



slavery. All the free colored people of the South were all the honest, industrious, well-behaved conscientious people which this Memphis writer, while advocating their general expulsion, confesses some of them to be, selling them as slaves to the cotton planters according to the programme of the Richmond Examiner, would be comparatively an easy operation. But in the case of these people we see a striking contrast with the moral principles, under certain circumstances, of Mandeville's famous doctrine that private vices may be public benefits. The security of the free negroes of the South against all attempts to expel or enslave them, rests, not upon their virtues, but their vices; and a pretty effectual security it is.

HELP FOR AN ANTI-SLAVERY PRESS IN KENTUCKY.

To the Editor of the Telegraph and other papers: I know of a case which demands attention, sympathy and aid from Anti-Slavery men in the free States. I invoke your assistance in getting a few facts before the public.

Wm. S. Bailey, aided by his wife and children, is editing and publishing the Newport (Ky.) News, (Daily and Weekly,) the only Anti-Slavery paper, I think, that is issued in the slave States. He has sacrificed an independent property in keeping it alive for seven years, and is now poor, and his paper is doing good service, and would be liberally sustained, as it should be, if his situation and work were understood. He has the real Kentucky pluck, and is resolved to persevere till freedom triumphs. Cassius M. Clay recommends him to your confidence and support, in a note of which I send you a copy. I know Mr. Bailey, and love him for his noble spirit. Earnestly bespeak for him sympathy and a little material assistance from the friends of freedom throughout the free States.

On the 12th of this month, a friend in this city hearing that Mr. Bailey and his family were suffering in this hard and cold winter, sent him five dollars. May I copy a few of the words in his touching reply? 'We got your letter Saturday evening, out of which we procured some flour, a few slices of ham, a pound of coffee and a pound of sugar. And that night we all sat down to the table, for the first time in more than two weeks, and ate a meal with sublime thankfulness. You will not be soon forgotten, nor your remembrance which relieved our half famished family, faint and feeble for want of substantial nourishment.' Now I know Mr. Bailey's circumstances so well that I am sure there is no exaggeration in this. He has suffered and is suffering with his noble family the pains of slow martyrdom for the cause of freedom in Kentucky and through our country. Shall he not be relieved? Who will take his paper? The weekly is one dollar per annum. Who will send him a dollar to aid him in his martyr work. Any one can send directly to him by letter, directing to William S. Bailey, Editor of the Kentucky Weekly News, Newport, Kentucky, or hand to me and I will transmit.

Will not all editors who see this, help this noble man by inserting this article in their papers?

DANIEL FOSTER.

Boston, Jan. 27, 1857.

MR. CLAY'S LETTER.

December 11, 1856.

To all to whom these presents shall come. William S. Bailey, of the Newport News, Newport, Ky., has made great pecuniary sacrifices in the cause of our common liberties, and is still making sacrifices. His paper, daily and weekly, is doing good service in Kentucky, and encouraging others in all the slave States to do the same. All the friends of the Republican cause would do well to aid him, as a little man from each one would place his paper upon a permanent basis of stability and usefulness.

C. M. CLAY.

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.

The underground Railroad occasionally brings out rich things. Yesterday a beautiful mulatto woman from the Maryland shore, near Baltimore, called upon Mr. Lougen. She was a fugitive from high life in Slavedom. Her dress, address and conversation, showed she had been valued and cared for. She naturally enquired into the quality and amount of business at the Syracuse Depot. Mr. Lougen took her to the record of the names of the fugitives that had called at her house, and commenced reading them. 'That is the name of my husband,' she exclaimed, with enthusiasm, when a certain name was read.

Mr. and Mrs. Lougen instantly called to mind an accomplished semi-colored man they had sent on to Rev. Mr. Mansfield & Co., at Auburn, three weeks ago. She told her story as follows:—

She had been married about six weeks. Her husband and herself were house slaves of two notable and wealthy families in Maryland, and were greatly attached. About three weeks since her master suspected that she intended to flee with her husband, and arrested her and put her in jail. She managed to notify her husband of her case, and he instantly fled to avoid a similar fate, and probable sale to the far South. Her mistress and daughter were greatly attached to her, and procured her release, and in three days thereafter she fled on foot to Philadelphia, with the aid of the man who helped her husband off. Anti-Slavery men put her on the road, and now for the second time she has got on the track of her husband.

