



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 essen-  
tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-  
stable 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, STATED FROM THE  
RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-  
tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,  
and must walk in it. To this point the public mind  
has long been tending, and the time has come for 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 enslave-  
ment 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.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

A MOST DIABOLICAL PLOT.  
DALLAS, (Texas,) July 21, 1860.  
The burning of Dallas, and the destruction of  
the houses in this county, has led to the  
discovery of a most diabolical plot to devastate the  
whole of Northern Texas. At first, it was believed  
that the fire was accidental, but the successive burn-  
ing of farm-houses, and the firing of many other  
houses and stores in this section, caused reflecting  
men to adopt means to ferret out, if possible, the  
cause of this wholesale destruction. It seemed  
impossible that so many places should be de-  
stroyed simultaneously, and that should be ac-  
cidental. The out-houses, granaries, oats and grain  
stacks, and the Mill were destroyed a few days after  
the destruction of Dallas. This led to the arrest  
of a white man, whose innocence, however, was  
proved beyond a doubt. Several negroes, belonging  
to Mr. Miller, were then taken up and examined,  
and developments of the most startling character  
were disclosed. A plot to destroy the country was  
revealed, and every circumstance, even to the minutest  
part, was ascertained. Nearly a year ago a number of  
negroes were arrested upon a false examination,  
and sent apart from each other, they deplored to  
the country by fire and assassination—to improve  
the land by the destruction of the provisions,  
and ammunition, and then, when in a state of  
oppression, a general revolt of the negroes was to  
be made on the 1st Monday in August, the day of  
the State officers. This conspiracy is said to have  
been discovered by the vigilance committee of the North,  
and the details of the plot are as follows:—Each county in  
Northern Texas has a supervisor in the person of a  
white man, whose name is not given; each county had  
its agents under the sub-agents of this man, who  
controlled the action of the negroes in dis-  
tricts, by whom the firing was to be done.  
Some of our most prominent citizens were singled  
out for assassination whenever they made their  
escape from their burning homes. Negroes near-  
ly suspected are implicated, and the innocent  
are in constant dread of a false accusation. Truly  
diabolical in its nature, the plan was conceived  
in every form shocking to the mind, and frightful  
in its results. Poisoning was to be added, and the  
negroes to be slaughtered along with the men,  
and the young and handsome women to be parcelled  
out amongst these infamous scoundrels. They had  
been gone so far as to designate their choice, and  
certain names had already been selected as the vic-  
tims of these misguided monsters.  
Fortunately, the country has been saved from the  
assassination of these wrongs, but then a fearful  
duty remains for us. The negroes have been in-  
duced to these infernal proceedings by Abolitionists,  
and the emissaries of certain preachers who were  
sent from this county last year. Their agents  
have been busy amongst us, and many of them  
are in our midst. Some of them have been iden-  
tified, but have fled from the country; others still  
remain, to receive a fearful accountability from an  
angry and infuriated people. Nearly a hundred  
negroes have testified that a large reinforcement of  
Abolitionists are expected on the first of August,  
and these to be aided by recruits from the Indian  
tribes, while the lancers are several hundred miles  
to the north of us. It was desired to destroy Dal-  
las, in order that the arms and ammunition of the  
attorney company might share the same fate. Our  
land is filled with the villains, many of whom will  
be hung, and that very soon. A man was found  
living at our neighboring city of Fort Worth, two  
days ago, believed to be one of those scoundrels who  
are engaged in this work. We learn that he had  
stealed away a number of rifles, and the day after he  
was hung, a load of six-shooters passed on to him,  
but were intercepted. He was betrayed by one of  
the gang, and hence his plans were thwarted. Many  
others will share his fate. I have never witnessed  
such times. We are most profoundly excited. We  
are armed day and night, and know not what we  
are called upon to do. The circumstances are  
frightful, and I fear that the trouble is not confined  
to this State. It behooves every true man to buckle  
on his armor, and fight the good fight for his coun-  
try's good.—Houston Telegraph.

ANOTHER CONSPIRACY DISCOVERED.

From the Houston Telegraph of July 28th we  
learn some additional particulars of the disturbed  
state of affairs in Northern Texas. That journal  
says:—  
From Waxahachie, we have seen a letter written  
by a merchant to his correspondent in this city,  
which gives some of the details of a conspiracy there  
to murder the people and destroy the town in a  
manner similar to that of Dallas. The plot was to  
have been carried out last Sunday. It was discov-  
ered, however, and two white men, whose names  
are not given, were hung on Sunday last, the 21st  
inst. Some twenty old negroes were to be hung  
also next week. The danger was believed to be  
over, though the people were constantly watching,  
and were almost worn down with their vigilance.  
The letter is written in German, and we may not  
have got all the matters contained, but believe we  
have the principal facts.  
The fact seems to be apparent that there has been  
a wide spread conspiracy in the northern counties  
made up of wicked white men, abolitionists, by  
which it was intended to burn the houses, kill the  
people, and run the negroes off into Mexico. Fortu-  
nately, it has been discovered—not in time to pre-  
vent the destruction by fire of half a million of  
property, but in time to save the lives of the peo-  
ple, and, it is hoped, to bring the ringleaders, par-  
ticularly the hellish inciters of the negroes, to con-  
ditional punishment.

FURTHER PARTICULARS.

Mr. Cruger, who is just  
down from the upper country, confirms the accounts  
we have received from Dr. Pryor. He says the  
vigilance committee are composed of the best men  
in the several counties; that they are acting with  
great coolness and deliberation, and that the people  
have the utmost confidence in them. He also states,  
that in Dallas they have some eight or ten negroes,  
who appeared to be the ringleaders, in confinement.  
They will probably be hung. They had whipped  
some twenty or eighty who knew of the conspiracy,  
but failed to inform on the conspirators. In Wax-  
ahachie, the discovery was made through the volun-  
tary confession of a negro woman belonging to Mr.  
Marshbanks. Through the whole region, em-  
bracing Dallas, Ellis, Tarrant and Denton counties,  
the testimony of the negroes has been the same.  
They have all agreed in saying that they were to  
burn the houses and murder the women on the first  
Monday in August. They were then to attack the  
people at the polls, aided by the reinforcement of  
the expected Abolition band, and having got pos-  
sion of arms, provisions, &c., fight their way to  
Mexico.  
When Mr. Cruger left Waxahachie, last Monday,  
there was a rumor that there had been two men  
hung in Dallas, and he thinks those must be the men

SELECTIONS.

From the New York Herald.

THE OVERWHELMING MORAL ISSUE OF  
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The political elements of the country opposed to  
the Republican party are in a state of chaos. In  
the North they are divided upon men and secondary  
abstractions into clashing factions, as hostile against  
each other as against the common enemy; in the  
South, where the exigency demands a united people,  
acting under a common impulse, that of self-preser-  
vation, the same factions discord prevail. Nor is  
this all. The South, like a strong man struck sense-  
less by a heavy blow, seems to have lost the con-  
sciousness of its position, with the disruption of the  
Democratic party. There is a general apathy exist-  
ing in the South, a confusion of ideas, a relaxation  
of the moral energies of her people, an imbecility  
of purpose, which may be likened to the despairing  
condition of a ship's crew adrift upon the fragments  
of their broken vessel, with neither land nor sail in  
sight.

At this moment the anti-slavery Republican party  
of the North, representing hardly one-third of the  
popular vote of the country, is morally certain of  
electing its candidates for President and Vice Presi-  
dent, by a majority of the electoral vote of the  
Union. The only party in the field, limited to one  
election, in being rigidly excluded from the other, it  
is the only existing party which exhibits any thing  
of positive strength, unity, efficiency and confidence  
in its movements. This is a very extraordinary  
situation of things, and is entirely beyond the scope  
of the popular vote of the day. We can reach an ex-  
planation only upon the basis of that great over-  
whelming moral issue of slavery, as an institution  
of good or evil, of right or wrong.

And this is the exact issue, which, though un-  
recognized or evaded by our parties, factions and  
politicians, has produced this formidable anti-slavery  
coalition in the North, and this important di-  
vision of the political elements of both sections op-  
posed to it. This is the grand North-South  
issue, that the institution of Southern slavery is a  
sin, that it is founded in error and against right;  
that its fruits are poisonous; that its pretensions  
are false and incompatible with our free institutions,  
and that it must be hunted out of the country, will  
account for this solid front of the Republican party;  
too, the conflicting opinions of Democrats and  
Union men, North and South, upon this broad  
question of good or evil, of right or a mere usurpation  
of right, in reference to slavery, will account for  
the innumerable divisions of the forces opposed to the  
Republican party.

Before the invention of the cotton gin, slavery  
North and South was almost universally considered  
an evil. It advocates retorted their defence upon  
the plea that it was a necessary evil, under the cir-  
cumstances which surrounded them, but that time would  
provide a remedy. Soon after the invention of the  
cotton gin, slavery began to assume, not only the  
features of a permanent establishment, but the form  
of a controlling agency in our political affairs. This  
was strikingly manifested in the Missouri agita-  
tion of 1819-20. Some eight or ten years later the  
first of our Northern Abolition societies were set in  
motion, including a newspaper organ in Boston, and  
another in this city, a daily paper, called the *Journal  
of Commerce*, started under the auspices of Har-  
thur Tappan, David Hale, and Gerard Hallcock—  
that paper, with all its variations of thirty years,  
has stood fast to that primary idea to which it owes  
its origin, that slavery is an evil, and that emanci-  
pation is a duty. (1)

It was not, however, until 1844 that these North-  
ern anti-slavery movements entered actively and de-  
cisively into the work of our Presidential elections,  
as a Northern political balance of power. In that  
year Mr. Clay, although in sentiment an anti-slavery  
man, was regarded by the Abolitionists as a  
Southern apologist of slavery, and upon this test  
some fifteen thousand Whig votes in this State were  
thrown for Birney, the anti-slavery candidate for  
President, where the election was decided in favor  
of Polk, the pro-slavery Democratic nominee. But,  
upon the same general issue, the tables were turned  
in 1848 against the Democratic party by the in-  
dependent Free Soil Buffalo organization, with Martin  
Van Buren as their Presidential champion. Thus,  
by the division of the Democratic vote of this State,  
Gen. Cass was defeated, and Gen. Taylor was elected  
President. And it is not the least singular feature  
of that election, that the line which was then drawn  
by Van Buren through the centre of the Democratic  
party of New York has never been obliterated, but  
will account for the line drawn through the Demo-  
cratic party in the late Charleston and Baltimore  
Conventions.

In 1852, upon the platform of Mr. Clay's com-  
promise measure of 1850, there was an overwhelm-  
ing reaction, North and South, in favor of peace  
upon the slavery question. Under this conservative  
reaction, the old Whig party was prostrated and  
dissolved, and the anti-slavery agitators, it was  
hoped, were rendered powerless for at least twenty  
years to come. But, in 1854, Messrs. Mason, Jef-  
ferson Davis, Acheson and Douglas, of the United  
States, and poor Pierce, but upon that de-  
serter President and new slave State experiment,  
the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; and from that day to  
this hour the aroused and five times multiplied anti-  
slavery legions of the North have been steadily  
advancing towards the White House, until their oc-  
cupation of it on the 4th of March next appears to  
be an inevitable event.

