between rent and wages, which is clearly the wisest policy, but I fear that this island is an exception to the colonies generally. Elsewhere, as I have already explained, it was doemed expedient to leave small allotments from one-half an acre to one or even two acres on sufferance, no rent being charged, if continuous labor were given. Rent was made a sort of fine for not laboring, and, in case of dispute, summary ejectment followed, the laborer having to remove his house and crops, or sell them at great disadvantage. This wretched system, I firmly believe, has led to the abandonment of the estates in those

compromise, in dealing with an evil, can never abolish that evil. It can by no possibility make headway against it. The laws of the moral universe forbid it. How, then, we ask again, shall we perfor a our share in the abolition of slavery? The question is an important one: the answer simple. It is by talking and writing and working, in all proper, lawful and practical ways, against it. It is not by joining and glorifying a party, which upholds it. It is not by slurring the Declaration of Independence as a series of 'glittering generalities,' but in maintaining those principles, in their letter and essence, in all our legislation, in all our deal-ings with slavery, in all our jurisprudence, in all our speeches, in all our presses, in all our hearts and lives. It is not by trampling upon the rights of States and individuals. It is not by disfranchising a race. It is not by doing wrong to any man, or by breaking any law. But this is a free country. Discussion is free, save as slavery forbids it. The will of the majority governs, and should govern, and must govern; and the majority of the people of this country have a right to place in power, and should, by all proper and lawful means, strive to place in power, an administration whose policy and influence should be to foster the free labor on which the govshould be to foster the free labor on which the government must rely for its stability. The influence of the government, the influence of the press, the influence of all State and national legislation, the influence of the judiciary, the influence of every great and commanding character, the influence of the pulpit and all religious societies, including the Tract Society, should be against slavery unreserved. ly, unitedly, persistently, determinedly, now and forever, or until the great object which Mr. Choate deems desirable shall be accomplished.

The nationality that straddles a rail will split itself in two, if it sits there long enough. What share is Mr. Choate performing in the abolition of slavery? What share does he propose to perform? What share in this great work are his confreres and what share in this great work are his conferes and followers, his flatterers and admirers performing? What sympathy, little or large, do the whole host of conservatives—self-named and so called—manifest in this movement or project? Why, if the abolition of slavery depended upon them, or any exertions they would make in its behalf, the slaveholders would receive the fact as a carried large of control of the slaveholders. would receive the fact as an eternal lease of power. No. we have to deal with an aggressive evil, with men standing in an extreme position—with a whole section standing in that position; and to compromise with it for a moment is to give it an advanced foothold, which it may take the direct labor of a century to dislodge. We are tired of this finely spun stuff about nationality and compromise. It is the work of timid theorists, of praise and peaceloving rhetoricians, of commercial cowards, of apologists to conscience for participation in national wrongs. Thank Heaven, their influence in New England is small, and waning to an inverted horn that gives its precious sign of rain!

> From the Ashtabula (Ohio) Sentinel. THE EXILES OF FLORIDA.

We have received a copy of this true Roman a new verification of the adage, that truth is stranger than fiction. It is a book of 340 pages, and is

very neatly got up and illustrated, and is offered at the low price of a dollar. This work is most opportunely given to the public at this time, when the minds of men are awakened to the subject of slavery as a moral and political evil of the first magnitude. Earlier it would not have been so widely appreciated as now. It is just in time to meet the public demand for information of the progress of this national cancer—the work ings of the terrible poison which has spread its maharia all over the country, till not a man is allowed to hold office under the U.S. government, who is not willing to do, in his sphere, all that has been done in Florida, by this liberty-loving nation, to fasten chains upon the free and guiltless children of vature. It reveals, at the same time, the humiliating fact, that our Executive has only just begun to sustain oppression in this form, though it presents strongly the fact, that since 1848, our na-tion has not lifted the sword once, unless it was to advance, in some way, the interests of slavery— that we have spent millions and millions of our money, and while men's blood has been poured out like water, to sustain a system of personal outrage upon our own fellow-natives of the country. The melancholy fact is more glaringly than ever exhibited, that the United States have spent all these ives and all this money, not to secure the property by the mere privilege of enslaving men. To have paid the Georgians for all they have lost by runarays would not have cost a fourth of the money, to have paid it to them direct. But the spirit of slavery has demanded more than the price of the blood it has claimed. It has demanded the willing offering of Northern blood and Northern treasure in subservient readiness to trample the oppressinto the dust. It has demanded that every idea

tale at which honor will blush, and humanity vecp.

The author has done in this work what none else could do. He has brought forth a long array of facts from a sleep that, but for his labors, might have been eternal, in the archives of the nation. His long familiarity with the documents relating to this subject has prepared him for the work, and he has well repaid his constituents in its production; while he has erected a monument to their wisdom in keeping him in a place where experience is worth more than talent. In the spirit of progress of the times, he has condensed into a small volume a great work, and brought within the compass of reasona-ble reading a history that the world would never have taken time to examine.

national honor and magnanimity shall be laid upon its altar—and to that demand has the Executive

bowed in a long series of years. The monstrous

character of our warfare upon liberty has never been known; nor will this book reveal it all. But it tells

THE RIGHT OF VISITATION.

Hon. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS made a strong speech n the U.S. House of Representatives, June 7th. 1858, on the Joint Resolutions, proposing hostilities with England, on account of her exercising the right of visitation-concluding as follows :-

Our present controversy arises from a disposition, on the part of our Government, to respect the slave trade,—to render it honorable, instead of treating it as piracy, and those engaged in it as pirales; and, strange to say, the entire Senate appears con-verted to this doctrine. As a nation, as a Govern-ment, we have declared its character, and proclaimment, we have declared its character, and proclaimed an exterminating war upon all who are engaged in it. We have declared them enemies to menkind, ourstaws worthy of death. They are so regarded and treated by other nations. To carry on this war, we are bound to contribute all reasonable aid and assistance. Every citizen of this Union is bound to aid in this war for the rights of our common nature. And I declare it the duty of every captain, every officer and safer, who holds our flag sacred, to aid in preserving it from the dishonor to which the present administration is seeking to prostitute it. It is

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their duty, when suspected of piracy, to cheerfully relieve themselves of such suspicion by making their true character understood; and I assert that it is the right of every British, French, Russian, Austrian, or Prussian cruiser, or the cruiser of any other nation, while seeking to destroy these outlaws, to demand of any American ship, or the ship of any other nation, her true character, whether she be pirate, or entitled to protection under the flag she bears; while our own cruisers hold the same indisputable right to learn the character of any and of all suspected ships sailing under the flag of any other nation. If our Administration be determined to modify this law of nature and of nations, this principle of justice, of evident propriety, they will find insurmountable difficulties. I trust, I hope, the British Ministry will not recede from its position. They are acting for humanity. The feelings and sympathies of the Christian world are with them in their efforts to eradicate this piracy from the earth. Truth and justice are with them. That higher law of eternal righteousness which sways the destinies of nations and of the world is with them. I would not place our Government in opposition to these attributes of the Creator. I would bring it into harmony with those principles of justice, those laws which govern the moral world.

I know the vastness of our cause. We are con strained to meet the machinations of the Slave Power at every step of our progress. Let us meet them boldly, candidly, TRUTHFULLY. Let us conse crate ourselves to this holy work of separating and purifying our Government and people from this piracy, this moral contagion which now poisons all the veins and arteries of this mighty nation, and must, if not soon stayed in its progress, product political and moral death to the body corporate.

From the New York Independent. TRACT BULLETIN.

Fasting and Prayer on Account of the Tract Sc ciety.

A correspondent sends us the following The general Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church regards the Dred Scott decision, and the resolutions of the Tract Society, as ominous of impending judgments on the land. Minutes, p. 48.

The cruel wrongs of more than three millions o our countrymen—deprived of their liberty without any just cause; declared by the highest court in the land to be destitute of any rights which white men are bound to respect; prevented from contracting marriage, possessing property, or acquiring educa-tion; and forced by oppressive laws to live and die in lewdness, poverty, and ignorance—rise with in-creasing clanor in the ear of Him who saves the children of the needy and breaks in pieces the oppressor. Yet are they daily treated with increasing scorn by their white brethren. The conscience of the community seems to be seared with regard to this sin. Churches deny that it is a sin. Ministers of the Gospel, who believe that it is criminal, are afraid to reprove it. National associations for the promotion vital godliness and sound morality through the press, refuse to utter one word of remonstrance against its worst abominations. Some of our ambassidors abroad, and many of our judges and legislators at home, are not alraid to prostitute the offices which they hold under the Governor of the nations, for the support of these outrages against his law. In terrible righteousness, men ordained to the ministry of the Word of God, have, in several churches, been given over to such strong delusions, that they have publicly proclaimed the thrice holy Jehovah as Patron of these iniquities. The vengeance-cloud already throws the shade of its desperate infatuation over the minds of the oppressors and they are hastily throwing off the last rays of hypoerisy, and standing forth before the world the naked and unblushing advocates of robbery, murder, piracy, and the African Slave-Trade.

The Synod appoints the second Thursday of 1859 to be observed by all their churches as a day of Fasting and Prayer on account of these things.

How the Tract Meeting is Regarded in Kansas.

At the meeting of the Association of Congregational Ministers of Eastern Kansas, convened at Topeka June 17, the reports from the several fields of labor, embracing a territory of 60 miles square, were

encouraging.

During the quarter, there had been a decided inerease of attendance on the means of grace, good attention given to the word preached, and several hopeful conversions had occurred. The action of the Tract Society at its late anniversary in New York occupied a portion of the time of the Association, and the following preamble and resolutions were passed unanimously:

Whereas, the American Tract Society, at its late meeting at New York, practically annulled the unanimous action of the Society taken in May, 1857, to the effect, that ' those moral duties which grow out of the existence of slavery, as well as those n evils and vices which it is known to promote, do undoubtedly fall within the province of this Society, and can and ought to be discussed in a fraternal and Christian spirit; 'therefore, Resolved, That we deeply deplore this action, not

only as committing a powerful and hitherto much beloved Society to the support of an iniquitous system, but more especially, as sanctioning the princi-ple that some sins may be exempt from Gospel condemnation, thus lowering the Gospel to men's de-

prayed wishes.

Resolved, That we regard this action as entirely uncalled for, either by the Constitution of the Soci ety, or the exigencies of the times, and we feel that such submission to the pressure of Southern preju-dice, will only tend to foster the sensitiveness of the Southern mind to any reference to the subject of slavery, thus impeding all efforts for the elevation of the slave; postponing the day when the subject can be safely discussed at the South; and therefore postponing the day when public sentiment there shall demand the abolition of slavery.

Resolved, That we recommend to the churches to

withhold all contributions to this Society while it maintains its present position.

Resolved, That we advise the members of the So-

ciety to retain their relation, and to labor to bring back the Society to the support of an unmutilated and untrammeled Gospel.

S. D. STORRS, Clerk of Association. Congregational and Presbyterian Association,

Rushford, N. Y. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted by an Association of Congregational and Presby terian ministers and churches at Rushford, N. Y.

July 28th : Resolved. That we reaffirm our previously express ed disapprobation of the action of the Publishing Committee of the American Tract Society with refer-

ence to publications on the moral duties growing existence of slavery;' that we deplore the spirit manifested, and results reached at the last meeting of the Society at New York; and withat so long as the position of the Society, with reference to the subject alluded to, continues unchanged, we cannot conscientiously support it, nor mend it for the contributions of our churches

By request of Association.

Respectfully yours,

Congregational Church, Owosso, Mich. The following action has been taken by the Con

gregational Church of Owesso, Mich., respecting the American Tract Society; Whereas, the American Tract Society did, at the

Annual Meeting in May, 1857, unanimously resolve that those moral duties which grow out of the existthat those moral duties which grow out of the existence of slavery, as well as those moral evils and vices
which it is known to promote, and which are condemned in Scripture and so much deplored by Evangelical Christians, undoubtedly do fall within the
province of this Society, and can and ought to be
discussed in a fraternal and Christian spirit;

And, whereas, the proper officers, instead of carrying out the above-expressed wishes of the Society,
busied themselves in creating and fostering a public
matinent hostile to them, and publishing and circu-

sentiment hostile to them, and publishing and circulating numerous pamphlets with the funds of the Society, explaining their reasons for not doing as the Society impliedly instructed them;
And, whereas, the Society did, at its late meeting

in May last, approve of the course the officers had taken, which action we consider mainly attributable to the over-scalous efforts of the officers to secure it;

Resolved, That we have lost that confidence in the present officers of the American Tract Society which ought to be reposed in men occupying their position.

Resolved, That while the Society occupies its present position, we will contribute nothing to its

treasury, Resolved, That we will take a collection, the available of which shall be forwarded to the American Tract

Resolved, That the church send its paster to the next annual meeting of the Tract Society.

Resolved, That the above action be sent to the Tract House, New York. Also for publication to The Congregationalist at Boston, to The Evangelist and The Independent at New York, and to The Con-

The Congregationalist at Boston, to The Exangelist and The Independent at New York, and to The Congregational Herald at Chicago.

At a meeting of the First Congregational church of Owosso, beld July 7, 1858, on motion of Rev. A. H. Fletcher, the foregoing minute was adopted nem. con.

GEO. K. NEWCOMB, Clerk.

PRIZE EXTRAORDINARY

Our Agricultural Fairs so soon to be celebrated for the current year—are languishing for lack of new ideas. They are the same this year, the last, and the year before, and they are likely to be the same for ever. Bulls, cows and calves—horses, mares and jacks—big squashes, turnips and potatoes—if you have seen one, you have in effect seen all. Hence, when horse-womanship was introduced, three or four years since, it was hailed with general enthusiasm—not that it was so delightful or proper a thing in itself, but because it was at all events a novelty. And now we are glad to perceive that our Southern brethren have achieved another addition to the attractions and incitements of these Fairs, as we learn from the following paragraph from The Savan

PREMIUM FOR A LIVE AFRICAN. The ro-opening of the African slave-trade seems to be growing in popular favor in this section. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Chatham and Effingham (Ga.) Agricultural Society, held in our city yesterday, which was attended by all the members of the Committee, it was ununimously resolved to offer a premiur of \$25 for the best specimen of a live African importmonths—to be exhibited at the next meeting of the larly to confession! Ask a clergyman of the popular Society. It is thought that a fine young prince, a blood relation of the King of Dahomey—a passenger on the late trip of the Rawlins—will take the money, though the honor will be contested by other aspirants.