Mr. Lougen at once thought it his duty to go to Auburn with her and help her find her husband. On her arrival at Auburn, he placed her in the parlor of one of the best hotels, and called on Mr. Mansfield, who went with him to another clergyman, to whom he was directed. He was at meeting, and Mr. Lougen saw a colored man in a distant part of the meeting who resembled the fugitive, and sent a person to bring him to the lobby to see Mr. Lougen. The person was a slaveholder. On entering the room, he saw his beautiful wife alone. He was so overcome that he almost fell to the floor, exclaiming, at the same time, 'it is my wife!' They rushed together, and a happier bride and bridegroom could not be found in the world—we'll venture to say.—Syracuse Standard.

ANOTHER CANE FOR MR. BROOKS.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

Sir—I stood in the office of a certain California Express Company in this city yesterday afternoon, watching the process of opening the mouldy, gravel-like trunks, and the distribution of their varied contents. The California steamer had just arrived, and there were letters, papers, daguerotypes, specimen lumps of gold, Canton Crane shawls, products of California industry and Chinese skill. 'Christ-mas presents?' I asked of the busy expressman, taking up, as I spoke, a long, neatly-wrapped parcel which he had just tossed out like Yorick's skull. I started at the inscription I read there, on the wrapper of what I had supposed to be a sword:—'To the Hon. PASTOR S. BROOKS, Washington, D. C. Presented by the Citizens of Tehama, California.' It was another cane!

It would be difficult to describe the emotions with which I silently replaced the weapon on the table, and stood a few moments alone beside it. The man still digging in the grave behind me was too busy to heed my start of surprise, and, all alone, addressing itself to me in a language deeper than words, I held mute communion with this Christmas gift. I walked with it among the miners in their council, when the deed it was to commemorate was pronounced good; I heard the calumniator of the whole thing, 'love, violence and bloodshed,' and saw them fitting the stoic staff to its 'loaded' head of gold, and read the meaning on their knitted brows, while they de-vised its 'suitable inscription.' I thought of its careful enunciation, and perhaps at this moment the surmises passing from lip to lip, 'By the time

Brooks has received our cane.' And then I thought—need I tell you what?—the strong arm stiffened in death—the angry cluck relaxed in cold passivity, and of that soul released from the throes of mortal hate, from the bonds of earthly pride, from ties of 'relation,' or 'State,' or 'section'—far beyond the petty scenes this poor emblem of hate (not friendship) was made to commemorate, weeping, wringing in contrition its earthly state, but headed—saved by the precious blood which makes joyous and holy our Christian festival!

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, FEBRUARY 13, 1857. TRUTH. The Truth shall make you wise, All simple though ye be; But ere her light can greet your eyes, She first must make you free.

The Truth shall make you bold, Though small your strength may be; But, if she find your courage cold, She first must make you free.

The Truth shall make you great, How small so'er ye be; To raise you to her high estate, She first must make you free.

The Truth shall make you glad, Though deep your griefs may be; To pour her joys upon the sad, She first must make them free.

The Truth shall make you good, All sinful though you be; To enter on her heavenly road, She first must make you free.

Thus wisdom, courage, joy and grace, The gifts of Truth shall be, If giving on her glorious face, Hath made your spirits free. M. W. C.

This is a true saying, and worthy of all acceptance. But even Truth will make Free only those who receive it, conform their lives to its dictates, and renounce that which opposes it, though dear as a right hand or a right eye. If our nation yet remains a slaveholding nation, it is because we have not yet received the Truth and reduced it to practice. To hold the slave securely within his power, the master must keep one end of the chain in his own hands. There is no escape from this necessity. But while he does this, he also is in chains. His movements are limited, his freedom is forfeited, just as certainly, by the self-imposed task of holding the slave, as the slave's by being held; and whoever assists the master in holding the slave must in like manner, and by the same necessity, have his movements limited and his freedom curtailed. Massachusetts has done, and is now doing, this shameful work, and is therefore necessarily suffering its inseparable disgrace and injury.

day after Sunday, and year after year, gives them from the pulpit neither mental nor spiritual food, nothing but a new hash of the same old formulas and superstitions, which they have known by rote from their childhood—what wonder is it that they seem indifferent? If there is any honesty in them, how else can they seem? and what better could they do, unless to stay away altogether, and help the poor empty minister sooner to his decision to ask a dismissal!

