



THE LIBERATOR

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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 19, 1859. WHOLE NUMBER, 1605.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the N. Y. Journal of Commerce. The following straightforward and unpretending tale regarding the rescue of some fugitive slaves is creditable to the heart of the writer, and eloquent in the disclosures it makes of the privations and trials to which fugitives are subjected by their pseudo friends in Chicago. Mr. Frost, in writing the letter appended below, seems to have been mainly actuated by a desire to exculpate from blame those who had been wrongly charged with assisting in the recovery of slaves; but incidentally, he has rendered a greater service in the revelations made of Abolition hypocrisy and injustice.

THE LATER RECOVERY OF SLAVES IN OHIO.

St. Louis, August 3, 1859. Editor of the Chicago Times. Dear Sir:—I observed from the Chicago papers that considerable excitement has existed in your city, in consequence of my having secretly brought three or four negro men—fugitives from service and labor.

SPEECH OF SENATOR IVERSON.

The following passage from a synopsis of Senator Iverson's speech at Griffin, Geo., we find in the Columbus, Ga., Sun:—The proud and enviable condition of the poor white man in the South, compared to the degraded condition of the African slave in the North, is a question of emancipating negroes, was this day submitted to the people of Georgia, nine out of ten who own no slaves would vote in the negative. Slavery must be maintained in the Union, if possible—out of it, if necessary, peaceably, if we may—forcibly, if we must. He was once an advocate of the heresy of squatter sovereignty, but had repented of and recanted the error. Subsequent investigation had convinced him that the true theory in relation to the territorial governments of the Union is, that it is both the power and duty of Congress to pass laws for the protection of slavery everywhere it exists, or may exist, upon the common soil.

SELECTIONS.

EMANCIPATION IN ST. LOUIS.

Correspondence of the New York Tribune. St. Louis, Aug. 1, 1859. It may not be a matter of indifference to the readers of the Tribune to know somewhat of the progress that is making in this great city toward disenthraling itself from the shackles of that peculiar institution which in times past has been its pride and glory.

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NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

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

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THEIR RIGHT. 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 looking 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. —WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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TRIBUTE TO HORACE MANN.

At a meeting of the Board of Education, held at the office of its Secretary on the 5th inst., the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the Secretary was requested to furnish a copy of the same to the family of the Hon. Horace Mann:—Resolved, That this Board feel, with all the friends of education throughout the country, the irreparable loss to the cause of education by the death of the Hon. Horace Mann, which they are so suddenly called to deplore.

LAST HOURS OF HORACE MANN.

Extract of a letter from a member of the Faculty of Antioch College to a gentleman in Lunenburg:—“On Monday morning, (Aug. 1st) I was allowed to visit him, and my first glance convinced me that the chances were against his recovery. On Tuesday, at 5 o'clock, P. M., the great soul mounted from the fallen tower. I was with him constantly during the last thirty-six hours of his life, and I must say that I never saw the excellencies of his character so fully revealed. All that was craggy, angular and masculine had already died, and what remained was refined, tender and graceful—what shone out more than in the death-hour. When he was told that he had but a few hours to live, his brain flashed up with all the glow of his best days, and he talked at least two hours in a strain of almost supra-mortal eloquence. The members of his family, students remaining here during the vacation, were called in at his request, and he had for each some word of warning or cheer. It was particularly touching when he turned to some young person had some specific pertinency of adaptation. . . . His ideas, and the language in which he clothed them, were really grand, and amazed us all to silence—many, melted us all to tears. A signal sweetness and tenderness pervaded every word. Not often in one's lifetime does one have the privilege of witnessing so great a scene. I am forced to confess that I never before appreciated the softness of the core that this masculine heart contained!”

TWO MEN AND THEIR HONORS.

