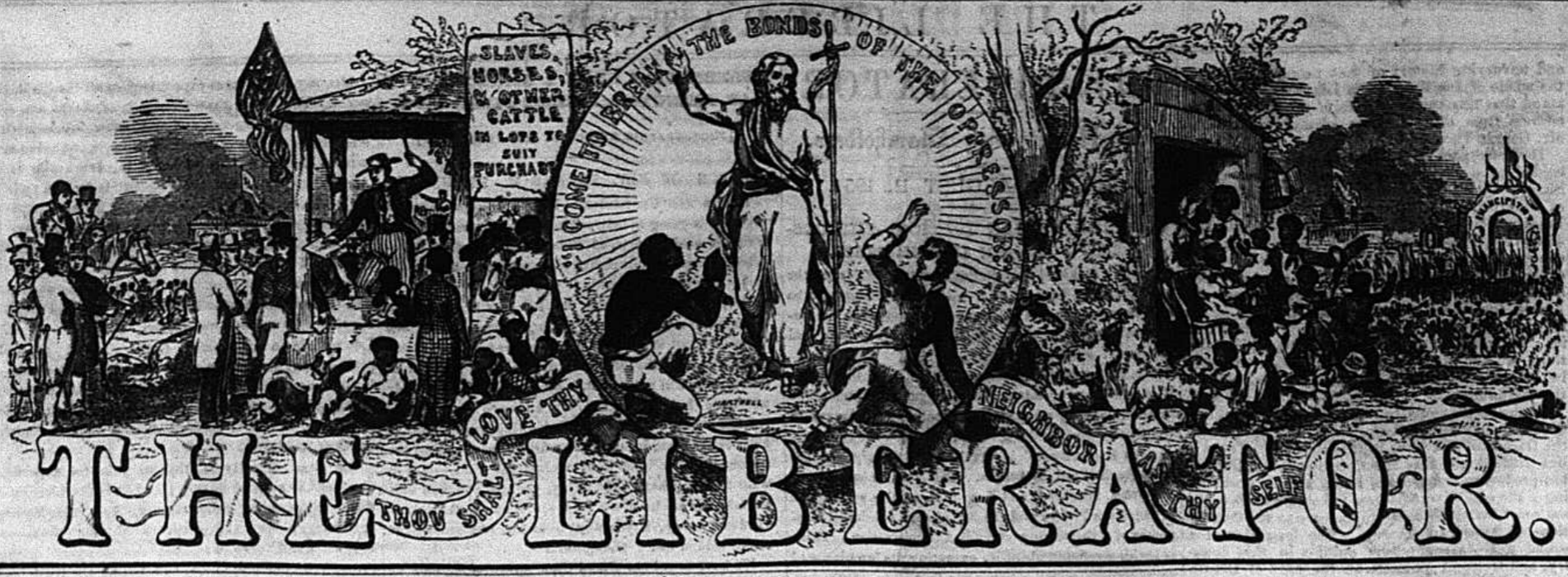


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THE LIBERATOR

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. VOL. XXIV. NO. 32.

No Union with Slaveholders! THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

Yes! It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their position over their slaves.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS. WHOLE NUMBER 1047.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SOUTHERN PATRIOTISM! The following were among the 'regular toasts,' which, it is said, were read and received in a becoming manner, at the recent 4th of July celebration in Tallapoosa County, Alabama:—

RELIGION AND THE NEBRASKA BILL!

[From a North Carolina Baptist newspaper.] We have been denied the leisure to examine with critical care the provisions of that enactment. The Lord's vineyard, in which we are a humble laborer, has demanded so much of our time, and has so entirely absorbed the powers of our mind, that we have not bestowed more than a very hasty glance at what is denounced in the North as the 'bill of abominations.'

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 11, 1854. The Anti-Slavery feeling of this country has always been met in the United States with the approval of every nation that respects its own liberal affairs.

RIGHTS OF BRITISH COLORED SUBJECTS.

The Anti-Slavery feeling of this country has always been met in the United States with the approval of every nation that respects its own liberal affairs. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people.

MAZZINI, KOSSUTH, AND MR. SANDERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LONDON DAILY NEWS: Sir—I have just read, with great surprise, in your paper of yesterday's date, a correspondence between Mr. G. N. Sanders, the American Consul, and M. Mazzini, relating to the American Slave.

SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

I deem it to be my duty to reply to these statements inasmuch as they perjure themselves, the Abolition Society, and myself, in a wrong position. I will take up each point seriatim. In March last, the Committee of the Anti-Slavery League contemplated holding a public meeting in Manchester, and through their Chairman, Dr. Beard, invited Mazzini to be present.

Here are some volunteer toasts: By C. T. STROUD, Esq.—The Hon. Caleb Cushing of Mass.—The scholar, the patriot, and the soldier. For his just and manly defence of Southern rights, before a rabid abolition audience on a certain occasion, and his pointed rebuke of their hypocrisy, he deserves the thanks of the whole country, and especially the South.

By N. D. SHELLEN, Esq.—The Country we live in.—Her hand is pointed to the East, beckoning the oppressed of all nations to come and take shelter under the Tree of Liberty. (!)

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DESECRATING THE SABBATH. It is no uncommon occurrence, of late days, for the Puritans of New England to desecrate the Sabbath in listening to the rantings of infuriated abolitionists, on that day, done up in the form of sermons.

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SELECTIONS. TRIUMPHS OF THE SLAVE POWER. Extracts from 'A Sermon on the Dangers which threaten the Rights of Man in America; preached at the Music Hall, on Sunday, July 2, 1854, by THOMAS PARKER.'—

See the steady triumph of despotism! Ten years more like the ten years past, and it will be all over with the liberties of America. Everything must go down, and the heel of the tyrant will be on our neck.

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to the brotherhood of the whole people as an undivided body of sincere Republicans, but he will not make one man on earth forget that there is a whole race within the bounds of that Republic, who are held in no brotherhood at all; and that some of these "sincere Republicans," while advocating the rights of free thought or brute obedience in Europe, are enforcing that "brute obedience" at all risks in America. No; this infidelity to principle and truth is not the way to advance the cause of liberty anywhere, or under any circumstances. To persecute and tell the truth, and to sympathize with the genuine Republicans, instead of insulting by ignoring them, is the only way to serve the good cause, either in Europe or America.