The business of a minister is to preach something so well worth hearing that his people can't stay away. If half of them do stay away, and the other half "seem indifferent," the minister may safely conclude the fault to be—in himself.—C. E. W.

NEW PUBLICATIONS. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. 8 vo. pp. 74. This pamphlet, which may now be had at the Anti-Slavery Office, and which should be preserved, as well as read, by every Abolitionist, gives an able and interesting statement of the most important events in the great contest with slavery, which occurred within the year previous to the last annual meeting of the American Society. An appendix gives an abstract of the proceedings of the last anniversary.

THE PRISON OF WELTPREDS, and a Glance at the East Indian Archipelago. By Walter M. Gibson. 12 mo. pp. 496. This book, illustrated from original sketches, not less fanciful than its style of writing, narrates the observations of the author in the islands of Java and Sumatra, and his imprisonment by the Dutch authorities in the former island. It is for sale by Brainard, 124, and by Jewett & Co., 117, Washington street.

FORGEMEN'S PRAYERS. We have received the February number of this well-conducted Monthly Instructor for Youth, published by Guild & Co., 160 Washington street. PROCEEDINGS OF THE DISUNION CONVENTION. The official Report of the Disunion Convention, recently held at Worcester, is now printed in a neat pamphlet, large octavo, of eighty pages, and may be had at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill.

Books to be kept in mind by those who have not yet read them. Mr. Stowe's 'Dred.' 2 vols. 12 mo. pp. 699. A most accurate and noteworthy delineation of how the church supports slavery, and how slavery corrupts the church. 'The Conquest of Kansas, by Missouri and her Allies.' By William Phillips, Kansas correspondent of the New York Tribune. 12 mo. pp. 414.

This book, in a graphic recital of the outrages committed in Kansas during the last two years, displays the manners and morals developed by slavery among slaveholders, and shows by implication the danger of compromise, and the folly of expecting a peaceful alliance, on terms reciprocally beneficial, between liberty and slavery. These two works are published by Phillips, Sampson & Co., 13 Winter street.—C. E. W.

DISTRICT SECRETARY FOR THE AMERICAN BOARD. Rev. William Warren, of Upton, in this county, formerly of Windham, has received from the American Board the appointment of District Secretary for northern New England, in the place of Rev. William Clark, resigned.—Worcester Spy.

The reverend gentleman alluded to has long been known in Upton and its neighborhood as a most determined and relentless enemy of the Anti-Slavery cause. He has talked and preached against it with a most unyielding pertinacity, and proved himself a very compliant and thorough-going servant of the slaveholding churches of this country. What a very singular circumstance it is that the American Board of Missions always has the misfortune to stumble on one of these pro-slavery gentlemen when it has an office to bestow!

Our readers may remember a good story of the above mentioned minister which went the rounds of the papers a few years since. Soon after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, a petition to Congress for its repeal was presented to Mr. Warren for his signature. As the feeling in the town was very general and strong against the law, our parson was in something of a quandary, but finally compromised the matter thus—he signed the petition, adding to his name the words, 'Provided all can be done in good faith to the Constitution.' The next signer of the Petition, with an equally laudable desire not to be misunderstood, appended his name, and to it added these words, 'Provided all can be done in good faith to the Constitution; for I wish to serve God so as not to offend the devil.'

mountain of outrage inflicted on us by the South before the Republicans will see that Disunion is needed! The letters of those men to the Worcester Convention are so much subterfuge and evasion. What can reconcile them to disunion, if the recent atrocities of the Slave Power fail to do it? These last outrages, instead of quickening the sensibilities of the North, have acted like a paralytic stroke, deadening and numbing them.

Let the Republicans come here and tell us how long they would have us wait. LUCY STONE wished to give some of her experience among the leading members of the Republican party. One said in his speeches in that party—'We are not concerned in acting for the negroes'; among the mountains of Pennsylvania another said he had to forswear all sympathy with slaves, or he should not have got a vote; towards Wisconsin, one said, discussing with a slaveholder—'I am a Republican, and don't care a damn for the niggers; Horace Greeley says he has no objection to vote for a slaveholder—and so with all the leaders of that party—and the party itself does not propose a single measure for the slave. They wish for the overthrow of Southern despotism, because its whip is stretched over them; but they do not know the might of moral power, and they trust for success to a compromising policy that constantly defeats its own ends. The position of the party and of its leaders deserves the severest criticism; but I believe the great body of voters in the party, and of sympathizers with it, to be far more deluded than dishonest, or even selfish; and I am sure that great numbers of noble young men, who have hitherto heard nothing nearer anti-slavery than Republican stump speeches, might now profitably hear the higher truths of our platform.

