THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. IV.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. [NO. 42.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] [SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1834.

...UGH OF OPPRESSION.

[From the Journal of Freedom.]

...LIC SENTIMENT AT THE SOUTH.

...ssing to see how extremes do meet. *Ultra* ...ans and ultra Anties or Garrison-men agree ...Liberty well to go on together blackguarding ...ne in any way labor for the instruction and ...ion of slaves. (†) We notice in the Southern ...ne Telegraph (Richmond,) an indignant re... ...of a patently scurrilous toast given on a public ...ing by some toppling slaver, which threw out ...ing against the Rev. C. Van Rensselaer, of ...ing him with incendiarism and agitators, ...ing taught and practised the simple truths of ...ity among the slaves of Virginia. The ar... ...the Telegraph we partly insert in justice to ...ntiment of respectable people of the South, on ...ction of Northern men preaching among their ...in a proper manner.

...s wholly unnecessary to defend the ...acter of Rev. Mr. Van Rensselaer against ...ck of this sort,—yet as it may not be ...n to many who may see this notice, we ...the following remarks from a reply to ...ent, by a writer under the signature of ...Virginian.

...he gentleman who toasted Mr. V. R., ...ntentionally, I suppose, made a mis... ...He calls the Reverend gentleman the ...Slavery Missionary.' *This is not so.* ...Van Rensselaer came to Virginia in the ...mer of 1832-33. He joined the Union ...nary in Prince Edward county, and was ...ed there, greatly esteemed and beloved ...the gentlemanly deportment, amiability, ...ety. The writer of this article enjoy... ...ntimate acquaintance. He knows it to have ...his object to ascertain what facilities ...ere for affording religious instruction ...preaching, and in a legal manner, to our ...population. Mr. V. R. is not connected ...the Anti-Slavery Society, or with ...ination to effect its purposes. On ...contrary, he is annual subscriber of one ...hundred dollars to the Colonization Society, ...e aims are too well known, and whose ...ct is too well approved at the South, to ...any recommendation, and which is vio... ...opposed and calumniated by the Anti-...very gentry, with whom Mr. V. R. is so ...uniformly and unjustly associated. ...the gentleman who has occasioned these ...marks does not believe the writer, he is ...respectfully referred to Mr. Bruce of Halifax, ...is an extensive slaveholder, and who ...had an opportunity of knowing Mr. V. ...principles and plans.

...Mr. Editor, as a native Virginian, I can... ...contemplate the doings of the anti-sla... ...men in any other light than as *dangerous* ...*to our domestic peace—yea, to the perpetuity* ...*of the many blessings of our government.* ...As a patriot, *I consider them as odious* ...*detestable*, because calculated to sow dis... ...among brethren. With these views, I ...yet love a Northern man who has self... ...to prompt him to such conduct as Mr. ...Rensselaer's. He has come among us ...instruct our slaves in the principles of ...religion, which teaches *obedience* and ...*peace* to *masters*, submission, diligence, ...fidelity, which comes with peace and ...and will to all. He is a man of piety and ...ts, and a *gentleman*, in every sense of ...noble word; and the religion he incul... ...is as far from the fanaticism of Nat ...Turner as light is from darkness. It is, ...ours, Editors, to the *want* of religious in... ...tion, that we must ascribe such horrid ...egrities, as that of Southampton. I com... ...ed with a black man condemned to death ...the murder of his master, and when the ...ch of the Bible, relative to the Christian ...ty of slaves had been exhibited, he re... ...Why! if I knew that before, I would ...have done that act.' He had pre... ...ously attempted to justify his conduct, ...ough condemned, instead of preparing for ...ernity. He now confessed his guilt, and ...ought and obtained (as I hope) mercy.'

[From the Boston Recorder.]

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

Mr. May went on to speak of several of these sentiments, particularly of the common opinion that the abolitionists have a good title of property in the persons of their slaves. This, said he, is the foundation stone; and it is common here as anywhere. We set with it every day. We hear it uttered and maintained by men accounted wise and good, property is human beings! A right to hold men, and small immortal men, as if they were mere brutes! This monstrous error is prevalent in New-England; and by giving countenance to it, New-England is trying to perpetuate the institution which we are used to call monstrous.—*Liberator.*

Mr. May then said, what he ought not to ...y and—without better evidence than ...ere is in existence. Any observing man, ...o has watched the workings of men's ...ds for a few years, may see how he has ...en led to adopt such an opinion about New-England. He and those with whom he acts, ...ought to be doing something to overthrow slavery. For this purpose, they wish to be at ...ce, concerning the inquiry, that slavery ...ought to be abandoned. As for going to the ...outh, and attempting to convince slaveholders that slavery ought to be abolished,—they have not courage enough to do that. An intelligent man, who honestly and impartially loves both the slave and his master, and who has no bad passions of his own to gratify by agitating these subjects, may travel through the whole south, and may urge emancipation every day. He may speak of slavery as impolitic and wrong, and urge its abandonment with all the eloquence he can command; and the result will be, that in some places, he will not be permitted to address public assemblies, but even in those places, he may address individuals with perfect safety, and even the advocates of perpetual slavery, will generally hear him with respectful attention. But these men are held by something, within themselves, that if they should go there and utter what is in their hearts, it would not be well received. They know that their sentiments are such as would provoke resistance and wrath; and therefore they dare not go. In this state of mind, unable to rest without trying to convince somebody, and afraid to go where people need converting, they can find no relief, but in imagining that the people of New-England are advocates of slavery, and trying to convert them. Rev. Mr. May, however, ought to know better than to denounce a whole people on such grounds. He ought not to make such assertions concerning New-England, without some evidence, out of his own mind, that they are true.

COMMUNICATIONS.

To the Editors of the Christian Examiner:—

GENTLEMEN—It was with no little pain that I read, in the July number of the Examiner, the remark of the reviewer of Prof. Palfrey's Sermons' respecting Abolitionists, 'ardent but mistaken philanthropists,' as he calls us; and also the quotation from one of the sermons, to which the remark is prefixed. We are so use to being misrepresented and abused in the common, licentious newspapers, that we have ceased to be disturbed by misrepresentation and abuse from that quarter. It is not, however, a light matter, in our estimation, that a grave periodical like the Examiner has lent its extensive influence to fix in the public mind the unjust suspicion, that we intend or wish to interfere in any improper manner with 'the constitution of governments, or the personal rights of individuals.' The language of Prof. Palfrey, too, will doubtless be quoted again as a censure upon those against whom his reviewer has directed the remark, whether he so intended it or not. You will therefore, I trust, permit me to be heard in reply.

The real sentiments and purposes of Abolitionists have been so often, so fully and explicitly stated to our fellow-citizens, that he is inexcusable, who takes up a mere report respecting them, and proceeds therefrom to pronounce our condemnation. This is particularly unbecoming in one of the Unitarian Community, which have so loudly complained of the injustice of a similar procedure, in reference to their opinions and purposes. I therefore respectfully request the writer of the review before me, to peruse with attention the official accounts of the formation of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society—of the first annual meeting of the Providence Society—the Address of the New-York Anti-Slavery Society—and, more than either, the proceedings of the National Convention held in Philadelphia, December, 1833, with the 'Declaration of Sentiments and Purposes.' Let him read these with care, and then specify, if he is able, one purpose of the Abolitionists, which may not be prosecuted, in perfect consistency with our duties as citizens of this Republic; and in equal consistency with the example of Jesus Christ and his Apostles.

That some measures, adopted by some of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, have been ill-advised, may be true. That some sentiments entertained by individuals are incorrect, is very probable. And that language has been used, which is not to be justified, I shall not deny. But I ask, gentlemen, are not such evils incident to all great efforts for the correction of public opinion, or the subversion or amendment of long existing corrupt institutions? How much extravagance of action, and bitterness of language, there was attendant upon the Reformation! Surely the most violent of the Abolitionists have been tame, in comparison with Luther and Calvin. Nevertheless, the accomplishment of their enterprise is a matter of rejoicing to the whole protestant world, because it undermined the dominion of a spiritual despot, and helped to establish among men certain principles, which are fundamental to all the religious improvement of mankind. But we need not go back from our own age for an example. Who, that loves to see health and happiness prevail—domestic harmony, and public peace and good order—does not feel unfeignedly thankful for what has already been achieved in the cause of Temperance? Yet what wise and good man will hesitate to condemn many things, which have been said and done by some of the ardent advocates of total abstinence?

Those who desire to have mankind advancing in knowledge, righteousness, and in the enjoyment of their rights, should look at the obvious bearing of every new movement. If it be *onward*, if it be to a right result, they surely should not withhold their co-operation, because of any infelicity of manner, in which the movement may have been commenced. It is not the fault of the Abolitionists, that wiser and better men have not long ago espoused the cause of the oppressed, the enslaved Americans. And now, if those who condemn us, will come forward and take this great work into their hands, and do it as thoroughly as it should be done;—and in a better style than we have begun it—my word for it, gentlemen, there is not an Abolitionist I am acquainted with, who would not rejoice to have them take the lead. But slavery must be abolished. If there be any power in truth to correct error, and in light to dispel darkness, slavery shall be abolished. If others will not do the work better than we can, we shall go on doing it as well as we may be able—looking continually unto God for wisdom, resolution and success.