F. W. CHESNON.

THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EMANCIPATION OF NEGRO SLAVES IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

Messrs. Editors—Permit me to call your attention to a few facts in connection with the above anniversary. There are two sorts of anniversaries, joyful and sorrowful. There are some anniversaries, also, that partake of both these qualities; for instance, the anniversary of a great victory will be a source of joy and merriment to the victorious party, and a source of sorrow to the vanquished. Of the latter character is the anniversary now before us. In order to make my meaning plain, let us calmly review the facts in the case.

On the 28th of August, 1833, an act passed the British parliament for abolishing slavery in the British colonies in the West Indies, (viz: 3 and 4 William IV.) and came into operation on the first of August, 1834. This act provided that £20,000,000 sterling should be applied to the liberation of the slaves. By this act, 770,250 slaves, of all ages and both sexes, were made free. Looking at this side of the picture all seems pleasant and desirable; but unfortunately it has a reverse side. Let us look at that for a moment.

It having been voted that the immense sum of \$100,000,000 should be paid for the slaves, the next question was how it should be raised? I am not certain how the first five million of pounds was raised; in all probability it was by the issue of exchequer bills, which were amalgamated with the national debt. We have, however, in Lawson's History of Banking, a full account of the borrowing of the remaining £15,000,000 sterling of the Bank of England.

Mr. Lawson says—By virtue of the act 3 and 4 William IV., c. 73, the sum of £15,000,000 was in the year 1835 borrowed for the compensation to the owners of slaves in the British colonies, upon the following terms, viz:—

Table with 2 columns: Description of annuities and Total annual charge for £20,000,000.

Now, if we multiply this by 20, the number of years the debt will have been contracted when the next dividends become due, we have the enormous amount of £14,857,040! Very near seventy-five millions of dollars already paid for the interest and management of the debt.

Every child born in Great Britain since the passing of the above act has been born a slave to this black debt, and for the payment of the interest and annual charges for management, its labor is mortgaged, its food is taxed, and its life is burdened!

The abolition writers describe in glowing colors the feelings of the people of the West India Islands on the 31st of July and 1st of August, 1834, the great day of freedom for the black slaves. They remember what me and my fellow-sufferers experienced at this period: weary and tired with exhausting labor, many of us were scarcely able to walk to our houses. We rose to work on the following morning with an additional debt of £20,000,000 upon our shoulders, for which our labor, the labor of our children and our children's children, were pledged; and for which our food, our clothes, and all that we could in any way consume or enjoy, were taxed to the amount, as above stated, of £742,832 per annum through all time, or until some "glorious" first of August shall liberate us and our children.

Now if we suppose that the average earnings of the unskilled laboring classes in England is half a dollar a day, and reckon three hundred working days in a year, it would take the united constant labor of twenty-four thousand seven hundred and sixty-one white men, Englishmen, to pay the interest and charges of this black debt. Truly, I think the abolitionists made a grand mistake when they told this perpetual curse upon the hard-worked, ill-fed laboring classes of England.

But the strangest matter in the whole affair is, that the planters say they did not receive the whole sum. They acknowledge receiving about 17½ millions of pounds, and leave the government and the abolitionists to account for the other 2½ millions. No doubt there was some good pickings for all.

And now let us see what is the result of all this expense and trouble. Bishop Kipp, in a letter published a short time ago in the Churchman, at Kingston, Jamaica, where the steamer on which he embarked for California stopped to coal, thus describes what he witnessed:—"The streets," says the Bishop, "are crowded with the most wretched looking negroes to be seen on the face of the earth. Many are diseased, they will not work since the steamer is here, they are without food, and the coaler is done by women. About a hundred march on board in a line with tubs on their heads, (tubs and coal together weighing about ninety pounds,) and with a wild song empty them into the hold. The men work a day, and then live on it a week. The depth of degradation to which the negro population has sunk is, we are told, indescribable. The inhabitants of Sodom were pure compared with them." "Once," said a gentleman to me, "you did not see an untidy negro on a street. Now look at them—pointing to a group of squalid wretches. This is the unvarying testimony of all the residents I have seen."

You will thus see, gentlemen, why we, who have paid so much money, have cause for sorrow on this anniversary. AN ENGLISHMAN.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE IN MANCHESTER.

We observe that, on the first of next month, an Anti-Slavery Conference is to be held in the Athenaeum, in commemoration of the West India Emancipation, the anniversary of which falls on that day. There is no event in the annals of our national history more worthy of commemoration than the breaking asunder the fetters which bound the manhood of 800,000 slaves, and the rendering them and their posterity free forever. Twenty years have passed away since the accomplishment of that great act of national justice—since that day, the 1st of August, 1834, when the British Parliament, by an act of Lord Brougham, so confidently and joyfully anticipated by the poor slaves, and so sorely dreaded by their masters. One appropriate act of the Conference will be to prove by facts that the noble Lord was right when he further said that, "if ever there was a picture interesting to look upon—if ever there was a passage in the history of a people redounding to their eternal honor—if ever there was a complete refutation of all the scandalous calumnies which had been heaped upon them for ages, that picture and that passage are to be found in the uniform and unvarying history of that people throughout the whole of the West India Islands." We understand that this theme will form the subject of an address from that eloquent advocate of freedom, Mr. George Thompson.

It is a foul bird that dirties its own nest, says the proverb; and he must be a bastard Englishman, who makes one of the most glorious achievements in the history of his country the occasion of bitter reproach and malignant defamations. We have copied, in another column, from the Boston Post, (the appropriate medium for such a contemptible assault,) a letter respecting the abolition of slavery in the British West India colonies, to which the signature of 'AN ENGLISHMAN' is attached. We are strongly inclined to believe. The Post is capable of any trick, falsehood, and imposture, as the servile tool of the Slave Power, and the bribed and pensioned supporter of a thoroughly corrupt Administration. There is nothing reliable about it, excepting its unmitigated scoundrelism, which is never wanting.

We learn that equal prominence will be given to the instrumentalities that should be employed by the friends of the slave in this country. There is but little doubt that the development of the cotton-producing resources of India, and the cheapening of the cost of transit from the cotton fields to the sea coast, would do much to undermine the foundations of American slavery. The formation of a sound anti-slavery public opinion in this country, and frequent protests on the part of British churches against the unchristian course of the pro-slavery denominations of America, are also deemed of great importance. These questions, together with the shameful violation of the rights of British colored subjects who visit the Southern States, the connivance of Spain with the African slave trade, and other important matters, will receive their due share of attention.

