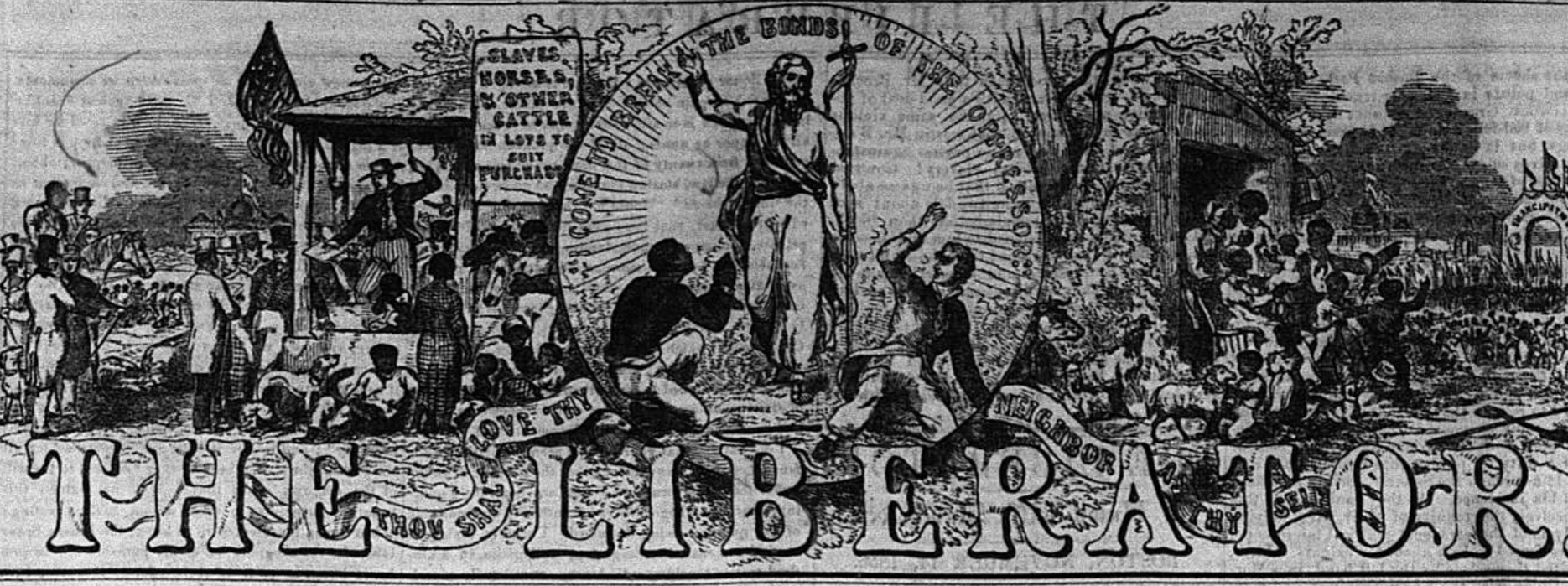


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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz: FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LINSLEY, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILLIP, and WESLEY PHILLIPS.
Is the circulation of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



No Union with Slaveholders!
THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'
'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second, was the stipulation to SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exacting, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—of articles of merchandise, under the name of persons In fact, the oppressor substituted a democracy, to insulate 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 PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATE SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—John Quincy Adams.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 46. BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1856. WHOLE NUMBER 1349.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SLAVERY THE BASIS OF REPUBLICANISM—RE-OPENING OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

From the New Orleans Delta.
Slavery is national, and not sectional. It was general with the Union, and existed of law as well as fact in the colonial days which preceded the Revolution. It was introduced originally with the nation and through the exertion of the mother country, was received into all the Colonies, and was an institution in every State at the period of the formation of the present Constitution. Not only this, every one of the original thirteen States solemnly recognized it as an object of national importance and having a national existence, by ratifying the Constitution which covered it by an express guarantee in favor of the slaveholder.

Such, briefly, are the true origin and political nature of an institution now terrifically peculiar to the South, which is denounced and assailed as sectional by one half of the Union, and is declared to be hostile to the principles on which the Constitution is founded, a blot upon the national escutcheon, and a sin before God and man. But it is not with the rumpiancy of foaming fanaticism or the shallow sophistries of hypocritical philanthropy we have here to do.

We have a proposition to lay down that may appear startling to many because it is new, but will have weight and consideration with the thinking, inasmuch as it is based on both philosophy and experience. We, therefore, declare that slave is not only national, of origin and right, but it is essential to republican nationality. But if slavery, Republicanism would have long since become a tale in these United States.

But for the stern and undiluting vindication of the rights of white men by the independent citizens of the slaveholding States, whom power could not intimidate, capital buy, or monopoly crush, this Confederacy would have long since merged in the central despotism, an cruel and relentless as any that ever oppressed and impoverished a people. The bank monopoly on the one hand, and the manufacturing monopoly on the other, combining with the large monarchal element which, it is useless to deny, has always existed in the country, would have been able to effect this, but for the steady, manly opposition of the Southern people, and the masterly exertions of their statesmen to frustrate the designs of that 'Holy Alliance' against the rights and liberties of white men.

It was in slavery that the conservative element of Republicanism was found to overcome this reactionary movement toward the annihilation of individual dignity and liberty, as well as State sovereignty, and the subjugation of the country to merged monopolies and a central power. It is this conservative population that Republicanism has had its true and only defence in. It is they who have made the Union what it is, and they who have made the Union what it is, and they who have made the Union what it is, and they who have made the Union what it is.

History is instructive. Heed its teachings; they are an invariable and unerring. It tells us that a republic never existed without slavery. It tells us that where partial and defined slavery exists, there is the mass of the working people have been slaves, and worse than slaves. It tells us that wherever universal freedom has nominally existed, poverty, want, and possible famine, and humiliating dependency of the poor upon the rich, have been the price of painted delusion; and the remedy, invariably the same, revolution and change, until nations have been almost drowned in their own blood.

SELECTIONS.

From the Christian Examiner for November.

PRES. LORD'S DEFENCE OF SLAVERY.

There are evidently three ways in which slavery may be defended by those who feel themselves called to that work. There is, first, the ground of ANCESTRAL RIGHTS: by which they may endeavor to show that slavery is in itself right, in spite of absolute reason. Secondly, it may be defended on the ground of EXPEDIENCY, as an institution which in practice works well. And, in the third place, it may be defended SCRIPTURALLY, by proofs taken from the Old and New Testaments. President Lord has selected the first line of argument; Dr. Nehemiah Adams has distinguished himself by his enthusiastic labors in the second field of inquiry; and an innumerable company of divines have defended this institution by proofs taken from the Scriptures. It is with the argument in the abstract, as set forth by President Lord, that we have to do.

ATCHISON AND STRINGFELLOW CANONIZED.

From the Richmond Enquirer.

More than half a century ago, two good, well-intentioned men, Witherspoon and Howard, inaugurated a new school of philanthropy, which chose for its subjects scoundrels and savages. It was a sort of revival of the Pythagorean philosophy, which would vainly attempt to banish pain and misery from the world. The effort would have been innocuous, but from the inevitable consequence, that in making scoundrels comfortable, you increased their numbers, and made honest men less comfortable; and in encouraging savages in idleness and cannibalism, you imposed heavier burdens on the white race.

