



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.  
The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'  
The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unchristian yoke. On this subject, our FATHERS, in framing the CONSTITUTION, AVOIDED FROM THE NIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending. — WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.  
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SELECTIONS.

From the Westminster Review.  
"MANIFEST DESTINY" OF THE AMERICAN UNION.

The Empress of the French amused herself, a few months since, with pretending to represent the claims of the ladies of Europe about the comet which was to strike the earth in the course of June, 1857. She played off a man of science at one of her evening receptions, by an affectation of panic about the comet, trying to make him ridiculous between his eagerness to show how absurd her idea was, and his defence for the person to whom he was speaking. What he endeavored to convey was the same comfort that has been administered to timid Englishwomen—that, in the first place, the comet would not come near us; and, in the next, that if it did 'strike the earth,' we should not find it out, but simply complain of misty weather. The Americans and their revolutions are illustrated by such cometary facts and fancies. An American, like an Englishman or a German, starts at the word revolution, deprecates it, prays to heaven against it, disavows and denounces it when it begins to envelop him, and, while he is in the very midst of it, insists that, however gloomy the political times are, he sees nothing like this as destruction, and cannot therefore be passing through a revolution.

In 1760, the accession of young King George was legally celebrated in the colonies, and New England could not enough congratulate itself on belonging to Old England, with its train of great names and its treasures of liberty. The year after, the townsmen of those colonies were vexed and irritated by the new grievance of custom-house officers entering their shores, by force of law, at all times of the day or night, in order to search for smuggled goods. This was done in virtue of Writs of Assistance, invented and issued for the purpose; and they were the first fruits of the determination of the British government to tax the colonies without their consent. They brought out an able lawyer on the platform of public affairs, whose voice of resistance echoed through the whole of the colonies. James Otis thus made proclamation of the war of ideas which issued in the independence of the United States. It was the impingement of the comet upon the regular orb; but nobody was aware of the moment of collision. Revolution! O dear, no! Nothing was further from people's thoughts than revolution. James Otis declared himself ready to sacrifice his very life in defence of colonial rights; but the Americans were the most devoted subjects that the English monarchy could boast. Four years later, when the Stamp Act was to be enforced, the ominous step was taken of convening delegates from all the colonies, to consider how their liberties were to be sustained: and in the meantime, the Boston people hanged their enemies in effigy, saw their courts closed rather than use the obnoxious stamps, and sent back ships laden with merchandise—resolved to endure the inconveniences of the scarcity of such commodities, rather than to pay arbitrary import duties. They wore old clothes; abolished the wearing of mourning at funerals; killed no more lambs till there was wool enough, and brought other colonies into a non-importation compact. But nobody dreamed that this was revolution. Why, it was later than that—September, 1768—that the convention of delegates from a hundred towns assembled in Boston, humbly petitioned the King, and 'professed their loyalty in the strongest possible terms.'

We hold that the sovereignty of his Majesty, King George III., is entire in all parts of the British Empire; God forbid that we should ever act or wish to act in repugnance of the same! We appear as plain, honest men, humbly desiring peace and order; and while the people observe a medium between abject submission and a slavish stupidity under grievous oppressions on one hand, and illegal attempts to obtain relief on the other, and steadily persevere in constitutional applications to recover their just rights and liberties, they think they may promise themselves success.

What could be less like revolution than this? Yet there stands a significant entry in the diary of John Adams, when he had been listening to James Otis—'At home with my family, thinking.' Even after the Boston Massacre, as it was called, when five lives were lost in a collision between British soldiers and American citizens, the avowal of a desire to continue subject to British government is found in records of all public meetings; though the ground of separation was becoming more familiar. In 1771, Dr. Franklin said that the seeds of disunion were being sown; but even he did not perceive that it was nearer harvest than seed-time. Even when the people were incited to emulate the courage and faith of their fathers, who 'made a settlement on bare creation,' being not afraid of poverty, but disdaining slavery, all resistance was to be conducted 'under the shield of the British Constitution, and in strict adherence to their charter.' Towards the close of 1773, when night fell on a day of trouble and vague portents, a mother and her young children, in the neighborhood of Boston, listened for the return of the head of the household, who was later than usual. His wife helped him off with his coat, and brought his slippers; and when the children were gone to bed, she showed her husband how well it was that it was not but herself who took charge of his shoes. They were full of tea! But for this, even she would never have known so much as one of the fifty men who, with coats wrong side out, and covered faces, threw the tea into the dock. But this couple were as far as any one else from dreaming that they were helping to enact a revolution, though they were within three years of the Declaration of Independence! It now began to be agreed, it is true, 'that if they would maintain their rights and liberties, they must fight for them'; and they did fight for them so soon as the spring of 1773; but it is on record that the citizens who ral-

lied and marched the militia after the skirmishes of Lexington and Concord, and the women who nursed the wounded, had, even then, no notion that they were in the middle of revolution. They were as ready as ever to start back from the word; and they went on supposing, as they had done for fifteen years, that matters would be accommodated, and that they and their children should live and die under their charters, as their fathers had done before them. They were then actually the nucleus of the dreadful comet, while they declared that their atmosphere was too gloomy for them to see far, but that such a thing as a comet was certainly nowhere within ken.

Our readers are by this time making comparisons, no doubt, between the incidents and feelings belonging to the first American revolution, and those which have for some time past, and with perpetual increasing force and clearness, indicated a second. We believe we have the means of showing that a second great revolution is not only approaching, but actually far advanced, and that some of the wisest and best of American citizens have so far profited by the lessons of their fathers as to be fully aware of their real position, though a vast majority still insist, as the new President did in his inauguration address, that 'all is calm,' because his party has carried the election. During the fifteen years preceding the separation of the American colonies, almost every body supposed, as often as there was a lull, that matters were settled; and in like manner the President and all common-place people among the millions whom he addressed in March last, are satisfied that the declaration of the poll was sufficient to annul all the controversies and collisions which had lately caused the Union to ring with threats and promises of dissolution on either hand. When observers stroke their chins, and remark that the state of things looks very like revolution, the old reply comes up, 'Revolution! O dear, no! nothing of the sort! The Union is so dear to the American people, that no lapse of ages will dissolve it.' And the laugh raised against such observers is at least as contemptuous as any ridicule directed against trembling inquirers after the comet of June, 1857.

We are glad to see, by Mr. Chambers's latest work, that he has awakened from the state of unconsciousness of the crisis with which, like most Europeans, he was infected by the Americans while on their territory. His first impressions were of the brilliant features of the destiny of the great Republic. Retrospect and reflection at home had had the happy effect of revealing to him the awful peril which underlies the apparent prosperity, and the extent of the fatal barbarism which threatens the whole structure of American civilization. With a candor highly honorable to him, Mr. Chambers puts the public in immediate possession of his latest convictions, and his work is just the compilation that is wanted for use in England, as far as the historical and statistical particulars go. We still observe the defect which was so striking in Mr. Chambers's former work—his insensibility, to the character and function of the American abolitionists; and this is to be regretted, not only for the sake of justice, but because the character and function of that body are indisputably the leading element in the question—What is to become of a republic laden with the curse of slavery, in an age too advanced for it? Mr. Chambers despairs of the result; he sees none but a calamitous issue from the crisis. No other conclusion is possible to him; but his conclusion would be different, and his views infinitely more cheerful, if he were but aware of the history, quality, and actual influence of a body, with whom it is clear he had not only no intercourse when in the United States, but whom he has yet to learn to estimate. To state the problem with a curt dismissal of the abolitionists, because they are few, is like the account which might have been given of the disturbances of the Church three centuries ago—Luther and his disciples being passed over, because they were only a handful of men. This is an omission which largely affects Mr. Chambers's conclusions; of course; but, this caution being given, the book may be used with confidence, and will, we think, be extensively and thankfully read, for the sake of the mass of facts which he has brought together in a statement almost as alarming to the English public, who can say what they feel about American destinies, as to Americans, who cannot, under their present circumstances, employ equal freedom of speech.

A few lines will indicate something of the importance of the element omitted by Mr. Chambers; and if they should suggest to him the one remaining duty which would complete his good work—that of studying the history and function of the abolitionists,—we have no doubt that the same candor which admitted of such progress as he has already made, will lead him on to conclusions more consolatory and animating than he can at present form in regard to the issue of the American struggle. To the abolitionists proper belongs the honor of all the ameliorations in the condition of the slaves of the South, and of the free blacks of the North, for the last quarter of a century. They fixed the attention of the world on the treatment of the slaves, and thereby improved that treatment,—the slaveholders being at least as sensitive to the world's opinion as other classes of their countrymen. In the North, so far from deserving the reproach which Mr. Chambers directs against them, of inhuman and practical aversion to the colored race, they have earned the opprobrious title of 'amalgamationists' from the South by their success in opening to the free blacks the colleges, the pulpits, and the common schools of their communities, as well as the steamboat and the omnibus, the concert room and church-sittings, with collateral benefits in proportion. By their stout warfare with the prejudice of

color, they have brought on themselves a long series of fearful persecutions. Their houses have been laid in ruins, their public halls burnt, their children excommunicated, their lives threatened and embittered with insult. They have watched with increasing vigilance over such liberties as were provided by the Constitution, and so analyzed that Constitution as to prove to all minds that it must be amended before the Republic can ever again be tranquillized. By this small band of devoted and enlightened men and women, the conscience of the nation has been kept alive, and the country has been revolutionized, thus far, without violence and bloodshed, by the force of reason and conscience. The revolutionary crisis being (as is agreed on all hands) inevitable, its being accomplished by other means than a servile war will be due to the abolitionists, if that fearful catastrophe should be indeed escaped. Superficial observers, and strangers indoctrinated by the slaveholders and their creatures, the Colonization Society, have been apt till lately to despise the abolitionists on account of the smallness of their numbers; and their severance from all political parties; but a deeper sagacity and the most ordinary impartiality will discern that these two particulars are the very secret of their influence. It is because they know that political factions can never regenerate the public that they keep aloof from parties, and thus maintain their ground and their power through all political changes: and it is through their abstinence from intrigue on the one hand, and violence on the other, that their numbers must ever be small. To obtain any great accession of numbers, they must lower their standard, which they are not likely to do after a quarter of a century of severer temptation than can best be met again, and after achieving an amount of success which renders their principle and procedure unquestionable by all rational persons who understand the case. The range of their services has been wide and various. The condition of the slaves, in regard to material treatment, has been greatly equalized and improved by the attention of the world being fixed upon their case; the false pretences of all dishonest parties have been continuously exposed; the Church, the judiciary, the legislatures, and all leading men in each department, have been tested, and their true quality exhibited. The worldliness of the commercial North has been rebuked as effectually as the despotism of the slaveholding South—the whole country has been roused to a sense of the approaching crisis; and, while the field has been cleared for the conflict, the slave population has been deterred from insurrection. Before 1832, when the first abolitionist spoke his first word, the slave insurrections averaged twelve in a year; whereas, from 1832 to 1856, there was no insurrection whatever. The slaves were aware that their cause was in better hands than their own, and they waited patiently till, in the course of the election of last year, Southern men themselves imprudently identified the success of Fremont with the abolition of slavery, and thus, according to their own confession, made themselves answerable for a partial rising. Even so bare a recapitulation as we have given of the services of the abolitionists may be welcome to the readers of Mr. Chambers's latest work, as opening some prospect of a good and happy issue where to him all appears perplexing and desperate. The ten righteous men, having wrought for so long, may save the city yet.

Before we survey the recent transactions of the respective sections and States of the Union, it may be well to denote the various parties concerned in the existing struggle and its issue. We do not mean to waste any space in describing the political parties whose very denominations are a ludicrous puzzle to strangers. Such parties rise and disappear like bubbles on a turbulent stream; so that they are hardly worth a stranger's attention in ordinary times. But, at present, scarcely any of them appear to exist. The current of events is too strong for them; the times are too grave for political skirmishing; and the whole people are massed in sections characterized by distinctions which cannot be admitted and discussed in a day.

The leading sections are the North and the South, of course; but it is a mistake to suppose that the division of the men is as clear as the distinction of the policy. The South has a policy; and as it is a slaveholding policy, the very small body of slaveholders usurps the title of the Southern section. Of the 27,000,000 of inhabitants of the United States, less than 350,000 are slaveholders in any sense; and it is computed that, of these, not more than 1000 are indoctrinated and zealous slaveholders. Of whom, then, does the so-called 'South' really consist? There are, as we have said, 350,000 slaveholders; and if their connections of every sort are included, the entire oligarchy cannot consist of more than 2,000,000. Then there are, at least, 4,000,000 slaves. The slaves being double the number of the ruling class is a formidable circumstance in itself; and it becomes of proportionate importance to learn what the remaining element is. That element it has been the policy of the South to keep out of view, and till lately it has succeeded; but the last census revealed the fact that the 'mean-white' population of the South—the non-slaveholding whites—constitute no less than seven-tenths of the whole free population of the slave States. In the 'History of American Compromises,' this class of inhabitants is thus described—

'Wherever slavery exists, labor becomes, of course, a badge of degradation. In America, no class—not even the slaves—are utterly degraded as the whites, who, in slave States, have no property, and must live by work or theft. The planters are always trying to get rid of them, as dangerous and vexatious neighbors; and these poor wretches—the descendants, for the most part, of the proud colonists of two centuries ago—are reduced to sell their last foot of land, and be driven forth to live where they can. They are receivers of stolen goods from plantations, and traffickers in bad whiskey, doing no honest work that they can avoid, and being employed by nobody who can get work done by any other hands. Few of them

can read; most of them drink; and the missionaries report them as savage to an unparalleled degree. . . . many having never heard of God or of Jesus Christ. Of this class are the "Sand-hillers," the "Clay-eaters," and other fearful, a normal class of residents in the slave States. Strangers hear, in visits to the plantations, of these "mean-whites" as the supreme nuisance of the South, but are led to suppose that they are a mere handful of people, able to do a good deal of mischief by tampering with and corrupting the slaves. The last census, however, reveals the tremendous fact, that these "mean-whites" are seven-tenths of the whole white population of the slave States."—p. 29.