Hardly had the minute-guns and the knell died away upon our ears, and the out-pouring of funeral orations subsided, (in reference to Rufus Choate,) when on the wings of the lightning came to us the intelligence that another son of Massachusetts had gone within the marble jaws of the tomb. Not a single minute-gun sent forth its lamentation—not a knell was heard—the colors on the shipping were not at half-mast. The newspapers, more just than the public, faithfully sketched the life of the deceased, and one or two bodies rested a moment while they passed resolutions. But there was no gathering in the streets, no crowded assemblies in the halls of the legislature, no cheering at the Faneuil Hall. He was the President of a college, and, prospectively at least, an important one; but we have heard of no scholastic mourning from any College Faculty. He was a philanthropist, but there has been no out-gushing from that class. He was a scholar, but there have been no resolutions in Greek idioms. He was an orator, but from the bar nor the pulpit have they brought tributes to their brother's glory. He was a man of great talents, and better than many to whom it is accorded to be a statesman, but neither from that class, nor from the many who aspire to rank in that class, have we been permitted to hear of the virtues, the genius, or the ability of Horace Mann. Why this silence, dead and sullen as the tomb whether he has gone? We have already sketched his life, and will not repeat it. But have a generous public forgotten his services to the Commonwealth? Have they forgotten those monuments which now stand in memory in the city, the village, and on the hill-side? Have they forgotten to whom we are chiefly indebted for that system of schools which is the pride of Massachusetts? Is there no recollection of his services in founding the Insane Asylum at Worcester, and other institutions of humanity? It is one of this State's glory, that there was a head of the Board of Education so long a while, whose energy of mind and body for years to his performance of his duties, and that on an inadequate salary. Who can remember those years of trial and opposition, and then to-day witness their results, without admiration of the man? We throw out of consideration his services in every other department of action, although they were not without merit, at the bar, in Congress, and in letters. Massachusetts owes to him a debt of gratitude for his services in the cause of schools alone, which, if not

greater than she owes any other man, demand a recognition. If Horace Mann is permitted to sleep with the recognition of his services to some more public and splendid form, it will be a burning disgrace to the Commonwealth, and will be proof conclusive as to the ingratitude of Republics.

We are not blind to some of the unfortunate traits in the character of Horace Mann. No man ever had more acrimonious controversies, or more bitter hates. But he never wavered in his fidelity to Massachusetts, at a time when it cost something to be true. And his services to the State were of that positive and abiding character whose results remain and will remain for ages, whether they are formally recognized or not. They will constantly obtrude themselves upon us, and crop out in the histories and eulogiums of future time, even if prejudice or neglect at the present time deny him what is his right. If we measure the services of these two men in the State and the nation, practically and soberly, we cannot hesitate on whom to bestow the highest prize. If men were not captivated by tropes and metaphors, which ratiocinate and untiring labor is disregarded; if the blaze of oratory did not so blind men that they forget the value of other and more servicable labor; if, in tributes to genius, however just, we did not forget what is due to philanthropy and humanity and education, there would have been before this some fitting commemoration of the virtues of a son of Massachusetts, in one of those halls under the shadow of another State. In one of Ochoate's oratories there is a tribute to Horace Mann, from which the friends of both or either might receive a suggestion, which would be profitable to their own reputations, and just to the reputation of the dead.—*Boston Atlas and Bee.*

OCHOATE AND MANN.

Extract from a cogent and eloquent Sermon, from the text, "Speaking the truth in love," preached on Sunday morning, August 7th, by Rev. O. B. FORTNORUM, Pastor of the Third Unitarian Society in New York:—

