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

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.  
VOL. XXVI. NO. 17.

**REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.**

**THE BRITISH WEST INDIA NEGRO SYSTEM.**

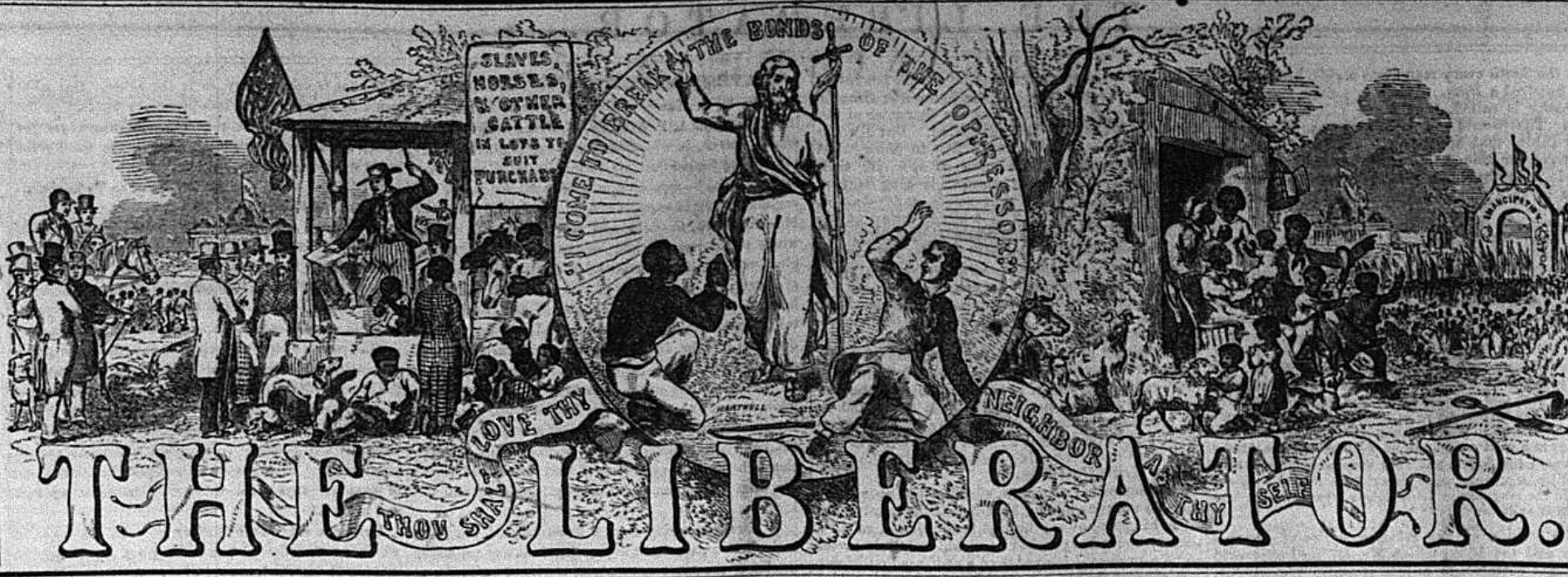
To the Editor of the Boston Courier:  
The emancipation of negroes in the island of  
Jamaica, and the pretended favorable result there-  
of, has been repeatedly forced on the notice of an  
unprejudiced public, probably with a view to  
justify additional intrusions in these latitudes. The  
unscrupulous manner in which unfounded state-  
ments are launched in lecture-rooms and party  
publications, and the irreverent, colored,  
discolored, and colorless "gentlemen," quite sur-  
prising, and procures an unenviable reputation to  
the merely-mouthing god-fathers. Those must be  
powerful reasons which can induce "gentlemen"  
to perpetrate facts, and give currency to misrepresen-  
tations. One reason why "gentlemen" do this  
designedly is, that they are "knaves." Those who  
do it without contemplating willful falsity, and  
cover with the cloak of Christian charity, and la-  
bel them "fools." The Christianian mind that  
believes in the "means" does not guide the  
action of men of honor, and a good cause has no  
beneficial testimony.

A few days ago, a lecture was delivered in "Mu-  
sic Hall" by a Rev. Mr. Garnet, a colored preach-  
er from Jamaica, on "British Emancipation and  
the Island of Jamaica." The most prominent  
statements made in this lecture are the following:  
1st. Jamaica is a delightful country, abounding in  
springs, fruitful in every variety of tropical fruits,  
&c. 2d. The emancipation of the blacks in the  
West India Islands had proved highly beneficial  
and successful. 3d. The system of slavery and pi-  
racy for three hundred years cursed the island and  
prevented any improvement. 4th. That sugar and  
rum were the only products which the planters  
sought to obtain. 5th. That the planters were en-  
riched by extravagance. 6th. That one year more of  
slavery would have destroyed them, and that emanci-  
pation saved them. 7th. That the negroes were  
better prepared for emancipation than the planters.  
8th. That the planters annoyed the negroes by  
burning their houses and cutting down the bread-  
fruit trees. 9th. That the negroes "bought" moun-  
tain land, and brought it into a "high state of cul-  
tivation." 10th. That the planters cheated the  
negroes out of their work by soft-sapping. 11th.  
That negroes are supporting, with their own hands,  
the plantations which were broken down and peni-  
nent. He concludes his lecture by remarking that  
all that was wanted was time and patience, and  
the application of the arts and sciences, to give  
Jamaica a high rank among the countries of the  
world. Forsooth, it will be a paradise for a set  
of sots, lay vagabonds, as soon as the last bakra  
has turned his back on the unfortunate land. It  
will be a counterpart of civilized, scientific Hayti,  
and will reign supreme in the imperial compass of  
Adam—minus the fig-leaf.

All these statements may well be called "colored"  
statements; and, except the first, with which  
I heartily agree, they may also be called "unfound-  
ed" statements, neither proved by appearance,  
likelihood or occurrence, as far as a residence of  
three years, and an intimate connection with plan-  
tation in the Island of Jamaica enables me to  
testify.

The emancipation of slaves in Jamaica, like  
other deeply penetrating political changes, must be  
judged by its results. These results will be obvi-  
ous to any one who will take the trouble of inquir-  
ing into the present state of Jamaica, and com-  
pare it with its condition previous to emancipa-  
tion. He will find that Jamaica was the most  
flourishing of West India islands, suffering from  
neither poverty nor the rapacity and misrule of  
the British government, but always triumphing  
over all difficulties, until the maudlin philanthropy  
of John Bull struck the fatal blow to its prosper-  
ity, by one of the most perfidious outrages ever  
perpetrated by a mother country on its helpless  
colonies.

It has been at all times British policy to consid-  
er the British colonies as conquered tribes, and not  
as nations. The rights of the people, and the  
rights of men living thousands of miles distant  
from "kind old England," appear to be only held  
in trust, and not as a right. If John is hard up  
for money, he is not at all scrupulous about picking  
the pockets of his fellow-countrymen, the colonists,  
merely because they are far away, and their cry  
of "stop thief" cannot be heard in "Downing  
Street." How would it have fared with this colony  
if it had been treated as a nation, and not as a  
conquered tribe? It would have attained the present  
prosperity and commanding position under  
British misrule! During the prosperous condi-  
tion of affairs in the island, the income of planta-  
tions was so enormous that every thing was car-  
ried on a scale of the utmost liberality. The  
blacks were housed, fed and clothed comfortably,  
and the attorneys and overseers of plantations  
lived in a princely style. In those times, a snug  
plantation may have produced an income equal to  
that of a hundred similar ones in this country,  
and in style, I should think. Still people have  
been known to spend more than their income, how-  
ever large, and it is just likely enough that some  
plantations may have done the same. However, some  
were ruined in a more circuitous manner, and  
"I will undertake to relate how, so that an idea can  
be formed how 'colonists,' between hammer and  
anvil, have almost come down 'flat.' I have had  
the facts related to me from different persons, and  
whose veracity all reliance can be placed on. In  
speaking of 'merchants in England,' of course a  
certain class of merchants must be understood  
distinct from those whose name is connected with  
every thing that is upright and honorable.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.  
BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 1856. W. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.  
WHOLE NUMBER 1138.

**THE BORDER RUFFIAN AND THE FREE WHITE LABORER COMPARED.**

From the Richmond Enquirer, of April 12.  
The "border ruffian," the farmer of the far South  
and West, is the noblest type of mankind. In his  
person is riveted all the chivalry and generosity of  
the knights of the middle ages. He is equally  
bold, but far more useful. He is the pioneer of a  
high and honorable civilization. He is planting  
a master race—men like the Greeks and Romans—  
on a new soil; not buying up white men at the  
shambles, to remove them from slavery to capital  
in Boston, to make them, in a few generations,  
slaves to capital in Kansas.

In a few generations, the process of subsidence  
and stratification of society takes place, and then,  
like the European peasants, one set of men become  
(worse than slaves) the mere hereditary bondsmen  
of capital or property. A thousand men are kill-  
ed by lightning where one English agricultural  
peasant rises above the condition of his ancestry.  
So, without slaves, will it be in Kansas. White  
men must clean the streets, work the roads, and  
behind the chairs of gentlemen at table, brush  
their clothes, black their boots, and hold their  
horses.