Wendell Phillips agreed most heartily with the concluding remark of Lucy Stone. We must work through public opinion, and this public opinion will of course find its way through its customary civil and religious channels. Of course, we desire political action against slavery. But we must criticize the short comings of such political action, and of those who are nearest to us, namely, the Republicans. Men see with their theories, not with their eyes, and our business is to correct those theories. I want to consolidate in Massachusetts an unflinching and intelligent purpose against slavery.

If a negro kills his master to-night, write his name by the side of Warren; say that he is a William Tell in disguise, or a John Hancock in eclipse. I want to accustom Massachusetts to the idea of insurrection; to the idea that every slave has a right to seize his liberty on the spot. This is making liberty practical. The Boston Transcript writes an eulogistic obituary of Brooks—the chaplain at Washington is to preach a sermon at his funeral—and the President, the Cabinet, and both houses of Congress, will be in attendance to do honor to the memory of that assassin. Shall these acts pass without censure? Shall Massachusetts fail to point out the great truth of the essential barbarity of slavery over those eulogized remains? By no means. How hard soever may be this duty, the nation is to be educated, and thoroughly impregnated with anti-slavery convictions. I want to teach the right moral doctrine to-day; to educate the conscience of Massachusetts in such a manner that the young soldiers of Boston may be ashamed to darken State street with their presence when another Anthony Burns is taken away. (Applause.) When Lord Brougham stood before the House of Lords, he said that he knew no one there but the Queen. Now, I want the Abolitionist to say, 'I know no one but the slave.' (Applause.)

Mr. Wilson's letter says disunion is a crime against liberty. We need to teach such a man that justice and liberty are the most valuable of all human possessions, to which every thing else is to be sacrificed. The Abolitionist must say—I know no interest here but that of the slave, and his interest I shall seek, even if the country goes to pieces.

So far, the North has been uniformly defeated. Look at Sumner, and say if free speech has been secured on the floor of Congress. The Republicans should seek the abolition of slavery in the States themselves, and refuse to vote a dollar of appropriations until that is done.

I should like to frighten Henry Wilson with the sight of a State committing this 'crime against liberty.' I do not agree in the severe censure against Sumner for not writing to the Worcester Convention. In his last letter (of acceptance), there is no mention of the Union, and we are to judge by his silence here as well as there.

If the United States Court shall reverse Judge Shaw's decision in the Med case, we want a Chief Justice like him of Wisconsin to restore it, and men with souls strong enough to take the responsibility of defending it.

FRIDAY. Voted, on motion of S. May, Jr., that 11½ o'clock this morning be assigned for taking donations, pledges, &c., for aid to the cause for the coming year. H. C. WRIGHT said—The supremacy of man over his incidents is the stand-point from which I view the American Constitution and Union, and all governmental and religious institutions. Institutions for men, not men for institutions. This sentiment underlies all my efforts against slavery, war, and other social wrongs. Man is never to be sacrificed in his physical, intellectual, social, or spiritual nature, to preserve an institution. The man should never be merged in the citizen, the individual in the organization; but the organization, whether political or religious, should be merged in the individual, and the authority of all governments be in subjection to the authority of each individual soul. How can any man, who respects the nature he bears, sustain an institution, in Church or State, that requires the sacrifice of human life or liberty? To buy a hat for the good of the head, and then knock out the brains to save the hat, is no more absurd, inhuman, and monstrous, than to form an institution for the good of man, and then kill and enslave men to save the institution. The American Union was formed ostensibly to protect life and liberty; to sustain and perpetuate that Union, about one million of human beings have been slain, and four millions are now held and used as chattels.