The true philanthropist does not deal in soft, affected sentimentalism. He is ready to inflict a little pain to procure a great deal of happiness; ready to punish the criminal few to advance the well-being of the virtuous and honest many; ready to expel, enslave or exterminate, if need be, a few wandering cannibals and savages, who misuse and abuse the gifts of Providence, to give room, and employment, and comfort to white civilized, Christian men, Columbus and Vasco De Gama, and Cortez, and Captain Smith, and the Puritan Fathers, and Walker, and Stringfellow, and Atchison, are the true philanthropists—the men who practically advance the 'greatest good of the greatest number,' whilst at the same time they punish, like Moses and Joshua, ignorance, idolatry and crime, and promote morality, civilization and Christianity. While their hearts are bleeding over the wrongs of the South, they are not less ready to shun, humbug, who rewarded crime by punishing virtue.

PRIEST-RIDDEN NEW-ENGLAND.

The result of the Presidential Election in New England proves that a majority of her people have bowed their necks to the dominion of religious fanaticism. While their hearts are bleeding over the condition of slavery in which the negroes of the South are placed, they seem to be wholly unconscious that they are the victims of a far worse servitude themselves. They are the slaves of passion, of prejudice, of religious tyranny; and yet they hug their own chains of absolute subjection to puritanical fanaticism, and think they are doing God service in shedding tears over the servitude of Southern slaves, who neither desire nor are in need of their services. New England is to-day groaning under a despotism which challenges a parallel in any other part of the world. They labor under the delusion that they are freemen, and they boast loudly of their devotion to freedom. But there is no freedom in New England. The Church is supreme over the minds of the priest-ridden people. They do not think for themselves, but the political oracles of the pulpit do their thinking. The worst species of despotism is that in which the mind is enslaved. That is the despotism which broods over New England. The slave of the South is happy and contented with his condition. He knows that he is not fitted by nature for freedom, and he is contented with the guardian protection which he enjoys from humane and kind masters. The New England men are deluded with the idea that they are free, and yet they are wearing the chains of enslaved intellects and beings. They look to their religious teachers for their thoughts, and they follow the dictates of bigotry and fanaticism with slavish submission. They accept whatever falsehood, whether of doctrine or of fact, that their religious guides choose to impose upon them. Church and State are virtually one in New England. The power of the pulpit is supreme, and it has just been exerted in dictating the vote cast for Fremont.—Washington Union.

It would be interesting to know who is the author of the following contemptible production:—
NORTHERN ADVICE. The following communication is the Spartanburg *Spartan* from a Northern editor, appeared in a late Charleston Courier. The advice is good, though we fear it comes too late:—
TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES.
Gentlemen.—In case Fremont is elected, we, the pro-slavery men of the North, would recommend that not one pound of cotton, rice or tobacco be sent to the Northern States. Let it be consumed, or perish on the ground where it was produced, rather than let a pound of it come North. We have here hundreds of factories and over one hundred thousand people depending on your cotton, many of them are Fremont men, and who get their bread by slave labor, and yet they act against the interest of the slave States. Let all Southern produce be kept away from the North, and in less than twelve months, there will be such a reaction in the North as to make the most anti-slavery State we have here a pro-slavery State. Touch a Northern man's pocket, and you touch his most tender part.
A PRO-SLAVERY MAN.
Boston, Massachusetts.

RELIGION TO BE ESTABLISHED OR ABOLISHED ACCORDING TO MEN'S NOTIONS OF CONVENIENCE! DR. LORD HAS ADDRESSED SOME QUESTIONS TO HIS BROTHER MINISTERS. MIGHT IT NOT BE WELL FOR HIM TO CONSIDER THESE QUESTIONS HIMSELF!

But we must look a little more strictly at the argument of our Dartmouth President. For when the head of one of our chief New England colleges; to whose care our sons are committed, publishes his deliberate opinions on such a great subject, they surely deserve to be seriously examined. His views may seem to us inconsistent with the plainest principles of natural justice and Christian duty; they may seem to us as superficial and conceited, as in his view are those of his opponents. Nevertheless, they ought to be seriously examined. And we shall endeavor so to fulfill this duty.

Before we ask whether slavery is right or wrong, we ought to ask, What is slavery? A definition of slavery ought to precede its discussion. Dr. Lord gives a definition on page 11 of Letter First, namely, 'the buying and selling of men as property.' He then adds another definition, namely, 'the having of a civil right [sic] not to their souls, but to their bodies, and to what shall not be, whether he shall know and what he shall not know, whether he shall be able to read God's word, or not; whether he shall have an opportunity to hear Christ preached, or not.' Am his conscience; he must have no higher law than my will, else he is not my slave. His duties are all dependent upon my will; his duties as a Christian, as a husband and father, as a member of society, are all subordinate to his duty to me. He cannot go to church, or read his Bible, or keep the Lord's day holy, or fulfill his duties to his family, or to his neighbors, or to his country, or to his God, if I do not consent. If I am a man, if he is my property, then I also claim a right over his soul. I cannot really own his soul, but I claim to do so by claiming an absolute authority over his conscience and his will, over his reason and his heart. If I assert that he is my property, then I declare that it is for me to say what he shall do, and what he shall not do, whether he shall be able to read God's word, or not; whether he shall have an opportunity to hear Christ preached, or not. I am his conscience; he must have no higher law than my will, else he is not my slave. His duties are all dependent upon my will; his duties as a Christian, as a husband and father, as a member of society, are all subordinate to his duty to me. He cannot go to church, or read his Bible, or keep the Lord's day holy, or fulfill his duties to his family, or to his neighbors, or to his country, or to his God, if I do not consent.

Prof. I. Ministers of the Gospel ought to consider the question of slavery, from its origin and foundations, as a question of divine right, rather than of prudence, policy, or economy.
Prof. II. Slavery is an institution of God, according to natural religion.
Prof. III. Slavery is also a positive institution of revealed religion.
Prof. IV. Slavery is not opposed to the specific law of love, which requires us to do to others as we would they should do to us.
Prof. V. The wide-spread humanitarian philosophy, which promotes a moral evil nor a political wrong, is a great heresy, and tends to alarming consequences.
Prof. VI. Slavery in itself, apart from its abuses, is a wholesome institution, adapted to educate the race of Ham, and an institution which may very profitably be extended.
Prof. VII. The Nebraska Bill of Mr. Douglas ought not to be objected to, inasmuch as it allows slavery to exist itself, and so prevents a dangerous local over-growth of the slave trade.
Prof. VIII. Christians ought not to encourage anti-slavery views.
Prof. IX. Christians, instead of opposing slavery, ought to oppose anti-slavery men and measures.
Prof. X. The abuses of slavery have prevented people from seeing its uses and its beauty.
Prof. XI. Dr. Lord hopes that his brethren will forgive him for frankly saying that he believes slavery (in itself) not a moral evil nor a political evil, but an ordinance of the God of nature and revelation; and for saying that he would himself own or hire slaves, if it were convenient or necessary.