— a premium calculated to excite a sensation. goes regularly to the prayer-meeting, and the church-meeting.— This is the difference between the life of African — that is to say, a slave African, for Georthe saint and the sinner: and so much difference as gia allows the importation of none other—who must have been imported within the last year. And, as demand and supply reciprocally excite each other, a fine young prince, a relative of the King of Dahomey, is already booked to take the prize, unless a change previously wrought in the heart. If the for-better assortment of bones and muscles shall be exlins is pretty well understood to have brought in 650 human chattels on her recent arrival; and hers is not the only cargo of 'live Africans' imported ing. the same demonstration is considered to be attainwithin the last year. It is safe to estimate the cd respecting him. He is changed from sinner to number of slaves imported from Africa within this saint—from goat to sheep. year at twice that of the slaves emancipated and shipped to Liberia. So, waiting for slavery to die out under present auspices is likely to be a very pa-

tient business.

In the above-cited premium, the Georgians have tle farther than we remember to have seen it drawn We are all familiar with the safe maxim that 'a white man is as good as a negro, if he only behaves himself '--which too many, unfortu-Free-Trade rule to be that a foreign fabric or product is to be preferred to a home-made one whenever it is cheaper. But the Georgians, who are them-selves extensive growers of negroes, propose to give a premium, not for the finest specimen of a homegrown slave, but for the choicest rival product, from the sands of Africa. Is not this rather running the thing into the ground ?'-Tribune.

PARTY DESPOTISM AT WASHINGTON. The despotism of Washington is almost as cruel as that which has prevailed in Kansas. There is not, holding office throughout this vast country, a single man who is known to entertain views in opposition to the right to take slaves into free territories. It and diligently labors to enlarge its numbers, and to is an utter disqualification for office. All the departments at Washington are organized upon the will most surely secure him, in time, as a churchplan of proscribing men who believe that slavery should be excluded from the free territories. All the committees in Congress—or all the important ones—which mature the business for the action of Congress, are under the control of this same power. The Supreme Court is under the control of this same calls again to renew or intensify the impression: You all recollect the case which excited the United States was struck down and beaten nearly to cation (of-poor-young-men-for-the-ministry) Sociedeath in his seat in the Senate Chamber, for uttering his honest sentiment in opposition to this slavery ty, the Bible (without-note-or-comment-except-Orpropagandism. But a worse state of things than that exists to-day. The gentleman who was thus zation Society, and the Southern Aid Society to which stricken down in the vigor of manhood, and has been suffering from that day to this, and who, his best friends fear, may never recover, suffering with anguish and pain and torture, from blows inflicted tleman, now just able to walk, has since made his connections or his professional or social relations ena which some may plead the excuse that it was done gets up a 'surprise party' for him, seizes occasions to under excitement—I say now, the very men in the culogize him in the religious newspaper, and moves interest of this power affect to treat him with contempt. (Cries of 'Shame, shame.') Would you voyage to Europe for the present, and an increase of believe it? Not a Northern Senator belonging to this pro-slavery party dares even to speak to him, lest he offend his Southern associates? Yes, during the last session of Congress, when upon one occasion evidence—a very important department in this case—it was stated in the Senate that the Senator from if the common-place or average church-member chusetts had paired off with some member, who was also indisposed, a sneer of contempt was observed through the chamber at the idea of his indisposition, and the leaders of the pro-slavery Democracy out special reference to their condition in another, he affect to believe that it is a pretense on the part of a would not thereby in the slightest degree advance his man who has been suffering these two years. In my judgment, the world has never seen exhibited such refined malignity and cruelty as this attempt to treat with scorn that suffering man. This is worse, a thousand fold, than the spirit which under excitement would strike the blow, for this is meditated try to obtain freedom for the slaves, or the rights of and continued malice. (Loud applause.) A Voice-Three cheers for Sumner.

cheers were given heartily.)
I mention this, my fellow-citizens, to show the condition of things at Washington Let me tell you another fact. I went as your representative families in Boston to worship God on equal terms two years ago to Washington, almost an entire with others in Park street church, he would bring as one of the representatives of this State through two sessions of Congress, sent there to consult with the representatives of other co-equal States for the best good of a common country, and for those two the church-meeting to urge upon the church-mem-years was not placed on a committee which ever met. bers and their pastor the need and the duty of fur-Republican Senators were not consulted-we were ther labor in these departments, he would soon be ignored by this proscriptive, intolerant party, that made adhesion to the interests of the slave power the only test by which they allowed a person to take part in the proceedings of government wherever they could prevent it.—Speech of Senator Trumbull, of

Missouri Legislature. The St. Louis Republican of the days to be proposed in the says: Both branches will have a clear majority of National Democrats, with a sprinkling of Americans, and some few who have been elected as 'Union men,' but not one of whom can be properly classed of that Society, that its operations constitute the most as Black Republicans, or Emancipation Sitton, of Gasconda, occupies the proud position of effective method of serving God, advancing his glo-being the only Black Republican in either House of ry, and promoting the interests of his earthly kingthe Legislature! Was ever a party so completely dom. But when the same tendency is pointed out in overwhelmed and destroyed? Every man upon the Protestant church, to concentrate the powers and Black Republicans volunteered their support to a own advancement—the case is quite changed; this is candidate; was marked and voted down. This has been done to show the feeling of Missouri on this a very different thing; help to this church, the extenquestion, and to deter desperate politicians from in-troducing it into our elections hereafter.'

Brougham told the following anecdote, in illustra-tion of the folly of prejudice against color:

· Lord Lyndhurst gave me, a short time since, anecdote of a gentleman who was connected with the Hague, and who, on one occasion, received an inviproprietor of a large estate, where he was received with the utmost hospitality, and treated elegantly. He said he was rather entertained, when, after din-ner was over, his colored host said he was a man without any prejudice whatever, and that whenever he found a person bonest, honorable and respectable in every point of view, he held out the hand of fel lowship to him, even though his color were as white as that table cloth.'

The Richmond South announces to its readers that Mr. Buchanan 'is the only candidate whom the Southern people could hope to elect' in 1860.

Tiberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, AUGUST 20, 1858. PECULIAR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE

MODEL CHURCH-MEMBER. In speaking of the late revival, and of revivals of the popular American religion generally, we have said that (except where the convert had been openly addicted to unpopular sins-such as drunkenness, pro faneness, or petty larceny) he is not accustomed, nor expected, to bring forth anyfruits of better life, any outward nanifestations of improved character, save those which tend to widen and strengthen the influence of his church. That which marks incorporation of himself with the ecclesiastical system, that which shows him a docile follower in the path pointed out by the clergy is the evidence relied on to prove him a converted man, and the church authorities quietly take it for granted that the same evidence incontestably prove him a better man. One of the expressions commonly used to indicate

the establishment of this influence is, that the subject of it has ' met with a change,' The change is a market and obvious one, and the evidence of it is easily foun by any seeker. - Ask a Catholic priest, (or his eche any devout member of the Catholic church.) whether Patrick leads a better life now than formerly, and the answer will be-Undoubtedly! He now goes regureligion (or his echo, any devout church-membe same question respecting John or Edward, and the an- are in need; between ecclesiastical institutions and swer shows entire confidence in the same sort of evi-There, now, is a new feature-something original dence. They will reply-Most manifestly! He now meeting. This is the difference between the life of the saint and the sinner; and so much difference as the adoption of these customs displays in the life, is deemed, in both Catholic and Protestant churches, satisfactorily to corroborate the assumption of a saving mer continues to go to confession, it is proved that he hibited, as there very likely will be, since the Rawto frequent the prayer-meeting and the church-meet-

Among those who have thus entitled themselves to rank as saints, some are regarded as eminently such, and spoken of as leading a peculiarly excellent and admirable life. What gives them this distinction? pertainly stretched the doctrine of Free Trade a lit- What traits of character appear in the men whom the Church points to as her jewels, the highest specimens of holiness, of a heavenly life realized on earth? This reputation is gained simply by a greater proportion of nately, don't-and we have always understood the interest and labor applied to the same idea, the upbuilding of the Church, and the subjugation of the world' to her standard. The difference between the ordinary church-member and the eminent saint is, that where the former gives merely a general attendance at his own prayer-meeting and church-meeting, the latter regularly attends all that are to be found, establishes more in new localities, and takes active part in prayer, psalm, and exhortation; where the former merely follows the custom of family prayer, and grace before meat, the latter prolongs and emphasizes both; where the former merely sends his children to the Sabbath-school, the latter takes a class, member: where the former merely gives to the Tract Society, when the usual tribute is demanded, the latter gives largely, buys tracts and distributes them, earnestly exhorts the recipients to read them, and where the former chooses, among the Foreign Misson hole country two years ago, when a Senator of the ary Society, the Home Missionary Society, the Eduzation Society, and the Southern Aid Society, to which he will give what he appropriately calls his 'mite, the latter gives to each of these engines of proselytism, gives largely to most of them, and bends towards upon him unawares and without notice—that gen- the advantage of each such influence as his family appearance in the Senate Chamber, having been re-elected by the people of the State of Massachusetts, and when he comes there and rises with difficulty, from his chair, two years after the act was done, for

salary for the future. To glance a moment at the department of negative above referred to should volunteer in a course of active effort for the benefit of men in this world, withcredit with the church; but if these benevolent efforts should be directed to the removal of any those evils which the church now joins 'the world marriage for them and education for their children, o admission for colored children at the North to an equal chance with others at the benefits and honors of civilized society, or even an opportunity for colored ger, never having met more than two or three positive suspicion and discredit upon himself; if such an one should persevere in efforts like these, he would soon find himself regarded with coldness and distrust ranked as a disturber of the peace of the church-a troubler of Israel.

When a clerical editor, in either of his official ca pacities, has occasion to comment upon the custom of the Jesuits to think first, and chiefly, of the interests Missouri Legislature. The St. Louis Republican of their order, and to bend all things in the direction nists. Dr. effective method of serving God, advancing his glowhom a taint of suspicion rested, or even if the faculties, the care and labor of its members upon its ment of the kingdom of God; and this so unques tionably, that, with an audacity and unscrupulous ness fully equal to those of their Catholic brethren these Protestant Jesuits declare the institutions which are designed to extend the power and influence of their church to be charitable and philanthropic in stitutions.'

The 'religious' newspapers have lately been be towing great praise upon the will of a rich merchant of New York, recently deceased. They regard this as a perfectly satisfactory specimen of the direction is which, living or dying, a man's money and influence should be given. And, as the distribution of this es tate, apart from the provision made for connection relatives and friends, exactly illustrates the view have been taking above, we will copy, first the details of aid given to different branches of the machinery o the church, and then those of aid to objects properly

called charitable and philanthropic, in the will of FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATION AT AB-Anson G. Pholps.

Bequests in aid of the American Pop
American Christian Union,

\$12,600 American Bible Society, 50,000 American Board of Com. for For. Mis., Union Theological Seminary, Am. Home Missionary Society, N. Y. State Colonization Society, (to be be

ored persons wishing to emigrate to Liberia,) Southern Aid Society, 5,000 Central American Education Society, New School General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church-three quarters of any

stowed, in preference, upon religious col-

sum remaining. Bequests in aid of philanthropic or charitable of

New York Institution for the Blind, These bequests are denominated, in an ticle, strongly eulogizing them, in the New York Observer, benefactions to our various charitable and philanthropic institutions.' It will be seen that, with a single exception, and that far the least in amount every one of these large sums has been given to organs of proselyfism more or less directly siding the church connection to which the testator belonged. He had, of course, a perfect right to distribute his property in this way; but it is well to make the distinction between proselytism and philanthropy : between the attempt to propagate a partial and sectarian system, and the bestowal of aid upon those who need, because they charitable institutions .- c. K. W.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

A Reviewer Reviewed : a few Remarks upon " Four Papera from the Boston Courier" concerning The-odore Parker, Ralph W. Emerson, George William liam L. Kent & Co., Boston.

The little volume reviewed in this well-written and well-argued pamphlet contains four articles, the tablish justice; they restored liberty; they placed first purporting to be a review or criticism of two ser- the black legally on a level with the white man; mons on Revivals (the true and the false) recently they gave him a chance to grow, and work out his preached by the Rev. Theodore Parker; the second, destiny, whatever it might be. What is that destiny a similar criticism of the last of Mr. R. W. Emerson's No one can tell. In solving that problem, little help late course of lectures in this city; the third, of Mr. can be given him from without. No man or rac G. W. Curtis's lecture on Woman, delivered here and ever lived long and thrived upon mere charity. It is clsewhere; and the fourth, 'The Philosophy of Abo- said by the advocates of slavery, that the emancipated litionism.' These themes are treated with the strain negroes are relapsing into barbarism. Is this true? of flippant abuse which the Courier usually deals out Our friend from Barbadoes (Mr. Bleby), in his lucid to those who are seeking the reform of established exposition of the 'past and present' of the British evil and reputable sin; thus, Mr. Parker is represent- West Indies, tells us 'No, -emphatically, unqualified as a hypocrite and an infidel; Mr. Emerson a very edly, 'No!' I believe him. But multitudes will unsafe guide, whose teachings, where intelligible, are doubt, and in the mean time will be asking, 'What delusive; Mr. Curtis, a sciolist, 'who stirs up vain can these people do?' and useless discontents among the weaker portion of We come up to this beautiful grove, and to other the female sex '; and the abolitionists, as persons out- places, from time to time, and listen to those who side of religion, law, and the ordinary sentiment and make the speeches at anti-slavery meetings, -to Wenpractice of just and intelligent men-destitute alike dell Phillips, (whose absence to-day leaves a void of wisdom, settled principle and regard for truth-and which no one can fill,) and we are charmed by the tending to unlimited indulgence in speculative be- music of his speech, filled with profound admiration lief, and of our physical propensities and passions; by the majestic sweep of his rhetoric, and led captive to unbridled license of tongue; and, of course, to the by the magnetic force of his will; we hear the claripractical abrogation of all the courtesies,, civilities on notes of Garrison, ringing out the old-time decand charities of life.' This picture is rhetorically larations of Hebrew prophets with an intensity that finished by the declaration that the abolitionist is shows a heart brimful of sympathy for the oppressed, often the unblushing advocate of doctrines which and of righteous indignation against the oppressor lead to all confusion and every evil; which would we listen to Parker Pillsbury, until, fascinated by the destroy virtue, corrupt human society, and make earth | calm deliberation and masterly skill with which he itself a den of savages more brutal than wild wields his strong hyperboles against a Church and beasts,' (11)

The falsehood, absurdity and wickedness of such charges as these are exposed, in good temper and unvarnished truth; to Burleigh, with his unansweramoderate language, by the author of the pamphlet above named, which we heartily commend to the notice of the public. The best possible antidote to calumnies such as those here referred to against Parker. Emerson, Curtis and Garrison, is to hear those persons speak, and judge for one's self of the tendency of do this will see that the statements of the Courier are not merely careless or ignorant misrepresentations, but lies, deliberate and intentional, 'gross as a mountain, open, palpable!