The spirit of reform is often so checked by the reserve, and forbidding aspect of those, who are accounted the wisest and the best, that it forbears to act until the pressure of conviction can be no longer resisted. Then very likely breaks forth from the restraint, in which it has been hardly held, with an impetuosity that may do mischief. Let the blame therefore, in part, at least, be laid upon those who, possessed of the greatest influence in the community, have suffered that influence to remain on the side of *wrong*, or are tardy in their advocacy of right. They are the men, who do in effect hinder the progress of reform more than any others. They do more to dam up the stream, so that it rises and rises, until it overflows the banks of prudence, and destroys and terrifies, ere it subsides into its destined channel.

I have often heard gentlemen, some of them persons to whom the community looks up with greatest deference, acknowledge that the principles of Abolitionists, most if not all, were correct; but then they have added, 'the violence of language which some of them use is such, that we cannot countenance it, and so are silent.' I have asked in reply, and beg leave here again to ask, do these gentlemen, by their silence, escape being implicated with such as do wrong, ay, with such as use violent, abusive language? Are they not ranked among the *opposers* of abolition principles? And are the opposers less consurable than the advocates? I pledge myself to collect, if it be called for, a hundred fold larger quantity of misrepresentation, virulent abuse, and incendiary matter, from the publications of the pro-slavery party, than can be found in the writings of those who are anti-slavery. I do not believe there was ever a set of men more misrepresented and vilified than the Abolitionists have been. I say this confidently, although I am a Unitarian; and I am solicitous that this declaration should appear before the public in the most respectable Journal of the sect. I do not believe that any set of men, not even the Unitarians, have ever been so much misrepresented and vilified as the Abolitionists. I repeat then the question, already put, what will gentlemen gain by withholding their countenance and co-operation from the Anti-slavery cause? They may see, at a glance, they will not escape the suspicion of giving countenance to abusive language and violent actions.

Let any candid man take the common charges, which are alleged against the Abolitionists, those charges which are going the rounds of our newspapers, some of which have now found a place in the Examiner—those charges by the iteration of which the mob has been recently aroused in New-York to commit the grossest outrages upon the property, the persons, and the indisputable rights of their anti-slavery fellow-citizens—let any candid man, I repeat, take these charges, and try to find a warrant for them, in the publications of the party accused, especially in those publications, which have issued under the sanction of an Anti-Slavery Society or Convention. I am perfectly willing to abide the result of such an examination. I am sure he will find that we have been most unjustly arraigned before our country, as those who would set at naught her Constitution, and violate her laws. He will find indeed the avowed purpose and the obvious tendency of our measures to be, to *procure the repeal*, as soon as possible, of all those laws in our land, which are oppressive or derogatory to our colored population—all such as are inconsistent with our principles as republicans and christians. He will find that we mean, as soon as possible, to procure even the amendment of our Constitution, if it must be understood now to sanction the enslavement, or the degradation of any portion of our countrymen. But then he will find, and it should not be overlooked, that we are solemnly pledged ourselves to our country, and to one another, to seek the great object at which we aim, only by that course of action—by those measures and means, which are explicitly pointed out, and put into our hands for the amendment of any defect in our institutions, or the redress of any grievance, by that sacred Charter of Rights, which we are so wantonly accused of wishing to trample under foot.*

The language of the reviewer, in the passage before me, though not *so* harsh, implies I suspect, all that is meant by those who reproach us in more unseemly terms. Undoubtedly the writer intended to allege against the Abolitionists as much, at least, as is expressed in that extract from Prof. Palfrey's sermon which he has italicised. He would have it believed by our fellow-citizens, that we are '*rudely disturbing the political relations of society*'—that we are interfering in a very improper manner with the constitution of our government, and the property of individuals.

It will not be mistaken by you, for a mere compliment, when I say that such an accusation, alleged in the Christian Examiner, does more to mislead the public mind, than all the scurrilous paragraphs respecting us, that have appeared in our common newspapers. Therefore it is that I am anxious to be heard in reply. There are two counts in the complaint. Let me consider them separately.

The first is, that certain ardent but mistaken philanthropists (i. e. the Abolitionists) think they are justified from their abhorrence of slavery, and their zeal for universal emancipation, *to interfere with the constitutions of civil government.* Now, if this allegation have any meaning, it is either that our abhorrence of slavery does not warrant our interference in any way, for its abolition; or else that we have supposed it justified our interfering in an improper way. I ask in reply, is not our abhorrence of slavery just? Ought we not to feel an immeasurable, unutterable detestation of a system under which millions of our fellow-beings, most of them our countrymen, are held in a subserviency as entire is that of the domesticated brutes? and have no more protection from injury and abuse than those brutes have? No man of human feelings, I trust, can say that our hatred of such Slavery is too intense, or can be. Well then, have we a right in this country to expose our views of this abomination, and express our feelings about it; and thus by changing public opinion, and awakening public sympathy, procure its abolition? There are many persons even in New-England, I apprehend, who think we have no such right. This may be the position the reviewer would take. On no subject, perhaps, are the views of men apt to be more indistinct, than on the nature and extent of their rights. Often they are most unreasonable and extravagant in their demands; and about as often we find them pusillanimously doubting, and relinquishing a most sacred right, because forsooth, the faithful exercise of it may subject them to inconvenience or personal danger. But can we innocently relinquish our right to do our duty? And is it not a matter of the plainest duty to espouse the cause of the oppressed, and those who have none to help them? I know it is insisted by many that we ought not to interfere in behalf of the slaves by any means, because it is no concern of ours what their condition may be, but wholly an affair of our southern brethren. No concern of ours! Why—are we not men here in New-England, and bound by the ties of common humanity to take an interest in the sufferings of our fellow-beings? Surely the fact that these are our countrymen does not annul their claim upon us. The right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness is born with man, conferred upon him by his Creator. It is above all price, inalienable. He cannot forfeit it without crime, nor can it be withheld from him without crime. Can we then innocently see this right withheld from any of our race, and not remonstrate, especially where our remonstrance may avail? Slavery in our own country, and no concern of ours! Two millions of our fellow-beings under this Republic, held in the most abject bondage, bought and sold and treated like cattle! and we have nothing to do for them! Is not public opinion the ultimate law of this land, and are we not at liberty to operate on public opinion? Can we then be innocent, so long as we refrain from doing what we may to change the minds and hearts of this people towards the millions, whom they are trampling under foot? New-England nothing to do with slavery! Why, are not the States of this confederacy mutually pledged to maintain the sacred rights of man; and are we not all implicated in the deep disgrace and the imminent peril of our nation, because of her flagrant violation of her vaunted principles? No concern of ours! Pray are not we of New-England, citizens of the United States, and bound by that relation to consult and labor for the common weal? How then can it be said that we have no concern with that, which is sapping the foundation of our Republic—ay, consuming the very cement of the Union? It appears to me that he can know nothing of the structure of this Confederacy, or cannot have attended to the joint action of its parts, who does not perceive that the continual friction caused by slavery has already destroyed all the harmony of its movements. Indeed, the evils brought even now upon the country by the sin of Slavery are so alarming, that our 'wise and prudent ones,' for want, methinks, of faith in God's promises and power, are appalled into silence. Is it right, is it safe to be silent? Can silence avert the calamities we deprecate? No—no. Such is not the way by which men have ever been brought out from the dangerous passes, into which iniquity has led them. 'Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet,' was the command of God to his prophet—'show my people their transgressions.' And when, since that day, I demand, when have national vices been reformed, and national evils averted by silence and inaction? Nay—has it not been because of silence, that the abomination of slavery has been suffered to abide and increase among us even until now? Has it not been because of the inexcusable silence of our statesmen, and orators, and ministers of religion, that Slavery has been perpetuated under our Republic for more than half a century? Surely it could not have borne so long to be spoken of as it deserves to be. Silence is protectress of this, and of every abomination.

Here we may be met with the current assertion, that our National Government has from the beginning, guaranteed to a portion of the States the privilege of holding slaves. This is not strictly true. Such a guaranty is no where to be found. Not a word appears in the Constitution respecting Slavery. That it meant to sanction it is a matter of inference only. But what if the framers of this Confederacy had entered into an explicit agreement to enforce the subjection of our colored countrymen? A conventional bargain, though it were made by our venerated Fathers, cannot obliterate a self-evident truth, or abrogate an everlasting principle of right. Who are they that would, with such a plea, set at naught the Almighty, and trifle with his sovereignty? Tell them our boasted Constitution is but a piece of parchment, when put in opposition to Jehovah's will. And tell them too, (what the people of the land seem to have strangely forgotten,) that the permanency and strength of our confederacy reside not in the plighted faith of its constituent States, but in their fidelity to the unchangeable principles of truth and righteousness. Our duty, therefore, would not be altered in the least by the most explicit guaranty in our Constitution, if it were found there. It would still be our duty to expose the unrighteousness of the compact, and the danger of adhering to it. And we should have a right so to do under those articles of the Constitution, which provide for its own amendment, and for the freedom of speech and of the press.

I trust, Messrs. Editors, I have shown that we Abolitionists have a right, if it be necessary, to interfere even with the constitution of our civil government, if we do so in a proper manner. The only question then which remains to be settled under this head is, whether we have resorted to the proper, lawful means to effect our purpose. Here I must appeal again to the Declaration of Sentiments and Purposes put out by the Convention at Philadelphia, and to the constitutions of the numerous Anti-Slavery Societies, which have been formed in different parts of the country. There will be found, in all these, a uniform disclaimer of any intention or wish or right to interfere for the relief of the slaves by violence, or indeed in any other way than through the medium of public sentiment, and public sympathy.

