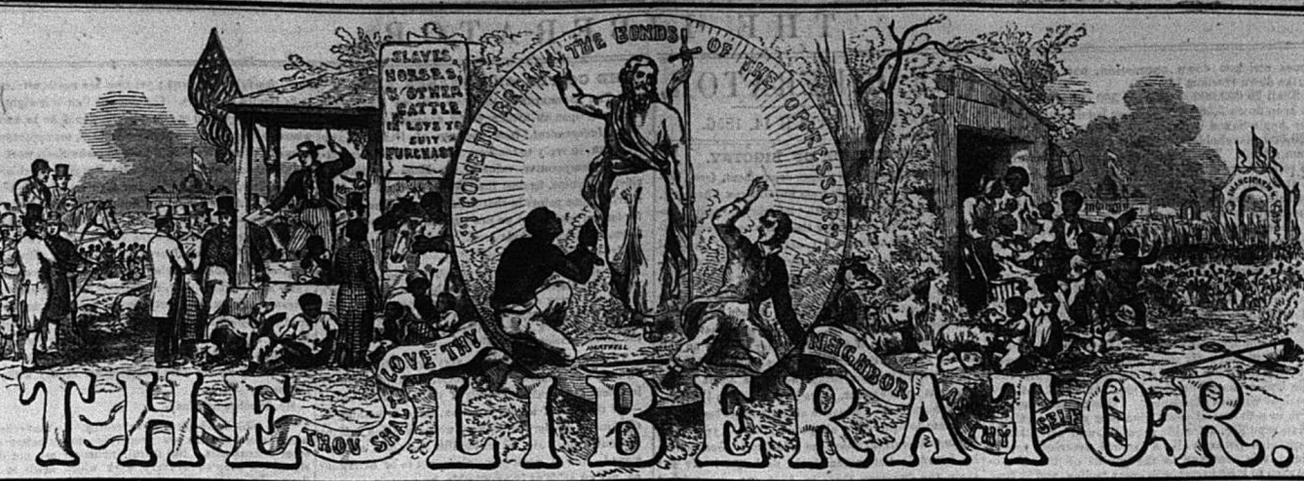


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serted three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00.
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,
Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-
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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial
Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts
of the paper, viz.:—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY
LOWELL, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILLIPS, and
WESLEY PHILLIPS.
In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of
every question are impartially allowed a hearing.
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