The readers of Mrs. Stowe's 'Dred' need no further representation of the mode of life of these people; and the facts of their position,—their numbers, possessions, occupations, and social standing,—are exhibited with fullness and precision in Mr. Olmsted's work on 'The Seaboard Slave States.' Here, then, we have the three classes which constitute the population of the South—1st. The owners of property and their families, composed of a small caste of 2,000,000 of persons; 2d. Their slaves, now more than double the number of the oligarchy; and 3d. The poor whites, who have neither property nor power to labor, and who outnumber the other two classes together. Till very recently, these were literally all: for free negroes are excluded from slave States by law and usage, and in fact; and white labor cannot co-exist with black. But the eagerness of the Southern oligarchy to extend the area of slave States has led to the unexpected issue of slavery being stopped in its spread to the south west by the intervention of a substantial industrial body of immigrants. Mr. Olmsted's volume on 'Texas' informs us that the number of Germans in that State, at the beginning of the present year, is computed at 35,000, of whom about 25,000 are settled in the German and half-German counties of Western Texas.

'Among the Germans of the West (of Texas) we met not one slave-owner; and there are not probably thirty among them all who have purchased slaves. The whole capital of most of them lies in their hands; and with these, every black hand comes into tangible and irritating competition. With the approach of the slave, too, comes an implied degradation, attaching itself to all labor of the hands. The planter is by no means satisfied to find himself in the neighborhood of the German. He is not only by education unforgiving, as well as suspicious of danger to his property, already somewhat precariously near the frontier, but finds, in his turn, a direct competition of interests, which can be readily comprehended in figures. The ordinary Texas wages for an able field-hand are \$200. The German laborer hires at \$150, and clothes and insures himself. The planter for one hand must have paid \$1,000. The German with this sum can hire six hands. It is here the contest gales.'—A Journey through Texas, p. 432.

The reader of Mr. Olmsted's charming narrative of his experience among the German settlers will need no arguments to convince him that any conflict between free and slave labor on that fair field must issue in the defeat of the latter. Mr. Olmsted says:—

'I have been thus particular in describing the condition and attitude of the Germans, as the position in which fortune has placed them, in the very line of advance of slavery; and, so far as it bears upon the questions of the continued extension of cotton and the capacity of whites for independent agriculture at the South, and the relative profit and vigor of free and slave labor, is of national interest.'—p. 440.

Here, then, is a fourth element of Southern population, small at present, but steadily increasing, and admirably placed for driving back slavery from the south-western frontier. The planters fear and hate this element; the negroes love it, as far as they recognise it; and the 'mean-whites' hardly know what to make of it. The Germans, meantime, have no liking for any of the three classes of neighbors.

How are the 17,000,000 of the North massed in regard to political questions? Their numbers alone would seem to give them power to carry any point in which they believed the welfare of the Republic to be involved; and when it is remembered that the suffrage is bona fide in the Northern States, while in the South three fifths of the slaves count as voters by a constitutional fiction, strangers may well wonder how it is that the freemen of the North, being how much more than double the number of those of the other section, permit any conflict which can endanger their country. Hitherto, it seems to have been the business of the slaveholding aristocracy to govern the Republic for their own purposes, in virtue of their compact organization, their strong and united will, and their accomplishments as men of letters and leisure; whereas the freemen of the North have had only a negative policy with regard to the great subject on which the South has a positive one; and the next great question, that of protection and free-trade, is one which is supposed to render the commercial and manufacturing portion of the Republic dependent on the producing section,—the merchants and manufacturers on the cotton-growers. Hence, mainly, it is, that the vast body of free, industrious and prosperous inhabitants of the Union are regarded only as a party, and a subordinate party, in the political history of the country. It is obvious that whenever the prestige of the governing party is shaken, and the bulk of the free population is fairly roused to honest political exertion, the Constitution of the United States may become whatever they choose to make it, by means peaceable in proportion to the preponderant force of numbers. But they are not roused to honest political exertion; and hence it is that, though the Southern oligarchy are deteriorated in ability, degraded in morals, and brutalized in manners, as a necessary consequence of a protraction of slave institutions into an age too advanced for them, their abler and more civilized fellow-countrymen of the North are involved in a revolutionary struggle, instead of carrying their government up to the head of the free governments of the world. This immense population, which lives in subservience to half a million of fellow-citizens, consists of hundreds of thousands of merchants, millions of land-owners, innumerable clergy of all denominations, multitudes of other professional

men, large corporate bodies of manufacturers, and crowds of individual producers in all crafts. The only part of the 17,000,000 of the North not included in this mass of freemen are the two classes of immigrants and free colored people. The latter are few, though more numerous than the slaveholders. They are somewhat under half a million, and they have no political weight at present, except in an indirect way, by their political competency and rights being one of the questions of the controversy. Till quite recently, the full importance of the immigrant element of the population was not recognized, though the slave States have manifested a growing jealousy of the labor-power by which the superiority of the North in wealth and prosperity has been created. The formation of the Know-Nothing party—a Southern device—was the first great recognition of the vital importance of the foreign industrial element,—being neither more nor less than an admission that slavery and immigration could not co-exist in the Republic. A similar testimony was afforded when, on the disappearance of the Know-Nothing party, some Southern governors and legislatures opened the fresh project of a renewal of the African slave trade. The Northern States have borne the same testimony by the formation of the Emigrant Aid Societies; the object of which is not so much the keeping up of the supply of laborers in the old States, as the settlement of fresh territory,—at once preventing the extension of slavery over new soil, and giving the benefit of the increase of production to the commercial North, instead of the agricultural South. This important body of citizens—the European element—consists chiefly at present of Germans, whom we have just seen actually turning back the tide of slavery on its remotest frontier, and who afford a good rampart on the Northern frontier,—in Illinois, Indiana, and the back of Pennsylvania and New York. The distinctive and highly useful characteristic of the Germans is, that they are commonly capitalists and laborers in one. So are the Hungarians, Belgians, Dutch and Swedes, while the Irish afford an element more resembling the slave labor of the South than any other that can be found in the free States. The whole body is, in combination, one of vast and growing consequence.

Lastly, there is the very small body of Abolitionists, properly so called. In number, probably much under one in a thousand of the citizens, standing outside of political life and action altogether, and combined by no other bond than that of hostility to an institution which every body about them ostensibly condemns, they make no show to account for their importance. We do not include under the term any political party which assumes any convenient portion of their doctrine; because it is clear to all impartial persons that the great problem now harassing the Republic cannot be solved by the ascendancy of any political party. We are, therefore, classing the Free-Soil party, and every other transient embodiment of the great difficulty, with the general mass of the Northern population; and when we speak of the Abolitionists, we mean the permanent, small, active, agitators anti-slavery body, to which the South attributes all its woes, and which really is answerable for the critical condition of the question at this day. There is no truth in the Southern accusation, that the Abolitionists tamper with the slaves, or countenance violence in any form, or under any pretence. The great majority of them are non-resistants, and moral means are their only weapons; but they are, as the Slave Power says, the antagonistic power by which the destinies of the Republic have been pledged to a principle, as in the days of their fathers, and at whose instigation the conflict must be carried through, and the fate of the nation decided. They are the actual revolutionizers of the Republic, while for the most part peace-men in the doctrinal sense of the term. The difference between them and the amateur peace-men of some European societies is, that they do not consider the shedding of blood the greatest of evils, but simply an expedient method of prosecuting their aim; and thus they are not bound to 'cry peace where there is no peace,' but will not cease to agitate while the wrong is unrectified; and, at the same time, their mode of procedure is of incalculable value where the solution to be apprehended is that of servile war on the one hand, and a military despotism on the other.

These, then, are the sections of the population, North and South, among and by whom the second great American revolution is to be wrought out. What has been done up to this time? What is doing now? By what phenomena are we justified in speaking of American affairs as in a revolutionary state at this moment? We will cast a glance round that great circle of grouped sovereignties, and see what social symptoms are exhibited from point to point within the frontier. For the history of the question on which the fate of the Union hangs, we have no room; and we cannot do better than to refer our readers to the sketches offered in the works of Mr. Chambers and Mrs. Harriet Martineau. The economical condition and much of the social character of the slave States are fully and most ably exhibited in Mr. Olmsted's two volumes. The very high quality of both these books of Mr. Olmsted sustains the eminent reputation of American travel.—a branch of literature in which our cousins of the Northern States excel most other men; and we should enjoy the task of justifying our admiration in this case by a full review of Mr. Olmsted's works; but our immediate object is to mark the revolutionary indications of the country and time. A brief and cursory survey of existing affairs will, we think, convince all observers that to deny that the American Republic, and has long been, passing through a revolution, is to be very like the inexperienced generation who heard the firing at Lexington and Concord; and saw the tea shot into the harbor, without any notion that the colonies had cut themselves adrift from the mother-country.

'The survivors of the founders of the Republic believed—we now see how wisely—that the first move in the second revolution was made in 1820. Thoughtless persons wondered at the solemnity of their language; but time is fully justifying it. In 1787, when there was a distribution of lands belonging to Virginia, the establishment of slavery on new territory was prohibited; and nobody called in question the power of the National Congress of that day to impose such a prohibition. During the thirty following years, there was no dispute on the point; and it was with dread and surprise that, in 1819, the venerable statesmen of the Revolution began to apprehend the course which the South is following out at this moment. It was on the occasion of the Missouri Compromise that the doubt was insinuated whether Congress could impose conditions on the admission of new States into the Union. In the 'History of American Compromises,' we find an account of the emotions excited by an anticipation of what we are seeing now:—

'The prohibition of slavery on the distribution of the Virginia lands in 1787 proved that the issue was not a matter of time; yet it was now contested, in the teeth of as many as survived of the very men who had made the Constitution, and distributed the lands. The conflict was fierce; and it embittered the latter days of the patriots who yet survived—Jefferson, Jay, Adams, Marshall, and indeed all the old political heroes. . . . From the bust of Bunker Hill to the bust of Patrick Henry, Jefferson to Adams, "we never had so ominous a question. I thank God I shall not live to witness its issue." Again, after the compromise—"This momentous question, like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is only a momentary silence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral or political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper." . . . I concur in the opinion that slavery ought not to be introduced nor permitted in new States; and that it ought to be gradually diminished, and finally abolished, in all of them.' The most cautious of politicians, Judge Story, never threw himself into any great public question but once, and this was the occasion. He spoke in public on behalf of the absolute prohibition of slavery, by express Act of Congress, in all the Territories, and against the admission of any new slaveholding State, upon the unalterable condition of the abolition of slavery. He grounded his argument on the Declaration of Independence and on the Constitution of the United States, as well as on the radical principle of Republicanism. When the result was trembling in the balance, and the issue seemed to depend on the votes of six wavering Judges, Story, who had been chosen by constant re-election to the South on condition that it should be for the last time; this "last time," however, involving the admission of the two waiting States, whose climate and productions afforded an excuse for slavery, to which Missouri could not pretend. A short and pregnant sentence, in a letter of Judge Story's, shows that a new light began to break in the minds of the people, which might make him glad of such a compromise, as a means of gaining time for the preservation of the Union. After relating the extraordinary pretensions of the South, he concludes thus:—"But of this say but little! I will talk about it on my return; but our friends in general are not ripe for a disclosure of the great truths respecting Virginia policy."

For thirty-seven years, the great constitutional question has come up again on all marked occasions, and under many phases, till the present year, when all the conditions of revolution are fulfilled, and there appears to be no escape from the alternative of an overthrow of the original Constitution of the Republic, or its preservation by means of a separation of the States. To this issue the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott seems to have brought the great controversy, which may be briefly thus described.

In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, there is a paragraph which was struck out as unnecessary. It charged George III. with the crime of the slave trade, among the other offences there set forth in solemn order. Mr. Chambers saw this document in the rooms of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; and he naturally considers it 'the greatest archaeological curiosity' that he saw in the country. When that paper was drawn up, slavery existed in all the States; but its abolition was so near and certain in many of them, and the universal dislike of it appeared to be so strong, that even the far-sighted Franklin believed that it would soon be got rid of, with other mischiefs imposed by the connection with England. We have Lafayette's testimony, (given in grief at the bad spirit which had grown up between 1776 and 1830.) that during the revolutionary war, there was no distinction between the blacks and the whites as soldiers and citizens. Soldiers of the two races bivouacked together, eating out of the same dish, as well as fighting side by side; and in the towns, the free colored men were citizens, in every sense as good as the whites. Even so late as 1814, nearly the same position was held by the black soldiers, as is proved by General Jackson's address to them a few weeks before the battle of New Orleans. "As sons of freedom," the General wrote, 'you are called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence for a valorous support, &c. In a subsequent address, the recognition of the citizenship of the negroes was as ample as possible. "When on the banks of the Mobile," he says, 'I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glories of your white fellow-citizens, I expected much from you, &c. When the Americans began to govern themselves, therefore, and for long after, the condition of the negro race was this: Those who were slaves were rapidly obtaining freedom by the abolition of slavery in State after State; all importation of negroes was forbidden after 1808; and the emancipated slaves became citizens in the fullest sense of the term. While the eradication of slavery was supposed to be thus proceeding in the actual States, the institution was excluded from new territory by express provision, as in the case of the distribution of the Virginia lands, under the compact of 1787. The mischief and disgrace of the institution were charged upon Great Britain, fairly and sincerely; and there was more or less reason for the excuse of

\* American Slavery and Color. By William Chambers, author of 'Things as they are in America.' London: W. & R. Chambers. 1857.

inherited crime up to 1820, when the Missouri Compromise destroyed it, by unnecessarily introducing slavery into the State of Missouri, where it was not justified by circumstance of climate, or any overpowering expediency whatever. Still, it was the practice to speak of slavery as an evil and a disgrace, and to cast the blame of it on England which introduced it, till the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1855, by which the institution was adopted as the substantial policy of the Republic, to the support of which every State of the Union should be pledged. American ambassadors in Europe, and the entertainers of European travellers in the United States, were wont to speak plaintively and deprecatingly of the misfortune they had inherited from the mother-country. But for seven years past—we may say for thirty-seven years past—the excuse has been invalid; and now the nation, if judged by the action of the federal government, proclaims to the world that 'slavery is the corner-stone of the Republic,' as Governor McDuffie of South Carolina declared it to be, when few had courage to make such an avowal.