The second part of the accusation preferred against us by the reviewer is, that we Abolitionists think ourselves justified, from our abhorrence of slavery, &c., to interfere 'with the personal rights and property of individuals.' This blow strikes at the very foundation of the Anti-Slavery cause. It hits the very point, whereon we are at issue with the whole *pro*-slavery party. And the fact, that a respectable writer in New-England, in one of the first periodicals in our country, should bring it as an accusation against those of us, who are pleading for the abolition of Slavery, that we are *interfering with the property or any of the personal rights of individuals*—and that this will undoubtedly pass with the majority of readers even here, as a valid and weighty objection to our procedure—reveals the thick moral darkness which covers even the people of New-England, hiding from their view the *peculiar* enormity of that system of unrighteousness, which is sustained by the strong arm of our Republic. What is it that ought to awaken in the bosom of every man, certainly of every American, especially of every christian, the deepest abhorrence of Slavery? What is it, if it be not that this institution reduces to the condition of *mere chattels* the bodies and souls of millions of men, most of them natives too, of our own country? In the language of one of our southern slave codes, 'Slaves are deemed, sold, taken, reputed and adjudged in law to be CHATTELS PERSONAL in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, *to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever.*' Or in the words of another code, 'A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but what must belong to his master.' We grant, of course, that this is law; and we confess that we are ashamed, before all men, to be obliged to acknowledge that it is law in our land. But we will not acknowledge that it is therefore right; or that it ought to be silently acquiesced in. We will not acknowledge that even the law of our own country can make wrong—right; or that it can alienate that which is inalienable; or that it can give away what is not its own. We cannot conceive of a greater sin against God and man, than this reducing of human beings to the grade of mere brutes. It is the specific purpose of Abolitionists to expose to public abhorrence this surpassing wickedness of the slave system. If it is wrong to do so, we are guilty. But we shall persevere until we are persuaded it is wrong. We purpose to use only moral means, facts, arguments, eloquence. Thus we shall continue to 'interfere with the personal rights of individuals,' until the property in question *is restored to its rightful owners.* And who are they? Who but the slaves themselves? They are the individuals, whose property is interfered with, ay—whose dearest rights, whose ALL is ruthlessly torn from them. We grant that this unparalleled iniquity has the sanction of American Law. But there is a higher sanction than any human Law—and this sanction Slavery has not, cannot have. We point to the law of God—to those everlasting principles of truth and right—and in view of them, solemnly demand of our country to restore to millions of our countrymen their property, the possession of themselves, and the wages of their industry, and all their rights as men.

Can it be, that there are men in *New-England*, capable of writing such an article as the Review in the Examiner, who soberly think that the slaveholders have a 'good title' to their property in the bodies, industry, inalienable rights, souls of their slaves—a title which may not be questioned, disputed? So it appears. And this reveals to us how great a reformation in public sentiment needs to be effected in New-England, which claims to be the most enlightened, and most moral portion our country. Let no one say to us Abolitionists again, 'Why do you not go to the South and preach your doctrines there? We are all right on the subject here.' I am persuaded that the moral influence of New-England is on the side of Slavery. Those sentiments, that state of public opinion which is virtually the basis, the support of the abomination, are about as prevalent here as in any part of the Union. And while this is so, it would be folly for the advocates of abolition to go with their arguments and appeals to the slaveholders themselves. But when the moral influence of New-England shall be expressly on the side of justice, mercy, and the rights of man, then will the advocates of this righteous cause be sustained; and my go throughout the land, not only in the assurance of being heard, but of effecting their object.

Of the prevalence in New-England of pro-slavery sentiments and feelings, I could, if there were room, adduce many proofs. But this one, brought under consideration by the remark of the reviewer, is of itself enough. I presume the idea, which he has expressed, prevails very generally, that the slaves are the property of their masters, property which we have no right to question or dispute. You probably would not be willing to allow me space enough, after all that I have occupied, to discuss this point thoroughly. I will therefore content myself with asking the reviewer one question: Where did the slaveholders get their property in the, *inalienable* rights of their fellow-men? A portion of their property of this description, it may be said, came to them by inheritance. But could their fathers transmit to them 'a good title' to that, which they did not themselves rightfully possess? Trace back this species of property to its rise, and you find it originated in an act, which now even our government accounts most flagrant piracy. It originated in the atrocity of the African kidnapper—in theft of the worst kind. And I demand, could the execrable pirates, who stole human bodies from Africa, confer a 'good title' of property in them, to those who were pleased to pay a few dollars for their victims? Is it not a well known principle of common justice, that what was stolen must ever be revertible to him from whom it was taken, or to his heirs? that it can never become the property of any other? Shall this principle be applied to a man's coat, if it has been stolen, to the covering of his body, and yet be considered inapplicable to his body? Who will say this? It must be however the only plea, by which the slaveholder can even pretend to support his claim.

But suppose I should grant that he who bought the captured African, had a right of property in him; and therefore that while we are at liberty to denounce the one who stole him from his native home, and from himself, as the worst of pirates, we ought to leave the purchaser in quiet, undisputed possession of his body and soul. Suppose I should grant this. Still, this concession could not cover over the wrongs done to another portion of the slaves. Nor should it prevent my putting to every slaveholder in the land the questions—how did you come by the property you claim in the human beings, that have been born upon your plantation or in your house? Who has robbed them of their birthright to liberty and the pursuit of happiness? Let the reviewer attempt, on behalf of the slaveholders, to answer these questions satisfactorily to himself—and, I am confident, he will be brought to see his mistake, in supposing the abolitionists are mistaken, because we think we are justified 'to interfere with the property of individuals.' For what can be more easily justified than the attempt, by constitutional, pacific measures, to restore invaluable property to its right owners? Very respectfully,

SAMUEL J. MAY.

Brook'yn, August 10th, 1834.

P. S. In the foregoing, you will observe I have confined myself to the objections implied in the language of the Reviewer. There are other as weighty objections, about in the community, which I should be glad to answer on the pages of this work. Allow me to express the hope, that the subject of Slavery will soon come to be fully and freely discussed here. What ought a Christian Examiner to investigate more thoroughly, than an institution which deprives millions of their dearest rights, denies them all intellectual and moral culture, and utterly disregards all their ties of kindred and affection—an institution too, from which is flowing forth over the community pollution and discord, moral and political death?

S. J. M.

☞ The foregoing article was presented to the Editors of the Examiner, who declined inserting it.

* Let me again refer my readers to the Anti-Slavery publications, which I have named above; also to the 'First Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society'—to the 'Proceedings of the New-England Convention'—to the 'Anti-Slavery Reporter'—to Mrs. Child's 'Appeal'—Phelps's Lectures'—and indeed to the publications of the Abolitionists generally.

[From the Vermont State Journal.]

☞ Who can read the following communication from Rev. Mr. Murray, without feeling deeply mortified that such shameful outrages should have been committed within the limits of Vermont? The Burlington papers of Friday speak of these turbulent and shameful proceedings on the part of some of the citizens of that town, in a tone of unexkible, disgusting complacency! We leave our readers, for the present, to make their own comments, only remarking that we are well acquainted with Mr. Murray, and place full reliance upon his statements. He has lectured in Montpelier without being assailed by a mob.

MESSRS. EDITORS,

Are we, or are we not, to have freedom of speech in Vermont?

Are we to be ruled by the laws, or by the mob?

SIRS—That peace-making class of people who are so strongly opposed to *excitement*, have, in Burlington, this evening, been making a mighty effort for its suppression!—Some brief statement of facts relative to the affair must be made out for you before I rest.

I came to this place on Saturday afternoon. In the evening I called on a distinguished clergyman, made known to him that I designed to address the people on the subject of slavery; and requested him to give notice to his congregation on the Sabbath, that such an address would be delivered in the Court House on Monday evening. He in a very frowning, forbidding manner disapproved my having any thing to say on the subject in the place. I am since informed that he gave no notice of the kind to his people on the Sabbath. The Baptist people procured me the Court House, wrote I gave them a common discourse in the afternoon. At intermission word came to me that I could not have the upper room, (which we were now occupying during the day,) for an evening meeting, because it was insured only in the *court-house*, and if by accident it should be burnt in consequence of being otherwise occupied, the proprietors would be thrown out of the insurance. It was said I could have the lower or town room, which was accepted. In the afternoon my discourse was on American Slavery, showing it to be a *national sin*, that it corrupts the church, and dissipating its general character. At the close, I notified the audience that I would present a remedy for slavery, on Monday evening, in the lower room. A few hours before the lecture, it was whispered to me that I should be mobbed. This evening I went to my appointment, accompanied by my tried friend, R. T. Robinson, of Perrisburg, who came to co-operate with me in this place. As I was about to take my place to commence the exercises, a gentlemanly lawyer approached, coming from the direction of a squad that had collected in one part of the room, saying he had come to have an interview with me. His company immediately gathered around. He abruptly demanded the course what to be pursued in the address. My reply was, that I proposed to offer a remedy for slavery. He very stoutly, loudly and repeatedly declared that I had no right to discuss the subject here, before the people of Burlington and authoritatively asked whom I had *consulted*! He was told the names of some with whom I had conversed, and was informed that I had consulted the Constitution of Vermont relative to the freedom of speech—that that I had not been particularly careful to ask any man's liberty, that I might open my mouth for the dumb, and plead the cause of the poor and needy. I took my place to call the attention of the assembly, which by this time was quite numerous. This *gentleman* immediately mounted the rostrum by my side, and thrusting himself forward, commenced his harangue. He attempted to divide the assembly that he might ascertain the strength of his party; but a gentleman who had more regard for the rights of a fellow citizen remonstrated, and candidly, yet fearlessly asked that they should first hear the this interesting subject, and then judge. He was seconded by another of the same views. A very respectable portion of the assemblage were, if I rightly judged, disposed to hear me address; but they were peaceable and the mob overruled. Several of the violent party declaimed. Their *arguments* were the same that are used elsewhere for the same purposes: The same sound logic: The Constitution of the United States provides for the representation of three fifths of the slaves, therefore no man has a right to discuss, in Burlington, this question, which they were now freely discussing! The same base, cowardly, cringing servility to the south; discussion of the subject would bring down on our heads the great wrath of the slaveholders. The same cry of 'mad dog' that has attended the violence in New York and Philadelphia. At length he who seemed to be the highest functionary in this honorable body, with great authority and arrogance, demanded attention. He called on those who would not allow me to speak to make it manifest. A savage yell was raised altogether decisive. One of the peaceable party requested the *moderator* that the negative might be called. No, was the reply—we don't want the negative. They also voted that I should leave the house. The vote, on *one side*, was clear! They evidently had the most brute force; and their actions said—thinks as good an argument as we want. N'T disposed to attempt to meet such an argument, with my friends I peacefully retired. There was an attempt at putting out the lights. As I was leaving the rostrum, a man who had probably taken his stand for this purpose, thrust his foot before and in contact with mine, and made an effort to stumble me. As we withdrew towards the door, the rush around was that of furies—the hissing that of serpents—the vociferations those of fiends incarnate. A certain General, and a certain Editor, with the above named lawyer and county officer, were the principal movers of the riot.

