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ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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of is the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of sery question are impartially allowed a hearing.

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

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL COVERNMENT.'- John Quincy Adams.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

EF 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DESIED—the slaveholding ords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their

SECURE THE PERPETULTY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the seco

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES—AR engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under

the name of persons . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed!... To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

VOL. XXVI. NO. 1.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 4, 1856.

# WHOLE NUMBER 1122.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

Abolition is another illustration of the operation of ultraism. Its idol is personal liberty—the personal liberty of negroes. All other things most be sacrificed to secure this. The public sale, the public faith, the Constitution, the Union,

is seneral cause of freedom, are nothing compared

with this one thing. To liberate one negro, the liberates of a hundred white men must be imperiled. The barriers which impede the pragress of their scheme, arising from the general sentiment of the people, their settled habits and customs,

and the selfishness of mankind, are all lightly es

pened, and the most sanguine hopes are indulged of the success of their brilliant schedule We have intently watched the progress of monern ab-

elition from its inception to the present hour.

When a printer's boy, we used to read Garrison's

Jarrael of the Times, published at Bennington, at a time when he had been bitten by only one mad

day. And now we sometimes read sparingly the

productions of the present champion of the move-ment, the presiding genius of that Chaos of poli-tics and morals, the *Tribune*—that dark abyss, il-

lamined by no mild star of right conscience or

right reason,—that monstrous specimen of the Chaotic press, the abortive result of the vain at-

tempt at a chemical union between socialism and aristocracy. The best opinion we can form of the

whole movement is, that it is evil, and only evil.

It seems to us that had it not been for this evil

angel, the good cause of emancipation would have madegreat progress in our country, and the money which so many Southern men now wish to take from their pockets for the purchase of new tori-

try, they would now be expending as indemnities for wholly or partially liberated slaves. If we will let Southern people alone, they will emancinus their slaves at the property of the proper

pate their slaves at the proper time-namely, just at the time when they think best, and not be-

fore. The opposition of the abolition faction to

the law for the arrest and return of fugitive slaves.

he is a violation of our plighted faith—a blow in-fitted upon the integrity of the Constitution. We should not renounce our honesty for the sake of surphilanthropy;—we should not fear to conform to a Constitution devised and established by an

ancestry of better and nobler mould than our-

we can liberate but a sorry few of slaves ;-if we

will adhere to it, we can liberate three millions.

The judgment of the South in regard to slavery is

identical with our own; that generous people love freedom equally well with ourselves. This faction

also oppose the admission of slave States ;- but what is it to us that a State tolerates slavery ! It

has as much right to establish it as we have to

shelish it. We must regret its existence, but

there is no warrant in our political system for

asting any question on the subject-though we

thould turn our back upon its delegate, and upon

its application for admission to the Union. The station faction, again, are horrified at the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Perhaps we should sympathise with them, if we could understand

more clearly its nature. We can understand the tracuted compromises which have figured in our

history; but a prospective and executory compro-mise is a very different thing. Executory compro-mises require distinct parties, having a continuing

identity; and they also require some legal or constitutional sanction to enforce them. When the

Missouri Compromise shall have these elements,

it will be an intelligible and practical and consti

tuional thing. This faction would also abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. When the

people of the District wish it, and when the States

If we do not adhere to the Constitution,

ULTRAISM. [Correspondent of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce.] Abolition is another illustration of the operation

From the Richmond Enquirer. We are glad to see that some of the Whig Know-Nothing organs of the South do justice to the position of the Democracy in the House of Representatives. Unlike the majority of their al-lies, they have not the illiberality to expect the compact and solid phalanx of National Democrats to a bandon their sound and gallant candidate for a questionable candidate who has received only a andful of votes. To show that the attitude of the 74 ' champions of the Union and the Constitution is appreciated by some of our opponents, who place the responsibility in the right quarter, we make the following extract from the Romney (Va.) Intelligencer :-

'No SPEAKER ELECTED YET. For eight days have posed by all the other parties in the House -each party nominating and voting for their respective candidates. These parties cannot and will not coalesce—the Southern Americans, National men, will have nothing to do with the Know-Nothings of the North, who have Soilers and Abolitionists have voted pretty well together. Banks is their candidate. The consequence thus far has been, that the opponents of Richardson, who profess a respect for the rights of the South, have thrown away their votes on different persons. If they would rally and cast their rotes for Richardson, he would be elected, and the business of the House and of the country be transacted. We have no hesitation in arowing that, under the present circumstances, Richardson is our choice. If he had decreased the south are sufficiently and cast their rotes for Richardson, he would be elected, and the business of the House and of the country be transacted. We have no hesitation in arowing that, under the present circumstances, Richardson is our choice. If he had decreased the south of the great movements which are at work, and so put each of you in a position to see what is the best to be done. I can assure you that the tone I shall speak it is one of hope. Perhaps to many of you this may seem too enthusiastic a hope. I believe, however, I shall be able to do something to justify that hope, and to give you a similar assurance of triumph, and of joy, before I arowing that, under the present circumstances, Richardson is our choice. If he had decreased the south of the great movements which are at work, and so put each of you in a position to see what is the best to be done. I can assure you that the tone I shall speak it is one of hope. Perhaps to many of you this may seem too enthusiastic a hope. I believe, however, I shall be able to do something to justify that hope, and to give you a similar assurance of triumph, and of joy, before I are the present circumstances, Richardson, he was a proper to the control of the country be transacted. arowing that, under the present circumstances, Rich-ardson is our choice. If he be defeated, and a Free-great pro-slavery party in the South-it is a law ardson is our choice. If he be defeated, and a Free-great pro-slavery party in the South-it is a law Soller or Abolitionist is elected, the South will hold the in warfare never to undervalue one's opponent.

## SELECTIONS.

From the Liverpool Times of Nov. 20. REV. MR. CHANNING ON AMERICAN

evening, in the rooms of the Tuckerman Institute, human nature, you know what you probably would Bedford street, Toxteth-park, upon the subject of be were you slaveholders. I do not believe any one Slavery in the United States. There was a very of us here would act, upon the average, better, crowded attendance. At eight o'clock the chair under a similar condition, than our brethren do in

subject of the lecture, and apologised for the un-avoidable absence of the Rev. Francis Bishop, who to begin with. This body of the people, growing

parts, which I have forgotten with it, it seems to

shall really endeavor not in this sense to be lengthy, form of society which can exist for us, in regard to although I fear I may be rather long.

Why should an anti-slavery lecture be delivered upon us, and in regard to preserving our own enerman, and nothing which interests humanity is alien centre of the slave organization of the Southern very lecture in Liverpool. Then, in the next place, until you contradict it, I shall believe, in spite of blustering editors and bullying politicians, that you love the United States of America, and wish powerful type of the Southern character in his own them well. (Cries of hear, hear, and applause.) generation, and a man who gave his influence, per-in the third place, this is a matter which concerns sonal and political, for this great movement. The concerns all the working-men of this town, and of was this :- Great Britain is disturbing the peace this land. If any of you have read the very mas- of the world by her scheme of emancipation in the concerns the commercial men of Oreat Britain—
the subject of cotton and sugar—the question of middirected genius, which set him powerfully forCentral America and Cuba—every question which
is the ground of peaceful co-operation; every question, in regard to threatened disturbance, is more and with noble traits of character, gives himself or less wrought up with this question of slavery. up to the perpetration and propagation of error! (Applause.) I wish you to do full justice to the free to-day, it is not in the power of mortal man, spirit and character of this body of people, of and I do not believe it to be in the power of fiends, whom he was the type and leader; otherwise, you o drive our two nations into war. (Applause.) never can understa

PUSION IN SUPPORT OF SLAVERY. never yet begun this work. We have never had an opportunity, because, overlapping from the barbar-ism of the past, there has rested upon us, like an incubus, this institution of slavery. In a still higher sense, the question concerns you all, as you are lovers of Christianity. You have some com-prehension of what are the Christian relations of man to man, and woman to woman. As Christians, you must believe that the largest measure of love expressed in all the relations of society, is the truest embodiment of the Christian church, and the truest representation of the heavenly law. As well-wishers to the Christian church, you must de-sire that your fellow members of that Christian church, whether black or white, should together recognise, as in God's presence, the common equal-

ity of the spiritual nature and the common destiny to which all are bound. the House of Representatives been endeavoring to become organized for the transaction of business; but as yet they have entirely failed to elect a Speaker. The National Democracy have offered as their candidate Mr. Richardson, of Iilinois. Mr. R. was during the part ression, and is now, a warm and consistent supporter of the Nebraska Bill. He is opposed to the Abulitionists and the Free Soilers. Mr. R. has been optimized by a bird's-eye view, what really is the character of the great movements there at work, so as to entire the property of the great movements there at work, so as to entire the property of the great movements there at work, so as to entire the property of the great movements there are work, so as to entire the property of the great movements there are work, so as to entire the property of the great movements there are work, so as to entire the property of the great movements there are work. These, then, are reasons for giving a lecture on by a bird's-eye view, what really is the character of the great movements there at work, so as to en-able you to form a sound judgment of the tendencies of our times, and the prospects of the immediate future. I shall aim, the spirit of trath aiding me, to be just. I shall merely describe, then, each of the great movements which are at

Soiler or Abolitionist is elected, the South will hold the men who did not vote for him accountable. The question is a very plain one: ought Southern and National men to support a National man, or give their aid, either directly or indirectly, to a Free-Soiler or Abolitionist? Is there a single Southern man who would hesitate, under such circumstances, how he ought to vote? pirates and cut-throats, desperadoes and tyrant cruel creatures who distort bumanity, to deal with, the work would be comparatively very easy. You have all read-or, if you have not, you have ne-elected a duty to your moral nature-Uncle Tom's glected a duty to your moral nature-Cabin. You know then something of the miseries incident to slave institutions. I am going to pass SLAVERY.

that whole subject by. I have nothing to say upon it. I presume your own hearts have been harrowed up by it; and if you know yourselves and by it The Chairman, in a few words, introduced the self that I would act any better. I wish then to has right to require that slavery should not be introduced into a State by illegitimate and piratical means; and if the social and political system of a territory is established by such means, we said: I shall endeavor, my friends, in the lecture ciety. They believe that there is a justification for said: I shall endeavor, my friends, in the lecture to which I ask your attention this evening, to re-member the old anecdote of the ambassadors who They believe that the wisest political philosophy waited upon a King of Sparta with a very lengthy of the ancient world supports it. They point to walted upon a King of Sparte with a very lengthy address, as we say in Yankee-land, meaning one which is dry and dull, as well as long. They waited upon him with a very lengthy address, and at the end he said—' With regard to the first and the which their institutions rested, the lower class of middle parts of your discourse, they were so long slaves. They come to the black race, and say, that I have forgotten them; and with regard to the . That race is a peculiar one, marked out for the third and closing part of your discourse, inas- government of a superior race, more fitted by their much as I do not see the connection of the first two physical endowments for toil than any others, and arts, which I have forgotten with it, it seems to especially fitted for the climate in which they are that it has no meaning. (Laughter.) Now I found. We believe, therefore, that the very best

> n Liverpool! I take it that all persons here will gies for higher work, is this institution of slavery.' espond to the old saying of the Roman, 'I am a Here is the body which forms the very nucleus and me.' That is one reason for giving an anti-sla- States. Let me bring before you one of those men very man, and every woman, in Great Britain. It attitude which he took in regard to this question terly address upon the colonial system of Great West Indies, a scheme of universal emancipation, Britain, offered the other evening to the citizens of which is a fool-hardy and rush interposition against Chester by Mr. Gladstone, you will have seen the the laws of Providence. She is doing a great deal Chester by Mr. Gladstone, you will have seen the importance in its reactive influence upon labor to provide for herself, in tasse lands, a source of here, that there should be opportunity for its expansion everywhere. Now, at this very moment, there are lying latent and unused the richest lands of the United States, because the neighboring lands are cursed with slavery. Would you open a new tide of emigration! Would you set free some of the and to him and his influence, and to the body of set. logged channels of labor in your own land! Then, men arranged around him, may you trace the first say, strike a blow for freedom, by moral influence, project of that great slave empire which was to and you may be sure of this, that the very instant control Central America, t. re-possess the West lavery is abolished in the Southern States of the Indies, and to extend us widely, and as rapidly as Union, the tide of emigration will set in upon them in a perfect flood; and many of your brothers and sons, I trust, will be there. This question, then, concerns the working men of Great Britain. It concerns the commercial men of Great Britain— to concerns the commercial men of Great Britain— will be the commercial men of Great Britai

d the question rightly, as it This question of slavery, then, concerns the work-ing man, and concerns the commercial man, and concerns the politician. It concerns, in a large connected with it. There are people there who oncerns the politician. It concerns, in a large connected with it. There are people there who ense, the true lovers of their race; and, whether would re-establish, in connection with slavery, all erhaps, or some at least here may do, in the system of republicanism, I have no doubt every one generous elements of character, devoted affection, would wish that the experiment which we are makwould wish that the experiment which we are making, should be made upon the pure principle of republicanism, which is the foundation of our government. We never can enter upon the true problem which Providence has given us to solve, until lem which Providence has given us to solve, until we be faithful to the fundamental principle upon which our nation is founded. If, therefore, you which our nation is founded. If, therefore, you desire the reactive influence of the mere lesson of our experience, you must desire that we should faithfully carry out the principles of liberty and equality, universally, trusting men, under God, to their own free energies, to take that place which the endowments of their genius and character would give them in the social scale. This is the experiment we have to try in America. We have

with humiliation on the slavery existing among them, you err: and it may console you to know that as they lament the first error, they deplore its consequences, as developed in their land: and that there are men and women in the South as generous in God. Great as is His majesty, so is His mer between the consequences, as developed in the south as generous in God. Great as is His majesty, so is His mer between the consequences, as developed in the South as generous in God. Great as is His majesty, so is His mer between the consequences. and as pitying as you yourselves. (Cheering and applause.) I knew a gentlewoman in the South. She was noble in figure and in face. She was in She was noble in figure and in face. She was in wool. My hope is for a peaceful conclusion of this intellect commanding, she was in spirit a Chris- struggle. I have pointed out to you that the North tian. But her expression of countenance was un-changeably sal, and for this reason, that she felt you that a large party in the South is on the side that the dark cloud of slavery hung over her native of freedom. I have shown you how small the oli-land, and feared that the time would come when garchy is who hold the slaves. Now, my impres-God's dread lightning would blaze down from it, sion is, that we should recognize this as a nation : and destroy them. Meanwhile, she would act as that inasmuch as we have allowed slavery to cona minister of mercy; so she gathered around her tinue, the sins of our forefathers are our own; and the children of the plantation, and taught them in although it is the fact that Great Britain introthe children of the plantation, and taught them in violation of the law, subjecting herself to its direst penalties. Her one earnest thought was how to defend, educate, and lift up those who were oppressed. This class of people are not few in the South: they are many, but they are comparative. I take it all. I grant that it is our crime, as well as the crime of our ancestors. I admit it as a national sin, which we have comply passive in regard to the abolition of slavery, mitted, and that there is not a single rood or foot of the ground of the United State and account of the second of the United State and account of the second of the seco because they do not see any sphere in which they can work. Their thought is that slavery will lean still more to the south-west; and they anticipate that, in the course of time, there will be a commonwealth which shall be controlled and governed by the black race. Meanwhile, they simply await the dawning of that day as best they can. And mingled with them are those who also yield themselves up to the evil influences of slavery, and who are changed into tyrants by it. But there is another class in the South—thanks be to God, growding fast—who are resolved that slavery shall cease.

In the day and that there is not a single rood or foot of the ground of the United States not cursed with the evil of slavery—not a man of that people who has not been accessory to the wrong. That is the position which seems to me to be honest, honorable and manly. Taking, then, this ground, that we are all engaged in it together, and that we cannot push it off as a burthen upon others—taking it as a common sin, I say it demands a common atonement, a common sacrifice, approved by common other class in the South—thanks be to God, grow—life fast—who are resolved that slavery shall cease.