The writer of this review, by his just and accurate description of the persons calumniated, and the character of their influence, will stimulate such of his readers as have not applied this test to do it without delay.-c. K. W.

how it was settled, The Birth-Mark, Rambles in give the protection of clear heads and strong arms t ble, and some literary notices.

This number closes with a brief obituary notice of Calvin W. Philleo, Esq., whose early death has left termine their fate in the future. In the solution of unfinished a tale entitled 'Akin by Marriage,' the this problem of destiny, one Margaret Garner, one commencement of which appeared in the first num-

ceived, or who may receive, copies of the Petition to the useful labor, is worth more than the verbal testimony next Legislature, asking that the soil of Massachusetts of a hundred white men, however devoted and selfmay be made free, and that kidnapping shall be for sacrificing they may be. They, as well as we, are ever prohibited thereon, are urgently requested to give laboring under the mistaken notion, that particular their respective towns, and to so organize the move- acter, when just the opposite is true. It is men that ment, that every man and every woman throughout dignify stations, and not stations men. All useful each town of this Commonwealth shall have an op- labor is alike honorable, with the advantage, if any, portunity to sign the same .- M.

Essex County Meeting. We trust our Essex County friends will take special pains to attend the annual (not quarterly, as at first announced,) meeting of the County Anti-Slavery Society next Sunday at Newburyport. Some delay has taken place in holding this meeting, on account of the refusal of the authorities of Newburyport to grant the use of the City Hall for it, as heretofore. A new and commodious Hall has now been obtained, and it is highly desirable that ish as it is, gives that verdict at last, and crowns there be a full representation of the different parts of the County at the meeting. The pro-slavery spirit deadly missine, the disgusting sights and scents of the which governs certain classes at Newburyport is notorious, and every manifestation of it is to be watched, and publicly exposed. To the meeting, one and right motive, for a good purpose, elevates him who

APPROPRIATE. On Sunday last, Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller, of Baltimore, (we presume the person who Rejoice, rather, when you are doing a manly part in should preach to the upholders of caste in the North; and it was equally appropriate that Dr. Stow should Gospel, the occupancy of his pulpit .-- c. K. w.

by a good audience.

La Among the speakers invited to address the gathering at the recent celebration of the Anniversary of West India Emancipation, at Abington, was our friend NATHANIEL H. WHITING, of Marshfield, but, owing to the want of time, he was unable to do so He has, however, at the request of several friends, kindly written out the remarks which he purposed to

Mr. PRESIDENT,-When I first received the invi tation of your Committee of Arrangements to make some remarks here to-day, I might have queried with myself, 'What possible intellectual food can they expect from a 'mud-sill'! But then, I might have remembered that this was to be a meeting to celebrate a victory obtained in behalf of 'mud-sills,' though of another complexion; and surely, if ever one of these strange bipeds in the new terminology of slave-ry's natural history could break into intelligible voice, t would be here and now; and I must say, it does really seem as if I could, in the language of the Prince of Denmark, with a little variation, talk to these people upon this theme, until my tongue will no longer wag. But I will endeavor to reasonable degree of brevity, even though, in this case, it should have in it none of the soul of wit.

It has been said by some one, I think by Mr. Emerson, that the presence of the man who invented the railroad, or, indeed, performed any other noteworthy act for the improvement of mankind, raises the credi of the city in which he dwells, and we may add, o the race to which he belongs. I must confess to a degree of pride and exultation in being able to claim kindred, however remotely, with that people who, of the first of August, 1834, proclaimed that wherever the lion flag of England floated in the breeze, wher ever was heard the roll of the British drum, in it morning beat around the world, man should no longer hold property in his fellow-man. I have nothin to say here of the character of the British govern ment-no apology to offer for its many oppressions the past and present. But I say this was a glorious act,-grand in the present, and pregnant with far no bler possibilities in the future. They sought to es-

State all red with the blood of the enslaved African, we begin to fancy they embody nothing but plain, ble logic; to Quincy, with his sharp, arrowy sentences piercing the joints of Slavery's harness; to Foss, as he ruthlessly flays the herd of patriot and Christian

To gorge on martyred Freedom, run;

such thoughts and words as theirs. Whoever shall to the Fosters, Stephen and Abby, sublime in their unwearied devotion to truth in some of its most unpopular phases, and their persistent application of the Golden Rule alike to all races and colors; to others, whom time fails us to name, known and to be known as the faithful apostles of the New Dispensation,-we hundred battles, and the young recruit who with lance in rest is gallantly making his first onset upon the serried ranks of Slavery's host; but when the sound of their voices dies upon the ear, there comes up from the lips of the unbelieving multitude the THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for September, with its hard, unpitying question, What can these people usual promptitude, is ready for the public to-day. do? Can they do any thing for themselves? Can Its contents are - Elequence, The Kinloch Estate, and they help on the car of human progress? Can they Aquidneck, Ann Porter's Lesson, Le Marais du the ark of human liberty? Or are they to be for ever Cygne, Youth, Pintal, The House that was just like laggards in the race, and thus, by the inevitable law its Neighbors, Daphnaides, Water-Lilies, Fifty and of cause and effect, the howers of wood and drawers Fifteen. Illinois in Spring-time, An Evening with the of water to more enterprising and energetic races, so Telegraph Wires, The Autocrat of the Breakfast Ta- long as these callings are a badge of degradation and inferiority in their own minds as well as that of the world?' The life answer to these questions will de-Frederick Douglass, one Wells Brown, one Charles Remond, one Dr. Rock. one man or woman who performs cheerfully and faithfully the humblest duty, in PETITIONS! PETITIONS! -All who have re- the conviction that the true nobility of life consists nediate attention to the circulation of the same in callings elevate men, and give them dignity of charon the side of that which is now left to those whom necessity compels to its performance. There will never be true freedom in this world, so long as people believe that particular employments are to be sought after because there is a virtue in them which may be infused by contact into those who engage in them. Every man who does his share of any useful labor, with the motive of doing his part in the world's advancement, is, in that act, a peer of the reals-tho equal of every other man. The world, blind and fool-Florence Nightingale in her work of love, amid the British Military Hospital at Scutari, as the heroine of the ninetcenth century. Every work done with a performs it, and places him square and solid on the broad level of common humanity.

Do not be ashamed of your position in the world.

many years ago defended slavery in a discussion with the world's work. Be ashamed of nothing that is Rev. Dr. Wayland, of Brown University,) preached useful. The law of adaptation and capacity should in the pulpit of Rev. Baron Stow, corner of Chauncey alone determine the work we undertake, and not the and Bedford streets. It will be remembered that the feeling that one makes us better men than the other. title-deeds of the pews of this church restrict their | Luckily for the future of this African race, as ] ownership to 'respectable white persons.' It was ap- think, they have no ancestors, the wealth of whose propriate that the defender of slavery in the South great deeds they can squander away in ignoble case, to feed pampered luxury; in the worship of whose shadow, and in building monuments to whose memo give to such an one, rather than to a minister of the ry, they can find a miserable excuse for a base desertion of the principles for which they fought and died, and a shameful neglect of the duties of the present We learn from The Agitator, (Wellsborough, hour. If they have these ancestors in the march of Tioga Co., Pa.) that Mr. G. B. Stebbins delivered an civilization, they are away back in what Bayard Tayexcellent discourse in the Court House on Sunday, lor calls 'the mighty Theban years,' and come down (25th ult.,) on 'The Signs of the Times, as denoting to us in the remembrance of traditions more dim and the World's Progress'; also, that his lecture on 'The shadowy than those upon which our mummied theol-Present Aspects of the Slavery Question, given at the logy bases its hopes of God and immortality. The betme place on the preceding Tuesday evening, was a ter for them it is so. They are not saddled with a erly production, and was extremely well received, patrimony which they would be tempted to waste as If you can find nobody to join, then fight we are doing ours. The man who makes his own

fortune by his own genius, is of better character than he who merely inherits and spends one. So this Af-rican race will show themselves better men than we if, out of the darkness of this night of slavery, and if, out of the daman weight of prejudice, they rise up to the dignity of virtuous, enlightened, working members of the great family of man. Alas! we are looking backwards. If this is to be the direction of our sight, of course we must go backwards. We are attempting to live on the virtue, on the deeds of our ancestors. No man or race of men ever did tha for a long time without sinking into inevitable degeneracy and ruin. We are fast becoming like those men whose heads turned upon their shoulders so as only to look behind. Longfellow's description of the Jers cems even now to be applicable to us :\_\_

And thus for ever with reverted look The mystic volume of the world they read;
Spelling it backward, like a Hebrew book,
Till life became a legend of the dead."

Why, there are men, famous men, in our country, who seem to make it the principal business of life to stun the ears of people, stifle the voice of conscience and check the quickening pulsations of the popular heart in behalf of liberty by crying out, after the manner of their prototypes whom Paul saw at Ephe. sus, Great is Washington ! Great is Union! There is nothing for us to do now but to build monument to the memory of Washington, and sing penasto the Union! So let us contribute of our money to say the dear place where the Pather of his Country live and died from the condition of the common earth, "which the rude swain turns with his share and treads upon." Let an garnish anew the sepulche of the Prophet of Liberty, and make another Mecca, to be visited by pilgrims from every land to pay their devoirs at his shrine," HILT HO

Now, it seems to me, if Washington were the man the world takes him to have been,-if he were a friend of his race, -if he lived abreast of his time, and wrought for human progress and for human freedom,-if he could have foreseen that his name would be used to block the wheels of reform and discredit that cause in whose behalf he gave his last signature in mortal life, -done, too, by men who, it would be no great lack of charity to say, if they had lived in the beginning of the Revolution, would have been his bitterest enemies, the fulsome culogists of the administration of Lord North and the government of George the Third, and would have been, perhaps, praised, McGrawler-like, as 'poets, orators, saga, laudators of the Union, &c., by some verbose flunker of British despotism .- I say, could he have foreseen all this, he would have repeated, with indignant enphasis, the potential command which Edward Ererett has versified as the expression of Alaric the Visigoth conqueror of Rome :-

· When I am dead, no pageant train Shall waste their sorrow at my bier, Nor worthless pomp of homage vain Stain it with hypocritic tear.

'Ye shall not rear a marble bust Upon the spot where I repose; Ye shall not fawn upon my dust, In hollow circumstance of woes; Nor coward men, with lying breath, Insult the clay that moulds beneath.

If the name of Washington is to form a theme of praise for history in the far future,-and I think is will, as belonging to a clear-headed, strong-minded, prudent, patriotic man, who had the good of his comtry at heart, and successfully resisted the temptation to build up his own fortunes on the ruin of its like. ties,-the brightest star in the galaxy of his fame vil he that act which Edward Everett remembers to be get,-that tardy recognition of the truths in the Delaration of Independence,—the deed by which is emancipated his slaves. The true lovers of and be lievers in that Declaration shall yet rescue his ness from the slough of infamy into which his shang mirers would drag it. But we have other wat enough to do now. We have great privileges; w have also great responsibilities. We have received much from the past; we are bound to transmit mer

But what can we do? Here is this great fact of slavery, filling up, like some huge mountain, the pass through which we are to reach the promise land. What are we to do with it-see laborers, the working bees in the world's great hive? Senatr writes us down as "mud-sills." I do not know a have any particular objection to being thus classical in the different strata of society. I think a mud-all is as useful in the world's architecture as a ridge pole, and far less likely to perish with dry-rot, onsume with rust, or be swept by a tornado of popular wrath into the limbo of worn-out and useless lumber, or, like the deserted log-house of Knickerbockers Yankee farmer, 'degraded into a cow-house or a pig-

sty.' If I could whisper in the ears of Senator Ham mond and his companions of the ridge-pole fraterity, I would say to them, . If you wish to avoid sont such catastrophe as this, it will be as well for you a give the mud-sills, both black and white, a fairchard of the world's uses. We do not object to your being ridge-poles, if you only behave as that part of the social building should; but if you take advantage a your high position to abuse and oppress those standing below you, and prevent them from reaching you elevation, whenever the people of the house that they can any of them fill it better than you can, why. you will have a fall one of these days, that will be likely to break some of the bones in that blustering bragging body of thine."

But, seriously: here we are under the rule of power which declares the normal condition of labor o be that of property; to be owned, bought and sid in the market. What are we to do? How are ar to get rid of this rule? How are we to obtain a ffcognition of our rights? The first thing is to believe in our own manhood, that he who performs by share of useful toil is, in that act, as good as any body, and entitled to a passport to every thing he needs to make him noble and happy as his nature will at mit of.

Then, for the work outside of ourselves, I know of no better advice, none more applicable to us, that that given by the Irishman to his friend at Donybrook, when they were rushing into the general fight, Wherever you see a head, hit it!' So I st. wherever Slavery shows one of its multiradines heads, hit it! Is it in the Church, and has it make the Bride of the Lamb' a willing and shameless harlot in its great barem, hit it there! Is it in the Democratic party, and has it made it, so full of work famous memories, and so entrenched in the popular heart, its subtle and servile tool, hit it there! Is in the Republican party, as some of our friends that it is, in its most dangerous form, his, it there! But you think this party has in it some of the element freedom, and by working its machinery you can check the progress and weaken the influence of the Slave Power, do not hesitate to use it. If you think hy voting for Nathaniel P. Banks, or whoerer as be its candidate for Governor of Massachusetts is coming autumn, against the united force of universal hunkerdom, you can keep the old Commonweath from falling into the clutches of slavery, and no mately bring her up to the platform of a free State ! deed as well as in name, do not fail to do it. what, say some of our friends, in open-mouthed tonishment, join the Republican party, compression ing and heartless, professing to do nothing against its extension join such a party as this? Join! Join subd!