Such are briefly the facts. They are recorded for a page of the history of Vermont—time cannot erase it. It will stand out to our everlasting shame. The truth of the last may be problematical. I said *to our shame*. I hope not, but it may be yet considered doubtful, whether our virtue and intelligence are to wax or wane—whether or not they have yet taken root sufficiently deep to stand the tempest that is gathering. The spirit of slavery is a lock-jaw upon the clergy, and a nightmare upon the press. We have fallen upon eventful days. Our only hope is, that 'the wrath of man shall be made to praise Him; and that the remainder of wrath He will restrain.' That He will bring good out of evil; and spare us until we recover our senses, and see and forsake our folly.

We have read with surprise the accounts of the riots in Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia—but they are measurably accounted for, when we consider the connection of those cities—especially the last two,—with slavery, by their ports, and by the residence of southern planters who come to seek a retreat from the dangers of their nefarious system. But how shall we account for the existence of this diabolical spirit in our own state? I may be able to answer this question better to my own satisfaction, than to that of others. It is undeniable that a spirit of hatred to the colored man has been diffusing itself throughout the North during the last fifteen or twenty years—a determination to exclude him from American soil—to the land of his birth. Dangerous and fatal heresies have been taught. There are those who would persuade us it is our *misfortune* more than our *crime*, that we hate our brother because God has given him a different coloring from ourselves. The power of Christianity to subdue this hatred has been denied. Then the conclusion has been drawn that every man's person of this nation ought to be held in chains until such time as they can be removed *with their own consent!* How extensively these doctrines have prevailed, I will not undertake to determine—but it is certain they have been preached and printed.

Friends and fellow citizens of Vermont! Let us search and know what manner of spirit we are of. O. S. MURRAY,

Agent Vt. A. S. Society.

Burlington, Monday evening, Sept. 22.

P. S. I feel constrained to say more by way of doing our country and our Vermont a service. The tools—the rabble, were young men and boys. They manifested no self-movement. They acted as they were directed. When their counsellors directed them to one side of the room, they went—when he called for aye, they said *aye*.

How easy a matter would it have been for those who raised the tumult, to have prevented it. What could be the inducement for boys to disturb such a meeting—especially as they could not know what was about to be said? What did they know of slavery or its advocacy? A lad of from 15 to 17 years of age was by several called to me repeatedly—*let us kill him!—let us kill him!* A gentleman, after hearing him several times, seizing him by the arm, reminded him of the law, and he was with the fellow fled. What could have called forth such threats, from such a person? It could not have been retaliation—he had received no injury. He could not have been moved by the hope of gain. This person was merely a tool. The shame and infamy of that outrage upon the rights of the people, and the Constitution of our State which secures the freedom of speech, shall be nailed to the foreheads of the instigators and managers. All good and discerning people will hold them accountable.

O. S. M.

[From the Christian Mirror.]

LIGHT WANTED.

MR. EDITOR—Some seem to imagine that there is no call for the discussion of Slavery in the Northern States. While it is maintained by many that the subject belongs exclusively to the South; it seems taken for granted that the North are well acquainted with the evils of the slave-system, and are unanimous in condemning it. But are there not many at the North who apologize for slavery, and thousands of others who are so ignorant of it as to have no feeling nor sympathies about it? I am apprehensive there is much ignorance in regard to the slave-system, and the duty of American citizens in relation to it. Yes and you will probably smile when I express the opinion, that thousands of free men do not know that slavery exists in our land. Birney's letter was recently given to a man, who has for several years been a member of the board of Selectmen in one of the largest towns in a County in this State. He was requested to read it, and was told that it was an article on slavery and colonization. He remarked, 'there are no slaves in this country, are there?' When *he* was asked, 'do you think slavery was abolished?' 'I don't know, I thought there was a law passed that slaves should be free when they were twenty-one.' By whom was this law passed? 'The government.' What government? 'Congress.' Such was the state of knowledge of one of the fathers of the town, who aspires also to become a legislator. If such a man did not know that slavery exists in the land; if he supposed that it was abolished by Congress, when Congress has no right, nor power to legislate on the subject, what inference shall be drawn in regard to multitudes less intelligent, or who have less means of intelligence? What light shall be thrown on this subject. The system of slavery in all its ramifications; the powers of the general and state governments in regard to it;—the responsibilities of American citizens;—the various points of view in which it is regarding it.

to say that this great nation will not, or cannot remove it. It is a pity if our great men are not wise enough, and good enough, to lead the way in this noble work. He is not the great man who supports the opinion of the multitude, whether right or wrong; but he who finds out the truth, and convinces the people of it. Let wisdom, truth and justice, here combine to hunt this dragon from our shores, and let all the people say, Amen!

BETA. SIGMA.

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1834.

REMOVAL.

☞ *The office of the Liberator is removed from Merchants' Hall to No. 31, Cornhill, 3d story, over the Bookstore of Mr. Benjamin R. Mussey.*

REMARKS OF MR. THOMPSON.

The following is a sketch of Mr. Thompson's remarks, delivered at the adjourned meeting of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, held in this city on the 9th inst.

I have always found it a peculiarly difficult task to address an assembly like the present. Strange as it may appear, I am generally tongue-tied when in the midst of *friends*. During my short career, I have had to do with much opposition. I have had to contend with the foes of human freedom — the upholders and abettors of slavery: but thanks to the goodness of my cause, and the strength and number of those arguments which are always at hand to maintain it, I have seldom failed to find something to say. But I confess that now, when I find myself among the earliest friends and foremost champions of this righteous cause — among those who have been the pioneers in this glorious campaign, and are therefore most intimately acquainted than I can be, with the trials and the tactics of the war, I feel myself reduced to almost dwarfish dimensions, and would gladly take the lowly seat my humble merits assign me. As the representative, however, of a brother lost who have fought and conquered in another department of the same field, I consider myself sufficiently authorized to address you a few words; and I have had to contend with those who have been the foremost in this glorious campaign, and are therefore most intimately acquainted than I can be, with the trials and the tactics of the war, I feel myself reduced to almost dwarfish dimensions, and would gladly take the lowly seat my humble merits assign me. As the representative, however, of a brother lost who have fought and conquered in another department of the same field, I consider myself sufficiently authorized to address you a few words; and I have had to contend with those who have been the pioneers in this glorious campaign, and are therefore most intimately acquainted than I can be, with the trials and the tactics of the war, I feel myself reduced to almost dwarfish dimensions, and would gladly take the lowly seat my humble merits assign me. As the representative, however, of a brother lost who have fought and conquered in another department of the same field, I consider myself sufficiently authorized to address you a few words; and

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and lastly by our devoted brother Mr. Garrison, during his visit to our country, have caused its doctrines to be almost universally repudiated. There is every disposition among British abolitionists to extend to you their sympathy, their counsel, and their contributions. My presence amongst you today is a proof and a pledge of their desire and determination to be associated with you, in your hallowed enterprise. I thus tendering you our help, we discharge the remotest intention of interfering, in an unwarrantable extent in the political quest ions of your country. Ours is a question of morals, humanity, and religion. We are the friends of mankind universally, and have made our appeal to christians throughout all the world, to join with us in abolishing slavery and the slave trade, wherever they exist. In doing so, we believe we have a sanction and commission from Heaven, and we long for the day, when this country there shall no longer be heard the clank of fetters and the moan of the oppressed; but freed from the guilt of slavery and prejudice, you will be united with us in the blessed work of carrying the tidings of redemption to the ends of the earth.

Mr. Thompson proceeded to give an account of the formation in London of a 'British and Foreign Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the world,' and read several extracts, explanatory of its principles and proposed plan of operation.