It was in a continental or national Congress—the last—that the prohibition to introduce slavery into new territory was passed in 1787; but the acts of that Congress were sanctioned and adopted by the Federal Congress, without dispute or demur, for a long course of years. We have seen how great was the shock to the surviving statesmen of the Revolution when the right of that Congress to rule the conditions of new States was brought into question in 1820. The controversy was suspended by a compromise, which, by excluding slavery from all territory north of a certain line, licensed it in all territory south of that line. Ten years after that compromise, the Abolitionists began to see how fearful were the condition and prospects of their country, if slavery should continue to impoverish the soil of half the States, and to undermine the liberties and corrupt the morals of the whole; and they have worked devotedly, and made the most magnanimous sacrifices, during the intervening quarter of a century, to revolutionize their country by moral agitation, with a steady avoidance of political movement, in order to intercept the last fatal result of a servile war, bringing on a total national overthrow.

Though there were more signs of political disturbance prior to 1850 than we have space to detail—such as the suppression of the right of petition to Congress, the violence inflicted with impunity on the Abolitionists, and the prostitution of the mail service,—there was a sufficient external quiet and decorum preserved to cover up the wounds of the Republic from foreign observation, and to excuse timid or indifferent citizens from appearing to see that any thing was wrong. The warnings of the Abolitionists were troublesome and vexatious; the rebukes of Dr. Channing were smiled at as coming from a mere divine, who could be no judge of practical affairs. The legislation of 1850 was a thunder-clap to many who had been apathetic before; but its portentous character was not estimated till the broad tokens of revolution were displayed in the leading State of the Union. They might not be recognised as revolution, any more than the pouring out of tea and of blood on a former occasion; but they were something so serious as to rouse and prepare the general mind for the yet more critical manifestations of the present day.

(To be continued.)

From the Montpelier Christian Repository.  
DISUNION A PLAIN MORAL DUTY.

LETTER FROM REV. JERIEL CLAYLAIN.  
EAST WESTMORELAND, N. H., Oct. 12th, 1857.

MR. EDITOR:—In the 'Repository' of the 2d inst., in an article from your pen, under the caption of 'Anti-Slavery,' I find some remarks on the dissolution of the Union. You say, 'I think, are justly liable to criticism.' You say, 'you do not like the course of Garrison, Phillips and others, in denouncing it, [the Constitution of U. S.] as a whole, as a "covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." Again you say, "Wherein the Constitution of the United States recognises slavery, and makes provision for the surrender of the fugitive slaves, as we believe it does, it is wrong, wicked." And again, you say, "It [slavery] is an enormous wrong; and for you to enslave a human being, would be a damning sin before God and High Heaven." And again, you say, that the provision of the Constitution, in favor of slavery, is "sick, per se."

Now, if slavery is such a daring sin against God, and such an intolerable and unendurable outrage and crime against man; if, as John Wesley said, it is the "sum of all villanies," and the concentration and embodiment of all sins and wrongs in one, and all this is found in the Constitution, as you admit; I ask, then, if the Constitution is not, emphatically, a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell? The words, *death*, *slavery*, and *agreement with hell*, are all synonymous terms, and are all equally applicable to the same instrument? How then, I ask, in all sincerity, can you take an oath to support the Constitution, or vote for another to do so? Here is a moral difficulty, insurmountable in my mind. In swearing to support it, you swear to support the 'compromises' which are wicked, exceedingly so. You say the Constitution, generally, is for Liberty. Suppose it is, does that fact displace or neutralize its wickedness? Would it avail you to be told, if you were thirty, that the draught of water was nineteen twentieths pure water, and you accept such a 'compromise' as that? Would you call him a man of truth, who, in the transaction of important business, should tell you one lie to even ten truths? You would not say, he must lie in everything, to constitute him a liar; so, when the Constitution is denounced as above, it does not follow that the good in it is also denounced. I think you misapprehend Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips.

I ask again, how can you maintain moral consistency, and continue following the 'man-stealers' under such a Constitution? You say, amend it. But if it is wicked, can you support it as it is, till it is amended? Could you join an avowed pro-slavery church, and act in good faith and fellowship among them? If not, how then can you be a member of, and a participator in, a pro-slavery government? Our remedy in such cases is, not continued approval, but secession. If it was your mother, or wife, or daughter, that was thus crushed in the dust by the Constitution, would you go for its continuance one hour?

Slavery is a sin, and we do not stop one moment to calculate what will be the consequence of ceasing to sin against God. We seek look at this great question in the light of morality, absolute justice, the requirements of the Gospel of Christ, and the law of the living God, and not from the low standpoint of the financier or speculative politician. We are to remember them in bonds as bound with them. 'If the Lord be God, then follow him.' You say the compromises are not binding on your conscience. Then, I ask, how can you swear to do what you do not intend to do?—for you have no right to make exceptions or reservations. No man would be allowed to take the oath of office, if he swears to do as well as his freedom and equality. Can we serve two masters in this way, and keep a clean conscience?

The stupidity, blindness and idolatry of this nation, in regard to the Constitution, are truly surprising. Many men, in their partisan zeal, put it 'above all that is called God, or that is worshipped.' Now, I solemnly swear, that there is nothing in the Constitution of these United States that challenges our veneration or respect, beyond what is true, and

just, and good in it. But with many, the Constitution is the end of the law for Righteousness. We know that slavery is a flagrant sin, a monstrous and colossal wrong and outrage, and all the 'Dred Scott Decisions,' and all the edicts of civilized or barbarous nations, of the past or of the present, can never make it right or just.

I have no wish to impugn the motives of the framers of the Constitution, nor of those who adopted it; but I have a right to sit in judgment on the character of their acts and doings. They sowed the seed, and we are reaping the harvest, and does not the harvest prove the quality of the seed? 'Whatever a man sows, that shall he also reap.'

The Union should not be preserved at the expense of the liberty of one human being. This truth would not be difficult to see, if we ourselves were the victim. It surprises me, really, to hear so good a man as Gerrit Smith say, that the slaveholder, *alias* man-stealer, has a moral right to compensation, if he ceases his abuse and outrage upon the persons and rights of his equal brothers and sisters, in holding and treating them, not as men and women, but as brutes!

Brother Bellou, if you were President, and the slaves should rise and strike for freedom as did our fathers, the Constitution requires you to use the military force of the nation to shoot them down. Would you do it? If you would not, then how can you swear to do it, and avoid perjury? We must do right, though the heavens fall.

I am for the 'dissolution of the Union'—1. To escape all participation in, and responsibility for, the sin of slavery. 2. That the slave may be free. I want 'dissolution' as a means, not as an end.

Yours, fraternally,  
JERIEL CLAYLAIN

## The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.  
BOSTON, OCTOBER 30, 1857.

### 'MANIFEST DESTINY' OF THE AMERICAN UNION.

IN THE LIBERATOR, this week, we commence the republication of a remarkably able and profoundly philosophical article which appeared in the *Westminster Review* for July, and which has attracted considerable attention, and elicited a good deal of criticism, (mostly of a spiteful character,) in this country. The *New York Evening Post*, which assumes to be quasi anti-slavery, but which has always exhibited a narrow and contemptuous spirit towards radical abolitionism, sneeringly describes this masterly essay as 'evinced a microscopic diligence in collecting trivial details and gossip,' (!) while 'overrunning with assertions and reasonings, so grossly at variance with probability and with facts of common knowledge, as to reflect peculiar discredit upon its author, and the respectable periodical in which it appears.' This is not all. 'For the credit of British discernment,' says the *Post*, 'we cannot but believe that the accumulated misstatements, exaggerations and crude speculations thus jumbled together, are too manifest to impose on the most credulous!'

This sweeping impeachment would excite no surprise, if found in the columns of the *New Orleans Delta* or the *Charleston Mercury*; but its appearance in a paper assuming such general championship for the cause of Northern rights against Southern aggression, and affecting such literary dignity and fairness, as does the *New York Evening Post*, is certainly remarkable. Its bitterness is, doubtless, to be accounted for from the fact, that the Westminster reviewer does not regard the Republican party as competent to do the work of freedom, but recognises in the small body of uncompromising abolitionists, 'the ten righteous men who may yet save the city.' The *Post*, indebted to the labors and sacrifices of that uncompromising band for a large share of its support, and for its ability to confront the Slave Power on any issue, is clearly lacking in magnanimity, to say nothing of gratitude.

The Westminster reviewer believes, in regard to the question of slavery in this country, that events are tending to revolution, and a dissolution of the Union. Because this is not the belief of the *Post*, it is no reason why that paper should treat the reviewer with contempt; and because the review has a few slight technical errors, which in no wise affect its historical or philosophical scope, it is not therefore to be falsely branded as 'reflecting peculiar discredit upon its author,' or upon 'the respectable periodical in which it appears.'

Whoever may be the author of the review, it is evidently from the pen of one who is not a tyro in American affairs; whose observation of the tremendous struggle which is here going on for the mastery between Freedom and Slavery, is not only diligent and sagacious, but the result of a world-wide interest in the cause of humanity; and whose powers of generalization and analysis are of a high order. We wish it could be read as extensively as there are understandings to be enlightened, or minds to be affected, in the United States, especially at the North.

Of its 'accumulated misstatements,' the *Post* refers to the following:—  
1. 1850 is given as the time of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, instead of 1854. This may have been a typographical error, or simply confounding the year in which the Fugitive Slave Law was passed with that of the repeal thereof. In either case, it is of slight consequence,—not at all affecting the reasoning or conclusions of the writer.

2. The reviewer erroneously attributes to Gov. Wise, of Virginia, the paternity of the term 'grey mechanics,' as applied to Northern artisans by a Southern journal. This leads the *Post* to eulogize the hair-brained Virginian, whose contempt and abuse of the North are boundless, as 'the last man to damage his popularity (!) by any foolish vulgarity!' The very pink of courtesy is Henry A. Wise, especially toward free laborers and free institutions!

3. The reviewer supposes that a strong anti-slavery resolution, 'that was submitted to the New York Assembly at its last session, was adopted; whereas it was "essentially modified." That modification may not have taken place, or been known, at the time the article was written. Even the *Post* will not pretend that the presentation of such a resolution, by a committee, in the Assembly, was not a pregnant fact, and a significant sign of the times.

4. The reviewer treats the proposition, to allow the right of suffrage to the free colored citizens of Iowa, as 'a revolutionary act.' Of course, this is a misapprehension. No distinction of color is known at the ballot-box in Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island; and in some of the other free States, colored citizens are allowed to vote, but with certain unjust restrictions. Each State is competent to determine this matter for itself, and it has no bearing upon the disunion question.

5. The *Post* makes the reviewer 'gravely assert, as an ascertained fact, that the National Hotel malady was caused by arsenic, deliberately administered by slaves.' The reviewer makes no such assertion, but only says, 'By the latest accounts, the conviction that arsenic was the agent is becoming universal.' That conviction was openly expressed by Southern journals; and up to this hour, the cause of the poisoning at the National Hotel remains as much a mystery as ever.

standing any State laws to the contrary.' Although that decision does not, *in terms*, go to the extent stated, yet in spirit and design it is understood by the South to be preparatory to making slave property as legitimate in one State of the Union as another. For this the South is unitedly contending, though Mr. Toombs may still hesitate about the expediency of attempting to call the roll of his slaves around Bunker Hill Monument. The various conflicting interpretations put upon the Dred Scott decision, by eminent legal minds and legislative assemblies, indicate its justicial character. Certainly, the Free States regard it (in the language of the Legislature of Pennsylvania) as 'a wanton attack on the sovereignty of the free States, and an attempt to nullify the established laws of the country.' Two things, at least, are positively settled by that decision:—first, that colored citizens of the several States are not citizens of the United States, and hence cannot make an appeal to the United States courts for protection; and, secondly, that a slave may be carried by his master into a territory or free State, be held as a slave in both, and by force carried back to a slave State, without obtaining a legal right to his freedom. The reasoning of Judge Taney, in regard to negroes having no rights which white men are bound to respect, and to the nature of slave property as on a level with other property, is tantamount to making slaveholding a constitutional act in every part of the country. 'Wait a little longer,' and see.

7. The reviewer considers the Personal Liberty Bill as placing Massachusetts 'outside of the pale of the Union.' We wish this were strictly true; remotely, it may be. That Bill has been denounced as treasonable by the Southern journals—for what is not treason in this country, if it be in antagonism to slavery? Still, it does nothing more than grant the right of jury trial to any person arrested as a fugitive slave on the soil of Massachusetts; but, to this extent, it is in defiance of the Fugitive Slave Law, which overrides jury trial by a summary process, and also of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is, like every act of opposition to the Slave Power, revolutionary in its tendency; for between freedom and tyranny, what can exist but division, conflict, and irreconcilable hostility, to 'the bitter end.' The result of the anti-slavery struggle must be either the dissolution of the Union, or the complete subjugation of the whole North to all the decrees of a slaveholding oligarchy.