Free men of the North! Boston, that grew fat  
on the African slave trade, Boston, that driving a  
neat little business in Chinese slaves,—this Bos-  
ton wishes to engage in a grander and more pro-  
fitable business, by sending you to Kansas. Go  
there, but invite Southerners with their slaves,  
who have equal rights to come also. Then the  
African will be the menial which suits his nature,  
and you, however poor, a privileged and honored  
class, like the ancient Greeks and Romans. To  
be a citizen of Kansas will then be an honor and  
a distinction, as once it was to be a citizen of  
Rome.

If you love liberty, if you would be freemen  
rather than slaves, you will be sure to welcome  
Southerners with their slaves. If you are ambi-  
tious that your offspring shall fill menial offices,  
become the slaves of the heartless master, capital,  
and you, the most heartless of men, a Yankee  
capitalist; if you will hug and kiss the chain that  
binds you, exclude Southerners. The slavery of  
white men will never be tolerated by them.

**THE RABBITION PRESS.**

In the U. S. Senate, March 13th, the bill to in-  
crease the efficiency of the army being under con-  
sideration, Mr. Brown of Mississippi, in the course  
of a patriotic speech, introduced the following  
episode:—  
I am not, Mr. President, in the habit of paying  
much attention to the newspapers in this country,  
or in any other may say of public men or public  
measures, further than as they state facts. I  
hold in my hand, however, a British paper, con-  
taining a paragraph of such extraordinary charac-  
ter that I feel disposed to lay it before the Senate,  
and that you shall think proper to read the re-  
marks which I am now submitting—not as contain-  
ing the sentiment of the British Cabinet, for that  
I do not change; not as containing the sentiments  
of the British people, for that I do not know, but  
as certainly containing the sentiments of the editor  
of a widely-circulated British journal, and as  
reflecting, it may be fairly presumed, the senti-  
ments of my readers, who, we are informed, are  
very numerous.

Mr. Cass. What paper is it?  
Mr. Brown. The London Telegraph.  
Mr. Cass. It has the largest circulation of any  
paper in England.  
Mr. Brown. My friend from Michigan says it  
has the heaviest circulation of any paper in Eng-  
land. I call the attention of Southern Senators to  
this article:—  
We are afraid there is but one way to settle  
this dispute, and that is at the point of the bayonet.  
The aggressive spirit of the people of the United  
States requires an humbling, and it is for us to  
perform the task. England's mission is to com-  
plete the great work commenced by her in 1834,  
when she liberated her slaves; and she is now  
preparing to do through fire and sword, even to  
the very gates of death itself, to escape their re-  
publican task-masters; mothers who destroy their  
children to save them from bondage; fathers who  
would risk the funeral pyre, like the martyrs of old,  
to save their little ones from the ruffian planter's  
lash! And in that republican country, men are  
burned in the public streets, children torn from  
their mothers' bosoms and sold to vice and bondage,  
and women with white skins even lashed to death,  
or compelled to submit to the licentious behest of  
a brutal owner! There the laws of God and of  
civilized man are despised, and fellow-beings are  
bound as brutes and sold as chattels. If, here-  
fore, the United States Government deny, and is  
resolved to question the right of Great Britain to  
her Central American possessions, we, the people  
of the British Empire, are resolved to strike off  
the shackles from the feet of her three million  
slaves. And there are those amongst us who will  
sanctify such a glorious cause. The people of  
England will deny themselves every luxury to as-  
sist their country in a contest more sacred and  
more glorious than ever formed the watchword of  
the Crusaders of old when combating the infidel  
hosts of a Saladin. If we have one name which will  
carry liberty to millions, and the emancipation by  
"force of arms" of the slaves of the American States  
will be connected to the end of all time with that  
rallying word of freedom—Victoria.

**SELECTIONS.**

**NEUROLOGY—DANIEL WEBSTER.**

From the Liberty Bell for 1856.  
BY MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.  
The unworthy course of this brilliantly-endowed  
but feeble-souled man is run. Statesman, as he  
thought himself, he failed to perceive the only safe  
or statesman-like course, regarding a question of  
such deep import to the nation as the Anti-Slavery  
question. Astute politician as he would be thought,  
he was the latest of the laggards in the reception  
of the ordinary political axioms of an advancing age.  
He was deluded and degraded by his ambition. That  
sin begins now to be rightly considered,—not  
"god-like guilt," as in the seventeenth century,  
but a mean chimney-sweeping vice, which cares  
not through what delilement it creeps, so that it  
can but thrust its head out at the chimney-top.  
His selfish aspirations were his ruin. They blinded  
him to the fact, that he who would have honor  
and office of the people, must lead the advance.  
He must not suffer himself to be floated backward  
and forward with the popular tide, against the on-  
ward and ever-strengthening current of the times.

It were well for a statesman to have an inflexi-  
ble sense of right and justice:—to be possessed of  
the inspired idea, "Whoso loatheth his life shall find  
it" with little care though the promise prove to  
be less of life temporal than life eternal. Per-  
haps this is too much to expect from a soul volun-  
tarily seeking temptation, and stretching itself out  
of its just proportions in efforts to become "avail-  
able." For a statesman, like the robber of the let-  
ticed mansions of State government and general govern-  
ment, as the petty statesman in our country will  
ever find himself, he is not so much the state's man  
as its slave.

But avoiding every imputation of fanaticism or  
Utopianism, it is at least necessary to the state-  
man that he should be bold and patient, having a  
strong constitution. If not a Christian one. He must  
be able to bear the fires of his hopes going out in  
darkness for a season, or no fulfillment can rise  
gloriously from their ashes. We have said, also,  
that he must be bold;—not only must he be  
able to dare—dare and evermore dare:—a far  
higher ability is indispensable. He must be able  
to mark out his course on principles and considera-  
tions as high as the pole-star above the world:  
or even his more selfish partisan multitude will  
discern in him the infirmity and uncertainty of  
purpose which are its scorn. He must be able to  
stand immovable against calumny, exile from power  
and place, and apparently impending oblivion.  
No late-extorted concession should shame his con-  
science—no vacillation should stimulate the stilled  
decision of those who profit by his weakness. He  
should stand in the midst of his age, earnest and  
calm—resolute and ready—seeing that concealment  
is folly, and compromise weakness.

**THE UNION.**

In the course of a recent characteristic speech in  
the U. S. Senate, Senator BARKER, of South Carolina, said:  
Sir, I have said nothing about union or disunion.  
I have said nothing about the right of secession.  
Self-respect has been the influence that has con-  
trolled me more than anything else. If we are to  
have a separation of this Union, I do not wish it  
to be conducted through blood and anarchy. I do  
not say that we may not survive the present Union,  
and form confederacies of States on peaceful terms.  
But, sir, I do not intend that any man occupying  
a seat on this floor shall make his speeches the  
vehicle of abuse of my State, as one of these Con-  
federates, while he professes to be the Union of  
the States, and utter that which he dare not do  
if he were out of the Union; or, if any State dared  
do it, they must do it with the sword in their  
hands, and try the question of who had the soldiers.  
God knows, I do not look to it as a desirable re-  
sult; I deprecate it. I am not one who would go  
into the temple with the torch in my hand, and  
laugh and smile, and be perfectly delighted as long  
as I think myself safe, and can get out of it with-  
out danger.

Sir, the altar which our forefathers erected had  
swept fire, and they were like the fires of Vesta,  
as well as I can understand that goddess. None  
dared put their hands on them but the pure. They  
burnt the impious and the infamous. They are the  
fires which will always give light, animate, and  
sustain me in my duties. In the speech, which  
was made yesterday, by the honorable gentleman  
from New York, he denounced slavery as an "out-  
law"—an institution which subsisted at the very  
base of the State of the Union, and as a  
lawless. Is that language to be used by one repre-  
senting a confederated State, against another?  
What authority has he to use language of that  
kind? Sir, when language is used in that way, it  
is to feed the fires of incendiaries, and those fires  
can burn upon the pulpit, and a reverend preacher  
can play upon the word, when a man by the name  
of Killam presents a Sharp's rifle on the Sabbath  
day. Sir, I believe at the hour of twilight on the  
Sabbath day, when every sacred influence should  
have been exerted upon the human mind, a clergy-  
man—I do not know that anything has shocked me  
so much—with the robes of office on him, played  
on the word Killam, when a man of that name sub-  
scribed for a Sharp's rifle. (Sir, said he, "that  
is a significant word, Killam!" What was the  
preacher's name?)

Several Senators. Beecher.  
Mr. BARKER. I believe that is it.  
Mr. MASSY. A priest.  
Mr. BUTLER. Yes, sir, he is a priest; but, of  
course, he does not worship as Christ worshipped.  
If Christ were to come on the earth to-morrow,  
with the purity of his precepts and example, I ven-  
ture to say that class of preachers and their  
representatives would banish him from the Com-  
pound. They would expel him out of the temple,  
and put out the choppers of money and the  
sellers of doves; and those who are the changers  
of money, come here, and assume to have the purity  
of doves, with peace on their lips, but torches in  
their hands. Mr. President, the scene to which I  
have referred—passing on the Sabbath day in one  
of the churches in New Haven—is full of melan-  
choly associations:—and I now repeat, sir, what I  
have heretofore alluded to, in reference to the he-  
gemony of the slave, that the setting sun  
of the Gospel:—sir, I might better have said,  
that the sun which has risen to set no more, should  
have taught the blood-seekers to have wished for  
"peace on earth and good will to all men."