No Union with Slaveholders!
THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.
Yes! IT CAN BE DENIED—The slaveholding
lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their
assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to
SECURE THE PERSISTENCE OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR
SLAVES. The first was the inhumanity, for twenty years,
of preserving the African slave trade; the second was
THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—AN
engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,
delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exacting, fatal
to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-
sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under
the name of persons. . . . In fact, the oppressor repre-
sented the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-
stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of
mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of
riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the
government of the nation is to establish an artificial
majority in the slave representation over that of the
free people, in the American Congress; and THEREBY
TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETU-
ATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT
OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—John Quincy Adams.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 11.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1856. WHOLE NUMBER 1132.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Glasgow Chronicle of Jan. 30.
THE SLAVERY QUESTION IN AMERICA.
A few weeks ago, we made a remark or two on
the subject which the agitation against slavery in
the United States has come to assume, and took
occasion to express our belief that the divisions should
exist among those who had started from the same
point of hostility, in principle and act, and
justice and sin of slavery. Referring to the
section led by Mr. Lloyd Garrison, we glanced
at the lamentable admixture of their anti-
slavery opinions which they had come to make of
impeccable principles in politics, and infidel
principles in religion. Further consideration of
the matter induces us to suspect that the case has
more serious bearings than we were at first willing
to believe, and that it will be requisite for the
friends of freedom in this country, who are at the
front of the movement, to look well to the
persons in America to whom they give their
sympathy and aid, lest, while they are showing
their abhorrence of slavery, they should at the
same time be facilitating the overthrow of that
divine and true religion, without which all strug-
gles against injustice and immorality can but
feebly maintain themselves.
We are glad to find that many professors, and with shame
and grief be it said, many ministers, of religion in
the United States, have to answer for in connection
with the slavery question, and how ready they will
naturally be to retaliate upon those who have ex-
posed their disgraceful inconsistency and unfaith-
fulness, we were long reluctant to believe the
allegations which, years ago, began to be current
about the infidelity of the clergy. The charges
of infidelity have all along been denied
and we felt that other evidence than that of
men who themselves were far from being 'with-
out sin' was requisite, before the charge could be
justly looked on as established. Latterly, however,
evidence has been adduced of a kind which, cer-
tainly, exception cannot be taken—the evidence
of their own acts and declarations. In a recent
number of the Freeman, we observe that the Rev.
Mr. Williams of this city has directed attention to
the same resolutions adopted in 1835 at an
Anti-Slavery Convention which was held at Hartford,
Connecticut, and the leading spirits of which were
Joseph Barber, Andrew Jackson Davis, William
Lloyd Garrison, and Parker Pillsbury. The last
named of these gentlemen is, we believe, at present
in this country, and is one of the most active mem-
bers of the American Anti-Slavery Society, led by
Mr. Garrison. An attempt has been made in the
same journal to wipe off from him individuals
(and by implication from his coadjutors) the re-
proach of infidelity, but the resolutions quoted by
Mr. Williams, and which were moved by Mr. Gar-
rison, will, we should think, speak to most readers
for themselves. They are as follows:—
Resolved, That the doctrine of the American
church and priesthood,—that the Bible is the
Word of God, that whatever it contains was given
by Divine inspiration, and that it is the only rule
of faith and practice,—is self-evidently absurd,
unfoundedly injurious both to the intellect and soul,
highly pernicious in its application, and a stum-
bling block in the way of human improvement.
Resolved, That this doctrine has too long been
held as a potent weapon in the hands of time-
serving priests, to beat down the rising spirit of
religious liberty, and to discourage scientific develop-
ment; to subvert the interests of blind guides
and false teachers; and to fill all Christendom
with contention and strife; and, therefore, the
time has come to declare its untruthfulness, and
to unmask those who are guilty of this imposture.
Resolved, That it is a secondary question, as to
whom, where, or by whom, the books of the Old
and New Testaments were written; but the primary
and all-important question is, What do they
teach and command? And in order to ascertain
this, they are to be as freely examined, and as
readily accepted or rejected as any other books.
Resolved, That as they are found worthless or valuable,
according as they are found worthy or unworthy
of respect, it is the province of audacity and im-
pudence to write off from him individuals, and then
to make it a penal offence to give it to any of the mil-
lions who are held as chattel-slaves on its soil,
thus conspiring to make them miserable here and
hereafter.
Resolved, That, judging them by their course
of action towards all the reforms of the age, and
their position in society, the clergy of this coun-
try, as a body, were as ready to burn the Bible to-
morrow, if public sentiment overwhelmingly de-
manded it, and persecution and loss of con-
science should be the result of disobedience, as to-
day they are found earnest in their endorsement
of the plenary inspiration of that book, in ac-
cordance with public sentiment.
The fourth of these resolutions contains an irre-
fragible truth. The fifth and last shows a spirit
of bitter hostility to the ministers of religion as
standing to the clergy as a body, without exception
or qualification; and it is difficult to account for
feeling so indiscriminate, without assuming that it
extends as indiscriminately to the entire doctrines
which the clergy teach. As to the first three
resolutions, if they do not contain an avowal of
infidelity, as that is commonly understood, they
do comprehend them all; and whoever affirms
that the proposers and adopters of such resolutions
are not infidels, must be using language in some
peculiar sense, and with an intention to deceive.
Now, we are advocates of liberty in its strongest
meaning—liberty of opinion as well as liberty of
person. Messrs. Garrison and Pillsbury have a
perfect right (as regards their fellow-men) to re-
pudiate revealed religion, if they please. But they
have no right to sail under false colors, and lure
into association with them those who would sub-
scribe from them, if their true spirit and aims
were fully known. For our own part, we would
not account a man's infidelity a sufficient reason
for refusing, under all circumstances, co-operation
with him for a good object. But we would
certainly require that the object should be well de-
fined, and that the organization for its promotion
should not be perverted to objects apart from it,
and alien to it. Now, this is what there seems to
be so much reason for fearing the Garrison party
are doing, and as the slavery question is a
new crisis, it will be present to those only
sensible of the enormity of slavery whose views
emanate and aid of the friends of freedom in
this country.
We will throw out these hints in the mean time,
and shall probably have occasion to direct the at-
tention of our readers more particularly to the
subject hereafter.