The simple truth is, that this contest is between  
the anti-slavery sentiment of the North and the pro-  
slavery sentiment of the South. It is the "irre-  
pressible conflict" proclaimed by Wm. H. Seward;  
but it will not result, as he has proclaimed it, in  
making all the States free States or slave States.  
Far otherwise. The most probable result will be  
the withdrawal of the bulk of the slave States from  
the Union, sooner or later, peace or war. But it is  
possible that this conflict may be prolonged until  
there shall appear a party strong enough to main-  
tain slavery within the Union, not only as recog-  
nized by the compact of the Constitution, but upon  
that high moral ground that, as existing in the United  
States, negro slavery is right, is good and proper,  
a divinely ordained institution.

Upon this fundamental issue, the Republican party  
now have all the advantages on their side. Hence  
the solidity of their columns, and hence the distractions  
and divisions among the conservative and pro-  
slavery forces opposed to them. But under a popu-  
lar government like ours, such a Southern institu-  
tion as this of slavery can never be safe until public  
opinion in the North shall have been trained to let  
it go, so far to recognize it right and good as to let  
it alone. Will that day ever come? We know not,  
but we know, for we see, that this Presidential  
contest, for good or evil, is the beginning of the end.

EXECUTION OF THE INCENDIARIES.

We copy from the Austin (Texas) State Gazette  
the following notice of the action of the citizens of  
Dallas, in regard to the late conflagration:—  
The excitement consequent upon the revelations  
made by negroes, under examination, continues un-  
abated. Already nearly a hundred blacks have been  
arrested and examined separately before a committee  
of vigilance appointed for that purpose. This com-  
mittee consists of the most respectable and responsible  
gentlemen of this county, whose proceedings have  
been characterized by the utmost prudence and  
moderation.  
Crowds of men are in Dallas, anxious and eager  
to lend their assistance, and ready to quell every dis-  
turbance that threatens the peace of the State. The  
developments are of the most startling character,  
unfolding the most diabolical plot of the wicked-  
ness of man could invent, to destroy this whole sec-  
tion of our country.

At the town of Lancaster, the same general plot  
was revealed:—to burn the town; to poison the in-  
habitants; to assassinate the aged females, and to  
seize and appropriate the money and handsome fur  
their villainous purposes.  
Monday, July 23d.—An immense concourse of  
people from all parts of the country is here await-  
ing the action of the Committee of Vigilance. The  
stage came in from Waxahachie yesterday, bring-  
ing news of the high state of excitement in that town.  
The conspiracy and insurrectionary spirit extended  
to that place in all the horrid forms contemplated  
at this place. Throughout the country, so far as  
we can learn, the same thing exists. That town  
was destined to be burned, the people to be poisoned  
and slaughtered, and the remaining property to be  
distributed among the victorious blacks. On Red  
Oak Creek, the chief poisoner has been arrested and  
executed. Negroes at Waxahachie have been de-  
tected with the poison in their possession, and a  
runner in town yesterday reports that there have  
been several executions at that place. We have not  
yet received the particulars.

The Committee of Vigilance has been in session  
all day, and this evening they announce that three  
of the ringleaders of the insurrection are to be  
hanged to-morrow.  
TUESDAY, July 24.—This evening at four o'clock,  
the three ringleaders, Sam, Cass and Patrick, were  
escorted from the jail, under a strong guard, to the  
place of execution. An immense concourse of citi-  
zens and negroes assembled. As they passed through  
the town, they surveyed with composure the ruins  
of the once flourishing town, that now lay a black-  
ened mass before them. Patrick remained during  
the whole day, and betrayed no remorse of feeling  
whatever, in view of his approaching doom. He it  
was who fired the town, and the night after its de-  
struction glorified himself for the deed, and pro-  
nounced it to be the commencement of the good work.  
Sam Smith, so called from the name of his master,  
was an old negro preacher, who had imbibed most  
of his villainous principles from two Abolition  
preachers, Blunt and McKinney, who lived in the  
country a year before, and had much intercourse  
with him. Cass had always enjoyed a bad reputa-  
tion. They met their fate with a composure worthy  
of a better cause. Patrick, with unparalleled non-  
chalance, died with a chew of tobacco in his mouth,  
and refused to make any statement whatever.  
They were hung on the bank of the river, above  
the town, and are buried beneath the gallows.  
Investigations are still going on throughout the  
country, all of which tend to confirm the facts elicited  
at this place. The evidence obtained before the  
committee will be published in due time.

INCENDIARISM AND INSURRECTION.

We dislike to allude to the evidences of the insur-  
rectionary tendency of the country. It fills the  
public mind with alarm, and perhaps does no good.  
But it is perfectly apparent that the emissaries of  
Republicanism are secretly operating in the South  
through gentlemen niggers and itinerating Northern  
preachers. In Texas the excitement has been wide-  
spread. In Floyd County, Georgia, a plot was late-  
ly discovered among the negroes, who were planning  
an insurrection between now and Christmas. A  
harness maker was detected in Pine Level, Mont-  
gomery County, Alabama, says the *Mercury*, holding  
improper conversation with slaves.  
A company of men, the Mobile *Mercury* states,  
were detected in tampering with slaves at work on a  
railroad, in course of construction, near Verona.  
The leader of the company was seized, and, after a  
trial, had thirty-nine lashes given him by the negro  
who informed against him. We hold that informa-  
tion like this should be universally known, in order  
that both negroes and strange loafing white men,  
and especially the one-horse invalid preachers from  
the North, may be looked after. The time has come  
when the South must stand square up to aggressors  
of every shade—and religious intermeddlers are ten-  
fold more dangerous than freedom-shrieking poli-  
ticians. We do not mean to counsel distrust of  
those noble and devoted servants of God from abroad,  
who are settled among us; far from it. We have  
no such sectional bigotry. But we would guard  
well against imposition from transient "candles of  
the Lord," lest we suffer them to light the fires of  
insurrection, instead of bearing aloft the light of  
the Gospel.

TWENTY-TWO INSURRECTIONISTS HUNG.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17. According to the Texas  
news in the New Orleans papers of Tuesday, the  
excitement in that State is on the increase. A  
young man had been hung for giving strychnine to  
slaves to put into the wells. A preacher was whil-  
lously treated for being an active abolitionist, while  
twenty others were hung for exciting the slaves to  
insurrection. These events took place in different  
parts of the State.  
Frequent incendiary and poisoning attempts were  
reported.  
Although the towns of Henderson had been nearly  
consumed by fire, the people seemed unwilling to  
put faith in the truth of the conspiracy.

The Glimmer Tribune reports the arrest of  
three negroes in that town on the 19th. They had  
in their possession passes, papers, and various docu-  
ments, way-bills to the Indian Nation, pistols, pow-  
der, caps, and writing materials. They said they  
were from Henderson county. The house of Dr.  
W. W. Sibley, of Lamar county, was fired by a ne-  
gro on the 16th, and completely burned.

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but we know, for we see, that this Presidential  
contest, for good or evil, is the beginning of the end.

JOHN BROWN, JR., TO THE PRESIDENT  
OF HAYTI.—AN INTERESTING LET-  
TER.

We have received, says the New York Evening  
Post, the *Moniteur Haitien* of July 7th, containing  
the following letter, translated in French by M.  
De Doucet, Secretary of the Police of Hayti. In  
re-translating in English, we may not hit the exact  
language of the original as written by Mr. Brown:  
To His Excellency General Fabre Geffard, Presi-  
dent of the Republic of Hayti:  
Words full of consolation have come to me, and  
those who in this country cherish liberty, equality  
and fraternity. They inform us that the good peo-  
ple of your republic have given us a unanimous  
manifestation of their grief on the occasion of the  
execution of my lamented father, Captain John  
Brown, and his companions in arms.  
Allow me in behalf of the members of my family  
who are not yet fallen victims beneath the iron rod  
of the slaveholders in America, to say to you, and  
through you to all the good Haytiens, that we en-  
tertain for you a most cordial sympathy. Although  
your country is far from ours, and though we speak  
different languages, we nevertheless feel that hearts  
can meet, notwithstanding intervening distances; we  
remember that God has formed of one blood all the  
inhabitants of the earth.  
Haytiens, brothers and sisters, here, in this land  
of slaves, the warmest friends of your race are  
watching you to observe how you refute the defama-  
tion of the African is incapable of self-govern-  
ment. You have given proof of your ability as  
soldiers. Without other assistance than that you  
found in your own energy and valor, you have  
thrown off and broken the yoke of the tyrant, and  
obliged him to seek refuge on the ocean. Your  
enemies themselves all you have; your friends  
are the slaves of Hayti, and magnanimous. The  
entire world to-day beholds in you the sublime ap-  
pointment of a people who, knowing the value of the  
liberty they have conquered, have arrived at that stage  
of progress which permits them to extend a gener-  
ous sympathy to their oppressed brethren in a for-  
eign land.

In this you have proven that spirit of progress  
which is the omen of your future grandeur, and  
the guaranty of the accomplishment of our most  
brilliant hopes—the reign of universal emancipation.  
We have heard how a slave power seized one of  
your most noble champions (Thomas L'Ouverture)  
and cast him into a cold, damp dungeon, where he  
died of hunger. In our country, fine, imprison-  
ment, hot iron, or the gibbet is the portion of those  
who will not prostrate themselves before the Moloch  
of slavery. Nevertheless, in spite of all these chastise-  
ments, we are not discouraged.  
The mutilated body can disappear; but the soul  
survives it.  
So it is then only the body of Toussaint L'Ouverture  
which sleeps in the tomb; his soul visits the  
cabins of the slaves of the South when night is  
spread over the face of nature. The cars of our  
American slaves hear his voice in the wind-gusts  
which sweep over the prairies of Texas, of Arkansas  
and Missouri; his voice finds an echo in the im-  
mense valleys of Florida, among the pines of the  
Carolinians, in the Dismal Swamp and upon the  
mountain tops, proclaiming that the despots of  
America shall yet know the strength of the toiler's  
arm, and that he who would be free must himself  
strike the first blow.

Such is the aspiration of the sincere friend of both.  
JOHN BROWN, JR.  
Jefferson, Ashabula Co., Ohio, April 16th, 1860.

FROM THE MADISON (WIS.) JOURNAL, 6th.