We trust that this meeting will be worthy of the occasion—worthy of that cause which Wilberforce, and Clarkson, and Brougham, were the leaders—and that being practical in its plans, as well as just in its objects, it will receive a large measure of public sympathy and support. The period is opportune for the transmission of a few words of encouragement from England to the anti-slavery party in America, which is gaining strength since the enactment of the Nebraska Bill. Several State judges have declared the Fugitive Slave Law an unconstitutional encroachment on the rights of individual States; and the Senate of the State of Connecticut has passed a scheme of law, which is likely to be carried, dealing out fine and imprisonment to all who shall falsely declare any colored person the property of any other person, and absolutely prohibiting judges, or State officers of the peace, from receiving into custody any colored person on the charge of being the property of any other person. If more of the free States adopt the same action in this matter, the law of Congress will be null and void.

THE FREE COLORED POPULATION.

Some tables relating to the number of free colored persons in the United States at different times having appeared in the newspapers, which, on account of a transposition of figures, give an erroneous statement of facts, the National Era has taken the pains to correct them, and has presented the following result:

Table with 4 columns: Years, Free States, Slave States, Total.

FREE COLORED IN ALL THE STATES AT DIFFERENT PERIODS:

Table with 4 columns: Years, Free States, Slave States, Total.

On this subject, the National Era remarks: "It will be seen that, in the earlier years of the republic, the free colored population, both North and South, increased rapidly—in the former case by general acts of emancipation, by which slavery was gradually abolished—in the latter by voluntary emancipations. The latter have now almost entirely ceased from the unfortunate state of feeling which prevails in the Southern States; while the source of increase from Northern emancipation has been dried up by the final extinction of slavery. The number of slaves liberated in New York, New Jersey, between 1810 and 1840, was 26,377. Pennsylvania passed a gradual emancipation act in 1780, which was further amended in 1788. All are declared free, at the age of twenty-eight, who have been born since 1780.

Slaveholders were forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to remove their slaves beyond the limits of the State; and hence it is evident that the emancipation was slow and gradual. Similar restrictions were contained in the emancipation acts of other States. The following table shows a rapid increase of the free colored population of Pennsylvania, from 1790 to 1820, by which time the greater bulk of the slaves became free. Since that period, the increase has been slow:

Table with 4 columns: Years, Free States, Slave States, Total.

Similar results are observable in other States, and demonstrate, by the bye, that the North did not abolish slavery by running their slaves off South.

A PAIR FUGITIVE SLAVE.

The editor of the Vermont Tribune gives a thrilling account of a fugitive slave who has just been passed through Vermont to Canada. He says—"Sixty years ago, a young man, well formed, and far more than ordinary intelligent, was able to read fluently, a member of the Methodist Church, and the daughter of her master's wife, she was running away from her own father, Rufin Gilchrist, of Easton, Md., because he had sold her to a South Carolina man for \$1100. This Rufin had sold his own flesh and blood for so much hard cash, and but for his daughter's shrewdness and heroism would have now been fingering the price of blood. Charlotte, the fugitive, was away, by secreted in the woods eight weeks, found a friend in Baltimore, who sent her to a Quaker in Philadelphia by railroad, by a mode we dare not tell, lest it should involve him in trouble. Her long exposure and dreadful journey to Philadelphia brought on a fever, from the effects of which she had not recovered when here at St. Albans. From Philadelphia she came to Boston, thence to Maine, there to avoid some blood-hound Southerners who were on her track, she stayed at the house of a Quaker, and finding excellent friends all the way, good accommodations on the U. G. R. R.; with the money given her here, she went on her hurried way to the only land where she could breathe free. God protect and guide her."

AN AFRICAN'S WOE.

On Wednesday evening, some scholars from the Mount Auburn school were attracted to an alley by the dismal groans of a respectable and rather dignified appearing negro, apparently aged fifty or seventy years. The white grave blossoms on the black man's head were stained and clothed with blood, from two or three gashes on the forehead and skull, having the appearance of club wounds. Water was brought to the sufferer, and when sufficiently recovered, he confessed to being a runaway slave from Kentucky. He had escaped across the river, with three daughters, the youngest being fourteen, when he was anxious to educate in a free State or in Canada.

The party had safely proceeded as far as the foot of Seacombe Hill, when he was suddenly attacked by a gang of rowdies, probably from this side of the river, knocked down, cut and beaten, and left senseless on the ground, where he was found by the children. When the old man came to himself, he found that his daughters had been kidnapped. His own pockets had also been filled with six dollars in silver. It was nearly dark when the party was attacked, so that the wretched African is not able to identify the scoundrels; he is only certain that none of them were of the vicinity of his master's estate. They were probably hired bullies from rum holes and brothels, or fellows of like character, who stole the negroes and hurried them across the river for sale, or for an anticipated reward. We learn that a reward of \$1000 had been offered for the fugitives. They were from Lexington, Kentucky.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, AUGUST 11, 1854.

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION—THE BOSTON POST—AN ENGLISHMAN.

It is a foul bird that dirties its own nest, says the proverb; and he must be a bastard Englishman, who makes one of the most glorious achievements in the history of his country the occasion of bitter reproach and malignant defamations. We have copied, in another column, from the Boston Post, (the appropriate medium for such a contemptible assault,) a letter respecting the abolition of slavery in the British West India colonies, to which the signature of 'AN ENGLISHMAN' is attached. We are strongly inclined to believe. The Post is capable of any trick, falsehood, and imposture, as the servile tool of the Slave Power, and the bribed and pensioned supporter of a thoroughly corrupt Administration. There is nothing reliable about it, excepting its unmitigated scoundrelism, which is never wanting.