Christendom has been surfeited with eulogies on the Bible, the Constitution, and the Union. From Sabbath to Sabbath, from the pulpits of the land, the shout is raised, 'The Holy Bible!' 'The Holy Scriptures!' 'The Word of God!'—but what pulpits plead for the holiness and sanctity of the man, woman and child? Human beings are hung, shot and enslaved, to vindicate the sanctity of the Bible. So, millions must be blotted from the record of humanity, and herded with beasts, to sustain the authority of the Constitution and to perpetuate the Union. Down with every book, every Constitution, down with the Union, down with all governments and churches, that cannot exist without killing or enslaving men.

Let us have had the annexation of Texas—and the war with Mexico—and the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law; and the South proceeded to put this law in force here in Boston—successfully too—using Faneuil Hall and the United States soldiers to effect it. Then she repealed the Missouri Compromise. By this outrage, even the pulpit was stirred. Then came the outrages in Kansas—and then the worse outrage in Congress, the triumph of central ruffianism. A wound was inflicted upon Sumner, probably incurable; but the wound to Massachusetts was certainly incurable.

Now, who thinks or cares for these things? Not the Republican party, certainly. The moss has grown over them, and would speedily render them illegible if we did not annually scrape it off, and keep the testimony open to public view.

Wilson and Danks would like a Southern candidate better than even Fremont, if he would run better. The Republican party really has no issue—never has had an issue with the South. Even the Whigs said the annexation of Texas was virtually a dissolution of the Union. But since then, all the successive outrages have not brought the Republican party to echo that statement. What a mockery to the memory of John Quincy Adams to submit successively to these increasing outrages.

Mr. Pillsbury here offered a resolution, (14), and added— How much must be piled on the already enormous

mountain of outrage inflicted on us by the South before the Republicans will see that Disunion is needed! The letters of those men to the Worcester Convention are so much subterfuge and evasion. What can reconcile them to disunion, if the recent atrocities of the Slave Power fail to do it? These last outrages, instead of quickening the sensibilities of the North, have acted like a paralytic stroke, deadening and numbing them.

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against them is for death or victory. Republicans, Democrats, Know-Nothings and all, about, 'Great is the Constitution—it shall be held sacred!' 'Why sacred?' They talk about the 'glorious Union'; but not a word about the glory of life and liberty.

'We, as Abolitionists, must have our hearts renewed; we must be baptized with the Holy Ghost—i. e., with reverence for man, rather than for institutions. We need give ourselves no concern about the interests and glory of God; God will take care of himself. Man, in the person of the imbruted slave, is our client—the only client of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. Our business is to vindicate the sanctity and glory of man, as insulted and outraged in the slave. Let us look after our brother, who needs our help, and who can be benefited by our love and reverence. What we do to and for humanity, outraged in the slave, we do to and for God. We owe no love, no reverence, no duties to God, aside from those we owe to man. I cannot love and reverence any being who has no love and respect for human nature. Whoever or whatever enslaves and degrades our common humanity, in my person, or in the person of any man, woman or child, is an object of abhorrence to my soul.

I wish to call attention to the present excitement at the South respecting slave insurrections. I believe that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God. Every slaveholder is a tyrant. Resistance to him is the right and duty of the slave. Our right and duty, as Abolitionists, is to arouse every slave to a bold, determined, open resistance to the authority and power of his enslaver. We owe it as a duty to ourselves and to humanity, to excite every slave to rebellion against his master. A rebel against slavery! An insurrectionist against slaveholders! A traitor to a slaveholding government! An infidel to a slaveholding religion! An atheist to a slaveholding God! These are titles of which we may well be proud. To render myself worthy of them I have I toiled for twenty-five years; and I shall toil till death, and to all eternity.

But how shall we manifest our spirit of rebellion against slavery? How actualize our resistance to tyrants, our insurrection against slaveholders, our treason against the Union and Government that turn man into a beast? Every man must actualize his resistance and rebellion—his treason—by such means as he thinks right and most efficient. Would you deem it right—a duty—to kill the man who would enslave you? Then, you being judge, it is your right and duty to kill the man who would enslave your brother. Franklin Pierce would deem it a duty to shoot the man who would enslave his wife and child; then, he being witness, it is the right and duty of each and every slave in the nation to shoot Franklin Pierce when he would enslave them.