It is often a duty to speak the truth about people. One of the most solemn duties of life—a duty that we owe to ourselves, to society, and not less, I think, to the person, living or dead, who is spoken of; a duty which no false modesty, or fastidiousness, or a fancied propriety should induce us to ever omit; and yet a duty so difficult and so delicate that what is called, in the foolish world of charity, makes a principle of not discharging it at all. "It surely it is of the utmost importance that men should know who and what people are with whom they may be dealing—and who and what people were whose memory they are blindly revering. No Christian will let prejudice or politeness, or a mistaken respect for persons, silence his mouth when an unprincipled man is railing their fellow-men, or when a man with a noble nature and whose excessively amiable persons who make it a virtue never to speak ill of anybody. Are all men and women saints? Or if sinners, is it none of our business to know it? I am fully conscious of the danger of speaking—the danger that one may deceive himself, may injure innocence, may encourage a censorious spirit. One walks here amid dangers all the way. The slanderer claims to speak nothing but the simple truth when he blasts the character of his brother with reckless wickedness. The gossip professes to speak the simple truth when he undermines reputations for sport. The libeller protests that he utters only what is true when he spits his venom maliciously upon the objects of his personal dislike. The satirist falls back upon the assertion that he reports evident facts, when possibly contempt is lurking in every line he writes. It is never a duty to speak truth about men just because it is truth, and we happen to know it. It is never a duty to speak the truth about men when it is not likely to benefit in a much greater degree than it injures. If charity leads to the exposure of many sins, it always covers up a multitude. Still, charity does lead us to expose many. Charity imposes this duty—love bids us speak ill as well as good of our neighbors. Let the lover, then, do it; but we must all then become lovers, that we may all do it on occasion. For, verily, few things need more to be done than this; and few things are done so badly. So very badly it is done, that the actual doing of it is one of the curses of the world; so very badly that good men say, "let it not be done at all—better silence than slander"; so badly that, from time immemorial, there has been a motto, "Nil de mortuis, nisi bonum"—speak nothing but good of the dead"; and the telling of bad truth about men stop with the grave, as if all the soil of the earth was nothing but slander, insult and reviling.

If death could only enforce the maxim it has suggested, and stop slander at the grave, we would call it most blessed of angels. Since last we met here, the telegraph wires have brought us the report of a noble man's death. Noble he was indeed, loyal and brave, a man devoted to the best interests of his fellow-men, a foe to all iniquity, a friend to all righteousness, a champion of a holy and elevated cause, and a naughty world; but in his life he was misrepresented and abused. If death would exert its charm now over slanderous tongues to silence them forever; if death would just touch with persuasion eloquent lips, and make them declare all his great worth as a man, a patriot, a philanthropist, a pure character to be looked up to and copied by all young men! But Horace Mann will sleep in an obscure grave, and they who have always spoken the truth in his behalf will speak the same truth in his tears. Meanwhile, our ears are even now ringing with the forced lamentations, the decorous groans, the ceremonious and fulsome oratory which but two or three weeks since strained to exalt an unscrupulous advocate, a reckless master of tongue-fence, a man undistinguished by any of the grandest qualities that ennoble humanity, and very much distinguished for some qualities that are not grand at all, into the rank of a patriot, a saint, and a hero. The truth about him must not be spoken, for the truth would not be flattering, and his men dared only flatter! But why should truth be buried in the grave? What title has death to cast the veil of oblivion over human follies, and change the virtues of men into virtues? What title has death to hoodwink our sense of justice, and to lay the finger of silence upon righteous lips? What title has death to canonize sin? The dead are our rulers, and they are our idols. A few years pass, and they are taken up into the bright skies of our imagination, to be revered as heroes and demi-gods, or to be execrated as villains and demi-devils. We take them as examples, we appeal to them as guides, we make them the measure of our existence; surely, then, we ought to know the truth about them ere it is too late. It is in a serious thing to confuse the standard of virtue, and to mislead and veneration of the dead, and to make us think to let a bad man pass on to immortal fame, and a good man perhaps pass on to immortal infamy—and all because their death-knell has struck. It would be hard to say which has done the most mischief in the world, injustice to the living or misjudgment of the dead. Let us have the truth now at least. The dead cannot be harmed by it, nor grieved by it. Nay, they must wish it to be spoken freely for the instruction and benefit of the living. It is a simple justice that calls for it. The highest love demands it—Christian charity is here the revealer, inspirer and guide; Christian charity that will not speak evil falsely, nor yet will falsely speak well of any.