We have given this statement of Dr. Lord's opinions, mostly in his own words and his own order, lest our readers should think that we had misrepresented or exaggerated them. But any exaggeration would be impossible, for no man is or can be more of a pro-slavery man than Dr. Lord. He does not merely excuse slavery, he defends it; he does not merely defend it, he justifies it; he does not merely justify it, he admires and loves it. It is a part of his religion, a part of his Christianity. Has any one distinguished himself as the champion of this institution? Dr. Lord has done more for it than he. Did Mr. Calhoun defend it as right?—Dr. Lord worships it as divine. Did John Mitchell negro for himself plantation and a gang of negroes in Alabama?—Dr. Lord, even in his own right, has hired negroes to hold slaves in his own right, and to hire their services for their proper masters, and declares that he could do this 'without conscientious scruples or misgivings, and with gratitude to God.' Did Senator Douglas denounce the ministers of New England who opposed the 'Nebraska Bill' as going out of their sphere?—Dr. Lord also thinks it necessary to suggest that they did wrong in their opposition to it, and that they had better have let it alone. Indeed, we cannot see, according to the principles laid down by our learned President, why the Slave-Trade is not also a divine institution. For if the perfection of God absolutely require slavery, if his justice and goodness require it, if it is a positive institution of Christianity, if Africans (as descended from Ham) are ordained to be slaves, then the means necessary for maintaining this blessed institution are also necessary. But without the slave-trade, we could never have had slavery in this country, and God's providential design would have been defeated; hence the slave-trade was right. Moreover, as Africans are usually so bled to their own good slaves, and to offer themselves voluntarily to become slaves, and as in their unchristian love of freedom they even resist being made slaves, it is evident that without kidnapping and warfare this divine institution could not have been established; hence kidnapping and the bloody wars of Africa are highly to be approved.

But we must go still further. The President of Dartmouth College believes that slavery is the direct result of the curse pronounced by God upon Ham and his posterity, and that the negroes are the descendants of Ham. He asserts that by the law of Moses, God 'not only suffered, but also required, the buying and selling of slaves,' and that Christians in all periods have justified the curse of the guilty Ham and his degraded race. Does it not follow from this that all negroes should be slaves? For if, as Dr. Lord maintains, they are descended from Ham, and if God 'has declared that the descendants of Ham are to be slaves, what right have we to say that any of them shall be free? According to Dr. Lord, therefore, it is our evident duty to re-enslave all the free colored people.

Dr. Lord's argument, however, carries us still farther. He declares that slavery is a positive institution of revealed religion. It is, then, like Baptism and the Lord's Supper, something in which all Christians are bound to participate. They would not only be sinners, but they would be infidels, if they were not to participate in it. They would not only be sinners, but they would be infidels, if they were not to participate in it. They would not only be sinners, but they would be infidels, if they were not to participate in it.

* 1. A Letter of Inquiry to Ministers of the Gospel, of all Denominations, on Slavery. By a Northern Freelyer. Boston: Pettridge & Co. 1864. pp. 32.
* 2. A Northern Freelyer's Second Letter, &c. By NATAN LORR, President of Dartmouth College. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1855. pp. 99.
† Dr. Lord, in his first letter, modestly puts these propositions in the form of questions. But since, in his second letter, he defends them as propositions which he accepts, we put them in this form, for the sake of convenience.

According to his argument, Dr. Lord, while disliking fevers and consumptions as they are, should feel an unfeigned admiration for them as they ought to be. He should consider that cholera is a necessary ordinance of God, and that it should be assailed or violently broken down, but merely as a means of its propagation. Just as he piously longs to hold slaves 'in his own right,' he should ardently desire a fit of the toothache, or a few twinges of the gout. And he should speak as strenuously in condemnation of those who try to cure all diseases, as he does of those who are attempting to break every yoke. He censures severely 'those who make a trade of philanthropy, and propose by it, to prevail upon the public sympathies' by seeking to overthrow this divine institution of slavery. Ought he not to condemn with equal sharpness the whole medical profession, which is seeking to overthrow the divine institution of disease, and the whole clerical profession, which is seeking to overthrow the divine institution of human wickedness? These two classes also 'make a trade of philanthropy,' and a trade of religion, and live by it.

President Lord compares the enslavement of a race with the imprisonment of an individual. He argues, that, as wicked men need to be restrained by imprisonment, so wicked races need to be enslaved. But to make this analogy hold, Dr. Lord must prove,—first, that enslaved races are usually more wicked than those who enslave them; secondly, that they have a fair trial, and a chance to prove their innocence, before they are enslaved; and thirdly, that when they have served out their proper term, they are set free. We think it would be difficult to prove either of these positions. There is no evidence that the enslaved nations and races of ancient or modern times have been any worse than their enslavers. There is no evidence that they have been enslaved in consequence of their wickedness. Ignorance and weakness, and not any special criminality, have been the causes of slavery. And their slavery has come to an end, not when they have grown better, but when they have grown stronger and more intelligent. The moral qualities of the enslaved races have often been superior to those of their masters. The Jewish slaves were certainly no worse than their Egyptian lords; the Greek and Roman slaves were far less cruel than their masters; the Saxon slaves were a better race than the Norman slaveholders; and such observers as Channing and Kimmont regard the African races superior, in their religious and moral organization, to that of the whites, while inferior in energy and intellect.

In order to prove slavery to be a divine institution, according to natural religion, it is not enough to show that it has done some good. There is no institution so evil but that it is attended with good. Every form of superstition and idolatry has done some good. They have all been the means of developing the religious sentiment. War has done good,—it has developed courage, powers of endurance, and powers of self-sacrifice in the minds of nations. Despotism has done good by restraining anarchy; but it despotism therefore a divine institution? By such a course of argument, we have to justify slavery, the President of Dartmouth College would justify every kind of evil which has existed in the world. Yes, he would justify sin itself, since where sin abounds grace has yet more abounded. Exceedingly shallow, and quite unworthy the head of a New England college, is the logic which assumes, in the first place, that the enslaved races have been more wicked than their enslavers, and next assumes that slavery has prevented them from growing more good; and then infers from this assumption that because good has come from the institution, therefore it is a part of natural religion. When Silvio Pellico was imprisoned by the tyranny of Austria in 1820, and was kept in prison ten years, he derived from it an immense benefit; for which he might well have thanked the Divine Providence. But does it follow that his imprisonment was any less unjust or cruel?

That slavery is ever better for the human race than freedom, that a man is ever made better by being made a slave, that the system which deprives a man of every right, turns him into a thing, makes his marriage a mere form, makes all his domestic relations insecure,—that this relation makes him better, is asserted by Dr. Lord, but denied by every great philosopher and moralist from the days of Homer to the present hour. Homer declares that 'the day which makes a man a slave takes half his worth from him,' and every great subsequent moralist has echoed the poet's assertion.
[Remainder next week.]

A BEAM IN HIS OWN EYE.

An immense assembly (says the *A. S. Standard*) convened at the Academy of Music on Thursday evening, the 30th ult., to listen to political addresses from the Rev. Dr. Cheever and the Rev. Dr. Thompson. Dr. Cheever having spoken for more than an hour with masterly force and eloquence, and Dr. Thompson having finished a somewhat brief, though scarcely less able address, the audience demanded a speech from the Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., of New Haven. The Doctor made an earnest, off-hand address, in the course of which he alluded to the apostasy of Rufus Choate. If, said he, Mr. Choate had listened to such preaching as that of Dr. Cheever, he probably would not have stood where he now does, on the platform of slavery extension. I happen to know, he continued, that Mr. Choate's minister is the Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D. D., author of 'A South-side View.' This he was greeted with enthusiastic applause. Now, it is a striking fact that the very minister whose pernicious teachings were thought to have led Mr. Choate to betray the cause of freedom, had, on that very day, at Newark, been re-elected a member of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; and among those who appear to have been present on the occasion, and to have taken an active part in the proceedings of the body, was the Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D. There is no evidence that he, or any body else, offered a word of protest against the election of this 'blind guide' to one of the highest and most responsible positions within the control of the American Church. It is by no means improbable that Dr. Bacon himself voted for him, and we presume he would not hesitate to admit him to his pulpit, and to treat him in all respects as a true minister of Christ. If the author of 'A South-side View' is fit to be a guide of the very 'Ark of the Covenant' of the American Church—the Board of Foreign Missions—is he not also fit to dispense the Gospel to Rufus Choate?