'I have thus (said Mr. T.) very briefly glanced at what has been done, and is still doing, both here and in Great Britain. We stand, however, but upon the threshold of the great work of universal freedom. In this country, we have but lately commenced. Take courage, however, and go forward. The hottest part of the battle is to come. Colonizationism is not yet dead. Follow up your blows until it gives up the ghost, and its mis-shapen trunk is buried from your sight. Be not deterred from your work by slaveholders, their kindred, friends, agents and mercenaries; with those who supply the south; with the haters of the colored population; with a fierce and malignant press; with mistaken philanthropists; with fearful abolitionists; with thousands of christians who apologize for slavery; and with ignorance and apathy, in every direction. Let none of these things dismay you. Let your measures be bold and uncompromising, yet governed by wisdom and charity. The struggle will be hard, but the victory is certain. A few short years will sweep away the frail fabrics which ignorance, prejudice, and a disinsighted expediency have reared upon this bloodbought soil; but your principles, like a foundation struck deeply, will remain unsullied and unmoved, and the lapse of ages will only make the world in the light of a clearer demonstration, the divinity of their origin, and the immutability of their duration.'

PORTLAND, October 15, 1834.

FRIEND GARRISON — Yours of the 11th introducing our brother and fellow-labourer, George Thompson, was put into my hands by himself, and glad was I, I assure you, to give him the hand of fellowship and welcome. Our friends in Portland were also rejoiced at his coming among them. Last evening, I had the pleasure of introducing him to a large and respectable audience of the good people here, and to listen to his heart-stirring eloquence. The meeting was held in the Christian Meeting House in Casco-street. The house was crowded to its utmost capacity, and not less than one hundred present. The services commenced at seven o'clock. After singing and prayer and a brief introduction of our brother from the Father land to the kind and candid attention of the audience, he began, by say, ing that he was about to introduce them to their kind and favorable regards, I had done him bare justice when I said that he came among us not as an enemy but as a friend and brother — that he did in truth come not as an enemy but as a *friend* — as a *brother*, &c. He continued in this strain for one an hour and a half — during the whole of which he was listened to with the most intense interest and delight. Some of his appeals were well nigh irresistible — particularly that touching the guilt and turpitude of our ministers and christian brethren. 'Your quarrel,' said he — and he said it as one having authority, for every conscience responded to its truth — 'your quarrel is not with the black man or the black man's skin — it may begin there, but it will end in your souls — it is with God and God.' The address throughout was excellent, was listened to, to the end, with great interest and candor, and I doubt not made a happy impression on all present, and won for him and the cause the confidence and affections of many a begot — and none the less so because he was a foreigner. Indeed, but for the occasional use of the terms 'you,' 'your country,' &c. I believe the audience would scarcely have thought that he was not in fact one of us. I know not how it may be elsewhere, but I will judge of the good people of Portland from the appearance of the audience last evening, they are above those mean, narrow, blighted views and feelings which would lead them to shut their ears and close their eyes to the most conclusive arguments and eloquence of such a man, merely because he came from another State or another land. Such views and feelings savor too much of the old doctrine, 'thou wast altogether born in sin, and dost thou teach us,' to gain entrance or even a hearing in connection with the country, or even the good people of the good people here. Slaveholders, bigots and their partisans may refuse our brother a hearing, and stigmatise him as 'an officious intermeddler,' 'a foreign emissary,' 'a Yankee,' and other men will 'THE TIMES' IS IN DANGER!' &c. &c. And it was so. It was soon seen that if these doctrines obtained, not only was the 'craft' of the slaveholder 'in danger,' but also the temple of the great goddess Diana (the Colonization Society in this country) would be despoiled, and her magnificence destroyed, when all America 'and the world worshipped.' When they heard the sayings of this man, they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, "Great is Diana of the Epheseans!" "And the whole city was filled with confusion.' And 'they rushed with one accord into the theatre.' 'Some cried one thing, and some another; for the assembly was confused: and the most part knew not wherefore they came together.' But they soon found a pretext for their 'about the space of two hours, Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' Notwithstanding all this fury, the cause of Truth and Justice went forward gloriously, and we witnesses this day of the marvellous revolution which has been effected in public opinion. The 'craft' is indeed 'in danger.' The great 'goddess' is already 'despised,' and her magnificence 'destroyed.' The subject of *immediate emancipation* which only a few years ago could be discussed, not even in a whisper, is now the topic of conversation and debate from one extremity of your Union to the other. A spirit of enquiry is abroad, and vain as well as wicked are the attempts to extinguish it. It will increase and continue until the whole truth is investigated, and the investigation will infallibly lead to a conviction of the practicability, safety and necessity of Immediate Emancipation. Your present position is a splendid and encouraging proof of what may be done by one man, when he boldly asserts the principles of eternal rectitude.'

The events which have transpired in this country during the last four years, have been regarded in Great Britain with the deepest interest. At first, many were dazzled and begotted by the specious representations given of the principles and operations of the Colonization Society, but the exposures of that Society by Capt. Stuart, and Mr. Cropper, and lastly by our devoted brother Mr. Garrison, during his visit to our country, have caused its doctrines to be almost universally repudiated. There is every disposition among British abolitionists to extend to you their sympathy, their counsel, and their contributions. My presence amongst you today is a proof and a pledge of their desire and determination to be associated with you, in your hallowed enterprise. I thus tendering you our help, we discharge the remotest intention of interfering, in an unwarrantable extent in the political quest ions of your country. Ours is a question of morals, humanity, and religion. We are the friends of mankind universally, and have made our appeal to christians throughout all the world, to join with us in abolishing slavery and the slave trade, wherever they exist. In doing so, we believe we have a sanction and commission from Heaven, and we long for the day, when this country there shall no longer be heard the clank of fetters and the moan of the oppressed; but freed from the guilt of slavery and prejudice, you will be united with us in the blessed work of carrying the tidings of redemption to the ends of the earth.

[*] The appositeness of Mr. Thompson's quotation from Acts, 19th chapter, will be seen in reference to the published accounts of the disturbances in New-York in December last, when Chatham-street Chapel (used as a theatre) was attacked and broken into by a mob, the mob, the mob, the

LITERARY.

[From the London Patriot.]

THE LAST NIGHT OF SLAVERY.

Let the floods clap their hands!
Let the mountains rejoice!
From our own native sands
Breathes the jubilant voice:
The sun that now sets on thy waves, Caribbee,
Shall gild with his rising the *Isle of the Free.*

Let the islands be glad,
For their King in his might,
Who his glory has clad
With a garment of light,
In the waters the beams of his chambers hath laid,
And in the green waters his pathway has made.

No more shall the deep
Lend its ever-stricken wave
In their caverns to steep
Its wild burden of slaves:
The Lord sitteth King;—sitteth King on the flood,
He heard, and hath answered the voice of their blood.

O! what of the night?
Doth the ensrifts bend?*
When shall glimmer the light
This gross darkness to end?
Deep in the Pacific has sunk the last gleam,
That o'er the dark horrors of bondage might stream.

Brief, brief is the night
Ere a balance of light
Shall the darkness atone;
And thus for black ages may brightness return,
Nor fall till the dawn of eternity burn.

The sunlight must glance
On our freedom-girt shore,
Ere its splendors advance
Their blest ransom to pour.
Our rivers and vales must reflect the *first* glow,
That captives shall, freed from captivity, know.

Now fades on our sphere
The last vigilant star:
From moorland and mere
Rolls the mist-cloud afar;
And springs from the Levant a life-teeming ray,
To chase deeper shadows than midnight's away.

Dispel the blue haze,
Golden fountain of morn!
With meridian blaze
The wide ocean adorn!
The sunlight has touched thy glad shores, Caribbee!
And day now illumines *the Isles of the Free.*

Sheffield, August 1, 1834.

* The Southern Constellation, which appears to bend at midnight.

HYMN.

DOVE WHOM THE LORD HATH WOUNDED.

Dove, whom the Lord hath wounded,
Return to Him and bye,
For He, who aimed the shaft, alone
The remedy can give.

Dove, whom the Lord hath wounded,
He bares for thee his breast,
And bids thee enter in, and be
For evermore at rest.

Dove, whom the Lord hath wounded,
The bolt was sped in love,
To win thee from earth's empty show,
To better things above.

Dove, whom the Lord hath wounded,
Yet waiteth to revive,
Return to Him,—He wounds and heals,
He kills and makes alive.

Dove, whom the Lord hath wounded,
Though soiled with sorrows here,
With silver wings and plumes of gold,
Is heaven thou shalt appear.

Dove, whom the Lord hath wounded,
Shall earth our feet delay?
No! onward, upward, be our flight,
To realms of cloudless day.

[From the Religious Souvenir.]

THE HEART BY FINTO.—Heb. xii: 1.

The heart is fixed, and fixed the eye,
And I am girded for the race:
The Lord is strong, and I rely
On his assisting grace:
Race for the swift—it must be run;
A prize laid up—it must be won.

And I have tarried longer now
(Pleased with the scenes of time)
Than fifteen those who hope to go
To Heaven, that holy clime;
Who hope to pluck the fruit which grows
Where the immortal river flows.

The atmosphere of earth — Oh! how
It hath bedimmed the eye,
And quenched the spirit's fervent glow,
And stayed the purpose high;
And how these feet have gone astray,
That should have walked the narrow way!

Race for the swift—it must be run;
A prize laid up—it must be won.
For lo! it gleameth on my eye,
The glory of that upper sky.

'A prize laid up'—said he who fought
That holy fight of old,
'Laid up in Heaven for me, yet not
For me alone that crown of gold;
But all who wait till thou appear,
Saviour, the diadem shall wear.'

Patiently wait — to help thou me,
O, meek and holy One!
That dim although the vision be,
The race I still may run;
This eye thus fixed to the skies,
This heart thus burning for the prize.