**THE LIBERATOR.**

put on the presidential crown at the end of four  
years, if he will assume the badge of Slavery.  
It is a trying moment for a New Englander born.  
A bitter thought—the one that rushes on a man's  
soul with the memories of "his birth-place, his  
home, and his dead"—that he is about to disgrace  
and betray them all. It must be this thought that  
half-suffocates his meaning, and makes him in-  
sinate rather than declare it. No distinct word  
of Slavery, or Freedom, or Abolition, passes his lips.  
He dwells darkly upon "this subject"—utters  
enigmatically something about defending the Con-  
stitution, and "your institutions." He dares not  
frankly cry: "Done!"—It is a bold gain! Like a bold  
villain; but he crouchingly covers away his own  
fugitive of soul, and independence of thought and  
action—his country's safety and honor—his future  
hopes of renown—as far as in him lies, the best  
interests of universal humanity,—all involved in  
the great choice which now lies before him. But  
he signifies himself ready to sign, seal and deliver,  
and with a voice quivering with consternation,  
counterfeiting joviality, he bows forward, with  
triumph, yet with haste, lest the purchased victim  
trip, and brands him, in the presence of the multitude,  
with the mark of the slaveholder. Pastors, rope in  
hand, bristles up to the auction-block. "Hang or  
bind, is his alternative:—and he is content to do  
the last, only when bribes and threats remove the  
necessity of the first.

The sale is over—But WEBSTER has sold himself  
in vain! With a brain yet reeling under the stu-  
pefaction of the pro-slavery festival, he neither  
saw the consequences of his blunder, nor felt re-  
morse for his crime. But recent events have shown  
us that the very shallowest statesmanship—that  
of political cunning—must condemn his day's  
work on the 11th of June, 1840, at Alexandria,  
as "pire qu'un crime—est une faute."

His bankrupt masters then established them-  
selves his owners, but they never paid the price;  
and after twelve years of degrading mental drag-  
gery, he died their slave, at Marshfield, Massachu-  
setts, in 1852.

**ADVANTAGES OF SLAVERY.**

The Richmond Enquirer commences an article  
by declaring "the border ruffian the noblest type  
of mankind." If this be true, Swift never uttered  
a bitterer animadversion on the race. A fellow  
who invades his neighbor's territory, puts a bul-  
let into his neighbor's brains, and burns his nei-  
ghbor's barns—a low, foul-mouthed slang-wagger,  
a beastly tramp upon the noblest type of mankind!  
Where, then, are human aspirations which have  
cheated us for so many centuries! What will be-  
come of our theories of virtue and honor, when a  
Missouri loafer, breathing oaths and brandish-  
ing a bowie knife, is held up as the model reger-  
erator of society!

But the Enquirer has odd notions of civilization  
as well as of man. It informs us that without  
slaves in Kansas, "white men must clean the  
streets, work the roads, stand behind the chairs of  
gentlemen at table, brush their clothes, black their  
boots, and hold their horses." The human mind  
shrinks back, appalled at this horrible concep-  
tion of society. Why, this is worse than war, pesti-  
lence or famine—this is worse than the degrada-  
tion of dirt-eaters in Africa, or of the Esquimaux  
of the frozen regions! God heavens! a white  
man blacking boots, and a white man brushing a  
coat! There is ruin for you, there is a debased  
condition of society for you!

**THE PARALLEL.**

There is nothing that has ever come under our  
notice, which affords the sudden development of  
principles in the Southern States. The hor-  
ror that is felt in all the slave States at the thought  
of bloodshed and violence, even for self-defence,  
cannot be imagined by any who do not read the  
papers. Bowie-knives and rifles, without doubt,  
are at a ruinous discount. It is probable that no  
man south of Mason and Dixon's line now looks  
upon a rifle without a solitary shudder. Their  
sense of the guilt of Northern men who have con-  
tributed for the defence of Kansas is overwhelm-  
ing.

It is to be expected that the whole South will  
rush into the peace-movement, throw away those  
arms which hitherto they have been so prompt to  
use on every occasion, and in another generation  
nurses will explain and illustrate muskets and  
pistols to wondering children very much as the old  
servants in English baronial castles expound the  
use of old steel armor.

**No Union with Slaveholders!**

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

Yes! I CAN NOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding  
lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their  
assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to  
SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR POSITION OVER THEIR  
SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,  
of preserving the African slave trade; the second was  
THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an  
engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,  
delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal  
to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-  
sentation for SLAVES—in fact, of merchandise, under  
the name of persons. . . . In fact, the oppressor repre-  
sented the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-  
stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of  
mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of  
riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the  
government of the nation is to establish an artificial  
majority in the slave representation over that of the  
free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY  
TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETU-  
ATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANTIMYSTIC SPIRIT  
OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—John Quincy Adams.

From the Boston Atlas.  
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of bloodshed and violence, even for self-defence,  
cannot be imagined by any who do not read the  
papers. Bowie-knives and rifles, without doubt,  
are at a ruinous discount. It is probable that no  
man south of Mason and Dixon's line now looks  
upon a rifle without a solitary shudder. Their  
sense of the guilt of Northern men who have con-  
tributed for the defence of Kansas is overwhelm-  
ing.

It is to be expected that the whole South will  
rush into the peace-movement, throw away those  
arms which hitherto they have been so prompt to  
use on every occasion, and in another generation  
nurses will explain and illustrate muskets and  
pistols to wondering children very much as the old  
servants in English baronial castles expound the  
use of old steel armor.

**SELECTIONS.**

**NEUROLOGY—DANIEL WEBSTER.**

From the Liberty Bell for 1856.  
BY MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.  
The unworthy course of this brilliantly-endowed  
but feeble-souled man is run. Statesman, as he  
thought himself, he failed to perceive the only safe  
or statesman-like course, regarding a question of  
such deep import to the nation as the Anti-Slavery  
question. Astute politician as he would be thought,  
he was the latest of the laggards in the reception  
of the ordinary political axioms of an advancing age.  
He was deluded and degraded by his ambition. That  
sin begins now to be rightly considered,—not  
"god-like guilt," as in the seventeenth century,  
but a mean chimney-sweeping vice, which cares  
not through what delilement it creeps, so that it  
can but thrust its head out at the chimney-top.  
His selfish aspirations were his ruin. They blinded  
him to the fact, that he who would have honor  
and office of the people, must lead the advance.  
He must not suffer himself to be floated backward  
and forward with the popular tide, against the on-  
ward and ever-strengthening current of the times.

It were well for a statesman to have an inflexi-  
ble sense of right and justice:—to be possessed of  
the inspired idea, "Whoso loatheth his life shall find  
it" with little care though the promise prove to  
be less of life temporal than life eternal. Per-  
haps this is too much to expect from a soul volun-  
tarily seeking temptation, and stretching itself out  
of its just proportions in efforts to become "avail-  
able." For a statesman, like the robber of the let-  
ticed mansions of State government and general govern-  
ment, as the petty statesman in our country will  
ever find himself, he is not so much the state's man  
as its slave.

But avoiding every imputation of fanaticism or  
Utopianism, it is at least necessary to the state-  
man that he should be bold and patient, having a  
strong constitution. If not a Christian one. He must  
be able to bear the fires of his hopes going out in  
darkness for a season, or no fulfillment can rise  
gloriously from their ashes. We have said, also,  
that he must be bold;—not only must he be  
able to dare—dare and evermore dare:—a far  
higher ability is indispensable. He must be able  
to mark out his course on principles and considera-  
tions as high as the pole-star above the world:  
or even his more selfish partisan multitude will  
discern in him the infirmity and uncertainty of  
purpose which are its scorn. He must be able to  
stand immovable against calumny, exile from power  
and place, and apparently impending oblivion.  
No late-extorted concession should shame his con-  
science—no vacillation should stimulate the stilled  
decision of those who profit by his weakness. He  
should stand in the midst of his age, earnest and  
calm—resolute and ready—seeing that concealment  
is folly, and compromise weakness.

**THE UNION.**

In the course of a recent characteristic speech in  
the U. S. Senate, Senator BARKER, of South Carolina, said:  
Sir, I have said nothing about union or disunion.  
I have said nothing about the right of secession.  
Self-respect has been the influence that has con-  
trolled me more than anything else. If we are to  
have a separation of this Union, I do not wish it  
to be conducted through blood and anarchy. I do  
not say that we may not survive the present Union,  
and form confederacies of States on peaceful terms.  
But, sir, I do not intend that any man occupying  
a seat on this floor shall make his speeches the  
vehicle of abuse of my State, as one of these Con-  
federates, while he professes to be the Union of  
the States, and utter that which he dare not do  
if he were out of the Union; or, if any State dared  
do it, they must do it with the sword in their  
hands, and try the question of who had the soldiers.  
God knows, I do not look to it as a desirable re-  
sult; I deprecate it. I am not one who would go  
into the temple with the torch in my hand, and  
laugh and smile, and be perfectly delighted as long  
as I think myself safe, and can get out of it with-  
out danger.