The Westminster review is exceedingly valuable for its skillful grouping together of so many significant incidents, as demonstrating the growth of the Anti-Slavery sentiment, and the increasing alienation between the North and the South; for its clear and just discrimination between genuine abolitionism and geographical free-soilism, and its merited recognition of the former as the only reliable element in the land to grapple with slavery; and for its comprehensive estimate of the relation of events (trivial indeed to the eye of the careless or superficial) to the grandest revolutionary results. We are glad, therefore, that it is soon to be published in a neat pamphlet by the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The *Evening Post* affects to smile at the idea of there being any symptoms of an approaching dissolution of the Union, and sneeringly refers 'to the proceedings of one hundred disunionists in the State of Massachusetts,' as though there were not tens of thousands in the North already united in the sentiment, that the Union is 'a covenant with death' that must be annulled! For the edification of all who are skeptical on this point, the Westminster reviewer recites the facts in regard to the revolutionary struggle of 1776, and bids them learn a useful lesson in history. Up to the hour when the first gun was fired at Lexington, what loyalty was expressed by the colonists, at their public meetings, in their resolutions and addresses, and in their petitions to Parliament! And yet, almost in 'the twinkling of an eye,' how suddenly the connecting cords were sundered! In itself considered, the three penny tax on tea was a small matter; and so was each separate grievance, of which our fathers complained; but, in the aggregate, the burden became insupportable. It is the extra ounce that breaks the camel's back. So it will be in this new revolution, which is fast culminating to the point of disunion. There must come a separation between the North and the South, sooner or later, in spite of the laugh of the incredulous, the hiss of the malignant, the cowardice of the faltering, the betrayal of the perfidious, and the loyalty of the besotted.

### VOLUNTARY SERVITUDE.

A Roman Catholic, who, both by taste and profession, was deeply interested in music, said to his neighbor, a Protestant—'I hear high praise bestowed upon a novel called *Connelly*; and, particularly, that it contains many true and beautiful thoughts respecting music, sketches of the lives and characters of some persons highly distinguished in that art, and a lofty estimate of its meaning, use and purpose. Can you lend me that book?' The lady thus addressed handed the first volume to her neighbor, assuring him that the praise he had heard of it was well deserved, and rejoicing beforehand in the pleasure which his cultivated mind would receive from its perusal. The next day he came back, not to take the second volume, but to return the first, saying that the Bishop did not approve of his reading any works by that author.

How shameful! that a man of intelligence and refinement should feel obliged to place his mind under the absolute control of a person far less competent than himself to select the proper food for it! How shameful! that in the middle of the nineteenth century, a class of men should exist, who can assume and maintain such control, and thus directly interfere with the diffusion of useful knowledge! Virtuous souls that we are! how we are shocked by the occasional instances that come to our knowledge of a censorship of the press, when that censorship is conducted by Catholic priests!

After all, this bondage is merely voluntary. The person above mentioned submitted to the Bishop's prohibition only because he chose to do so. When ever he chooses, he can break this imaginary chain. He can plainly say to the Bishop—'I find the first volume good, and I choose to read the second and the third.' And to remonstrate or threats he can reply, at his pleasure, either by a calm repetition of the decision he has made, or by snapping his fingers in the face of His Reverence, who will therewith be powerless to control him.

But our censorship of the press, to which we in like manner submit, though we too might, by throwing it off, attain a much needed independence—ours is enforced by violence as well as claimed with despotic haughtiness, and stupidly allowed by custom. When we go from Massachusetts to that division of our country and our nation called South Carolina, though the latter is called in the 'glittering generalities' of Fourth-of-July orators, a sister State, and though our common Constitution pretends to secure to us there the same rights which we enjoy at home, our 'freedom of the press' receives a serious limitation. We cannot receive our *Liberator*, our *Standard*, or even our *Tribune*, through the Post-Office. If we write an order, directed to either of these three papers, or a letter of friendship to either of the persons whose names are popularly identified with them, it is stopped and burned, or made the instrument of exciting indignation against the writer. And if we are known to give away, or lend, or read, or even have in possession, the writings, in prose or verse, in sermons, treatise or novel, of the noblest advocates of freedom and humanity, we become at once exposed, not merely to the disapproval of a priest, but to the rage and fury, likely enough to express themselves in insult and violence, of the whole community. And, if falling under the suspicion of being friendly to freedom, (for suspicion, in that barbarous region, proceeds at once to sentence and execution,) we should be insulted,

robbed, tarred and feathered, and thrust violently out of the territory, not only could we redress be obtained at law, but similar violence would assail the legal agent who should venture to enter a suit in our behalf.

It is said that Uncle Tom's Cabin is allowed openly to be read and sold in the slaveholding States. Even if this were a truth instead of a lie, the very expression shows the difference between the atmosphere of freedom and that of slavery. In the few instances in which exception is made, at the South, to the ordinary infringement of slavery upon the rights of white and nominally free men, these exceptions are allowed; and the allowance is assumed to be a favor instead of an insult; and the recipient is expected to be thankful, instead of burning with righteous indignation.

Imagine, if you can, at the North, a Governor, or a post-master, or a chief of patrol, or the chairman of a Vigilance Committee, or the head bully of a Lynch court, taking upon himself to allow you to buy such books, subscribe for and receive such newspapers, hang up in your parlor such pictorial illustrations, lend such volumes, and give away such tracts, as you see fit! What terms would be too keenly sarcastic, what looks too contemptuous for you to use in telling such a person to mind his own business, and let yours alone?

But we have now been speaking of matters of permission and favor. If the allowance is at once a gross insult and a shameful infringement of your rights, what must the prohibition be? If these things happen in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

Imagine further that, at the North, you have done a thing so harmless, according to our ways of thinking, as to give a hungry woman a piece of bread—to point out to a traveller his best and nearest road—to give a night's lodging to a destitute stranger—to bestow a useful book upon one who is thirst for knowledge—to teach an ignorant child the alphabet—or to listen with interest and respond with sympathy to the tale of one who had endured great wrong and great suffering; and then imagine an utter stranger—who may bear the aspect either of a swearing, brawling, drunken, brutal bully, or of an elegant and polished gentleman—a self-constituted spy, judge and executioner over you—demanding, with an air of authority, whether you did any one of the things above mentioned—*why* you did it—*how* you dared to do it—whether you have been in the habit of doing such things—and who your accomplices are! and then tell me whether your astonishment or your indignation would be greater at such impudent arrogance?

But our suppositions have not yet come up to the reality of the case we are considering. Imagine further, that when you have treated these insolent interrogatories, and this unwarrantable assumption of authority, with the silent contempt or indignant rebuke which you find most suitable, the bystanders should unanimously side with your assailant—that they should join in overwhelming you with reproaches—that they should lay hands upon your person, seize your keys and papers, search your trunks and apartments, carry off such of your property as they wished, and then successfully claim, before the community, the praise of vigilant guardians of the public welfare, and consign you to prison, or violently expel you from the town, as a convicted incendiary!

This last is a state of things which even imagination will hardly allow you to figure as existing at the North; but, at the South, and throughout the slaveholding States, this is the natural, normal and customary condition of society. To this complexion they have come, and here they have determined, by acclamation, to remain. These are the manners and morals which they wish to extend into Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Minnesota, Washington and Utah Territories; and such progress have they made towards this infamous end, and so far have they corrupted this guilty nation towards complete sequestration in their will, that those among the popular parties and the popular sects who are farthest advanced towards reform venture to propose nothing better than compromise, to ask no more than the withholding of this reign of terror from regions now nominally free, or trembling in the balance between freedom and slavery, and to consent that, this being granted, the rights of the North and of man may elsewhere remain trampled under foot as at present.

Yet another statement is required to complete the picture of the degradation of these Northern and Western States which falsely call themselves free. For every evil there exists a remedy. Even slavery may be overthrown, if the subjugated ones can muster spirit, energy and perseverance enough to use the means. But the poet has truly told us—  
'Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.'

If this Northern people were not corrupted as well as enthralled, if they did not basely hug their chain, for fancied profit or convenience, they might at once throw it off, and stand 'redeemed, regenerated, disenthrall'd'; if even Massachusetts had virtue enough to embrace the golden opportunity that is now within her reach, and separate herself from slavery, and thus throw off the disgrace, and danger, and responsibility which inevitably attend connivance with it, she might gloriously complete the work which Hancock and the Adamses left unfinished, draw to her standard the States that wait for its unfolding in the first revolution, and stand henceforth in a new and nobler Northern Republic, *prima inter pares*, the first in honor as in valor, even her past and present shame eclipsed by that glory.

But instead of this, only a minority yet venture to propose, or even think of, this ultimate remedy; and the mass of the people, even in Massachusetts, so little appreciate the things that belong to their peace, as to reject this only visible way of salvation, and stigmatize the true friends who have brought it to their notice as incendiaries and traitors.

God be thanked that the want of a present majority can only postpone this work, not prevent it!—c. k. w.

### REV. GEORGE ARMSTRONG.

OF BRISTOL, ENGLAND.

The recent death of this gentleman has been announced in the English and American papers. Though his health has been known to be failing for a year and more past, no apprehensions were felt by his friends on this side of the water that the termination of his earthly course was immediately at hand, and the tidings of his decease consequently came with all the force of an entirely unexpected event. His loss, not only in a private but a public view, is a great one. The cause of Human Freedom and Justice, and every generous, liberal and humane movement, loses in him a disinterested, earnest and very able friend.

Some tribute, however poor and imperfect, to the memory of this excellent man, it is both our duty and our wish to offer. Friendship calls for it; and the conviction, deeply impressed, that the world-wide cause of Individual and National Liberty has had very few friends more zealous and faithful than he, makes it an imperative duty to record our sense of his worth, our grateful reverence for his character, and our blessings on his memory.

He frankly made known his position, resigned his post, and gave up all connection with the English Church. His rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity naturally led him towards the Unitarian body; which he subsequently connected himself, believing that he should find there not only the spiritual freedom which he sought as his right, and as a necessary condition of true manhood and real usefulness, but that he would also find there full scope and ample verge for carrying into actual and living reality the essential spirit and principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It hardly needs to be said that his fervent spirit, his enthusiastic admiration of whatever is most noble and disinterested in human action, met with many a disappointment, and many a discouragement. It may be that his earnest nature expected too much of human weakness. But he has left this noble and glorious example,—that his own faith was never dimmed by disappointment, nor by the coldness and selfishness of others,—that he kept to the last his own high standard of human duty, believing, as God lives, though his eyes might not see it, that the perfect triumph of Right over Wrong would come, and the spirit of Humanity be completely vindicated from all tyrannous and oppressive claims.

Among many published works of Mr. Armstrong, one should especially be named, entitled—'*Infallibility not Possible; Involuntary Error not Culpable*.'—This is a thin octavo of less than two hundred pages, a second edition of which was published in London and Bristol in 1851. It is a work of great power, thoroughness, and boldness; in which the absolute and perfect Right of Private Judgment is maintained, against both Catholic and Protestant controversialists, in a most masterly manner.

It was on a beautiful Saturday evening, in July, 1848, that the writer of this came to the city of Bristol, England, a stranger to every person in it, a wanderer in search of health from his American home. On the following morning, he sought out the place which the venerable name of LAMT CARPENTER had long made interesting, may, sacred to him, the Lewin's Mead Chapel. Entering the plain, but spacious building, and mingling with the large congregation, he was conducted to a seat. Very soon, the pulpit was occupied by a gentleman, seemingly somewhat past the prime of life, yet in the full possession of every faculty, and of very prepossessing appearance. His whole manner, his full and rich voice, the elevated character of the devotional service, and the powerful discourse, in which the preacher eloquently and convincingly showed how much a true understanding of God depends upon a sincere love of Him, all tended to inspire the purpose to seek for his acquaintance. A self-introduction took place, after the close of the service, which met with a truly kind and friendly response from Mr. Armstrong—for he it was; and thus the way was opened for an acquaintance which afterwards became a warm friendship, and led to a correspondence which was maintained to the close of his life.

At the risk of seeming egotistical, and yet with a view to show how deeply the anti-slavery cause had taken hold of his mind at that time, the following little incident may be given. At the first interview with Mr. Armstrong (after the brief one on Sunday), which took place on Monday at his own house,—nothing as yet having passed between us on the subject of Slavery in America,—one of the first inquiries which he made was to this effect: 'Why is it that, of all others, the Unitarian ministers in your country seem so loth to touch the subject of Slavery, and indeed take such pains to avoid it?' My reply was, in general terms, that I had found it very difficult to find a satisfactory answer, myself, to the question. Without much noticing my reply, he went on to say—'I was reading, not a great while since, in one of your monthly religious magazines, a report of your autumnal Unitarian Conference; and it was stated that one of the ministers present called attention to the subject of Slavery, and desired the Conference to take some action about it; but it seemed there was hardly a person to second the movement, and so many to object to it, that nothing was done.' To what meeting do you refer?' I said, springing to my feet, and warming towards him on account of the earnest interest in the subject which every word, look, and tone of his bespeaks:—'Was it one held last autumn at Worcester, Massachusetts?' 'I do not remember the place,' he replied, 'but I have the magazine, and can readily ascertain.' Producing the pamphlet, he found that it was the Worcester Convention to which he had referred. And he also found that the minister who there had introduced the subject of Slavery, was the identical person then conversing with him in his own study!

This was, of course, a very pleasant surprise and coincidence, and made all the more pleasant by being so completely unlooked for. This was the best introduction, of each to the other, which could possibly have taken place.