We have heard our friend Clegg speak here, and he has a right to speak on this occasion, by virtue of his nation. This is the Englishman's day. I blush, as an American, to own it, but it is. We have to borrow our noblest festival of freedom, as we have to borrow other things, from the old countries across the water; and I am sorry to say, as some of our States repudiate their obligations, so some of them would be glad to repudiate this also; but Massachusetts will hold on to it. (Cheers.) To me now, in the sadness of my mature experience on this question of slavery, the First of August is a tragical day. And, yet, it is a day we must keep; for without it, our Fourth of July tells but half the story. The Fourth of July gave freedom to the white population of the land; we need now a First of August to add to that the black population, and give us a land of freedom indeed. The First of August says to us, American people, pointing back to the Fourth of July, and round upon the results of its own noble emancipation, 'This ought to have done, and not to have left the other undone.' (Applause.) Our friend has spoken to us with a voice from England. It is sad to think, that so deeply has this principle of slavery become interwoven with the whole composition of the American mind, that when we go abroad, we are expected to represent Slavery, as every Englishman is expected to represent Freedom. We say, how strange it is, in these times, to see Turkey, the representative of Mohammedanism, standing for Freedom, against Russia, the representative of nominal Christianity. It is a sadder thing to see the young Republic that could not bear the bonds of a king, not only cradling the bondage that a king has abolished, but supporting it in its maturity, strengthening it in its demoniac strength, and assisting to make it grow with the Republic's growth, and be strengthened at the expense of its strength. It is the saddest thing of all to me to hear, as I do, from those who have gone to other countries, that they, as Americans, are expected to be friends, not of Liberty, but of slavery; to hear that Americans in Italy, by natural affinity, affiliate themselves with the cause of despotism there, and defend Austria in Italy, as they defend South Carolina in Massachusetts. A young friend of mine, travelling in Cuba, the other day had this sad event befal him:—He was mistaken for an Englishman, because he adhered to and befriended Liberty. It was a simple expression of his own feelings, and because he took the side of universal Liberty, they said to him, 'You are an Englishman, after all; we thought you were an American.' As an American, he was expected to be a despot; the instant he became a MAN, he was mistaken for an Englishman! I do not want to be an Englishman. I was born in Massachusetts, and I wish to be a Massachusetts man and a freeman, at the same time. It is this that brings the tragedy home to us on such days as this; because we learn, even while we stand here, that though we call this soil free, because it is agreeable to us to assume that it is so, there is not a spot of free soil within a week's journey of us, unless we travel North, and become the subjects of a Queen. The tragedy is to me to hear, as I heard the other day, of an old black woman, who, by the blessing of God and the North Star, is in Canada now,—who said that her earliest recollection was that of casting bullets during the Revolutionary war. At eight years of age, she cast bullets to be used against England,—at eighty, she was off like a shot herself, to take shelter under the English flag!

ANNOUNCEMENT EXTRAORDINARY.

We have not seen, for a long time, an announcement so laughable and so extraordinary as the following, which we copy from the London Morning Advertiser, of the 17th ultimo:—"THE GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT MANCHESTER. This convention, to be held on the 1st of August at Manchester, will receive an additional interest in the presence of the Hon. John Van Buren, a prominent American politician, and son of Martin Van Buren, ex-President of the United States. Mr. Van Buren is expected to be present at the forthcoming anti-slavery convention, and to advise with his fellow-workers in the noble cause of Negro Emancipation in the United States, with which his father, as well as himself, has for several years been identified. This is another evidence of the increasing hatred of that peculiar institution gaining ground in the feelings of every right-minded man. We shall hail Mr. Van Buren's presence at this interesting period of the anti-slavery cause in America as of great good omen. No man can better advise his fellow-workers in the noble cause; no man will be listened to with more attention, nor, considering his antecedents, is more capable of giving practical directions. In our impression of Saturday, we gave a list of the important subjects to be discussed. All these subjects affect, more or less, the internal affairs of the several States, as well as the Federal Union. There is none, however, of such vital importance as that of proposing the discussion of the feasibility of dissolving that union of States, which has its basis so often been said to be governed by the hearts of a free people, and now stands in its greatness an example to the world. The discussion of this momentous topic will form a new phase of the anti-slavery movement in this country. With patriots such as George Thompson, W. Wells Brown, and Parker Pillsbury, Mr. Van Buren cannot fail to render good service to the cause of freedom by instructing his fellow-workers on this side of the Atlantic."

AMERICAN RELIGION.

In the Manchester (Eng.) Examiner and Times, of the 19th ultimo, is a long and valuable communication from our friend PARKER PHILLIPS, showing the connection of American Religion with American Slavery. It is just such a document as is needed on that side of the Atlantic, to show how much necessity there has been for a bold and comprehensive impeachment of the American Church, as responsible for the continuance of the slave system. After noticing the malicious outcry of 'infidelity,' so loudly raised against the American Abolitionists, Mr. Pillsbury says:—"We are only a little band of earnest, and I trust, honest men and women, who are seeking the overthrow of slavery. And we call upon all who love God or man, justice and liberty, to aid us in the work, solemnly engaging to assail no one for religious opinions, so long as he is true to the fundamental doctrines on which our platform is based. What more or better could we do?"

We are indebted to our friend, GERRIT SMITH, for his speeches delivered on various topics of importance in the U. S. House of Representatives. His refusal to vote for the Homestead Bill, (strongly as he was in favor of it in all other respects, because the free people of color were expressly precluded from its benefits, was a noble act, and a sublime adherence to principle, worthy of the highest commendation.

We have received another letter from JOSHUA BARKER, now in England, and shall give it a place in our columns next week.

CELEBRATION OF W. I. EMANCIPATION AT BOSTON, AUGUST FIRST, 1854.

(PHOTOGRAPHIC REPORT BY MR. TERRITOR.)

SPEECH OF REV. THOMAS W. HIGGINSON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I do not know whether my voice is going to help or hinder that centrifugal force which is said to proceed from the contribution-box—[The Finance Committee had just entered upon their duty.] You know it is said, if you want to disperse a crowd, pass the hat round; but I hope it is not so with an anti-slavery crowd; and as I stand here one of those 'preachers of the pulpit' to whom reference has been made, you must imagine you are in a meeting; and of course, you will not go out. And as I am particularly uncertain how far behind my audience my voice is reaching now,—for the wind is blowing wrong, and, as Elias Hicks says, it takes a live fish to swim against the stream, and live birds to fly against the wind,—if you want to hear what I have to say, perhaps you had better take the advice of the Irish sportsman to the deer—"Indade honny, (if you want to be hit, you must come round behind me," (laughter.)