It requires but a small degree of courage, comparatively, in the present state of public opinion, for a minister to make a political anti-slavery speech, and we fear that not a few clergymen are seeking to atone for their guilty silence in ecclesiastical assemblies by a display of zeal in political movements. They give the right hand of fellowship to slaveholders and apologists for slavery

in the religious organizations to which they belong, and then seek to quiet an accusing conscience by a spasmodic zeal for reform in political affairs! When such men as Dr. Bacon, Dr. Thompson, Dr. Cheever, Dr. Storrs and H. W. Beecher, have the courage and the consistency to apply their anti-slavery principles to their ecclesiastical relations, and to treat unsoundness on general questions of morals as they do unsoundness in respect to abstract theological dogmas, we shall think better of their anti-slavery than it is possible for us to do at present.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

OFFICIAL MAIL REPLYING.

PROFESSOR OF SLAVE-BREEDING DESPOTISM.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune: Sir.—It appears to me that the circumstances I am about to relate ought to be made public, that the people may know that the spirit of despotism is manifested elsewhere than in Hungary or Italy, or Kansas. I have had a correspondent in the latter place for several months. It may be said, 'What of it? That is an affair of your own.' I thought so myself, until I learned that some persons thought differently, and made it a part of their business, as well as mine, to be seen.

About the middle of August, a friend informed me that a man had been talking to her father about my correspondence, and added that she thought it very singular how he should know so much about my letters as he professed to know, unless somebody had opened them at the post-office. I thought it strange myself, but do not know why I should have made any inquiries about it, had I not been informed by a correspondent that a letter containing money, which I had mailed on July 1, had not been received, and had advised me to make inquiries at this office. I then made efforts to ascertain who the persons were that had taken so much interest about my letters, and was told by Mr. W., in whose house I reside, that Mr. D., a class-leader in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and mail-contractor between II. and I., some time in July took him aside and told him confidentially, and as an important secret, that I was writing a great many long letters to the Abolitionists in Kansas, and that he had doubts that the one containing money went further than this post-office; therefore, my next inquiry was directed to Mr. D. himself, in the presence of Mr. and Mrs. W., to learn, if possible, where he obtained so much knowledge, and he told me he had heard Mr. M., the postmaster, and several other persons, speak about it; but he requested him to inform me who the several other persons were who had been talking to him after said that he did not first refuse, but that the Abolitionists had written to that place; for I had mailed but one of the post-office directed there, and I informed Mr. D. of that fact. It was also a fact that I had written two other letters directed to Kansas, but as they related to some business matters that I could not have attended to here, I enclosed each of them in a letter to a friend, requesting him to attend to the business for me, and then mail them. The one sent first he received, and it contained only a draft payable to him, and therefore of no value to any other person; but the second, containing money, is missing. These facts look rather unfavorable for our pious class-leader.

The following will serve as an illustration of the man:—After he had been talking about my correspondence in the manner he had, though I had not heard of it, he came here one day, and delivered a philippic against all 'higher-law fanatics,' for my benefit undoubtedly, but at the time I did not know it. Among other excellent remarks, he said: 'I wish Henry Ward Beecher could just drop an atom of truth on the boys who know he was here, and then give him a ride that he would remember—not a ride on a railroad, but a ride on a rail.'

What I have already related, one not a tyrant would think was outrageous enough; but the climax is not yet completed. Our conscientious postmaster, also a class-leader, has indeed 'refused to mail any thing from my hands.' I have his note in which he gave me that astonishing information, and my letters were sent by me, and I was obliged to send them by some other means to another office to be mailed. I had heard that he said he would not mail another letter for me, but I did not believe he said so, for I thought his official oath required him to mail all pre-paid letters sent to his office. I was told by one who has an opportunity to know, that, beside the mail-contractor, some others, who call themselves gentlemen, had advised the postmaster to pursue the course he did. I have written to the Post-Office Department, asking for all necessary particulars as correctly and fairly as I could, including a copy of the correspondence with the postmaster here, and shall wait with some interest to learn whether the United States mail, so called, really belongs to the United States Government, or to a village postmaster and his clique.

I will here state that I have done nothing to arouse these human bloodhounds; that I have said nothing about slavery here; that I never wrote an article upon that subject for publication, either pro or con, nor did I ever tell the slaves that any body thinks they have any right to be free, that I would be showing very little kindness to them, to make them dissatisfied with their condition, when it is now in our power to improve that condition in the least. But what may be my opinions with regard to the slavery question, or what I may write about it in my letters to my friends, is my own affair, and if any are so impertinent as to endeavor to infringe that right, I shall resent their impertinence, and maintain a course to suit the circumstances. Even if I could write for publication, I have a right to do so, and the denial of this right by any person would only cause me to make the effort.

The following will show how the shameful proceedings above narrated appear to some here:—A gentleman of considerable intelligence said that 'if he had a sister in Maine, New Hampshire, or any other State, and a number of men should club together to invade her rights, as some men here had assailed mine, he would not wait for the operation of any law, but would go there and shoot them at once.'

When I read the accounts of its outrages in Kansas and in the Senate Chamber at Washington, I had no thought for a moment that I should ever personally encounter it. But it has obtained from me no concessions. (Is it a recent importation from Europe? Let our Know-Nothing friends

NON-RESISTANCE CONVENTION. The Friends of Peace and Universal Brotherhood are invited to meet in Convention in the city of Worcester...

A RECENT TOUR IN OHIO. Dear Mr. Garrison: When your voice, "solitary and ungodly," first sounded in the ears of this guilty nation...

LETTER FROM REV. A. T. FOSS. ST. MARY'S LAKE, PENNSYLVANIA, Nov. 4th, 1856. DEAR MR. GARRISON: This is the election day, in which is to be decided the fortune of the two parties that divide the land...

LETTER FROM THE WIDOW OF LORD BYRON. TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOSTON TRIBE: Dear Sir, I have just received from London a note from Lady Byron, the widow of the poet, to Mrs. Stowe...

APPOINTMENTS. SUSAN B. ANTHONY, of Rochester, N. Y., has been appointed by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society...

From the London Anti-Slavery Advocate for November. Mrs. Stowe's Visit to Edinburgh will be read with interest, as showing her opinion of the American Anti-Slavery Society...

MRS. STOWE IN EDINBURGH. Mrs. Beecher Stowe, after spending some time at Dunrobin Castle, the seat of the Duke of Sutherland, made a short tour in Scotland, visiting many places of historical interest...

WHY THE SLAVEHOLDERS WANTED BUCHANAN ELECTED. The New Orleans Daily Picayune recently gave the following account of the reasons for desiring the election of Buchanan...

THE SOUTHERN SPIRIT. A slaveholder in Texas, having no better way of manifesting his bloodthirsty spirit, has taken the safe method of sending the following communication to Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts...

SLAVES MAKING TRACKS ON THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. It is reported that four negroes have escaped a few days since from Kenton County, Ky., and that about the same time twelve others were missing from the vicinity of Maysville...