PURSUIT OF SHERMAN M. BOOTH.—THE  
MARSHALS RESISTED BY HIS FRIENDS  
—HIS SECOND ESCAPE.  
Sherman M. Booth has now difficulties,  
and success more than that the first. He addressed  
some twenty men, armed with rifles and an uncount-  
ed crowd, on Saturday evening, 4th inst.,  
at Ripon, Wisconsin. He showed his pistol now  
and then, and called it his "little hobbes corpus."  
While he was pitching into the marshals pretty  
strong, and into one who had offered to arrest him  
for \$1,000 with special vehemence, Frank McCarty,  
of Fond du Lac, stepped from the crowd on the side  
of the platform, and saying, "Mr. Booth, I have  
a writ for you," grasped his coat collar. Booth  
dashed his hand in his pocket for his "hobbes cor-  
pus," but before he could get it out, a dozen men  
jumped behind them, and Frank was twenty feet  
off before he now touched him. A cry of  
'put him up,' 'kill him,' arose from all parts  
of the house, and what with the shrieks of the women  
and the shouts of the men, and the upsetting of  
benches, and the rush of everybody to the centre,  
we had a perfect rush of Pandemonium for a few  
minutes. Frank looked down the barrels of a num-  
ber of revolvers in a very short time. A stalwart  
man strode through the thick of the fight, and  
sent some twenty men, armed with rifles and an uncount-  
ed crowd, some thirty feet. It was some time before  
matters got quiet inside; but when order was re-  
stored, the people organized a "league of freedom"  
to protect Booth from the marshals. A committee  
of safety was appointed, and then the whole crowd  
started, Booth to Prof. Daniel's house. They then  
selected a guard—armed them, and agreed to meet  
the next day, (Sunday,) at 3 P. M., and then dis-  
persed. To-day, fresh arrivals of marshals added  
to the excitement. Booth was escorted Sunday by  
some twenty men, armed with rifles and an uncount-  
ed crowd. He made a speech, repeating the story  
of his persecutions. Resolutions pledging protec-  
tion to him, and not very complimentary to the  
marshals, were passed. The City Hall was offered  
them, and they accepted it as their head quarters,  
and the people, in immense procession, adjourned  
thither. Sentinels and guards were distributed  
around and within it, and it was placed in a state  
of siege. After some deliberation, a committee was  
organized to the marshals, McCarty, Henry, Striker,  
and Garlick, advising them to leave town.  
The marshals refused to receive any message unless it  
was in writing. A long discussion ensued between  
them. The committee finally reduced their proposi-  
tion to writing, and the marshals gave a written an-  
swer, the substance of which was, that they were  
here to arrest Booth; and that they would go away  
when they had completed their business. The com-  
mittee came back and reported, whereupon the peo-  
ple organized a club of minute men. The pro-  
spective object is known only to its members—whether  
to mob the marshals, or merely to protect Booth.  
These proceedings occurred about ten o'clock Sun-  
day evening. On Monday morning, Booth had dis-  
appeared.

The Detroit Tribune has a letter dated 6th inst.,  
giving further particulars of the events at Ripon.  
When Deputy Marshal McCarty had been driven  
from the hall, order was partially restored, and it  
was resolved that "Mr. Booth should not be arrested  
in Ripon," amidst deafening shouts and cries. Prof.  
Daniels immediately moved the organization of a  
League of Freedom, pledged to resist any attempt to

EXECUTE THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW, AND THE APPOINT-  
MENT OF VIGILANCE COMMITTEES, TO CARRY ITS PURPOSES  
INTO EFFECT.

On Sunday, people came pouring in  
from the country, and a mass meeting was held in a  
grove. The streets were crowded with excited peo-  
ple, and Mr. Booth was strongly guarded by his  
friends. On Monday morning, comparative order  
and quiet reigned; the City Hall was vacant, Mr.  
Booth was gone, the public did not know whether  
Report said he was on his way to Milwaukee, with  
the marshals in pursuit.

FROM THE ASHTABULA SENTINEL.

JOSEPH R. GIDDINGS TO WENDELL  
PHILLIPS.  
WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq.:—Dear Sir,—I read your  
amendment upon Mr. Lincoln with some interest.  
The idea which you tacitly advance, that members  
of Congress hold and desire the adoption of all  
the measures contained in bills which they present,  
involves the reputation of all who have served in  
Congress. I speak for the truth of history.  
You state your charge as follows:—  
"ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE SLAVE-HOUND OF ILLI-  
NOIS.—We gibbet another hound to-day, side by side  
with the infamous Mason of Virginia. Mason's slave  
bill is based on that clause of the United States Con-  
stitution which provides for the surrender of slaves  
escaping from one State into another State of the  
Union. The Supreme Court of the United States has  
decided that the District of Columbia is not a State,  
within the meaning of the Constitution. [See Hep-  
burn v. Ellzey, 2 Cranch, 445.] The District of  
Columbia is not, therefore, included in the terms of  
the Fugitive Slave clause. Whoever tries to extend  
the dominion of the slave over the District of  
Columbia exhibits only his voluntary baseness, can  
have no pretence of constitutional obligation, out-  
rages Mason, and stamps himself a hound of special  
"slavery."  
This deed Abraham Lincoln, Republican candidate  
for President, has done! Here are the facts:—  
Extract from a bill suggested by Hon. Abraham  
Lincoln to the U. S. House of Representatives, Janu-  
ary 10, 1849. [See Congressional Globe, appendix,  
2d Session, 36th Congress, p. 212.]  
"Section 5. That the municipal authorities of  
Washington and Georgetown, within their respective  
jurisdictional limits, are hereby empowered and au-  
thorized to provide active and efficient means to arrest  
and deliver up to their owners ALL FUGITIVE  
SLAVES escaping into said District."  
Observe his proposition: it provides no safeguards,  
no jury trial; takes no care to prevent free men from  
being carried off as slaves. In these respects, it is  
worse than even Mason's bill. The municipal au-  
thorities are to "provide active and efficient means."  
You speak of Abraham Lincoln as the candidate  
of the Republican party for President. He holds  
that honor in consequence of having avowed his  
convictions, "that all men are created equal; that  
they are endowed by their Creator with certain in-  
alienable rights; that among these are life, liberty,  
and the pursuit of happiness; and that to secure these  
rights, governments are instituted among men, de-  
riving their just powers

Union; timid men hesitated, conservatives begged and prayed the advocates of freedom not to sever the Union; the radical Abolitionists cried, "Down with the Union," while wickedness and stupidity combined to charge members of Congress with the alleged political heresies entertained by the friends of Mr. Garrison. Amid these scenes, the friends of the slave in Congress were constrained to keep their eyes upon the battle-field, to see that their ranks were armed and firm. In that hour of Freedom's danger, Abraham Lincoln was with them. On every call of the press and says the official record, "show him at his post. Fearful, and true to his own convictions, he faltered not, but carried out in practice the doctrine which he enunciated, by presenting the bill of which you complain. And even when Gen. Taylor and his cabinet surrendered to what they supposed a necessity, and exerted their influence to induce members of Congress to give way, and accept an amendment to the civil and diplomatic bill organizing a government in California without excluding slavery, Lincoln sustained his position, and with his associates on the last night of the 30th Congress, amid excitement and violence, resisted the influence of the out-going, as well as of the in-coming administration, and saved an empire from bondage.

Eleven years of subsequent study, thought and observation have brought Mr. Lincoln to the satisfactory conclusion that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are gifts of God, constituting the rights of men, for the protection of which governments are instituted. In our Territories, in the District of Columbia, and upon the high seas, our Federal Government holds exclusive jurisdiction. There Mr. Lincoln stands pledged, by every obligation that can rest upon him, to maintain, to the full extent of his moral and official powers, those rights which pertain to the human soul. To the fugitive slaves, to the slaves in our Southern States, to the serfs of Russia, to the oppressed throughout the world, he stands pledged, to the extent of his moral and official influence, to support the measures which God has given them. Mr. Lincoln stands pledged, as any man, to his God, to his country, to his fellow-men, to his posterity. These are the truths which all true men would gladly maintain.

Your friend,  
J. R. GIDDINGS.  
Jefferson, July 30, 1860.

**MR. LINCOLN AND THE COLORED FOLKS.**

The views of Abraham Lincoln on the subject of human equality may be found in the following extracts from his speeches, as contained in the volume of "Joint Debates of Douglas and Lincoln," sold by A. Williams & Co., Boston:—

"I have said that I do not understand the Declaration to mean that all men are created equal in all respects. Certainly, the negro is not our equal in color—perhaps not in many other respects."—p. 63.

"What next? Free them, and make them socially and politically our equals? My own feelings do not admit of this."—p. 74.

"Our opinion is, that it would be best for all concerned to have the colored population all in a State by themselves. In this I agree."—p. 125.

"I will say, then, I am not and never have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes; nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with whites; and I will say farther, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the black and white races, which I believe will forever forbid the two races from living together on terms of social and political equality."—pp. 186, 193.

"I agree with Judge Douglas, that the negro is not our equal in many respects, certainly not in color—perhaps not in intellectual and moral endowments."—p. 75.

"In this contest, I did not at any time say I was in favor of negro suffrage. Twice—once substantially, and once expressly—I declared against it."

"I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races."—p. 194.

"I tell them very frankly, I am not in favor of negro citizenship."—p. 157.

QUESTION.—What do Messrs. Wilson, Burlingame, John B. Alay, Elias Wright, Francis W. Bird, Charles Sumner, John A. Andrew, editor of the New Bedford Standard, John Milton Earle, Peter B. Brigham, and C. F. Adams, think of these sentiments of 'honest old Abe'?

**A SOUTHERN CONFAB ABOUT LINCOLN.**

At one of our hotels very recently, a Southern gentleman—one of the largest slaveholders of the South—was quietly wending his way to bed, when some half dozen of his acquaintances from the same State demanded his presence while they counselled upon the necessity of taking immediate measures for organizing a Southern Confederacy upon the election of Lincoln. He combated their folly, and insisted that Lincoln's election would be the most fortunate event for the South that could possibly occur, because in his judgment the success of any Republican candidate would, within six months after his inauguration, forever put an end to slavery agitation. The rights of the South, he insisted, would be far safer in the hands of such men as Seward or Lincoln, than they ever had been under Democratic rule; because, while they would necessarily prevent the extension of slavery into free Territory, they would scrupulously stand by all the constitutional rights of the slave States, and exercise a moral influence at the North far more to a faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, and adverse to the interference of a handful of troublesome Abolitionists, who incendiary conduct was disgusting Republicans, at the same time that scheming Democratic leaders privately encouraged their interference with the South in order to foster slavery excitement. He insisted, therefore, that Lincoln's election would be a great national blessing, and peculiarly beneficial to the South, as the harbinger of the return of peace and harmony in its relations with the North, and as a reason for getting rid of corrupt and selfish political leaders, who held their interest in fostering sectional feeling at the South, by deceiving the people in regard to the intentions and purposes of the Republican party.—N. Y. Courier & Enquirer.

In giving an account of a recent interview with Mr. Lincoln at his own home, a correspondent of the New York Herald says:—

"He said that many people in the South were obliged to sustain slavery, although they secretly abhorred the institution. He would protect the South in its institutions as they exist, and said that Southerners did not comprehend the position of the Republicans in regard to slavery. The Southern mind, he said, was laboring under the delusion that the Republicans were to liberate the slaves, who would apply to their masters to the fields and dwellings of their masters, massacre old and young, and produce a state of general anarchy and bloodshed in the South. He swept this assumption away by a decisive denial of its correctness. He said he would like to go South, and talk to the Southerners on this topic, were it not that the minds of some were so inflamed against him that they would not listen to his reasoning, but, on the other hand, might be inclined to inflict Lynch law upon his person, should he appear among them."