JOIN EVERY BODY! Join nobody in the see that you are to be responsible for every thing thef si and do; join every body, when by such union can throw a feather's weight into the scale of liber own hook. Pight instinctively, as Leatherste

opened tlemen speech most of all (eve After spread The and an slave. alavel spirit Said h man 1 selves, and re true-h

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cipation that the a press place up by slaves

se to it, that wherever there is a blow to be struck see to it. making her soil sacred from the tread of the kidmaking in Washington, in Carolina, in the market, at communion service, any tehere, he sure that the ak of your rifle is heard in the 'scrimmage.' In her words, clutch every thing available in the rich rest-fields of the past, every thing in the glowing throbbing life of the present, every thing in the print hopes and glorious anticipations of the future. ad burl it with your whole force against this Bastile Oppression. So shall you do your part in its detion. So shall you have the consciousness that have done what you could to leave the world betthan you have found it; and you can lie down in by grave when your work here is done, seeing clearthrough the darkness the streaks in the horizon of stare which herald the good time coming. And the farmer thank, before it dawns, this Union, whose possible decision is the perpetual nightmare of feeble and overd minds, may have finished its part in the grand drama of national life, and gone down beneath the runs in the breezeless ocean of infinite oblivion, wars in the continent may follow the wake of Duiname and Aztec and Allonquin, the wake of the celebrated an emancipation far more paperhensive and vital than that we commemorate galy, and mankind, taking up the glad refrain of the H-brew minstrel, shall ring it round the world - Lo uties has triumphed; the people are free!

## REMARKS OF ANDREW T. FOSS.

ASDREW T. Foss spoke, in substance, as follows beartily respond to the spirit of the remark of Mr. Beyond, that he cared not what the results of West India Emancipation were, for, if they had really beer satrous, that would not and could not have proved arery right; and I also respond heartily to Mr. Garsen's idea, that the results of emancipation must be od, for God's word and character are pledged that he Right shall be crowned with his favor, and shall work the good of all who do it, in time and eternity. We have heard a most valuable and interesting testimony, to-day, from Rev. Mr. Bleby. It will do somebing to enlighten the mind of this country, will have m influence with some to remove doubt, and misunestanding, and perhaps prejudice. It will do something to remove slavery. Yet very few newspapers in the country will notice this, or any of his address-The 'religious papers,' almost universally, will refuse to publish a line of it. The pro-slavery class generally will give it no ear or attention whatever. The trouble is, the ministers of this country do not reyard slavery as a sin, -do not preach and act as if ther thought it wrong. The Methodist Church,the Methodist Episcopal Church North, I mean,-has within its connection and membership, in good standisg, a large number of the vilest slaveholders the sun erer looked upon,-men guilty of every crime, -such stidesuch was, who was himself killed at Christiana an attempt to seize or kill an escaped slave, and whom the leading Methodist journal in the country nounced a 'model Methodist,'-and the Northern Methodists all are in full communion with these-men. It is the same, and to at least an equal extent, with the Baptists of the North. Rev. Mr. Davis came from the South, -as mean a man as ever came from ,-and when he went home, he boasted that the Esptist pulpits of Boston generally, and of very many ther Northern places, Salem in particular, were gladthrown open to him. I take no pleasure in saying these things, but I believe them to be true, and to be f the atmost importance to be understood, and I hold to be my duty to say them to the face of my Methodist brethren, and not merely behind their back. Then there is the Republican party. It swears to apport slavery,-though it don't mean to do it, I am willing to believe. It places itself in a position where perjury becomes its highest virtue. The most of the therents of that party mean to perjure themselves. So it is in social and commercial life. If a slaveholdr comes to any Northern town or city, the very best rooms in the hotels, and the most obsequeous service of their keepers, are for him. Mothers court the wealthy slaveholder for their daughters. Pulpits agogues and at the feasts are reserved for their occusancy. All these things indicate the corruption, the aint, the pro-slavery complicity, the moral imbecility of the North. All these things must be reformed. We must steadily work against every manifestation of this iniquity. Every one of us can find practicable and ractical work enough, if we-will. [This is but an mperfect sketch of Mr. Foss's straight-forward and

## WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION. SPRINGFIELD, Mass., Aug. 4, 1858.

searching speech.]

DEAR GARRISON: Perhaps some of your readers will be interested to see a notice of the meeting in honor of West India emancipation held in this place.

At 11 o'clock, great numbers of colored people, from this and adjoining towns, repaired to a pleasant grove in the vicinity, and spent the day in a most happy and profitable manner. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Mars, a colored gentlemen of much ability and fervor. There were most of the day. The dinner was excellent, and to it all (even the spectators, who had come in to gape at the scene) were welcomed, and did ample justice. After the speeches, there was a dance under the preading trees.

The speaking was characterized by much ready wit and an aptitude of thought and expression. I was particularly interested by the remarks of a fugitive save. He said he was not going to talk so much about emancipation as slavery and slaveholding; not slaveholding at the South, but slaveholding here-the perit of slaveholding among the colored people. Said he: . We have looked long enough to the white man for our deliverance; it must come from ourselves, if it comes at all. When we respect ourselves, and respect each other, and stand by each other, all true-hearted white men will come to our assistance. He spoke in terms of withering scorn of those colored men who, in eating-houses, keep a separate table and in barber's shops a separate chair for their colored brother, if, indeed, they do not deny him admittance altogether. He was very severe. I think some of his. hearers thought him too severe, though they did not say so. It was his very severity that pleased me. l like the sort of preaching which says, 'Thou art the man! He set a good example for all clergymen to follow. If, instead of 'prophesying smooth things,' they would rebuke the sins of their own people, we should see a different state of affairs.

The same speaker paid a just tribute of praise the character and motives of Garrison, calling him the Wilberforce of America.

Everything was done decently and in order, and as the evening hour approached, all returned to their homes, well pleased with their day's recreation.

Truly, yours, A. F. RAYMOND.

## CELEBRATIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA. PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 10, 1858. DEM MR. GARRISON :

On Saturday last, I attended the West India Emanation celebration at Christians. You are aware that this is the place where, in 1851, Edward Gorsuch, appeacher, residing in the State of Maryland, was killed, while attempting to arrest a fugitive slave. The place was fitly chosen, and the meeting was got up by the colored people, many of whom had beer

He spoke an hour and a half in the forenoon, and an Smith as a Christian? In reply, I claimed him as a hour in the latter part of the day. Mr. Thomas Whi-dear, personal friend, about the best man in this son made a few remarks in the afternoon. A band of at 3 o'clock. It was the largest meeting of colored persons that I ever met at one time, and it was pleascolored men in the neighborhood of Christiana, who tainly, said I, though I would prefer to hear what count; and, although the laws of the State difranchise they, nevertheless, seem to be making rapid progress sympathizing company there. in their own elevation.

On Sunday, I had meetings in the Friends' meeting-house at Bart, in the afternoon and in the evening. I returned to Philadelphia on Monday, and attended West India Emancipation Celebration, got up by the Bannaker Institute, an association of colored young men. They held their meeting at Haddington Grove, seven or eight miles from the city. A fine company assembled at 11 o'clock, and remained during the day. Speeches were made by Mr. Johnson, Mr. Wears, and ited. And it is likely we shall remain till October. Wm. Wells Brown, and the celebration went off with good feeling and satisfaction. I was never in Pennsylvania when there seemed to be more willingness ou than the present.

The house where Mr. Gorsuch found the fugitive, and the spot where he stood when killed, were pointed out to me, and there is an impression in Christiana that a slaveholder will never come there again in purthuings, is no light thing to bear, W. W. B. suit of fugitive slaves. Twift 538 7504

#### CELEBRATION OF WEST INDIA EMAN-CIPATION IN MINNESOTA.

The St. Anthony and Minneapolis (Minnesota) Republican, of the 6th inst., contains quite a full report of a celebration of the Anniversary of British Emancipation in the beautiful grove on Nicollet Island, on Saturday, July 31st. The Republican says: 'Considering that the meeting was called for an unpopular purpose, at short notice, on a busy working day, in the open air, and under threatening skies, the demonstration was a remarkable success. It is judged that the grounds were visited by nearly five hundred persons during the afternoon, of whom a large majority were in evident sympathy with the object of the gath-

W. D. Babbitt was chosen President, and C. G. Ames, Secretary. Addresses appropriate to the occasion were delivered by the President, Prof. G. B. Stone, of the Minneapolis Union School, S. C. Gale, of Minneapolis, Prof. G. Daniels, State Geologist, Rev. W. W. King, of Chicago, and others,

Among the resolutions adopted were the follow-

Resolved. That whatever may have been the mo tives of the British government in the measure of Emancipation, the day we celebrate, the day which we celebrate, the day which rave freedom to eight hundred thousand slaves, is dear to Humanity; that the results of British abolition demonstrate that emancipation is both safe and wise ;—and that the whole history of the trials and triumphs of the opponents of British slavery is full of encouragement to the opponents of American slavery not to classe their efforts until 'Liberty shall be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.'

Resolved, That since the Supreme Court, the Dem-

Resolved, That since the Supreme Court, the Democratic party, and the Garrisonian Disunionists unite in putting upon the Constitution a construction which would make the Union a conspiracy for the destruction and not a government for the protection of man's natural rights—thus turning that glorious instrument into a covenant with death and an agreement with hell,' -we are bound to repudiate that construction, to rescue the Constitution from such gross sectional perversion, and to interpret it according to its pream-

ates prove their consistency, sincerity and fidelity to principle, by denouncing a Constitution which they interpret as an outrage upon the rights of man, those who insist on giving the same interpretation to that instrument, and yet are eager to support and enforce it, with that interpretation, demonstrate either their reckless willingness to bear a part in all the wrongs of States.' It was a Fourth-of-July, Young-America

of slavery.

Resolved, That since, in the language of Albert descant upon the glories and blessings of our Union.

The contrast between the morning and afternoon Barnes, 'no power outside the Church could main-tain slavery for a single hour, if it were not maintain-addresses was so great, that even the fev escape the charge of complicity with this crime, unless it bears an unequivocal testimony and wages unceas-

ing war against it.

Resolved, That the only effectual way of ridding our land of slavery is by bringing the public mind to see and deplore the evil of it; that therefore we have as much to fear from anathy as from fanaticism; and that duty to our country requires a kind and courte-ous, yet firm and fearless agitation of the subject by

#### LETTER FROM MISS S. HOLLEY. We are sure that Miss Holley will excuse the publication of the following portion of her letter to Mr. May, that others may share in the pleasure it has FRIEND GARRISON :

St. Johnsbury, (Vt.) Aug. 7, 1858. Vermont, for pleasing variety in landscape and lovely pastoral scenery, is the peerless beauty among all mit, for insertion in the Liberator. [See first page.] the States. Our two months' journeying has been along shady river courses, and over wood-crowned heights; and at every step of the way, some new asspeeches from various persons present, occupying the pect of hill, woodland or meadow beauty, has aroused our admiration. We accept this constant associaation with the sweet, fair face of Nature as large compensation for the reproach, from the uninformed and the Garrisonians, receive such a check, such a chill, ble cause. Sometime, perhaps, the people of Vermont will look as serene and Heaven-ward trusting, on the life in disgust, and retire to private life. I am no

woods and mountains.

The threatening state of the weather here, last evening, did not prevent the quite large gathering of | wiser course, and that you will keep your armor on, about four hundred persons. At the close of my ready, as heretofore, to do battle for the right, though lecture, I had the happiness to make the announce- one of your new recruits should hereafter lead the ment of Mr. Garrison's meeting to come on the first van. day of September, which was greeted with applause. If it be true that the Atlantic Telegraph is laid, (and evidence as the article referred to furnishes, we should the intelligence was received here with the firing of consider the Republican as 'hopefully converted,' and cannon and the ringing of bells,) Thursday was a moreover, we ought not to suffer our hopeful charity proud day for science, a fit occasion for public rejoic- to be disturbed, even should the Republican continue, ing; but how much grander the occasion, how much for some time to come, to abuse you and your coad prouder the triumph, how much holier the jubilee jutors: the force of habit, you know, is strong. This, of that day, when the shackles shall fall from the and some other considerations, which I need not limbs of four millions of slaves in this country ! There name, might not only impel it to do so, but may also will be joy in heaven over that hour!

ford, a few evenings since. There, neither foes nor that it should make a formal confession of its sins friends have forgotten the Convention of last winter. that are past. You know the book says that We had the utmost kindness from Mr. and Mrs. J. D. scharity covereth a multitude of sins ; and besides, Clark, who will always be happy to welcome the anti- an apostle is emphatic in the matter of forgetting slavery lecturer to Bradford. Some other Congrega- the things that are behind. Let us have abundant tionalists, yet in the deceitful snare of the Coloniza- charity among ourselves, and favorably regard this tion scheme, feel rather sullen at the prosperity of our new development of the Republican, for we may take cause in B.

Favored beyond our hope, at Newbury, we were cordially met by a warm-hearted anti-slavery Methodist lady, cousin to Elijah P. Lovejoy, of martyr memory. The small and curious meeting included both Methodist and Congregational ministers. Supported by the great thought of God, and the excellence of anti-slavery truth, I said the best things I could think of. The speaking was effective enough to call up both ministers, not to the help of the slave, but to the rescue of their respective churches. Then, the Congregational minister gravely asked me what I thought of If you can help me to an understanding of the figure, Theodore Parker. I replied, that was scarcely a rele- you will oblige me. Having written such an article vant question in an Anti-Slavery meeting, and I had but slight personal acquaintance with Mr. P., yet was etation with destruction, and under a temperature happy to be able to state my impression, that he was

world, a Christian, of whom the age is not worthy, music was in attendance, and dinner was served up &c. I had no words to express my reverence and admiration of his large-hearted fidelity to the cause of the slave. Then, I asked this minister what he thought ant to see so many together, and all peaceable and of these gentlemen, and he replied he did 'not wish quiet, not a drunken person on the grounds. All ap- to say.' To which I remarked, 'You are not as frank peared to be deeply interested in the meeting, and to as I am. Then he politely offered to take up the feel the importance of the occasion. There are many collection, if I was pleased to have him do so. Cerown fine farms, and are tilling them on their own ac- you think of Theodore Parker and Gerrit Smith." With this droll colloquy the afternoon meeting ended. its colored citizens, and shut its schools against them, In the evening, I spoke to another small but more

On Sunday, the 25th, at Waterford and West Concord, we had two very satisfactory meetings. That true and efficient friend of our cause, Rev. John E. Palmer, had, with admirable zeal and fidelity, given thorough and extensive notice, and the consequence was, large and interested attendance.