We have heard our friend Clegg speak here, and he has a right to speak on this occasion, by virtue of his nation. This is the Englishman's day. I blush, as an American, to own it, but it is. We have to borrow our noblest festival of freedom, as we have to borrow other things, from the old countries across the water; and I am sorry to say, as some of our States repudiate their obligations, so some of them would be glad to repudiate this also; but Massachusetts will hold on to it. (Cheers.) To me now, in the sadness of my mature experience on this question of slavery, the First of August is a tragical day. And, yet, it is a day we must keep; for without it, our Fourth of July tells but half the story. The Fourth of July gave freedom to the white population of the land; we need now a First of August to add to that the black population, and give us a land of freedom indeed. The First of August says to us, American people, pointing back to the Fourth of July, and round upon the results of its own noble emancipation, 'This ought to have done, and not to have left the other undone.' (Applause.) Our friend has spoken to us with a voice from England. It is sad to think, that so deeply has this principle of slavery become interwoven with the whole composition of the American mind, that when we go abroad, we are expected to represent Slavery, as every Englishman is expected to represent Freedom. We say, how strange it is, in these times, to see Turkey, the representative of Mohammedanism, standing for Freedom, against Russia, the representative of nominal Christianity. It is a sadder thing to see the young Republic that could not bear the bonds of a king, not only cradling the bondage that a king has abolished, but supporting it in its maturity, strengthening it in its demoniac strength, and assisting to make it grow with the Republic's growth, and be strengthened at the expense of its strength. It is the saddest thing of all to me to hear, as I do, from those who have gone to other countries, that they, as Americans, are expected to be friends, not of Liberty, but of slavery; to hear that Americans in Italy, by natural affinity, affiliate themselves with the cause of despotism there, and defend Austria in Italy, as they defend South Carolina in Massachusetts. A young friend of mine, travelling in Cuba, the other day had this sad event befal him:—He was mistaken for an Englishman, because he adhered to and befriended Liberty. It was a simple expression of his own feelings, and because he took the side of universal Liberty, they said to him, 'You are an Englishman, after all; we thought you were an American.' As an American, he was expected to be a despot; the instant he became a MAN, he was mistaken for an Englishman! I do not want to be an Englishman. I was born in Massachusetts, and I wish to be a Massachusetts man and a freeman, at the same time. It is this that brings the tragedy home to us on such days as this; because we learn, even while we stand here, that though we call this soil free, because it is agreeable to us to assume that it is so, there is not a spot of free soil within a week's journey of us, unless we travel North, and become the subjects of a Queen. The tragedy is to me to hear, as I heard the other day, of an old black woman, who, by the blessing of God and the North Star, is in Canada now,—who said that her earliest recollection was that of casting bullets during the Revolutionary war. At eight years of age, she cast bullets to be used against England,—at eighty, she was off like a shot herself, to take shelter under the English flag!

We claim to be a land of freedom, and the heart yearning for freedom, that has a dark skin outside of it, has to consider the question how it can get furthered by us, and go in safety. We claim Massachusetts for freedom. I tell you, friends, to-day, there is no spot in Massachusetts that is free. The inside of Boston Court-House seemed at one moment to be free, when Shadrach was rescued. It has been reconsecrated to slavery by the carrying off of Anthony Burns; and there is no other spot in Massachusetts that can be claimed as free, for there is no other spot that has been tested and tried. 'Slavery national, Freedom sectional,' shall I say? No; freedom is not even sectional; it is not even a 'peculiar institution'; there is no such institution here, because there is not a spot that is free; and, at this very moment, while we stand here, who knows what agencies may be beginning, in some other part of this very State, in the hearts of some innocent men, who have just learned that the slaveholders are in pursuit of them?

We make it our boast that men of foreign countries become free the moment they touch our soil; but yet men of our own country cease to be free so long as they are under our own flag. Capt. Ingraham gained the praise of the whole country by saving a man from the grasp of Austria, who had merely announced his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States. Anthony Burns had announced himself to be a citizen of Boston, to be a resident of Massachusetts, to be a freeman here; but I have not heard that any officer of the United States navy volunteered in his behalf, or that any marines were ranged on his side. We claim to be free; and yet, while Massachusetts still retains, and has multiplied a hundred fold, its old property, the only step that is claimed in the direction of freedom is, that whereas it once cost twenty-five dollars to send a slave into bondage, it costs thousands of dollars now. But remember, it is only because Massachusetts is rich and luxurious now, and she can afford to pay for the costly luxury of still obeying the Constitution, as she construes it, by sending a man into slavery.

The glory of a State should be, if it has any glory, that the humblest man in it is as safe as the most powerful. (Cheers.) Anthony Burns was humble, and for that reason, Anthony Burns, and such as he, were selected by God, and the spirit of the age, to test what Massachusetts is. It is no test of Massachusetts that she does not enslave her own white citizens. It is no test of Massachusetts that she can protect her own citizens, for her clergymen have parishes to stand by them—or they had, sometime in the course of their history, until they became abolitionists. Her clergymen, therefore, do not test the power of her laws and her love of freedom. It is that clergyman in the dungeon in Boston, who tests what Massachusetts is. I claim, in behalf of my brother there, that as the South insulted the three thousand clergymen of New England, New England should return good for evil, and stand by that minister from Virginia, with her laws, and her lives, if need be. But, Massachusetts does not do that, and that Baptist minister is sent back to the degradation of an iron bond.

Mr. Foss can tell us that two Baptist clergymen have gone out of Massachusetts, for whose departure Massachusetts must blush forever. And as Massachusetts, after having expelled Roger Williams from her borders, had reason to call in his aid again to protect her from the Indians, so she may yet need to call, not upon Anthony Burns, perhaps, but upon her own black men and women, to save her hereafter from a greater danger than any Indians ever brought.

Men say, you cannot expect to cure all the ills in the world. You know that thousands of slaves are sold every year in Virginia, and sent anew into captivity. Why, then, do you complain of a single one being sent back in Massachusetts? I complain, because he is in Massachusetts! I am not responsible for the evils of the whole world, but I am responsible for what happens beside my own door-step. If I hear that somewhere in this wide land, a thousand men are mobbing one man to death, I may not be called upon to go half across the nation to save that man. But if that man is under my own roof, and a thousand men attack him and seek his life there, I am the basest coward that ever crawled his 'preachers of the pulpit' to whom reference has been made, you must imagine you are in a meeting; and of course, you will not go out. And as I am particularly uncertain how far behind my audience my voice is reaching now,—for the wind is blowing wrong, and, as Elias Hicks says, it takes a live fish to swim against the stream, and live birds to fly against the wind,—if you want to hear what I have to say, perhaps you had better take the advice of the Irish sportsman to the deer—"Indade honny, (if you want to be hit, you must come round behind me," (laughter.)