Sir, the altar which our forefathers erected had  
swept fire, and they were like the fires of Vesta,  
as well as I can understand that goddess. None  
dared put their hands on them but the pure. They  
burnt the impious and the infamous. They are the  
fires which will always give light, animate, and  
sustain me in my duties. In the speech, which  
was made yesterday, by the honorable gentleman  
from New York, he denounced slavery as an "out-  
law"—an institution which subsisted at the very  
base of the State of the Union, and as a  
lawless. Is that language to be used by one repre-  
senting a confederated State, against another?  
What authority has he to use language of that  
kind? Sir, when language is used in that way, it  
is to feed the fires of incendiaries, and those fires  
can burn upon the pulpit, and a reverend preacher  
can play upon the word, when a man by the name  
of Killam presents a Sharp's rifle on the Sabbath  
day. Sir, I believe at the hour of twilight on the  
Sabbath day, when every sacred influence should  
have been exerted upon the human mind, a clergy-  
man—I do not know that anything has shocked me  
so much—with the robes of office on him, played  
on the word Killam, when a man of that name sub-  
scribed for a Sharp's rifle. (Sir, said he, "that  
is a significant word, Killam!" What was the  
preacher's name?)

Several Senators. Beecher.  
Mr. BARKER. I believe that is it.  
Mr. MASSY. A priest.  
Mr. BUTLER. Yes, sir, he is a priest; but, of  
course, he does not worship as Christ worshipped.  
If Christ were to come on the earth to-morrow,  
with the purity of his precepts and example, I ven-  
ture to say that class of preachers and their  
representatives would banish him from the Com-  
pound. They would expel him out of the temple,  
and put out the choppers of money and the  
sellers of doves; and those who are the changers  
of money, come here, and assume to have the purity  
of doves, with peace on their lips, but torches in  
their hands. Mr. President, the scene to which I  
have referred—passing on the Sabbath day in one  
of the churches in New Haven—is full of melan-  
choly associations:—and I now repeat, sir, what I  
have heretofore alluded to, in reference to the he-  
gemony of the slave, that the setting sun  
of the Gospel:—sir, I might better have said,  
that the sun which has risen to set no more, should  
have taught the blood-seekers to have wished for  
"peace on earth and good will to all men."



On the other hand, the South have agreed that the North was peculiar and eminent for the lack of courage. Northern men have been taunted in Congress, in Legislatures, in stump speeches, in the newspapers, on steamboats, in bar-rooms, and up and down the country for their cowardice.

When Kansas was to be settled, Atechison first proposed a Southern emigration. Yankee emigration, organized, industrial, intelligent, backed up by capital, quite outreached the shiftless Southern adventurers. But the Yankee was a coward. He would not defend himself. Ten Southern men were enough to drive a hundred Yankees into the Kansas river? The Southern gentlemen took their revolvers and their rifles, determined to overawe or drive out or exterminate the cowardly free State men. Alas! Lawrence was fortified. The Yankees had Sharp's rifles. They would not run. It was entirely evident that no provocations and no outrages upon property could draw them into unnecessary conflict; and that, on the other hand, nothing on earth could daunt them when it was necessary to use their arms.

It is for this simple, rational, noble course, that the South has gone into prostrations of astonishment. The Yankees are no longer cowards, fearing powder, and turning pale at the sight of steel. Now they are a blood-thirsty race. They are furious warriors. They are dangerous men. They are threatening civil war. If the United States forces do not interpose, there is danger that these desperate men of the North will invade the South with Sharp's rifles! This is a fearful charge! National character never underwent such a sudden transformation. It is difficult to say which we most admire, the extreme lamb-like peaceableness of the South, or the fierce and truculent air of the North! If this thing goes on, in another session or so we shall see strange sights in Congress. Northern men will be talking fire and fury. Southern men will be seen meekly deprecating such injustices. Northern Senators will be timid with coward and weapon. Southern Senators will stand tall and slim, without knife or revolver to cross the well-fitting coat; and swaggering Yankees will drive the poor peaceful Southern representatives plavily to the wall! Oh, what times we shall have! It is more than the prophecy promised. Lions were to be changed to lambs; but in our day, lambs and lambkins are to grow up into wolves and lions.

It is among the remarkable things of this remarkable time, to see the conduct of Northern papers with Southern principles! When Missouri mobs invaded Kansas with fraud and violence, carrying arms to the ballot-boxes, and planting cannon to keep off the real voters and to defend the imported ones, our Northern journals, religious and secular, that are now so shocked at war and violence, had nothing to say! When Southern freebooters rode through the settlements, belted and buckled, keeping peace for their 'white' property, these papers had nothing to say! When the mob, swelled to an army, beleaguered the town of Lawrence, threatening to cut it off, these peace papers had nothing to say! When the chief magistrate of this nation threatened to let loose upon the settlers of Kansas the brigades of the United States army, to destroy them for no other crime than that of being unwilling to be stripped of civil rights, and still more unwilling to yield up life without a manly defence, these Northern peace papers had nothing to say! When Atechison sent letters through the South, avowedly purposing extreme violence, declaring in terms that he meant to invade Kansas, calling for volunteers, for armed volunteers, for money and civil co-operation, even then, with this more monstrous project than any which Catiline ever dreamed in Rome, before these our Northern peace journals felt no shock, conceived no horror of war, no repugnance to civil blood. When peace papers lashed, and in every case shot, or worse than that, cruelly hacked and cut to pieces, and sent dying, as a present, to their wives—over all these deeds these pious and exemplary advocates of peace threw the folds of graceful sentimentalism. They were sure that our generous brethren of the South did not mean any harm. Such little freaks as murder and conflagration ought not to loosen the bonds of union. Men ought not to resist these little frivolities, lest it should bring on violence and civil commotion.

Whatever is done for slavery is right. Whatever is done for freedom is wrong. The South is now armed against law according to law. The North must not be armed according to law. Slavery may violate the rights of all men. Liberty must not defend even its own. War for oppression, for the vilest purposes of injustice, is scriptural and unrepentable. War against oppression, to save oneself from injustice, is an evil so monstrous that words fail to depict it! Aggression is right, self-defence is treason. Bloodshed, these journals would say, is without any moral character. If it is shed by a Southern knife, in the cause of slavery, it is entirely justifiable. If it is shed by a Northern rifle, in the hands of an actual settler, in rigorous self-defence, then we hear of Northern fanaticism, the horrors of war. The silver-tongued orators of conservatism, who never spoke a word when Lawrence was threatened with extermination, become tearfully eloquent about plunging daggers into each other's bosoms, when Lawrence stands up and says, 'We have made up our minds not to be exterminated. It is the matter of the greatest affairs there is always some triviality; and in the saddest things there is always some ray of truth that shoots across its gloom. Our readers will enjoy one such mythical scene, in the account which we extract from the Montgomery Journal, Alabama.

Major Buford has been organizing a movement toward making Kansas a slave State. An armed band is ready to start. The Journal must tell the rest.

MAJOR BUFORD'S DEPARTURE.—We have just time before going to press to state that Major Buford's company of Kansas emigrants were drawn up in line before the Mansion House about four o'clock. They marched to the Baptist church, and after a solemn and appropriate prayer by the Rev. Mr. Dorsey, the Methodist church, a magnificent copy of the Bible was presented to Major Buford, by the Rev. Mr. Tichenor, the pastor of the Baptist church, who also stated that means had been provided, and would be placed in the hands of the Major to furnish each emigrant with a copy of the Holy Scriptures.

Now for it! We shall expect the Journal of Commerce, the Buffalo Commercial, the New Bedford Mercury, and their chaplains the New York Observer and the Courier, to speak out in the plainest manner on the wickedness of a company of armed men going to establish slavery in Kansas, 'drawn up in line before the Mansion House, then marched to a Baptist church!' They were prayed for by one minister, and one Bible was given by the Rev. Mr. Tichenor to Major Buford. But it was promised that the Major should have money put into his hands to purchase a copy for every man in his company. Thus far, this is a parallel to the famous New York meeting. A Northern company starting for Kansas, in the name of freedom, go to a church for appropriate exercises; and a Southern company starting for Kansas, avowedly to make it a slave State, go likewise to a church for prayers and blessings. We shall not hear a word about church desecration now. That will be regular and pious. It was for slavery!

In the South every man owns a rifle, but not one in a hundred a Bible. When a public meeting of sympathy is called, they never think of offering rifles. That would be carrying coals to Newcastle. It is Bibles that are scarce. Only one could be mustered for this whole company, and the Major was not to be taken in by a prober. The second scene in this amazing and instructive Southern drama:—

From thence to the river. On reaching the bluff, a glorious spectacle met their view, which brood their into many an eye, for there had already assembled some three or four thousand of our citizens, to bid them farewell. The ladies, God bless them, were there to cheer them on their way, with their bright smiles and happy faces. The spirited and noble-hearted Hon. H. W. Hilliard, bid them farewell from a cotton-bale, in his own peculiar happy style, and gave them good advice, and clearly set forth the cause of this assemblage, and the reason why this demonstration was being made. He spoke in the highest terms of their gallant leader, and entreated them to stand by him wherever he led; that he would be glad to see them rest the future welfare of the South, and that they were armed with the Bible, a weapon more potent than Sharp's rifle; and in the language of Lord Nelson, 'every man was expected to do his duty.'

The opinion of the relative merits of Sharp's rifles and the Bible which Mr. Hilliard expressed from his cotton-bale pulpit is quite remarkable, when it is considered that there was but one Bible to the whole company. Perhaps the others for which money was contributed will go round from New York by the lakes, to meet them on their arrival. Otherwise Major Buford and his company will have to campaign with but one piece of spiritual artillery for three hundred men!