We have great reason to cherish a lively and grate-

ful remembrance of the free-hearted hospitality of the abolitionists of this State, in all the places we have vis-Rev. N. R. Johnston is much engaged in making preparation for the Anti-Slavery Convention at West Randolph, and the lectures which are to follow it the part of the people to listen to anti-slavery truth Surely he deserves from us all, the sincerest, most grateful appreciation, for his indefatigable efforts in behalf of uncompromising Anti-Slavery here in Vermont. The reproach to which he has been subjected from those from whom he had a right to expect better

#### that as the return of a of fer COMMENCEMENT AT AMHERST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: Commencement week at Amherst this ushered in on Sabbath afternoon, Aug. 8th, by the Baccalaureate sermon of the Rev. Dr. Stearns, Presi dent of the institution. On Monday evening, there was prize speaking at the village church, which was crowded at a very early hour. There was quite display, but very little true oratory, as the art of pub lic speaking receives but little attention from the heads of our institutions of learning. Besides, this digging up the dry bones of Greece and Rome, and galvanizing them for the purpose of declamation, seems to me in bad taste, while there is so much of living interest in our own age and country to occupy the public attention.

On Tuesday evening, we had an oration before the Society of Inquiry, by Rev. Prof. Phelps, D.D., of Andover, which was very common-place.

On Wednesday morning, the Alumni held a bus ness meeting, which was fully attended, at the close of which an impudent and ultra Southern letter from Dr. Bocock, of South Carolina, (who was invited to address the Alumni,) was read, which caused great

But the feature of the week was the oration of Wendell Phillips before the Literary Societies. To those who have heard this great man, it is enough to say, it was one of his best efforts. No words of mine can go beyond this praise. Long before the hour at which he was advertised to speak, (11, A. M.) the spacious church was densely crowded, hundreds being obliged to go away for want of even standing room On Mr. Phillips's appearance, he was greeted with an enthusiastic welcome, and for more than an hour, he held that vast audience fascinated and spell-bound by his resistless eloquence. I might as well attempt to paint in words chain lightning, or the aurora borealis as to imprison his winged utterances, -his 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn.' His subject was the same as at Yale last year, and some of those who ble, its letter and its spirit, as an impartial Charter of Rights, 'ordained by the people, to establish justice, and to secure the blessings of liberty.'

Resolved, That while Mr. Garrison and his associuttered by such a man, can be lost. Indeed, it was a goodly sight to see conservative old Amherst so heartily endorsing the sentiments of the bold and brilliant

agitator.

In the afternoon, Dr. Nehemiah Adams, of Southide notoriety, delivered an oration before the Phi morance of the true objects of government, or their Beta Kappa, choosing for his subject, 'The Family

The contrast between the morning and afternoon ed within it,' therefore no Christian association can of Dr. Adams could not but feel and acknowledge it. The one was a weak homily upon a worn-out subject; the other, a high-toned, earnest appeal to the best sympathies of our nature, rich in classic imagery, and poured out from one of the noblest hearts that ever beat for God and humanity.

Thursday was devoted to the exercises of the gradsating class. The Alumni had a dinner on the afternoon of the same day, at which speeches were made by Gov. Banks, Anson Burlingame, and others. W. C. M. Worcester, Aug. 17, 1858.

## A CONVERT.

The Springfield Republican is a convert to Garriso nian abolitionism! It must be so. As proof, reac its leading editorial of the 10th inst., headed, 'How shall we do it?' a copy of which I herewith trans-You will see that the positions it assumes, and the logic it employs throughout, are purely Garrisonian, even to the extreme; indeed, I do not know but you will consider yourself outdone. I confess that I find myself tormented with the fear lest that vaulting ambition which you are accused of, to be the leader of prejudiced, endured for the sake of our good and no- from this bold stroke of the Republican to rob you o your honors, as to make you quit the field of public Anti-Slavery laborer, as do now her beautiful fields, without 'comfortable hope,' however, that if such should be your first impulse on reading the article in question, your 'sober second thought' will suggest a

I think that charity requires, that in view of such induce it to deny its conversion. I think it quite I spoke to an equally numerous audience in Brad- probable that it will do so. Neither should we insist it as settled that hereafter, the influence of that widely circulated paper will be arrayed 'against slavery, unreservedly, persistently, determinedly, ron EVER, or until the great object which Mr. Choate deems desirable shall be accomplished, and that without compromise. Verily, the world moveth!

The article of the Republican is all very clear and easy to be understood, except the figure used in the concluding sentence of the 'inverted horn' and the precious sign of rain.' Being one of the unlearned and unakilful, this has somewhat confounded me n the midst of a severe drought, that threatened vegthat made adipose matter tremble for its solidity, it is slaves themselves. Not less than 2000 were present. a brave and good man, helping to free the slave not surprising that the desire for 'rain' should min-

Wm. Wells Brown was the only speaker advertised. Another question of his was, did I look upon Gerrit gle with the writer's concluding thought sufficiently to make it 'hard to be understood' by the ignorant E. W. TWING.

> BLAIR'S DEFEAT IN MISSOURI. The following extract of a letter from Misson ublished in the New York Tribune, dated St. Louis August 5th, and entitled, The Aspects of Blair's Defeet, is worthy of special notice. It contains a welldeserved rebuke of the low and mean policy which governs the Republican party, or Free Democracy, so called, and confirms the soundness and justice of the criticism which many of the leading Abolitionists for years have uttered against that party. If types and paper could blush, the copies of the New York Tribune which contained this letter must have reddeserved rebuke of the low and mean policy which dened all over with shame, at the recollection of the leading part it has played in support of this disgraceful and dishonorable policy. When it shall become popular and likely to win votes, to 'feel and express sympathy for the bondman, and to speak out for his rights as a man and a citizen, as well as for those of 'schite' men, the Tribune will then be as eloquently same, nothing doubting the result will much exceed anti-slavery as any Garrison, or Pillebury, or Phillips of them all. But, until then, it will have only sneers rights as a man and a citizen, as well as for those of and pretended contempt for 'moral' anti-slavery .-- M. "For the moral sentiment against slavery is nel-

ther appealed to by the Free Democracy, nor, indeed, would its aid be accepted. For the bondman, as politicians, they neither feel sympathy nor express it; it is not for Freedom that they work; but for Free Labor; nor for that end, even, in its fullest sense, but bor; nor for that end, even, in its fallest sense, but for free saits labor only. They would not purchase emancipation at the price of permitting the negro to remain in Missouri. He must be deported hence, or remain in slavery. Hence, that unconquerable spirit of anti-slavery enthusiasm which might, perhaps, be arroused in their favor—a spirit which finds mourishing diet in defeats, and is neither daunted by power nor enervated by success—is idle here, and unsympathising, or sympathizes only under protest, and is fikely, I fear, for a long time to remain so. It has no organ. I fear, for a long time toremain so. It has no organ, of service to our cause, and thus furnish its friend excepting only the Central Christian Advocate, while and our own with a two-fold motive to continue and arrayed against it is the entire theological press of St. Louis. Some Anti-Slavery votes were east against Blair vesterday, on the ground that he was hostile to

and exchanged slaves within a few months past. Even if Blair had been elected, this man, on this ground, would have undoubtedly been defeated. There can be no doubt that there is a distinctive Anti-Slavery sentiment in St. Louis, and that some of the candidates of the Free Democracy have injured their cause by their-shall I say it?-cowardly allusions to the negro race.
This cause, when it succeeds, must succeed by ap-

pealing to the mental faculties and nobler instincts of the people, and their heart, often unconsciously, but no less surely, ever, in the long run, robels against a course so unmanly, as insulting and slandering, out cause, a race of people who are down, who have no one to defend them, or advocate their rights. It was beautiful to observe, the other night how promptly the people's heart responded to the truth, when Mr. Blair, in speaking of the negroes, said, that their long and faithful, even if involuntary services to our race, had entitled them to homes to be found for them, and protected for them, by our National Government. The anti-slavery sentiment has a very thin crus

over it, and the sooner it is removed the more speedily —in spite of their unbelief—will the Free-State Democracy establish their power on a permanent and impregnable basis.

### THE ATLANTIC CABLE.

The great enterprise, so long pending, and the com pletion of which has been so anxiously expected, of establishing an electric communication between England and America, has been successfully achieved since our last issue; and one more immense stride has been taken towards the establishment of universal peace, and a fraternal relation between those whose separation by mountains, rivers or oceans has hitherto been deemed sufficient cause for jealousy and hostile feeling. A thrill of delight and triumph seems to pervade the whole country. Every where, demonstrations of joy have been made to celebrate the auspicious event. In this city, the following demonstrations were made on Tuesday last, by direction of the Mayor and Aldermen.

At 12 o'clock, one hundred guns were fired on the Common, and all the bells of the city were rung. In the evening, the trees on the Common were hung partner and ally of slaveholders and slave-traders. with Chinese lanterns, and the fronts of the City Library and City Hall were brilliantly illuminated, the lin being displayed on the latt jets of fire. Four bands of music also played, on the Common, and in front of the City Hall.

The afternoon extras of Monday (16th inst.) gave the following messages, the earliest transmitted over the Atlantic Telegraph :-

CYRUS STATION, (N. F.) Aug. 16.
To the Directors of the Atlantic Telegraph Company, New York : Europe and America are united by Telegraph.

Glory to God in the Highest, on Earth Peace, Good
Will towards Men.
Signed, Directors Atlantic Great Britain.

#### The Queen's Message. To the Honorable, the President of the United States

The Queen desires to congratulate the President upon the successful completion of the Great Interna-tional Work, in which the Queen has taken the deep-

est interest.

The Queen is convinced that the President will join with her in fervently hoping that the Electric Cable which now connects Great Britain with the United States will prove an additional link between the Na-tions, whose friendship is founded upon their common interest and reciprocal esteem.

The Queen has much pleasure in thus communi-

cating with the President, and renewing to him her wishes for the prosperity of the United States. The President's Reply.

## WASHINGTON CITY, Aug. 16, 1858.

To Her Majesty, Victoria, Queen of Great Britain : The President cordially reciprocates the congratu lations of her Majesty the Queen, on the success of the great international enterprise, accomplished by the science, skill and indomitable energy of the two countries. It is a triumph more glorious, because far mor useful to mankind, than was ever won by conquere on the field of battle. May the Atlantic Telegraph under the blessing of Heaven, prove to be a bond of perpetual peace and friendship between the kindred port of the proceedings of the late RUTLAND nations, and an instrument destined, by Divine Providence, to diffuse Religion, Civilization, Liberty and dence, to diffuse Religion, Civilization, Liberty and Law, throughout the world. In this view, will not all the nations of Christendom spontaneously unite in the &c., by S. B. Brittan, Andrew Jackson Davis, H. C. declaration that it shall be forever neutral, and that Wright, Rev. A. D. Mayo, George Sennott, Joel Tifthe places of their destination, even in the midst o hostilities? JAMES BUCHANAN.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN FULL BLAST. SAVANNAH, Gs., Aug. 1, 1858.

I have just seen in Augusta papers of this morning dispatch dated Savannah, July 31, saying:

'It is rumored here, and perhaps only a rumor, that the bark E. A. Rawlins has just landed 450 slaves

omewhere on the coast.'

This dispatch will, of course, go through the coun-This dispatch will, of course, go through try; and, as it is calculated to convey a wrong impression, I wish to give you some of the facts of the case. [THE next (Fall) Term of this Institution will commence on WEDNESDAY, Sept. 1, and concerning the commence on WEDNESDAY, Sept. 1, and concerning the commence of the case of the case. was created here last year by the seizure of this bark, on the ground that she was being fitted out as a slaver. After due examination, she was discharged, no evidence sufficient for her condemnation being found. dence sufficient for her condemnation being found. She completed her preparations and sailed for Madeira. I Yesterday morning she arrived here in ballast, without papers, and with a new captain and crew, who had been shipped at Galveston. It is commonly reported that she landed 650 negroes in good order. Her owners do not feel any evil consequences from the irregularity of coming in without papers, as her captain has already, I think, reported himself to the Custom-House officers as in that condition, and therefore surrenders himself and pays the fine of \$500. This leaves his vessel clear; she can obtain papers, clear again for Madeira with an 'assorted carge,' as before, and make another good run.

Madeira with an 'assorted cargo,' as before, and make another good run.

These are, in brief, the facts of the case. The slave-trade is not re-opened, as Mr. Lamar, in his letter to Secretary Cobb, threatened would be the case, for it has never been closed. Mr. Lamar only proposed to do openly and above board what is done secretly every week in New York and Baltimore.—Correspondence of the N. Y. Express.

## THE TWENTY-FIFTH NATIONAL ANTI-BLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION-ANNIVERSARY.

The undersigned, who have for so many years done what they could to promote the Anti-Slavery Cause, financially and otherwise, through the medium of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, will, as usual, hold their (twenty-fifth) anniversary at the close of the year, with the same purpose of still further, strengthening the beneficial influences of that Society, moral, religious and political, for the extinction of slavery.

But the changed state of the public mind now sug gests greater directness in the method and increase in the usefulness of this anniversary; and we propose, this year, to give our usual sums and take up our accustomed collections by direct cash subscription; and we entreat the friends, both at home and abroad,

To our Southern friends we present this prospect with increased hope of their co-operation in consequence; for, as none better than they know what slavery and the daily increasing risks of its tenure are, so none have a deeper concern in seeking the most effectual means of putting an end to this common sin and suffering of our native land.

The money we have annually raised has been hitherto employed to sustain the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, the organ of the ABERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, the organ of the ABERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOLISTY: but, following the recent indication of the Executive Committee in making individual efforts to place that paper on a self-supporting subscription basis, we shall enable them to devote the result of our joint financial effort to sustain eloquent and faithful lecturers, now so much needed, in far greater numlecturers, now so much needed, in far greater numbers than ever before.