THE GREAT FIRE IN SYRACUSE. On Saturday morning, Syracuse was devastated by the greatest fire that ever occurred there. It broke out in the first ward and burned over twelve acres, destroying one hundred buildings...

OSWEGO, November 11th. It has been ascertained that the propeller which foundered on Lake Ontario during the late gale is the J. W. Brooks, belonging to the Northern Transportation Company...

SUDDEN DEATH. George W. Briggs, the well known bookseller, died suddenly at his office on Saturday evening, Nov. 3rd, Washington street, of internal hemorrhage, produced by a fall. He died in about five minutes after he was attacked...

GOVERNOR GEARY A SLAVEHOLDER. A Kansas correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette says Governor Geary owns a large number of negroes in Virginia where he has an extensive iron establishment worked by slaves...

AT HOME ON THE 13th OF OCTOBER. Col. Hiram Pearson of San Francisco, was fined one thousand dollars for seating himself on the throne of the Pope...

THE PILLS TRADE. Who could dream of the magnitude such an undertaking as the manufacture of a Purgative Pill assumes when it comes into general use?

THE BALM OF THOUSAND FLOWERS. For beautifying the complexion, cleansing the teeth, bathing, shaving, and all toilet purposes, this cosmetic is unrivalled.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK. CHARLES L. REMOND and SARAH P. REMOND of Massachusetts, and AARON M. POWELL of New York, Agents of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY...

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT will speak at Providence, on Sunday, November 23, in the regular course of Anti-Slavery Lectures, afternoon and evening.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN. The co-operation of all friends of Female Medical Education is earnestly invited to an effort which is now being made in New York for the establishment of a practical School of Medicine...

THE TWENTY-THIRD National Anti-Slavery Bazaar. Will be held as usual in BOSTON, during Christmas and New Year's Week.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, MARY MAY, LOUISA LORING, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, ANNE WARREN WESTON, ANN GREENE PHILLIPS, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, FRANCES MARY ROBBINS, HELEN E. GARRISON, ANN BEBECOA BRAMHALL, SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, MARY WILLEY, ABBY FRANCIS, ANNA SHAW GREENE, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, ELIZABETH GAY, HENRIETTA SARGENT, SARAH RUSSELL MAY, CAROLINE WESTON, SUSAN C. CABOT, MARY H. JACKSON, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZA F. EDDY, EVELINA A. S. SMITH, ELIZABETH VON ARMIN, AUGUSTA KING, ELIZA H. APTHORP.

WEXMOUTH ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR. THE WEXMOUTH LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold its annual FAIR, at the Hall of Mr. WALKER'S HOTEL, Weymouth Landing, commencing on the evening of Monday, Nov. 10.

HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN. The co-operation of all friends of Female Medical Education is earnestly invited to an effort which is now being made in New York for the establishment of a practical School of Medicine...

HERALDS OF FREEDOM! An active preparation, by GROZELIER, the eminent French artist, and will be published by C. H. BRAINARD, 124 WASHINGTON STREET.

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION will be held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, on the 25th and 26th of November.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT will speak at Providence, on Sunday, November 23, in the regular course of Anti-Slavery Lectures, afternoon and evening.

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HOPEDALE HOME SCHOOL, FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH OF BOTH SEXES. THE next (Winter) term of this Institution will commence on Thursday, the 6th day of November.

POETRY.

THE SUNRISE CHIMES.

SUNDAY MORNING.

BY FRANCES D. GAGE.

List to the chimes,

Gaily ringing!

'Slavery, Intemperance, Want and Crimes!'

Is the song they are singing;

Singing of these in the holy time

Of the morning hour,

While the dew sleeps heavily on the flower.

List to the chimes,

Gaily ringing!

'Slavery, Intemperance, Want and Crimes!'

Is the song they are singing;

Of the groaning slave in his galling chain,

Of the drunken reveller's aching brain,

Of the homeless child, with weary feet,

Who slept last night on the stormy street;

Of the fallen maiden, so lost, so low,

Wasting her life in the haunts of woe;

The murdered mother, the starving child;

They are singing of these in a chorus wild.

List to the chimes,

Gaily ringing!

'Slavery, Intemperance, Want and Crimes!'

Is the song they are singing.

'Hear ye! hear ye! hear ye!'

(In this home of the brave, this land of the free,

Where the star-spangled banner so proudly waves.)

'We will sell to-morrow a lot of slaves.'

To the Court House, then,

To-morrow at ten,

For then and there will be sold,

To the highest bidder, for sordid gold,

Janey, Henry, Nora and Ben,

And a host beside, all warranted well,

And slaves for life—all Christians, too;

Good hands to cook, and wash, and sew;

And one is a preacher; so sing the bell

For these slaves for life; let them hear the knell

That their fellows toll; their God to mock

O'er his image sold on the auction-block!

Ring, ring, ring!

A merry peal o'er the grog-shop there,

Licensed and sanctioned by men of prayer,

As well as by men of curses.

They hang the bell in the steeple high,

Ring merry peals as the world goes by,

While the grog-gill fills their purses;

Aye, ring, ring

The merry peal as the world goes by,

Turn their gaze from the earth to the steeple high,

That they see not the woe

That lies reeking below.

They have paid their part for the merry chimes.

They have prayed their prayers o'er the earth's dark

crimes,

And they list well pleased to the merry bells,

Yet hear not a word of the tale each tells.

Of the rosy revel, the drunken fight,

Of the brother slain at the dead of night,

Of the husband hurried away from sight,

Of the young wife shrieking in wild fright,

Of the prison dark, the dark despair,

The sister's anguish, the mother's prayer,

The little ones' eloquent wail of woe,

The old man's groan, with his gray locks low,

The maiden's cry o'er the lover slain,

The felon's curse in his binding chain.

Oh! they hear not a word of the tale each tells!

But laugh with delight at the merry bells!

They have paid their times

For the sunrise chimes,

And what care they for grog-shop crimes?

List to the chimes,

Gaily ringing!

Wildly they float on the morning air,

Calling the people to early prayer:

Each sound, to my ear, is a cry of despair

From hearts wrong by tyranny, want or care.

Yet still I hear a soft voice singing,

Sweetly it falls on the listening ear

Of all who its gentle tones will hear;

It touches the heart with its endearing clear,

And bids it with hope and faith draw near,

And that love that estab on all fear,

And join in the grand refrain;

'There's a good time coming,' when men will be

True to themselves and humanity;

When the master shall loosen the bondman's chain,

And the slave stand forth as a man again;

When the grog-shop door shall be found no more,

When—instead of a tempter—a guide and friend,

To stay the steps of the weak, and lend

A helping hand and a word of cheer,

Shall be ever ready and ever near,

To lure them away from the path of strife,

And plant their feet in the ways of life;

When man shall be to his fellow true,

Doing as he would have him do,

Then 'Slavery, Intemperance, Want and Crimes,'

Shall be sung no more by the sunrise chimes;

Then shall be lived out God's new plan,

And a chorus shall sound o'er land and sea,

From the rescued hearts of humanity—

'Peace on earth, and good will to man!'

And the sunrise chime,

In the holy time,

Shall answer back, from every clime,

The chorus of angels and men sublime,

'Peace on earth, and good will to man!'

THE LIBERATOR.

LETTER FROM JOSEPH BARKER.