Allow me to direct your attention to this single point: Each of our States is sovereign in itself, ing fast—who are resolved that slavery shall cease. Understand me, in the South itself are these men. If you will take your map, you will see a range of mountains stretching through Virginia. North and South Carolina, branching out into Tennessee and Kentucky, Georgia, and on through the Southern States. On these higher lands, slavery i comparatively of interest of the see higher lands, slavery i comparatively of interest of the see higher lands, slavery i comparatively of interest of the see higher lands, slavery i comparatively of interest of the see higher lands, slavery i comparatively of interest of the see higher lands, slavery i comparatively of interest of the see higher lands, slavery i comparatively of interest of the see higher lands, slavery i comparatively of interest of the see higher lands, slavery i comparatively of interest of the see higher lands paratively of little use. From the first, ther has been an apath, among the people there—they have never felt an interest in slavery—they have always seen their position to the great principle of republicanism, and they have been desirous for, and are agitating schemes for its abolition. They are, however, silent in their action, because the power of the slave oligarchy is strong; but they are the reserve force of freedom, ready for it when the time comes. (Applause.) Then again there the time comes. (Applause.) Then again there are those who see how slavery is destroying their land—how it is eating up the very soil which is cultivated by slave labor—how it prevents the tide what you did, and what, I suppose, under the circultivated by slave labor—how it prevents the tide of emigration from setting in among them, and how cumstances, was right for you to do. We never impossible it is to try to elevate the moral condition of a body of people whilst slave institutions prevail They are resolved, therefore, that slavery shall cease. They draw a very remarkable contrast between the slave States and the free States; they see that it is impossible for them to tolerate it any longer. Let me contrast two States—the one a free, the other a slave State—about equal in need our aid, you shall have it. It will come by

York, there is church accommodation for all de-nominations for 1,913,900; in Virginia, for only 56,000. Those who live in the Southern States see this, and ask themselves how they can submit o it. They see also its evil influence in the amount f the poor whites, and still more in the deterioraion of the people when brought in contact with lavery, so much so in fact, that the slaves them-

were held by 370,000 people, of whom only 9,200 at the outside held any large number of slaves. He explained that it was by unity this small oligarchy was able to exert such a power. He trusted he had spoken of them generously, but he should also speak firmly, and declare that the days of this oligarchy were numbered. They had been weighter that the balance, and found was in the whole small oligarchy were numbered. They had been weighter that the days of this oligarchy were numbered. They had been weighter that the balance, and found was in the whole small object. remained for them to admit that they were van-quished. His impression was, that, during the coming four years, it would be seen that slavery was vanquished in the United States, once and for

who took their stand upon the principle of imme-diate and universal emancipation, foremost among whom, he mentioned WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. upon whom he pronounced an elequent eulogy, and of whose career he gave a brief outline. He then spoke of another body, among the Northern States, corresponding to the second class he mentioned in the South, not actually abolitionists, who think in the South, not actually abolitionists, who think slavery a very bad thing, but ask how it can be got rid of, and think, as they are not slaveholders themselves, it does not concern them. This class contained many, too, who were anxious to palliate, as much as they could, the evils of slavery, who were a dead-weight upon the anti-slavery movements. Then he came to another class, correspond-ing to the third class, of whom he spoke in regard

printed document)—but in that Declaration, the charge is urged against Great Britain, that she brought slavery into the colonies, and that she established it there despite of the colonists. And it is true: it is the downright fact. tablished it there despite of the colonists. And it is true; it is the downright fact.

These people regret the time when slavery was introduced into the colonies, and look open it as a temporary evil; one that will pass away before the higher influences of religion and civilization. If you think that none in the Southern States look with humiliation on the slavery existing among

I believe that the crime, although it may be be deep-dyed in blood, can be washed white

point : Each of our States is sovereign in itself, in regard to its own institutions. The nation can their extent. Let us take New York in the North, and Virginia in the South. The State of New York contains 46,000 square miles, and that of Virginia 61,000 square miles. In 1810 the population of New York was 959,000; of Virginia 974, 000. In 1820, the population of New York increased to 1,372,000, while Virginia increased to 1,065, 000; in 1830, New York 1,918,000, Virginia 1,211, others to Africa; and others again will wish to 000; in 1840, New York 2.428,000, Virginia distribute themselves to the far West, and the na-1,239.000; and in 1850. New York 3,097,000, and Virginia 1,426 000. Then again in regard to the government will give aid in this direction, if neextent of their lands improved and unimproved.— cessary. Then, as regards the slaves themselves. In New York, there are 12,408,000 acres improved; an act of justice must be done. They must receive n Virginia, 10,360,000 acres. In New York, there what will enable them to take a position in socie are unimproved, 6,710,000 acres; in Virginia, 15,- ty. They are to be thought of, as well as the masre unimproved, 6.710,000 acres; in Virginia, 15.

792,000 acres. Again the value of the farms, &c., ters. This can be done only in a compound prorow York is 120,000,000, dollars, while in
New York is 120,000,000, dollars, while in
Virginia the value is only 46,000,000 dollars.—
the treasury; and when it is seen that the nation
has embarked in this great work of regeneration,

Virginia the value is only 40,000,000 dollars.

Contrast them still more in a higher point of view. has embarked in this great work of regeneration, the hearts and hands, and all the energy and will of the people united will be combined in this proton. In New York, there are 13,965 in New York, there are 13,965 in which I live—it is one in which I would cheer teachers; in Virginia, 3,305; in New York, 691, fully die. I say it is the course of honor, of honored the people united will be combined in this proton. fully die. I say it is the course of honor, of honesty, of humanity, of truth, and of righteousness It is that which will place us where we ought to stand-as the leaders among free people wh themselves to their own free energies. The Rev. lectorer concluded by quoting a passage from John G. Whittier, illustrating this hope, and resumed his seat amid general and enthusiastic applause. On the motion of the Rev. Mr. Robberds, second-

ed by Mr. E. Harvey, the thanks of the meeting

# CHURCH BY THE APOSTLES.

The Rev. Dr. Durbin has been writing a long was vanquished in the United States, once and for ever. (Cheers.) If they thought that too bold a prophecy, he would postpone it until eight years the Apostolic Church.' He bases this opinion upas the longest term. (Cheers.) He meant, of on four propositions. 1st. The prevalence of alacourse, the beginning of the work of emancipation. Very throughout the Roman Empire at the time of the did not mean that all the evils of slavery would the institution of the Apostolic Cherches. 2d. The admission of the fact by the New Testament be put away in four years.

He now directed the attention of the meeting to the Northern States, which he divided into three classes, corresponding to those by which he had il-classes, corresponding to those by which he had il-classes of Christianity will gradually abolish slavery by the negative of the preparation which Christianity very, but the preparation which Christianity brings, is necessary to the freedom of the slave. 4th. The Church 'held the conduct of the master and slave, in view of the relations between the

Dr. Durbin is one of the greatest lights in th Land and written books on his travels; he profess es to be opposed to American slavery, and says he left his native State on account of slavery; and yet we here find him prostituting his talents to fasten upon the Christian Church the crime of slave-holding! Is it true, as Wesley, the great founder of Methodism, once said, that slavery is the sum of all villanies! If so, the Church (according to these two Methodist Divines) stands the endorser to the Southern States, and a very rapidly-increasing class. He had listened, by every packet which
ever-growing republican party, based upon the
principles of freedom, which had already carried
several Northern States, and would carry, he trustates or sanctions the Courca (according to
the Unitaries) It so, the Courca (according to
the Hillsnies) Stavery (whether it includes every villants. Slavery (whether it includes every villants or not) certainly includes murder,
theft, adultery, and rape—four crimes black enough
to disgrace and condemn any religion which telerates or sanctions them.

It would be easy to prove that the life of the slave is in the hands of his master; he can chastise him moderately (not over 40 lashes, or by some latitude 100) until he dies; he can work him as latitude 100) until he dies; he can work him as many hours per day as he pleases; he can feed him as he see proper; he can regulate both the quality and quantity of food. He is authorized to shoot him down, if he dares to disobey any of his master's commands, (persistently) and if he makes use of his limbs to gain his freedom, (his unalienable right, which Dr. D. acknowledges) he is chased down with bloodhounds and lacerated with their fangs, and if he holds out, he is shot down like a dog, and the law compels Dr. Durbin to join in dog, and the law compels Dr. Durbin to join in and chase him down, if he should get so far North

as free Pennsylvania.

He is frequently advertised as a runaway, and a runaway is an outlaw, and may be killed by any one without incurring censure. (That is the law of the South. Nay, it was a few years ago admitted in a trial of slaveholders at Harrisburg for beating their slaves in a Pennsylvania jail, that the slaveholders had a right to beat their slaves till they could not run away, and if there was reasonable grounds to suppose that the slaves would be rescued, they might even kill them without being

responsible to our law.)
That slavery is the baldest theft is self-evident, because it is not merely stealing what the head devises and the hands execute, but it is stealing head, hands, and the products of these! Was there ever a larceny that here any analogy to it it in fiendish atrocity? We will not attempt to prove that rape and adultery are its legitimate fruit the most unlearned tyro knows it to be so. Does Christianity tolerate men who commit these horrible crimes! We do not believe it, and we call upon Christian professors to wipe this foul and bloody blot from the pillars of the Christian

If it be proved that the early Christians tolerated such villanies, and if it can be shown that Christianity connives at such crimes, they and it will become a by-word and a soorn among all enlighten-ed moral people. May God defend the right when our Christian professors are wresting the secred principles of Christianity to excuse and defend American slavery! Dr. Durbin assumes that slavery ishot a crime, but something that merely stands in the way of progress. Therefore slaveholding is not to be denounced as anti-Christian!

## DAVID ATCHISON.

The New York Times presents the following true picture of this favorite of the Administration—the third member of the firm of Pierce, Douglas, At chison, and Stringfellow :

\*Comparative physiology has no difficulty in classifying such characters as that of the ex-President of the Senate. He belongs to a species fa-miliar to all residents in the West. They are found in every bar-room, and turn up inevitably at politi-cal meetings or the County Court. They are usually small lawyers, of Democratic professions and vile habits; affecting vulgarity of dress, manners, and association, in order to rid themselves of any suspicions of aristocratic pretension, against which the unhewn and unkempt sons of the prairie have ing from their log offices to the blacksmith shop, or the 'squire's, or the tavern, stockingless, shoes down at heel, coatless, a huge quid of tobacco in the cheek, or a cigar flaming from one corner of the mouth. They may be heard swaggering and blustering wherever a lazy village audience can be gathered together, unsparing in profanity, and as ready with a blow or a bowie-knife as with the tongue. Their practice is more extensive at the bar-room and the barrel, than as barristers. They take the only daily paper received in the town, and are on hand to read it, when the mail arrives, to an ad-miring audience, who accept the text and the running commentary of the village politician with equal decility. They can talk, and are, therefore, delegates to all sorts of conventions; they can quarrel, and are, therefore, the men to 'stump' a District, or the State, as disputants, Western-wise, where opposing candidates hunt for votes in The only capital needed for entire success in the trade is impudence, volubility, black-guardism, profanity, drunkenness, ferocity, and the guardism, profamity, drunkenness, leroeity, and the reverse of any picture representative of a gentleman; and so qualified, the frontier lawyer and politician is a rising man.

And such a man is this Atchison—a poor specimen of the class, however, because, wholly void of that talent which is not one of its rarest characteristics.

that talent which is not one of its rarest characteristics. We can recall no record of any public man so destitute of merit as his. Noisy and brawling in the lobby, he has been noteless for anything wise or well-said in the Senate Chamber. The Congressional Glode would have helped his fame by leaving blanks after each recurrence of his name. His presence indeed is a perputual tribute to the long-suffering of the Senate. It has experience of small inen. Pettit, of Indiana, has been there, small in name and kind; Norris, of New Hampshire, was there. Men have been there—like Jarsmall in name and kind; Norris, of New Hamp-shire, was there. Men have been there—like Jar-negin, of Tennessee, whose luckless vote on the Tariff killed him and it—whose good name has been sold for nothing; blockheads and bullies have been there, like Borland.—a human extract of both; vania statesman whose devotion to railroad specu-lation contributed to the loss of Kansas and Nebrasks to freedom. But the history of the Senate records no instance where it has enjoyed the socie-ty and sweet counsel of a member so thoroughly accomplished in little, mean, stupid, ruffianly at-tributes, as this frontier pettifugger.

# MR. RICHARDSON.

We have rarely found so much truth in so few words, as in the following pithy extracts from our little contemporary, the Clevelander:

little contemporary, the Clevelander:

There are but two higher officers on earth than that of Speaker of the House of Representatives of the American Congress; and yet the man who for a few days has received the most votes for that position. was W. A. Richardson, of Illinois. We met that Mr. Richardson last summer on Lake Superior, and found him to be a six-foot bully, dirty in person, blackguard in language, dranken in habit, and, in short, just such a man as could not obtain admission to any Cleveland residence of respectability. Should he be elected, it would be a disgrace to humanity, to the Union, and to republicanism; and an evidence that resublics are not only 'ungrateful,' but shameless.

And this is Mr. Douglas's man Friday; the immaculate mover of the Nebraska Bill; the man whom the Locofocos wish to elect to the office of Speaker of the House of Representatives! We verily believe that the standard of morality among the leaders of that party is becoming lower and lower every day. How long will public sentiment tolerate such men!

The Chicago Citizen, in an article referring to

The Chicago Citizen, in an article referring Mr. would be Speaker Richardson, as portrayed by the Clevelander, says: "He may be dirty and

# SOUTHERN KNOW-NOTHINGISM.

We are strong politicians, but, we trust, ronger patriots. At all times, we are ready to stronger patriots. impolate party feeling on the altar of our com-mon country, and for the welfare of the Union. If there be no other means of defeating the infahous faction that threatens the South with coninsed aggressions, and holds the perpetuity of our institutions at a cheap rate, compared with the predominance of its incendiary doctrines, we say, in the new forms. n the name of that which is dearer to us than party, let the oblation be consummated. Give us, a thousand times rather, a Democratic Speaker, if a frue man, than a Free Soiler, whether he styles himself Whig or American. It may be, however, that he Northern members of the opposition may take counsel of members of the opposition may take counsel of prudence, and may eventually be wil-ling to compromise matters in the manner indicated above. If such an offer be made, the Southern representatives might accept it without a material surrender of principle. But we confess to a marked distrust of the Northern Free-Soilers. They are, for the most part, men of one idea, to which they cling with unflinching pertinacity. Such men have no enlarged patriotism, and are destitled of a single wark of magnanimity. They tate of a single spark of magnanimity. They would, we fear, prefer keeping the House of Representatives in a disorganized and uproarious state for weeks to come, sooner than abate an iota of that sectional hatred which is the alpha and omega of their political faith. New Orleans Bes.

apon its border wish it, then our chief objections to the measure will be removed. This faction obect to the annexation of new territory; and here so think they are right. The annexation of new britory is an ultra constitutional measure; and as our farm is already sufficiently extensive for the purposes of good cultivation, we can afford to subject have been clearly and satisfactorily defined by the Constitution, before we purchase or steal In regard to the disposition of the Northern clergy to meddle with slavery, we do not feel that asperity towards them which some seem to feel.
When slavery existed at the North, they were not disallowed to declaim against it. Their intentions are pure and good; and with us, this atones for many failings. But it would be agreeable if those play upon a harp of a thousand strings, would not play so much upon one string, especially when the ears designed chiefly to be are so far off. The truth is, our Protestant clergy are not qualified for politicians or for statesmen they are too confiding, too enthusiastic, and too little acquainted with business and the world; bey are not as well fitted to accomplish their good and lefty purpose as the Popish priests to accomplish their base and dangerous designs. We point to the case of the great Boston preacher: as a champion of pure morality and his ideal of reli-gon, how richly does he deserve our admiring plaudits !-- as a politician and advocate of ultraon, how well does he deserve our mournful con-

### MR. BANKS AND HIS CATECHISERS. House. - A resolution to elect a speaker by plu-

rality was rejected by 15 majority, the House voting with the following result:—Banks 101, Richardson 73, Fuller 37, scattering 1.

Mr. Lester having received from time to time two

votes for speaker, stated distinctly that he had ld be. He stated this, lest it might be suspected that there might be something wrong in his posi-tion. He had, he said, as regularly and consistently voted for Mr. Banks as any other man in the

House.

Mr. Stewart, in explaining the reason why he had been voting for Mr. Richardson, said that his had been voting for Mr. Richardson, said that his had been voting for Mr. Fuller's, had (Mr. R.'s) position, as well as Mr. Fuller's, had been explained distinctly and explicitly, but Mr. Banks's had not. He inquired of Mr. B. whether he ever said in a speech in Maine, ' Let the Union

Mr. Banks replied that in that speech he said there might be such a state of things in which he would consent to such a proposition. He had reference to future contingencies, such as the prostration of the gigantic power of the government to the support of a single institution, slavery. He was for the Union as it is, and would meet its enemies in a fair field. He was for the Union as the guaranty of the rights of the States, and the main prop of our government. He would have the Union stand on the records of history in the language of Washington, 'crowned with immortal fame.' Mr. Smith, of Va.—I am not satisfied with the

answer of the gentleman. Did you say, 'under certain circumstances,' you 'would let the Union Mr. Banks-I have said all I desire to say

Mr. Smith, of Va .- I wish it to be distinctly un derstood that those who sustain Mr. Banks are voting for him with the knowledge that in a certain contingency he would let the Union slide.

Mr. Grow said, I ask the gentleman, and every

member who has been here for the last four years. whether such a declaration has not been repeated from time to time by some of those who are now voting for Mr. Richardson, namely, that they are willing to dissolve the Union, and let it slide, in certain contingency. We stand here to support the compromise of the constitution as it is explain-ed by the fathers of the republic and contemporaneous reports for over sixty years. We say we are not willing to take any other construction, or to consent that slavery shall go wherever our flag Mr. Rust said he believed from the beginning

that all debate was out of order, as the first business before the House was the election of a speaker Mr. Stewart submitted a proposition declaratory of the national principles on which the speaker of

the House should stand. Mr. Colfax stated that if Mr. Stewart would accept as a substitute a proposition for the annexa-tion of Cuba, and appropriating by annexation of that part of Oregon surrendered to Great Britain by Mr. Polk, he might vote with that gentleman. [Laughter.]
Mr. Bocock raised a question of order, saying

the law required that a speaker be elected, and members be sworn in, before the transaction of other business. Mr. Boyce, among other questions, asked Mr.