DR. FULLER'S LETTER ON SLAVERY.

I reply at once to your query proposed to me in
the last True Union; not only because the kind
sentiments of your note call for some acknowl-
edgment, but because you say that some persons will
be 'influenced by the authority of my opinion,'
and I am most anxious that no influence of mine
shall ever seem to favor the perpetuation of sla-
very.
Nothing is more rare than a spirit which, in
earnest discussion, seeks only truth, and cares
nothing about victory. In the correspondence with
Dr. Wayland, to which you refer, I hope my de-
sires were pure; yet, with such a deep interest
involved, any man ought to be jealous of himself.
After all, however, I still think that the position
then assumed by me is fully maintained by Scrip-
ture and reason.
But let no one regard me as an advocate for sla-
very. I deeply regret its existence; and enough
it would reduce me to comparative poverty. I would
be relieved of a burden upon my conscience, if the
slaves in my possession could enjoy the blessings
of freedom. Considered simply as an abstract
question, the matter admits of no discussion. If
any right be incontestable, it is that of an indi-
vidual to his own flesh and bones and sinews.
But the subject of African slavery in this coun-
try is not an abstraction. The evil is so rooted
in the social system—it is so interwoven with the
entire civil and domestic economy, that its re-
moval presents a most difficult problem—a problem
defying my thoughts, and those of the wisest men
in the land with whom I have conversed.
The guilt of enslaving these Africans rests not
upon us. The only responsibility is our present
duty, as to which it becomes us to implore ear-
nestly the Divine guidance, and follow it.
For myself, I am too conscious of interest and
the prejudices of education, to confide implicitly
in my own judgment. I confess, too, that my
opinion has, at different times, oscillated.
I never visit the South, and see the comfort
and happiness and piety of the slaves, and recall
the sufferings and extremities and vices which I
have witnessed in our large cities, without doubt-
ing if any sudden change can benefit the negro.
And I, then, am reconciled to leaving the system
to those Gospel influences, which are, gradually,
constantly altering, mitigating, and elevating
the relation between master and slave.
On returning home, however, and reflecting on
the matter in my study, I have lost confidence in
my convictions, and resolved to emancipate the
slaves I own in my own right. But no sooner had
I thus determined than I found myself utterly
baffled. For what is to be done? Shall these people
be re-transported to Africa? They would not go. If
not, is it certain that a removal would be a
blessing to them? In short, I cannot expend the
large sums necessary for this purpose—I cannot
afford this, nor is there any sort of obligation on
me to do it.
The same answers apply with reference to trans-
porting them to some free State. The only course
then left is to set them free where they are. But
to this there are obstacles even more insuperable.
The law—laws passed to protect the slaves—prohibit
the constantly altering, mitigating, and elevating
of the white population would be endangered, if
many of these people, in their present condition,
were turned loose, to become vagabonds, having
no homes, tampering with the slaves, setting them
examples of idleness, and living by plunder. He
who should thus set his slaves free would incur
a fearful responsibility. I will only add, that
such a step, if permitted by law, might be, I fear
fatal to the negroes themselves. For-
gotten by their country, driven from the planta-
tion they once occupied, objects of suspicion to all
other masters, persecuted by evil men, cut off from
redress by injuries to their rights, without land or
house or home—they would either supplicate per-
mission to return to their former state, or they
would become desperate, and perish in the woods
or on the gallows.
Machiavelli says, that 'to make a servile people
free is as difficult as to make a free people slaves.'
This is true, even when a nation moves in behalf
of the emancipation of a distinct race long en-
slaved. How slowly can such a people be prepared
for liberty! How few even of the nations called free
are capable of freedom! I dare not pronounce
slavery, in some type of it, the 'vulnus inmedicabile'
of fallen humanity; but it is a chronic disease,
demanding chronic remedies, and great care and pa-
tience.
Thus answered your query. Slavery-making
is sinful. To hold slaves from motives purely
mercenary, and to treat them as chattels, is sinful.
But slaveholding is not a sin. He who affirms
this despises the plainest Scriptures, and betrays
a mind utterly blinded by prejudice and fanaticism;
for a continuation of the relation may be
the best for the slave, and no alternative may re-
main for the master.
But for the violence and recklessness of fanaticism,
I might hope to see measures adopted at the
South which would benefit masters, and secure for
the African a condition preferable to freedom. I
have elsewhere advocated colonization; it is
visionary, however, to suppose that our millions
of slaves will ever be transported across the ocean.
This black race is fixed among us. Amalgamation
or equality with the Saxon race is out of the question.
What, then, is the true course which legisla-
tors should pursue? I think the legislatures of the South-
ern States ought to imitate the noble magnanimity
of the Roman emperors, and become the guardians
of the slaves. The South is at least as much un-
der the Christian influence as the North; and the Gos-
pel suggests a code which would recognize the re-
lation of master and slave, but so regulate the rights
and duties of each party, that all the abuses of
the system would be removed, and both parties
really benefited.
Such a code of laws, I think, it would not be
impossible to frame. But it is unnecessary to
dwell on this point now. Nothing can be done for
the slaves, the benevolent wishes of their true
friends must be defeated, and their efforts par-
alyzed, while fanaticism is resolved to irritate and
ulcerate the Southern mind, and create a morbid
sensitiveness which forbids any movement towards
this momentous and delicate subject.
While North-
western politicians persist in their hollow, selfish,
intriguing declamations about the abominations of
slavery, and while Northern religious journals—
not only raving Billingsgate Chronicles, but pa-
pers as respectable as the Independent—will per-
sist in abuse and rancor, will manifest, not so
much regard for the slave as settled hatred for the
master; while this systematic 'malice and evil
speaking,' these tirades of calumny and false-
hood, are necessarily goading and insulting the