Hon. J. M. Harris, M. C., from Maryland, at a Ball and Everett meeting at New Brunswick, New Jersey, said, concerning Mr. Lincoln:—

"When Abraham Lincoln is elected, what practical thing is he to do in connection with slavery? I believe the first act of his administration will be to nationalize the party. He will endeavor to strengthen it South, and weaken it North. (Great applause from Republicans.) Is there a Republican who would vote for him, if he didn't believe he would make his administration a national one? Why, then, don't you make it the party of the country before the election? I have no fears of the Republican party. I have mingled in Congress for years with Republicans, and I haven't heard the first man of them say that they were going to interfere with the institution of slavery."

**SPEECH OF PARKER PILLBURY.**

At First of August Celebration at Milford, Mass.

MR. CHAIRMAN—I have often said that there was no American association or institution based on principle, except the association of abolitionists,—perhaps better known as Garrisonian abolitionists. It has often been charged that this was a false representation; and I have repeatedly had the cause of Temperance cited as an instance of exception.

We have just now seen at least one demonstration as to the fidelity of the cause of Temperance to the principles of humanity. I have long known that that cause, including its secret associations, and also the order of Odd-Fellows, as it used to be called, and is perhaps called still, were liable to this same charge; and I have sometimes endeavored to bring that charge before the community and before the public. For it seemed to me a matter of too serious moment to pass unnoticed. I never found in my own mind too good an apology for it; and that is, that we perhaps do wrong to expect a higher code, or tone of moral sentiment in those philanthropic associations, so called, than we find in the churches of the country; and, inasmuch as the churches and pulpits set the example, it is not remarkable that institutions and associations, claiming far less in the scale of righteousness and religion, should pursue the course they do. I believe, however, it is still true, and has been true ever since the Anti-Slavery movement began, that there is no institution in these United States, founded on principle, except the Anti-Slavery cause.

Nobody seems to understand the word Principle, at this time; and that is not the only word of which we have lost the meaning. I should make a very different dictionary for this country from Webster's of Worcester's—and I take no interest in this battle of dictionaries, for I think they are both wrong; at least, I think they both fail to represent truly the American idea of a good many words. We talk of principle. We hear the word from the mouths of politicians. I hear men speak it in the pulpit,—though not very often, for I don't believe in going there. It is said, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," so I stay away. But sometimes in the pulpit I hear the minister announce his text, and then begin to say, "In the discussion of this principle, I shall first inquire what this means, then what that means, and, thirdly, what the other means." I don't believe, in the first place, that generally he knows what that will discuss—for I know of no pulpit that will discuss any question. And then, when you come to the word principle, it is always, in the pulpit as well as on the political rostrum, merely a thing of compromise, never of principle. With me, the word principle is one of mighty meaning. It is rule and law, sweeping round the universe, like parallels of latitude and longitude, circumscribing the globe. And there should be no deviations. Really, there are and can be none.

The other day, there was an eclipse of the sun; a most remarkable phenomenon, which everybody witnessed with interest and delight. We know that that eclipse has been calculated for many years, perhaps for many ages. For such is the unerring accuracy in the march of the heavenly bodies, it is easy to calculate an eclipse ages before it takes place. So the laws that govern the moral universe are equally sure. I talk of something by which the eclipses might be calculated in the moral universe as well as those of the planets in the solar system. But so such meaning is usually attached to the word. So you find these 'Sons of Temperance' talking about 'adherence to principle.' I am glad they are called 'Sons of Temperance.' God forbid they should be called Fathers, until they learn language better! The politicians, too, talk of principle, all of them. But, is there any principle in any political party? Is there any political party that really believes in the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence? I see all through your streets flags consecrated to the cause of Republicanism—and then there is the 'Old Gentlemen's' flag, with Bell and Everett; and then we have, dear me! how many others? I don't know the names of all of them—I am very glad to say that with truth. They are each of them talking about principle. Is there any principle in any political party? Is there any political party that will treat the colored man better than the 'Sons of Temperance' do? Most emphatically is it true that the Republican party stands among the foremost in hatred to the African race. Lincoln has said, he 'never saw a man, woman or child that believed in the equal rights of the colored race.' Lincoln has lived long in Illinois—a portion of Illinois is called 'Egypt.' I think it all might well be called Egypt, for his sake. I say, when we talk about principle in this country, we talk about that which is but little known.

We heard something, just now, on the results of West India Emancipation. There again the same philosophy appears. We have to meet the question on this low ground, to suit the grovelling cupidity of the times. But when we reason in that way, we seem almost to concede that if Emancipation has resulted unfavorably to commerce and to trade, why then Emancipation is to be proscribed, and there is good ground for returning to the system of slavery. Men count up the bags of coffee, the boxes of sugar, the hogsheads of molasses, and the puncheons of rum, that were produced and exported under the slave system; and then they count again those same commodities under the other system, with the idea prominent, that if the commercial balance be in favor of slavery, then let us have slavery; if otherwise, we will consent to consider if we shall not, in some future time, or in eternity, it may be, emancipate the slaves. Mr. Chairman, I hate that morality, and set it down in the same category with the kind of principle and discussion that is so prevalent. I will never assent to the doctrine that the right is to be estimated by its commercial results. Right can never result badly, nor certainly can never result otherwise. Any other doctrine is atheism itself.

Now, then, what matter is it, how many bags of coffee, or how many boxes of sugar, or how many hogsheads of molasses were exported from the British West Indies under freedom, or under slavery? We are not here to estimate the question of Liberty in any such way; nor to weigh manhood, freedom, justice and righteousness in any such balances. I care not, so far as commercial interests are concerned, what are the results of emancipation. Be it that there was a failure in a merely mercantile point of view—what then? Be it, that there should be a total suspension of commerce;—be it, that there should be an extermination of the tyrants themselves, and all their households;—be it, that the very Isles themselves, smitten with horror, should hasten to sink back again to the womb of the ocean, from whence they were born—why, this would be no more than the morality of heathenism, two thousand years ago; for the doctrine then, was, 'Fiat justitia, ruat cælum!'—Be justice done, though the very heavens fall! Shall we say less, in calculating the value of human freedom, or in making up our account of the value of emancipation? No; I will not consent to consider the subject in any lower-law light, lest I seem to surrender the principle of universal justice and righteousness.

Fortunately, however, as indicated in the letter which was read from Mr. Garrison, and which I hope will be published with the proceedings of this meeting, there were no disastrous results attending that glorious movement; for, from that period to the present, there has been a constant, steady, uniform growth of material property, as well as of mental and moral improvement, throughout these Islands. And it is too late for objections to be made on that ground; the men who raise them are not worthy of consideration. Rather, they are too blind to see, though all the lights of heaven shine into their paralyzed eye-balls, or they are too dense to admit the facts,

though written in sunbeams, and spoken in inscriptions all divine. Then, again, the same historical fact holds true in other instances of emancipation. The French Revolution, bloody as it is represented to be, fearful in many of its features as it actually was, the French Revolution began by an act of benevolence and humanity surrounding it almost with a halo of glory. Six hundred thousand slaves were emancipated by a single stroke of the pen. Talk of the bloody spirit of Robespierre, and the fierce malice of Marat and Danton, and horrible as his history before the world, they performed at least one act of justice and humanity sufficient to eclipse almost the glories of your own Washington and the founders of the American Republic. For, whereas they began by decreeing chattel slavery, and fastening it with bolt and chain upon the American system, the French Revolutionists baptized their movement with the grandest event which honors the close of the eighteenth century. And six hundred thousand emancipated slaves sang the advent of the French Revolution with an accent as pure and holy as the angels on the plains of Judea hymned the song of triumph at the birth of the Babe of Bethlehem. (Cheers.) Then, again, ten years prior to this event, Gen. Lafayette—a name well known in American history—Gen. Lafayette gave to the world one of the most remarkable, one of the most striking demonstrations of the safety of justice and righteousness, on the grand as well as on the smaller scale. He purchased of the French crown the beautiful possessions of Cayenne. Thirty thousand dollars was the price; and thousands of slaves had long bedewed the soil with their tears and blood. The first act of the noble hero, after the purchase, was to emancipate every slave. They gathered together the whips, manacles, and the whole bloody paraphernalia of the system, and made a burnt offering in one of the public places. All the victims stood around, and before that altar thus flaming with such a sacrifice, their liberty was proclaimed; and their songs of rejoicing swelled up to heaven, mingling with the incense that ascended from the altar. Then, again, from 1816 to 1829, in the South American Republics, and in Mexico, there were witnessed demonstrations of a similar character. In those years, the South American Republics threw off the Spanish yoke, under which they had been long suffering, and signaled their own glorious emancipation by the emancipation of their slaves—until Brazil was the only one remaining where the curse still lingered.

In 1821, Mexico threw off the Spanish yoke. On the 16th of September of that year, she proclaimed herself free; the nations acknowledged her independence, and from that time she was no more under a foreign yoke. Slavery still continued. The religion was Roman Catholic. The adherence of the people to their own religion was deep and strong. Seven years after their own emancipation from a foreign yoke, they celebrated their national birth-day—their 'Fourth of July'—by an act worthy of that day; by an act which should hallow that day in history; forever and ever—an act which will be ever memorable in Mexican history; for on that day, the 16th of September, 1829, they proclaimed liberty throughout all their land, to all the inhabitants thereof. At that time, their land included Texas. It was peopled largely by planters from our own slaveholding States. They refused to acknowledge the righteous mandate, and there was Southern malignity manifested in precisely the same degree and kind as we afterwards saw in Kansas. The United States Government could render no open sympathy or aid. But the final result was, Texas was able, by our indirect interference, to resist the Mexican authorities, and threw herself into the possession of the United States. The slave system still exists, which Roman Catholic Mexico had endeavored to abolish forever. Now, I suppose I need not speak of the results of that act, on the part of the United States. Events transpired and deeds were done, which men in their blindness, or in their depravity, signalized by the good name of war—and hence, we have, as a part of our history, the Mexican War. I deny to it any such name. Much as I hate war, and all its bloody deeds and scenes, I deny that the Mexican *Massacre* deserves any such honorable name. The Mexican *Butchery* I would call it, for seventy-five thousand innocent men, women and children were sacrificed on the bloody altars of slavery, to appease the wrath of the god for daring to resist his reign, so far as to strike off the chains from the limbs of so many slaves. Such was the sad doom visited upon Mexico by the demon-divinity of slavery. And this Protestant country, self-declared as the executioner, stands guilty in history, and will in judgment, of the blood of those murdered thousands.

But emancipation in Mexico has not proved a failure. Slavery in Texas has proved a failure, as everybody knows who knows anything of its character—not to speak of its present bloody prospects. I might go farther, and cite other instances where the act of emancipation, performed in the abruptest manner, without the slightest preparation, has been crowned with the Divine favor, as it always is, performed in obedience to the Divine command.