AN IRISH 'PATRIOT' SQUELCHED.

John Mitchell, 'the Irish patriot,' and author of the cabbage-garden rebellion, who, some years since, was transported to Botany Bay for his peaking, and eventually reached this country by breaking his parole of honor in the convict settlement, appears to have become a martyr to his peculiar views of human rights. When Mr. Mitchell reached New York for the first time, he was received with an enthusiasm that knew no bounds. There had been nothing like it since Lafayette and Kosciuszko came here. This popular ovation was conceded him in the belief that he was a man who had fought and suffered for Freedom. In spite of the conservative character of the population of New York, such a man invariably lifts his people out of the slough of selfishness, and lets loose the nobler sentiments of their nature. Soon after his arrival, he commenced a newspaper, the *Citizen*, and started with an unprecedented subscription list of nearly 30,000, so heartily did the public love the man who had broken the chains of his country by breaking his parole of honor. He had grown warm in the editorial chair, he gave utterance to sentiments the most opposite to those which, from his past life, he was supposed to entertain. He boldly avowed his belief in the right of African Slavery; that it was right to hold slaves, to buy slaves, to sell slaves, and to whip slaves, and heighed for an Abolitionist who would be stocked with fat niggers. It is hardly necessary to relate that, after this bold avowal of his real senti-

ments, the pinchcock 'patriot' found himself deserted by those who had so ardently loved him for his supposed devotion to a great principle. His subscription list suddenly fell down to zero, and he went South, where he became a zealous and consistent upholder of the peculiar institution. His *Southern Citizen* out-heroded Herod, in its virulent advocacy of the revival of the African Slave Trade, and kindred abominations. Disunion was hotly urged upon the South, and Northern laborers were represented as being more degraded and more miserable than Southern slaves. The more moderate and sensible statements of the South were stigmatized by him as foals and knaves, traitors to their country, and allies of Abolitionists. Mitchell has lived to see his pet project, the revival of the African Slave Trade, which we believe he was the first journalist to openly advocate, become a power in the South; before he dies, he may see it legalized. But renegades are always regarded with suspicion; and John Mitchell was no exception. He received little consideration and support at the South—from those who, while they professed the doctrines which he held and advocated, yet despised their champion for his infamous recency—that he was obliged to come to Washington last winter with his paper. Now we see it announced that the *Southern Citizen* is to be merged with the *New York Day Book*, a journal of the same stamp, Mr. Mitchell retiring to private life. He threatened if he did not succeed in his recantation, to ever before leaving Boston; nay, bating the ill-condition of the voice, and a certain ugly cough, I am better than last year at this time. Besides, the cough itself abated greatly after I came here, but I caught cold in a steamboat, and the tormenter came back, but is now quietly going off again. The weather here has been very fine, like our beautiful July weather; thermometer 82 to 84 in the shade, and dropping down to 72 or 70 at night. It has been raining for three or four days, and the mercury stands at 60. It went down to 68 on our passage hence from the West Indies, when near the Azores: that is the lowest I have seen it since we entered the Gulf Stream, Feb. 10th!

JOHN MITCHELL.

The great Mitchell mystery is at last cleared up, or rather it is deepened and darkened. Mr. Mitchell has certainly sold out his journal, in order to leave the country; but as he himself says in his explanatory letter to Mr. L. W. Spratt of Charleston—the philosopher of the new African slave trade—it is a step which cannot at present be fully accounted for. Meanwhile it is a satisfaction to know, amid all the doubt in which we are plunged by this ambiguous statement, that the family of Mr. Mitchell will still live in the United States. The individual disappears, the race survives.