Mr. Armstrong's mind was at once vigorous and brilliant. He was active and zealous in inquiry, keen in apprehension, and having that warmth of heart which so characteristic of his native country, and which has so great a charm in a truly intelligent, refined, and conscientious person. To such a man, no question of Justice and Right, no vital interest of Humanity, could ever be other than one of deepest interest. It was sure to find in him attention, and a thorough and willing investigation. Many slow and cautious people were wont to think that his zeal outran his judgment, and led him too far. But it was only too far for them to follow; it was not too far for a true, just, and safe solution of the difficulties in question. Nor (it is believed) will the soundest judgment, however cool, fail to admire and approve the conclusions to which Mr. Armstrong usually came; while the warmth and fervor of his character were of inestimable value in arousing timid and distrustful natures, in awakening hope in those who were almost despairing, and in making the arduous way seem possible and practicable. God be thanked, who scatters such living and earnest natures in our path! They kindle many a feeble spark into a bright flame, and spread widely abroad that large, unselfish and generous spirit, which alone has nerve to grapple with the giant crimes of society, and which alone is able to endure unto the end.

It is needless to say that the Anti-Slavery cause in this country, in its largest, broadest sense, was very near to the heart and mind of such a man as GEORGE ARMSTRONG. From his first knowledge of it, to his latest day, it commanded his entire regard, and received the devotion of his best powers. His numerous letters to American correspondents afford the amplest proof of this. Every fresh aspect of the question—every move of the Slave Power, however cunning and specious—every gleam of light on Freedom's side—were immediately caught by his watchful eye, and he gave forth the words of cheer or warning, as each were needed. The anti-slavery journals of this country have often been enriched by extracts from his letters; and American visitors to Great Britain,—and especially clerical visitors,—coming within his knowledge, never escaped the power of his keen and searching inquiry.

Nothing grieved and astonished him, and excited his indignation, so much as any manifest treachery to the cause of Human Freedom on the part of eminent and influential persons. He would allow no such case to go unrebuked. If no other person was found to discharge this duty, he would himself speak the word. In such cases, a manly and eloquent letter from George Armstrong of Bristol would be quite sure to appear in some influential London journal, or wherever else he thought he should reach the most needed and appropriate audience,—and the force of his logic and his appeals it was impossible not to feel.

This was strikingly illustrated in the case of Kossuth. He was one of Kossuth's most ardent admirers, and sought his friendship and tendered his own, when the Hungarian exile first sought the soil of

England. His own true heart led him to place the most entire confidence in Kossuth's high principle and integrity. Nevertheless, when he learned Kossuth's intention to visit the United States, the multitude of wretched anti-slavery characters of Europeans who had preceded him thither came full before him, and he was moved to address to Kossuth a letter, of the most respectful friendship, wherein he sought to put him on his guard against the insidious influences which would inevitably be brought to bear upon him in this country, with all their strength, in order to seduce him from his allegiance to that Spirit of Liberty, which he had hitherto so bravely, and apparently so sincerely, served. 'Well would it have been for that now fallen man, had he taken heed to the counsels of his Bristol friend, and nerved his own spirit with the strength which that friend's own wisdom would have imparted. The keenest grief came over that friend, when he could no longer shut his eyes to the evidences of Kossuth's wretched truckling to the slaveholding despots of the Southern United States, and to their more guilty defenders and apologists of the North.

And now, for the second time within a short period, has the cause of American Anti-Slavery to lament the removal of a strong pillar and support, in one and the same distant city,—Bristol.

No two men, in constitution and temperament, could be less alike than JOHN BISHOP ESTLIN and GEORGE ARMSTRONG. While the latter had all the ardor and warmth of the Irish character, the former was as strikingly marked by the cautious, cool deliberation of the Englishman. Yet, Christians both, men of rare gifts, of cultivated intellect, with true hearts in their bosoms, the cause of American Anti-Slavery commended itself alike and equally to both. With mutual regard and friendship, they labored for it together, and each to the other rendered, with cheerful willingness, his tribute of respect and affection. Seldom has any human cause lost two such friends from one spot of earth; for it is seldom that two men so highly and largely gifted are thus peculiarly united. But they are not lost to us, nor to our cause. Their memory will ever be a lesson, a motive, and an incentive, to all who truly labor for the downfall of wrong.

This brief notice may be concluded with the following passage from a recent letter of a gentleman in Bristol to a friend in this country:—

'Perhaps, before this reaches you, you will, by some other means, have learned that our good and much-respected friend Mr. Armstrong is freed from his sufferings. He died on Thursday morning, August 6th, about 5 o'clock, calmly, peacefully, leaving his head on his wife's shoulder, his earthly pillow for the last time. Where are now all the genius, and the talent, and the eloquence, and the scorn against meanness and wrong, which have electrified so many minds, and touched so many hearts? There can be no annihilation of such gifts, for which a worthier sphere must have opened!'—S. M., Jr.

STATE ELECTION. The State Election in Massachusetts takes place on Tuesday next, Nov. 2. The candidates for Governor are—Nathaniel P. Banks, Republican; Caleb Swan, 'Straight-Out Republican'; Henry J. Gardner, American, Hunter, Pro-Slavery; Erasmus D. Beach, Border-Ruffian, Sane Democracy. It is an election in which we have taken very little interest. The re-election of Gov. Gardner—the unscrupulous demagogue—the contemner of the voice of the people of Massachusetts, as expressed through two successive Legislatures, for the removal of the slave-catcher Judge Loring from office—the entry of the Personal Liberty Bill, because it grants the right of jury trial to such as are claimed to be fugitive slaves in this State—the official insult of the clergy of the Commonwealth, in his Fast day proclamation, because they dared to raise their voices against some of the damning deeds of the Slave Power—would elicit shouts of joy throughout New-England, and bring the deepest disgrace upon the old Bay State. But he will in all probability be distanced by Mr. Banks.

POLITICAL MEETING IN WARD 56. Another spirited demonstration was made last Monday evening by colored voters and others favorable to the action of Nathaniel P. Banks for Governor. Among the speakers were Charles W. Slack, Albert J. Wright, John A. Andrew, S. P. Hanscom, Dr. W. F. Channing, Thomas J. Marsh, Rev. Mr. Hanson, Robert Johnson, et al.

IN response to a general request from the public, and a special invitation from Judge Russell, Hon. Anson Burlingame, Hon. L. M. Barker, Esq. City Clerk, Charles R. Train, Esq., Dr. Benj. H. West, Hon. Henry Wilson, and others, Dr. J. S. Roca will repeat his lecture on the 'Ancient and Modern Times and Nations in Africa—The Lights and Shadows of their Character,' in Chapman Hall, on next Thursday evening, November 6, at half-past 7 o'clock.

JAMES RUTHERFORD, the former Kansas correspondent of the *Missouri Democrat*, and the most reliable historian of events in Kansas during the border war, is about to commence the publication of an illustrated paper at Doniphan, Kansas, to be called 'The Crusader of Freedom.' It will give portraits from life of the Kansas celebrities, both the ruffian and the Free State heroes, and a graphic history of the civil war. It will be a valuable addition to the newspaper literature of Kansas.

CHARLES MACKAY, the popular song writer, and one of the editors of the *London Illustrated News*, is among the passengers who arrived in the *Asia*. He is visiting this country, says the *European Times*, with a view of surveying the numberless objects of interest presented by the Western world; especially the laws and institutions of the American Republic, and their influence on the political and social development of a free country. Let him be warmly welcomed.

THE MALIGNANT SOUTH. The Washington correspondent of the *New York Tribune* says:—

THE WESTERN CONVENTIONS.

DEAR MR. GARRISON: After attending the New York State Fair at Buffalo, on the 9th instant, and lecturing in the Rev. Dr. Prime's church, on Sunday evening the 11th, I visited Catawagus county, and held meetings at Bagdad and Caturagus, where I had large audiences. From the latter place I made my way to Girard, a village in one of the extreme counties in Western Pennsylvania, where Miss Anthony, Mr. Powell and myself were to attend a Convention. For want of interest in Girard, our friends changed the arrangements, and advertised us to lecture in separate places, which, upon the whole, worked well, for we found crowded houses and willing listeners in all of the gatherings. The strictest attention was paid to the most radical doctrines upon the Government and the Church. Although settled several years, this seems a comparatively new country, the log cabins of the early settlers still being occupied. To a New Englander, this part of our 'glorious Union' appears very strange. The people are generally kind and hospitable, but wonderfully green. But the odd feature in our meetings is the swarms of little ones. O, the children! I never beheld so many babies in so short a time, since the commencement of my anti-slavery labors. At one meeting last week, I counted twenty-seven babies in their mothers' arms or in their laps. And such music I never before heard. Take an untuned piano, a cornstalk fiddle, a Swiss hurdy-gurdy, and a Scotchman with his bag-pipes, put them all in one room, and set them going, and you will have but a faint idea of the juvenile concert we had that evening. I waited till a late hour before commencing the meeting, with the hope that the little ones would stop; but I waited in vain. After being reminded by the dusty clock on the wall that it was ten minutes past seven, I counted five babies, whose open mouths were sending forth delicious music, and then commenced my lecture. I raised my voice to the highest note, and the little ones and I had it, 'which and together' for some time. At last, I was about giving up as a bad job, when an elderly gentleman near me said, 'Keep on, sir, the babies will get tired by and bye, and will go to sleep.' This encouraged me, and I continued with renewed vigor; and sure enough, a half an hour more, and I realized the advice of the old man; for, as the clock struck 8, I found the babies all asleep, and I master of the field. It is astonishing how little the people out here are disturbed by the noise of the children; but I presume they have become used to it.

Mr. Isaac Brooks, one of the most devoted friends of freedom in this section, met us at Lockport, and took Mr. Powell and Miss Anthony to Lanesville, some twenty-five miles, while I remained and lectured a second time. We could not have wished for a more enthusiastic or better attended meeting than we had at Lanesville. The place of meeting was a double school-house, with the partition opened, and the two rooms thrown into one. The Baptist church, the only religious building in the town, was shut against us. The Convention commenced on Saturday morning, and continued till Sunday night at half past 10, and was addressed by Miss Anthony, Mr. Powell and myself. Unfortunately for the cause, Mr. Powell was indisposed, having taken a severe cold, which threatens to be serious. Nevertheless, he did good service, and the Convention was one of the best of the series. The Church, the Republican party and the Union claimed most of our attention. The Republicans in Pennsylvania are less anti-slavery than in any of the places I have yet visited. Mr. Wilnot, in a speech made at Erie just before the election, said: 'The Democrats call us an abolition party, but I hurl the foul slander back into their teeth.' We find but little difficulty in most places about getting up meetings. The better portion of politicians of the Republican or Free Soil stamp attend our Conventions, and some help in getting up meetings. While I write, two or three Republicans are in the adjoining room, arranging for future lectures in other towns.

At Lanesville, we found another large crop of children. The scene on Sunday beggars description. The house where we held the meeting was jammed in every part, except a small space in the centre of the room, where there were no seats. On their mothers' laps lay a dozen or two babies, while five or six who were old enough to run alone were let loose on the unseated spot on the floor. The latter were supplied with various articles to keep them quiet. One had its mother's bonnet, a second a tin horn; a third its mother's bonnet; and a fourth its father's jackknive. One little boy, seven or eight years old, was lying on the floor, nibbling at his younger brother's toes, while the latter lay in his mother's arms, nibbling at something more substantial. One bright-eyed boy was chasing a dog about the floor; while another, with two caps on his head, was sailing about to the amusement of the other little ones. In different sections of the room were children standing on the tops of the desks, or hanging around their fathers' or mothers' necks. At this juncture, the house looked as if Barnum's baby show had adjourned to our meeting. Miss Anthony seemed very much amused at a little woman in a pink bonnet, seated on the front bench, with her feet, not long enough to reach the floor, hanging down, while a child a few weeks old, in her arms, nibbled away at its dinner.

O, the noise! I will not attempt to describe it. Suffice it to say, that some babies were crying, some crying, and some snoring, while mothers were resorting to all sorts of means to keep their babies quiet. One was throwing her child up, and catching it; another patting her foot, and another singing 'bi-lolaby.' You may guess how difficult it was to be heard in such an assembly. My head aches now, from the great exertion that I made to be heard above the noise of the children. And poor Powell, I pitted him, from the bottom of my heart, for he had not strength to speak to a still audience, to say nothing of such a noisy one as this; and while he was speaking, as if to make the scene more ridiculous, a tall, brawny man walked in, and, the benches being full, seated himself on the stove, which he thought had no fire in it,—but he soon found it too peppery for comfort. Just then, a child tumbled from the top of one of the desks, and Mr. Powell made his bow and retired. But they give us 'rice pudding out here for breakfast, and that gives me strength to meet the babies.

We are to hold meetings at Albion, Lockport, Conantville, and one other place, the name of which I have forgotten, and then we go to Painesville. The people here are all alive for the Cleveland Convention, and we anticipate a large gathering and a glorious time.

Yours, truly, W. W. BROWN. Lanesville, Oct. 20, 1847.

DISUNION CONVENTION AT CLEVELAND.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON: Trumpet the truth, that this Convention was a great and perfectly overwhelming success—more a success than it ever could have been, had it actually been held. It is not being held was of itself an infinitely stronger argument in favor of Disunion than all the reasons that could have been alleged in all the speeches put together. In the last analysis, slavery alone prevented that Convention from being held. It is the South that is bankrupt, and not the North. And if the Government was, in part, at the bottom of the whole, yet slavery was the omnipresent vice of that Government. There possibly could not be such a revelation throughout the North, were it not for its union with the South; and, on the other hand, so long as that union exists, there always will be such revelations.

Yours, for making a clear end of the Union, JOSEPH TRIST. Erie, (Ohio) October, 1847.

THE FREE PRESS IN KENTUCKY.

We publish with pleasure the following correspondence in relation to the enterprise which Wm. L. Bailey of Kentucky has with so much zeal and persistence carried on—the publication of a free State paper in that State. Success to Mr. Bailey and his Kentucky friends!