Banks as follows: — Are you in favor of recogniz-ing Hayti, and receiving a black minister? Do you favor the abrogation of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia? [Cries from the friends of Mr. Banks, call the roll. Confusion.] call the roll. Confusion.]
Mr. Banks replied to Mr. Boyce, and said he dis

tinetly recollected Mr. Richardson being a candidate for speaker, declining to give answers to ques tions propounded to him. [Laughter; cries of good, good—call the roll,' &c.]
Mr. Florence here made an ineffectual attempt to

have the House adjourn until Thursday, for the purpose, as he said, that members might partici-pate in the religious and social observances of Christmas. [Laughter.] Mr. Brooks said he was willing to let the Union

slide. If the gentlemen on the other side who sup-port Mr. Banks have that fixed determination, he ranted his constituents to kno the issue made here, that it might be frankly met, if necessary.
Mr. Shorter, although voting for Mr. Richard-

son, was willing to unite on some other conservative candidate who believes that the Missouri line should not be restored, in order to effect an election The House then voted, with the following result Banks 101, Richardson 72, Fuller 31, Pennington

4, scattering 7; necessary to a choice, 108.

Mr. Nichols offered a resolution, that a speake be elected by a plurality vote. Tabled by 116 against 101.

Mr. Orr moved that when the House adjourn, it be till Thursday.

Mr. Giddings-We have no power to adjourn; i

the motion were agreed to, a majority may con here to-morrow, reverse the order, and elect speaker. Mr. Orr-If a speaker were elected under such

Air. Orr—It a speaker were elected under ruc circumstances, the majority would find Jordan hard road to travel. [Laughter.] Mr. Florence—And it would be a very pretty ex ample for Christian men to set the country. [Mer

riment.]
Mr. Orr's motion was then negatived, and th House adjourned until Wednesday.

### From the Salem Register. OVERSEERISM IN CONGRESS.

Our readers will find, in the Congressional re cord, a small specimen of that insolent overseerism which some of the Southern members of Congress are so constantly attempting to exercise over Nort ern men, that it has become a staple commodit with that class of fire-eaters devoted to the Slav Power. We refer to the inquisitorial process which one William Smith, of Virginia, undertook to in-stitute over Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts, on Monday last, in regard to the awful crime of having said in a speech in Maine, last fall, something to this effect, viz:—that, if ever the gigantic power of this government should be prostituted chiefly the propagation of human slavery, he would be willing to let the Union slide! And for uttering this sentiment, the representative of the Virgins branch of the multitudinous Smith family was inclined to hold up Mr. Banks, by inuendo, to the constituencies south of Mason & Dixon's, as som vote-though how and why the sentiment was atrocious does not appear. Mr. Banks made a so atrocious does not appear. very proper reply to the self-appointed overseer, but the great Mr. Smith pompously declared that he was not satisfied with the answer, as though he were the Sir Oracle from whose dictum there could be no appeal.

be a political lord of the lash, and to flourish his whip over the heads of Northern Representatives Why, he is neither more nor less than the famou mail-contractor, or stage driver, who, some years ago, acquired the sobriquet of 'Extra Billy,' from the frequency with which 'extra' charges made their appearance in the settlement of his accounts the Virginian's peculiar proclivities, was made dur gress. While the appropriation bill was up, and the clause providing for the payment of Mr. Edward Riddle, of Boston, for his Crystal Palace Exhibition, was before the House this Smith spoke sneeringly and contemptuously Mr. Riddle as 'a horse dealer and auctioneer in the city of Boston.' Mr. Hughes, of New York, in reply, remarked: 'It was said by the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. Smith.] that Mr. Riddle a gentleman whom I know yery well—was a horse dealer and auctioneer in Massachusetts. I ask if it is worse to be a horse dealer in Massachusetts than to run a line of stage coaches in Virginia, or any other State, whether it be a regular or ertra line of coaches ! Mr. Smith then disclaimed any intention to reflect upon Mr. Riddle, and Mr.

Now who is this Mr. Smith, that he assumes

Hughes continued: 'It was stated as a matter of reflection upon Mr. Riddle, as I thought. I know him well; and he is as high-minded and honorable a gentleman as lives in Massachusetts—pursuing his business in a laudable way. If he sella any thing, he sells quadrupeds, not bipeds; and I am glad that his vocation is of that description—his

auctioneering of that sort.'

The same Mr. Smith is the gentleman who had a street fight, and a bout at fisticuffs with a Washington editor in Pennsylvania Avenue, on Friday last. These things show his calibre. What claim such a man has to set himself up as a grand in-quisitor, and insolently and offensively to domineer over Northern members, it is difficult to say.

But we are wasting too much ink on the redoubt-

able Mr. Smith. Our main purpose was to protest against the insolent and insulting tone and manner which many Southern representatives are accus-tomed to assume towards Northern members and the North, on the slightest provocation, and without any provocation at all. The occasion alluded to is but one among the smallest of the exhibitions of this propensity. It must be that the horrible crime of Mr. Banks, in their estimation, consisted though in an infinitessimal degree, in poaching on their peculiar domain. 'Disunionism' is their distinctive thunder, and no Northern man must lance, should stimulate to greater activity and more de dare to appropriate it even in homosopathic doses nventions can deal in it at wholesale Southern Governors can make it the staple of every annual message; Southern demagogues can threat en it from every stump; and the South g can wave the banner of disunion at will; South generally not the Northern orator make the most distant alranny or evils, or there will be a hue and cry raised to hunt him from the face of the earth as a sinner beyond political redemption. And, strange to say, there are lickspittle presses and demagogues at the North, ready and eager not only to join in this hue and cry, but to magnify the offence and furnish materials for attack. Now, disunionism has never obtained any available foothold at the North—and there is defeated. the demagogues who endeavor to affix the taint upon Mr. Banks, or any other New England Representative, know the insinuation to be false an groundless. Disunionism is a bugbear peculiarly Southern, and the taunt comes with a decidedly ill grace from those whose nauscating use of this Southern remedy on all occasions is as silly as it is disgusting. It is quite time that the entire North should learn to feel that this insolent and domineering spirit will not cease until the North itself manifests sufficient self-respect to repudiate the tribe of doughfaces within its own limits, and to show a proper resentment for all invasions of its own rights and constitutional privileges.

### POREPATHERS' DAY AT PLUMOUTH. [Correspondence of the Anti-Slavery Standard.]

Boston, Dec. 24, 1855.

I am just returned from Plymouth, where the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society held its usual Celebration of Forefathers' Day. I told you, several years ago, how it happened that, the Pilgrim Society having let the day drop, the Abolitionists, with that meddlesomeness which is the badge of all their tribe, picked it up, and perverted it from its proper ends to their own base ones. Instead of making it a good comfortable occasion of magnifying the Fathers, for the purpose of inferring how much more enlightened, wise and intelligent the Sons are, they have, for several years, used it as an opportunity of venting their spleen against our most cherished institutions, as well as against Our LECTURE OF S. J. MAY-THE RISE AND First Men. This year, to be sure, the Pilgrim So-ciety did hold a Celebration—of which presently but these fellows that go about turning the world upside down would not be content without having their fingers in the pie again, (in fact, if they did not have their fingers in an infinite variety of pies. it was not the fault of the Plymouth people,) and so I thought it no more than due to you to take a look after them.

The Meetings were held on Saturday evening, the 23d, and all day and evening on Sunday, at the usual hours of service. They were held in Davis's Hall, a new, large and handsome room, in a building erected by Mr. Charles G. Davis, who was the first man arrested for the Rescue of Shadrach, and whom Mr. Commissioner Hallett was ill-natured enough to discharge on examination. That polished shaft of the Rev. Dr. Vinton's Church, whom his fellow-worshippers delight to send up to Con-vention as a pattern of their quality, was deeply Thomas Jefferson. Yet Thomas Jefferson lived and grieved and shocked at an expression allusive to the future state of the wicked applied by Mr. Davis to the ingenious stratagem employed by the patriotic officials to get this Shadrach back again into the fiery furnace. Although the pious Com- and his fellow-slaveholders were inflicting on the slaves strain himself even to repeat, in his final Decision, than ages of that which the fathers of the Revolution the improprietous expression, still be discharged the rose in rebellion to oppose." With all this light, we enough against him. I cannot think so ill of the patriotism, however I may appreciate the piety, of slaveholder; and the lecturer might have added that that pillar of State as well as Church, as to suppose that so entirely insufficient a reason as this to believe the story told at the time, that instructions came down to him from Washington to that effect-it being thought there that the time had not then arrived to arrest the counsel of an alleged fugitive who should have the luck to be rescued. There will be time enough yet to play that trump card. All this is not violently to the purpose of this paragraph, as I began it. But the Hall was very particularly to the purpose, as it was alto-

collected to hear what there was to be said. The principal speakers were Mr. Wendell Phillips, Mr. ohn C. Wyman, now of your city, Mr. Lewis Ford, and your late Corresponding Editor, of whose company I find it very hard to rid myself, let me go where I will. Messrs. Reed, of Abington, and Ichabod Morton, of Plymonth, also took part in the discussions. Mr. Garrison, who set out to go, was, you will be surprised to hear who know the directness of his course in general, carried off by a side issue, and failed to reach the point he aimed at. In other words, he was whisked off on the South Shore Branch, having taken a railway carriage too far to the rear. In fact, he was, as the Hon. Horace Mann said Mr. Phillips was, 'skulking among we missed him. However, the other speakers did as well as they could without him. Mr. Phillips and Mr. Wyman and Mr. Ford made very excellent late Corresponding Editor, I forbear characterizing his efforts, lest, under the peculiar and delicate relations in which we stand to each other, I might not do him full justice. The hours out of the Meeting were spent in grave consultations, at the hospitable house of the President of the Society. Knowing as you do the character of that excellen gentleman, and of his housekeeping, you need not be told that seriousness marked the hours passed under his roof, especially when you know that a deeper solemnity was added to them by the presence of your grave though worthy fellow-citizen, named

AN ANTI-BENEFICIAL LECTURE was delivered by Rev S. J. May, at the Tremont Temple, last evening. Its composite elements were severe, partial and unjust criticisms upon the fathers of the Revolution, and the statesmen who formed the Constitution, united to extravagant men who formed the Constitution, united to extravagan laudations of the great ' Apostle of Liberty,' Wm. Lloy Garrison. The men who went through an eight years' war for principle, perilling their lives and fortunes, were pronounced selfah, and the motives of their self-sacripronounced selfish, and the mourse fice impugned. Their intentions, according to the lecturer, were worse than their declarations. Even the turer, were worse than Washington was 80 attainted turer, were worse than their declarations. Even the character of the peerless Washington was so antainted that the 'rising sun of freedom' would not wholly remove the stain. It is due to the audience to state that these outrageous sentiments were received with the silent contempt they justly merited.

A very elaborate sketch of the public career of Mr.

A very elaborate sketch of the public career of Mr. Garrison was given. It chanced to be the fortune of the lecturer to hear the first anti-slavery address of the 'great agitator,' in Boston. He predicted at that time Mr. Garrison would reform the world to a greater extent than any other man since Jesus Christ. It is to be presumed subsequent events have confirmed the opinion. The address overflowed with similar absurd and shameless ideas, concealed, however, under a mask of the choicest language, and urged in the most winsome and persuasive manner. When reference was made to a dissolution of the Union as the only course left for the North, an ominous silence prevailed throughout the large hall. We were glad to see this, and thus may all malcontents who seek to weaken the bonds that unite our powerful confederacy be ever met by the people of the North.—Boston Transcript of Friday.

ence to God; the spirit which consecrates man, and electates him above all his political, religious, social and educational surroundings.

Dear Garrison,—God grant you may live in the body to see the final overthrow of American slavery, against which you have so long and bravely battled, 'without cour powerful confederacy be ever met by the people of the North.—Boston Transcript of Friday.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

# THE LIBERATOR

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JANUARY 4, 1850.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. The Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Massa CHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in Bos ton, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, January 24th and 25th-commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continu

ing its sessions through each day and evening. Auxiliary associations, and members and friends the Society, are requested to make early and sure ar-

rangements to be strongly represented on the occasion The fact, that a most encouraging change has take place in the public sentiment of the Commonwealth and also of the entire North, on the subject of slavery instead of inducing a state of repose or a lack of vigi termined effort for the atter overthrow of that foul and hideous system, which is the curse and shame of the country, full of danger and wo, and ' the sum of all villanies.' A more glorious struggle the world has never witnessed. Its successful termination, in the liberation and enfranchisement of FOUR MILLIONS lusion to it as an escape from any conceivable tystruck for the freedom of the human race, now kept in thraldom by the unparalleled hypocrisy and base apos

FRANCIS JACKSON, President. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Secretary.

### OUR NEW VOLUME.

With the New Year, we commence the Twenty-Sixth Volume of THE LIBERATOR. A quarter of a century, therefore, has been actively devoted to the cause of our enslaved fellow-countrymen, since we unfurled the anner of Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation in this city. We feel as much disposed to continue the conflict to the end as we did to begin it. Whatever phases it may yet assume, to whatever extent it may be prolonged, we shall never lay down our arms until slaery be exterminated, or our earthly career terminated

We proffer to our many beloved friends and faithful oadjutors the warmest salutations and best wishes o the season. They have stood by us with a firmness and fidelity worthy of the noblest cause of the age, and we are confident they will endure to the end.

Our delinquent subscribers will pardon us if we re mind them that, by the terms of our paper, payment is required in advance. Such as are owing from the first of January, 1855, to the first of January, 1856,-we are requested to state by the Financial Committee .- will have their paper stopped on the first of February ensuing, unless their bills are previously settled.

### PROGRESS OF ANTI-SLAVERY. BOSTON, Dec. 28, 1855.

Last evening, I heard the lecture of SAMUEL J. MA in Tremont Temple. I went there expecting much, and received all I expected. He delineated the spirit of liberty as it was manifested by the men of the Revolutions He did ample justice to those men, giving them full credit for all they did, but marking cuophatically the one dark spot on their character.

Who said, 'Give me liberty or give me death' Patrick Henry. 'Yet,' said the lecturer, 'Patrick Henry lived and died a slaveholder. Who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and declared before all nations, for the first time, as a basis of government, died a slaveholder, declaring all the time that not one attribute of the Almighty could take sides with slaveholders in an insurrection of the slaves; and that he I remember aright, could not con- an oppression, "one hour of which was more intolerable he left his own offspring in slavery, and to this day they are held and used as chattels.

Who led the armies of the Revolution through a sev en years' war? George Washington. Yet, we were truthfully assured that Washington lived and died a

Mr. May bewailed their mistake, and their in consistency ; but said that this sore blot would stick to Washington, and that time could never crase it.

He showed us the first fatal step in our nation's down ward course to ruin-i. e. Liberty consenting to enter Plymouth, and as good as need be anywhere. into an alliance with Slavery, to form a government And it was well filled, too. The largest audiinto an alliance with Slavery, to form a government movement against slavery. To those of us who remem ber your first efforts in behalf of the slave, your brief connection with Lundy, your imprisonment in Baltimore, those lines of power you inscribed on your pris on walls, your deliverance, your first efforts in Boston your first lecture, your first efforts to form a society and to publish THE LIBERATOR; the efforts of the May or of Boston, Harrison Gray Otis, to bunt you up an report your doings to the Governor of South Carolina your exposition of, and your assault upon, the Colon zation Society-to those of us, I say, who remembe those days of small beginning, his words had a deep and holy import. He claimed for you, that the spirit which arrayed you against the demon that held this nation in his grasp, had, through your zeal and devotion, given a direction to the spirit of the age and nation The nation was asleep on the brink of a precipice, -it is speeches—the first named gentleman coming no now awake; it was dead,—it is now alive; and if it whit behind his very best attempts. As to your plunges down the dark, deep abyss, it must do so with plunges down the dark, deep abyss, it must do so with its eyes open. Yours was the voice which said to this nation- Arise, come forth from the grave in which Slavery has buried thee ! \* Church and State have heard the call, and can never sleep again, till slavery or the republic is extinguished forever.

Mr. May emphatically announced Aboution on Di SOLUTION as the only alternative. I could not but fee that no man is so fitted to write the history of Anti-Sia very, as it has been declared and conducted by the American Anti-Slavery Society, as Samuel J. May. He has been a part of it from the beginning ; his spirit and nature preeminently fit him to enter into, and appreciate the loving, the determined, uncompromising nartyr spirit in which it originated, and has ever been conducted. That spirit of heroic devotion to principle. to Liberty, to Humanity, to God, he can comprehend I wish he could deliver that lecture in all our principal towns. It would do much to settle men's minds on the

As I sat in that Temple, listening to that lecture. I could not but look back to December, 1835. Two thonsand people present, listening in silence or loud applause to sentiments for which you were mobbed and dragged through the streets of Boston, and confined in a prison, twenty years ago. What has done this But one answer can be given-the spirit of heroic de votion, not to a sect or party, not to a creed or const tution, but to MAN ; to rescue the nature you bear from the auction-block of the American Church and Union that spirit which says, Resistance to slavery is obed ence to God; the spirit which consecrates man, and e

POREPATHERS' DAY AT PLYMOUTH. A public meeting of the friends of freedom, in con nection with a meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, was held in Davis's Hall, Plymouth, on Sat-

urday and Sunday, Dec. 22d and 28d. The Chair was occupied by Bounns Spoonen, President of the Society.

mittee on Finance.