Each man must be true to himself. It is all he can do—to act up to his highest light—to be true to his own conviction of duty. Is it right for the slave to actualize his resistance to his master by arms and blood? The slave knows no higher law than violence to protect himself and family against slaveholders.—Let him be true to himself—to his present self—ever looking and striving for a higher and nobler self. Henry Wilson, Charles Sumner, J. R. Giddings and William Seward, believe that armed resistance to slaveholders is obedience to God. They would deem it their duty to kill the man who would attempt to enslave them. Why do they not proclaim in Congress the right and duty of the slave to kill their masters who enslave them?

I believe life, as well as liberty, is sacred. No power in the universe can have the right to kill or enslave a human being. It is not possible to protect truth by killing men, any more than you can protect truth by telling lies. Human life, as well as liberty, can never be violated, in defence, or as a penalty, without a violation of inalienable rights. But almost the entire community hold, that life may be rightfully taken in defence of liberty. Church and State proclaim the duty of armed resistance against slaveholders. But they would confine this to the white man. The moment we talk of armed resistance, and insurrection by fire and sword on the part of the slave, they shrink with horror before the idea. They exalt the white man as a hero and a saint, who strikes dead the man who would enslave him; but let some Nat Turner strike the dagger to the heart of his enslaver, and the whole nation is horrified, and hastens to crush him. The right and duty of the slave to actualize his resistance by pouring out the heart's blood of the slaveholders, is an idea which the advocates of violence and blood must meet.

Henry Ward Beecher and his conditors consider Sharp's rifles the most efficient and only gospel salvation for Kansas. Why not preach Sharp's rifles as the only gospel of salvation to Virginia and Alabama? They say the only efficient gospel to the free State men and Border Ruffians is Sharp's rifle, and they raise funds to furnish them with this religion. Why do they not raise money to send the same gospel to the slaves of Kentucky and Maryland, and teach them how to read and practice that gospel? If these are the best means of grace for Kansas, much more so for Louisiana. Every slaveholder is a Border Ruffian, and every man who, by swearing allegiance to the Union, pledges himself to put down slave insurrections—is a Border Ruffian, whose salvation, according to this doctrine, is to be secured by the torch and sabre, the rifle and revolver. We have appealed, for twenty-five years, to the conscience and reason of the slaveholder. The last few months have demonstrated the efficiency of appealing to their fears. It is a fact of great significance to the South, that the Northern press and pulpit have expressed no sympathy with slaveholders in the recent slave insurrections. This shows progress.

The slaves of George Washington had as good a right to cut their master's throat as he had to throw his cannon balls and bombshells from Dorchester Heights upon the British in Boston harbor. It is the right and duty of the slaves of Senators Mason and Toombs to kill their masters as really as it was of our fathers to kill their oppressors at Bunker Hill and Yorktown. I do not believe it was, or is, the right or duty of either. But slaveholders in this nation think that armed rebellion against oppressors is obedience to God. They being witnesses, it is the right and duty of every slave to obtain his freedom, by killing those who enslave him, if need be. It is the right, those who enslave him, if need be. It is the right, those who enslave him, if need be. It is the right, those who enslave him, if need be. It is the right, those who enslave him, if need be.

Mr. Beecher—Shall this Society encourage a resort to force by slaves? As I understand the original platform, the Declaration of Sentiments, of this Society, everything of this sort is discouraged. [Mr. B. here read an extract from the 'Declaration,' and proceeded.] Such were the principles declared by the first platform of this Society. If the founders of it made a mistake, let us say so. I hold Mr. Wright to consistency with his own principles. I have heard him ridicule Henry Ward Beecher for his inconsistencies, and I wish him to avoid the same error. His language conveys the impression of encouragement to violence, veils the impression of encouragement to non-violence, that can be critically extracted from it or not.

Situated as the slaves are in this country, I think a fatal error, as a matter of policy, to encourage such violence, where the resources of violence are so entirely against them. I would rather see people inconsistent in wickedness than consistent. H. C. WRIGHT—My object is to test this nation



POETRY.

The Liberator.

For the Liberator. THE NEGRO SLAVE. How long, ye Freeman, will ye hold our race in slavery's chain?

For the Liberator. THE GUARDIANSHIP OF SPIRITS. 'Are they not all ministering spirits?' BY E. D. V. This sweet to think we're guarded By radiant spirits bright.

For the Liberator. WHISPERS OF THE WATCHING SPIRITS. In youth I died, in maiden bloom; With gentle hand Death touched my cheek.