Boston, Mass., Oct. 29, 1847. DEAR SIR,—Have the goodness to allow me the privilege of acknowledging, through the columns of your widely-circulated and excellent paper, a donation of one hundred dollars, which accompanied the following touching letter commending our labor in the cause of humanity in Kentucky.

These ladies deserve from us a higher eulogy than my feeble pen is able to confer. They are worthy of the noble men of their State who so justly denounced the Fugitive Slave Bill upon their soil. They, with the gentlemen here named, have outdone them in behalf of the Liberty Party of our State, of whom I have the honor to be a part.

WM. S. BAILLY. JANSVILLE, Rock Co., Wisconsin, Oct. 6th, 1847. Wm. S. BAILLY, Esq., No. 51, N. 2d St., New York City.

SIR,—I have the pleasure of forwarding to you the enclosed check for one hundred dollars (\$100) on the Bank of the Republic, New York City. You will please acknowledge it as a donation from the ladies of Jansville and vicinity, Wisconsin, friendly to the cause of freedom, by the hand of Rev. Hiram Foote. I will please direct copies of the paper containing this acknowledgment, by that pure-minded friend and philanthropist, Edward Daniels, Esq., of our State. He has just sent me a line from you, dated June 24, also a letter from your daughter, of the 20th ult., which awakened the liveliest emotions of admiration and esteem in our bosoms. Father, mother and children, even the little ones, taking amid other important and avowed duties, to redeem their noble State from the dreadful sin and curse of slavery! Mortgaging the homestead, working till midnight, practicing the most rigid economy, making your house a citadel where the weapons of truth must be defended by the weapons of death; and that not for the sake of praise, but to honor God, to save slaves and slaveholders, and wipe from Kentucky the foul blot and shame. That noble wife and mother, with worn fingers and wearied limbs, is worthy the man who perils so much; and those children are greater than the sons and daughters of Sparta or Rome. Such heroism shall not go unrewarded.

I have been ranked among the friends of freedom for the last twenty-five years, but the honor of residing over the first anti-slavery society ever formed in New York State, have lectured in that State, Ohio, Illinois and Wisconsin, suffered some by persecution and coldness of friends, but O! I feel ashamed of all I have done and suffered. I have yielded you are sustained and kept safe! Learn to look to higher sources than man. God will raise up friends for you if you trust in him, for the cause which you advocate is his, and must triumph. Let not the threats and malice and slanders of foes disturb you, or lead you to say or do aught that is wrong. The ordeal in which you are placed is a fiery ordeal. May you come forth unscathed and triumphant!

I write these words of cheer and counsel, having no acquaintance with you, except by reputation, and never having seen a number of your paper. I am persuaded that your condition, trials and self-sacrifices are not fully known to the friends of freedom at the North. Should you see fit to continue the copies of your paper, as above indicated, six months or a year, it might be the means of gathering other friends to your enterprise. Please acknowledge this on your receipt, and believe me, although a stranger, your friend and brother in the cause of humanity.

HIRAM FOOTE.

DEATH OF AN ESTEEMED CITIZEN. One of our best known and most widely respected citizens died yesterday, after a long course of usefulness and integrity, this community. We allude to Joseph and Isaac, who long the Cashier of the Mechanics' Bank, which place he had held since the establishment of the bank, a period of no less than twenty-six years. Mr. Congdon was aged fifty-seven years and eleven months. He was a gentleman of great probity, plain and unassuming address, of a highly cultivated mind, and well acquainted with literature and science. He was also devoted to benevolent and charitable enterprises, and a most conscientious man. Such men are rare, and their loss creates a void not readily filled. His health has been for some time declining.—New Bedford Mercury, 27th.

HENRY SHAW, one of the very prominent Massachusetts politicians, died at Peekskill, N. Y., on the 17th inst., at the age of 69. Nearly forty years ago he was a member of Congress, with apparently a brilliant career before him, but all his prospects were blasted by a stroke which he gave to the pro-slavery party at the time of the Missouri contest, 1820-21. In common with most Northern men who took that course, his influence on the side of the South, he was ruined; and though he was sometimes in office afterwards, it was never in high office, such as was equal to his talents. But for the error which he then made, he could probably have risen high in the councils of the State, and as an intellect and as a great, his character pure, and his knowledge extensive. He resided for a great part of his life at Lanesboro, Berkshire county, where his remains were buried on the 20th, his funeral being numerously attended.

HOW IT IS WELCOMED. Now that the power of slavery has awed the Tract Society into silence, the Richmond South says that the circular announcing that humiliating fact is a mere trick to 'coax the South out of its sulky humor.'

SENATOR SUMNER. Mr. Hogue, of Albany, who is now in Europe, thus speaks respecting the state of Mr. Sumner's health: 'He converses without the slightest degree of nervousness which one might expect after reading the paragraph in the newspapers. I doubt whether his health was ever much better; he looks remarkably well. He was on his way from Avon to Turin, and thence over the great St. Bernard into France again, having been in Switzerland a week or two.'

HIGH PRICE OF SLAVES. On the 13th inst., a large sale of slaves took place at Clarksville, Va. The entire number sold was forty-one, among them four so far advanced in age as scarcely to bring any thing, and thirteen children, varying in age from three months to eight years. Nevertheless, the whole number sold at the extraordinary average of \$729 40. One brought \$1,385; another, \$1,280; and several over \$1,100 each.

PROPOSED ENSLAVEMENT OF SEPOYS. The European Times (Liverpool) speaking of the resubjugation of India, and how to treat the natives, says the way is 'to deport them to the colonies, and make them labor, for the remainder of their lives, in raising sugar and other tropical products.'

MESSRS. J. B. WETHERELL, O. E. Adams, and Wm. O. Barnicot, representatives of some hundreds of operatives at present occupied in the manufacture of the cunning combinations which go to make up a modern 'Sewing Machine,' have united in 'completing one of these instruments at the establishment of the Grover & Baker Sewing Machine Company, in Boston, and sent it to ex-Speaker Banks, as a gift. Mr. Banks acknowledged the magnificent present, in a letter dated the 17th inst.

The Boston Advertiser has the following list of Gov. Gardner's veto of an appropriation for the State School for Idiots: 'What! teach the fools?' the gallant Governor cried. 'No! I'd leave my party for the other side.'

A Good One.—The Norfolk County Journal says that a city gentleman, mentioning an old farmer of that county a few days since, asked, 'How do you think Gov. Gardner is going to run?' 'Why,' replied he, 'I rather guess he will run pretty well on the Pennsylvania, but he will drag mighty hard on the country roads.'

PAENITENTIA'S LAST. As to the Democratic party, they know how the land lies on this slavery question.—Louisville Democrat.

Yes, and the land knows how the Democratic party lies on this slavery question.—Louisville Journal.

Escape of Negroes.—The Norfolk Herald of Wednesday says:—Between Saturday night and Monday morning, a valuable property was lost by the late W. H. Wilson, two negroes belonging to Joseph Carter, one negro woman of James Mardoung, and some four or five other negroes of different owners, made their escape from Portsmouth, Va., to the North, via the Underground Railroad.

POINTS OF COLORED CITIZENS AT THE THEATRE.

A case involving the right of a colored citizen of Boston to sit in the family circle of a theatre was decided in favor of the colored man on the 23d inst. The plaintiff, Mr. Cress, purchased a ticket to the family circle of the Howard Athenaeum, to which part of the house he was subsequently refused admittance, on the ground of color. On his behalf it was argued by Mr. Andrew, that the sale of a ticket to any part of a theatre was of the nature of a contract, which the manager was not at liberty to rescind, and that the which entrusted to the city officials the power to license places of public entertainment gave the licensed no power to exclude colored persons.

Mr. Durant replied in defence, that the power to grant licenses of public amusements was conferred only for the preservation of order and good morals, and that the possession of such a license did not imply any obligation analogous to that of innkeepers to entertain all comers, as was claimed by the counsel for the prosecution. He also contended that the sale of a ticket was not of the nature of a contract, on account of the patent ambiguity of the ticket itself, on which the words 'Howard Athenaeum' did not appear. A ticket which simply reads 'Family Circle' upon it, only means that persons who conform to the rules of the theatre should be admitted there.

In reply, Mr. Andrew argued that there was nothing ambiguous in the ticket, and that in the case of a white person presenting it, it would not have been so considered. In rendering his decision, Judge Abbot said, that under the common law, a manager might make such regulations in regard to the persons to be admitted to his theatre as he saw fit, a right which had been contravened by no statute. As to the purchase of a ticket, he held that it was merely an executory contract, and that the possession of such a ticket did not create any action for breach of contract.

Under these rulings, the counsel for the plaintiff said that they were willing that a verdict should be recorded against them, from which they could take exceptions, and carry the question—'Whether a license for a place of public entertainment does not allow all parts of the community, irrespective of sex or color, admittance to all parts of the place of amusement'—before the Supreme Court for a decision. This proposition was agreed to by the defendant's counsel, and the case was thus closed in this court.

CARRYING OUT THE DRED SCOTT DECISION. Mr. Thomas Howland, a respectable colored man of Providence, being about to try his fortune in Liberia, sent to the State Prison at Washington for a passport. His application, says the Evening Star, came back with the following answer, without date or signature: 'The officials seeming to regard it as an insult that a man, born on the American soil, a citizen and a voter of one of the States of the confederacy, should have the presumption to ask for a certificate of his nationality.'

Mr. Martin must certainly be aware that passports are not issued to colored men, and that such persons are not deemed citizens of the United States. See the case of Dred Scott, recently decided by the Supreme Court.

UNCLE TOM. The Charleston Courier denies the story that the Rev. Samuel Green, of Cambridge, Dorchester Co., Md., minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, has been sent to the State Prison for a passport. His application, says the Evening Star, came back with the following answer, without date or signature: 'The officials seeming to regard it as an insult that a man, born on the American soil, a citizen and a voter of one of the States of the confederacy, should have the presumption to ask for a certificate of his nationality.'

ZION'S HERALD was the first to make the charge above mentioned, and it shall be happy to retract it whenever evidence is given that it is a mere mistake. Unhappily, we know too well that it is a fact. The assertion that 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' is read at the South by whoever chooses to read it, is very absurd, when in that very State it is a criminal offence to have a copy of it. The Rev. Samuel Green, a Methodist minister of the 'North' Church, we think, was not one of the kind of men that are permitted to choose—he is a colored man.—Zion's Herald.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24, 1847. The Virginia Synod of the Presbyterian Church have adopted the report of the Committee presented yesterday, recommending a withdrawal from the General Assembly, in consequence of the action of that body on the slavery question. The vote was 32 against 3. The nays were Messrs. Sunderland and Haskell of Washington, and Dunning of Baltimore.

The Synod adopted resolutions approving the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, and lately met in Richmond, and pledging itself to cordially co-operate in the organization of the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church, to meet at Knoxville, Tenn.

ANOTHER PRESBYTERIAN SPLIT. Splits are becoming common in the Presbyterian body. Last week the Synod of Missouri, consisting of four Presbyteries and fifty-seven churches, held its annual session in St. Louis, and after a long discussion on slavery, resolved to form itself into an independent body, on a new fellowship with the New School body, on a new basis of action at Cleveland last summer, and declares that it cannot go with the Richmond Convention. It determines to remain an independent Synod, 'until the providence of God shall seem to make clear the way of duty.' By this action, the Presbyterian Church in the United States is therefore divided into four separate organizations—the Old School, the New School, the Southern School, and the Missouri School.

At a public meeting held in Taylor county, Va., on the 8th of August, the 'present position of the Northern division of the M. E. Church on the slavery question, the action of its general and annual convocations, and the course of its editors and clergy' were strongly condemned, and the five Christian Advocates' characterized as abolition sheets of the ranker character, such as demand the interference of the law.

Yesterday, an occurrence took place of a character so painful and revolting to scenes that have too frequently disgraced the city of Washington. Mr. Loomis, a teacher of one of the principal private schools in this city, found it necessary to correct one of his pupils. The father who is an officer of high rank in the army, and lately connected with the Mexican boundary survey, proceeded to the school-house, and, under the pretence of his son, and after pouring forth a torrent of profanity and abuse, struck the teacher a severe blow on the head with a heavy cane. What adds to the enormity of the offence is the fact that the teacher received the abuse without a word of reply, and having lost a part of his hand, was disabled from defending himself. Mr. Loomis is under the surgeon's care. I learn that a writ was issued this morning for the arrest of the offender.

The school taught by Mr. Loomis is one of the oldest in the city—reckoning among its former teachers Mr. Choate of Boston, Gov. Chase of Ohio, Mr. A. H. Lawrence, recently deceased, and many other eminent men.—Washington Cor., Boston Advertiser.

A PORTLAND MAN IN THE SLAVE TRADE. The Havana correspondent of the New York Tribune, under date of Oct. 8, says a cargo of slaves had landed at San Juan de los Remedios, from the brig abbot Devereux, which 'ostensibly belonged to an American, glorying in the name of Drinkwater'—a Portland man, who purchased and cleared several on an difficulty, and nearly a hundred souls, and was destroyed. It is stated that the captain of the brig received \$30,000 for the round voyage. The writer adds 'The J. H. Record, formerly of Newport, and also of Com. Drinkwater's fleet, is reported as having landed her cargo. For this I cannot vouch as yet, though I do not consider it at all improbable.'

'MOLLY MAGUIRE.' There is a new secret political organization known by the above name, which is spreading throughout the country, and its influence has already been felt wonderfully in the Western sections of this fall. It is a Democratic, Catholic, and none vote but those who are Democrats. At a recent Democratic Convention in Pennsylvania, two-thirds of the delegates, so stated, were members of this foreign secret order. In large cities, they completely control the native Democratic portion of the party, and they are willing, of course, to submit, as long as they can fill the offices; but when this tap shall be cut off, there will be a split. It is a fact, that two-thirds of the Democratic voters of Pennsylvania are these miserable, ignorant foreigners, banded together in a secret society, put on foot, no doubt, by Buchanan and his tools.