The account is a little obscure about this place. Mr. Hilliard says that this Bible would be more potent than Sharp's rifle. Is it to be a substitute, then, for Sharp's rifle? Or is it to be used alternately? Or is the doctrine of one to be expounded by the other? Is this a military company, or is it a band of colonizers? When Mr. Hilliard enters these men to stand by Major Buford wherever he led, are we to understand this in a religious sense? Was it in devotional exercises that the Major was expected to lead? and were the men exhorted to stand by? After what Mr. H. says of the potency of that Bible, we cannot construe the rest of the remarks in a military sense.

But we must give the closing scenes, in which the Major's heart was so full that he could not speak.

Major Buford responded in a few remarks, closing with 'farewell.' The Major's heart was too full for the midst of waving of banners and the sound of music, the gallant-headed emigrants marched on board the boat, just as the last bell was ringing, and down as the captain took his station, the Messenger rounded into the stream, and amid the hearty cheers, waving of handkerchiefs, and the puffing of steam, the steamer glided on the bosom of the majestic Alabama, and the noble emigrants were lost to sight. Our prayers follow them.

Our worst wish to these Southern emigrants is, that they may arrive in Kansas, and have the question fairly put to them: 'Ought not your own interests to lead you to make Kansas a Free State?' We have two out of every three vote the Free State ticket, and the other one of each three leave the State very much disgusted.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

Correspondence of the New York Evening Post.

WASHINGTON, April 11, 1856. The debate in the Senate to-day on Mr. Cass's motion to print the memorial of persons composing the Free State Legislature of Kansas for its admission as a State, was long, rambling, and in some stages, highly pictorial. The motion was, at the outset, resisted, on the ground that the memorial did not come from a body authorized and convened, and that, if considered at all, it should be referred to the Committee on Printing, from which of course it would never emerge. Mingled with these objections were the usual denunciations of the 'treason,' 'presumption,' 'rebellion' of the 'self-styled,' 'bogus' Free State Legislature, and the 'rebels' Lane and Reeder, who have had the audacity to apply for the seats in the Senate to which they were elected by the people of Kansas.

The first spark of Southern excitement was kindled by Hamlin, of Maine, who drew a parallel between the contumacious shrewdness upon the petitioners and the arbitrary conduct of Lord North towards our revolutionary fathers when their memorials for redress of grievances were laid before Parliament. Butler, of South Carolina, who, to the white hairs of Nestor, adds the impetuosity of a Hotephotep, fired up at this historical allusion, and was not contented till the book explaining it was brought from the library. With a face rufous and glowing like the harvest moon, he protested against being arraigned in the same category with Lord North. He declared he was no friend of tyranny, but should, had he been present at the time, have opposed even the reception of the memorial of men whose pretensions were founded on violence and anarchy. He was severe upon the 'bland calistropy' of Mr. Seward's speech the day before, which had an unflinchingly justified rebels. Finally, however, on returning to Lord North, he seemed to think him not so bad a fellow after all, maintaining that the Lords ought to have refused to receive our forefathers' petition if they were offered in violation of Parliamentary rules, like the present.

I shall not pretend to notice all the speeches nor the order in which they followed, but only some of the more unique of the performances. Hale, of New Hampshire, spoke manfully and well in reply to the objection that Kansas was not a State, and therefore could not apply under that name. He instanced the cases of Missouri and California, who were admitted under that designation, without question. Douglas replied that in regard to Missouri, this was a mistake. Before that State applied for admission, its people had organized a State government in accordance with an act of Congress, authorizing them to assemble with a view to form a State government. He concluded, of course, in his usual style, denouncing the Kansas rebels, and aiming a thrust at Seward, who, he said, had been underdressed to intimate elsewhere, (in an Anti-Nebraska caucus,) that the regular appropriation bills must be blocked, until the prayer of the petitioners should be granted. Bayard, of Delaware, reiterated with somniferous effect, the objections before advanced in opposition to the printing of the memorial, and to the 'impudent treason' of the people of Kansas, dwelling upon the irregularity of their proceedings in electing officers at a time and place not authorized by the constituted agents of the United States, and asserting that they had no right to claim the designation of a State.

blatant phrase, had stated that he should not interfere with the privilege of the honorable Senator from Michigan, of vindicating the character of the document which he had presented. But for his (Crittenden's) part, he would like to know what Senator from New York knew of it! He then took the memorial at Mr. Seward, looking daggers at Kentucky rifles at that small, sandy-haired, thin featured Senator, who whistled away at the quill with the most phlegmatic equanimity, only responded with a cool 'Go on, I'll answer you in time.' Crittenden, however, having spent his rage, sat down out of breath.

The slightest color of indignation crimsoned the pale face of Seward as he rose to reply, but no feeling was manifested in his words. He said that he only insisted upon a respectful reception of a memorial from a people who were suffering from an intolerable oppression fit only for slaves; that he had never seen the petition till that day; and as for criticisms upon the typography and the errors of that document, such as had been uttered, they were more becoming a county court than the Senate of the United States.

Crittenden blazed again, shaking his gray head and his nervous hand; he resented the insult offered to his profession; he had been alluded to as a county court lawyer, but he would infinitely prefer to be a professional lawyer than a professed politician—a character that no consideration could induce him to assume.

Seward, who had kept on whittling as before, rose to correct the Senator; he had not used the word county court lawyer, and the denunciations of the Kentucky Senator were, therefore, founded on a mistake. He entertained, in spite of this obolition, a profound esteem for him as a man, a lawyer, and a statesman, but that Senator would yet have to learn that the best way to treat him would be with the confidence, courtesy and respect, due to his position and character.

At this adroit compliment and explanation, the last vestige of wrath melted away from the chivalrous Kentuckian, and in the most handsome manner, he withdrew his harsh language and disclaimed all unkindness towards the New York Senator. Crittenden was unduly excited, but he made worthy amends.

Benjamin, of Louisiana, uttered a fluent and very eloquent invective against the Free State 'out-laws,' and reiterated the objection to the handwriting. Rusk, of Texas, objected to his arraignment by the side of Lord North. He said the New York Senator had, in his speech yesterday, summoned, tried and condemned the President, and all that was wanted was some reverend Beecher or Professor Williman, with his Sharp's rifle, to put down the sacred scrolls who have profaned the sacred desks of the Church of Christ, to urge the Kansas rebel, to fight and exclude others from that territory. He also took Seward to task for big swelling words without corresponding deeds, to which Seward replied that he had not boasted of his courage, nor was he in the habit of doing so, but when he did make impotent professions of courage, there would be time enough to taunt him with its absence.

Then arose Mason, the haughty Coriolanus of Virginia, the 'Sir Fopling' of debaters, as Sumner, I believe, called him. He was severe upon the document palmed off upon Cass, whom Rusk had already admonished to be more careful how he let himself be imposed upon.

That venerable Senator's uneasiness began to become painfully evident, and he arose to explain, supposing it a genuine production; but he was now contented, from conversation with Col. Lane, the gentleman who had brought it, that it was not a fit document to be laid before the Senate. He should therefore vote for Mason's resolution.

I may here remark that the memorial was a genuine copy of the original in Kansas, and that the alterations so much talked of were made by a duly appointed Committee of Revision, appointed by the Kansas Legislature; but General Cass having, under pressure, backed down and intimated that the document presented by himself was spurious, there was no other way than to withdraw it, which was done almost unanimously, and so ended the debate of nearly five hours, at twenty minutes past five o'clock in the afternoon.

THE LIBERATOR. No Union with Slaveholders. BOSTON, APRIL 25, 1856. TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY! The Twenty-Third Public Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the CITY ASSEMBLY ROOMS, (446 Broadway, between Howard and Grand sts.) in the city of New York, on WEDNESDAY, May 7th, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and will be continued at the same place during the remainder of the day, and on THURSDAY, 8th. Addresses are expected from WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, REV. THEODORE PARKER, MRS. LUCY STONE BLACKWELL, of Cincinnati, REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, C. L. RICE, and others to be hereafter announced.

SLAVERY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

In the U. S. House of Representatives, on the 14th inst., the Hon. A. P. Granger, of Western New York, made a speech, in which he took the ground, that 'slavery in the United States is unconstitutional, and therefore unlawful'—repeating, almost word for word, the arguments (!) in support of that position advanced by Messrs. Smith, Goodell, and others. Soaring on the wings of his imagination, he exclaimed, 'Sir, if this glorious republican Constitution of this glorious land of liberty, (!) the asylum of the oppressed, (!) the home of the brave and this land of the free, (!!) take sides with slavery, then I confess I do not understand it. Sir, the Constitution, both in spirit and express terms, repudiates slavery, and positively bars its existence.' No one appears to have deemed it worth while to reply to this speech, its historical absurdity being so transparent, and its verbal criticism so superficial and contradictory. But, conceding its assumption to be the true rendering of that instrument, let us see what will be among the consequences that will follow:—

1. There has never been a constitutional Congress, and all laws passed at the present, or at any preceding session of the spurious convocation, convened annually at Washington, are illegal, null and void.

2. As Gen. Granger is not entitled to a seat in any unconstitutional House of Representatives, by recognizing the present Congress as valid, he either puts his foot upon his own theory, as utterly untenable, or else conveys at the overthrow of the instrument he has sworn to maintain; for there are upwards of twenty representatives in Congress from the slave States, representing three-fifths of the slave population—constituting an oligarchy more to be abhorred and dreaded than any order of nobility in Europe. 'It is claimed,' he said, 'that the three-fifths of all other persons means slaves. Then, why not say so?' Our reply to this verbal trifling is, if the clause referred to does not mean slaves, why does Gen. Granger retain his seat in a body known to the Constitution?