For the Liberator. TALENT AND GENIUS. BY WULFER. Talent convinces—genius but excites; This takes the reason, that the soul delights.

STATEMENT OF THE GENERAL AGENT OF THE MASS. A. S. SOCIETY FOR 1856. The operations of the Society have been so closely connected with those of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, during the past year, that in recounting the one we shall necessarily be obliged to make frequent reference to the other.

The following persons have been engaged in the lecturing-field in this and the other New England States, for different periods during the year past, as agents of this or of the American Anti-Slavery Society:—PARKER PILLSBURY, ANDREW T. FOSS, WILLIAM W. BROWN, CHARLES C. BURLING, SALISBURY, HOLLEY, CAROLINE F. PUTNAM, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, CHARLES L. REMOND, and the General Agent, SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

Mr. PILLSBURY, who returned from his visit to Great Britain in May last, has been constantly, since that time, an agent of the American Society, and has labored in New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, as well as in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Mr. BROWN was engaged as an agent of this Society for the first three months of the year, laboring in this State and in Rhode Island, and during a portion of the time was accompanied by his daughter. He afterwards became an agent of the American Society, but still continued in New England, and labored in Connecticut and in Massachusetts until about the first of June.

Mr. BURLING has rendered occasional and effective service to both Societies, in this State and in Rhode Island.

Miss HOLLEY was engaged in lecturing as an agent of this Society, both in this State and in Rhode Island, for the first five months of the year, doing a most excellent and acceptable work.

Mr. FOSTER's labors have been confined to this State and Rhode Island, until quite recently, when he has been engaged in the State of New York.

Mr. HOWLAND has been efficiently engaged as a Tract colporteur, and lecturer of the American Society. Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island have been the principal fields of his labors.

Mr. REMOND has rendered frequent and valuable aid to both Societies, mostly in this State; but since the middle of November last has been laboriously engaged in the Conventions now holding in the State of New York.

Mr. MAY, in addition to the customary duties of his office, visited during the summer the States of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and had the satisfaction of engaging in anti-slavery labors with many of the faithful and uncompromising Abolitionists of those two States.

During the year past, the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, believed to be the oldest, and certainly one of the most efficient county societies in existence, has at different times had in its employ, as agents, CHAS. C. BURLING, ANDREW T. FOSS, MISS FRANCES E. WATKINS, and WILLIAM WELLS BROWN.

The work which has been done in the State of RHODE ISLAND during the past year deserves special mention. After the State had been extensively visited by W. W. BROWN, and by Misses HOLLEY and PUTNAM, a State Anti-Slavery Convention was held in the city of Providence on the 29th and 30th of April. It was largely attended, and much interest was evinced.

the slave system of this country breeds ever more and more foully.—If not of all, yet of the most. For the great mass of men cannot be hardened to villainy and cruelty, and with them the *truth* word, spoken in all honesty, and with such earnestness as betrays those who strive to save a race and a country from perdition, must ever be the highest, the surest, the most potent agent of conversion, of redemption from the wrong, and of consecration to the right. This is the philosophy, the common sense of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of the societies allied with it.

It was while we were gathered here, at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, in May last, that the whole city, yes, and the whole State, and every Northern man who had not lost his manhood, were agitated and excited, beyond precedent almost, by the then recent tidings of the brutal assault upon Senator CHARLES SUMNER, of this State, while in his seat in the Senate Chamber, and for words spoken in debate.

With such guidance, the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has pursued its way during the past year. Many of its operations we have already adverted to, and named the larger part of its agents. In addition to those named, we would say, that in the early part of the year, Messrs. AARON M. POWELL and JOHN H. PHILLIPS were employed in Michigan, Indiana, and other Western States. At the Society's annual meeting, in May last, a resolution was adopted to hold, in the course of the following year, ONE HUNDRED ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS, to be appointed in such places as should seem most to need them, and likely to repay in kind the labor bestowed.

Perhaps, if your columns are not over-crowded with matter of more importance, a word from Minnesota would not prove too devoid of interest to bebar it from a place in THE LIBERATOR, even though not written by one of the literati. I do not design going into an elaborate description or laudation of Minnesota, but present a few thoughts in the crude form in which they flow, hoping that I may touch some point that some of those intending to come to this Territory may gain some information upon.

The soil of Minnesota has been subject to much misrepresentation. It being sandy, those who have no knowledge of the adaptation of soil to climate, condemn it as unfit for agricultural purposes.