INTERVIEWS WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

OMAHA CITY, Nebraska, Oct. 22, 1856.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

In March last, I came to this place, and after a few days' sojourn, resolved, if my family should concur, to make it my home. Since then, I have been repeatedly up and down the Missouri in the St. Louis and Omaha steamers, skirting Nebraska and Kansas, and going through the heart of Missouri. On every journey, I have heard conversations about slavery, abolitionism, and Kansas, and generally, it has fallen to my lot to take part in them. On one voyage, I had a lengthy conversation with a Kentuckian, on another with a Georgian, both slaveholders; and on another with a Georgian who was not a slaveholder, but the son of a slaveholder, and an officer in one of the pro-slavery bands of Kansas.

The Kentuckian was an educated and cultivated man, and so far as I could see, a gentleman; and he neither drank whiskey, nor chewed tobacco, nor disfigured his sentences with oaths and curses. He was, besides, good-tempered and tolerant, and fair and honorable in his reasoning. He had heard me talking with another on the Bible and slavery, and, watching his chance, got me aside, and expressed a wish to talk with me himself on these subjects. On the Bible, his views were liberal, but he did not go so far as myself. He was one of the more latitudinarian of the Universalists. We did not talk long on this subject.

On slavery, we talked longer. He was annoyed at the anti-slavery agitation, and thought it was doing a vast amount of harm. He acknowledged, however, that slavery was a difficult and troublesome affair, but contended that it was lawful, and that the North had no right to meddle with it. I contended that the North had a right to speak its mind on any subject; that men would speak their minds on such subjects, and that it was vain to try to hinder them; that every subject of importance would be discussed in its time—thoroughly discussed; that those which were not discussed in one way would be discussed in another; and that every thing that could not bear discussion must ultimately pass away. I said one of the most suspicious things about slavery was, that it would not bear discussion. We, I said, in the North, have no fear that free discussion will overthrow liberal institutions. A Southerner may advocate slavery in every free State of the Union, and no where would the people think their free institutions endangered. But as for the South, it must either put down freedom of speech throughout the country, or leave the North, or allow the North to rule, and let slavery go. Besides, in any case, slavery will disappear. It has already disappeared in all those countries that take the lead in civilization. It has disappeared in England, France and Germany. Holland, Sweden, Denmark and Norway are free from it, and even Russia and Turkey are beginning to abolish it; and it would be folly to suppose it could prevail for ever here. Even here we have proof that it is but a transitory state of society. It once existed in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and the rest of the old free States, but it is gone; and it will perish everywhere. Society is ever changing; it is ever progressing. It has been so in the past. It is so now. It will be so in the future. And in its progress, slavery, and arbitrary rule, and absolute power, whether in the Church, the State, or the family, must all disappear. It is no use to say that slavery would live if the anti-slavery agitation were put down, for it cannot be put down. You cannot yourself believe that it is possible to silence the advocates of freedom. An attempt to silence them would only increase their numbers and inflame their zeal. He granted it was too late now. I said, it was always too late; it was destined from the first to increase and spread, and it will increase and spread till slavery disappears. No power in the country can prevent its disappearance. It is destined to perish; and the only question with those who are really friends to the country should be, how may we get rid of it with the least danger to the community?

He spoke of intemperance, the inconsistency, the selfishness and the faithfulness of the North, and of the wrongs of the South, &c. I said, I could not undertake to justify the North, nor was the state of society in the North such as I could look on with satisfaction. But these things did not affect the question. Nor was it necessary to discuss the question whether slavery was in all cases and under all circumstances an evil, or whether, in all cases, slaveholders were inexcusable offenders against the rule of right. It is enough for me that slavery is inconsistent with the peace, the strength, the prosperity and happiness of the community at present, and that either slavery or the republic must perish.

He asked how I would dispose of slavery and the slaves, and I told him: He rather agreed with me. He expressed his satisfaction with what he was pleased to call the fair and rational manner in which I treated the subject, and expressed his opinion that if those views of the question could be presented to the minds of the people generally, the terrible and irritating subject might be got rid of. He at the same time confessed, that at the South, the people would not allow me to utter such sentiments; that though he and some others could listen to them patiently and without offence, the majority would not, especially from a Northerner. But he said I might discuss the Bible question in his State, and have large audiences, and he gave me an invitation to visit his neighborhood, and deliver a series of lectures. His behavior was courteous and gentlemanly during the whole of the journey. He was, in general, honest in argument. When he found a position untenable, he gave it up with a good grace; when he found an argument unsound, he relinquished it, and really seemed desirous to know the truth. Some smaller men, who gathered round us once, would have had him resort to abuse or ridicule, but he would not, and his example seemed to have a good effect on some of them. They seemed to think that if one whom they rather looked up to treated a person respectfully, they must do so too.

The Georgian who had served in the Kansas pro-slavery company was of quite a different stamp. He was but poorly dressed, and had been but indifferently educated, and he was not an example of perfect temperance, though I never saw him drunk, nor even bordering on drunkenness. He came on board at one of the Kansas landings, in company with the leader or commander of the company, named Curry. They were attended at the landing by a dozen or fifteen of their followers, most of whom seemed to be drunk, and some of whom were very boisterous. They were perpetually calling out, five or six at a time, 'Curry, good-by,' 'Safe journey, Curry;—Curry this, and Curry that, and Curry every thing. The boat stuck at the landing, and the noise of the drunken rowdies made it difficult for the sailors to bear the orders of the mate. Some one—one of the passengers, I believe—at length said, 'Shut up; the men can't hear the mate for your noise.' Immediately, one of them drew a pistol, and prepared to fire at the offender; but another, less drunk, seized his arm, and dragged him away.

I made up my mind to have some talk with Curry as soon as we should be fairly on our way, but I found him too reserved and shy. But I got into conversation with his subaltern. At first, we talked of Kansas and the doings of the armed bands that had gone thither. He did not much like the work. It was neither pleasant nor profitable. He had spent part of his time in visiting the Indians in Kansas and Nebraska. He had done but little fighting, and did not intend to do any more. I said to him, 'You are a Southerner, and all your opinions, prejudices, habits and tastes are in favor of slavery, I suppose?' He said, 'They are.' Well, I am a Northerner, and all my opinions and tastes and feelings are in favor of freedom. Most of what I have

heard about slavery has been against it. Will you tell me just what you see of the institution, and all that you know of its workings? Tell me what particular advantages it has over free society. I would really like to understand the subject.' He readily assented to become my teacher, and we chose out a place where we could sit alone, and he began. 'Well, negroes are not fit for freedom. They would not work if they were not forced; and they could not govern themselves nor take care of themselves. And what could we do with them if they were set at liberty? There would be no living. They are happy as they are. They don't want to be free. You could not persuade them to leave their masters. When they run off, they often come back. They are better off than the free laborers in Northern cities, and a vast deal better off than the people of Ireland, or the working classes in England.' I said I understood they had a great deal to do to prevent slaves from running away; that they had patrols, and particular regulations about passes; that they had laws against teaching slaves to read and write, lest they should learn something about the free States and Canada; that whites from the North were not allowed to talk to the slaves; that no man was allowed to speak against slavery publicly, even to the whites, much less to negroes, and that the Fugitive Slave Law was considered necessary to get the runaways back. How is it? What is the real truth on all these points?