By this plan, we may accomplish double the amount of service to our cause, and thus furnish its friends

and our own with a two-rold motive to contain increase their contributions.

No words from us at this late day are needed to stimulate a prudent generosity by description of all the means that go to change the mind and the heart ridge, who is silent on Anti-Slavery policy.

The Post, a daily German paper of influence, opposed the election of Kessler, the candidate of the Pree-State men for County Jailor, on the ground that the was a negro trader, or, at least, had bought, sold and exchanged slaves within a few months was a Property of the present and sold and exchanged slaves within a few months was a present and sold and exchanged slaves within a few months was a present and sold and the heart of a great nation on the central question of all the means that go to change the mind and the heart of a great nation on the central question of its policy, or to kindle a sublime one by commendation of a great nation on the central question of its policy. and holy, with every hope that is august and magnificent, with every memory that is precious and sainted, with every idea that is consoling and beautiful, with every effort that is enlightening and beneficent, with every association that history, or poetry, or patriotism, or philanthropy, or Christianity, or life or death, have sanctified and blessed.

We cordially and respectfully invite the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society year, (time and place named hereafter,) to receive our subscriptions, our good wishes, and our thanks, an to unite with us on an occasion which, as the end o one quarter of a century of labors and the beginning of another, will be of no ordinary commemorative in terest and prospective significance to THE CAUSE.

## MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

ESSEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SO-TETY.—A yearly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Savery Society will be held in NEWBURYPORT, in Essex Hall, corner State and Essex streets, on anday, August 22d, at the customary hours of meet ing, morning, afternoon and evening.

Among the speakers expected to attend are CHARLES

REMOND, SARAH P. REMOND, PARKER PILLSBURY and Andrew T. Foss.
MOSES WRIGHT, Secretary.

BARNSTABLE COUNTY .- The Annual Ani-Slavery Convention for Barnstable County will be held at HARWICH, in EXCHANGE HALL, commencing on Faiday, Sept. 3d, at 2 o'clock, P. M., and continuing on Saturday and Sunday, Sept. 4th and

Able and eloquent advocates of the cause will be resent,—to be more particularly named hereafter.

And we do hereby invite all the people of the Cape and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause wherever they may be, to join with us in rendering this Con-vention the most effective for Freedom ever held in this part of the old Bay State. Let not the hardy sons of Barnstable County, who can brave all other foces and dangers, cringe and be silent before the cow-ardly defenders of the 'vilest form of slavery which ever saw the sun.' Rather let every man, yea, and every woman, who claims this as native soil, resolve that the shame and disgrace of upholding, or apologizing for, slavery, shall no longer attach to any por-tion of their home; and resolve, too, that, so far as in them lies, their native State shall no longer be a

# JOSHUA H. ROBBINS, NATHANIEL ROBBINS, W. B. KELLEY, Committee Of Arrangements.

IV ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT W. RANDOLPH.—An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held at West Randolph, (Vermont,) on Tuesday and Wednesday, August 24th and 25th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. William Lloyd Garrison, PARKER PILLSBURY and SAMUEL MAY, Jr., will be

IF MEETINGS IN VERMONT.-WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON will hold meetings in the Green Mountain State as follows :

At Montpelier, Friday, August 27.
West Brookfield, Sunday, " 29.
Topsham, Monday, " 30. Topsham, Monday, " 30. St. Johnsbury, Wednesday, Sept. 1. McIndoes Falls, Thursday, . 2. Friday, Bradford,

WEST WRENTHAM, &c .- An Anti-Slavery meeting will be held in West Wrentham meeting house, on Sunday, August 29, at the usual hours o morning and afternoon service. On Saturday evening, (28t

on Saturday evening, (28th.) a meeting on the same subject will be held at SHELDONVILLE. PARKER PILLSBURY and ANDREW T. Foss, on behalf of the Massachusetta Anti-Slavery Society, will attend the above meetings. Do All are invited.

CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an address at Waltham, on Sunday next, 22d inst., in the Uni versalist Church, during the day, at the usual hours of service. Subjects: Forenoon—The Condemned Criminal; afternoon—The Causes and Prevention of

MRS. CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an address at Waltham, on Sunday evening, 22d inst., commencing at half-past 7 o'clock. Subject: The American Bastile; or, the Prisoner and the Slave.

# 'Strike, but Hear!'

on The Bible, Marriage, Slavery, Woman's Rights. Spiritualism, Free Trade, Shakerism, Education, &c. S. B. Brittan, Andrew Jackson Davis, H. C. its communications shall be held sacred in passing to fany, Parker Pillsbury, Stephen S. Foster, Miles the places of their destination, even in the midst of Grant, Frederick W. Evans, Mrs. F. D. Gage, Mrs.

E. L. Rose, Mrs. Mary F. Davis, Mrs. Eliza Farnham, and many others.

The book contains nearly 200 pages, large octavo.
Price, in paper, 50 cents; in cloth, 67 cts.—postage, 10 cents. The usual discount to the trade, for cash. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, June 30. tf 21 Cornhill, Boston

HOPEDALE

## HOME SCHOOL

As this School is thoroughly Reformatory and Progressive in its moral characteristics and influences, it must rely mainly upon the friends of Progress and Reform for support; and it is to be hoped that such will cheerfully give it their patronage and encourage-

ment.

For Circular, containing full information, please address either of the Principals.

WM. S. HAYWOOD, Principals. Hopedale, Milford Mass., Aug. 9, 1858.

Furniture and Feather Store.

G. M. ROGERS HAS on hand a good assortment of New and Sec-ond-Hand Furniture, Feather-Beds, Mattresses, and almost every article used in keeping house, which he offers at low prices, for cash, at

21 SALEM STREET, UP STAIRS.

IT IS NOT A DEEL MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S

#### WORLD'S RESTORER HATR

#### diand, gines pall and WORLD'S II of the of al Hair Dressing.

THE ONLY PREPARATIONS THAT HAVE A EUROPEAN REPUTATION!!

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

COLOR!

The Zylobalsamum or Dressing alone is the best hair dressing extant for young or old.

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

REV. W. B. THORNELO, Prescot, Lancashire, says—' Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum are perfect marvels. After using them six weeks, my extremely gray hair is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied it is not a dye, pulles HAYTI, on matters bak REV. MRS. E. C. ANDRUS, for many years Mis-

sionary to Hayti, now of Martinsburgh, N. Y. The climate having seriously affected her hair and scalp says, 'I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum P/have tried various other remedies for my hair, but never anything that so materially and permanently benefitted me, as has Mrs. S. A. Al-I. H. EATON, Pres. Union Univ., Tenn. I have

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

REV. H. V. DEGAN. Ed. Guide to Holiness,' Boston, Mass. 'That Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum promotes the growth of the hair where baldness has commenced, we now have the evidence of our own eyes."

REV. J. A. H. CORNELL, Cor. Sec. B'd Educ'n N. Y. City. I procured Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorative and Zylobalsamum for a relative. I am happy to say it prevented the falling off of the hair, and restored it, from being gray, to its natural glossy and beautiful black.'

REV. JNO. E. ROBIE, Ed. ' Chr. Adv.,' Buffalo, N. Y. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum are the best hair preparations I have ever known. They have restored my hair to its original color.'

REV. J. WEST, Brooklyn, N. Y. 'I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, and also to acknowledge its curing my grayness and baldness."

EV. GEO. M. SPRATT, Agt. Bap. Penn. Pub. So. We cheerfully recommend Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum.

REV. J. F. GRISWOLD, Washington, N. H. Please inform Mrs. — where Mrs. S. A. Alin Boston. You may say in my name that I know they are what they purport to be.'

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

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

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

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

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

REV. JOS. McKEE, N.Y. City. 'Recommends them. REV. WM. R. DOWNS, Howard, N. Y. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Dressing has no superior. It cleanses the hair and scalp, removes harshness and dryness, and always produces the softness, silkiness and natural gloss so requisite to the human hair.'

REV. C. M. KLINCK, Lewistown, Pa. Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused a new growth.' REV. WM. PORTEUS, Stansoich, Ct. . Mrs. S. A.

Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum have met my most sanguine expectations in causing my hair to grow where it had fallen." REV. D. MORRIS, Cross River, N. Y. 'I know of

a great many who have had their hair restored by the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. REV. E. EVANS, Delhi, O. 'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsa-

mum. They have changed my hair to its natural color, and stopped its falling off. REV. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, Ct. 'We think very highly of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum.

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

clination to engage in other manufactures.

These are the only preparations experted in any quantity to Europe.

We also would call attention to the fact that we have

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

## GENUINE THE THE PROPERTY OF

has ' Mrs. S. A. Allen' signed in Red Ink to outside wrappers, and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bot-tles. Resterer bottles are of dark purple glass, with the words, Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, 355 words, Mrs. S. A. Atten's Word's Hatr Restorer, 300 Broome Street, New York, blown on them. The Balsam bottles are of green glass, with Mrs. S. A. Atten's World's Balsam, 355 Broome Street, New York, blown on them. Circulars around bottles copyrighted. None other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgery, and will be prosecuted by us as a criminal offence. Some dealers try to sell other preparations on which they make more profit, instead of these; insist on these.

Sold by nearly every drug and fancy goods dealer.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer Depot. NO. 355 BROOME STREET, N. V.

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THE POWER OF MONEY. The power which lurks unseen, though felt, Within the coin's encircling belt, Is known to Him, who sees each thought Which fills the soul by lucre bought. In gold He sees the potent cause Why men so disregard His laws; He sees the bitter unpaid toil Which tills with tears the tyrant's soil; He sees oppression break the heart, By causing friends, long lov'd, to part; He sees the outraged form divine In broken-bearted anguish pine; That dripping lash, those gory chains, And all that swell the negro's pains, Are seen by Him whose law is love, Who in just mercy rules above; And, while He sees each cruel deed Which makes the hearts of bondmen bleed, He sees the preacher, bought by gold, The gospel truths from men withhold The Watch he sees on Zion's walls Turn deaf and dumb when Mercy calls; The Priest and Levite passing by, And heeding not Woe's wailing cry.

The men who preach the word divine, And claim to bow at Jesus's shrine, He sees are heartless when they hear Beseeching cry of bondmen near. He hears the Priests their dogmas preach, While bondmen for God's Word beseech; He hears their lips with fervor tell How sinners all are doom'd to hell, And yet, while millions pine in grief, Who in His Word might find relief, The preachers all their power combine To keep from them the Word divine. No plainer truth was e'er reveal'd Than, that 'tis gold their lips hath seal'd, For, purses fill'd with gold untold Reject the Word, and they withhold. The purse-paid priests help swell the throng To aid its good or ill along; They join when men 'Hosanna' cry And shout with them to 'crucify.'

Oh! may that look'd-for day draw near, When Christian men, unstopp'd by fear, Of every sect, and every name, Shall boldly truth and right proclaim. J. B. E. Rutland, July, 1858.

> From the Atlantic Monthly. TO -

ON RECEIVING HIS ' PEW VERSES FOR A FEW PRIENDS ('Printed, not published.')

BY JOHN G. WRITTIER. Well thought! Who would not rather hear The songs to love and friendship sung Than those which move the stranger's tongue, And feed his unselected ear?

Our social joys are more than fame; Life withers in the public look; Why mount the pillory of a book, Or barter comfort for a name?

Who in a house of glass would dwell, With curious eyes at every pane? To ring him in and out again, Who wants the public crier's bell?

To see the angel in one's way, Who wants to play the asa's part. Bear on his back the wizard Art, And in his service speak or bray?

And who his manly locks would shave, And quench the eyes of common sense, To share the noisy recompense That mocked the shorn and blinded slave?

The heart has needs beyond the head, And, starving in the plenitude Of strange gifts, craves its common food, Our human nature's daily bread.

We are but men : no gods are we To sit in mid-heaven, cold and bleak, Each separate, on his painful peak, Thin-cloaked in self-complacency!

Better his lot whose axe is swung In Wartburg woods, or that poor girl's Who by the Ilm her spindle whirls, And sings the songs that Luther sung,

Than his, who, old and cold and vain, At Weimar sat, a demigod, And bowed with Joye's imperial nod His votaries in and out again!

Ply, Vanity, thy winged feet! Ambition, hew thy rocky stair ! Who envies him who feeds on air The icy splendors of his seat?

I see your Alps above me cut The dark, cold sky-and dim and lone I see we sitting, stone on stone. With human senses dulled and shut.

I could not reach you, if I would, Nor sit among your cloudy shapes; And (spare the fable of the Grapes And Fox) I would not, if I could,

Keep to your lofty pedestals ! The safer plain below I choose : Who never wins can rarely lose, Who never climbs as rarely falls,

Let such as love the engle's scream Divide with him his home of ice : For me shall gentler notes suffice-The valley-song of bird and stream.

The pastoral blest, the drone of bees, The flail-beat chiming far away. The cattle-low at shut of day, The voice of God in leaf and breeze

Then lend thy hand, my wiser friend, And help me to the vales below, (In truth I have not far to go,) Where sweet with flowers the vales extend.

THE TWO PRAYERS. 

. Two hands upon the breast, And labor is done; Two pale feet crossed in rest, The race is won: Two eyes with coin-weights shut. And all tears cease; Two lips where grief is mute

And wrath at peace.' So pray we oftentimes, mourning our lot; God, in his kindness, answereth not.

· Two hands to work addrest Aye for his praise; Two feet that never rest. Walking his ways; Two eyes that look above, Still, through all tears ; Two lips that breathe but love. Never more fears. So cry we afterwards, low at our knees: Pardon those erring prayers! Father, hear these!

SLAVERY DESTROYS THE MAN. God fixed it certain that, whatever day Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away.

## The Liberator.

REPLY TO 'JUSTITIA.' DEAR MR. GARRISON:

I am unfortunate in being more entirely misunderstood than even my distrust of myself led me to anticipate; and perhaps it would be wise in me to make no attempt at explanation; but I am too much a lover of truth to willingly occupy a false position, even with strangers, and this flattering couplet—

O give us light! 'tis what we seek, Nor care through whom the truth shall speak' with which 'Justitia' concludes his criticism, is so encouraging, that I am constrained - with many thanks for the kind indulgence already accorded—to solicit your continued favor, while I attempt this once more to express my thoughts with my pen.