G. E. A.

[From the London Athenæum, of April 5th.]

SONNETS.

BY SIR ROBERT HAYMAN.

It is a weary course we have to tread,
Ere to the public ear our name will grow
Familiar: many a cross and many a spite
Intervene, ere it its wings can spread;
And when half mounted, many a wakened foe
The stone of unprovoked assault will throw,
Back to the dust to bring the rising flight;
But 'tis a lofty and composed delight,
When we have won our way above the reach
Of vulgar malice, to look down with scorn
Upon the impotent fry that would impeach
Our course resistless! Then we deem us born
To higher realms, and by our higher state
Taught victorious over time and fate.

If I had passed my peaceful life beneath
The shade of any hereditary trees,
My mind, purchased, with such a busy force,
Had ne'er through day and night its toils pursued.
Of various flowers have I rambled a wreath,
Nurtured by many a clime and many a breeze;
And though many a track have I run my course,
And breasted, undismayed, the tempest rude.
Thus to man's changing passions, manners, deeds,
My observant mind its visions has extended!
And so, who many-colored habits heeds,
Candor with sharp sagacity has blended;
He has no narrow home; he lives through space;
And all the world as social can embrace.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[From the Boston Whig.]

MOBS.

Mr. Boston:—The history of the proceedings of the past year, furnishes examples of outrage and violence altogether unprecedented in the annals of our country. It would seem, that the supremacy of the laws is to be no farther regarded than it coincides with the caprices and prejudices of an infuriated and misguided and ignorant populace. Whence is it that this hitherto unheard of state of things derives its origin? Why is it that every citizen, whatever may be his opinions, is not protected in the enjoyment of his rights? Why is it, that in this our boasted land of freedom and of equal rights, any man or set of men must be debarred the privilege of expressing his or their opinions, without fear or without restraint? These are questions which must force themselves upon the mind of every reflecting man. Mobs, which now seem to be the order of the day, are of recent origin among us. There must, then, be some cause, some spring, that has not heretofore been in operation, which has set this machinery in motion. And is not this cause found operating in full force, in the licentiousness of many of the public presses? A single respectable newspaper, countenancing a licentious rabble in injuring the most humble citizen. But we shall we say now? Oh! shame where is thy blush! We cannot but feel indignant, — we cannot but be ashamed, and we cannot but be astonished at the degradation to which we are fallen. Our newspapers now, with a few honorable exceptions, encourage these outrages and barbarous proceedings, and by the inflammatory articles in their columns, incite to the commission of the most heinous crimes. Who now is safe from their violent and calumnious vituperation? The more exalted and conspicuous the individual, and, may we not add, the more pure his character, the more venomous and deadly are the weapons employed for his destruction. The rights of the citizen are mere chimeras of the brain! The right of suffrage, that most invaluable of all rights, has in many instances been arrested from us, and the peaceful and unoffending citizen must go the polls, (if he go there at all,) at the price and risk of his life.

But, after all, may we not look to the present administration as being the primary cause? Has not all its acts been such, as to have a direct tendency to produce just such a state as we find existing from one end of the country to the other? If so, we need look no farther for the cause. Has the Executive ever, in any one instance, thrown itself for support on the Constitution and the laws, willing to abide the issue and to stand or fall with them? On the contrary, has it not always thrown itself upon the people, as if the people were above the laws and not amenable to them? Of what use are our constitution and our bill of rights, if we are to be governed by the will of a despot, backed by popular clamor and popular fury? Why, we are told by the friends of the administration, that the only question at issue is, 'bank or no bank;' but if this were the only question, why put it to rest on its own simple merits? Why so much anxiety, on the part of the Executive, to forestall this question, by taking it out of the hands of Congress, the only legitimate authority to decide it, and to assume the *responsibility* of deciding it himself? No, this is not the real question at issue. This question, though an important one in itself, sinks into utter insignificance when compared with the real question at issue. But it is for the interest of the administration, (and this is a sentiment which cannot be too often repeated,) it is for the interest of the administration to avert the public attention from the real question, and to enlarge every hint upon some other object. Hence the cry of 'bank or no bank,' &c. The all-important question to be decided is, —Shall the WILL of ANDREW JACKSON be the law of the land,—and shall the principles of the Constitution and the supremacy of the laws, and our bill of rights, with all the principles for which the heroes of '76 fought and bled and died, be tamely surrendered to a miserable faction? L.

Turn About.—Some little time ago, a pair of *turtles*, seemingly anxious to become intended in the *silken* bands of wedlock, made their appearance before one of the city clergymen in Glasgow, who, finding the requisite certificates all right, proceeded with the ceremony till he came to that part of it where the question is put to the bridegroom if he is 'willing to take this woman to be his wife?' To this necessary query the man, after a considerable hesitation, answered 'No.' 'No!' said the minister with a look of surprise, 'for what reason?' 'Just,' said the poor embarrassed simpleton, looking round for the door, 'because I've taken a *scunner* at her.' On this the ceremony, to the evident mortification of the fair one, was broken off, and the parties retired. A few days after, however, they again presented themselves before his Reverence; and the fastidious bridegroom, having declared that he had got over his objection, the ceremony was again commenced, and proceeded without interruption till a question similar to the above was put to the bride, when she in her turn replied by a negative. 'What is the meaning of all this?' said the clergyman, evidently displeased at the foolish trifling of the parties. 'O, nae thing ava,' said the blushing damsel, tossing her head with an air of resentment, 'only I have just ta'en a *scunner* at him!' The two again retired to their lonely pillows; and lonely it would seem they had found them, for the Reverend Gentleman, on coming out of his house the following morning, met the foolish couple once more on their way to solicit his services. 'It's a' made up noo,' said the smiling fair one. 'O, yes,' said her intended, 'it's a settled noo, and we want you to marry us as soon as possible.' 'I will do no such thing,' was the grave and startling reply to the impatient request. 'What for?' cried the fickle pair, speaking together in a tone of mingled surprise and disappointment. 'O, naething ava,' said his Reverence, passing on his way, 'but just *I've ta'en a scunner at ye baith.*'—*Kilmarnock Journal.*

Economy.—It is the duty of every man, whatever may be his circumstances in life, to be economical in his expenditures. Uninterrupted health and ability to earn, are not guaranteed to man, neither is good fortune the certain concomitant either of enterprise or skill in any profession. Poverty may overtake a man when he least expects it, and then if he has been lavish in his expenditures, they will be but the source of bitter regrets. Public opinion is so much a slave to fashion, that cases may occur in which it will be truly economical for a man to wear a dress that costs twenty or thirty dollars per yard—it would perhaps be very injurious to his prospects if he did not, but such cases rarely if ever occur in the ordinary walks of life. Generally, men dress more expensively than the strictest prudence would dictate. Such a person is not thought the better of, either by his neighbors or the world.—*Farmer's Gazette.*

Ladies Best Qualities.—Ladies should be duly sensible that no beauty has any lasting and permanent charms, but the inward one of the mind. And that gracefulness of manners is far more engaging than beauty of person. They should consider, that intelligence, meekness, modesty, and sensibility are true and lasting charms. That contentment, industry and economy are amiable and useful qualities. That virtue is an invaluable treasurable, the universal charm, and should not be wed with upon any consideration. And that *Piety*, sweet celestial visitant, is at once, a most useful, charming and happifying ornament.

They who have these, are qualified as they ought to be, for usefulness in society and the domestic circle, for the management of families, for the education of children, for pure and lasting affection for their husbands, and for submitting cheerfully to a prudent and frugal living. Such females are admired, respected and beloved, because they are truly amiable and lovely, and contribute so much to the happiness of others. They are no revelers of secrets, tattlers of scandal, but are true to their trust, say nothing but what is proper to be said, and speak well of the absent.

In a word, they are industrious, economical, sincere, cheerful, discreet, modest, virtuous, and *pious.*—*Tel. and Mis.*

First of August in Montreal.—Yesterday, being the day noted by the slavery abolition act, for the emancipation of the slaves in the British West-India colonies, was observed a festival, with becoming solemnity, by the few sons of Africa within the city. Pursuant to notice, they met in the public hall, above St. Anne's market, and after a psalm and prayer fervently delivered, and heartily joined in by the brethren, an address was delivered, breathing in strong terms the feelings of gratitude which this experience for the great and generous boon that has conferred upon 800,000 of their fellow men. The sentiments of devotion and attachment to the mother country were strongly expressed, several allusions in the address were received with warm and enthusiastic cheers.

The colored brethren dined together in the St. George inn, and by toasts and songs beguiled away the evening. The ships in port carried their colors in honor of the day. —*Mont. Gazette, Aug. 2.*

Heroism and Fidelity.—The following affecting incident, showing the fidelity and heroism of a poor negro, is related in Hannah More's Memoirs: 'The other morning, the Captain of one of Commodore Johnson's Dutch prizes breakfasted at Sir Charles Middleton's, and related the following little anecdote. One day he went out of his own boat, and left a negro boy behind him. He was there, a storm arose, which in a short time made an entire wreck of his own ship, to which it was impossible for him to return. He had left on board two little boys, the one about three and the other five years old, under the care of a poor black servant. The people struggled to get out of the sinking ship into a large boat; and the poor black took his two little children, tied them in a bag, and put in a little pot of sweetmeats for them, slung them across his shoulder, and put them into the boat, which by that time was quite full. The black was stepping into it himself, but was told by the master, there was no room for him—that either he or the children must perish, for the weight of both would sink the boat. The exalted, heroic negro did not hesitate a moment. Very well, said he, give me my boy to my master, and tell him I beg pardon for all my faults. And then—I guess the rest—plunged to the bottom, never to rise again till the sea shall give up her dead. I told it the other day to Lord Mosbodo, who fairly burst into tears. The greatest lady in the land wants me to make an elegy of it; but it is above poetry.