Mr. Quincy, in some opening remarks, alluded to the open their eyes to the colossal wrong of this land. The vices, in case of need. American nation is striving like some giant, feeling that he ought to awake, but falling asleep again. What a mighty difference between the times of Webster fired upon, and his horse taken from him. and Seward ! We move by lightning now, and it will be a matter of history that the name of Gannison was received with shouts of applause.\* It marks time-it is a landmark, an era. Mr. Q. believed the time would yet come when Plymouth Rock would utter a distinct sound on this great question.

Mr. Reed, of Abington, spoke of the ever-memorable 1885, and of the great change wrought in public opinion since the mobbing of George Thompson in Abington. He thought the clergy were glad to get on board current.

Mr. Phillips followed in a short speech, showing the wonderful effects of slavery on the literature and morals of the age. He also spoke of the need of an independent Judiciary.

SUNDAY-MORNING SESSION.

Mr. Wyman, of New York, first spoke on the gene ral subject of slavery, remarking that, whether the government shall be dissolved and anarchy come or not, men are assembled to-day by hundreds, with all the implements of warfare, to establish a free State. This progressive sentiment cannot be kept down. The man who plants bulrushes to keep down old ocean's surges is wise compared with him who makes the useless attempt

constantly on the increase, and never still; yet government is stronger than ever, and slavery rules the country. Nothing has yet been gained but light. It is thought by some that should Pierce, or one like him, be again elevated, half of Mexico will be annexed, and twenty slave States added. Administration measures seldom fail. He should not be surprised if some Southern bravado should yet marshal his slaves on Bunker Hill. Reformers have an odious office to perform, as reforms must always be aggressive. The old must be taken down to make place for the new. What we want is anti-slavery meetings of this kind, to talk about it. We want a living testimony, a Mordecai at the king's gate, to set the people thinking. Mr. P. related the story of the boy who, on going a voyage, received a fairy gift of a mill, which would grind out coffee, salt, &c., as required. The sea-captain wanted salt, set the mill in motion, and salt came in abundance. Enough obtained, he desired to stop the mill, but knew not how to do so. The mill kept on grinding and grinding, and finally sank the vessel. So the mill of human progress has ground out a Garrison, and many say it will sink the ship ; but he believed humanity would rejoice when the pirate ship went down. AFTERNOON SESSION.

Lewis Ford, of Abington, called the attention of the meeting to the importance of sustaining THE LIBERAron, and other anti-slavery instrumentalities. We need, said Mr. F., a more uncompromising spirit; we should put forth greater efforts, and not relax until the last obstacles are overcome. There is a great work to do, and unless we move forward, the cause will come to an end. We talk of expecting something from the clergy, from the politician, from government ; but the spirit of liberty is not in them. They move only as

should exercise it on all occasions.

ifying to him that some had so much courage and belief smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also. in individual opinion as to come and hear what these So say I. But if a devil attacks you, how then babblers' have to say. He gave an account of his Here we are, outnumbered by the enemy, who have six own experience in this reform, and paid a well-merited cannon, and we only one. We have committed no ofcompliment to the unti-slavery women of Plymouth for fence whatever. All the demand made upon us is to their early and untiring efforts in the cause.

logium on the editor of THE LIBERATOR. EVENING SESSION.

Mr. Quincy spoke at some length on the compromises of the Constitution with regard to slavery, and of the advances which slavery has made, and is still making, be seen whether this proposition will be accepted upon the rights of the people. But these things were Burns went away, declaring he would not fight us, for not to last for ever. He believed in revolution, and we we were in the right. This was last evening, at which are preparing the public mind for this change We time Gov. Shannon returned also. He arrived resterhave been living sixty years in a false position, and day, accompanied by an excert from our camp to pro-

Suttle step to the tune of the 'Rogue's March.' Mr. W. closed his remarks by exhorting every man and we man to labor in the cause, and to feel that a respon-municate to you the following intelligence. Yesterday sibility rests on them individually; for the time will come when the world will be filled with the fragrance of their names. Mr. Phillips made some closing remarks on the dif-

ferent subjects which had been before the meeting. He desired to impress this upon the minds of the andience, that, whatever may be said, or whatever opinions prevail, one and only one thing was sacred, and that was

The meetings were well attended throughout, scarcey a seat remaining unoccupied in the spacious hall the ast evening. The friends, as usual, were unbounded in their hospitality; the time was passed pleasantly, and it is believed the cause we cherish was advanced thereby.

# SAMUEL DYER, Secretary.

. Ay, sir, the rock [Plymouth Rock] cropped on again. Garrison had it for an imposing stone, when he looked in the faces of seventeen millions of angry men and said, 'I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard.' (Great cheering.)—Speech of Wendell Phillips at the Plymouth Celebration.

The Anti-Slavery Bazaar closed in this city or New Year's evening, its receipts, we learn, amounting to nearly FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS, which , sconsidering the great pecuniary pressure at this time, is a most cheering result. The official report of its success will soon be given to the public.

HISTORIC AND SCIENTIFIC LECTURE BY DR. ROCK-Our colored fellow-citizen, Dr. J. S. Rock, will deliver lecture upon the Races in General, the Caucasian and African in Particular, in the Meionaon Hall, on Tuesday evening, Jan. 8th, at 7 1-2 o'clock. Admis-

THE CIVIL WAR IN KANSAS. LAWRENCE, (K. T.) Dec. 7, 1855.

Little did I think, when I wrote you last, that matter would have assumed, by this time, so fearful an aspect Here we are, a little handful of men, almost completely surrounded by a hideous foe, sworn by the devil to ex Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips and Samuel Dyer coute such vengeance upon us as Joshua was ordered were appointed a Committee on Business, and Lewis to upon the heathen of his time. Our enemies swear Ford, Johnson Daves and Nathaniel B. Spooner a Comter the war commences.

Our town is in a state of most fearful excitement great speech of Webster, on Plymouth Rock, in 1820, About 1000 troops are collected here, and every house and to Everett's four years after, and compared the store and tavern is crowded to overflowing. Hardly calmness and quiet of the people then with the state a man appears in the streets unarmed. The troops ar of feeling now, when men's hearts were failing them paraded daily, and march through the streets in hattl for fear. He thought it fortunate that the people had array. It is a fearful sight for a non-resistant. Guardin an opportunity of coming here yesterday, and hearing of over a hundred men are on duty all night, an the 'Higher Law' expounded by its great apostle boarding-houses have to be kept open to feed them (Gov. Seward). Men, said Mr. Q., are beginning to The Delawares and Wyandott's have proffered their ser

Last night, one of our men was shot dead a few mi from here, without the least provocation. Another was

Yesterday, the long-expected cannon, a twelve pounder, arrived, and was greeted with tremendou cheers by our people. It came very near falling into the hands of the enemy at Kansas.

My non-resistance has at length yielded. For days I have kept calm, and withstood all solicitations to enter the ranks; but the cold-blooded murder, last night, of one of our best citizens, has decided me. I am sorry to deny the principles of Jesus Christ, after contending for them so long, but it is not for myself the boat that was drifting onward with the mighty that I am going to fight. It is for God and the slaves. Down with American Slavery! will be my watch-

O, if you could witness the enthusiasm of our boys, you would begin to have some hopes for the country, although you might disapprove of fighting. It requires all the energy of our commanders to keep the men from immediately attacking the enemy. But Atchison and Stringfellow are at the heads of companies on the north and west of us, as is reported, and it is certain that the moment we attack the enemy at their encampment, eight miles east of us, on the road to Kansas, the forces stationed north of us, on the opposite side of the river, and at Lecompte, ten miles west of us, will immediately rush in upon us. To guard the town, we have four strong redoubts, on which we are working night and day. One of them is named Fort Smith, and is to be obliged to yield to this anti-slavery sentiment. It is guarded against surprise from the river. It is 100 feet flying from its top. It extends across our principal street, within a few feet of the post-office. Three other redoubts are thrown up to guard the town on the south side, which is the most exposed. All of these redoubts will be filled with men armed with Sharpe's rifles, who will all die, rather than surrender, for they expect to be killed then, at any rate. I have been at work on the fortifications awhile, and

must now renew my task, as we are daily expecting an All I have to say is, for God's sake, dear friends,

come to our rescue! March straight through Missouri, and proclaim Liberty to the slaves! The war, if once commenced, will not, must not cease until every slave throughout the Union is liberated. Slavery must go down, and, for myself, I am determined to fight for that purpose, if war commences. Yours, for freedom,

P. S. Since writing the above, I have seen the body of the murdered man. He lies within a few rods of where I am now writing, cold and stiff, in Death's icy arms. His wife, mother and sister have just arrived,

and their screams can be heard at some distance. Behold the second victim of the demons who are panting for our blood ! I told you that I had given up my non-resistance. I was mistaken ; non-resistance simply forbids the taking

of the life of a human being. God never made these fiends-they are the devil's spawn, and are to be killed as you would kill lions and tigers. I have always said I would shoot a wild beast. If I shoot these infernal Missourians, it will be on the same principle. C. S.

The mail is about leaving, and I will add the latest they are moved. Only in proportion as light breaks in intelligence. Last night, we apprehended an attack, are converts made. Still, we have every thing to en. and the soldiers slept on their arms. Two deep trenches moving onward. But we must work and work on, un- chusetts street, and to place the enemy where our cantil the final consummation, and all will yet be well. non will reach them. I have procured a Sharpe's rifle Mr. F. concluded by a strong appeal to all to give lib- and a pistol, and mean to die or conquer, as we all do, erally of their means to sustain this great enterprise. for we are assured that if we are captured, we shall be Mr. Reed spoke at some length on the advantage to butchered. You may be assured, that the danger is be gained by a strict adherence to principle. He could of the extremest kind, or I should not arm myself. If look back and see that progress had been made, al- it were an ordinary foe, I should not do it. But these though the way had been up hill and rugged. He still men are not men; they are wild beasts; and, for belonged to an Orthodox church, and had been a mark God's sake, as well as for man's sake. I must do my for all sides. He believed in freedom of opinion, and duty in killing them, just as I would a wolf. I love all men as ever, but fools and knaves united, and drunk Mr. Ichabod Morton, of Plymouth, said it was grat- into the bargain, are not men. Christ said, 'If a man surrender Sharpe's rifles. Our commanders answer, Mr. Phillips spoke of the efforts of those who had 'That will not be done, until every man is a corpse. been long in the work, and closed with a beautiful en- Said Lane to Burns, when he demanded the rifles. 'I I had 10,000 wives, and each of them had 10,000 children, not a man should give up the smallest part of one of his guns.' He told Burns to select any number of his men, and he would do the same, and they might meet on the field, away from Lawrence. It remains to unless slavery is abolished, the Union must cease to be. tect him. He acknowledges his mistake in uncapping Mr. Wyman thought the only way to do any thing hell, and calling for spirits from that vasty deep. Mr. Wyman inought the only way they treated us. hell, and calling for spirits from that they generated them back. He promises to order them to return, but says they will not obey him.

after a day of the most intense excitement, an agree ment was entered into, between Gov. Shannon on the part of the Missouri troops, and Gen. Robinson and Col. Lane on the part of our army, by which peace is proclaimed throughout this warlike region. This war like the celebrated Dorr rebellion, has been of short duration. It commenced precisely twelve days before its final termination, and, like the Dorr war, resulted in the loss of one human life only. That life has been sacrificed to the bloody demon of Slavery. I helped place the body in the coffin, and saw the shricking wife and mother imprint the burning kiss of parting love upen the brave man's bloodless lips. Could the North ern people have witnessed that sight, and looked upor the garments of the hero, stained with blood, they would be ready to swear eternal hostility to slavery and its infernal allies-Know-Nothingism and National De-

Not a drum was heard, nor a funeral note, As his corse to the ramparts we hurried; Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot O'er the spot where our hero was buried."

During the hurried burial, we were hourly expection the enemy, and the corpse was taken hastily through the ranks of the soldiers, and deposited within a few feet of the fortifications. As I looked upon that form, I reflected that probably before night myself and hundreds of others would occupy the same position—only that we should lack a coffin and shroud God knows I hate fighting as badly as a human being can hate it ; and as I snatched my rifle, and buckled on my belt, and rushed forward at the news the enemy was coming, I certainly trembled. They were armed with splendid words, stolen from the Arrenal at Liberty, Mo., and sion ticket, 25 cents. Hear him! swords, stolen from the Arsenal at Liberty. Mo., and successful in that city the thoughts of not only being shot, but of having my Equal School Rights Petition.

head severed from my body, with one of these swords, were any thing but pleasant. Besides, as Lowell says, · If you take a sword, and draw it-if you stick a feller through,
Gov'nment aint to answer for't, God will send the bill to

and I thought of the sin of taking human life; but the necessity was so great, that it reemed my duty to \$ght. and I always calculated to do my duty, whatever it might be.

I allude to these things merely that you may see that it is not my love for fighting that leads me in lament this proclamation of peace. When I shoulder. ed my gun, for the first time in my life, it was after in days of prayerful deliberation, and with the stern determination never to lay it aside, if the war continued until every slave in the Union was liberated. Nearly every one here was with me in this feeling. One man who has been a strong Black Law man, swore eternal vengeance to slavery, and declared his readings to march into Missouri and emancipate the slaves.

So strong is my conviction that slavery will herer so strong is my coding of blood, that I rather repreed that the day had come for the final decision of this ed that the day had could be the day decision of the question. I am satisfied, that had a battle been fought here, none of our men would have yielded until the last slave was set free. Still, our enemy numbered about 1500 men, with twelve cannon and experienced officers, some of whom had served in the Merican war, and were great fighters, and the carnage would have been terrible. Our redoubts would probably have savel us from being taken by 5000 men, but our provisions were very limited, and our ammunition nothing to boast of. Our only hope would have been in the arrival of reinforcements from Iowa. Two thousand men, it is reported, are now on their way from that State to join us; but if we had fought, we might have all been destroyed before they could have reached us. Sace the war commenced, many times might the enemy has taken us, if they had commenced the attack; but a kind Providence prevented them. Our strength rat greatly overrated by them. Now that the danger is over, I suppose it will be safe to tell you, that at as time have we had over five hundred fighting men, and the most of them were wholly undisciplined. Onething is very much to be regretted. Our valiant Colonel, to please the National Democracy, had appointed as conmanders several men totally inexperienced is military tactics, and some of the captains knew nothing of the simplest words of command. For instance, when dismissing his company, one captain issued this order; Ready, aim, you are dismissed; and when he wished to change the position of his company, he exclaimed, . Turn around and follow me.' But the enemy believed we had over 2000 men and six cannon, and a plenty of provisions. It was easy to decrive them in this respect, for they have large marvellousness, or they would never have believed Atchison's stories respecting us. A report was yesterday spread through their camp, that 1000 sacks of flour and 600 bushels of corn had arrived here, when, to tell the plain truth, all the flour in town for sale was about a dozen sacis that I had in my store, although we had considerable our is

and the state of t

Gov. Shannon, Sheriff Jones, and some of our officers. are now having a glorious drunk over the victory, Sanday as it is. To-morrow, we have a grand criebratica. The terms of the peace are not satisfactory te all. I am not prepared to censure our command, for sothing else could have saved us. The Governor declare himself mistaken in calling out the military, and promise to do all he can to protect us, and to dishard his forces.

We agree to aid the sheriff in serving legal processes against the rescuers of Branson, to assist in the encution of the laws of the land by the Governor, and to abide by the decision of the U. S. Courts respecting their legality. He has commissioned our commanders, Lass and Robinson, to preserve order, and to act under his authority.

This is something of a change from the position be occupied at first. But he is deserving of great praise for thus making the amende honorable, when he became satisfied of his error. Jones the sheriff had lied to egregiously to him, that it is no wonder be acted as be did, only that wisdom would have required him to examine testimony before he called upon those 'spirits from the vasty deep' of slavery's hell to come and

It is due to some of the officers of the Governor's refused to fight us, as soon as they understood our pesition. The most exaggerated reports of our conduct had reached Missouri ; and some well-meaning citizens had left home to preserve the families of the pro-slavery people from destruction.

The Missouri leaders, except Atchisen and Stringfellow, I have no doubt, were honest in their intentions, but the hellish crew who came with them were, in the language of another, nothing but ' locometive white, barrels," and as ready to burn our towns, camalings on our women, and murder our children, as to do asy thing else. They all claimed, however, to set eider the Governor's direction, and there cannot be the less doubt that he had control over them, although he denies it, But as soon as orders came to them from him to disband, they were obeyed, although they called him a d-d fool for not subduing the Yankers completely.

I fear that you Eastern people will accuse us of cos ardice in agreeing to obey the laws; but notedy understands the agreement as any thing of value, because a clause is inserted which says that we express no epinion in regard to the validity of the laws of the legislature. No process can be served by sheriff, juries, of any other officer of the Legislature, but only by a U.

Peace reigns triumphant. Our army is distanted, and we feel as though we had been delivered from the jaws of hell.