One great difficulty is, that we take too superficial views of the evil of slavery; and it is the blessing of the meetings called under the auspices of this Society, that they never take a superficial view of the evil against which they war, but run a subsoil plough through all our prejudices, and tell us the truth as it is. The prophecies they make always come true. I say it, Free Soiler as I am,—one always reluctant to admit that there is any evil in the world that next year's election cannot cure. I say it, it is a melancholy truth, that the great majority of the people have not yet come to see what this evil of slavery really is. Look at our Constitution. I hear men every day, lamenting over the Fugitive Slave Law, on account of its supposed atrocities, and, for one, I am very glad to avail myself of any argument which its terrible features—the denial of the habeas corpus and trial by jury, its investing of mere subordinate officers with judicial power, its bribing a man with five dollars to decide unjustly instead of justly—afford me. I am glad to gain the opposition of one man to the Law by these considerations; but what are all these considerations, compared with the absolute truth itself, in its essence?

These are the trappings and the suits of woe, But there is that within which passeth show." I, for one, hate the Fugitive Slave Law, not because it is unconstitutional; Free Soiler as I am, I hate it not for that;—but because it is infernal! (Loud cheers.) If we only dislike and criticize it, because, in a few points, it is unconstitutional, we do not, I maintain, see the real evil with which we have to contend. The evil is in the object itself. I tell you, that law is less dangerous to the colored man and woman for being unconstitutional. Every little colored child, playing to-day under these pine trees, is so much safer in consequence of the unconstitutionality of our present Fugitive Slave Law; because that enlists on his side, and hundreds, and thousands of men, who have not looked to the bottom of this thing, and who, but for the obnoxious features of that law, would not oppose it as they now do.

It is a constitutional Fugitive Slave Law that I fear, and I trust never to see one. I trust never to see the forms of law thrown around that which is itself atrocious, to blind honest men to the real character of the thing. I trust never to see a man in Massachusetts yielding to a constitutional Fugitive Slave Law, if such a thing there be, because, as they may say, the forms of law have been complied with, the man has his chance for freedom, and what more do we need? I say, we want a state of things when a man has no chance for slavery, (applause)—when slavery becomes impossible—when any Fugitive Slave Law becomes impossible—when we shall pledge ourselves never to send another fugitive back at all! (Loud cheers.) Then we shall be standing, not on the platform of the Constitution, but on the platform of God and Freedom; and not until then will our efforts to save the slave be availing.

I see that, even now, some men—pure-minded politicians—disguise from themselves the real character of the conflict in which they are engaged. In a speech recently made, in Ohio, by a leading member of the new Republican party, I notice that he offers, as an argument for amending the Fugitive Slave Law, that if it were amended, made more humane, and less atrocious, ten fugitives would be given up where one is now. I do not want to see the Fugitive Slave Law amended, if this is to be the consequence. It was only the other day that another member of the Republican party, in another State, said distinctly in his speech, that there must be a Fugitive Slave Law of some kind. He would not have it repealed, he only asked that it might be amended, because the Constitution provided for some such law. When our Republican party in Massachusetts comes to that, it will be a party of what WENDELL PHILLIPS called the other day, 'Re-publicans and sinners,' and worse than those who are merely 'publicans and sinners.' (Applause.)

I rejoice to believe that such is not the character of the Republican party here. I rejoice to believe that there is actually spreading, in Massachusetts now, a deeper feeling of the nature of the whole evil than has ever prevailed before. I rejoice to think that Massachusetts men are coming to see that there may be a point in the history of this country beyond the duration of the Constitution, and beyond the duration of the Union. I rejoice that they are counting the cost at last, if they have not counted it years before. For myself, I signed the first petition to the Legislature asking that Massachusetts should take steps for the peaceful dissolution of the Union. I signed that one then; I am prepared to sign another one to-day. (Loud cheers.) I acknowledge this, voter as I am, Free Soiler as I am; and I must either contrive to keep my conscience in voting, or else come out from all political organizations, and stand with our friends here upon the non-voting platform. But I see this thing clearly—there is no chance for us, unless we go to the root of the matter. If we cannot do this, and still vote, why, we must fling all remaining ballots to the winds, and let them flutter away, to be taken by the waves to some desert land, where freedom yet remains, and there is no sin in voting. Be this as it may, nothing is clearer than that political action must tend to the building up of a Northern Union, a Northern Democracy—a Democracy that no longer apologizes and cringes when the Constitution and the Union are mentioned, but which says clearly to the South—"We have justice and right, the truth of God, and the sympathies of all good men, on our side; you have only a Constitution and a Union. Let the issue be tried between them!" (Loud cheers.)

I do not hold that the Constitution requires that Congress shall pass laws to secure the rendition of fugitive slaves; it may declare that the individual States may; it does not require that they shall, and inflicts no penalty if they do not. Let this Fugitive Slave Law be got clear of; let it be recognized that Congress has no part in the matter, and the whole question thrown back upon the separate States, and then comes your time for nullification, then your time for dissolution; and if the question arises then between a Fugitive Slave Law on the one hand, and Dissolution on the other, as I think it must, then, if I live to see the day, (as I do not expect to do,) I will take the stump with any of my friends here in behalf of dissolution. (Cheers.) Here the question becomes at once clear and plain. To send a man back into bondage is an absolute crime. To stand still, and see another man send a man back into bondage, is a crime only second to the other, unless you are a non-resistant, and then your tongue need not keep silence, if your arm is still; and there are men whose tongues are more terrible to Marshal Freeman than all the arms brought to bear upon the Court House that Friday night. That, therefore, is the first question; all else is secondary to that. At this moment, all hopes of American freedom, all hopes of the future destiny of the nation, hang concentrated on this one point—Can we conquer Slavery, or shall Slavery conquer us?

The point immediately presented to us as the under-ground is the enforcement of the slave law in the free States. This thing is only to be settled in the free States themselves. It is not to be settled in Washington by any body's votes. It is to be settled in Massachusetts, by your voices and hands, and by the votes of all true men. If they are recanted, they are recanted, and the whole war goes against you, and you may send out a million colonists to Nebraska and Kansas, but Nebraska and Kansas will be all that only Massachusetts is now, without a breath.