Prodigious.—A gentleman lately from the Province of Nova Scotia, stated in conversation, that he had nine sisters residing in the Province—each the mother of a numerous offspring—whose aggregate weight was upwards of twenty hundred pounds, or one ton! Their parents are still living, and have had fifteen children—nine daughters and six sons—they are all living, except one of the latter, and have become the heads of families. They originally emigrated from this neighborhood. We should be much pleased to see the joyful congratulations of this happy group seated around the festive board, on a New-England Thanksgiving day.—*Salem Gazette.*

Temperance Ships.—A meeting of the officers of the various Marine Insurance Companies of New-York, was convened on Thursday last, to take into consideration the propriety of making a difference between those vessels which have spirituous liquors on board, and those which have not. Mr. Delevan, Secretary of the New-York State Temperance Society, made various statements of facts illustrative of the increased hazards to navigation from the use of spirituous liquors, and it was resolved *unanimously*, that on all policies hereafter issued, upon vessels and outfits, five per cent of the whole amount of premium shall be returned, upon evidence being produced that spirituous liquors were not used by the ship's company during the voyage.

Morality of the Sex in England.—The Poor-law commissioners in their report have the following paragraph: 'Henry almost be affirmed that the virtue of female chastity does not exist among the lower orders in England, except to a certain extent among domestic female servants, who know that they hold their situations on that tenure, and are more prudent in consequence. Among the rural population, all evidence goes to prove that it is a nonentity.' This is a grave and serious statement of the condition of morals in that country.

About 40 Italian and French vagrants, of sturdy appearance, recently arrived in New-York and took board in Liberty-street, at 3 and 84 per week. They got up forged certificates that they had been burnt out, by an eruption of Mount Etna, in Sicily, and live by begging, gambling, and theft.

The Washington, from Canton, is hourly expected at New-York, with the small-footed Chinese female. This lady is to be exhibited as a show; and some are extravagant enough to suppose that if she live two years, 300,000 dollars will be realized by her keepers.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN DAVIS, GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

A PROCLAMATION FOR A DAY OF PUBLIC THANKSGIVING AND PRAISE.

The fruits of the earth on which we rely for subsistence are now ripening. The husbandman is now reaping the bounties of a kind Providence, as the reward of his toil, and the season is near when it has been customary to offer to the Supreme Being the tribute of our gratitude, for the many blessings conferred upon us.

Our own feeblemess and limited intelligence is manifest. We can neither cause the sun to shine nor the earth to be warmed; the rains to descend nor vegetation to spring into existence. To-day the green grass covers the hills;—to-morrow they are veiled with a mantle of snow. To-day the trees are clothed with lovely verdure;—to-morrow the blasting frost reveals their naked limbs. But we can neither make the green grass, or unfold the leaf, nor can we produce their destroyer, the frost. To-day the currents of life run strong in man. He sees, hears, thinks, speaks;—to-morrow the senses are still, the eye is dim, the ear is deaf, the mind has fled, the voice is dumb;—but we cannot make life or avert the fatal shaft of death. Without food and raiment we are in perpetual peril, but we cannot make the products of the earth. These are not the attributes of man, but the characteristics of Perfect Wisdom and Almighty Power.

We are, then, humble, dependent beings, relying for life itself, and all its rational enjoyments, upon Him who gives us and all around us existence;—and it is renewedly our duty to present to him an offering of our humble thanks, and to implore forgiveness of our sins; and to beseech Him to sustain us in the way we should go.

I do, therefore, with the advice and consent of the COUNCIL, appoint THURSDAY, THE TWENTY-FIRST DAY OF NOVEMBER NEXT, to be observed by the people of this Commonwealth as a day of Public Thanksgiving. And the People are requested to assemble in their places of worship, that all may join in becoming acknowledgments and prayer to the Great Parent of the Universe for the preservation of health among us, while other portions of the Earth have been afflicted with destructive pestilence; for blessing the labors of the husbandman, the navigator, the artisan, and vouchsafing to all engaged in lawful employments many and distinguished favors; for establishing in the human heart the principle of benevolence, which dispenses kindness and comfort and consolation to the afflicted;—for the continued and enlarged means of moral and intellectual improvement;—for numerous deliverances from perils which have beset our paths; and, especially, for the blessings of the gospel of CHRIST, which exalts, purifies, and redeems the soul from sin.

And, while we thus render to our Father in Heaven the tribute of our gratitude for the favors which we daily receive from his benevolence, we should learn to trust in his Mercy; to confide in him to sustain us amid perils and want; to honor him with obedience; to yield to his chastenings, and to be submissive under the chastenings of adversity; and to mingle with our thanks for past good, and with our confiding assurance in his Divine Providence, aspirations for the prosperity, the health and morals, and moral improvement, of all the People of the Commonwealth;—for the lasting Union of the States;—that the Government over them may be administered with wisdom;—that power, when entrusted to public servants, be exercised lawfully and with moderation;—that the blessings of civil and religious Liberty may be continued to us and extended to all Mankind; and that Christianity may be spread abroad, till the whole world, my hearts (if we are with piety, with the love of peace,) and with a zeal to do good.

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston, this first day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, and the fifty-ninth year of the Independence of the U. States.

JOHN DAVIS.

By his Excellency the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council,

EDWARD D. BANGS, *Sec'y.*

God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

TO THE SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH IN SALEM.

Dearly Beloved Brethren:—Permit me to lay before you my views upon a subject, which I have for some time past been seriously revolving, and in regard to which, my mind has at length come to such a state of settlement, that I think it to be my duty no longer to withhold it from you. In the providence of an all-wise God, I have had my lot cast among you, and have labored with you about four years; some of the time with exceedingly feeble health, and under circumstances calculated to depress my spirits, and to occasion sufferings which few experience, perhaps, even among the ministers of Christ. I refer, especially, to the unhappy occurrences which took place on the fall of 1832. Whether I have been faithful in preaching the gospel, and in the discharge of other ministerial duties, or not, He whom I have tried to serve in the spiritual vineyard will declare when the doings of all men will be reviewed, and will receive their reward. I have always served Him very imperfectly; and yet I cannot accuse myself of having intentionally perverted his counsel, or withheld any part out of a desire to further my earthly interests. My course is, however, too well known to you, to need additional comment from me; and I now invite your candid attention to the statement I am about to make.

I believe it to be my duty to resign the pastoral office of this Church, and I do hereby solemnly request that you will consent to the relinquishment of the duties of this office, in such a way as you think it to be right as best for the interests of religion among you. Let me assure you, that this proposal is not made from any disaffection towards the Church, or any ill will towards any individual member of it, although my hearts would have been more encouraged, if I had enjoyed the more spirited co-operation of some; but I make it on account of the two following considerations.

1st. My health has ever been severely affected by the climate in the fall and spring of the year. Although my sickness has occasioned but few cases of absolute inability to discharge my regular public duties, it has more usually afflicted me in regard to parochial visiting, which I have often attempted to discharge when it was attended with extreme uneasiness and fatigue, and which I have been obliged at times to omit, or very partially perform. My friends at a distance have repeatedly expressed to me their fears, that this climate would prove disastrous to me, and, perhaps, bring me to an early grave. My aged father, whom I now mourn, more than I ever did since gave it as his opinion, that I ought to remove to a different climate. I know not how long this feeble frame, already much impaired by labors and trials, and an unfavorable climate, will continue to be the resting-place of my spirit: but I esteem it to be a duty to employ such means as are within our reach to preserve health or to regain it, *when higher duties to God and his church do not forbid it.*

2d. I have strong reason to fear that my usefulness among this people might, for a time at least, be diminished, and I now believe it is so, in consideration of the course which I have felt it to be my duty to pursue in relation to that great and fearful sin, of which our nation stands guilty before God, and in which those citizens participate who do not attempt its removal, according to their ability and the circumstances in which they are placed. I need not tell you that I refer to *American Slavery.* You have heard, and I am happy that you have heard, my sentiments on this immeasurably momentous subject. And you have known in what spirit those sentiments have been regarded by the citizens of Salem. Although a majority of the members of this Church have harmonized with me in opinion on this subject, and several, also, in the society, and a still greater number of my fellow-citizens belonging to other churches in the town and vicinity; yet you are not ignorant of the fact, that bitter opposition has been awakened among many in town who do not belong to this Society, together with some who do, and that these have labored, with an industry worthy of a different cause, to excite and propagate erroneous and prejudicial views of the opinions held by myself and others, who have agreed and acted with me. I am happy to be able to refer you to the Address, which, by special and urgent request, and contrary to my expectations and wishes, I consented to deliver in the month of January last, and which, by request of the Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, I suffered to be printed. In that Address are contained my views of the awful crime of enslaving our fellow-men, born to equal rights with ourselves, and of the manner by which that crime ought to be made to cease, and the consequences of it to be averted from our country, which now stands exposed to the loss of all her high privileges, through her adherence to this sin, for which God will visit a guilty nation.

Of all I have said on this subject, I have nothing to retract; but I rejoice that God has given me the opportunity to declare to you, and to so many others, his pure commands relative to it.