Last night, at our jubilee, considerable excitement was manifested at the presence of Sheriff Jones May of the soldiers swore they would shoot him if here tered the room. But, through the influence of General Robinson, peace was restored, and Jones was pro-

Robinson has atoned for his past nets of indiscretion by his wisdom and prudence in this war. If he had consented, our soldiers would at any time have rashed upon the enemy. But he forbade all acts of ticketta our part, and counselled our acting only on the defersive. He has done well, and earned many laurels.

universe of the service of the servi

The enemy has left several of his cannon, faring st rest for stealing them. It is said that a party was forming in Missouri, to come to our help. Yours for the slave,

REMARKS. It is evident that our impulsive fried Stearns has got thoroughly frightened out of his peace principles, as Peter denied his Lord to save himself from impending danger. We compassionate his restnees, and feel no disposition to utter a reproachful word; only we hope that he may be enabled to initiate the example of Peter, who subsequently lamented his apostacy, and brought forth fruits meet for repentant ' Fear not them who can kill the body.'-Eo. Lin

THE PRESENTATION MEETING. In consequence of the crowded state of our columns last week, we were tell reluctantly compelled to omit all acknowledgment of the services of the Committee of Arrangements whose generous efforts the eminent success of this meting was due. That Committee consisted of Mrs. Jos-NA TURPIN HOWARD, Mrs. CAROLINE BUTLER LEVIS, Mrs. Eliza B. Bisbitt, Mrs. Georgiana O. Smits, and Mr. NELSON L. PERKINS. They are entitled to the hearty thanks of all who had the pleasure of attenting the meeting, or who are interested in the welfare of the

It is due, also, to Mist CHARLOTTE L. FORTE, d Salem, to say, that she was one of the most active and auccessful in that city in obtaining signatures to the EXTRACTS PROM PRES. PIERCE'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Of the circumstances of local condition, interest and rights in which a portion of the States constituted fights in which a portion of the Union differed f om ming one creat section of the Union differed f om the rest and from another section, the most interest and from another section, the most interest was the peculiarity of a larger relative portant was the peculiarity of a larger relative forcing population in the southern than in the coord population, existed in nearly all the States, but is subjection, existed in nearly all the States, but we more numerous and of more serious concernyus more numerous and of more serious concernitions in the south than in the north, on account of setting the south of the same reasons while this it as foreseen that for the same reasons while this population would diminish, and sooner or later population.

the peculiar character and magnitude of this was forb dden to touch this barred under the general stack or offense, it was placed under the general stack or offense, it was placed under the general projection, like all other local interests of the projection, like all other local interests of the several states, each state expressly stipulated as well for itself as for each and all of its citizens, and every citizen of each state became solemnly and every citizen of each state became solemnly and every citizen of each state became solemnly and person held to service or labor in one State, say person held to service or labor, but should be delivered up and service or labor, but should be delivered up and service or labor, but should be delivered up and the matty to whom such service or scaping into a regulation thereof, be discharged from any aw or regulation thereof, be discharged from any arrive or labor, but should be delivered up and service or a claim of the party to whom such service or as claim of the party to whom such service or as claim of the party to whom such service or as the might of every State, against interference on the right of every State, against interference on the right of another was, at present form of government established by our fathers, and transmitted to us, and by no other means is it possible for it to to us, and by no other means is it possible for it to as and by no other means is it possible for it to its. If one State cease to respect the rights of another and obtrusively medides with the local asother and obtrusively medides with the local asother and obtrusively medides with the local asother insulations to them, we are no longer with lattle capacity left to common advantage, but also and the states of deliberative refusal on the part of the States or deliberative refusal on the part of the States or deliberative refusal on the part of the States or deliberative refusal on the part of the states or deliberative refusal on the part of the states of the whole country, to take care it is full of threat and a angerous to the durability of the Union.

Placed in the office of Chief Magistrate, as the Exeutive agent of the whole country, to take care the law he faitfully executed, and specially

Piaced in the office of Chief Magistrate, as the Executive agent of the whole country, to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and specially sploned by the Constitution, to give information to coagress on the sate of the Union, it would be palpable neglect of duty in me if I have to passer a subject like this which, beyond all things at the present time, vitally concerns individual and while security. public security.
It has been matter of painful regret to see States.

piblic security.

It has been matter of painful regret to see States, empicious for their services in tounding this Republic, and equally sharing its advantages, disregrid their constitutional obligations to it, although emselous of their inability to heal admitted and palpable social evils of their own, and which are completely within their jurisdiction, they engage is the oliensive and hopeless undertaking or referming the domestic institutions of other States, violy beyond their control and authority, in the was pursuit of ends entirely unattainable, and which they may not legally attempt to compass, they part the very existence of the constitution and all the countless benefits which it has conferred.

While the people of the Southern States confine their attention to their own affairs, not presuming efficiously to intermedide with the, social institu-

while the people of the southern states coming their attention to their own affairs, not presuming efficiently to intermeddie with the social institutions of the Northern States, too many of the inhabitants of the latter are permanently organized in associations to milict injury on the former by wrongful acts which would be cause of war between foreign powers, and only fail to be such in ser system because perpetrated under cover of the Union. It is impossible to present this subject at trath and the occasion require, without noticing the irritated but groundless allegation that the bouth has persistently asserted claims and obtained advantage in the practical administration of the general government to the prejudice of the Noth, and in which the latter has acquiesced. That is, the States which either promote or tolerate altacks on the rights of persons and of property in other States, to disguise their own injustice, pretend or imagine and constantly aver that they whose constitutional rights are thus systematically assailed, are themselves the aggressors.

hey whose constitutions rights are this systematically assailed, are themselves the aggressors.

At the present time, this impulsed aggression, rating as it does only in the wagne declaratory charges of positical agitators, resolves itself into managementation or misinterpretation of the principles and facts of the political organization of the zwieritories of the United States. What is the water of the town when the ordinance which pronever iteritories of the United States. What is the roles of history when the ordinance which provides for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, and for its eventual subdivision into new States was adopted in the Congress of the Confederation? It is not to be supposed that the question of future relative power, as between the States which retained and those which the substate its calculation and those which twees the States which retained and those which disnot retain its colored population, and escaped notice of failed to be considered. And yet the concision of that vast territory to the interests and opinions of the northern etates, a territory now the seat of five among the largest members of the Union, was in a great measure the act of the State of Virginia and of the South. When Louisians was acquired by the United State, it was an acquisition not less to the North that the South. For while it was important to the costny at the mouth of the river Assissippi

the country at the mouth of the river Mississippi to become the emporium of the country above it, it also it was even more important to the whole mion to have that emporium; and aithough the liv province, by reason of its imperfect settlement, was mainly regarded as on the Guir of Mexica, set, in fact, it extended to the opposite boundards of the United States, with far greater breath above than below, and was in territory as it errything else—equally at least, an accession to the Northern States. It is mere delusion and trysdice therefore to speak of Louisiana as an acquisition in the special interest of the South. The patriotic and just men who participated in that act, were influenced by motives far above all actional palousies. It was, in sooth, the great treat, by completing for us the possession of the talky of the aississippi, with commercial access to be Guil of Mexico, imparted unity and strength to the whole confederation, and attached together by indissolute ties the East and the West, as well the North and the South.

As to Florida, that was but the transfer by Spain to the United States of territory on the Lax side of the river Mississippi, in exchange for large territory which the United States had transferred to Spain on the West side of that river, as the satire deplomatic history of the transaction streats demonstrate. Moreover, it was an ac-

are territory which the United States had transferred to Spain on the West side of that river, as the nire deplomatic history of the transaction stream demanded by the commercial interests, and the security of the whole Union. In the meatime the United States had grown up to a proper consciousness of their strength, and in a ceatest with France on a second selious war with Great Britain, they had shaken off all which remained of under reverence of Europe, and the transaction in the strength from the atmosphere of those transactional influences which surrounded the infant republic and had begun to turn their attention to the full and systematic internal resources of the Union.

Among the evaneacent controversies at that period, the most conspicuous was the question of the tare States to be founded in the territory of Losiniana. The ordinance for the government of Les triinty north west of the river Ohio had contined a provision which prohibited the use of service have transaction which prohibited the need of service have transaction which prohibited the need of service has a service have transaction which prohibited the need of service have transactions.

tained a provision which prohibited the use of ser-tile labor, therein subject to the condition of the citradition of fugitives from service due in any other part of the United States. Subsequently to the adoption of the constitution this provision reased to remain as a law. For its operations as as h was absolutely superseded by the Constitu-tion. But the recollection of the faci excited the real of a state of the faci excited the tel of social propagandizement in some sections of the confederation, and when a second State,

then But the recollection of the face excited the leal of social propagandizement in some sections of the confederation, and when a second State, that of Missouri, came to be formed in the territory of Louisiana, opposition was made to extend to the latter ferritory the restriction originally applies to the country situated between the rivers the salt Mississippi.

Most questionable as was this proposition in all inconstitutional relations, nevertheless it received its saction of Congress with some slight modification of into to save the existing rights of new State its arction of Congress with some slight modification of into to save the existing rights of new States as a sacrifice to the cause of peace and of the Union, not only of the rights stipulated by the Irsaty of Louisians, but of the principle of equility among the States, gustanteed by the Constitution. It was received by the Northern States with angry and resentful condemnation and complaint, because it did not concede all which they are the states of doubtful constitutionality, subject to be prosounced null and volt by the courts of law, and possessing no possible efficacy to control the highs of the States which might thereafter be seganized out of any parisot the territory of Louisiant. In all this, if any aggression, there were any insvention apon the pre-existing rights, to which portion of the Union are they justly chargeable?

This controversy passed away with the occasion, nothing surviving it save the dorm in leiter of the States were to take their next step in territorial greatness, a similar contingency occurred table came the occasion for systematized attempts assumed a practical direction in the Linkof States were to take their next step in territorial greatness, a similar contingency occurred table came the occasion for systematized attempts assumed a practical direction in the state of the special and true in the provision of the Constitution. These theps of practering endeavors by some of the representatives in noth houses of Congres

themselves, and with express agreement by the re-amering act, that she should be satespible of subdivision into a plurality of States.

Whatever advantage the interests of the Southern states, as such, gained by this, were far inferior in results, as unfolded in the progress of time, to those which sprang from previous concessions made by the south to every thoughthil friend of the Union, to the true lovers of their country, to all who long and labored for the full success of this great experiment, Republican institutions. It was of great grantiation that such an opportunity occurred to illustrate our advancing power on this continent, and to furnish to the world additional assurance of the strength and stability of the Constitution. Who would wish to see Florida still a European colony? Who would rejoice to hall Texas as a lone star instead of one in the galaxy of States? Who does not appreciate the incalculable benefit of the acquisition of Louisians? And yet, narrow views and sectional purposes would inevitably have excluded from the Union. But another struggle on the same point ensued when our victorious armies returned from Mexico.

It devolved on Congress to provide for the territories acquired by the treaty of Guadaloup Hidalgo. The great relations of the subject had now become distinct and clear to the perception of the public mind, which appreciates the evils of sectional controversy upon the question of the admissiou of new states. In that crisis intense solicitude pervaded the nation, but the patriotic impulse of the popular heart, guided by the admonitory advice of the father of his country, rose superior to all the difficulties of an incorporation of a new empire into the Union. In the councils of Congress there was manifested extreme antagonism of opinion and action between some representatives, who sought by the abusive and unconstitutional employment of the legislative powers of the government, to interfere in the condition of the inchoare state, and to impose their own social theories; the latt

abuse of legislative power, to force the ideas of internal policy entertained in particular states upon
allied independent states.

Once more the constitution and the union triumphed signally. The new territories were organized without restriction on the disputed point, and
were thus left to judge in that particular for themselves, and the sense of constitutional faith proved
vigorous enough in Congress not entirely to accomplish its primary object, but also its incidental
and hardly less important one of so amending the
provisions of the statute for the extradition of fugitives from service, as to place that public duly
under the safeguard of the general government,
and thus relieve it from obstacles raised upon it
by the Legislatures of some of the States vain declamation, regarding the provisions of law for the
extradition of fugitives from service, with occasional episodes of frantic efforts to obstruct their
execution by riot and murder, continued for a brief
time to agitate certain localities, but the true prin
ciple of leaving each State and territory to regulate its own laws of labor according to its own
sense of right and exped ency, had acquired fast
hold of the public judgment to such a degree that
by common consent it was observed in the organization of the territory of Washington. When
more recently it became requisite to organize the
territories of Nebraska and Kansas, it was the ization of the territory of Washington. When more recently it became requisite to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, it was the natural and legitimate, if not inevitable consequence of previous events and legislation, that the same great and sound principle which had already been applied to Utah and New Mexico, should be applied to them, that they should stand exempt from the restrictions proposed in the act relative to the State of Missouri.

These restrictions were in the estimation of

These restrictions were in the estimation of many thrughful men null from the beginning, unauthorized by the Constitution, contrary to the treaty stipulations for the cession of Louisiana, and inconsistent with the equality of the States. They had been stripped of all moral authority by persistent efforts to prepare their indirect renew. persistent efforts to procure their indirect repeal through contradictory enactments. They had been practically abrogated by the legislation amending the organization of States, New Mexico and Washington If any vitality remained in them it would have been taken away in effect by the new would have been taken away in effect by the new territorial acts in the form originally proposed to the Senate at the first session of the last Congress. It was man'y and ingenous, as well as patriotic and just, to do this direct y and plainly, and thus relieve the statute book of an act which might be of possible future injury, but of no possible future benefit, and the measure of its repeal was the final consummation and complete recognition of the principle that no portion of the United States shall undertake, through assumption of the powers of the general government to dictate the social institutions of any o her portion.

The scope and effect of the language of repeal were not reft in doubt. It was declared in terms to be the true intent and meaning of this Act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. The measure could not be withstood upon its merits alone. It was attacked with violence on the false or deusive preext that it constituted a because faith. Never was objection more othered.

false or deusive pretext that it constituted a breach of faith. Never was objection more atterly destitute of substantial justification. When before was it im gived by sensible mea that a regulated or declarative statute, whether enacted ten or forty

years ago, is irrepealable.

That an act of Congress is above the Constitution, if indeed, there were in the facts any cause to impute had faith, it would attach to those only who have never ceased from the time of the eactment of the restrictive provision to the present day to denounce and condemn it, who have constantly refused to complete it by needful supplementation. stantly refused to complete it by needful supplementary legislation; who have spared no exertions to deprive it of moral force; who have themselves, again and arain, attempted to repeat by the enactment of much incompatible provisions, and who by the inevitable re-actionary effect of their own violence on the subject awaken the country to a perception of the true constructional principle of leaving the matter involved to the discretion of the respective oxisting or inclining the States.

leaving the matter involved to the discretion of the respective existing or inciplent States.

It is not pretended that this principle, or any other, precludes the possibility of evils in practice, disturbed as political action is liable to be relieved by human passions. No form of government is exempt from inconveniences, but in this case they are the result of the abuse, and not of the legitimate exercise of the powers reserved or conferred, in the organization of a territory. They are not to be charged to the great principle of popular sovereignty, on the contrary they disappear before the intelligence and patriotism of the people, exerting through the ballot box their peaceful and silect, but trresistible power.

If the friends of the Constitution are to have another struggie, its enemies could not present a more acceptable issue than of a State water Jonatiunion clearly embraced a Republican form of government being executed from the Union because its domestic institutions may not in all respects comport with the ideas of what is wise and expedient, entertains in some other States. Fresh

stitution clearly embraced a Republican form of government being executed from the Union because its domestic institutions may not in all respects comport with the licas of what is wise and expedient, entertains in some other States. Fresh from groundless imputations of breach of faith against others, men will commence the agitation of this new question with indubitable violation of express compact between the independent sovereign powers of the United States and the Republic of T.x.as, as well as of the older and equally solemn compacts which ensure the equality of the States. But deplorable as would be such a violation of such a compact in itself, and in all its direct consequences, that is the very least of the evils involved. When sectional agitation shall have succeeded in forcing on this issue, can their pretensions fail to be met by counter pretensions? Will not different States be compelled respectively to meet extremes with extremes? And if either extreme carry its point, what is that, so far forth, but dissolution of the Union? If a new State, formed from the territory of the United States, be absolutely excluded from admission therein, that fact of itself constitutes the disruption of the Union in the sectional decision producing such result by a mass of rotes eithern Northern or Southern, of necessity drive out the oppressed and aggrieved minority, and place, in presence of each other, two irreconcilably hostile confederations?

It is necessary to speak thus plainly of projects, the offspring of that sectional agrication now prevailing in some of the States, which are as impracticable as they are unconstitutional, and which, if persevered in, must and will end calamitiously. It is either disunion and civil war, or it is merely idle, angry, almiess disturbance of public peace, and tranquility. Disunion for what? If the passionate of rage fanaticism and partizan spirit do not force the fact upon our attention, it would be difficult to believe that any considerable portion of the people of the supposed

TRIBUTE TO A NOBLE WOMAN.