Now, Mr. Chairman, as I said, there is no need of argument; and I do not, while I thus speak, mean that we are under obligation to prove whether emancipation is right or otherwise. The truth is, what God commands, God expects will be obeyed, and He will take care of the consequences. Our morality is like our view of discussion, and like our view of principle—it is a matter of habit, a matter of convenience, of conventionalism, or of constitutions. Men are righteous, or what we call righteous, not because it is right, but only because hell is threatened as a consequence of unrighteousness. If by some mighty hydraulic principle or power, I could condense all the floods of heaven, and pour them in one mighty deluge upon the fires of hell, and extinguish them forever, how many of you would be willing to assert that the doctrine of the 'Perseverance of the saints' would be popular another year longer? (Applause.) Men are righteous—what they call righteous—because they dare be nothing else. They would, if they dare. The language of everybody is, almost, to the stinner, as we call him, 'You are having your good time now—by-and-bye, we will have ours. We have to bear the cross now; we are in the wilderness, away from home; we are in bondage, but you are in a glorious liberty. By-and-bye, we shall get the liberty, and then there will you be?'

Mr. Chairman, I say that religion is all falsehood. A man who is righteous only because he dare be nothing else, is a slave; and there is a mighty difference, in my estimation, between the word *slave* and *slave*. To wear the yoke easily, gracefully and joyfully, how few there are who know anything about it! Instead, we are called upon, in becoming Christians, to renounce the world and its pleasures; and hell is threatened if we don't, and heaven is promised if we do. Now, I don't believe God has made this beautiful world to be 'renounced,' nor do I believe that God looks with displeasure upon an innocent and proper amusement and pleasure. I don't believe in that disfigured-faced religion, that puts on sackcloth, and goes mourning and mumping through the world, hoping that the more misery it may make for itself here, the more heaven it will find hereafter.

But that is the religion out of which comes this doctrine of calculating the consequences of emancipation. And so we have rewards and punishments applied to everything. The question is, 'Will it pay?'—and the conclusion thus determined, that torments through eternity in hell wait pay, and the joys and glories of heaven will pay, each sets about seeking heaven in his own way. The fish man believes what is told him—what I heard a minister, a very popular preacher and Theological Professor, say

"Is it worth you seek? Why, heaven's streets are paved with gold! What miser would not accept heaven on such terms? But who of you would be willing to be commissioned as street sweeper, if many such men were admitted within the portals? They would dig up the very pavements, and coin them into doubloons, to fill their celestial coffers."

It is time we had another doctrine preached than this, and men should be taught that righteousness and justice and humanity are not to be considered merely in connection with the 'recompense of future reward.' Righteousness is right, heaven or no heaven; justice and virtue and liberty are heaven here, and I will not concern myself about the hereafter. If this book teach injustice and then, that there is no heaven and no hell, or that there are both, what is that to me? I know that injustice is wrong; I know that its results must be fatal to human peace and human happiness; and, consequently, I will not ask whether heaven be at the end of one course, or hell at the termination of the other. I stand here surrounded with an entire atmosphere of the spirit and nature of God, and I will proclaim righteousness to be right, and true freedom to be heaven and happiness, without regard to future consequences—(great applause)—though I know, by so doing, I am compelled to tread all the high places of the Church under my feet.

But, Mr. Chairman, I am perhaps speaking too long. I was suddenly and unexpectedly called to this platform, and I complied, because my friends had not then arrived. Since they have arrived, and our minds are relieved of all apprehension on their account, and since the morning is so far spent, I will, perhaps, occupy a few moments longer, and give them more uninterrupted opportunities at the other sessions of the meeting.

I have been referring only to the results of emancipation in those countries wherein it has been practiced. There is one other general fact, to which I wish to call your attention, in connection with our country. From 1770, when the battles of the American Revolution actually began—(for, be it known to you, that the first blood of the American Revolution was not shed at Lexington, nor was it the blood of your revolutionary sires; but the first blood of the American Revolution was the blood of a colored man, and was shed five years before the scenes at Lexington were enacted)—from that day, down to the present period, there has been one general fact, of a most appalling character, undeniably true, and that is this: That while the revolutionary struggle in this country seemed to give an impetus to the cause of liberty elsewhere, throughout the world, there was a terrible reactionary shock in our own nation. While every civilized nation of the globe has, in that time, been advancing in the scale of human elevation and disenthralment, our course and career have been one of constant, uniform retrogression, until, from Washington in the Presidential chair, we have now a James Buchanan, not to speak of his late illustrious predecessors; and instead of John Jay at the head of the Supreme Bench of the United States, we have that last refuse and dregs of humanity, in the half putrid body and Jesuit soul of Roger B. Taney! Such has been the decline in officers, such has been the decline in the popular sentiment of the country. You know it says, somewhere, 'like people, like priests.' This is as true in politics as in religion. Why has the French nation at this moment a Napoleon? Because it is fit for no other. And yet, France is rapidly advancing in the scale of mental and moral culture and elevation. Why have we such rulers, bastards and bloods as we have? Why, they are the legitimate growth of the moral sentiment of the country. Why do your beautifully cultivated and verdant fields produce the luxuriant corn? Because the soil, by your culture, is suited for its growth. Why are the poisonous miasms and deadly vegetation from your swamps and morasses? For the reason that the soil produces that which is in itself, and that which produces death has death as its own element and in its composition. It is death, of death begotten and born. So in the moral and spiritual world. In the ancient Hebrew stories of our first parentage, Adam bent in sin in his own image. And James Buchanan is the youngest begotten of the American Conscience and Character. Who does not see that the parentage is unquestionable, beyond dispute?

It is not so in other lands. While we have been thus retrograding, in every other civilized country, nay, in many of the half-civilized countries, for the last half century, the march of progress, of human elevation, has been steady, if not rapidly onward. Why, then the barbarians on the African coast, more than twenty years ago, proclaimed liberty to their captives. The present year is signalized by the breaking of the chains of serfdom, on the necks and limbs of the subjects of the Czar. Garibaldi is now laboring in behalf of Italian freedom. The fires of liberty are kindled, and throughout Europe the genius of liberty is flying, beautiful as a bird of Paradise, proclaiming human elevation and deliverance to the myriads that dwell between the Mediterranean and Arctic seas. And where are we, as a people, at this time? Echo answers, where?

Four political candidates for the Presidency are in the field. The telegraph brings tidings to-day that a fifth has already presented his claims, and insists on running, as it is called. He is a candidate from Texas, of which I have spoken. Texas, that valley of all conceivable villainies; Texas, wrung from her just rights by American bayonets—she puts in her claims with the other States, and Sam Houston, famous for his deeds in the Mexican massacre, stands this morning before the nation as a fifth candidate for presidential distinctions. The more of them the better.

But there is one other cheering consideration. The telegraph brings us glad news, which I had the pleasure of reading at the opening of the meeting. You are aware, I suppose, of the long imprisonment in Milwaukee of Sherman M. Booth, for just that kind of action which this Book says heaven is to be the reward for committing. For his zeal in emancipating, or in preventing the return of a slave to bondage, Sherman M. Booth had fallen into the jaws of the government. For months he has lingered in a Wisconsin prison. The last effort and power on the part of the people had been exhausted, and still he lay there. The 'Fourth of July' came—he wished to address the people from the grates of his prison; but this was refused him. His father, an old man over seventy, had come hundreds of miles to visit him; they would not permit him to enter the prison. His wife has been permitted to see him once a week only. A friend sent him a box of strawberries, but he was not allowed to receive it. The sight of newspapers has been kept from him, except those approved by the Marshal under whose charge he has been; and so, out of all my sympathy, what was there remaining? Tell me, you who have read of the Revolution of 1776, in the name of God, I ask, what aggravations had your fathers like these?

His friends could bear this state of things no longer, and they resorted to force. Who does not rejoice? Sherman M. Booth, last night, was liberated by violence, and to-day is free! (Cheers.) An armed force entered, while his keepers were out at dinner, and so only one remained in charge, they overcame him, seized his victim, and bore him off in triumph. If that was treason, let the Government make the most of it. Would that I might have been there! If there be guilt, let me be implicated in the guilt; let me be held responsible with others for whatever consequences may follow that brave deed. The spirit of revolution is not wholly dead in our own country. Let us take the cause of Freedom into our hands,

and the First of August shall not be an imported festival, but we will have one of domestic manufacture, and cherish it as pleasure.

**LONDON EMANCIPATION COMMITTEE'S ADDRESS TO DR. CHEEVER.**

On Wednesday afternoon, the 1st of August, prior to the great public meeting in the evening at Spaffields Chapel, a Service was given by the respected Treasurer of the Committee, Dennis McDermott, Esq., at his residence, No. 65 Pentonville Road. Amongst the ladies and gentlemen assembled on the occasion were the following: Mr. George Thompson, Chairman, and Mr. F. W. Chesson, Honorary Secretary of the Committee; the Rev. J. Stoughton, Editor of the *Evangelical Magazine*, and Minister of the Congregational Chapel, Kensington; the Rev. Daniel Ace, B. A., Curate of St. Stephens, Bow; the Rev. T. Chapman, M. A., Incumbent of the parish of Aldgate; Rev. D. Arcey, M. A., Incumbent of Wandsworth; Rev. T. James, (brother of the late John Angell James), Secretary of the Colonial Missionary Society; Rev. J. C. Galloway, M. A., Minister of the Congregational Church, Kilburn; Rev. W. O'Neill, M. A., Minister of Broad Street Chapel, City of London, (formerly the chapel of Dr. Isaac Watts); Rev. W. H. Bonner, pastor of Trinity Chapel, Southwark; Rev. T. Jones, Blackheath; Rev. W. Jones, Islington; Capt. Maclain; Capt. Kennedy, of Canada, Commander of Lady Franklin's Expedition to the Arctic regions, and discoverer of Bellot's Straits; Mr. Washburn, of Abergevenny, and Mrs. Washburn (sister of Dr. Cheever); Mr. and Mrs. McDermott; Mr. Thompson, and Mrs. Norworthy and Mrs. Chesson (daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Thompson); Mr. Angus Jennings, Mrs. R. D. Webb, of Dublin, and Mrs. Harvey; Mr. R. L. Corran, Superintendent of the Spicer Street Mission; Mr. and Mrs. William Craft; Mr. A. R. Ishler, M. A., of the College of Preceptors, and Professor in the London University; Mr. Clark, of the *Christian World*; Mr. Farmer, editor of the *Cherwell News*; Mr. Whitaker, of Blackheath, and Mr. Washburn, Jr., &c.

After the repeat, and when every guest had been introduced to Dr. Cheever, the company assembled in the spacious drawing-room, when Mr. George Thompson took the chair, with Dr. Cheever seated at his right hand.

The Chairman rose and said: The members of the London Emancipation Committee, formed in this metropolis for the promotion of the abolition of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world, but more especially with a view to cooperation with the friends of emancipation in the United States, have met and unanimously adopted an Address to our distinguished guest, now present, the Rev. Dr. Cheever, who is accompanied by his estimable wife, also amongst us, who nobly shares (and joyfully, too) all his persecutions, his labors, and his glory. (Cheers.) It would be inconvenient, and indeed undesirable, on this occasion, to present our address apart from the grand body of the guests now assembled under this roof, and it will therefore be presented in your presence. Let it be distinctly understood, however, that none are committed to the sentiments contained in this document but the members of the Committee. We alone are responsible for the language we have employed, the introduction of the names which have been mentioned, and for the principles which are herein commended. If, however, ladies and gentlemen, when you shall have heard it, you should feel disposed to confirm it by your approval, its value will be enhanced in the eyes of its recipient, and the Committee will rejoice in your confirmation of the views and feelings we have expressed in the address to our honored and beloved friend, which Mr. Chesson will now read. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Chesson then read the address, which was listened to with profound attention, and at its close the satisfaction of the assembly was evinced by loud applause:—

REVEREND AND MUCH ESTEEMED SIR: We gladly embrace the opportunity which your arrival and temporary sojourn in this city affords us, of making known to you, personally and officially, the sentiments of high regard with which your character has inspired us, and our sincere admiration of the exalted and humane purposes to which you have devoted your noble abilities, with which it has pleased the Master whom you serve to endow you.