3. All judicial decisions upon the acts of the various Congresses, from the adoption of the Constitution to the present time, recognizing them as legal, and all executive proceedings, are, like those acts, of no binding force whatever.

4. The government of the United States yet remains to be organized! WE ARE RULED BY CONSPIRATORS AND USURPERS!

5. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Pinckney, Wylie, Marshall, Carroll of Carrollton, and their slaveholding associates, were a lawless band, lost to all shame, and anarchists in the guise of patriotism, in first framing and adopting an anti-slavery Constitution, and then continuing to hold half a million of slaves (now numbering four millions) in hopeless bondage—impudently talking of pro-slavery compromise that (according to Gen. Granger) were never made! Why were they not arrested, and brought to justice?

6. From 1789 to 1856, the people of this country have never understood their own Constitution! They have persisted in interpreting it, on the subject of slavery, diametrically opposite to what they intended from the beginning! They have understood black to mean white, and white to mean black! They allowed the foreign slave trade to be prosecuted for a score of years under the national flag, blunderingly supposing that this was a part of the compact! They have consented uniformly, and always, to allow the slaveholder to recover his fugitive slave in any part of the Union, forgetting that they utterly abolished slavery in 1789, on the adoption of their 'glorious Constitution'! They have believed that the South is entitled, by that instrument, to a three-fifth slave representation in Congress, when they never dreamed of making any such arrangement! Such wholesale and long-continued stultification, on the part of a people claiming to be intelligent, the world has never seen before—Gen. Granger being witness!

For all these incredible absurdities legitimately follow the declaration, that 'slavery in the United States is unconstitutional, and therefore unlawful.' To outface a nation in this manner is the coolest thing imaginable—paralleled only by the Romish dogma, that because Jesus said, 'Take, eat—this is my body'—therefore the literal body of the Savior is devoured, after the manner of cannibalism, instead of bread!

Gen. Granger effectually answered himself by his contradictions before he finished his speech. Referring to the article in the Constitution respecting the manner in which representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, he said, 'Suppose this relates to slaves: it was merely a compromise with slavery, in which, like all other compromises with slavery, freedom gets cheated. With an understanding that the public burdens would be borne, or taxes paid by the slave States, in proportion to their representation in Congress, the slave States obtained, and now possess, the unfair advantage of some twenty-one members of Congress, and an equal number of presidential electors more than a fair share, while they have long since ceased to furnish a dollar in consideration of the arrangement.' And so the anti-slavery Constitution is blown to atoms! 'Suppose it relates to slaves'—but how is this supposable, on such a theory? 'But how can such a compromise be admitted, without refuting the assertion that slavery is unconstitutional and illegal?' 'Merely a compromise'—but what said John Quincy Adams respecting it?—'It was the exacting, fatal to the principle of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons; . . . thereby to make the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery the vital and animating spirit of the national government.'

Gen. Granger says, 'The slave States meet us at every Presidential election with some twenty-one extra electoral votes, for all which they pay not a farthing of the stipulated consideration.' Here he admits that a bargain was made, in the formation of the Constitution, by which the slave States were to be allowed a representation for their slaves, for a pecuniary consideration. But how could this be, if slavery was annihilated by the Constitution? The contradiction is palpable.

If the one is anti-slavery, so is the other. But what would be thought of the intelligence or honesty of the man who should insist that Congress has never yet passed a Fugitive Slave Law, because the word slave is not mentioned therein?

The way in which slavery is proved to be unconstitutional is as follows:— 'No title of nobility shall be granted'—'No bill of attainder shall be passed'—'No State shall pass any bill impairing the obligation of contracts'—'The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended in time of peace'—'The United States shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government'—'No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law'—'We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice . . . and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain this Constitution'—'Therefore, slavery is unconstitutional.' 'These are direct and positive prohibitions of slavery,' says Gen. Granger, 'cutting it up root and branch.'

But, as a contract is binding only in the sense in which it was understood and recognized by the parties making it—as the language of the Constitution is to be interpreted in the light of history, and in view of the circumstances under which it was formed—the all-sufficient reply to these quotations is, that they were never designed or understood to interfere with the institution of slavery, directly or indirectly, but had reference to such only as were free; therefore, to construe them in any other manner, to apply them to a way never contemplated, is to be guilty of fraud, and to act upon the jesuitical maxim that the end justifies the means. That the passages referred to were not regarded as all impairing the right of any slaveholder to his slave is evident, beyond a reasonable doubt.

1. Because not a slave was ever set free by any such construction of the Constitution.

2. Because a slave representation in Congress was treated as a constitutional provision from the beginning.

3. Because the foreign slave trade was universally regarded as sacred, under the Constitution, against any governmental interference for its abolition until the year 1808.

4. Because the fugitive slave law of 1793 demonstrated, promptly and conclusively, what was intended by the section. 'No person held to service or labor, &c.'

5. Because, if slavery was made illegal by the Constitution, it is incredible that such men as Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Marshall, Jay and Franklin, lived all their days ignorant of so momentous a fact.

6. Because, if this was so, it is equally incredible that the people as electors, and the senators and representatives as their servants, and every court appointed by them from the highest to the lowest, state and national, for almost seventy years, should never have understood their own Constitution and form of government.

7. Because the intelligent adoption of a Constitution intended to 'cut up slavery, root and branch,' presupposes a radical change in the views and feelings of the people on the subject of slavery, and that they regarded it as under all circumstances a sin against God, and an outrage upon man; whereas, it is notorious, that the right to hold slaves was every where conceded, and is at this day stoutly maintained by a very large majority of the people.

8. Because immediate and unconditional emancipation is a modern doctrine; while the most that was aimed at, in the days of Washington, by any scheme, was a gradual abolition, 'half way between now and never.'

RHODE ISLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

A Convention of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and of all interested in the great question of State Individual Freedom now agitating the country, is announced to be held in Westminster Hall in Providence, commencing on Saturday next, 25th inst., at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing through the day and evening.

The Convention is called for the purpose of discussing the whole subject of Slavery, in all its relations to man, Humanity, and pure and unadorned Religion. There is nothing incongruous or unevenly, therefore, in its continuing its session on Sunday, in laboring to undo the heavy burdens, and to break every yoke, in calling the nation to repent of its great sin, and to be no longer in fellowship with men-stealers, its sin which is higher than the highest, it has a right to expect the co-operation of every friend of true religion and morality.

There is felt to be great danger that the noble cause of the Abolition of Slavery will be suffered to become too much a mere political question, handled almost among contending parties, having personal considerations and selfish aims too much mixed up with it. From such a fate we would do something to save this cause, in itself as disinterested, just, and holy as any that can claim man's sympathy and respect. It should be lifted out of the arena of party dispute, to a height where every eye may see its fair proportions, and where any may make its appeal to every human heart, as a thing which concerns every man alike, and which must without exception every man's prayers, advocacy, and aid.

It is hoped that greater unity and efficiency will be given to the anti-slavery sentiment of the State by the approaching Convention, and that a great increase of vital anti-slavery principle may be the adding result. A general invitation to attend it is given to every friend of Liberty and Right in the State.

THE CAUSE IN RHODE ISLAND.

We hear that Miss Holley has recently visited Newport, where she gave four lectures on successive evenings. Three of these were in the Methodist meeting-house, and one in the Representatives' Hall of the State House. We are gratified to learn that they were all largely attended, and that our friends in that place regarded the meetings as completely successful, and as very helpful to the Anti-Slavery cause.

Miss Holley has spent several weeks, recently, in Rhode Island, with very favorable results. Wm. W. Brown has been laboring assiduously in the same State for many weeks, to the acceptance of our friends generally. We trust that the approaching State Convention (at Providence, on Saturday and Sunday next) will be largely attended, full of faith, and courage, and zeal for the truth.

Since the above was in type, we have a letter from a friend in Rhode Island, which says— 'Our State election, just past, has been so corrupt, and more so, than any ever known in this State. Forty thousand dollars were expended by the Administration and their adherents. Five, ten, twenty, and thirty dollars were paid for a single vote.'

THE COOLIE TRADE.

In the U. S. Senate, Mr. Sumner made a notice that the Committee on Commerce be directed to inquire into the character of a commerce known as the Coolie trade, in which large numbers of the Chinese are transported from their native country in American ships, on unexpired contracts for service in distant places; as to ascertain if the same is not conducted in violation of an existing treaty with China, and consider if any legislation is expedient with a view to the prohibition of this commerce, or to prevent abuses incident thereto on the board of American ships, or to extend to it the provisions and penalties of the recent act of Congress regulating the transportation of passengers in American vessels.

The Boston correspondent of the N. Y. Evening Post writes to that paper— 'The attempt that has been made to show that these Boston merchants who are engaged in this business are "Northern abolitionists," is eminently silly and malignant. If I felt at liberty to mention names, I would see that the Coolie trade belongs to the class of "United States" men, and that the men who "encourage their prejudices," and would have killed and cast abolitionists sooner than have been confounded with them.