Eight times somehow engender loose morals. The American Sunday School Union got out with a card to the public, announcing that its Secretaries had that Society, Rev. F. W. Porter, is a defaulter. An amount believed not to exceed eighty thousand, eight hundred and eighty-three dollars! 'Believed not to exceed \$80,883.' How very consoling to Christian philanthropy! It is exceedingly fortunate that she reversed radical did not misjudge nearly as Society of a larger sum! We hope that those accustomed to contribute to the funds of this institution will feel duly grateful for the information that no more than \$80,883 was taken.—Waukegan Gazette.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

The undersigned again call on all interested in their cause,—the cause of Freedom, so deeply important, not only to the three millions of American slaves, but to the American nation and to entire humanity,—for immediate aid, by contributions of money and materials, and by purchase at the next Bazaar; to be opened in Boston.

ON THE 31st OF DECEMBER. Contributions of money at the present time will enable members of the Committee now in Europe to add to the attractions of the exhibition still further, and, in consequence, to increase the funds; which are to be expended, as heretofore, by the American Anti-Slavery Society, in awakening the whole country, through its newspapers, books and various agencies, to the necessity of extinguishing slavery.

Our principle is too well known to need more than a mere statement. It is, immediate, unconditional emancipation, without expiation, and by peaceful means. From a growing conviction of the justice and necessity of this work, for the good and honor of all concerned, every measure possible to be taken will inevitably spring without delay. Our funds, therefore, will be devoted to the primary work of arousing and engaging the public mind; which, as fast as it awakens, never fails to find a way to work its will,—through church action, by agitation and withdrawal,—by state action, through the customary political channels, or by the profane policy of creating others,—by legislative and judicial changes,—by individual efforts in the manumission of slaves and the protection of fugitives,—by economical measures prompted by the greater advantages of free labor,—by humane feelings creating a preference for its products.

What we ask of the citizens around us, just awakening to some one or other of the manifold aspects of this great question, is, to enable us to continue the use of the means that have proved so efficacious in their own case, and to sustain the primary cause of whatever Anti-Slavery effects they observe and desire to promote.

Let those who labor for an Anti-Slavery national and State administration, furnish voters with the only sufficient motive to any Anti-Slavery effort, by working with us, so to excite the love of liberty, that every man shall take the risk of trampling down slavery wherever it meets him.

Let them that pity the hunted fugitive, who sees in every Northern man a betrayer, bound to that base function by the great organic law of his country, take the means most effectual to turn the betrayer into the protector, by helping us every where to awaken a stronger sentiment than compassion for the millions who cannot fly: of whose case it was so truly said by a New England poet of the earlier time, before school-books were expurgated by slavery— 'Their wrongs compassion cannot speak.'

Let all take warning to co-operate with us, from those earlier days when slavery, instead of dying out, as was prophesied, began to grow stronger, because there was then no such fountain head of moral power as we commend to the attention of the whole land to-day.

We do not make this appeal in a sectional spirit as Northern-born, interfering with matters that do not concern us. We make it in grateful acknowledgment of the benefits we have received from the anti-slavery cause, desiring to communicate them to others. We have all been connected personally with the system of slavery. One has known the evil power of its money temptations; another has felt its political despotism; another its perverting social influence; another its corrupting ecclesiastical bondage; another yet has been identified by Southern birth and education with the slaveholders, and sustained the legal relation of ownership to the slaves; while not unfrequently among our most efficient members have been the wives of slaves, driven from us by the operation of laws from which we cannot protect them, and which make us liable to ruinous fine and crushing imprisonment, as they have done our associates elsewhere. But we all, with one accord, testify to the truth of the anti-slavery principles, and entreat the aid of all whom this appeal reaches, to deliver the country from such a despotism, by their promulgation.

THE LIBERTY BELL will be published as usual; and we entreat all our friends who have heretofore aided us by literary or pecuniary contributions, to let us hear from them once again, as speedily as possible.

Our friends in Europe will not fail to take notice that the Bazaar is to open a week earlier than usual. Contributions may be addressed to Mrs. CHAPMAN, 21 Cornhill, Boston, or to the other members of the Committee, at their respective homes.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, MARY MAT, ABBY KELLEY POSTER, LOUISA LORING, L. MARIA CHILD, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, ANNE WARREN WESTON, ANN GREENE PHILLIPS, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, FRANCES MARY ROBBINS, BELLEN E. GARRISON, ANN REBECCA BRANHAM, SARAH H. BOUTHWICK, MARY WILLEY, ABBY FRANCS, ANNA SHAW GREENE, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, ELIZABETH GAY, HENRIETTA SARGENT, SARAH RUSSELL MAY, GAROLINE 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. APPELO, JUSTINE DE FEYSYER HOVEY, MATTIE GRIFFITH.

THE WYOMOUTH ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR will be opened on MONDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 16, at Mr. WALESE'S HALL, Wyomouth Landing. WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., will speak on Thursday evening, 19th.

THE SOCIAL DANCING PARTY will be held on Friday evening, 20th. Vocal and instrumental Music every evening. The Managers earnestly solicit the aid of their fellow citizens of the town and county to make this little effort even more worthy than ever of the great Cause that involves the honor and salvation of all Americans.

Supplies of articles have been already received, which enable them to give their friends and the public assurance of a far more attractive exhibition than any previous one.

Supplies for the Refreshment Table are especially desirable, and will be managed with the greatest discretion, as well as received with the utmost gratitude. Wyomouth, Oct. 20, 1847.

THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION will be held during the anniversary week of May, 1848, in New York City. In behalf of the Central Committee, LUCY STONE, Secy.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

From Mrs. Sarah S. Russell, West Roxbury, in part for pledge to A. K. Foster, \$200 00 FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

ANNUAL FAIR.—The Anti-Slavery friends in Abington propose holding their Annual Fair at Union Hall, North Abington, commencing on Monday evening, November 9.

The Committee would most earnestly invite all who feel interested in redeeming our country from the blighting curse of Slavery, to assist in making the present Fair one which shall do honor to the town, and greatly assist that cause, in the success of which our destiny as a nation is so deeply involved.

Donations of useful and fancy articles, as well as supplies for the Refreshment Table, will be gladly received and carefully managed. There will be singing on one or more evenings, of which notice will be given hereafter. North Abington, Oct. 28, 1847.

TO LECTURE COMMITTEES. Prof. Wm. SIMINGTON BROWN, M. D., intimates that his new lectures, 'Facts, Fun, and Fancy about the Nervous System,' and 'The Poetry and Magic of Science,' are ready for delivery before Lyceums, &c. The latter will be illustrated by many curious experiments, including the new one of lighting a candle with an icicle. Address, 274 Washington street. 46

SITUATION WANTED.—An able-bodied man, well recommended, wants work on a farm, or otherwise. Apply to WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

NOTICE.—ABBY KELLEY POSTER'S post-office address will be Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio, until further notice.

NOW READY. THE Atlantic Monthly, FOR NOVEMBER. CONTENTS. DOUGLAS JERROLD'S PERSONAL REMINISCENCES. FLORENTINE MORALES. SANTA FILOMENA. SALLY PARSONS'S DUTY. THE MANCHESTER EXHIBITION. THE ROMANIAN GIRL. THE CHARTIST COMPLAINT. BRAHMA. THE AUTOGRAF OF THE BREAKFAST TABLE—EVERY MAN HIS OWN BOSWELL. ILLUSIONS. THE GIFT OF TRITHEMUS. THE MORNING VEIL. PENSILVANIA IN MODERN REFORMATION. BRITISH INDIA. AKIN BY MARRIAGE. THE ORIGIN OF DIDACTIC POETRY. THE FINANCIAL FUGURY. SONNET. THE ROUND TABLE. LITERARY NOTICES. MISCELLANEOUS.

Price, Twenty-five Cents a number, or Three Dollars a year. Subscribers remitting Three Dollars in advance to the publishers, will receive the work for one year, post paid, in any part of the United States within 3000 miles.

PHILLIPS, SAMPSON & CO., PUBLISHERS, 13 WINTER STREET, BOSTON. October 30.

TREES AND PLANTS. B. M. WATSON, OLD COLONY NURSERY, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

WILL send his Fall Descriptive Priced Catalogue of Trees and Plants for Fall planting, to any address. Carriage of all packages paid to Boston or New York. October 30. 47

HAIR DOCTRESS. IMPROVEMENT IN CHAMPOOING AND HAIR-DRESSING. MADAM BANNISTER (formerly Madam CANTRAVS) would inform her kind and liberal patrons and the public, that she has removed to 323 Washington st., and 20 West st.; where will be found her Restorative, the most celebrated in the world, as it prevents hair from turning gray, and produces new in all diseases of the scalp. She stands second to none in Hair-Dressing and Cham-pooing. Ladies waited on at their residences, either in or out of town. Hair dressed in the latest style. She can refer to the first people in the cities of Boston, Providence, Worcester, and elsewhere. Come and try for yourselves. October 30. 48

Representative Women. This magnificent group includes the Portraits of LUORETIA MOTT, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, ABBY KELLEY POSTER, LYDIA MARIA CHILD, HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, LUCY STONE, ANTOINETTE L. BROWN.

Copies of which will be sent to any part of the United States by mail, free of postage, and in a safe manner, at the reduced price of one dollar. A few copies of the above Heads separate from the group can be furnished at 25 cents each, and in square gilt frames at 75 cents. An arrangement has been made by which a copy of each of the Heads and Cham-pooing, now published by L. Rose, can accompany the Representative Women at the low price of \$4 for one set. Agents supplied on the most liberal terms. WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill. October 23.

NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE. THE Tenth Annual Term will commence on the 1st Wednesday of November, 1847, and continue seventeen weeks. Professors: Enoch C. Rolfe, M. D., Theory and Practice of Medicine; John K. Palmer, M. D., Materia Medica, Therapeutics, and Chemistry; Wm. Symington Brown, M. D., Anatomy and Surgery; Stephen Tappan, M. D., Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; Wm. Symington Brown, M. D., Physiology, Hygiene, and Medical Jurisprudence; Mary B. Jenks, M. D., Demonstrator of Anatomy; Frances S. Cooke, M. D., Assistant Instructor.

Fee, \$6 for each of the seven Tickets. Free tuition to forty Students, in Massachusetts, from State Scholarship. SAMUEL GREGORY, M. D., Sec'y, Boston, Sept. 11.

A FAIR OFFER. I AM a retail Druggist and Apothecary in Trenton, N. J. For some time past, I have made and sold a preparation which I call 'CAMPBELL'S TRICHOGONOUS FLUID,' and which I believe to be the best article in the market for the prevention and cure of baldness.

I know that it has been successful in the complete cure of actual baldness, producing a new and vigorous growth of hair, where other much-puffed-up articles had been tried wholly in vain. It is a fine article for the eradication of dandruff, and, independent of its restorative qualities, is a very pleasant dressing for the hair.

Persons who are losing their hair, or have already become bald, will do well to try it. Instead of putting up my preparation for the wholesale trade, I have decided to sell to individuals, for their own use, my formula, with full directions for making and using the preparation. The material is cheap, and may be had at any drug store in the United States. Any person remitting me the sum of two dollars will receive my recipe, with full directions, as above. Address, with money enclosed in stamped envelope, A. GIBBS CAMPBELL, Druggist, Trenton, New Jersey, Sept. 10.

POETRY.

BE THOU CONTENT.

Be thou content; 't is still before  
His face, at whose right hand doth reign  
Fullness of joy for evermore;

Art thou not content and alone?  
Hast none in whom thou canst confide?  
God careth for thee, lonely one;

Lay not to heart what'er of ill  
Thy foes may falsely speak of thee;  
Let man defame thee as he will,

We know for us a rest remains,  
When God will give us sweet release  
From earth, and all our mortal pains,

Home to the chosen ones, who here  
Served their Lord faithfully and well;  
Who died in peace, without a fear,

From the group of little faces  
One is gone—  
In the old familiar places,

Sit and moan for one departed,  
Pure and mild,  
Little Mary, gentle-hearted,

Home, once bright, how cold and dreary!  
Shadows deep  
Fall on forms and hearts a-weary,

Still the merry laugh deceiving  
Fills the air,  
Tiny arms yet fondly cleaving

Days drag on, and skies shall darken  
O'er with pain;  
But the heart will find its lost one

From the treasured fire-side faces  
Here to-day,  
From the tender, warm embraces,

Little Mary, would be lying  
Low with thee!  
Where no care nor eating sorrow

THE TRUTH DOETH NEVER DIE.  
Though kingdoms, states, and empires fall,  
And dynasties decay;

We'll mourn not o'er the silent past—  
Its glories are not fled,  
Although its men of high renown

All of the past is living still—  
All that is good and true;  
The rest hath perished; and it did

From the Harvard Magazine.  
LITTLE NELLIE.  
Bright was not, but she was fair,

She was not woe, but she was fair,  
Bright as the rose-buds in her hair;  
I never saw her soft eyes look

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The Liberator.

THE COMPENSATION SCHEME, &c.  
SHEPHERD CORNERS, (N. Y.) Oct. 16, 1857.

It is some little time since I last wrote you; not that I have grown at all conservative, or am any the less firm in the belief that nothing short of a revolution will ever rid this country of slavery.

Just here I would say a word against the newly-inaugurated compensation scheme. Not that I intend the slightest disrespect for the very worthy and eminent men engaged in it.

As an excuse for the perpetuation of slavery, the propagandists have been loud in their complaints against the abolition project of taking their human property without compensation.