The Western Anti-Slavery Society, the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, and the New York (City) Anti-Slavery Society, have all been engaged, during the past year, in their special fields, in such labors for the cause as their means have enabled them to pursue.

We have referred to the Tract department of the operations of the American Society. It is greatly straitened by the insufficient amount of funds applicable to that object. Again we urge this point, and insist that the friends of the cause ought to increase the tract fund a hundred fold, and never suffer it to be exhausted while a pro-slavery and servile community remains in the whole circle of the so-called—the now so-greatly-mis-called—Free States.

The appointment of Mr. CHARLES K. WHIFFLE of this city as a Tract Agent and Missionary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, is a circumstance of much interest, and full of promise for the cause. Mr. Whipple commenced his term of service with the beginning of the present year. With the utmost confidence we commend him to all friends of Freedom, to all believers in the duty and expediency of telling the truth and the whole truth, and bespeak for him the friendly co-operation of all who have named the name of Anti-Slavery.

We must mention two recent meetings—widely different in their character, both however of deep interest to the members of this Society, and the friends of freedom. The first was the Commemorative Festival, held in Faneuil Hall on the evening of 2d Jan. inst., in honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the formation of this Society. Retrospective in its purpose, it was not only that; but full of incentive to a more vigorous prosecution of our work—teaching us to work while it is day, for to us all the night comes, when our work must be left to others. The occasion was one of much pleasure and much comfort. None, we think, who truly love the Anti Slavery cause, will blame that festival-occasion. It was good to be there, and it will, we do not doubt, be productive of good.

longer consent with thieves, nor be partakers with adulterers. Hasten the day, just Heaven! It was while we were gathered here, at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, in May last, that the whole city, yes, and the whole State, and every Northern man who had not lost his manhood, were agitated and excited, beyond precedent almost, by the then recent tidings of the brutal assault upon Senator CHARLES SUMNER, of this State, while in his seat in the Senate Chamber, and for words spoken in debate.

One glance at the anti-slavery host across the sea, and our word is spoken. We must express our joy in, and our gratitude for, the continued publication of the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*—one of the best and most instructive publications we know. We must revert, with pleasure, and with just pride, to the faithful labors in Great Britain of our long tried friend and associate, PARKER PILLSBURY, and to the success which crowned those labors.

At the present time, Minnesota is offering more inducements to the settler than either of the other Territories or States. In Iowa, the speculator is in advance of him; in Kansas, either the ruffians or the agitator will make him wish he was back in the East again. But in this Territory, he will find a good soil, well adapted to a most beautiful climate, open to 'claiming,' and in short, every thing that nature could do to make it a desirable home for all intelligent, industrious, and enterprising people.

These beautiful remembrances of him were vividly brought to mind lately, when in our western home, among a social gathering of Anti-Slavery friends, his name, in connection with the group of likenesses entitled 'Heralds of Freedom,' excited much interest and discussion.

Next to the enjoyment of being present at the late Anti-Slavery Festival was the reading of your excellent report in THE LIBERATOR of the festive occasion referred to. It carried me back to the days of my early manhood, when, though my name was not enrolled as a member of the Anti-Slavery Society, I was in truth and deed with you.

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bind in the Minnesota River at this session of the Legislature. This will be the first railroad in the country. This winter is remarkably cold here, but by the Eastern papers I see you are having some quite severe weather in New England. With the thermometer at zero here, one can work out as comfortably as when it rises to ten or fifteen degrees above on the coast of New England.

I notice you think visiting Minnesota. I think it would be productive of great good in waking up the people here on the subject of human rights, and for one will assure you some open hearts, and an open hall in which to speak—a welcome to our home circle here if you come and should stop in our city. The people here are of a progressive turn of mind, which could be reached by appealing to them in the spirit in which you speak.

Perhaps, if your columns are not over-crowded with matter of more importance, a word from Minnesota would not prove too devoid of interest to bebar it from a place in THE LIBERATOR, even though not written by one of the literati. I do not design going into an elaborate description or laudation of Minnesota, but present a few thoughts in the crude form in which they flow, hoping that I may touch some point that some of those intending to come to this Territory may gain some information upon.

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Prepared by J. C. AYER, Practical and Analytical Chemist, LOWELL, MASS.

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