The Boston Post was one of the papers which attacked a great horror of the Coolie trade, and began to read lessons on its atrocities to Northern abolitionists! But since it ascertained what merchants were engaged in this traffic, its tone has become as apologetic and gentle as possible—witness the following from Monday's paper:— 'The Coolie Business.—The impropriety of this business is fully proved by the fact, that many of the merchants who were induced by plausible arguments to allow our vessels to be engaged in it, upon the first representation of the manner in which it was actually carried on, investigated the subject carefully, and being convinced of its liability to gross abuse, determined to withdraw from all participation in it at once, and to pecuniary sacrifice, and such have been the result of their agents abroad, at the risk of prosecutions for the violation of contracts. This course is certainly commendable to their sense of justice, and entitles them to the approbation of the community.'

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ONE WHO GLORIES IN RUFFIANISM.

Sylvania, Ga., April 16, 1856. Your abolition friend travelling in Georgia last winter...

BENJ. L. PRESCOTT, Attorney and Counselor at Law.

AN IRISH 'MODEL FARM.'

Extract from a recent letter of PARKER PILLBURY, dated at Dublin:— 'I have been this morning to visit a 'Model Farm'...

W. C. N.

A PICTORIAL SUGGESTION.

DUNDEE, MASS., April 13, 1856. FRIEND GARRISON: I am glad to read in THE LIBERATOR your notice of the portraits of the 'Free Soil champions'...

THE NON-RESISTANCE PRINCIPLE.

SPRINGFIELD, April 20, 1856. FRIEND GARRISON: Most heartily do I join with those friends of peace and good will, whose thank-offerings have, through the last number of THE LIBERATOR, been so cordially poured out to you for your most triumphant vindication of the heaven-descended doctrine of non-resistance...

AVERTED GOOD MAN REMOVED.

We are called to attend the death of JOHN ROGERS, Esq., one of our earliest, most attached, and ever faithful friends and supporters...

MISS HOLLEY AT NEWPORT.

In the midst of the worldly care of preparing for our annual summer visitors, at this season, one of the most gifted messengers of the Anti-Slavery Gospel has appeared among us to awaken and to warn...

COLORED ARTISANS.

Boston, hitherto rather tardy in due appreciation of her colored mechanics, business men, &c., is hopefully waking up to encourage those who, thus stimulated, will prove worthy recipients of her favor.

DEATH OF ALDERMAN MERIAM.

DEATH OF ALDERMAN MERIAM. We regret to announce the sudden death of ALDERMAN REV. B. MERIAM, of the 9th Ward, which sad event occurred on Saturday evening, at his residence, 125 Harrison Avenue...

FROM THE BRISTOL (ENG.) GAZETTE OF MARCH 20.

THE LATE J. B. ESTLIN, ESQ. There has been recently placed in the vestibule of the Bristol Institution, a marble bust of the above lamented and revered gentleman, executed by Baily. The idea originated with one who had long known and loved Mr. Estlin; it was warmly and promptly responded to by a few other friends...

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRISTOL INSTITUTION.

Gentlemen,—Some friends of the late Mr. Estlin, desirous of giving a permanent expression to the feelings with which they cherish his memory, commissioned Mr. Baily to execute a bust of their revered friend, with the intention of depositing it in some public building, where it might from time to time refresh his image in the minds of those who knew him personally...

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LATEST FROM KANSAS.

LEAVENWORTH, Kansas, April 7th, 1856. To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat: Since my last letter, the 'Border Ruffians,' acting through their instruments here, appear to have changed their tactics...

At about the time the Legislature adjourned at Topeka, their Territorial Judges held a grand council at Leocompton, the purpose of which was to know the feelings of their respective counties in relation to the belief that they resolved to put the 'Bloody Code' in force...

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TREMENDOUS CROWD.

The Southerner started for St. Louis yesterday with a tremendous load of passengers—being as full as she could stick—chiefly emigrants to Kansas, with their goods and chattels, their niggers and little niggers, and all their plunder...

DESTRUCTIVE FIRES.

A fire at Bardstown, Ky., on the 12th inst., destroyed sixteen dwelling-houses, together with stables and outbuildings, and the Methodist brick meeting-house...

PERSONAL.

Wm. D. O'Connor, Esq., of this city, whose contributions to Putnam's and Harper's Monthlies have attracted so much attention in the literary world, has been engaged on the editorial department of the Philadelphia Evening Post...

THE CHICAGO PRESS.

The Chicago Press says that during the forty-eight hours ending Wednesday morning, the eight trains on the Michigan Southern road brought 81,000 passengers to Chicago...

DEATH OF THATCHER MAGOON.

Thatcher Magoon, Esq., the famous ship-builder at Medford, died at his residence in that town at 6 o'clock on the morning of the 16th inst. Mr. Magoon was in his 81st year...

THE SEARCH LAW—ITS CONSTITUTIONALITY TO BE TESTED.

The schooner Maryland, taken at Norfolk on account of the refusal of the captain to submit to a search of his vessel under the inspection law, as already stated, was released on Friday, the agent in Norfolk having secured the payment of the fine of \$500 to the State...

WANTON WRITES TO THE LONDON TIMES.

Kossuth writes to the London Times that he would be glad to express his mortification at Walter Savage Landor's appeal for charity for him.

ONE OF THE SQUATTERS.

The Herald of Freedom of March 29 has the following interesting items:— Fifty-six boxes of an improved United States rifle, with twenty in a box, were received at the warehouse of Walker & Chick in Kansas, Mo., a few days ago...

DEATH OF A GENTLEMAN NEAR ROCHESTER, N. Y.

A gentleman near Rochester, N. Y., has lost fifteen hundred dollars' worth of trees, another twenty-five hundred dollars' worth, by the ravages of a fierce wind, and it is thought that the loss in Monroe county, from this cause, will not fall short of one hundred thousand dollars.

THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT AT TORONTO.

The Canadian Parliament at Toronto have fixed upon Quebec as the permanent seat of government. Steamers are running from Brockville to Kingston.

MELANCHOLY RAILROAD ACCIDENT.

On Tuesday afternoon, last week, the Rev. George B. Jewett, who was settled over the First Congregational Society at Nashua, N.H., a year ago, was riding out with his wife and only child, a boy of about seven years of age, when they arrived at the Concord railroad track, and the horse stopped, and no persuasion could prevail on him to move on...

THE NASHUA RAILROAD ACCIDENT.

The right leg of Rev. Mr. Jewett was amputated yesterday below the knee, chloroform having been administered. It is also stated that he is injured in the chest, and that his recovery is doubtful. A portion of the left hand of Mrs. Jewett has been amputated. She has no other serious injury, and will probably recover. The body of the son has been interred in the family tomb at Salem—Traveller, 17th.

THE LIQUOR LAW.

The reports on this subject came up in the Senate on Tuesday, and on motion of Mr. White, of Norfolk, the whole subject was indefinitely postponed. Mr. Munroe, of Suffolk, being the only opponent.

Wm. F. BYRD, A MERCHANT OF SUMTER, S. C.

Wm. F. Byrd, a merchant of Sumter, S. C., who was arrested on the 8th inst., for stealing two slaves of Col. F. J. Moses, and selling them in Georgia, committed suicide in prison on Monday morning last.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD CONDUCTORS.

The Underground Railroad conductors boast of having run seven negroes from Kentucky through Cincinnati last week, on their way to Canada. Judge Burgoyne—We are not aware of any law that requires the Marshal to try the process of this Court with contempt; and concerning the responses to be all insufficient, and not sustained by the facts, we shall order the issuing of the attachment.

THE WHEELER SLAVE CASE AT PHILADELPHIA.

The Wheeler Slave Case at Philadelphia has not yet come to an end. The colored persons who assisted in the abduction have sued the Alderman before whom they were brought for trial, on the charge of requiring excessive bail at the time. The Alderman gave personal bail in \$500.

THE PEACE TREATY.

The peace treaty between the Allies and Russia was signed on Sunday, the 30th of March. The event was announced in Paris by the firing of salutes of artillery. Paris was illuminated, and in England the church bells were pealed.

PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

Upon the undersigned devolves the pleasant duty of inviting the friends of Truth, Patriot and Progress, without distinction of sect or name or nation, to attend the Fourth Annual Convocation of Progressive Friends, to be held in the Meeting-house at Longwood, (between Hamorton and Kennett Squares), Chester Co., Pa., commencing on Friday day, the eighteenth of 5th month, 1856, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing as long as circumstances may seem to require—probably for three days.

THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

The Progressive Friends have no creed as the basis of association. Their object is to build up a real, earnest, and useful religion, and to define the boundaries of thought and restrain the freedom of speech and action, but to unite persons of every shade of theological opinion, in one spirit of love, to do good to all men as they have opportunity; to cultivate in themselves whatever is pure, generous, and ennobling; to worship God in the service of Humanity; to investigate those questions of individual and social duty which the experience of daily life and the conflicts of sects, parties, classes and nationalities, are perpetually evolving; to vindicate the primordial rights of man, and plead the cause of the poor, the ignorant, the degraded, and the oppressed; to testify against those systems of popular wickedness which derive their support from a false Church and a corrupt Government; to promote the cause of 'pure and undefiled religion,' by a firm resistance to the impositions of Churchcraft and Priestcraft; to elevate the standard of public morals, by teaching the duties of the citizen to all human codes, to law written by the finger of God in their own minds and hearts; to exemplify the spirit of Universal Brotherhood, and to proclaim the evangel of 'Peace on earth, good will to men.'

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, RUTH DUGDALE, SIDNEY D. CURTIS, WILLIAM BARNARD, HENRIETTA BARNARD, ROWLAND JOHNSON, JOSHUA WILSON, HANNAH PENNOCK, OLIVER JOHNSON, SALLIE C. COATES, AMELIA JACKSON, ISAAC MENDENHALL, Committee of Arrangements.