All the good that our friend Burritt and his coadjutors will do with this enterprise will be to demonstrate the utter inability of attempting the overthrow of the Slave Power without violence sooner or later entering into the contest.

Future history will record this scheme as a signal example of the disposition of the North to be just to the South; but it will also record it as a signal failure!

It seems to me (and with full proper deference I speak it) that our philanthropic friends have lost sight of the great polar star which should guide us in our efforts against slavery.

Candor requires me to say, that prior to the recent Republican Convention at Syracuse, I had been debating in my mind whether it would be proper for me to vote for State officers this fall; but the resolutions of that Convention convince me that Republicanism is a sham, and becoming more and more plastic to the touch of the monster evil against which it foolishly fancies itself to be battling.

My friends in Columbia county have been enthusiastic in their reports of the strictures of Mr. Powell on the Republican party. In its attitude towards slavery, however, I had not anticipated a change so sudden and disgraceful.

This party stepped on to the political board with a strong flourish against the Fugitive Slave Law, and further, has since professed to be inexorable in demanding a restoration of the Missouri Restriction.

DEAR SIR,—As the question of the dissolution of the Union, with reference to its effect on the existence of slavery, is now being much discussed, and as your paper is always open to the expression of opinion, of whatever kind, allow me briefly to suggest that there is a constitutional mode of disposing of slavery with the Union as it is.

Mr. Sumner, and other most prominent Republicans, have repeatedly affirmed that they had no ulterior designs upon the existence of slavery in the slave States, simply because, as they conceived, Congress has no right to legislate for the several States, or to interfere with their peculiar institutions.

as to the constitutional right of that body to decide upon the claims of any person to citizenship. Reverse that decision: let it read that the slave is by no provision of the Constitution deprived of those rights of citizenship which he possesses by virtue of residing within the limits of the government; let it read that the slave is a citizen, and no act of legislation on the part of any one of the several States can deprive him of those rights to person and property which he possesses by virtue of his citizenship.

This, then, is the widow's security as well as that of the avowed manumitter who have lands in their own right for both of them. I have the greatest respect, and would at any time give my consent to establish their right of voting, although I am persuaded that it would not give them greater security, nor alter the mode of taxation you complain of.

When we complained of British taxation, we did so with much reason, and there is great difference between our case and that of the unrepresented in their own country. The English Parliament nor their representatives would pass a farthing of the tax they imposed on us—but quite otherwise. Their property would have been expropriated in exact proportion to the burdens they laid on ours.

My extensive engagements have prevented me from advertising to you and Dr. Hall's subscription for A. C. Cameron's picture not having been refunded, as the money has long since been, but the money is ready for your call.

Resolved, That in their department we have seen examples of manhood, the influence of which has been to impress upon us, as students and associates, an elevated moral and religious influence; and that they have given to us and the world a truly noble instance of disinterestedness in the devoted and self-sacrificing spirit which has been manifested by them, in their attempt to carry out the fundamental principles of this institution.

Resolved, That, as students, we have towards them a feeling of kindness and a sense of gratitude, which, in their highest purity, are called forth in no other relation so spontaneously—and are yet so lasting—as in the relation existing between the scholar and true teacher.

Resolved, That the depth of our regret at their departure is measured by the estimation which we hold them as men and instructors, and also by the earnest desire which we cherish that New York Central College may succeed in meeting the demands of a progressive age, by showing itself the truthful exponent of the noble and humane principles upon which it was founded.

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You complain that widows are not represented, and that, being temporary possessors of their estates, ought not to be liable to the tax. The doctrine of representation is a large subject, and it is certain that it ought to be extended as far as wisdom and policy can allow. Nor do I see that either of these widows, having property, from voting, notwithstanding it has never been the practice either here or in England.

This, then, is the widow's security as well as that of the avowed manumitter who have lands in their own right for both of them. I have the greatest respect, and would at any time give my consent to establish their right of voting, although I am persuaded that it would not give them greater security, nor alter the mode of taxation you complain of.

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on the Frankfurt cars, he arose, and in the most eloquent and pathetic terms appealed to the gallant Kentuckians, among whom he was, to protect him from the relentless enemies he imagined were pursuing him. He became so excited and violent that his friends were forced to confine him. The cancer of this gifted but poor unfortunate son of genius should be known for the lesson which it teaches. From his earliest boyhood, says the Nashville Banner, he has shown himself possessed of the highest order of talents. While at college, he distinguished himself as a poet and an orator. His graduating speech is spoken of by those who heard it as worthy of the immortal Prentiss in his palmy days. He served his country on the battle-field at Washington that confirmed upon him those unfortunate habits which finally blasted his intellect.

At one time broke the ferry from his hands, and dashed it to the earth. To make his own reformation complete, and aid in lifting up others who had fallen like himself, he went through the State lecturing on temperance. The tour was an eminently successful and brilliant one, his lectures being fully equal to those of Gough, whose eloquence has electrified thousands in this country and England. But his old habits gained the mastery of him again, and his subsequent life has been but a fearful struggle between his appetites and his ambition—a struggle in which it must be confessed, his appetites have generally triumphed. There was no subject, whether of modern or modern, grave or gay, upon which he did not converse with fluency and eloquence. He passed, with the most careless ease, from the profoundest disquisition on the doctrines of the Bible, the religion of Confucius, or the Baconian philosophy, to the lightest literature of the day.

The London Globe says that the Privy Council have fixed Sunday, the 4th day of October, for a day of national humiliation and prayer, on account of the Indian troubles. If they had professed the principles of the Christian faith in India, in the last hundred years, they would have less occasion for such a miserable and unchristianlike proceeding, and apply physical torture, and goad them to insurrection, and then go over the solemn farce of Fast days and prayers, that God would avert the punishment they deserve, and prepare the minds of their victims to suffer more. To show how meek and Christian the English have become preparatory to the great Fast; we clip the following from the London Spectator, saying what should be done with Nana Sahib, in the event of his capture alive:

He should be caged for a matter as study; and after exhibition in India, should be brought to England, and carefully guarded, to live out the term of his natural, or rather unnatural, life, like a monster without sympathy. His physical health should be preserved with the utmost care, and he should live such a miserable and unchristianlike proceeding, and apply physical torture, and goad them to insurrection, and then go over the solemn farce of Fast days and prayers, that God would avert the punishment they deserve, and prepare the minds of their victims to suffer more.

My extensive engagements have prevented me from advertising to you and Dr. Hall's subscription for A. C. Cameron's picture not having been refunded, as the money has long since been, but the money is ready for your call.

Resolved, That in their department we have seen examples of manhood, the influence of which has been to impress upon us, as students and associates, an elevated moral and religious influence; and that they have given to us and the world a truly noble instance of disinterestedness in the devoted and self-sacrificing spirit which has been manifested by them, in their attempt to carry out the fundamental principles of this institution.

Resolved, That, as students, we have towards them a feeling of kindness and a sense of gratitude, which, in their highest purity, are called forth in no other relation so spontaneously—and are yet so lasting—as in the relation existing between the scholar and true teacher.

Resolved, That the depth of our regret at their departure is measured by the estimation which we hold them as men and instructors, and also by the earnest desire which we cherish that New York Central College may succeed in meeting the demands of a progressive age, by showing itself the truthful exponent of the noble and humane principles upon which it was founded.

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Ayer's Pills. Are particularly adapted to the treatment of all diseases of the bowels, and are the most reliable and safe medicine for their cure. Sold by all druggists.

As a Family Medicine. Your Family are the most vulnerable part of you. It is your duty to see that they are protected by the best medicine. Ayer's Pills are the best for this purpose.

For Jaundice and All Liver Complaints. Dr. J. C. Ayer's Pills are the best for the cure of jaundice and all liver complaints. They are sold by all druggists.

For Headache—Sick Headache—Foolishness. Dr. J. C. Ayer's Pills are the best for the cure of headache and foolishness. They are sold by all druggists.

For Rheumatism—Gout—Sciatica. Dr. J. C. Ayer's Pills are the best for the cure of rheumatism, gout, and sciatica. They are sold by all druggists.

For Dropsy—Pleurisy—Peritonitis. Dr. J. C. Ayer's Pills are the best for the cure of dropsy, pleurisy, and peritonitis. They are sold by all druggists.

For Constipation—Costiveness. Dr. J. C. Ayer's Pills are the best for the cure of constipation and costiveness. They are sold by all druggists.

For Indigestion—Dyspepsia—Flatulency. Dr. J. C. Ayer's Pills are the best for the cure of indigestion, dyspepsia, and flatulency. They are sold by all druggists.

For Nervous Debility—General Weakness. Dr. J. C. Ayer's Pills are the best for the cure of nervous debility and general weakness. They are sold by all druggists.

For Female Complaints—Menstrual Disorders. Dr. J. C. Ayer's Pills are the best for the cure of female complaints and menstrual disorders. They are sold by all druggists.

For All Diseases of the Bowels. Dr. J. C. Ayer's Pills are the best for the cure of all diseases of the bowels. They are sold by all druggists.

TESTIMONIAL.

The students of New York Central College do present to Professors M. J. Smith, Azariah Smith, and A. Z. Armour, the following testimonial:—

Whereas, the above-named Professors have seen proper to resign their situations in this institution, we the undersigned take this method of expressing our feelings towards them as men and teachers, and also our regrets at their departure:

Resolved, That, as students, we have towards them a feeling of kindness and a sense of gratitude, which, in their highest purity, are called forth in no other relation so spontaneously—and are yet so lasting—as in the relation existing between the scholar and true teacher.

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A WONDERFUL PICTURE.

Landseer, who has achieved the highest reputation as a painter of animals, has found a rival, if not a superior, in the person of Mademoiselle Rosa Bonheur. Her splendid picture, the 'Horse Fair,' now on exhibition at Messrs. Williams, Stevens, Williams & Co., 352 Broadway, is certainly a marvelous work of art, and the most extraordinary consideration about it, with many, is, no doubt, the fact that it is the work of a woman.

While the form, color, position, and expression of each animal and each person are well and perfectly represented, the impression on the eye, the airy and ethereal, thoughts, and feelings, absolutely amaze us. We seem to feel their feelings and think their thoughts. Indeed, we are strangely in rapport with every person and every brute before us.

Some of the English critics characterize Mlle. Bonheur's 'Horse Fair' as a 'masterly and masculine production.' We join issue with them. We regard the painting as eminently feminine. It is altogether too common for men to denigrate every thing that indicates a high order of talent in a woman as masculine. It is not only untrue and unjust, but selfish and mean.

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A NEW FIRM.

In the last number of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle, a correspondent says:—

You are probably not very much in favor of the recent compensation scheme, as developed in the Cleveland speech of the resolutions of Burritt. Don't you think, you may even think—to use the expressive language of a scion of Infante America—that 'it did a burning,' and that you will not be called upon to contribute for its support. However these things may be, you will perhaps be willing to give a gratuitous insertion to the accompanying advertisement, which came into my hands in a somewhat peculiar manner; and if other philanthropic editors should follow your example, who can tell what a blessing it would be to the slave!

THE UNDERIGNED WOULD RESPECTFULLY ANNOUNCE to the public in general, and the slaveholding community in particular, that they have opened an office in the city of New York, at No. 1 Compensation street, for the purchase of

CHATELAIN PERSONAL, where the lowest cash price will be paid for slaves in such lots as will suit sellers. They cannot afford to give the full market value for slaves, as their object in purchasing is to free them; they are therefore unable to offer more than \$225 per head.

As an inducement to all slaveholders to sell to our firm, we assure them that by so doing they will not only secure the \$225 which we pay on delivery, but they will find that their real estate will immediately more than double in value, and will thus realize that virtue is its own reward!

BUCHANAN DEMOCRACY. The New Orleans Delta, the leading organ of the Southern Democracy, interprets the recent letter of Pres. Buchanan to Prof. Silliman and others, to mean as follows:—

Only the other day, a journal in Illinois announced itself in favor of the re-establishment of Slavery in that State. Give us enough slaves, abolish the unjust and unequal laws against the African Slave Trade, put an end to the present unhealthy centralizing tendency of the slaveholding in the South, and give every industrious and thrifty white man a chance to become profitably a slaveholder, and we will not only triumphantly maintain slavery where it is, but it will be seen to flow, like living, fertilizing waters, into all our unoccupied Territory, and break over the boundaries of many of the present Free States, regardless of their silly doctrines about climatic limits and international law.

Ayer's Cherry Pectoral

Has long been manufactured by a practical chemist, and every ounce of it is made up by hand, with variable care and care. It is sealed and protected by law from counterfeits, and consequently can be relied on for its purity without adulteration. It supplies the most recent medical world has ever known for the cure of all pulmonary complaints, such as Croup, Whooping Cough, Hoarseness, Asthma, Croup, Bronchitis, Inflammation of the Lungs, &c. &c. It is the best remedy for the relief of consumptive patients in advanced stages of the disease. As time makes the lungs weaker, and the disease more obstinate, this medicine has gradually become the best remedy of the afflicted, from the lowly cabin of the American peasant to the most magnificent mansions of Europe. It is the best of all remedies for diseases of the throat and lungs. In using foreign countries it is extensively used by the most intelligent physicians. If it is any dependent on the lungs, it is the best of all remedies for the cure of the most dangerous affections of the lungs long life; if we can depend on the substance of intelligent physicians, we can depend on it to know it. In short, if there is any reliance upon any thing, then it is irrefragably proven that this medicine does cure the chest disease it is designed to cure, and that all other remedies are to be discarded, beyond any trifling virtues, and the unmistakable benefit derived from the thousands of sufferers, could originate from any other source, it is the best of all remedies for the cure of the most dangerous affections of the lungs long life; if we can depend on the substance of intelligent physicians, we can depend on it to know it. 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