I will first state the general objections which my letter was intended to embody, and then notice some points in 'Justitia's' criticism, where I think I am particularly misapprehended.

I did not mean to object to Justitia's arguments or intentions, but only to what seemed to me the unfounded assumptions on which they were based. They assume (or seem to) that our rulers, legislators, officials, &c., are all Christians, (in the popular sense,) or, at least, that Christians alone have authority and responsibility, and that the professed intention of law. at least, in the execution of certain laws, is to carry out the requirements of God, or to obey his express commands. If such are 'Justitia's ' premises, and if, ment. And here I will repeat a question which I asked before-Where, and by whom, was it ever pretended (in modern times) that the infliction of the ly 'in obedience to a clearly expressed command of

Far be it from me to argue in favor of capital punishment: for if I must still think that, under some circumstances, it may be right, it is not because I would not gladly see some better way. I think I the same thing by objecting to 'Justitia's' arguments, that they were calculated to have an effect contrary to what he intended; and I desired, and stated what my convictions were (or had been) on the subject, judged others, and I do not see how I could have been to denounce an act as unchristian, because many good men believe it to be right.' On the contrary, I barbarous, unchristian, &c., should form the basis of that it still lived. But they atoned for their mis arguments against it, without any reference to those who supported or administered it; and I have never. in my darkest day, had sufficient reverence for 'good men' to think them without sin, or that their sins should escape condemnation. But (and I ask for information) may we not sometimes condemn an act St. Paul, must we equally condemn him for doing areth,' and because he 'verily thought within himself that he ought' so to do? As 'Justitia's' illustrations on this point are called forth by a misapprehension of my meaning, perhaps I need only remark. that while sin itself is so much a matter of taste. I would not be so fastidious as to object to its condemnation on any such ground.

Justitia' next professes to examine dispassionately my criticism on the point of 'revenge'; but I do not see that he examines my criticism at all. He merely gives us the dictionary definitions of the word revenge, and applies these definitions, very skilfully, to prove his theory. Now, about the particular case of McGee, I know very little, and my remarks in rela- At 10.40, the cord, and the straps with which he tion to 'Justitia's' first communication were grounded on the supposition that his arguments were of general application. So understood, I did object to his theory of revenge, and gave my reasons for object- topsy. The body was pale, and the skin mottled. ing, to which reasons 'Justitia' offers no reply; but, The right sterno-cleido muscle was ruptured through as I think they still hold good, I must prefer them to one half of its thickness. No lesion was discovered Webster's definitions, and I think I might even an- in any of the other soft parts of the neck. The os swer the five questions proposed, and answer them hyoides was somewhat broken, but the spine was enaffirmatively, without coming at all to the conclusion tirely uninjured. At 11.30, [more than an hour afon which he reckons,-that is, so far as assenting to ter the body was taken down,] a slight, but regular, his theory is concerned. Certainly, simple affirma- pulsatory movement was observed in the right subcla-I am persuaded, would 'Justitia' be willing to have was ascertained to proceed from the heart itself, which the scope of his arguments generally limited by the gave a distinct and regular heat, with a slight impulse, dictionary definitions of even so good an authority as eighty times in a minute. The chest was then open-Webster. And here, may I ask a question? Does ed, [while the heart was still beating-think of it, Justitia' really think that the court, the judge, the reader !] and the heart exposed, without in any way jury, the hangman, even, deliberately and maliciously arresting the pulsatory movements. The right auricle wished to inflict pain on McGeet Why, I knew a was in full and regular motion, contracting and dilattender-hearted sheriff in Connecticut, who actually ing with beautiful distinctness and energy. At 12 fainted in the performance of such a duty; and o'clock, the spinal cord having been previously dithough I never heard that he doubted the necessity or righteousness of the penalty, I am sure he was actuated by no 'spirit of revenge,' but, on the contrary, felt the most tender sympathy for his (or the law's) victim. Cannot 'Justitia' admit that, while our laws may lack justice and humanity, it might be sometimes difficult to prove the deliberate malice essential to ha- ther spontaneously, or excited by a passing current of tred and revenge, on the part of those who frame and execute them?

Again: 'Justitia' mistakes in saying that I supposed him 'to have erred in intimating that people should all automatic movements ceased, but the part still rehave been invited, yea, even urged, to witness the sponded to the stimulus of the knife. [Thus, till solemn scene at the jail,' &c. I did not object to inviting people to witness the scene, but only to the down, the movement in the right suricle of the heart ground on which 'Justitia urged they should be invited. The argument was, that an execution, being their own mouths are they convicted of cutting up in obedience to an express command of God, was an the body of a live man, or of one who was not dead. act of religious duty, and consequently an act of wor- Dr. Ainsworth remarked, 'that all the appearance ship; therefore, all should be invited, 'yea, urged to usually observed in cases of hanging were here wantattend.' I objected to the conclusion rather on the ing.' Dr. Clark expressed the opinion, that as there ground of impracticability, and urged that if every was no lesion (or hurt) of any important organ, re act of religious duty was an act of worship, it need not (could not) always be public worship; using the familiar illustration of parental discipline to show, that to the performance of some religious duties, privacy was better adapted than publicity. If 'Justitia ' had thought what I said worthy of careful consideration. I think he would not have found it so enough to argue, that because it was necessary to punish a child in private, the execution of a criminal should be conducted in like manner. I will at least hope that my explanations will be better understood, and that 'Justitia' will no longer consider me an would seek for light on the other.

In finally concluding, I wish to express my grate ful sense of 'Justitia's' forbearance, and my confidence in his assurance that it shall continue; which assurance, only, emboldened me this second and last time to 'take my pen in hand.'

D. B. L. August 9, 1859.

P. S. In consulting Webster's Dictionary, una bridged, I find that in defining the word 'revenge,' he offers an explanatory note, in which is this sentence- Revenge is now used in an ill sense, for the infliction of pain maliciously or illegally.' I ask 'Justitia's' attention to it, because it seems to me, if to save and never to destroy him towards whom it is webster is good authority in defining the meaning of words, he ought to be equally good authority as to the ns. Dlay stress on this point, because I think it important to be just and true in every particular, and that, so being, we are much more likely to influence and convince honest minds—the only class, of course, which Justitia

In pursuance of my design in the discussion of this deeply interesting subject, I propose, in this commu-nication, to speak only upon a single point, namely the precautions taken by the executioners of McGee to prevent his escape from their custody.

It should be borne in mind by the reader, that the

unfortunate man who was to be killed had been incar-

cerated for months within massive granite walls with every place of egress substantially barred and guarded, so as to render his escape impossible. But, as though this was not sufficient to prevent his extri-cating himself from the clutches of the law,—or rath er, from the clutches of those 'Christian' men who procured its enactment, he was, before being conucted from his solitary cell to the scaffold, pinione surrounded and guarded by men who were member of different evangelical churches in the city. This not being deemed sufficiently precautionary, when the poor victim of human hate and revenges had reached the scaffold upon which he was to expiate his crime, (a man in sacerdotal garb occupying the van, †) he was there guarded by seven or eight mer two of whom dangled glittering awords, with which they stood prepared, should the criminal—who was securely bound, hands and feet—attempt to escape, to hew him in pieces, as Samuel did Agag. And as then their victim's escape was possible, two men were stationed at the bottom of the steps leading up to the fatal drop, each of whom had hanging by his side word, with which, if the criminal should succeed i an attempt to escape from the pious guard upon the commands. If such are "Justicia's' premises, and if, scaffold, (how preposterous the idea!) they might, as as it seems to me, they are false premises, I think I had good ground for objecting to his mode of argu-his I had been also been also been as the been around him, with their 'own good swords' complete the sacrificial offering And, if they should not be so fortunate as to despate him, there were stationed, a few feet in front of the death penalty, or the execution of any law, was main-altar (gallows), some fifty men, in charge of one of the State officials-he, also, having a sword by his side-so that, should there be any fragments of the unfortunate criminal left, after running (with legs closely pinioned above the knees) the gauntlet of the other guards, they might 'gather them up,' so that nothing should be lost' to the State, or the Church. said as much before in plain words, besides implying its chief supporter. And finally, to be sure that they had all been 'good and faithful servants,' and were entitled to the 'plaudit' of their master, (the State,) several doctors, eminent for their skill in determining when a man had reached the shores of immortality merely to vindicate the stand-point from which I were employed to listen at the door of the dying man's heart, where death was being forced to enter understood as saying or implying that it was wrong to decide when the 'king of terrors' had taken possession. But they, being human, as subsequent developments proved, erred in their decision, and especially suggested that the fact of a law being found, on taking the body to their charnel house, take by 'giving all diligence to make death's calling and election sure,' for after several hours of persevering toil, they succeeded in causing all the wheels of life in their subject to 'stand still.' What must have been the reflections of those men, at the close of that day's labors, we cannot conjecture, nor shall we envy without impugning the motive? In the instance of them what they shall enjoy when memory (as she will) recalls the scene in the dissecting room, where 'many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Naz- they blotted out the 'image of God' by obliterating the last indications of vitality in one who, equally with themselves, had been made in the likeness of the

> Lest this criticism upon the conduct of the physicians who finished the work of death in poor McGce should be deemed unduly severe, I will here introduce, in its justification, a few extracts from a copy of the post mortem examination, as reported for the Medical and Surgical Journal.

The report says :- 'The body was lowered [from the gallows] at twenty-five minutes past ten. The face was purple, and the pupils of the eyes dilated, but there was no protrusion either of the eyes or tongue. had been pinioned, were removed. After this, the body, the face especially, became gradually pale. At a few minutes past 11, Dr. Ellis commenced the auvian vein. Upon applying the ear to the chest, this vided, [while the heart was still beating,] the number of contractions was forty per minute, having continued, with only a short intermission, regularly up t

'The peculiar movements of the anterior wall of the right auricle gradually but occasionally recurred, eiair, until 11 o'clock. At 1.45, the movements still continued, without stimulus. Five were noticed in a minute, with corresponding intervals. At 2.45, 2.45, more than four hours after the body was taken continued, without any extraneous stimulus. Out of suscitation might possibly have been accomplished by artificial respiration, &c., if efforts to that end had been made immediately upon the lowering of the body from the scaffold-that is, within half an hour after

With such testimony, we think the Boston Herale was justified in raising the question—as it did a few 'wholly irrelevant,' nor have supposed me stupid days since-'What and who killed McGee?' and in saying (see that paper of July 26), 'There is omething here which strikes the uninitiated in surgical science with a thrill of horror. The operations of the dissector upon the dead human frame, necessary as they are, have something of a shuddering opponent, but one who, in earnestly desiring to find nature about them to those who are unaccustomed to what is truth, risks, perhaps, being considered 'a see or read about such things; but when the mind is captious caviller and would-be critic,'-a judgment I brought to reflect upon the surgeon's knife laying would as earnestly deprecate on the one hand as I open the cheat, and exposing to view a quick and beating heart, there is something frightful about it."

The Bath Organ, in an article upon this subject, very pertinently inquires—If the pulsations and beats had proceeded from mere museular action or irritability, would they have been " regular"?

The Herald closes its able communication the subject with this manly avowal- We should like to publish the opinions of any of the medical gentlemen of this city upon the subject. The light they could throw upon the facts to which we have

. To show the reader that I have not po can we? Any one who will be at the trouble to consult Webster, and observe how he defines these words, will never charge me with having misapplied them.

† The officiating clergyman walked a little in advance of the criminal and his Acty attendants, on to

referred would necessarily be of great interest to our

Notwithstanding the testimony of the diss the body of poor McGee makes it perfectly palpable

Vital spark of heavenly flame

did not leave it till forced out by the instruments death in their hands, the Traveller (a pseudo religious paper of this city) says- An absurd statement that McGee was alive when dissected has been circulated by various newspapers, and as it professed to be founded on the account of the autopsy, as reported to the Medical and Surgical Journal, it has attracted some attention. The professional report, however, gives no color for such a statement." (See Traveller of Aug. 2d.) How any man, with ordinary perceptive faculmore strange to me than that doctors could cut up living man. It is now about two weeks since the Herald, by implication, preferred this charge against them, and submitted to the whole profession in this city whether it was not sustained by the facts in the case; and, as none of them have responded, (the dec-larations of the accused,—which is all we have had, being worth nothing, they being interested witnesses, maider the case fairly made out, the Faculty, by their silence, having given their verdict in our favor

Let us briefly recapitulate. We first see McGee when as yet the life blood of his unfortunate victim Walker) was flowing warm from his veins, violently eized by some of his fellows, and the Rev. gentleman, who had just been preaching to him and others the blessed gospel, seizing the Bible, and with it striking and partially prostrating the murderer, (for once, at least, using that book with some effect,) after which he is closely confined in a lonely cell, to be the subject of vituperative remarks, and to be presented to the world, through the public press, as the vilest of men. After a few weeks' confinement, during which he is deprived of all genuine sympathy, he is publicly arraigned before the tribunal of the State, where he passes through the ordeal of a searching legal trial, being made a gazing-stock for the multitude who had

He was next arraigned to hear public sentence leath pronounced upon himself, knowing that the multitude who thronged the court-room were longing to see the executioners of the law wreak its vengeance upon him, after which he was remanded to his lonely cell in the prison, where he was to pass twelve weary months, before (according to the statute in such cases provided) he would be in a suitable condition to be out upon the altar, and sacrificed to appeare the urning indignation of the good people of Massachusetts. At the proper time, (according to 'the comnandment of men,' but contrary to the command of God, which says, unconditionally, 'Thou shalt not hear from him again .- Ed. Lib. till,') the Executive of the State proposed to assign a day for his execution; before doing which, he was espectfully petitioned, by respectable men and women, to commute the sentence of death (which was within his prerogative) to that of imprisonment for life. At this juncture, several members of churches, with others, (Pilate and Herod can always lay aside differences and be friends, when the popular voice calls for some great wrong to be perpetrated,) remoncalls for some great wrong to be perpetrated,) remon-strated against the granting of the prayer of the peti-tioners by His Excellency, and the death-warrant such times as these. As for the insurrection being at

Thus we have seen a frail mortal man,-a great ommitted the dreadful crime of murder till he suftheir pious hatred of the sinner, but not of the sin. How is such hypocrisy rebuked by the Savior's declaration to his disciples, ' For I say unto you, that ex-

tions upon other points involved in this subject for future communication.