It was natural that the vials of displeasure should be poured out on me, in consideration of the addresses which my fellow-citizens of different denominations called me to deliver here and elsewhere; and on account of the honorable station in which they were pleased to place me as President of their Society. Let it not be overlooked, that in placing me in that station, several members of this church took part, among whom, I think, were both our deacons. I do not blame them, but I thank them; and yet, I hoped they would be willing to share with me something of the responsibility which was imposed by my election to that office, in accepting which, my brethren who were present will bear my testimony, I expressed my apprehension of the reproach and obloquy which have now fallen upon me, but which I felt in calling to bear in filling up of the sufferings of Jesus Christ.

Do not allow yourselves to believe, because it is not true, that I attach much importance to the unmerited calumnies with which in consequence of advocating the cause of liberty, the cause of God's oppressed people, I have been so laden, and which have been spread through the community with the express intention of injuring my influence, and, if possible, of cutting it off entirely. I fear, the purpose is so far accomplished on the minds of several members of the society, and, also, of the church, some of whom I know, for a time, countenanced and acted with me, that the evil cannot easily be done away. I have not, as some may have thought, been ignorant of what was doing around me, or unapprehensive of the consequences to myself.

Of the consequences to myself, personally, I am utterly careless, if so be that my poor efforts may ultimately tend to the breaking of the yoke of oppression from off the necks of the poor, degraded, and suffering countrymen, and to their reception of the word of God, of which they are now by wicked laws cruelly deprived.

This cause will live, and I daily pray God to shower blessings on all its supporters. When the triumph shall come, your humble pastor will no longer be censured for the part he took in it.

I feel a rich satisfaction in reviewing the past, and wherever I shall yet have opportunity to plead the cause of those whom so many despise, and are willing to leave in all their degradation and misery, it will be my happiness to say and more, and to speak still louder on their behalf.

With such views, you are aware, I must, if my connexion with you were to continue, pursue the same course. This might, for some time longer, prove injurious to the interests, I mean the pecuniary interests of this society; although I have no doubt that ultimately, and even before long, the Anti-Slavery Society will so triumph, that attachment to its principles will enter deeply into the qualifications of ministers.

I learn that some members of this Society have already expressed their entire alienation from me, so that they cannot hear me preach, and have given vent to my views on the subject of slavery. I could give names, if it were necessary. I will not accuse them of wrong in so doing, although it is obvious that, when a minister may not hold and express views in accordance with those of his flock, he is no longer a freeman. This I feel; and duty to my God, to his Church, and to my country, requires that I assert, not only the rights and liberties of the slave, but, also, of myself, as a freeman, and as a minister. This I would do in the spirit of meekness, and in such a manner, that the religious society with which I am connected, may suffer as little as possible. The Church is as free as myself, and so is the Society; and by my withdrawment, the responsibility of sustaining or abandoning the cause of liberty will rest more unobstructedly on them. And may God direct them in the right way, for his name's sake. These are my reasons for the step I now propose. Let them have their due weight with you, my respected friends, whose past kindness I shall continue to reflect upon with gratitude and pleasure, and whose present friendship, I trust, will not be interrupted by my present act. May the Lord ever abide with you as a Church and as individuals, and build you up in truth and in meekness, to the glory of his great name.

Your affectionate pastor,

CYRUS PITT GROSVENOR.

Salem, Sept. 19, 1834.

ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY have for sale at their office, No. 46, Washington-street,—

Rev. A. A. Phelps's Lectures on Slavery and its Remedy.

Letters of H. B. Stanton and Rev. D. R. H. Cox, with Speech of J. A. Thome of Kentucky.

Rev. C. P. Grosvenor's Address before the Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity.

Child's Speech, the Despotism of Freedom.

Mrs. Child's Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans.

Second Annual Report of the N. E. A. S. Society.

First Annual Report of the American A. S. Society.

Memoir and Poems of Phillis Wheatley.

Garrison's Thoughts on Colonization.

Ivimey's Lecture on Colonial Slavery.

Injustice and impolicy of the Slave Trade and of the Slavery of the Africans—a Sermon by Jonathan Edwards, D. D.

Complete setts of the Abolitionist embracing Reports of the N. E. A. S. Society, Garrison's Address before the African Abolition Freehold Society of Boston, and an Address before the Free People of Color in Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia.

Examination of Thomas C. Brown, at the Chatham-Street Chapel, New-York.

British Opinions of the American Colonization Society.

Garrison's Address before the African Abolition Freehold Society of Boston.

Anti-Slavery Hymns.

Analysis of the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, on the Question of Slavery, with notes by the editor. 8vo. pp. 213, price 75 cts.

Emancipation Letters on Slavery.

Proceedings of New-England Anti-Slavery Convention, held in May last, in Boston.

Hon. J. G. Birney's Letter on Slavery.

Address to the People of the U. States.

JUST FROM THE PRESS,

'The Maryland Colony Scheme Examined—by a Friend of Liberty.'

All orders promptly attended to by

B. C. BACON, *Agent.*

Boston, August 30, 1834.

FREE LABOR STORE,

Wholesale and Retail.—No. 376 *Pearl Street.*

THE subscriber informs his anti-slavery friends, that he has now for sale, a good supply of Calicoes, yard wide, and of common width; Muslins, unbleached, bleached, and colored; Canton Flannel; Table Diaper; Handkerchiefs; Checks; Knitting Cotton; Twist and Filling; Batts; Cotton wick; Irish Linen; India Muslins; East India and Brown Sugar in bags;—Also, single and double Refined in lumps and loaves; with the different sorts of Coffee, Tea, &c.

☞ Umbrellas of different sizes, covered with free labor Muslin; Letter, Post, and Cap Paper, made of linen rags.

JOSEPH H. BELL.

New-York, 8th mo. 25. pd.4w.

ANTI-SLAVERY BOOK STORE,

67, *Leapenard-street, near Broadway.*

THE Subscriber offers for sale, at the above place, a general assortment of publications of every description, wholesale and retail. Also, School Books and Stationery; Prints, &c. cheap for cash. Letter pressing and Job Printing, Book Binding and Paper Ruling, in the neatly executed style. Orders will be thankfully received, and punctually attended to.

N. B. All orders must be cashed, and all communications must be post paid.

D. RUGGLES.

New-York, May 26, 1834.

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE.

THE New-England Anti-Slavery Society have opened an Office at No. 46, Washington-street, Boston, over the Auction Room of Messrs. Baker & Alexander, for the transaction of their business and the dissemination of Tracts of the abolition of slavery. All anti-slavery works now or hereafter published, can be obtained at the Office on the most favorable terms. Gentlemen interested in the cause, in town and country, are respectfully invited to call.

Communications respecting the objects of the Society may be addressed to the subscriber, at said office.

B. C. BACON, *Sec'ry and Agent.*

Boston, July 26, 1834.

NOTICE.

COLORED INVENTORS of any art, machine, manufacture or composition of matter, or any new or useful improvement of any art, machine, manufacture or composition of matter, not known or used before in this application, are requested to make known their names and their respective inventions to the Editor of the Liberator, so far as they may deem it safe and proper to communicate the same. The objects of this notice are,

1st. To collect proofs of colored talent and ingenuity in the United States.

2d. To aid colored inventors in obtaining their patents for valuable inventions.

Boston, Aug. 9th, 1834. ep3m

BOARDING HOUSE REMOVED—The private Boarding House, kept for respectable persons of color, by Mrs. Serena Gardiner, at No. 19, Powell-street, is removed to No. 13, Elizabeth-street, where she continues the same business.

Philadelphia, June, 1834.

AGENTS FOR THE LIBERATOR.

MAINE—Nathan Winslow, Portland.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE—Rufus E. Cutler, Exeter; E. S. Gage, Acworth; David Cambell, Dover.

MASSACHUSETTS—Henry Kimball, Amesbury; Charles Whipple, Newburyport; Reuben Colman and Charles L. Remond, New-Bedford; Johnson Lyon; Edward Harvey Kimball, Amesbury; Edward J. Pompey, Nantucket.

VERMONT—Orson S. Murray, Orwell.

RHODE-ISLAND—Henry B. Benson and Alfred Bigelow, Providence.

CONNECTICUT—Henry Foster, Hartford. William Anderson, Middletown; Frederick Ober, Norwich; William Harris, Canterbury; Charles Jones and Samuel P. Dwell, Prospect.

NEW-YORK—Philip A. Bell and John Benson, New-York City; George Hogarth, Brooklyn; Benjamin Marriott, Hempstead; Thomas Hunt, Poughkeepsie; William P. Griffin, Albany; James W. Jones, Lansingburgh; Josiah Green, Rochester; Eli Peck, Lockport; Isaac Griffin, Saratoga; George Bowley, Geneva; Samuel N. Sweet, Adams.

DELAWARE—Thomas M'Pherson, Wilmington.

NEW-JERSEY—Isaac Stults, Newark; Abner H. Fisher, Trenton.

PENNSYLVANIA—Arnold Buffum, James Mott, Crummell, and Joseph Sharpless, Philadelphia; B. Vashon, Pittsburg; George Chester, Harrisburg; Thomas Hambleton, Germantown; Edward Bonsall, Chester; Thomas Williams, Lewistown; Edward Bonsall, Williamsport; John Williams, Valley Hill; William Brown, Williamsburg.

OHIO—George Cary, Cincinnati; James Hambleton, Spring Vale; James Lewis, Chillicothe; William Hill, Washington; Gessamus D. Cundall, Copley.

INDIANA—Jonathan Shaw, Nettle Creek; Richard Field, Jeffersonville.

HAYTI—William S. Bowler, Port-au-Prince.