My teacher seemed to think that he had rather a difficult task, but he did his best. 'It was the Northern abolitionists that had made some of the slaves discontented, and that had obliged them to pass strict and severe laws, &c. &c. But, said he, you know the Bible sanctions slavery.' 'I am aware of that,' I answered. 'That settles the question,' said my teacher. 'Yes,' said I, 'for those who take the Bible as an authority.' 'You surely don't disbelieve the Bible,' said he. 'Not the whole of it,' I replied; 'but I don't regard the Bible as the word of God—as the oracle of an all-perfect being. I do not, therefore, think a thing right because the Bible sanctions it, or think it wrong because the Bible forbids it. I am not a Jew, nor am I a Christian. The Bible, to me, is of no more authority than the Koran, or the Book of Mormon.' 'Then I must give you up. I can't prove slavery right, only by the scriptures.' 'But why do you carry slavery as far as the Bible would carry it? The Bible authorizes the enslavement of whites as well as blacks. It authorizes the Jews to hold each other in slavery, and to make slaves, chanted slaves, of all the world besides. If the Bible principle were fully carried out, all the Gentiles—that is, all the world, except the Jews, ourselves among the rest—would have to be slaves.' He doubted, I gave him the passage. He was surprised. He then asked me my reasons for not believing the Bible, &c. He seemed never before to have met with a man who did not believe the Bible,—who was neither Jew nor Christian,—and he was very anxious to know my reasons for my strange opinions; but he had nothing more to say on slavery.

Further down the river, a fellow-passenger told me a horrible story of a doctor in one of the river villages, who used the slaves that came into his hands so cruelly, that most of them ran away, and who was so disliked by many of the neighbors on that account, that they would neither sell him a slave nor lend him one for hire.

At one of the landings, on Sunday, stood a colored man, carrying a child on one arm, and having another, a little larger, by the hand. A woman, his wife, I suppose, stood near, with a child in her arms, and four others clustering round her, holding on by her dress. A coarse, ill-natured, vulgar man, a passenger, landed there. He was the legal owner of the whole—the husband and wife, and their seven children. They were his cattle. He was breeding and rearing them for the market. Some of the passengers uttered filthy and revolting jests on the scene; but I felt very strange. It was a sad, a horrible sight.

We frequently saw groups of slaves at the landings on Sundays; slaves of various ages, but not often of both sexes. We saw very few females. The young men were, generally, but coarsely and meanly clad. Their clothes seldom seemed clean, and they were not often whole. Sometimes the poor creatures seemed merry and playful; but in general they seemed sad, spiritless, unhappy.

On going down Louest street, St. Louis, the last time I was there, I was struck with a sign hanging over the door of a dirty, old looking and degrading house, on which was painted—NEGROES BOUGHT AND SOLD ON COMMISSION.' A white man sat in the doorway, reading, and another, near one of the windows, seemed poring over an account book. One young negro was sweeping the floor of the yard at the end of the house, and two good-looking young women were looking out of the windows of their prison-house. This was another horrible sight to me, and again I felt myself strangely, sadly, horribly affected. I had never seen such a sight before. How in the world could men, Americans, pretended republicans, attend in that house, in open day, on such a business? It is a dreadful thing.

The last time I came up the river, I passed the first five days in reading, or in talking with my son. We had many fellow-passengers, but no one spoke to me, and none seemed disposed to encourage me to speak to them. I said, at length, to my son, 'This is the first time I have travelled on the Missouri, without having some one on board that knew me.' It seemed plain, however, that at this time not one of the passengers knew me, or wished to know. This state of things continued till we had got past Leavenworth, in Kansas. The evening after, when we had got above the dangerous districts, a fellow-passenger said, 'Mr. Barker, will you sing us a song?' I was astonished; some one did know me, then. By and by another spoke, and then another, and another, and I at last found out that there was scarcely a person on the boat, male or female, that did not know me. After this, I had frequent conversations, sometimes with men who were rude, ill-mannered, unfair, untruthful, unmanly; sometimes with better and more agreeable persons. The master was one who said he was a Northern man by birth and education, and had spent seven years in the South. He was the meanest of the men.

The man with whom I talked most was a Southerner, a Georgian, and a slaveholder. He seemed inferior to the Kentuckian in education and refinement, but quite his equal in candor and forbearance. For a time, we talked about the Constitution, and about the meaning of the oath to support it,—about freedom of speech, as guaranteed by the Constitution, and the impossibility of reconciling freedom of speech with slavery and despotism; but our longest talk was about slavery. He acknowledged that slavery was attended with terrible difficulties, dangers and disadvantages, and that it would be well for the country if it were quietly rid of. He said that masters in general did not use their slaves well. 'There are a few,' said he, 'that raise them by kindness, by appeals to their self-respect and love of approbation, by small rewards and timely commendations; but masters generally, who have large plantations, put their servants into the hands of overseers, and they rule them by force and terror; and that never answers well. The slaves thus managed will work when watched, but the moment they are out of sight of the overseer, they do next to nothing. They get careless, too, and let the master's property go to ruin. Every thing goes wrong. Then follows more punishment. Sometimes the innocent are punished, sometimes the guilty; but it is of little avail. I have a few servants,' said he, 'but I seldom speak harshly to them, unless they do something very bad. I treat them as human beings. I tell them what I want done, and they do it. If I am not in a hurry to have the job finished, I tell them to take their time. If I am in a hurry, I tell them so; and they work with all their might. And I commend them. And it is really delightful to see how proud and happy a good word makes them. But I don't like slavery. There is something wrong about such property. One's mind cannot be fully at ease about it. Slaveholders generally have unsettled

and unpleasant feelings on the subject. They have doubts and misgivings about holding men as property, that they have not about holding oxen or horses. Besides, they feel such property is uncertain. I believe with you, that slavery will go down—that it will pass away. I do not think it will go down so soon as you suppose. It will probably last some forty or fifty years; but not much longer. I confess I like such property. There is no kind of property I like so well as slaves and land—plantation property. Yet I can't enjoy it properly. I would not leave my property to my sons in that shape. I had rather leave them other property, and give them professions.'

Again he said, in answer to a remark of mine, 'Men often sell their own children. They sell them oftener than others. The children of a master are generally known to be his, and when such children are born to a master, it is next to impossible to keep the fact from the wife. Then the mother of such children is ill-used, and the children too, unless they are sent away. As I was coming from home, I saw a sale advertised, and as there were some negroes among the property, I attended it, with the intention of purchasing a female hand. I found one there. She was very black, and any thing but good looking; and she seemed cowed and gloomy. I saw she had something wrapped up in her lap, and I opened the wrapper to see what it was. It was a little child, quite yellow. 'Hallo,' said I, 'what's this?' 'That is my trouble,' answered the woman. 'Your master's, eh?' said I. 'Yes,' said she. 'Missis has been putting on about it, and master has sent me away.' The woman and her child went for \$650. They were very cheap. I meant to have bought them, but thinking they would not be sold for some time, I went away on some other business; and while I was away, they were sold. Such cases are very common. Most slaveholders have children by slaves. Many keep slave women on purpose.' I spoke of a Southerner who had brought a slave woman and five children—his own children—into Ohio, and placed them on a farm, and settled some property on them. He said such connections were quite common. He mentioned the case of a man of first-rate talents, of superior virtue, and of the highest reputation, who had lately taken a colored woman into these questionable relations. He makes no secret of the matter. He has, in consequence, fallen in people's estimation; but no one says anything to him about it.