ESS COMPREHENDETH IT NOT.' Rev. Theodore Parket preached a very instructive and interesting discours from this text, on Sunday, the 23d ult.,—a sermon, a be said, for Forefathers' Day and for Christmas. In the course of his remarks, he had frequent reference to the treatment which the great teachers and reformers of the world received at the hands of those they only wished to serve and bless-Socrates, Jesus, the apostles and martyrs; and this naturally led him to speak of the repreach and edium now cast upon those who, in adsance of their age, are struggling in behalf of some unpopular reform. Among other just and pointed remarks, he said :- Here is a woman in Massachusetti who has travelled all over the North, laboring for wo She was an outcast from society. Other women hated her; men insulted her, when defended only by her own nobleness and virtue. Every vulgar editor threw stone at her, which he picked from the mire of the street. Many a minister laid sorry stripes on her, with the Epistolary whip of Hebrew Paul. The noble woman bore it with no complaint; only now and then, it private, the great heart of ABBY KELLEY would fill her eyes with tears at the thought of this injustice; but she never allowed the tears to blind her eyes, or quench the light which was shedding its radiance down her steep and rugged path. But when the cause had won some thing of respect, a great Convention of women and the friends of women was summoned to meet in the heart of this Commonwealth; and those who had the contro of the matter thought it would not do to have woman' stoutest champion sit upon the platform. She must sit below it, lest it hurt the cause and peril the rights of woman to have woman's noblest champion sit in woman's honored place ! "

### JANE ELIZABETH JONES.

WORCESTER, 12th mo., 24th, 1855. FRIEND GARRISON, -So much disgusted have I been with the custom of puffing for a purpose which abounds in certain quarters, that I have always refrained from expressing admiration through the press of any of our public speakers. But I am now impelled, in justice to the transcendant interests for which your paper is striving, to say a word of the last week's lecture of our Worcester course, by J. ELIZABETH JONES, of Salem, Ohio. So far as I have heard an opinion expressed, and it is somewhat extensive, it has been of unalloyed admira-tion. Comprehensive in its scope, yet clear and definite, rising from fundamental principles to our positive measures and responsibilities, delivered with a fine, well-modulated voice, a manner calm but earnest, and leaving on the hearer an impression never to be effaced.

I say these few words, hoping they may have a tendency to call out houses full to overflowing in other places in which J. E. Jones has engagements to speak. It is a rare opportunity to hear the greatest question our age presented in a form and manner unusually attractive and impressive. There will be deep regrets by those who fail to listen when they shall have an opportunity. E. L. C.

The panegyric bestowed by our esteemed friend apon Mrs. Jones is eminently deserved by her. She has all the qualifications for an impressive and success ful lecturer-a clear vision, a well-balanced intellect, a sympathetic heart, an uncompromising spirit, an excellent delivery, and great experience in the lecturing field, both as a physiological teacher and as an advocate for the slave. She spoke to great acceptance at the Anti-Slavery Bazaar last week. We hope she will have many applications to lecture in this Commonwealth, and that her return to Ohio will be long delayed in consequence thereof. Let there be no delay in securing her valuable services - Ed. Lib.

## THE KANSAS TREATY.

The following is the treaty entered into between Gov. Shannon and the people of Lawrence, K. T., by which bloody collision was prevented :-

Whereas, there is a misunderstanding between the people of Kansas, or a portion of them, and the Goverhor thereof, arising out of the rescue, near Hickory Point, of a citizen under arrest, and some other matters; and, whereas, a strong apprehension exists that said misunderstanding may lead to civil strife and nor Shannon and the people of Lawrence and vicinity to avert a calamity so disastrous to the interests of the Territory and the Union, and to place all parties in a

Now, therefore, it is agreed by the said Governor Shannon and the undersigned people of Lawrence, now assembled, that the matters in dispute be settled as fol-

lows, to wit:

We, the said citizens of said Territory, protest that the said rescue was made without our knowledge or cess against them : that we have no knowledge of process against them; that we have no knowledge of the previous, present, or prospective existence of any organization in the said Territory for the resistance of the laws, and that we have not designed, and do not design, to resist the legal service of any criminal pro-cess therein, but pledge ourselves to aid in the execu-tion of the laws, when called on by proper authority, in the town or vicinity of Lawrence, and that we will use our influence in preserving order therein; and we declare that we are now, as we ever have been, ready at any time to aid, the Governor in securing a noveat any time to aid the Governor in securing a possi

at any time to aid the Governor in securing a posse for the execution of such process.

Provided, that any person thus arrested in Lawrence or vicinity, while a foreign force shall remain in the Territory, shall be duly examined before a United States Judge, of said Territory, in said town, and admitted to bail; and provided, further, Governor Shandon agrees to use his influence to secure to the citizens for Kansas Territory remuneration for any damage austained, or unlawful depredation, if any such have been committed by the Sheriff's posse in Douglas county. And further, that Governor Shandon states that he has not called upon persons residents of any other State, to aid in the execution of the laws, and such as are here in this Territory are here of their own choice; are here in this Territory are here of their own choice and that he has not any authority or legal power to do be here. That we wish it understood that we do i

be here. That we wish it understood that we do not berein express any opinion as to the validity of the enactments of the Territorial Legislature.

(Signed)

WILSON SHANNON,
C. ROBINSON,
J. H. LANE.

To Charles Robinson and J. H. Lane: You are here by authorised and directed to take such measures, and use the enrolled force under your command in such manner, for the preservation of the persons and property of the people of Lawrence and vicinity, as in your judgment shall best secure that end. (Signed) WILSON SHANNON.

MORE TROUBLE IN KANSAS. A letter from Westport, Mo., dated 18th ult., to the St. Louis Intelligencer, says that the border Missourians mobbed the electors of Kansas, at different points along the river, upon the occasion of voting for the adoption of the Free State Constitution on the 18th inst. At several places, the Missourians would not allow the rolls to be opened.

low the polls to be opened.

At Leavenworth, a large hand destroyed the ballot boxes, and maltreated the Judges of Election.

The Lexington (Mo.) Herald of the 22d says— A Leavenworth, a collision occurred between the pro an auti-slavery parties. The ballot-boxes were destroyed

anti-slavery parties. The ballot-boxes were destroyed and the voting stopped. An anti-slavery man's house was burned. A man was arrested charged with having set the house on fire, and was lodged in jail. His friends thereupon broke open and harned down the jail. Much excitement ensued, and both parties had sent for assistance. GEN. POMEROY. This gentleman having escaped from the clutches of the border ruffians, has arrived in New the clutches of the border ruffiaos, has arrived in New York. He is on his way to New England, to lay the whole subject of the Kausas troubles before the people. Of the sufferings of the people of Kansas, and the mission of Gen. Pomeroy, the Rev. B chard Knight, formerly of Holyoke, writes to the Springfield Republican: To In this straggle there has been a degree of sacrifice unprecedented, save, perhaps, in the days of the Revolution. Very many have given all they had, to carry on the war; time, money, corn, and every conceivable thing has been thrown into the general treasury. Numbers, in consequence, are ruined men, so far as pecuniary matters are concerned—and if our friends in the East do not come to the rescue, some hundreds will suffer want, if not starvation, this winter.

CONGRESS—THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE—NO SPEAKER. Eighty-four ballotings in the House of Representatives have resulted in no choice for Speaker—Mr. Banks, of this State, still leading all the other candidates, an lacking only five or six votes of an election. On Monday-against all preced nt, and obviously for a par tisan purpose-Pres. Pierce sent his message to both houses! In the Senate, it was received and read. The House, no being organized, very properly refused to hear it read, and ordered it to be laid upon the table. It bears the impress of CALES CUSHING throughout. A considerable portion of it is an artful, deceptive and wicked attempt to mislea I the public on the subject of slavery as between the North and the South. [For extracts from it, see preceding columns.]

The Lemmon Case. In compliance with the joint resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1853, the Governor has appointed Andrew Stevenson, Esq., the Associate Counsel, with the Attorney General, to prosecute, before the Supreme Court of the State of New York, the appeal taken from the decision of a Jadge in that State, by which Jonathan Lemmon, a citizen of Virginia, was deprived of his slaves.

It is understood that the Governor of New York, under a resolution of the Legislature of that State, has appointed the Hon. E. D. Culver and Joseph Blunt, Associates with the Hon. Ogden Hoffman, Attorney General of New York, to manage the case on behalf of the appellees.

the appellees.

The case is a reserved case in the Court, and will be

ready for argument at its term which will commence on the first of January.

Mr. Stevenson, it is understood, has accepted the appointment.—Richmond Enquirer.

STAMPEDE. The Louisville Courier says that seven STAMPEDE. The Louisville Courier says that seven negroes—three men, three women and one child—all slaves except one of the men, made their escape from Millersburg, Bourbon county, Ky. They were in Mr. McMiller's splendid carriage, driven by a white man, who represented to the toll-gate keepers that he had a runsway couple on their way to be married. They reached the Ohio river, but, in attempting to cross, the skiff leaked and sunk, and the three women and the child were drowned. The men cried for help, and were 'rescued' by a market man, who, 'not being an aboli-'rescued' by a market man, who, 'not being an aboli-tionist,' lodged them in Maysville jail. The free negro and the white man escaped.

### TREASURER'S REPORT

Of Receipts, from Sept. 1, to Nov. 15, 1855. Rec'd from C. B. McIntire, Reading, to redeem pledge, From John C. Haynes, Boston, do. do. Proceeds Ladies' A. S. Fair, Worcester,
Do. do. at Abington,
From Weymouth Female A. S.

From Neymouth Female A. S.
Society, to redeem pledge, \$50 00
From do. do. do., donation, 25 00From Rev. Robert Hassall, for collections
in Millville and Chesnut Hill, Rec'd from SallieHolley, for collections-

In Upton, over expenses, 4 59, Men-don 1 58, Southboro' 9 40, Southville 95c., Reading 3 50, Feltonville 7 23, Lancaster 4, Bolton 3 38, Valley Falls 4 95, Blackstone 2 59, Millville 4 28, Marlboro', over expenses, 5 85, From Francis Jackson, to redeem pledges, From S. May, Jr. for collections and do-

From Mendon Unitarian Society, 3 39 From Norton do. do. 1 From T. W. Bailey, Fitchburg, 1 ohn M. Spenr, Boston, to redeem pledge, S. May, Jr., to redeem pledge, 50 00 SAMUEL PHILBRICK. Treasurer Mass. A. S. Society. Brookline, Nov. 15, 1855.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS To the American Anti-Slavery Society, in aid of th

new series of Tracts, in December. Woodbridge Odlin, Exeter, N. H., Daniel K. Hayes, B. F. Folsom, " 1 00
R. H. Parker, " 1 00
Deborah Kimball, Hanover, Mass., 0 30
Cincinnati Ladles' Anti-Slavery Society, Ohio, 100 00 FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

WM. WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Sciety, will hold meetings as follows: opton, Hopedale, Milford, Friday, Jan
Sunday, (morning and afternoon,)
" (evening,)
Tuesday,
Wednesday, Thursday, Millville,

Millbury, Friday, Southboro', Sunday, Mr. Brown's daughter will accompany him, and Believing this to be a work of GENTINE MERIT, unex-

C. C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the Old Colony Friday, Jan. Sunday, day and eve'g, " Pembroke, Sunday, day and eve g.
South Hanson, Monday, eve'g, ...
South Abington, Tassday eve'g, ...
W. Wednes. ...
Thursday ...
Friday ...
Friday ... Aldington, Town Hall,

The Sunday meetings above mentioned will, also, be I. The North-Side View of Slavery addressed by Miss Frances E. Watkins of Baltimore, (colored.)

lored.)
In behalf of the Society, LEWIS FORD,

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massa-husetts Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings as follows:

Milliord, A. H.,	Sunday, J	anuary o.
Townsend, Mass.,	Tuesday,	** 8.
Lunenburg,	Wednesday.	9.
Shirley Village,	Thursday,	10.
Groton,	Friday.	. 11.
Pepperell,	Sunday.	** 13.
形。如何在这位,为10.6年至20.0年代。	图10 GREAT STATEMENT	三月 學科
THE CAMPAI	GN IN MICHIG	ANT

A series of Anti-Slavery Conventions and Meetings, under the auspices of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, to be midressed by Aaron M. Powell and J. H. Philleo, Agents of the American A. S. Society, and Mrs. Many A. Philleo, Agent of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, will be held as follows:—

Brighton, Saturday and Sunday Jan. 5 and 6. Osceola, Wednesday and Thursday, "9 and 10. Oscola, Wednesday and Thursday, 12 and 10.
Howell, Saturday and Sunday, 12 and 18.
Lyons, Saturday and Wednesday, 15 and 16.
Lyons, Saturday and Sunday, 19 and 24.
Ionia, Wednesday and Thursday, 23 and 24.
Grand Rapids, Saturday and Sunday, 26 and 27.
Grand Haven, Tuesday and Wednes, 29 and 30.

The post-office address of Aaron M. Pawell will be Adrian, Michigan, care of Thomas Chandler, until February 1st.

DIED-In this city, Dec. 14, Mr. POMPET THURSTON, aged 68, a worthy and respectable citizen.

In Uties, N. Y., Dec. 14, Rev. James Fountain, aged 69. He was a faithful father, a sincere Christian, and an exemplary citizen—having, during thirty-five years' residence, earned the respect of a large circle.

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and Prescriptions, including Mental Delineations, \$5.50.

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Jan. 4.

A BOOK FOR EVERY HOUSEHOLD,

CASTE: A Story of Republican Equality.

Br SYDNEY A. STORY, Ja. In one large Duodecimo Volume, 540 pp.

THE title would lead the reader to infer that it he THE title would lead the reader to infer that it has somewhat to do with the subject of Slavery, and such is the case; its tendencies are powerfully against the institution. But it is, nevertheless, in the best sense, a Novel, and not merely an Anti-Slavery tract in disgulse. The characters and scenes have a vividness which only genius can impart to ideal creations; and whoever commences the book will find his sympathies so strongly enlisted that he will be compelled to follow the fortunes of the charming heroine to the conclusion.

CASTE is not a 'sectional' book. Its blows fall as much upon Northern as upon Southern society. A

Intense Interest of the Story, t will awaken thinking men to a new phase of the all-

The plot is simple, and wrought but with entire absence of exaggeration. But we have not read a book for many a day which took so strong a hold on the feelings, from the first page to the last. The delineation of negro character, though this forms but a small part of the story, or its aims, is admirable. The confiding and affectionate temper, the ready wit, the unaffected, natural piety, and the many beautiful traits of this conversed race, are lightly but graphically tombed this oppressed race, are lightly but graphically touched upon; while the unfolding of the dearest affections, and of the love that is dearer than life, is full of an irresistible pathos, far more subduing than the bursts of eloquence scattered here and there, which, as points, tell very much in a story. \* \* At this time, especially, this cloquent champion of the right must be beard, and we think it will help silently to strike off many chains riveted by custom and selfishness.—New Bedford Mercury.

It is remarkable as a genuine American romance; there is not a foreign element in it; it is American in its very idioms, in its scenes, characters, and local descriptions. \* Although it is an anti-slavery story, yet the feelings of the author are not at all ob-trusive, and Southern life is painted in couleur de rose; nothing could be more favorable to Southern manners and institutions than the scenes it describes; and they are so palpably truthful and life-like, that they could only have been written by one who has lived long in slaveholding States. • • • The story is long in slaveholding States. The story is wrought with great power, the characters most distinctly and forcibly drawn, and the happy denouement produced in the most natural manner. It only needed a tragic ending to have made it the most intensely absorbing romance of American life which has yet been written. But others may think differently, and would be better pleased to see the averagence in whose would be better pleased to see the personages in whose fate their sympathies had been involved, placed in happy circumstances.— N. Y. Courier.

Frederick Douglass, who has been there,' and

'The book has a reality about it; one feels that the painting is from life. There are seenes of suffering that make the heart sick; pictures of sunny childhood and bliesful love—all painted glowingly. Is is a work more worthy of comparison with Uncle Tom's Cabin than any other of the kind we have seen; though wholly unlike in incident, it is like in truth and power.'

The language, without exception, is free from the stilted exaggeration known as 'fine writing'; the leading characters are distinctly individualized, and the prominent idea is adroitly worked out, without being overworked.—N. Y. Daily Times.

As a whole, ' Caste' is a captivating and powerful work, the plot original, well conceived, and admirably worked out. It cannot fail to prove a 'sensation book,' and find more read-rs even than the popular 'Ida May," as it will be read more extensively at the South No one who commences its perusal will lay it aside til the whole story is known. The author is evidently a practised writer, a close observer of men and things, and familiar with rural life at the South as well as at the North .- Boston Transcript.

It is written with power and pathos. The story is original, the incidents natural, and, indeed, as things now are, necessary. \* \* \* We have no doubt of the success of this new book.—National Era.

It is distinctly original and novel, as if Ida May, or its predecessors, had never been written, and is strictly a novel, and not an anti-slavery tract disguised. True, but the reader draws the inference; it is not suggested other than as his own deduction from the events described. It is finely written, interesting, and cannot .. 18. fail to count its readers by thousands .- Boston Atlas.

ceptionable in its tone, graceful in style, and absorbing in interest, the publishers respectfully ask for it the attention of the reading community.

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verbatim, in this soul-stirring volume.