Your name—familiar to us all as that of a ripe scholar, an eloquent divine, and an accomplished author—has long been cherished as an ornament of English literature, and an honor to the Christian Church. But as a Committee for the promotion of the cause of Negro Emancipation, we are prompted to offer you this tribute of our respect and esteem, less on account of your reputation in the world of letters, and your distinction as a pulpit orator, than because of the fidelity, moral courage and disinterested devotion you have manifested, in defence of the moral character and government of God, in the interest of four millions of the American people held in bondage, the cry of whose wrongs pierces the ear of the civilized world.

Your attachment to the cause of the slave is of no recent growth or development. The Chairman of this Committee has borne public and grateful testimony to your heroic conduct in the year 1835 (a year which will be ever memorable in the annals of the American Abolition Movement)—a year of fiery persecution, gag law and mob violence, when you espoused a quarrel with which the place of worship you then ministered, to the British advocates of immediate emancipation, and stood by him unflinchingly, till the fury of the storm led him to seek the preservation of his life by departing from your city. This fact in your anti-slavery history would, we venture to think, alone be sufficient to secure for you the confidence of British Abolitionists. But your claim upon their confidence and gratitude rests also upon more recent acts, which have demonstrated how deep and unchangeable were the principles you espoused a quarter of a century ago. In defence of the fundamental principles of morality and religion, you then ministered, to the British advocates of immediate emancipation, and stood by him unflinchingly, till the fury of the storm led him to seek the preservation of his life by departing from your city. This fact in your anti-slavery history would, we venture to think, alone be sufficient to secure for you the confidence of British Abolitionists. But your claim upon their confidence and gratitude rests also upon more recent acts, which have demonstrated how deep and unchangeable were the principles you espoused a quarter of a century ago. In defence of the fundamental principles of morality and religion, you then ministered, to the British advocates of immediate emancipation, and stood by him unflinchingly, till the fury of the storm led him to seek the preservation of his life by departing from your city. 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POETRY.

For the Liberator. A REVIEW.

The spring-day sun, with genial warmth, Makes life and nature gay and fair, And balmy breezes from the south Have mellowed the ambient air. I leave the din I enjoy the day, Sweet earnest of the Father's care; Beside the river banks I stray, And sink in meditation there. I muse—transported far away To Afric's torrid, woeful clime—I see Americans essay, And perpetrate a horrid crime. To seize, to sell, to beat, to bruise The wretched souls of Lybia's soil. To steal for Christians' use, who live Upon their unrequited toil. I see the mother forced away, Perchance from kindred dear to part; I see the father chained below; I see—and soon grow sick at heart. For these are Christians, who profess To obey the Saviour's sacred word; These are my countrymen, who fought To free us from th' oppressor's rod. Famine and sad, a piteous sight! Packed in the horrid midship deck, While foul disease infects the ship, And howling storms preface a wreck. Thus torn from home, thus forced away, They're brought to us—a legal load—Here forced, for strangers' ease, to pay A service which they never owed. Another vision follows quick: It is the mighty arm of God! He hurls th' oppressor from his seat, And o'er him holds th' avenging rod. O tyrants! ye who thus defy The law, and power, and wrathful rod, He will arise to avenge his poor:— Be just, O man! nor tempt thy God!

C. H. G.

For the Liberator. PACE.

Rest is not in the downy bed— Not in sleep, for the morn will break; The golden lily-flower bends its head, Crushed to earth when the North winds wake. When you have gained, on the tideless shore, You still bark that allures your sight, Think you the search and longing are o'er! In the dead calm and dreamless night, Crave you the rest of that stagnant life? Better the hurricane—better the strife! You will tire—you will faint—the soul grows weak; It is labor that strengthens the form; The glorious heavenly peace you seek May be found in the raging storm! Look at the tree by the sheltering wall, How tender and puny it grows! Look at the mighty oak, grand and tall, That stands where the storm-wind blows! There is peace in its strength, in its health; There is rest for the soul that is strong, With God—in the power of its wealth. Grand is its calm—its rest deep and long—Soul, there, in the heaven of life; In that glory sublimer than thought; Thanking, not sleeping, for the strife— For the deep, rich life it hath wrought.

KATE.

For the Liberator. NOT SLAVES FOREVER.

Tyrants, throne in pride and power, Think not thrones shall crumble never; Those who are your slaves this hour, Shall not be your slaves forever! Strive to chain the ocean's deep— Dam the flood of yonder river; Soon it overflows the steep, Rushes onward—free forever! Bigotry may chain the mind— The hour comes when the links shall sever; The heart's sweet fountains may be blind For a time; but not forever! The heart's rich fountains shall burst forth Warm with life—like God, the giver— Scattering blessings o'er the earth, Sowing seeds of joy forever! Human limbs and human soul Yet the strongest chains shall sever; Man shall be, while ages roll, Still progressing—free forever! Andover, Mass.

UNNOTICED HEROES.

Woods have their blossoms which we never behold, And skies their worlds whose light is never known; Ocean its treasures have of untold gold, And earth her heroes that are all unknown. You care them as you pass, and heed them not; You may not know what hosts before them fell; You may not count the battles they have fought— The wreaths that crown them are invisible. Yet they have fought and conquered; they have bent Night after night beside the couch of pain; They have confronted scorn and death, and lent Their blood to make the stricken whole again. They have been pilgrims to that desert shrine Which sorrow rears in the black realm, Despair: Oft have they struggled in that gloomy mine, Where only dust is made the toiler's share. They have beheld their sweetest hopes decay; Oft have they seen their brightest dreams depart; Have seen their golden idols torn to clay, And many bear within a broken heart! Their veiled and mighty scars they ever bear— Those scars that lie deep-burned into the soul— Won where the flaming eyes of vengeance glare, And the tumultuous fires of passion roll. They have been victors! they have conquered fields Earth's dreaded Hannibals could never win; They have struck down the sword Ambition wielded, And trampled Lust, and chained the hand of Sin. They have won captives! their sweet tones have brought The erring back to Virtue's flowery path; Their own and others' hearts submission taught To God's high will, and smoothed the brow of wrath. They drink the dregs of trembling; but their moans And agonized wails they stifle in the breast; They say there is an ear that hears their groans, And in His house the weary will find rest. Want, grief, the scorn of man on them descend— They only say it is His righteous will; With chastened spirits to that will they bend, Believing, striving, hoping, loving still. O! there are daily martyrs that we heed not—the sufferers are to us unknown; But angels from the walls of Eden see How glorious the laurels they have won!

GOOD AND ILL.

O, Nature! shall it ever be they will Ill things with good to mingle, good with ill?

THE LIBERATOR.

TRIBUTE TO THEODORE PARKER. Annual, August 24, 1860.

REV. JOHN FINNEY. My Dear Sir,—Some months ago, I had something to say of the heroic character of John Brown, and of the "irrepressible conflict" in which it was developed. To-day I write of Theodore Parker,—a hero too, though of a different order. And I rejoice that I am permitted to address you, sir, (for there seems to me a peculiar fitness in it,) while I attempt to write, or even to touch upon a subject so much interested, and such moment too, viz. the bearings of his life and labors upon the destinies of our race. In the person of Theodore Parker, a great light has been withdrawn. He has gone—gone in his prime, and hath not left his peer. But he has left a luminous track in the religious atmosphere and moral firmament, under which we live and move, which cannot be effaced. If the age of miracles is passed, that of wonder-working is not. The man, who, moved by the instincts of a noble nature, impelled by the action of a great soul, to become a teacher of truth and a worker of righteousness; who voluntarily devotes himself and all his powers to the welfare of the human family, or of any portion thereof; or who makes it the unswerving purpose of his life to awaken anew the spirit of liberty—to restore lost rights—to provide for, and secure the governmental and educational means of future development and growth; or, whose life-work it is to transform a nation of tyrants, with millions of slaves, into a nation of "men, high-minded men"; is a minister of God, a co-worker with the Deity; is a living, active force in the moral universe; akin to, and working, as much as in him lies, in aid of, and parallel with the great Exemplar of our race, in the restoration and salvation of the world. An earnest and intelligent spirit, animated and guided by "good will to men," does not toil in vain. Telling by the "light" of Jesus' "life," he can not possibly miss the "way." For, to him who, in the love of truth, fulfills the righteousness he knows, ever the way opens before him, and light breaks in upon his path at each advancing step. Such a man was Theodore Parker. He was a Protestant of the Protestants; the Luther of our times. He stood forth, the champion of freedom and of human rights; freedom of thought and freedom of speech; the asserter of the right of private judgment, and of the supreme authority of the individual conscience in all matters of duty. Having burst the bonds, and escaped the thraldom of the sect in which he was brought up, his whole professional life was in consonance with the faith which he professed, and the doctrine he proclaimed. Rejecting the belief, then commonly entertained, not only among Catholics, and the so-called, Evangelical sects, but among Unitarians also, of low and high degree; rejecting the belief in the supernatural birth and superhuman endowments of Jesus; rejecting the belief in supernatural events, miracles, as they are called, which, according to Dr. Paley, were brought about, not by the operation of natural laws, but by the intervention of supernatural causes, accompanied with, and giving assurance of, a supernatural revelation of God's will to men; rejecting utterly the idea of a suspension of natural laws, he looked upon Jesus as the model man, our noble brother, who, in his brief sojourn upon earth, showed us the Father; showed us that human nature is itself divine; and that to the God-like qualities which he exhibited, we may ourselves aspire; that if we work earnestly and suffer patiently, we shall be developed more and more; shall be more and more like him; attaining to like excellence; partakers of his holiness; sharing with him the growing life and light, the blessedness and joy unpeakable, which become broader and deeper, and higher and more intense, the nearer we approach to the greatness and goodness of the All-perfect and Supreme. Though not peculiar in this, he boldly denied the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, discriminating between those of transient and those of permanent authority. He denied that they breathed the same spirit throughout; or, that they are equally binding upon the consciences of men; and, of course, "that they are an infallible guide to faith and practice." Books, and the Bible among them, were his instruments, reservoirs of means. Reverencing it himself beyond all other books, he did much to shatter and to dissipate a prevailing and superstitious reverence for its literal text. Of course he was hated, denounced as an infidel and a heretic, and persecuted as such, with more or less vehemence, by the body he had left, and whose opinions he assailed. But, true to himself, he endured unto the end, retreating, elucidating and confirming his views of the character of God, as manifested in his works; but chiefly in his dealings with the children of men, of Jesus and his teachings, and of the Scriptures generally, not only in the presence of his own stated society, who engaged his services, and to whom he especially looked for sympathy and support; but, pouring them in the ears of the multitudes of strangers and others from all parts of the country, who, from Sunday to Sunday, thronged Music Hall, and hung upon his lips, that they might know what those new doctrines, whereof he was in a habit of speaking, were. Believing that men were, "in all things, too superstitious"; that they were, "all their life-time, subject to bondage through fear"; he labored, first of all, to deliver them from that bondage. And this he did, by proclaiming and defending what he regarded as higher and truer and worthier views of God, of Jesus, of the Bible, of Humanity; and of their mutual relations to each other. With a physical constitution compact and vigorous, with strong impulses, an ardent temperament, and an exceedingly active brain, "whatsoever he found to do, he did it with his might." Strong in the intellectual, moral and religious elements of his nature, feeling that men were undeveloped; alienated from God; sunk in ignorance, wickedness and woe; if he preached, it was because he must. For, with him, the dictates of conscience were equivalent to a "thus saith the Lord." They were authoritative, and he must speak. He could not hold his peace, and live. In himself was his commission; and he was impelled to preach, and, like Socrates, he did it in the service of his fellow men, and in conscious obedience to the command of his God. Seldom indulging in merely selfish gratification or pleasure, or even in sleep, except for rest and recreation, he lived for work, incessant, earnest work. And the life-long labor of his thoughts was, to discover and proclaim the truth, and to illustrate and enforce the right. In short, he felt that his mission was, to teach and to preach. Like other great spirits, whose lives and labors have marked the epochs of human history, working on, and out of, and through the deepest and strongest elements of our nature—viz., the moral and religious sentiments—he produced, and is producing, a side in the affairs of men, which most sensibly away their destinies, (and I think for good,) in all coming time. With him, humanity was sacred,—the crowning glory of the Creator's works,—in its elements divine, and therefore worthy to be lifted heavenward; and, God helping him, he labored for this end. He viewed every thing, and rightly too, in an educational light. By this central idea, every thing pertaining to humanity was to be tested; and all existing customs, all institutions, whether social, civil, ecclesiastical, or literary, were to be approved or condemned, according to their educational tendencies, according to their natural and legitimate tendencies to hinder or to help, to retard or promote, the growth and elevation of the individual human being, who were or should be brought within the sphere of their influence.