In parting from his friend Spratt, Mr. Mitchell naturally indulges an emotion, and asks pardon for any offenses he may have committed. He may have been somewhat peremptory and harsh in dealing with Southern opponents, but he is every day more satisfied that he was right in the main. But as for the precise line of American politics which he has pursued, he desires the world to understand that it has been prompted and governed by Spratt more than by any other personal influence. Spratt is the man to whom he has been most indebted for his present position. At the same time, he does not wish to deny that he has met, even from opponents at the South, with consideration, respect and forbearance. For the North he cares not. Apparently no community in which free white men form the greater proportion of the population, can have any interest for the Mitchellian mind. But we must be allowed a single quotation:

"Well, then, my dear Spratt, I vanish from Southern and Northern politics. The Dred Scott decision casts and every sort of plianct, and the spirit of the age, and, in short, all forms of blather-skite, will have one enemy the less. I leave at an exciting moment, and could have loved to witness your approaching battle at Charleston. Indeed, I feel in some degree as if I were quitting an important post—more important, perhaps, in my own eyes than those of my co-workers. Nevertheless, in quitting it just at this moment, and for that stormy Europe, I expect that the readers of our paper will not only hold me excused, but will pray for me."

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Wendell Phillips, who, from his super-eminent, transcendental stand-point, looks down with slight scorn or mingling pity, upon the lower strata of Anti-Slavery men, who in their blindness think that the best thing they can do is to co-operate with the Republican party for the overthrow of the slave power, thus alludes to the *Era* in a recent letter:

"I shall say Slavery is a sin, and quote Channing on the dignity of human nature? The hearer will say, 'True, but the *Tribune* or the *Era* will allow that, and yet show us a royal road to duty, with no thorns in it, and no sacrifices to make.' It is not enough that the *Era* and the Republicans oppose Slavery on every ground of justice, morality, religion and policy, which the fertile fancy of Mr. Phillips could suggest. It is not enough that they combat Slavery, on slave soil, while he keeps at a safe distance of five hundred miles from the hated monster. Our sins, that we differ from Mr. Phillips. He has written a book, and he will stand by it. He has demonstrated that the Constitution is a pro-slavery instrument; a covenant with death, and a league with hell; and hence all who vote under it, or hold office under it, enter into this covenant. 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POETRY.

We made a brief visit to Newburyport, a few days since, and had the pleasure of an interview with Miss HANNAH F. GOULD, the poetess, an old and esteemed acquaintance whom we had not seen for a quarter of a century...

THE SALUTATION.

To date my being from the opening year, I come, a stranger in this busy sphere, Where some I meet perchance may stop and ask, 'What is my name, my purpose, or my task.'

THE LIBERATOR.

NEW ENGLAND COLORED CITIZENS' CONVENTION. Pursuant to Call, a Convention of the Colored Citizens of New England, to take into consideration the best means of promoting their moral, social and political elevation, gathered in the Meionean, in Boston, on Monday morning, Aug. 1st, 1859.

C. Perry, Lewis Hayden, J. N. Gloucester, Edward B. Lawton, Wm. Wells Brown, Mrs. Ruth Rice Remond, Mark R. DeMott, Robert Gordon, Mrs. Eliza Logan Lawton, Henry Johnson. The President then delivered the following address:— A few days ago, a friend wrote to me, and said that it was the intention of some of my friends to present my name for the Presidency of this Convention.

to the abolition of caste in the public schools of Boston, that— The abolitionists did set this ball in motion, and are fairly entitled to the credit of it. We may here say that we contemplate the change with unmixed satisfaction. We rejoice that colored men are not set apart in our churches from their white brethren...

until slavery was abolished. Does not nine years' experience strengthen the conviction which these thirteen colored men entertained in 1850? A planter in one of the British West India Islands, previous to the abolition of slavery, despatched at night-fall one of his slaves, in great haste, on a commission to a distant plantation.

Resolved, That this Convention would recommend colored voters to press these claims upon the Republican party, that, if defeated, it may not be by any means the last of its kind. The following were accepted as Committee on Finance:—John J. Smith, Nelson L. Perkins, Lloyd H. Brooks, Ellen Shearman, George W. Lowell, Anna E. Gray, George Allen.