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### From the Liberty Bell for 1856. A CURSE POR A NATION. BY MILITABETH BARRETT BROWNING

PROLOGUE I heard an angel speak last night, And he said, 'Write! Write a nation's curse for me, And send it over the western sea." I faltered, taking up the word-" Not so, my lord ! If curses must be, choose another
To send thy curse against my brother; \* For I am bound by gratitude,

In love and blood, To brothers of mine across the sea Who have stretched out kindly hands to me. 'Therefore,' the voice said, ' shalt thou write

My curse to-night ! From the summits of love a curse is driven As lightning from the tops of heaven." ' Not so !' I answered. 'Evermore

My heart is sore For my own land's sins ! for the little feet Of children bleeding along the street. · For parked-up honors, that gainsay The right of way ! For almsgiving through a door that is

Not open enough for two friends to kiss. . For an oligarchic parliament, And classes rent. What curse to another land assign,

When heavy-souled for the sins of mine ? ? 'Therefore,' the voice said, 'shalt thou write My curse to-night! Because thou hast strength to see and hate An ill thing done within thy gate."

' Not so !' I answered, once again-To curse, choose men : For I. a woman, have only known How the heart melts, and the tears run down." 'Therefore,' the voice said, 'shalt thou write

My curse to-night! There are women who weep and curse, I say, (And no one marvels,) night and day. And thou shalt take their part to-night-

Weep and write ! A curse from the depths of womanhood Is very salt, and bitter, and good."

So thus I wrote, and mourned indeed What all may read And thus, as was enjoined on me, I send it over the western sea.

THE CURSE

I. Because ye have broken your own chain With the strain Of brave men climbing a nation's height, Yet thence bear down with chain and thong On the souls of others,-for this wrong This is the curse-write !

Because yourselves are standing straight In the state Of Freedom's foremost acolyte, Yet keep calm footing all the time

On writhing bond-slaves, -- for this crime This is the curse-write ! Because ye prosper in God's name. With a claim To honor in the whole world's sight. Yet do the fiend's work perfectly

On babes and women-for this lie This is the curse-write ! Ye shall watch while kings conspire Round the people's smouldering fire, And, warm for your part, Shall never dare-O shame!

To utter the thought into flame Which burns at your heart. This is the curse-write Ye shall watch while nations strive With the bloodhounds, -die or survive, -Drop faint from their jaws, Or throttle them backward to death. And only under your breath Shall ye bless the cause.

This is the curse—write!

Ye shall watch while strong men draw The nets of feudal law To strangle the weak : Ye shall count the sin for a sin, But your soul shall be sadder within Than the word which ye speak. This is the curse-write !

Ye shall watch while rich men dine, And poor men hunger and pine For one crust in seven ; But shall quail from the signs which present God's judgment as imminent To make it all even.

This is the curse-write!

When good men are praying erect That Christ may avenge his elect, And deliver the earth. The prayer in your ears, said low, Shall sound like the tramp of a foe That 's driving you forth. This is the curse-write !

When wise men give you their praise, They shall pause in the heat of the phrase, And sicken afar ; When ye boast your own charters kept true Ye shall blush !- for the thing which ye do Derides what ye are.

When fools write taunts on your gate, Your scorn ve shall somewhat abate. As ye look o'er the wall : For your conscience, tradition, and name Strike back with a deadlier blame Than the worst of them all. This is the curse-write !

This is the curse-write

Go ! while ill deeds shall be done, Plant on your flag in the sun Beside the ill-doers : And shrink from clenching the curse Of the witnessing universe, With a curse of yours ! This is the curse-write!

FLORENCE, Italy.

INVOCATION.

The following exquisite utterance is from the heart of Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning :-Speak low to me, my Savior, low and sweet From out the hallelujahs, sweet and low, Lest I should fear and fall, and miss thee so. Who are not missed by any that entreat.

Speak to me as to Mary at thy feet—
And if no precious gems my hand bestow,
Let my tears drop like amber, while I go In reach of thy divinest voice, complete anest affection—thus, in sooth. To lose the sense of losing ! As a child Whose song-bird seeks the wood for every Is sung to, in its stead, by mother's mouth, He sleeps the faster that he wept before

# THE LIBERATOR

LETTER TO PARKER PILLSBURY. FRANTEGRAM, Mass., U. S. A. | Dec. 23d, 1855.

Person Papers Presspray I have been often inclined to send you a fer lines, when a newspaper came from you to tell us that we were remembered among your numerous anti-slavery friends. But, knowing how many other and more interesting correspondents you had, I forbore to burden you; therefore have sometimes turned the current of remembrance and regard, from across the ocean, to the intervale of the Merrimac, where dwell those dear to your heart, and so serve you by cheering them. None know or appreciate more fully the heroic self-denial of your Sarah, and what a gift she has laid on the altar of Freedom. We know her affectionate nature, her love of home, and the quiet joys that cluster there : her delicate organization, too slight to bear, unharmed. the burden of domestic cares and duties alone; her deep conjugal love, so tried by your long absence and severe sickness, the nurture of your loved Nellie, and the thousand little cares which buzz round daily life. When the historian of the anti-slavery movement makes up his jewels for the grand coronation of Liberty, I hope he will not forget these heroines of the fireside and home. Woman will then be more justly prized

I rejoice exceedingly at the work you are doing in Great Britain-perhaps the most difficult to be done there, for it is always hard to sever sectarian bonds and religious ties. It may earn more kicks than kind words ; but you are used to that diet, and it is of the greatest importance that the great religious bodies there should know how dead and cumbersome the churches are here. I have a few facts, which have come under my own observation, which will illustrate how this worse than indifference to slavery invests the thorough and minute exposure of their injurious influ most minute and distant religious organizations. I live in a town of about four thousand Shabitants.

Mr. B's absence, to procure assistance to buy her chil- the abolition of slavery in the States. dren out of bondage. Mrs. B. sent her away with the I have been thus minute for two reasons : first, to words—'I know nothing about slavery, and my husband is away. I have never heard of his preaching an country enters into the smallest ramifications of the re anti-slavery sermon. One who has attended his church ligious organizations, and eats out religious principle for several years, asked lately what anti-slavery was- It is not merely Dr. Lord defending slavery as 'sannot knowing even that. Last Thanksgiving Day, he tioned by natural and revealed religion '; not merely preached a sermon on obedience to the powers that be, Dr. Dewey sending his brother back to bondage, and and inculcated the doctrine of obeying the laws, no Dr. Adams, with his 'South-Side View'; not merely one of his own people. Of course, this is teaching obe-dience to the Fugitive Slave Law as a Christian duty. not merely that men and institutions necessarily con-Last winter, I obtained the signatures of a few citizens spicuous, are tainted with this national sin; but the to a paper requesting the ministers of the town to de- it penetrates the small parishes and little churches liver a course of anti-slavery lectures. We called on polluting the moral sense, undermining the religious Mr. Bodwell with the request. He acceded to it cheer- principle of all, from the President of Dartmouth Colfully; said he should like an opportunity of jotting lege, who blots paper with his blasphemous enuncia down a few thoughts on the subject! Had he never tions, down to the sexton who tears down an anti-sladone so ? We asked him to deliver the first soon. No- very notice. The foul, pestilential stream flows into acceded, as did those in the other parts of the town, hideous ulcers. (except Catholic and Methodist, we never heard from when they could prepare themselves thoroughly, and Let their cry be—'Repent ye! repent ye!' have a more effective course. The signers urged im—

I was particular and personal, moreover, in order

notice of the same to Mr. Bodwell, with the remark manifested towards the friends of human liberty. that, as he had lived in England, he might be interested in the celebration of one of the most important the ministerial profession or for the function of events in English history. He made no reply indicat- church, that makes us condemn the American Church ing a desire to go, or regard for the occasion. He was How joyfully we accept help from any source, you not at the meeting. He has never attended an anti- know well. There is not a direct and manly word not even in person, I think, certainly not as a participator, and in the prominent position, his profession de- does not readily and gratefully print it in THE LIBERA mands. The same is true of the other ministers in town. Not one has ever been present at any meeting church. To the unfaithful, every where, let us ever of the agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society in this place since my residence here, five years.

After the death of Alice, daughter of our friends Dr. and Mrs. Taft-Mr. Bodwell was applied to for the use of his church for funeral services, and invited to be present; it being stated, at the same time, that if Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Samuel May, Jr., or any of the antislavery friends, should be present, and wish to speak, they should have the right so to do. Mr. Bodwell replied that he was not well enough to attend the services, and he knew that some of his people would object to Mr. Garrison's being there, and refused the church. The Baptist minister, Mr. Child, being applied to, opened his church for the services, and cheerfully tendered free speech to Mr. Garrison and friends. I am glad to mention this on the part of the Baptist minister as a sign of progress, for, in 1852, he refused to attend the W. I. Emancipation gathering, saying, 'If Garrison will be there, I shall have nothing to do with

On the third day of this month, Wm. cells Brown lectured here as Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. He sent a notice to be posted in the entry of the meeting-houses, where, as you know, it is custom ary to put such things. The sexton of the ' Orthodox' church tore down the notice as soon as he saw it, and boasts that he will do the same with all such. Straws tell which way the wind blows.' Would he dare to pull down a notice for a meeting in behalf of foreign missions? Would he do so without reproof? Nay, a notice for a lyceum lecture remains the Sunday through.

The sexton of the Baptist Society refused to put up Wm. Wells Brown's notice. He knows the views of the Church Committee, and will not post it.

The Unitarian minister here seems to have anti-sle very aspirations, but, alas! must be classed among the invertebrata. He lacks backbone! Like the young sprig of divinity ' in Pierpont's poem, he will preach upon the 'dreadful sinfulness of sin,' but a direct. pointed, forcible attack upon the great sin of this na-tion, he has never, that I can learn, made. I heard him preach on the Sunday after Burns was delivered over to the slaveholder, and not a lisp of the occurrence, not an allusion to it, passed his lips. Some general phrases about oppression there were-few, faint and obscure; but the terrible act of the week, which filled to overflowing the hearts of his hearers was passed over in silence. He says, \*I felt too deeply to speak then.' If he had said even that! I am told he preached afterwards on the subject, but not with the otness the tyranny demanded. He has never at tended our anti-elavery meetings. He has not yet come forward to deliver his lecture in the 'next antumn course.' One of the pillars of his church-'golden pillars'-declared, 'I will not have anti-slavery presaded from our pulpit.\* This church, as an organization, has never done any specific anti-slavery work.

No church in town has since my knowledge of them,—

It has the reputation of being more 'free soil' than any other in town. The minister preached, I am told, right nobly, after the 'rendition of Burns.' I honor him for it. Yet his free-soilism, if genuine, is not the anti-slavery of religious principle. After the Presidential election of 1852, he said—'I voted for John P. Hale; but, if Daniel Webster had lived, I should have voted for him.' So much for his free-soil politics. Now look at his anti-slavery. August 1st, 1852, I urged him to attend the W. I. Emancipation celebra tion at the Grove, only two miles distant, and to set hi face sternly and steadfastly against slavery. He refused, on the ground that he could not identify himself with the 'Garrisonian Abolitionists.' He was told he could take the platform, and state and defend his own views. He complained that the ministers would be abused, that no doubt the Abelitionists would attack his friend, Rev. Dr. Fuller of South Carolina, who was then in Boston (holding fourteen or fifteen slaves under

A few words of the Baptist church in this village.

he laws of that Southern State); he could not go and hear Dr. Fuller abused ; he knew him personally ; he was an excellent man. But, is he not a slaveholder Why, yes, he owns some slaves.' Why should he not be rebuked and condemned as such there? 'Well, he is a worthy man-I know him well.' But he is slavebolder. 'Yes ; but I don't think it is a sin to hold slaves as he does.' Why? Do you know that he has made out and given them free papers? 'No.' Do you know that he has provided for their freedom in case of his death or insolvency? 'No; I presume so. don't think it is a sin to hold slaves as be does.' S much for the Baptist minister's anti-slavery. Friend Pillsbury, I have given you these facts in

detail. I have, perhaps, been more personal than the real influence of the persons and organizations referred to would demand, or the taste of some individuals would approve; but it is their position-especially the common estimate of their position-which demands ence upon the cause of emancipation. The point de monstrated is the unfaithfulness of ministers and In the Centre Village, there are three churches-Or- churches upon the zin of slavery. Not that these me thodox (Congregational), Unitarian (Congregational), lack all manly attributes and excellent qualities and Baptist. I wish to speak of these three particu- They cultivate the sentiment of religion, but so exclularly. (In Saxonville and South Framingham, there sively, without the corresponding life, that it spindle are one Methodist, Catholic, Orthodox, Baptist and up to a sickly sentimentality too often. Some are ear Universalist.) The Orthodox minister, in the Centre, nest and consistent advocates of temperance. The Bap (a native of New Hampshire,) is Rev. J. C. Bodwell, tist minister here has been faithful in this good cause who was a dissenting preacher in England for fourteen and is worthy of respect for it. But they lack tha years, and married an English woman. Neither of which is essential to religion, in this age and country them takes any interest in the anti-slavery cause. A though by no means all of religion, namely, a steadyear or two since, a colored woman called there, in fast, uncompromising, direct and earnest devotion to

matter how wicked they might be. This I had from the Board of Foreign Missions and the American Tract be had nothing on hand ! The other two ministers also the every capillaries of life, and festers every where in

The people of England cannot understand this as them.) After waiting a week or so, these 'divines' do who live in the midst of it, with all our sympathies concluded, as it was rather late in the season, and alive to the least infidelity to the rights of the millions there had been a course in Boston, and so on, that it in bondage. Let them read these details. Let them would be better to postpone it till the next autumn, never be weary of appealing to the American churches

mediate action, but the ministers decided to postpone. to meet with unequivocal facts the continual outcry That was the last we ever heard of it. 'Next autumn' against the Abolitionists-'You abuse the minister has come and gone, and not the faintest whisper from and churches.' We do not abuse them; we only rethem on the subject. It seems to have gone into the peat what they say and do. We find them in the place grave with that abortive conception of a Ministerial they occupy, fellowshipping slaveholders, apologising Convention during the week Burns was kidnapped in for slavery, defending it ; -never, with rare exception battling against it. Let any candid and freedom-lov On the 1st of August, 1852, there was a celebration ing man, let the friends of Rev. J. C. Bodwell in Engof West India Emancipation at Harmony Grove, in land, read the facts here stated, and answer if the Ab-South Framingham. A general invitation was extend- olitionists could be true and faithful men and women, my own hands I carried a without rebuking the apathy, the cruel antagon

You know well, friend P., that it is not contempt fo slavery meeting in this town for the last five years; ever spoken from a pulpit in the country against elavery, or any church action against it, that Garrison TOR. We honor the manly minister, the faithful cry-' Repent ye !'

With earnest wishes for your health and continue usefulness in the cause of human liberty, I am,

Truly, yours, H. O. S.

ANTI-SLAVERY AT THE WEST. FAIRVIELD, Lenawee Co., Mich., December 18, 1855.

We have just closed a series of anti-slavery meeting n this neighborhood, and as the friends of the slave in the East are deeply interested in the progress of the unti-slavery movement in the West, with your permis sion, I will report the proceedings of this meeting.

AARON M. Powell, Agent of the American Anti Slavery Society, commenced a series of lectures in our school-house on Thursday evening, the 6th inst. The bouse was filled with attentive listeners. Mr. Powell with much earnestness, showed the peculiar institutio in its true light, clearly demonstrating that slavery i not only robbery and murder, but the vilest of pollu

On the second evening, (Friday.) he examined th position of the political parties, proved them to be the props of the Government, and guilty of the Government wrongs,
Sunday morning, we had a dedicatory service in or

new school-house. The meeting was opened by a fer remarks from one of our citizens, the reading of poetry, and singing suitable to the occasion. Mr. Powel then spoke for an hour and a half on education and the different reforms of the day, with great power and elo

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Powell took in consideration the religious aspect of the anti-slavery movement, showing beyond successful controversy that the religious organizations of our land, with h few exceptions, are either composed of slaveholders, of the aiders and abettors of the Slave Power.

At the close of the meeting, three subscribers btained for THE LIBERATOR. Among the number w one (I take him on his own confession) in the habit o using tobacco and occasionally a little spirits. He said he would dispense with both, and take THE LIBERA TOB. A wise decision, truly !

Mr. Powell is a warm friend of the slave ; young yet unassuming, plain and logical in argument. Lon may be live to plead the cause of the down-trodden an

JAMES W. WALKER, who made his last plea for slave in our meeting-house, was the first preacher of the anti-slavery gospel among us. He found us politi-cally, Democrats, Whige, Free Soilers, believing that the life of our free institutions, if not the salvation our government, depended on the success of the part to which we severally belonged. Religiously, we wer Baptists, Methodists, &c., and of course as much antislavery as any body. But two years have brough bout a great change. We now see in the Go

the willing tool of the Slave Oligarchy; in the Church, f not slave-owners, slaveholders by position, and the

the willing tool of the Slave Oligarchy; in the Church, f not slave-owners, slaveholders by position, and the anders to the Slave Power.

Our first meetings were held in our meeting-house, built by the close-communion Baptists of this vicinity and society. (The Society were the outsiders, who, out of friendly feelings, helped to build the house, and now own more than half of it.) The Church could not stand the spade of investigation; it was fast removing her foundations. She saw her 'CRAYT' in danger, and belied and barred the doors, crying out 'Infidel,' and declaring that the Church was more anti-slavery than the Garrison Abolitionists.