RHODE ISLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

A Convention of all persons in the State of Rhode Island, opposed to Slavery and in favor of Immediate and Unconditional Abolition, and to that end the friends of a thorough and persistent agitation against its multifarious cruelties, its incessant encroachments, and its daring usurpations,—will be held in the city of PROVIDENCE on SATURDAY and SUNDAY, April 25th and 27th, at WASHINGTON HALL, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M., of Saturday.

W. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, WM. BROWN, SAMUEL MAY, JR., and other speakers will be present.

A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

- Marshfield, Friday, April 25. Scituate, Sunday, (all day), 27. South Scituate, Monday, April 28. West Scituate, Tuesday, " 29. Hanover, Wednesday, " 30. South Hanson, Thursday, May 1. Abington Town Hall, Sunday, (all day), 4. In behalf of the Society, LEWIS FORD.

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will lecture as follows:—

- West Cambridge, Tuesday, April 29. Port Norfolk, Friday, April 29. Weymouth, Sunday, " 4. Clapville, Tuesday, " 6. S. Wilbraham, Thursday, " 8. Springfield, Sunday, " 11.

WM. WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

- Dighton, Friday, April 25. Greenanville, Conn., Wednesday, " 30. Noank, " Thursday, May 1. Mystic, " Friday, " 2. Bristol, " Saturday, " 3. Birmingham, " Saturday, " 10. Naugatuck, " Tuesday, " 13. Mr. Brown will probably remain in the Western part of Connecticut until Sunday, May 25.

FOR SALE—Two entire sets of the (London) Anti-Slavery Advocate, from the commencement, 44 years, (and will be completed without additional charge to the end of the fourth year,) will be sold at a moderate price. Apply to SAMUEL MAY, JR., 21 Cornhill, Boston.

THE WORK IS HIGHLY VALUABLE FOR REFERENCE, AND AS A RECORD OF ANTI-SLAVERY HISTORY.

TO CONSUMPTIVE PEOPLE.

A gentleman having recovered from a settled consumption, will sell the prescription used. Address THEO. K. BURTON, Boston, Mass. 2m

ASSIST COLORED YOUTH.

A colored Lad of 16 years, who has enjoyed academic facilities, and studied book-keeping, is a ready penman, and can produce the best testimonials of character and disposition, desires some suitable situation. Also—Two others desire to learn trades—one of them the upholsterer's. Apply to WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

PLACE WANTED—A colored lad, between 14 and 15 years of age, wants a place in a good family in the country. He is used to the care of a horse, &c. Apply to SAMUEL MAY, JR., 21 Cornhill.

NOTICE.

Persons wishing Dr. J. S. Rook to lecture, should address him at No. 60 Southac street, Boston.

First Time of Exhibition in America.

PILGRIMAGE THROUGH THE HOLY LAND.

At the METROEON.

THE GREAT DIORAMA OF JERUSALEM AND THE HOLY LAND.

From St. George's Gallery, London; Exhibiting the Sacred Localities of Scripture; the Mountains and Rivers celebrated in Bible History or Poetry; and the Scenes most memorable in the Life of our Savior and his Apostles. Painted under the direction of Mr. W. Beverly, from drawings made on the spot, during repeated journeys in the East, by Mr. W. H. Bartlett, author of 'Walks about Jerusalem'—'Forty Days in the Desert,' &c. etc. The Figures life-size, forming a series of Moving Pictures on an unequalled scale of magnitude and grandeur. Every Evening, at half-past Seven o'clock, and Grand Representations on Wednesdays and Saturdays, at Three o'clock. Doors open half an hour previous. Admission 25 cents. Children half price. Descriptive Book 12 cents.

LAND FOR SALE.

THIRTY-TWO acres of good Land well wooded, and near a flourishing village in the central part of the State of New York, will be sold or exchanged for New England village property. Apply to R. F. WALLACE, 21 Cornhill. April 18.

NOTICE.

HOPEDALE JUVENILE AND COLLEGIATE HOME SCHOOL.

OUR friends, patrons, and the public are hereby informed, that we have this day disposed of our school building and lot, and apparatus thereto belonging, to WILLIAM S. and ABIE S. HATWOOD, of Hopedale. Having been acquainted with the said persons as individuals sitting in a private capacity mainly, and without any evidence of their competency to conduct a Home school, we prefer to speak neither favorably nor unfavorably of them. We shall not commit ourselves, we think, in saying, that we believe they will endeavor to do what they are competent to do, to the right. As regards Hopedale, we unhesitatingly declare our conviction that no other village in New England surpasses it in the morality and high-toned character of its inhabitants. For further information concerning this change and our future plans, please see our CHARITABLE LECTURE, which will soon be issued. Those wishing to correspond with us in reference to business or educational matters, will please address us for the present, at Hopedale, Milford, Mass. MORGAN L. BLOOM, SOPHIA LOUISA BLOOM, Hopedale, Mass., April 16, 1856. 6t



POETRY.

NO CROSS, NO CROWN. The following poem, by SHELDON CHADWICK, is taken from his volume of poems just published in England.

'Twas even, and in a lowly room A student sat in sombre gloom, Twirling his fingers in his hair, Like one in reverie, or despair;

And as he traced the pages o'er, Four golden words his spirit bore— No Cross, no Crown!

Around, in death-like silence, stood The forms of many great and good— Prophets, martyrs, crucified;

And as he traced the pages o'er, Four golden words his spirit bore— No Cross, no Crown!

THE TOUCHSTONE. BY WM. ALLINGHAM. A man there came, whence none could tell, Bearing a Touchstone in his hand;

THE WISE MAN AND THE FOOL. From the German of Nicolay. BY D. X. JOHNSON. A wise man saw with heartfelt joy his name Borne through the world upon the wings of fame;

ALL MADE EQUAL. O, exorable son, so to aspire Above his brethren, be himself assuming Authority usurped from God, not given.

THE LIBERATOR.

A WORD TO GERRIT SMITH. GERRIT SMITH: Sir,—Personally we are unacquainted, yet publicly I wish to ask you a few questions, though I claim to be only a humble individual, seeking for light and truth.

It has for some time been a query with me, if liberty can exist under any form of government;—if, from the very nature of the human mind, governments are not opposed to the freedom of the individual, and of course wrong.

MR. WASSON'S FAREWELL SERMON. From a correspondent in Worcester, we receive the following: Last Sunday was a memorable day to some in Worcester as being the closing occasion of Mr. Wasson's engagement with the Free Church.

OUR CAUSE IN THE GRANITE STATE. WEST MILAN, (N. H.) March 16, 1856. DEAR FRIEND MAY: There are signs of encouragement, even in this land of dark Democracy.

THE BIBLE AND DIVINE REVELATION. SPEECH OF JOEL TIFFANY AT THE BIBLE CONVENTION IN SALEM, OHIO. Our opponents have been denouncing reason as incompetent to decide upon matters of revelation, and claim that many things in the Bible are beyond the sphere of reason.

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SEE THE DIFFERENCE. BURNING A NEGRO. The Montgomery (Ala.) Journal of the 2d inst. says: 'We learn that the negro who murdered Mr. Capheart was burnt to death yesterday, at Mount Meigs. He acknowledged himself guilty.' Is this the nineteenth century?

FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR. Of the free people of color, the late Dr. Bond, editor of the New York Christian Advocate, says:—Of all people on earth, these are the most slandered. Our long residence in Baltimore, where, we believe, there are more of them in proportion to the population than any other city, has made us well acquainted with their character and condition.

RUFFIAN PRIDE. Robert S. Kelley, one of the editors of the Kansas Squatter Sovereign, a border ruffian paper, having been called a native of Massachusetts, is 'hopping mad' at the insinuation, and bristles up like a 'fretful porcupine'—or rather more coltishly, spits out his rage as follows, 'capitals' and all:—

COCKNEY RHYMES FOR YANKEE STATESMEN. President Pierce, Why so fierce? Mr. Marcy, Don't be 'sarey.' Mr. Cass, Don't be a 'sarey.' Mr. Fremont, Don't be a 'sarey.'

NEGRO MINISTRY DECLARED ILLEGAL. A novel decision was rendered in the New York Supreme Court recently. The court affirmed the decision of the county court, which, if its turn had affirmed the decision of the justice of the peace, inflicting a fine of twenty-five dollars upon one Sharp, who, with his troupe, had given a performance of what is generally termed 'Negro Minstrelsy' in the court-house at West.

TAYLOR'S MUSICALS. This company of colored vocalists gave a concert at the Town Hall on Wednesday evening. We were not present, but a friend who was and who is a much better judge of such matters than we profess to be, speaks in terms of commendation of their performance.

THE BOSTON BEE ANNOUNCES THAT EDWARD BREWSTER, ROBERT C. WINTHROP, AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED WHIGS WHOSE NAMES IT GIVES, 'are content with Fillmore and Douglas,' and 'will take the field under the American banner.'

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THE DAY IS DONE. A PARODY. The day is done, and the darkness From the wings of night is loosed, As a feather is wafted downward From a chicken going to roost.

FROM THE NEW YORK MIRROR. PINKY WINKY AND HER FATHER. Said my daughter, Pinky Winky, Pinky Winky young and tender, With a cheek as red as roses,

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