If, therefore, he advocated the cause of Temperance, it was because a strict observance of the "rule of not too much," is an indispensable condition to the highest and healthiest intellectual and moral growth. If he pleaded earnestly for the enfranchisement of women, it was because justice, as well as the public good, demanded it,—demanded for her the right of property, the right of a direct voice in matters of legislation, the right to a thorough and systematic education, and what is dearer still, the right to choose and to follow that vocation, which best shows her own ability and tastes might dictate; it was because freedom is an essential condition to the symmetrical development of her nature; and, of course, to fit her for the worthy and honorable discharge of the duties of life, as a wife, a mother, an educator, a citizen. If, with all the energy of his soul, he loved liberty and hated oppression; if, with heart and hand, he espoused the Anti-Slavery cause, and joined the glorious company of the unflinching and uncompromising Abolitionists; if he was ready to assume the part of danger, even the forefront of the hottest battle, in Liberty's defence, or would expose his life, to rescue the flying bondman from the grasp of his pursuer, it was that he might put him in a condition to rise,—to use his own God-given faculties in the way that pleased him best, and so grow up "to the stature of a perfect man." Emancipation is the door, the first step in the career of a generous culture and a manly life. Whatever efforts he may have made, or whatever services he may have rendered, in the specific reforms of the age in which he lived, they sprung always from the same generous and unflinching source. They were always the outgrowth of a distinct, intelligent, magnanimous purpose, to emancipate and elevate his sisters, as well as his brethren, of the great family of man. To him all places, too, were sacred, and all times consecrated alike to the service of man. And whether he addressed a Senate or a mob, in "the piping times of peace," or amid the storms of war; whether he discoursed by the fire-side, or in the forum; from the pulpit or the platform,—a sermon or a lecture; whether he spoke in Music or in Faneuil Hall; "in temples made with hands," or under the broad crystalline dome of sky, in shady groves; mindful of the "talent, which it were death to hide," he was the teacher and the preacher still, ever faithful to his sacred trust. Although I have not said all which I wished to say upon so exhaustless a theme, I must bring my remarks to a close, simply adding what the theme so naturally suggests:— "Who noble ends by noble means attains, Like good Aurelius let him reign, or bleed Like Socrates, that man is great indeed." Very respectfully, your friend and servant, H. W. CARTER.

THEOLOGY AND PRACTICAL LIFE. [The following is a report of the remarks of CHAS. D. B. MILLS, of Syracuse, offered in the Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, at Waterloo, N. Y., in June last. The theme under consideration, at the time, was, "The Relation of the Ethics and Theology of this Country to Practical Life."] Great surprise is sometimes expressed, and still more frequently felt, that amid all the respect paid, apparently, to religion among us, the whole land covered with its monuments, and its temples everywhere full of eager worshippers, there is yet such lack of genuine manhood, such wide-spread practical falseness, and infidelity to obligation. The surprise in this connection is not well-grounded. The exception is not here to be taken. There is no power in the prevailing, popular religion, to enfranchise and quicken, to lift to genuine manhood, or earnest, great-souled loyalty. Starting upon a false basis, it can come to no true result. A carnal conception of God can never conduct, in any relation, beyond the carnal and the sensual. Making Him not the Supreme Excellence, the Infinite Truth, Justice and Love, realization absolute of the utmost ideal of the Perfect that ever beams in the human soul, but rather the impersonation of mere arbitrary Will and resistless brute Force, it degrades all life, and fashions 'the universe correspondent to Him. The creation is like the Creator, the expansion of himself, his expression and image; heaven is conceived the home of uninterrupted sensual delights forever, and hell the place of utter privation, of untold physical infliction and torture. And men are admitted to the one, or consigned to the other, not according to their inner character, but as they may be adjudged to have complied or not complied with the prescribed terms, arbitrary and capricious as wantonness and whimsey can make them. No man will seek to attain a character higher than the God he worships; none will attempt to realize on earth a world better than the heaven he prays for. Why should he be expected to hold his 'secular' higher than his 'sacred'? In his holiest thoughts and aspirations, he has not risen essentially beyond the plane of the sense, an animal God, and a carnal heaven. How, in his 'worldly' relations and pursuits, should he feel bound to seek anything nobler than animal gratification and carnal possession? On his knees he has been communing in prayer, but amid all his rapturous emotions and experiences of the spiritual, he has caught no vision of the Infinite Excellence, the permanence of Truth and Justice, or the majesty of great Character. What wonder that thus mocked and filled with wind, where he ought to have sought and received his soul's best food, he has no strength?—that, unfurnished and unarmed for trial, he is insufficient to any temptation, and at its first breath falls away? Hence the sad results which we everywhere witness, and have occasion this day anew to deplore. The religion is an imbecility, and can yield no strength—an idolatry, and it cannot enfranchise and bless—an incantation, and it bewitches, and debauches, and maddens. Its restraints, poor as they are, are partial and fitful enough. No enduring reverence comes of fear, and faith grows not in the soil of frights and marvels. The influence is soon spent, and the yoke thrown off at the first opportunity. Its god is a local, temporary affair, having much more to do with the dead than with the living, with the other world than with this, and is to be respected and served only in special times and places. He is sovereign on the Sunday, but not on the week-day, present in the sanctuary, but not at the hustings, to be recognized and worshipped in the sacraments of religion, but not in the sacraments of life, the dear privileges and fellowships that enrich and hallow every hour of human existence. What a strange, pie-bald morality springs up from such views of the divine! Setting up in the place of the Most High a wretched idol, a god who in his own special province in human life is a petty tyrant, but for the most part in the world a non-entity, a sham. And so the worship is an idolatry, the living a sensuality, a profanity, baptized or unbaptized. And any attempt to engraft a sound morality upon such a false and malevolent theology must be utterly futile, ever mocking him that essays to make it. There is great sorcery in this juggle. As being animal, it deals in passion and unreason. It floats and scuffs at the inner convictions of the soul. In the name of the sacred, it tramples upon holy nature; in the name of the divine authority, it decries and vilifies reason; in the name of the revealed word of God, it renounces and blasphemes those truths of God that stand written forever in the being of man. Nothing so blights the soul, debauches and perverts its very nature, and quencheth the inmost light of its life, as this system of superstition and slavery, rendering them easy subjects for fraud, oppression and tyranny of every type and grade. The

ultimate relations of friendship subsisting between priestcraft and Kingcraft, through all the ages, are by no means accidental. Politician is twin brother of the priest. They play into each other's hands, and the creature of the one becomes easily enough the victim and the tool of the other. The man who has once been studied and debauched into the admission of absurdity as revealed truth, may, without difficulty, be made to accept and respect injustice as law. Not without occasion are the profligate, slavery-devoted officials who preside over this government uniformly the zealous advocates and supporters of the popular religion of the land. There is a family relationship between Church and State, between worship of Bible and worship of Constitution and Statute, too strong to be overlooked. Men fall where most expected to stand; men of large proportions, and upon whom the highest hopes were set. Henry Ward Beecher, America's most popular preacher, full, naturally, of genial impulses and humane tendencies, moved not seldom to some brilliant utterance for truth and freedom, that has stirred afresh the heart of the nation, and turned all eyes in expectancy to him, has proved insufficient to the hour of his trial. Standing in full presence of the scenes of Harper's Ferry and Charlestown, witnessing those transcendent heroisms that have brought back before the eyes of this generation the very face of Jesus and the glories of Calvary, and poured undying lustre upon this century for all time to come, he yet "knew not the man." Fresh from prayer, the memory of the crucified anew to his mind, and the unctious of grace warm upon his lips, he comes forward to denounce John Brown as 'mad,' and his work as a fruitless and a crime. The same wanton, flippant lips can name Theodore Parker 'infidel,' and the American Board, venal, profligate and blood-thirsty as it is, 'Christian'—nay, can make haste to play the seducer shamelessly to draw and hold the conscience-visited and hesitant to its support. His religion taught him no better: eye, it taught him this. As a religionist, through ecclesiastical perversion, he can attain to a pitch of obliquity and bigotry that had been impossible to Ward Beecher as a man. William H. Seward, the foremost statesman of our country, signally gifted, highly cultured, and eminently capable in utterance, holding the multitudes enchanted by the magnetism of his speech, widely venerated and looked up to as the fast friend of justice and of human nature—the appointed champion of freedom in our land—also worships at the idolatry of his shrine, and has laid himself prostrate at the feet of slavery. On the Senate floor of the United States, not long since, he deliberately swore and debauched himself, in the presence of the nation, trampling upon the sacred convictions of his being, burning incense to slavery and the 'glorious Union,' lauded the infamous authors and abettors of the Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850, flouted the sacred memory of the martyred heroes of liberty and the rights of man, and uttered, with solemn emphasis, his benediction upon their murderers. Alas! the lesson he recited here, he had learned early. The atrocious falsehoods and malignities of that speech are all in the dogmas of that religion under which he had his rearing, in the inculcations of that priesthood to whom he has given so long his ear and support. Heaven is opened to men by a bargain; salvation is wrought out through a 'scheme,' and the great atonement, with all its provisions of grace, the kingdom of God on earth, and the church of the saved in heaven, the achievements and glories of redemption—all rest in a stupendous compromise. The cross was erected on that ground; Jesus was put forth as a propitiation, and slain, the just for the unjust, innocency for guilt, that the divine wrath might be appeased, and man might be saved. If the kingdom of heaven is thus built up, and its walls verily laid in the richest blood of innocency; if compromise is a pillar of the divine throne, a leading principle of the divine government, the very soul of its wisdom, stability, success, why is it not good in the construction of a civil State? Why not offer up the few for the sake of the many, and attain national existence and political freedom at the price of the rights at least of the 'servile' population? What wonder that those who extol and confide in this 'great scheme of salvation,' this *compromis* of the Almighty, which outwits the devil, replenishes heaven, and swells immeasurably his own glory forever, should shout for the compromises of the Constitution, and exult in the stability of this 'divine Union,' built up and compacted together in the blood of the American slave? Friends, the time has come that judgment must be given at the house of God. Those sorceries that have so long debauched and bewildered the soul, least suspected because holiest named, but poisoning the very fountains of life, must be broken up. Men must be taught to distinguish between God and an idol, between true religion and jugglery. All worship of man, pretense and pretence must be exposed and swept away. The truths that shine upon the reason, untouched of circumstance, and greater than death; the ideals that anon do pervade and quicken the inmost being, beckoning ever on to a higher, serene, holy and quenchless forever, must be recognized and adored as the very shekinah of God, His voice, presence, breath in the soul of man. Then, as never before, will there be worship and blessedness. Then, as never before, shall men drink, day by day, divine inspirations, and, receiving fresh accessions of life and strength continually, aspire, and work, and achieve, joyous and without end.