We have been favored with the anti-slavery lectures of Messrs. Burleigh, Foss, and the Griffings. May the fruits of their labors ripen in our hands! We are receiving weekly five copies of THE LIBERATOR and six of THE BUGLE, and a good supply of anti-slavery traots and publications besides. These are working a change in public sentiment, showing man's true relation to his fellow-man, and his duty to his Creator.

Your friend.

fellow-man, and his duty to his Creator.

throughout was very unpropitious, the rain falling almost incessantly; but notwithstanding, there was an average attendance of more than a hundred of appaplayfulness, his uniform kindliness, his hopeful, cheerful, loving spirit, make him well-nigh irresistable to all hearts but such as have the misfortune to be encased in the incrustations of prejudice and bigotry.

Through all the wide world, wherever he may so journ, publishing his gospel of purity and peace, l nost cheerfully commend him to all the friends of progress, both as a lecturer and a fireside instructor, as one from whose ministrations no tolerably right-minded person can fail of deriving both pleasure and profit.

Friend Wright also gave us a lecture on the . Practical Bearings of Spiritualism,' showing its tendency (according to his observation over a wide field) to be most beneficent, and its power most potent in overthrowing old errors and abuses, and ushering in a bet

God speed the W-right!

MRS. E. L. ROSE IN BANGOR. There is a certain minister in Bangor who is MAN, in spite of his profession. His name is BAT-MAN, in spite of his profession. His name is Bartles—a good name for a man who defends a deserving and persecuted woman, and pulverises the miserable bigots who infamously and wantonly slander her. Mr. Battles has published in the Banger Baily Journal the following reply to a Rev. D. B. Little, whose name, it will be seen, is significant of his nature! The reply of Mr. Battles will be found to be a liberial, generous, and manly vindication of an estimable and much-injured lady: and every person, whose opinion is worth any-caution against 'pride,' and would say, that it is and every person, whose opinion is worth any thing, will heartily commend Mr. B. for the hone rable part he has acted in this contest of liberality against bigotry .- Boston Investigator.

LETTER OF REV. AMORY BATTLES. BANGOR, Dec. 17, 1855.

To the Editor of the Whig and Courier : DEAR SIR: 'I have no desire for a public controversy,' and therefore refused to publish my part of the correspondence between Rev. G. B. Little and myself when he 'desired' it. a few days since. But as his 'Rejoinder' of the 14th inst., which I never saw till it appeared in print, does not 'indi-cate the nature of my reply, but, on the contrary, misrepresents both its ward it to you for publication. As I see nothing in his 'Rejoinder' that calls for reply, I will only venture the hope, that now his 'no desire for pub-lic controversy' and notoriety has been fully grant-ed, he will breathe easier, and not 'die of a Rose' in theologic ' Paine.' A. BATTLES.

MONDAY MORNING, Dec. 10, 1855. DEAR SIR: Yours of the 7th inst. came to hand on Saturday with so many other engagements, that I have found no time to attend to it till this You inquire 'if it is irrevocably fixed that Mrs.

Rose is to appear in the Anti-Slavery Course!'
Why should she not! You arge as a reason for breaking our engagement with her, her published I suppose, that appeared in the inst.) behind and beyond which letter (the one, I supp Mercury of the 5th inst.) you do not wish to go.' By that, we learn that she has presided once at a Paine Celebration, and twice made speeches on such an occasion, the purport of which you do not know.

The very head and front of her offending

Her right to do this is no more to be questioned than yours is to preach to your congregation, or mine to speak on temperance. We live in an age and country where free thought and free speech are acknewledged in theory as they should be in practice; and you will pardon me if I fail to discover in the facts to which you refer with so much sensitiveness, anything that disqualifies one for lecturing in our Course. I cannot see how one's theological opinions should fit or unfit one for speaking upon Moral Reform. According to my humble judgment, an irreproachable character, intellectual ability, and an acquaintance with the subject, are the qualifications demanded in a lecturer upon such subjects; and that Mrs. Rose has these, in an eminent degree, has never been denied, to my knowledge, except by a single individual, imported into our city to malign one too pure and noble for him to appreciate.

You probably insist that theological opinions that the opinions of myself and

shall be considered. In vindication of myself and associates let me say, that in inviting lecturers for the 'Independent Course,' we made no inquiries the 'Independent Course.' We made no inquiries upon this point, for the simple reason that our Course has nothing to do with theology as such. But, if we are to regard one's religious creed, where shall we draw the line, and who shall six where shall we draw the line, and who shall sit as grand censors? Shall we appoint an ecclesiastical council, with its narrow and man-made creeds, before which every lecturer shall pass for examination, ere he is allowed to appear upon our platform? And, if so, to what test shall he be submitted, the Calsinistic, the Arminian, the Universalist, the Unitarian, the Catholic? For one, I do not wish to establish any such censorship in our midst, even through 'fear of public dissatisfaction,' or with a desire to calm excited 'religious sensibilities.' In the reign of George III. Dr. Priestly was rejected as a Naturalist in one of Capt. Cook's expeditions, because he was an Unitarian. In our day, a prominent American Coltarian. In our day, a prominent American Col-lege rejected an eminent Professor, because he was a Universalist. This was done to avoid shocking 'religious sensibilities.' Where shall we stop, we insist on theological tests!

Perhaps you will say, none shall come who re ject Christianity as a special and divine revelation if so, why do you single out Mrs. Rose as the only If so, why do you single out Mrs. Rose as the only one upon whom the public ban shall fall, while there are others equally obnoxious, both in our Course and the Mercantile! Is it because she is supposed to be a weak woman, and you think a weak opponent is a sure prey! It seems to me that you and those whom you represent lay down a false canon, and one, too, by which you will not abide. Do you eject Gibbon from your library because he cavilled as Christianity! Would you refuse to

hear Harriet Martineau, one of the noblest women

in public sentiment, showing man's true relation to his fellow-man, and his duty to his Creator.

Your friend,

CHABLES E. MICKLEY.

LECTURES OF HENRY C. WRIGHT.

Springfield, Dec. 23, 1855.

Fairn Garrion:

That indefatigable laborer in the cause of human advancement and elevation, Henry C. Wright, ered three lectures last Sunday at Harmonial Hall, to the friends of Spiritualism and others, men, women and children, on the Ante-Natal History and Rights of Children, and the Responsibility of Parents The day throughout was very unpropitious, the rain falling al-

Reference is made, in your note, to the 'religious sensibilities of a large and respectable portion of this community.' For the virtues of this class, in the private walks of life, I trust I am not wanting in respect. average attendance of more than a hundred of apparently deeply interested listeners; and although the subject was one which a kind of false delicacy (the legitimate offspring of lechery and prudery, having ignorance for a nurse) has for a long time succeeded in rendering contraband of public discussion, the audience was characterised by a perfect propriety and seriousness of deportment, which showed that the effort of the noble specimen of true manhood that stood up before it in the person of the lecturer, was in a good degree appreciated. Indeed, the unaffected simplicity and familiarity of friend Wright, together with his deep and serious earnestness of manner in general, his occasional playfulness, his uniform kindliness, his hopeful, cheerhis notices are given in a loud voice.

If a woman, who is called 'infidel,' proposes to speak here upon the same American slavery

she is denounced and vilified. But a clergyma who advocates the infamous and infidel Fugitiv Slave Bill, is freely admitted into a Bangor pulpit; and if Dr. Adams or Dr. Lord, who have alike disgraced the name of Christianity and dishonor ed themselves, should visit us. I suppose the would be welcomed by the same class to whom you allude.
I am not defending the atheistic opinions

Mrs. Rose. I have no sympathy for them; but 1 do not see why you and those you represent are so exclusive towards her, who, though theoretically atheistic, is practically a Christian,—for Christ has taught us that those who do the will of his Father in heaven are his brethren and sisters, while they are so willing to receive and fellow ship those who, though technically Christian, are atheistic in practice.

I grieve that any one, as he looks out upon this

fair earth, teeming with life and beauty, and thronged with immortal beings, refuses to recog-nize a Creator's hand. I grieve still more to think

make them apologists for slavery. The last are more to be feared than the first.

In behalf of my associates, I thank you for your caution against 'pride,' and would say, that it is not pride, but principle, that influences our ac-

I crave pardon for postponing the answer

your question so long, and would say in conclusion, Providence permitting, Mrs. Rose will appear in the 'Independent Course.' A. BATTLES.

Respectfully yours, Rev. G. B. LITTLE.

From the Bangor Jeffersonian, Dec. 25. THE CRISIS PASSED!

Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, whose coming here was sought to be prevented by the most gloomy fore-bodings of disaster and moral ruin, arrived in in the 'Independent Course,' and has departed, leaving the city safe! The conflict was the danger most imminent, but the crisis has passed, and the city breathes freer. The smoke of the unparalleled conflict having cleared up from the field, a census of the dead and wounded discloses none but members of the assailing party. Hap-

mrs. Ruse appeared very much like other women. She is of medium size, dresses neat but not gaudy, not en bloomer, is graceful in manner, and a rather effective speaker. She speaks with out notes, and gesticulates in speaking somewhat more than Lucy Stone. Her marked foreign dia-lect is the only thing that detracts from an agreeable elecution. On Tuesday evening, she spoke to a crowded hall on the education, social condi-tion and rights of woman, but advanced no senti-ments that gave 'a violent shock' to any portion of our 'most respectable citizens.' On the next evening, she discoursed upon 'Human Rights, and the violation of them.' In the course of the lecthe violation of them.' In the course of the lec-ture, some fine passages were observable, worthy of the fame of the clergymen of our first societies.' The 'violent shock' that was to be expected actu-ally 'came off,' at the conclusion of this lecture, with such grace, directness, and telling effect, as only a talented but outraged woman can impart. She gallantly and triumphantly defended herself against the base and wholly unprovoked assaults made upon her through one of the concrete this made upon her through one of the papers of this city before her arrival. She boldly challenged one and all of her libeliers to substantiate the allegations against her, and at the same time generous-ly offered her accusers a copy of all her public speeches, to facilitate their investigations. She affirmed that there was not a line, not one word-in them that made her obnoxious to the charges preferred against her. Her vindication of her-self,—a duty she had never before been called upon to perform during a public service of twenty-five years,—was frequently interrupted by applause. In closing, she kindly thanked the crowded audi-ence for the kindness and good will they had man-ifested towards her, by listening so respectfully to her lectures and her vindication of herself; and assured them that the moral of her appears and assured them that the moral of her appear ance before them under the circumstances

this: a vindication of the right of free speech, and their right to hear and judge for themselves.

Whatever others may say, we do not believe that Mrs. Rose's appearance in the 'Independent Course' has in the least degree unfavorably affeeted the moral sense of this community, hindered the onward progress of healthy social reform, or weakened any man's or woman's faith in the divine inspiration of Holy Writ. The public attack upon her was, in our judgment, wholly un-provoked, wanton, and malicious. The only dum-aged party are the assailants, who, we trust, will, from this bit of experience, hereafter manifest bet ter manners and a more tolerant spirit towards those persons who may be invited to this city by an association of respectable citizens.

From Frederick Douglass's Paper. REPLY TO GERRIT SMITH'S LETTER TO MRS. STANTON.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS : DEAR SIR :-- In your sus of December 1st, I find a letter from the Hon. Gerrit Smith to Elizabeth C. Stanton, in reference to the Woman's Rights Movement, showing cause, through labored columns, why it has proved a fail-

This article, though addressed to Mrs. Stanton is an attack upon every one engaged in the cause; for he boldly asserts that the movement 'is not in proper hands, and that the proper hands are not yet to be found.' I will not deny the assertion, but must still claim the privilege of working in a movement that involves not only my own interest,

but the interests of my ser, and through us the interests of a whole humanity. And though I may be but a John the Baptist, unworthy to unlose the latchet of the shoes of those who are to cose in short skirts to redeem the world, I still prefer that humble position to being a Peter to deny my Master, or a Gerrit Smith to assert that truthers fail.

rail.

I do not purpose to enter into a full critician of Mr. Smith's long letter. He has made the whole battle-ground of the Woman's Rights Movement her dress. Nothing brighter, nothing nobler, that a few inches of calico or brocade added to a take from her skirts, is to decide this great and glorious question—to give her freedom, or continue her a slave! This argument, had it come from one of less influence than Gerrit Smith, would have been simply ridiculous. But, coming from him, the almost oracle of a large portion of our reformers, it becomes worthy of an answer from every earnest woman in our cause. I will not say one word in defence of our present mode of dress. Not i bet, had as it is, and cumbersome, and annoting. I still feel that we can wear it, and yet be lovers of finerty, speaking out our deep feeling, portraying our accumulated wrongs: saying correct. feel that we can wear it, and yet be lovers of its erty, speaking out our deep feeling, portraying our accumulated wrongs; saving ourselves for a time yet, from that antagonism which we must inertiably meet when we don the semi-male attire. We must own ourselves, under the law, first—own our bodies, our earnings, our genius, and our conseinces; then we shall turn to the lesser matter of what shall be the garniture of the body. Was the old Roman less a man in his cumbrous ton the what shall be the garniture of the body. Was the old Roman less a man in his cumbrous toga, than Washington in his tights! Was Christ less a Christ in his vesture, woven without a seam, than he would have been in the suit of a Broadway dandy !
 Moreover, to concede to her rights of property,
would be to benefit her comparatively little, unless
she shall resolve to break out of her clothes prises,

ahe shall resolve to break out of her clothes prisa, and undertake right earnestly, as carnestly as a man, to get property. So says Gerrit Smith.— And he imputes the want of earnestness to her clothes! It is a new doctrine, that high and hely clothes! It is a new doctrine, that high and hely purposes go from without inward—that the priments of men or women govern and control their aspirations. But do not women now work right earnestly! Do not the German women and our market women labor right earnestly! Do not the wives of our farmers and mechanics toil! la not wives of our farmers and incommics ton: Is not the work of the mothers in our land as important as that of the fathers! 'Labor is the foundation of wealth.' The reason that our women are 'preof wealth.' The reason that our women are 'pupers' is not that they do not 'labor right earnest ly,' but that the law gives their earnings into the hands of manhood. Mr. Smith says, 'That women are helpless is no wonder, so long as they are papers.' He might add, no wonder that the tlate of the cotton plantation are helpless, so long as they are paupers. What reduces both the woman and the slave to this condition! The law which gives the husband and the master entire control of the person and earnings of each; the law that role each of the rights and liberties that every 'free each of the rights and liberties that every free white male citizen 'takes to himself as Goognee. Truth falling from the lips of a Lucretia Mott in Truth falling from the lips of a Lucretia Mott in long skirts, is none the less truth, than if uttered by a Lucy Stone in short dress, or a Helen Maria Weber in pants and swallow-tail coat. And leannot yet think so meanly of manly justice as to believe it will yield simply to a change of gamests. Let us assert our right to be free. Let us git est of the prison-house of law. Let us own ourselves our earnings, our genius; let us have power to control, as well as to carn and to own; then will each woman adjust her dress to her relation in life. Mr. Smith speaks of the Reforms as failure what can he mean! 'The Temperance Reformsill drags.' I have been in New York thirty-seed days, have given thirty-three lectores, have been at taverns, hotels, private houses, and depots, reds in stages, country wagons, omnihusses, carriges, and railroad cars, met the masses of people daily, and yet have not seen one drunken man, some an evidence that there was such a thing as intemperance in the Empire State. If the whole body has been diseased from childhood, and a cure le attempted, shall we cry out against the physician that his effort is a failure, because the malady does not wholly disappear! Oh, no! let us rather cheer than discourage, while we see symptoms of amendment, hoping and trusting that each der will give renewed strength for the morrow, till the cure shall be made perfect. The accumulated ills of centuries cannot be removed in a day or a year. Shall we talk of the Anti-Slavery Cause as a full ure, while our whole great nation is shaking as if an Etna was boiling below? When did the North ever stand, as now, defiant of slavery! Anti-Sisvery may be said to be written upon the 'chariota and the bells of the horses.' Our National Congress is nothing more nor less than a great Ani-Slavery Convention. Not a Bill, no matter how small or how great its importance, but hings spon the question of slavery. The Anti-Slavery Cause is no failure : RIGHT CANNOT FAIL.

failure, notwithstanding it will abound in righteous demands and noble sentiments. So thinks Mr. Smith. Has any Woman's Rights Concestion been a failure! No movement so radical, straing so boldly at the foundation of all social and politiso boldly at the foundation of all social and point-cal order, has ever come before the people, or set so rapidly, widely diffused its doctrine. The re-ports of our conventions have travelled whereit newspapers are read, causing discussions for an against, and these discussions have elicited trat, and aroused public thought to the erils graving out of woman's position. New trades and calling are opening to us; in every town and rillage may be found advocates for the equality of priving of der the law, for every thinking, reasoning, bunst twenty or seven years have not perfected all things.
When intemperance shall have passed away, at
the four millions chattel slaves shall sing sons a freedom; when woman shall be recognized a man's equal, socially, legally, and politically there will yet be reforms and reformers, and me who will despair and look upon one branch of the reform as the great battle-ground, and talk of the failure of the eternal law of progress. Still, then will be stout hearts and willing hands to work at honestly believing, that tenth and right are ust nonestly believing that truth and right are us tained by no single point, and their walchyd will be onward. WE CANNOT FAIL, FOR OUR CANS FRANCES D. GAGE.

ROCHESTER, Dec. 24, 1855.

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