Boston, Aug. 12, 1858. (To be continued.)

IMPRESSIONS OF AN ENGLISH TOURIST.

I have seen, for the first time in my life, the land mate nature, and felt that that could not be the cause

Desiring to see what the actual mental and moral

nocked and insulted by the slave dealer, and sold the causes of the inmocked and insulted by the slave dealer, and sold like cattle for money for the purposes of lust and degradation; and members of American Christian churches sanction and uphold the deed! I joined in their simple worship, and I thanked God from my heart that I was permitted in his providence to do so. After the service, I was permitted by the Elder to address a few words to the congregation. I told them how, for the first time in my life, I had seen the land of the slave the day before and I sold them. land of the slave the day before, and I told them my feelings as an Englishman on the occasion. I told them of the pleasure I had had in joining in their worthem of the providence of God in their history; that

Now, there were some who did not believe we

Now, there were some who did not believe we though it was dark and painful, they must not despair; that the Savior, when he hung on the cross, was not the less beloved of his Father, than in the hour of his exaltation; and that they might all aid in working out the deliverance of their race, by realistic through the results of the race of their race, by realistic through the results of the results of the race of the race of the race of the race, by realistic through the race of the rac

good night. I was courteously thanked, and the

I can ot understand the feelings of the American Christians towards the African. If I were an inhabitant of this city, the only church to which I could belong, at this time, would be the church of the colored race; there, where the Lord is in his lowliness, at this very hour, as when he lived on this earth. despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; from whom the pharisees this day, as of old, hide their faces- despised and not esteemed.' It is there, and only there, that, as a child of God, I could cast in my lot, and thus work out my own salvation,' in part, by showing my sympathy to this downcast and oppressed people believing that I should hereafter hear the welcome entence from my Lord, 'Inasmuch as thou hast don it to the least of these my brethren, thou hast done

O! ye American Christians, who trample on the

Lord in these poor despised bearers of his divine image, or who lend a helping hand to those who do, in fellowshipping the slave-owner, consider within your selves for one moment! If it was for the pecuniary interest of the South that these men should be rever meed instead of being despised, be elevated to places of honor instead of being trampled in the dust, and the slaveholder should require this change of conduct on your part, would you not soon find arguments and reasons without number to join the popular sentiment, even as you now do? And would you no denounce, even as I'do, the scourge and the suction block, the concubinage, and the destruction of human life for the profit of the white oppressor? Can, then the will of the South change the divine relation of things, change the nature of religion, and truth, and duty? You must see that it cannot, and that therefore it is the fear of man, and not of God, which binds you to the chariot wheels of this Juggernaut and that all these precious years you are losing the golden opportunities which God in his providence placing before you, to extend his kingdom of peace and love, liberty and truth, equality and justice, or the earth. Let me exhort you to be wise in time, to work while it is-day, remembering that the night cometh, when no man can work. And remember these solemn words of judgment-Inasmuch as ve did it not to the least of these my brethren, ve did it

I am, my dear sir, yours, very truly, W. ROBSON. WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

The writer of the above is a highly intelligent and truly philanthropic English gentleman, (for many years past the Postmaster at Warrington, Eng.,) who is now on a visit to the United States. We hope to

> Correspondence of the New York Tribune. LONDON, Tuesday, July 20, 1858.

The following letter of an Indian official gives the best and most concise statement about the causes of the Rebellion and the chances of its speedy sup-Mussoonie, May 20, 1858.

an end, it is no more so at this moment than it was twelve months ago. If any thing, further from it. Government might then have brought it to an end, sinner, we acknowledge,—pursued by men professing but they would shut their eyes to its extent and to be guided by that spirit which impelled the Savior cause. They would not allow that it was any thong to lay down his life for the greatest sinners, (so they else than a mere military mutiny, caused by some pray and so they teach,) from the day on which he greased cartridges, whereas, the ill feeling and disposition to rebel were every whit as general and intenfered death at their hands by strangulation, to appease
This, to many, was apparent not for days and months, but for some years before it broke out, and it is not true when the Government say they were quite taken by surprise.' The Government had been cept your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, [who were the popular religionists of that period,] ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdow of heaver? aleep. Why, I myself wrote over and over again warning people who should have had their eyes open but lest I trespass upon your valuable space, and the patience of your readers, I will reserve my reflective to the then Governor-General, telling him to be the control of the co the change then coming over the natives, and reway prepared for it. But my letter was treated with a polite acknowledgement, and then, perhaps, put behind the fire. For years and years, ever since that abominable Afghanistan cumpaign, our course has been all down hill; and we have been acting as if we were under no moral responsibility whatever—as it India were a thing made expressly for our mere worldly advantage, and for nothing else of the soil no better than the wild beasts of the jungles of the slave. In my route from Indianapolis to this or, being more helpless, only fit to be made hevers city, Kentucky came in sight with the banks of the wood and drawers of water, the slave of the white me of the slave. In my route from indicate of the whole man city, Kentucky came in sight with the banks of the wood and drawers of water, the slave of the white man city, Kentucky came in sight with the banks of the wood and drawers of water, the slave of the white man city, Kentucky came in sight with the banks of the wood and drawers of water, the slave of the white man city, Kentucky came in sight with the banks of the wood and drawers of water, the slave of the white man city, Kentucky came in sight with the banks of the wood and drawers of water, the slave of the white man city, Kentucky came in sight with the banks of the wood and drawers of water, the slave of the white man city, Kentucky came in sight with the banks of the wood and drawers of water, the slave of the white man city, Kentucky came in sight with the banks of the whole water of the white man city, Kentucky came in sight with the banks of the whole water of the white man city, Kentucky came in sight with the banks of the whole water of the whole water of the white man city, and it was rank treating the wood and drawers of water of the whole water of The question, Oan it be that slavery is there? passed these hills, and as fondly cherished as an Englishthrough my mind, and at first met with an incredu- man's liberty, were to be given up, and cast aside lous response. I could not bring my mind to believe with as much ease as you would throw aside an old it. I looked on the glorious sun-lit scene of inani- bonnet, if they did not square with John Bull's notions, or stood in the way of his selfishness and cumate nature, and felt that that could not be the cause of the direful wickedness perpetrated there. I looked on the green leaves of the shady trees, and the beautiful herbage that rose from the valleys to the hill-tops, and I felt assured that they had no voice of madness to venture on. . That cursed itch to annex sympathy for any thing so accursed there. And they the vile and obominable corruption, bribery and extersympathy for any thing so accursed there. And they the the till and according to the still press of that bank with the hundreds of happy faces I saw on this, in that very stillness of death visible write on, or to make a speech on, in Parliament, on the opposite side, the assurance came-Yes, slave- was most distasteful to the native cultivators, and lef ry is there; and the deserted shore was its evidence.

I spent yesterday in this queenly city of the West.
How grandly she sits at the foot of the mountains which surround her! But there is no slavery in which surround her! But there is no slavery in living indolent, luxurious lives, careless of every Ohio. To see the blighting effects of this evil printing but their own case and comfort; the gross ciple on the growth of cities, we must compare Cincinnati with the poor paltry village of Covington,
which is all that slavery could accomplish in the
neighborhood in the way of material progress and which is all that slavery could accomply the estimation of the serious of all influence over them—doing away with one old the creation of wealth.

the estimation of the serious, and the estimation of the serious difference over them—doing away with one old privilege after another, till no war officer or serious to—all confidence in the Governknew what to trust to-all confidence in the Gov ndition of the colored population of this city might ment was lost; these are the real causes of the mutibe, I went last night to Allen's Chapel, where they assemble for worship. I saw as much beauty of person, as much modesty in their demeanor, as much inson, as much modesty in their demeanor, as much inprate about. The native has no such feeling inhetelligence in their faces, as much decorum in their behavior, as I have seen in other American churches attended by white people; and I heard singing as sweet, prayer as fervent, instruction as fervid and eltelligence in their faces, as much decorum in their rent in him, every thing of this kind that now burns oquent, and in this particular far more so, than I have first I came to India in 1824—when the officers and often heard in the popular churches. And the feeling men had some feelings and ideas in common—when involuntarily pressed upon me,—And women as beau—the officer lived among and was allowed to hold contiful and modest as these, American law permits and commands to be put on the auction-block, to be mocked and insulted by the slave dealer, and sold themselves for bringing it about. These are some of

JOHN P. HALE ON FEMALE SUFFRAGE Senator Hale made the address before the Abbott ship, in the acknowledgment of a common God, a common nature, and a common salvation. I spoke to them of the providence of God in their history, that

hour of his exaltation; and that they might all aid in working out the deliverance of their race, by realising the pure Christian life in their own souls—such a nearness and unity with God in their own souls that their prayers might become the true prayer of faith, to which the promise of fulfilment was given. Then, adding a few words of comfort, I bade them

nent gentleman had said that if he wished to con nent gentleman had said that if he wished to contain a canvass, he would sooner address the children at young women than the men. As women this their sons and brothers, so would the future van of the country be. Each woman would probable have at least one willing friend, who would be taken to consult her opinions. A lady friend had said him what she should do. as she was deprived of the right of voting, and he told her to go and units he fortunes with one whose right to vote was understorded. right of voting, and he told her to go and unite he fortunes with one whose right to vote was undepted (laughter), and thereupon she had told him he was the meanest thing he had ever said. Those a fortunate females who were always complaining of their limited spheres would be found to be those whe had not the courage and faith and energy to do whe was even in that limited sphere for them.

In addressing young ladies, he could not present the same motives which were usual in address.

the same motives which were usual in address boys, but he could assure them that every one sale obtain all the good in life which they descrid he concluding, Mr. Hale told a story of a young rid who said she had two things settled in bry on would have a hear would have who said she had two things settled in her mind; first, she would never marry a min second, she would never live in the town of B. she eventually married a minister of B. Soit she eventually married a minister of B. So it was be with you, my young friends, said Mr. Halt the young ladies, at which great laughter and on ping ensued. I perceive, continued he, that is the theological students that are clapping, bean in the theological students that are clapping, bean the theological students that are clapping, bean the theological students that are clapping, bean the theological students that are clapping bean the theological students that are clapping bean the control of they think you will marry ministers. (Recemerriment.) But the mural of all he had all merriment.) But the mural of all he had said a day was that the same duty pertained to all. he stend of sitting and sighing over the allotment our condition, we should each meet and dischar with zeal, energy and faith, the duties of the pation in which we severally found ourselves.

The following remedies are offered to the palic as the best, most perfect, which medie I science on afford. Array's Cathartic Pills have been pared with the utmost skill which the medical procession of this age possesses, and their effects have they have virtues which surpass any combination of medicines hitherto known. Other preparation do more or less good; but this cures such dangerous complaints, so quick and so surely, as to prove an efficacy and a power to uproot disease beyond any thing which men have known before. By moving the obstructions of the internal organs as stimulating them into healthy action, they reaches anew through the body, and the sick man is well again. They are sdapted to disease, and diense anew through the body, and the sick man is well again. They are sdapted to disease, and diense only, for when taken by one in health they produce but little effect. This is the perfection of medicas. It is antagonistic to disease, and no more. Tender children may take them with impunity. If thy are sick they will cure them, if they are sick they will cure them, if they are will them.

are sick they will cure them, if they are well thy will do them no harm.

Give them to some patient who has been prestrated with billious complaint: see his bent-up, tottering form straighten with strength again; see his long-lost appetite return; see his clammy featurn blossom into health. Give them to some suffere whose foul blood has burst out in scrofula till his line in consent with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores; who stands or site or the second with sores. blossom into health. Give them to some suffere whose foul blood has burst out in scrofula till his skin is covered with sores; who stands, or siz, a lies in anguish. He has been drenched inside and out with every potion which ingenuity could saggest. Give him these Pills, and mark the effect, see the scabs fall from his body; see the new, fir skin that has grown under them; see the late per that is clean. Give them to him whose sagry humors have planted rheumatism in his joint sall bones; move him, and he screeches with pair, it too has been soaked through every musele of his body with liniments and salves; give him these Pills to purify his blood; they may not cure him, for, alas! there are cases which no mortal post can reach; but mark, he walks with crutches now, and now he walks alone; they have cured him. Give them to the lean, sour, haggard dyspetti, whose gnawing stomach has long ago cate every smile from his face and every musele from his body. See his appetite return, and with it his health; see the new man. See her that was radiant with beith and loveliness blasted and too carly withring away; want of exercise or mental anguish, or some lurking disease, has deranged the internal ergus of digestion, assimilation or secretion, till ther & their office ill. Her blood is vitiated, her health is gone. Give her these Pills to stimulate the win principle into renewed vigor, to cast out the & of digestion, assimilation or secretion, till they a their office ill. Her blood is vitiated, her health is gone. Give her these PILLS to stimulate the value of their office ill. Her blood is vitiated, her health is gone. Give her these PILLS to stimulate the value of the control of the con

remedy known to mankind. Cases of apparenty settled consumption have been cured by it, and thousands of sufferers who were deemed beyoed the reach of human aid have been restored to he friends and usefulness, to sound health and the enjoyments of life, by this all-powerful antidet is diseases of the lungs and throat. Here a cold his settled on the lungs. The dry, hacking cough, he glassy eye, and the pale, thin features of him who was lately lusty and strong, whisper to all but him CONSUMPTION. He tries every thing; but the disease is gnawing at his vitals, and shows it fatal symptoms more and more over all his fram. He is taking the CHERRY PECTORAL now; it has stopped his cough and made his breathing car; his sleep is sound at night; his appetite return, and with it his strength. The dart which piered his side is broken. Scarcely any neighborhood can be found which has not some living trophy like the to shadow forth the virtues which have won for the CHERRY PECTORAL an imperishable renown. But it seems to the contract of be found which has not some living trophy and to shadow forth the virtues which have won for the CHERRY PECTORAL an imperishable renown. But its usefulness does not end here. Nay, it seemplishes more by prevention than cure. The complishes more by prevention than cure. The complishes colds and coughs which it cures are the set which would have ripened into a dreadul harns of incurable diseases. Influenza, Croup, Bronchiis, Hoarseness, Pleurisy, Whooping Cough, and all intations of the throat and lungs are easily cured by the CHERRY PECTORAL if taken in season. Every family should have it by them, and they will find an invaluable protection from the insidious proviet which carries off the parent sheep from many a fock, the darling lamb from many a home.

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