Take part in politics, if you can, friends; I am a little while longer—I do not know how long—I am a little while longer. But do not expect too much of men whom you choose to offer. If you can get a man who is up to the level of CHARLES SUMNER, get that man and thank God!—(Cheers)—for I tell you, gentlemen, our friends here may have said of him in the past, CHARLES SUMNER stands now, among those men at Washington, mentally as well as morally, as physically as well as mentally, 'like a lightning-bolt among lamp-posts.' (Applause.) Get as many Charles Sumners as you can; you will not get better men, unless you ask for men who will not go into politics, but do not trust them too far; do not expect that they will be saved by them or their votes. Congress will like the rock of Gibraltar, and their voices speak against it and leave no mark; the only advantage is to be, that the rock becomes a sounding board, and sends their voices through all the nation. It is to get them to do the work; it is to be done here, by me, and such as you and me.

Reforms can be carried by votes—by political action. I tell you the conflict with Slavery is not a Reform; it is a Revolution; and for a Revolution, you need not with hands and hands, and women who have been with their hands were stronger. We live in the midst of a Revolution. Every man is tested by every day;—by what he is doing, what he means to do, or what he would do, if he had a chance. We are in the tide of excitement passing over the land, and what will come of it; whether it will die away, or whether excitements have died away. I do not doubt it will have subsided already. State streets talk very differently now from what it did during the 'John Brown' days, the bad week that followed. John H. Parnass will proclaim himself a disunionist now, as he did on the platform in those days. Already men are relaxing their old feeling, and where is the hope? They will not all relapse, and because the old feeling will not be just the same as before. Every new slavery crisis that has come up here has brought new thoughts and fresh enthusiasm, into the slavery field; but every time there has been a crisis, and some have gone back. Nevertheless, there has been a steady gain, and there will be a gain in this exciting time; but many, many, will stand firm. So it is overflowing rivers. There is the Nile; it overflows year by year, and the Indians and Arabs lock in and longing, to see how much of the desert will be overflowed. The waters come rippling along, half-inch; as our anti-slavery tide rises, half an inch; the year the inundation spreads a new coating of black earth over the desert, and year by year it grows wider and more luxuriant harvest comes. (Applause.) It is so with us now. We are going to have that tide. It is only the seed that is sowing now. Every one of those quarter dollars which you give to the anti-slavery treasury is one of those seeds. Pray, drop them. But that is not all. The harvest will come one day, and although it may be reaped in blood, in tears, and tears, still good will come in the end. 'God is over all.'

It is for you, friends, to do your duty. The year here among these pine trees, the earliest year of Massachusetts, before Massachusetts stooped to bend one of the stars and stripes. We have got to bend our left among our woods, and among our men, and keep them while we can, though the progress of the day does burn them up so fast. We are all of us in duty to do; and many of us, I believe, are pledged to it by a former pledge than the ever new reformer by a former new trial, and every new reformer what slavery is. And to those of you who are here, and timid—for I know men do come to occasion in those, who think there must be something dangerous listening to the voices from this platform, and then linger on the outskirts of the wood, and perhaps in an ice-cream now and then, to cool their excited (laughter);—to such men I will give the confidence that I had a very fine horse, which his son was extremely desirous to ride. The boy was a young radical, and his father was a little afraid to have him drive the reins; but he brought out the noble horse, and he said to his son, as he put the reins into his hands,—'My son, don't drive too fast; don't drive too fast!' And he the enthusiasm of the old horse-jockey rose to his face, and he added, 'only don't let anything go by you.' (Laughter and cheers.) So it is with radicals now.

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That was his theory of politics. We should have to come to it last. Even Dr. Gannett, in that pulpit where he preached to George T. Curtis, had proposed...

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TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HENRY BIBB. The colored citizens of Detroit being on a pleasure excursion, on board steamer Ruby, between Amherstburg, C. W., and Detroit, Michigan, August 1st, 1854...

Excitement at Washington.—As President Pierce was leaving the Capitol on Saturday afternoon, he was accosted by a drunken Southerner, who invited him to take a drink, which he declined...

Infantile Mortality.—In the cities of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, last week, out of a total of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four deaths, one thousand and twenty-five, within a fraction of the whole number, were of children under five years of age.

COLORED GENIUS. Calling in, a few evenings since, at the study of Dr. J. V. De Grasse, (whose practice, by the way, we are happy to record as in the ascendant) our attention was directed to a beautiful oil painting, executed by Mr. Edward Bannister...

FIRST OF AUGUST AT HOPEDALE. DEAR GARRISON—I came here from Boston this morning, to attend the Twentieth Anniversary of West India Emancipation. I love to visit this place; it is very dear to me...

PLEDGES. Received at the Framingham Grocers Meeting, July 4, 1854, by the Finance Committee. S. C. Fay \$5 00 Z. Ober 1 00...

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PLEDGES. Received at the Framingham Grocers Meeting, July 4, 1854, by the Finance Committee. S. C. Fay \$5 00 Z. Ober 1 00...

DEAD.—At Windsor, C. W., Tuesday, Aug. 1, Henry Bibb, aged 35 years. Mr. Bibb was born a slave in Kentucky, in the year of our Lord 1815, and was reared under the blighting influence of that American Curse...

ANNIVERSARY NOTICE. The Twentieth Anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Salem, Ohio, commencing at 10 o'clock, on the morning of the 26th of August, and continuing probably three days...

ELKANAH NICKERSON, GILBERT SMITH, JOSHUA THOMAS, NATHANIEL SMITH, Z. H. SMALL, Committee.

OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. The Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Old Colony (Plymouth County) Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Town Hall, at Kingston, on Sunday, the 13th inst., at the usual hours of religious worship...

Despotism in America. IF any man doubts the fact, that the most grinding tyranny upon which the eyes of the civilized world are fixed, is the African Slave Trade, let him read this masterly work...

PHILLIPS, SIMPSON & CO. PUBLISHERS, BOSTON.

POETRY.

For the Liberator. THE FIRST OF AUGUST. All hail! thou glad, auspicious day, When Freedom's rising band...