Spiritualism as a Practical Principle.—Abby E. Foster applying it to the Pollutions of Slavery. PRATT'S HALL, PROVIDENCE, R. I. Thursday, 12th, noon, Aug. 2, 1860. DEAR GARRISON: I am at my writing, by the platform of a Convention called by the Spiritualists of this city. A resolution came before the Convention, expressive of sympathy with a movement made by Emma Hardinge in behalf of women who have been tempted, betrayed and ruined by sensual men. Several had alluded to this resolution. It was decided by the Convention, yesterday, that every subject pertaining to the elevation and perfection of man's spiritual nature was in order on the platform of a Spiritual Convention. Slavery, war, drunkenness, prostitution, (legal and illegal,) marriage and parentage, were subjects specified as appropriate in a Convention called to consider Spiritualism. ABBY E. FOSTER took the platform, to speak to the resolution of sympathy with Miss Hardinge in her efforts to save woman from prostitution. She is now speaking, and with power. Abby has often spoken. How often and how efficiently, the entire Northern States can attest for the last twenty-five years—in behalf of woman prostituted by slavery in the United States; but I never heard her speak with more power than at present. She is saying, in substance, as follows:— I would present to Miss Hardinge and to this Convention two millions of American women who are compelled by the law and religion of the nation to live in prostitution, without any protection from the Government, from the Church, from the politics or religion of the land. These are the tempted, the outraged, the crushed, the broken-hearted. By law and religion they are handed over to the lusts of any priest, deacon, slave-breeder, slave-trader, and slaveholder, who shall wish to outrage them. Resistance to those brutal rapes is punishable with death as treason against the rights of all *white* men. These hapless victims of the white man's rape and rapine appeal to Miss Hardinge and to all Spiritualists. If Spiritualism cannot help these women, prostituted by law, and stripped of all personal rights, what is it good for? In vain do Miss Hardinge and the Spiritualists seek to save the white women of the land from prostitution and its dire results, while they studiously and

purposely ignore the condition of those two millions among us who may have a skin of darker hue. They are compelled to bear children, and these, as soon as born, are registered as chattels, and in due time sold as brutes. They, and their daughters by white Christians (?) and politicians, are consigned to hopeless, helpless prostitution. No effort to elevate woman, whether made by the advocates of Woman's Rights, by Spiritualists, by Christians or politicians, can be of any avail, while the condition of these two millions of prostituted women and sisters is overlooked. The purity, the virtue of the white woman and that of the black woman must rise or fall together. So long as the white man despises and tramples upon the chastity and personal rights of the black woman, he will outrage and despise the person of the white woman. The Democrats and the Republicans of the North hold these helpless two millions of women, while their Southern condottiers in politics outrage their persons. Mrs. Foster's ten minutes were up. A motion was made to extend her time ten minutes more. One man arose, in much excitement, and said, 'I am opposed to that. Mrs. Foster is introducing politics. This is a side issue. Spiritualists have nothing to do with politics in their Conventions. Better stick to their own text.' The question—'Shall Mrs. Foster's time be extended ten minutes more?'—was then put by Dr. Gardner of Boston, the President, and declared to be adopted by ten to one. Mrs. Foster then proceeded to show how the Republicans, Democrats, and all voters under the Federal Government, were responsible for the prostitution and outrages practiced upon these two millions of helpless women. Her remarks were listened to with profound attention, and cheered with more enthusiasm than anything said in the Convention. I have often heard Abby plead the cause of these two millions of her outraged sisters—outraged in the most sacred and holy right and function of their womanhood—but I never heard her speak more eloquently, or more to the purpose. A great portion of the audience thanked her in their hearts for her remarks in behalf of *enslaved* woman. One man, the one who was opposed to extending her time, and to introducing *side issues*, said, when he saw how enthusiastically the audience in favor of Abby's remarks—'The Convention might go to hell for all him.' He was told that a hell so deep, dark and desolating, and so boiling over with hot wrath, and so full of howlings and gnashings, was in no bosom as in his own. It was the feeling of the Convention that Spiritualism had much to do with the abolition of slavery, and of all slave-trading religions and politics, as well as with all other reforms. It was voted by the Convention, that Spiritualism is to aid in securing to the men and women of the future, healthier organic conditions of body and soul. In discussing this resolution, it was shown that parents, not God, are responsible for the existence and organic conditions of children, and that children have a right to demand of their parents—(1.) Healthy bodies—(2.) Healthy souls—(3.) A love origin—(4.) A designed existence—(5.) A welcome into life. Spiritualists seem to think, and justly, more of the law of generation than of regeneration, as a means to elevate and perfect human nature, and to save the race—more of the blood of woman, as a mother, than the blood of Christ, as an atoning sacrifice. Thus will all wise and earnest practical philanthropists think, at no distant day. During the afternoon service yesterday, Douglas arrived in town. Our hall is near the station. A great throng gathered and shouted a welcome to him. Guns firing, drums beating, and music playing. They all marched by the hall, making hideous noise and confusion. But the Convention, and the person speaking at the time, (Miss Sprague,) did themselves very great credit—Miss Sprague continuing her speech in perfect calmness and self-possession, and to great effect; and the Convention sitting, for most part, in perfect quiet, and attentive to her remarks—not above a score leaving to follow in the wake of the 'little giant' and his *Littiputian* satellites. It has been a Convention of great interest, and will do more to educate the city and State into higher and progressive views of a pure and noble life, than all the churches, schools, papers and political speeches can do for a whole year. Yours, HENRY C. WRIGHT. P. S. *Thursday night*.—The Convention has adjourned, *sine die*. A resolution was introduced at the close, congratulating the Convention that no 'fanatical radicalism' had been introduced into it. A man moved to strike this out, saying there had been 'fanatical radicalism' introduced. 'Will the gentleman point out what he considers fanatical radicalism?' asked one. 'What has been said about the two million slave women, and the corruptions and prostitutions of the South—and about Northern people and politicians sustaining such pollutions'—alluding to the remarks of Mrs. Foster. 'This, I think, is fanatical radicalism.' The Convention voted, ten to one, not to strike it out. Be assured, that Spiritualists are becoming more and more disposed to apply their principles to a removal of the evils that individuals, churches and governments are practicing upon men and women. This Convention, thus co-operating with the Anti-Slavery movement, has done more to interpret the spirit and teachings of Jesus than the forty thousand Christian (!) priests will do for ten years to come. It will do much to teach the people to see and worship God in *living* men and women, subjected to wrong and outrage, rather than in Jesus of Nazareth, who has no wants that we can supply, and to whom our love and worship can be of no practical use. H. C. W. From the Dover Morning Star. HEENAN-PRIZE FIGHTING—THE PROSPECT. It appears that Heenan, the pugilist, or prize-fighter, is engaged to take the tour of the United States cities for twelve weeks, at a thousand dollars per week, to give sparring exhibitions in the presence of audiences, who are willing to pay so much a head to see how easily this champion of the ring might stave in and demolish the 'human facade of divinity,' if disposed to do so. This Heenan has struggled hard to make and prove himself a brute, and having succeeded, it is not strange that he should be taken round the country for a show, by some sharp, speculating proprietor, akin to Barnum. The simple fact that such an exhibition is to be made of a being calling himself a man, together with the consideration of the prospect that the managers, after paying Heenan one thousand dollars per week and other large expenses, will find themselves the recipients of large dividends, is full of humiliation and offence. And yet this goes for nothing in the presence of the anticipated moral results of such exhibitions. A whole crop of pugilists will spring from the sowing of such seeds, and prize-fighting, in spite of law and police regulations, will become as common as horse-racing. Since the brutal 'set to' of this same Heenan with Morrissey, and especially since his disgusting fight with Sayers, the English champion, prize fights have been multiplied ten-fold. The minds of our youth, especially such of them as are given to vulgar tendencies, are fast catching the inspiration of the demon spirit of the ring, and even the long and circumstantial details of the story named and counters, which have been paraded in some of our popular papers, have not failed in their damning influence on our people. And yet these men are the petted and lionized of the passing hour, generally by the fanny men, and those who are found in the lower strata of society, to be sure, but not always. English lords, shame on them! paid money and made presents to the notorious Sayers for barely providing himself to have the temper of a she-bear, and the skin of a he-rhinoceros! These coming exhibitions will contribute to some extent to witness, and consequently to be known, by men of acknowledged respectability, and doubtless accounts of them, in

sticking detail, will grace, or rather disgrace, the vehicles of our popular intelligence and literature. We are disgusted and scandalized by these things! Sparring exhibitions, which lead directly to it. Next we shall have fustian, as formerly there were fustian schools, and far more disrespectful and vicious will they be. To wield skillfully a polished blade has about as much to do with civilization as to wield a tooth and nail, in wholly barbarous and brutal! We hope every community immediately interested in this growing vice will cry out against it, every pulpit thunder, and every prayer lighten! and God grant its abatement, and stay our downward course to absolute and unmitigated barbarism!

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QUESTION 2d.—Please name the principal officers in the General's Staff.

ANSWER.—GEN. DYPERSIA, DROPSY, PILES, LITH COMPLAINT, &c., and COLS. BRONCHITIS, NEURALGIA, NERVOUS EXHAUSTION, BOILA, &c.

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