He acknowledged that many of the slaves were discontented, and would be glad to escape from bondage—that the Southern States, so long as they held slaves, would not keep pace with the free States in population and wealth; but still, he did not see how the evil was to be done away. I told him how I thought it might be disposed of, and he seemed rather inclined to agree with me; but added, that in his opinion, nothing could be done at present. People in the South are so excited and irritated, that they will not bear a word about emancipation. A man would risk his life to propose to discuss the subject.

And many more things my fellow-passengers said, that I thought might be of use to your readers; but not being able to write them down at the time, they have escaped my mind. But the conversations proved to me, that there were those in the South who see and feel, to some extent, that slavery is an evil—that it is endangering the peace and prosperity of the nation—that it favors vice—that it is necessarily cruel, and that it is next to impossible fully to reconcile the mind of man to the institution.

I could not but observe that the common sailors on board the Missouri river steamers, are treated worse—provided with worse food, worse lodgings, with worse accommodations of all kinds, and are treated with more insolence, and ruled with more inhumanity than any class of white men with which I was ever acquainted, convicts in State prisons not excepted. They are generally Dutch or Irish, though at times an Englishman gets among them. The mate on board a boat that was up here about a week ago not only cursed and swore at the hands, but repeatedly struck and kicked them. A friend of mine told me that he saw him kick an Irishman in the belly, and then strike him over the head with such force that the blood flew out of his ears and nose, and the insulted man durst not answer a word. He also saw him strike an Englishman—the only Englishman in the service. The Englishman made no reply. A blow or even a rebuke in return, would have been punished as mutiny, I suppose. But he went at once to the clerk, demanded his wages, and left the boat at the next landing. The clerk tried hard to persuade him to remain, but he refused to place himself again under a man who had once struck him.

I suppose those habits of some of the mates of those steamers are got on the plantations. They are doubtless the product of slavery. The second clerk of the vessel referred to above cursed one of the sailors, and threatened to kick him into the river, while I stood by, simply because the poor fellow had mistaken his direction as to the spot to which he should run a barrel.

In conclusion, though I disagree with you as to the propriety of political action,—though I am pleased that S. J. May, F. Douglass, and others, have begun to vote,—though I think the denunciations of such men as J. B. Giddings, Charles Sumner, Theodore Parker, H. W. Beecher, &c., which I have heard or read from some of the old anti-slavery lecturers, the extreme of fanaticism,—I yet, as heretofore, agree with you as to the evil of slavery, the desirableness of freedom, and the necessity of doing all that justice and wisdom, all that conscience and humanity require us to do, to make liberty national, and slavery nothing, all the world over.

Yours, very respectfully and affectionately,

JOSEPH BARKER.

THE HOPEDALE COMMUNITY.

This is a great and excellent social-reform institution. It is so because it is radical and world-wide in its scope, and has the welfare of all in its aims. Its work is one of true philanthropy. The writer knows, from a long personal acquaintance with the projectors and leading minds of this movement, that they are among the most enlightened and worthy people anywhere to be found. They deserve abundant success; and if they fail to realize it, it must be because their effort is not fully appreciated by other good persons, whose aid and support may reasonably be demanded. Many such bestow their means to promote good things—Freedom, Peace, Temperance, &c.—yet they stand aloof from this institution, which includes in its wholeness every branch of moral reform. Why should they not prefer the greater to the less? Why should they not take hold of a cause which has every good to recommend it, and the spread of whose principles will fill the earth with harmony and beauty? There is nothing æsthetic about it,—nothing crazy or visionary, but every thing which is required by nature, reason, and the highest good of mankind.

The work of this Community is to reconstruct society on a new and true moral basis. This basis requires a different religion from that which now prevails, new politics and new ideas of human life and duty. Such a work cannot be accomplished speedily. But until it is done, there will be war, violence, slavery, poverty and crime, more and more aggravated, and without remedy. Parties may elect Presidents, and sects may multiply; but these evils and scourges will still remain. The dizzy whirl of the Presidential campaign, now over, like all others, leaves the people where they started, or perhaps more degraded by its desipation. When sobriety shall again rest on the public mind, the better portion will be prepared to listen to the truths which the reformer has to utter.

It happens that the persons best qualified for this reform are generally of the poorer class, who, though they have the right heart and ready hand, yet lack the pecuniary ability. Thousands would do very much if they possessed the means; but, as it is, they must wait in patience the chance of the future. Hopedale is fortunate in this matter. A few men of capital and business talent generously devote them to establish business and furnish employment. This is a great advantage to the less favored, and through their aid,

and the procuring of a comfortable livelihood and home is rendered comparatively easy for all. An equality and superiority of advantages are there enjoyed not to be found elsewhere. This Community is a worthy example to the world, and we trust the attention of the serious-minded may be more and more drawn to it.

LETTER FROM KANSAS.

LAWRENCE, (K. T.) Oct. 20, 1856.

[Special Correspondence of the Missouri Democrat.]

The dragoons which were sent by Gov. Geary to guard the northern entrance into the Territory, have been busily engaged in a very interesting search for Gen. Lane and some pieces of cannon said to have been buried by Redpath when he came into the Territory a few days since. Whether there are any cannons in the ground up there or not, we cannot say, but the soldiers sent to look for them have manifested as much vigilance as could be expected, when we take into consideration the probable value of them to Uncle Sam, even supposing they could be found.

A story is told of them, (and some of them tell it of themselves) that when they got to Plymouth, one and a half miles south of Nebraska line, they discovered a newly-made mound of earth, which looked as if it was the grave of some dead artillery. They immediately repaired to a cabin on the prairie, which constitutes the entire city proper, and inquired the meaning of the newly-made grave, and what it contained. To this question the lady of the cabin replied that it was the grave of a poor old nigger, who had followed the north star this far, and had died; that they had buried him in the ravine, and that some mound of earth to which they referred was his grave. This reply was well calculated to rouse their suspicions, and they went to work with pickaxe and spade to find the cannon. But they discovered that it was a nigger, and not a cannon, after all. Still, notwithstanding the disappointment that followed their labors, their vigilance in trying to resurrect buried cannon is very commendable. I suggest that if they get with hazel rods, and go at the job in the usual scientific, calculating and astronomical manner, they will be far more chance for success. But, speaking seriously on this subject, let us inquire what use can there be in dismantling artillery, which, while buried, can do no harm? If Free State men have cannon buried anywhere, it is not likely that their capture would make the people any more contented with the position of the administration towards them. Have not the people been dragged enough?

Speaking of 'niggers,' reminds me of another anecdote which will be interesting to some of the effort to make this a slave State, even supposing that other surrounding circumstances favored such a result. Some two weeks ago, a few Free State men were going up to Nebraska. On the road they overtook a negro, and on questioning him, they found him to be a fugitive slave. He was foot-sore, and appealed to them to let him ride in their wagon. They were Northern free men themselves, and of course could not resist such an appeal, so he was taken into their wagon. They were soon afterwards met by the U. S. troops, who, although the wagon and the men were going out of the territory, took the liberty of searching out the wagon for arms. Instead of arms, they found legs—nigger's legs at that—and the Deputy Marshal immediately arrested them as 'nigger-thieves,' and brought them back to Topeka with the train which they captured afterwards. Some say that they were liberated, negro and all, by the Governor. Other say that they were taken prisoners, and sent to Leavenworth, where they will doubtless be tried for negro-stealing, and if found guilty, hanged, according to the bogus act 'in such cases made and provided.'