From the Quincy Patriot. INDEPENDENT DAY. BY F. M. ADELING—WRIGHT. 'Tis Independent Day, mamma— Why don't they ring the bell?

From the National Era. ICHABOD. BY JOHN Q. WHITTIER. I heard the train's shrill whistle call, I saw an earnest look beseech...

From the National Era. 'TIS THE WORST AND THE BEST. BY THE WORKSHOP HAND. 'This bill is, at the same time, both the worst and the best bill ever acted upon by Congress...

It shall thrill through the land like a wall from the dead, And a voice shall reply from our forefathers' graves...

THE LIBERATOR.

A JOURNEY TO CHARLESTON. No. II.

BY THE WANDERING GENTLE. COLORED CONTENTMENT IN VIRGINIA. WASHINGTON HOTEL, WILMINGTON, N. C. April 1, 1864.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON: SIR.—I will devote this letter to the narration of a few facts in relation to the subject of contentment with slavery in Virginia...

As I was walking one of the streets of Richmond, I was suddenly overtaken by a shower. I entered the store of a fruiterer and confectioner. He was a free man of color. I soon entered into a conversation with him...

Not many years ago, a free girl from the opposite side of the river incautiously entered the city of Richmond, without her certificate of freedom...

are expected to endure, and do submit to, in the civilized, Christian, church-dorned city of Richmond...

'No, sir, they are not. I know the most of them; I've lived here for thirty years; first, in a hotel where I used to meet dozens of them every day...

'Do any of them return?' I asked. 'No, sir,' said the freeman, 'they're too much sense for that. You can't tell anything at all about the colored people from what the papers say...

'What's your name, Bobby?' 'Patrick,' quoth Bobby. 'What's your other name?' I asked. 'James,' answered Patrick. 'Are you a free boy?'

DEAR SIR: Please find \$5.00 enclosed, to pay for THE LIBERATOR as far as it will go. I do not believe slavery will be abolished before that will be used up in my subscription...

he received forty letters from members of his congregation. He was obliged to leave the city; Richmond would not submit to be spoken to by a Christian clergyman.

'I am not, perhaps, though, I may have seen him in New York. She went up stairs, and brought down his portrait, which she handled with a delicacy, and looked at with an affection, of which any public man might well have been proud...

'I was informed by the store-keeper whose remarks I have been relating, that the citizens of Richmond very zealously inculcate on the minds of their slaves, that all the Northern abolitionists want with them, is to sell and cruelly treat them. The North is pictured almost as a place of punishment, where negroes are abused, starved and kicked about...

'What's your name, Bobby?' 'Patrick,' quoth Bobby. 'What's your other name?' I asked. 'James,' answered Patrick. 'Are you a free boy?'

THE RAVAGES OF THE VOMITA IN HAVANA, were dreadful. Out of 72 passengers who arrived on the last Spanish mail steamer, scarcely three weeks since, but twelve were living.

THE NAVAL OUTRAGE. The destruction of San Juan de Nicaragua, by the American sloop-of-war Cyane, as chronicled in the Era of yesterday, is one of the most brutal, cowardly and infamous actions that have ever disgraced a civilized nation...

This outrage was doubtless performed by order of the United States Government, and will cover the Administration with merited disgrace. The following account of the place destroyed is taken from the New York Tribune...

THE NEW YORK HERALD says: Had the gallant Hollins come into the North river, and bombarded and burned Hoboken, he could not have damaged his own countrymen more effectually...

THE BIBLE DISCUSSION. FOR sale at the Liberator Office, 21 Cornhill, and by Bela Marsh, 15 Franklin street, the 'Great Discussion on the Origin, Character and Tendency of the Bible, by Rev. J. F. Berg, D. D., of Philadelphia, and Joseph Barker, of Ohio, in January last. Price, 81 cts. single—\$1.00 for 4 copies.

THE DESTRUCTION OF SAN JUAN. The New York Journal of Commerce, condemning the bombardment of San Juan, remarks: 'We understand that a considerable quantity of goods, sent out by some of our merchants for houses in New Granada, were left at San Juan for greater safety...

MOTORPATHIC CARD. DR. H. HALSTED, formerly of Haled Hill, Rock-ster, N. Y., well known as the author of the first system of Motorpathic, and by his great success in the cure of chronic and female diseases...

WORCESTER HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTION. NO. 1 GLEN STREET. THIS Institution is under the medical direction of Dr. I. S. RUSSELL, and is well arranged for treatment at all seasons.

CAPE COD WATER-CURE. AN Establishment of this character is commencing at Harwich, under the direction of G. W. F. Smith, Proprietor, W. FELCH, Physician, and Miss ELIZABETH SMITH, Assistant.

AT NEW IPSWICH, N. H. MRS. LUCINDA HATCH, having had long experience in Water-Cure treatment, now announces to the public that she has lately made additions to her accommodations, and is prepared to treat successfully patients that may place themselves under her care...

NEW ERA IN HEALING. DYSPEPSIA, Consumption, Headache, and all forms of Diseases, successfully treated by Nutram, without medicine. TO LABYRINTH: DEAR SIR—I take this opportunity to inform you that you have completely cured me of chewing and smoking tobacco...

DR. NICHOLS'S NEW WORK ON MARRIAGE. Its History, Character, and Results; its Sanities and its Profanities; its Science and its Facts. Demonstrating its influence, as a civil institution, on the happiness of the Individual and the Progress of the Race.

THE RELIGION OF MANHOOD. or, The Age of Thought. By Dr. J. H. Robinson. Price, 50 cts. The Philosophy of Creation; unfolding the Laws of the Progressive Development of Nature, and embracing the Philosophy of Man, Spirit, and the Spirit World.

WHITES' DAGUERRETYPE ROOMS. No. 36 WASHINGTON ST. ESTABLISHED A. D. 1840. STILL continue in successful operation; and having been recently refitted and improved by the addition of a large northern sky-light, (the only one of the kind in the city), the proprietors feel confident that they can now offer inducements unsurpassed, if not unequalled elsewhere.

REV. THEODORE PARKER'S GREAT SERMON ON THE NEBRASKA QUESTION. JUST published and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, and at the Commonwealth Office, 'An Address delivered by Rev. Theodore Parker, New York, Feb. 24, 1854, by William Lloyd Garrison. Price, 6 cents, single—60 cents per dozen—\$1.00 for 25 copies.