HEAR THE WORDS OF A VENERABLE PATRIARCH.

We publish below (says the Georgia Federal Union) an able and patriotic letter from ex-Governor Wilson Lumpkin. It will be seen that he endorses President Pierce in full. We have always had implicit confidence in the patriotism and prudence of the President; but we confess we feel our hands greatly strengthened when we find we are sustained by such men as Wilson Lumpkin and George M. Troup.
In the present alarming crisis of the country, what should be done to beat back the aggressions of anti-slavery fanaticism, and, if possible, to prevent a dissolution of the Union? Allow me to answer this important question. The friends of the Constitution every where, and especially the friends of the constitutional rights of the Southern States, should unite, as with the voice of one man, forgetting all party issues, and let our enemies see and know how vain and delusive are their hopes of keeping us warring upon each other upon exploded and insignificant issues. Let us regard the man who would continue such divisions among ourselves at this time as our open enemy—as an emissary of the unholy alliance of the New England, Old England, and French abolitionists. At a time like this, no true patriot will be found laboring to keep alive the foul demon of party strife at the South. Nor will he be found taking sides with the negro thieves of the North, in denouncing and weakening the hands of President Pierce for throwing himself nobly and patriotically into the scale of the constitutional rights of the States. His only offense is his masterly indication of the constitutional rights and equality of the slaveholding States. The platform on which President Pierce has taken his stand in all of his important State papers, and more especially in his annual message to Congress, and in his special message on Kansas affairs, contains my sentiments, politically, morally, and constitutionally. I endorse them with my whole heart. And how can any Southern man do otherwise? How can a Southern man stand any longer like the cold shoulder to President Pierce's administration? We owe it to ourselves, as well as to our noble, generous, patriotic friends in the non-slaveholding States, to be united among ourselves in their support; and to repudiate, as traitors to Southern rights, all who wish to divide us upon the subject of the slave question.
Standing on the platform which I do, I will not stop to inquire whether a man who is sound on the slave question is a Whig or a Democrat, as a native-born or a naturalized citizen. All I ask is loyalty to the Constitution and the rights of the South. I am unalterably opposed to a dissolution of the Federal Union, until it is proved, beyond all doubt, that the constitutional rights of the States cannot be maintained in the Union. And if our Union is to be saved, the South must not allow themselves to be divided, but combine all their efforts in one compact host, and present an unbroken front in defense of their constitutional rights, and unflinching opposition to Northern aggression.
The fanatics of the North have already driven us to the brink of the precipice. Nothing but the aid of Northern patriotism and intelligence can save the rights of the South, and perpetuate the Union. And now, let every Southern man, of every party and every name, march up and take his stand on the platform erected by President Pierce, and with such a leader and standard-bearer, the country will be rescued from the hand of the spoiler.
WILSON LUMPKIN,
Athens, Feb. 12, 1856. Of Georgia.

EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES IN VIRGINIA.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES.
The House, on the 4th instant, resumed the consideration of the bill to amend chapter 199 of the code.
The pending question was on filling the blank in the following clause within brackets:—
'All emancipation of slaves made or directed to be made by last will and testament, shall be null and void, [unless adequate provision be made by such last will and testament for the removal from the State of the slave so emancipated within twelve months after the death of the testator.] No provision shall be considered adequate which is less than \$— for each slave emancipated; and no emancipation shall be made to take effect in future.'
Motions were pending to fill the blank respectively with '\$250,' '\$100,' and '\$50,' which were withdrawn.
Mr. Garnett remarked, that the House yesterday had declared against all future emancipation by last will and testament, but that subsequently a clause was introduced and adopted; the effect of which was virtually to reverse that decision. With a view to enable the gentleman from Franklin (Mr. Edwards), who expressed a wish to do so, to make a motion to reconsider the vote by which that clause was adopted, he would withdraw his proposition to fill the blank with '\$250.' The other motions to fill the blank, viz., with '\$100' and '\$50,' were also withdrawn.
Mr. Edwards then made his motion to reconsider, which was agreed to.
The question before the House then was upon reinserting this clause within brackets, as above.
Mr. Johnston maintained that there ought to be no right to emancipate by will, except for meritorious services. He said that this right of emancipation was the right of annihilation, which the law did not recognize. He said a man should enjoy at his death the largest right to dispose of his property among the community as he thought proper. He maintained that the rights of emancipation, which was the right of annihilation, should be very different, and that the right should be withheld, except under the circumstances indicated.
Mr. Claiborne took opposite ground from the gentleman from Harrison (Mr. Johnston). He maintained that an individual had a right to annihilate his property, provided such annihilation was not attended with any disadvantage to his neighbors.
Mr. Hoge said, that immediately before the adjournment of the House, yesterday, he made a remark that there had been an issue presented in the discussion of this subject, upon which he desired

SELECTIONS.

A LETTER FROM CASSIUS M. CLAY.
At the recent National Republican Convention held at Pittsburg, (Pa.) Gov. Bingham of Michigan read the following letter from Cassius M. CLAY to Louis Clephane and others, members of the Washington Republican Association:—
GENTLEMEN: Your favor of the 25th December, ult., was duly received, but, under the pressure of business, I have not been able sooner to give you an answer. Allow me to say that I approve of your central organization, of the National Republican Association, the expediency of its establishment, and the patriotism of its purposes.
I regret that the causes that have so long delayed my answer will not allow me to accept your flattering invitation to address your Society during the present session of Congress.
Presuming, however, upon the language of your letter, that my 'position as a Southern man,' and 'the circumstances of the present time,' would enable me to do 'the cause more good than any other man in the nation,' I venture to make some remarks, which my devotion and long self-sacrifice to the cause of liberal principles will entitle me to more consideration than any ability I shall be able to bring to the task.
I enclose you my speech delivered some years ago, at Lexington, Kentucky. In that you will find all I have to say of African Slavery and emancipation as a 'Southern man.' I think I have there shown that Slavery is consistent only with a state of semi-barbarism. And before the friends of Liberty in the South can be driven from the field of successful logic, our opponents must denounce civilization itself. I have there proven that all material development is retarded by Slavery. Not only, by a priori reasoning, as such Slavery de-
saps labor and makes it ignorant, that therefore it saps the foundation of its efficiency, but that the experiment of free and slave labor in these States, in agriculture, in manufacture, in mining, and in commerce, confirms the conclusion.
The census, though necessarily imperfect, no doubt, has driven the intelligent men of the South to acknowledge that the North excels the South not only in these last departments, but that the South is second even in agriculture; where, before the stubborn battery of figures was brought to bear, she once successfully entrenched herself for defence.
'Cotton' is no longer 'king,' but gives way to eight articles of staple production—Indian corn, wheat, hay, and fodder, pasturage, cattle, horses and mules, slaughtered animals, and swine. The value of horned cattle is put down at \$420,000,000, while cotton is only \$120,000,000.
The great cities—the exponents of productive and consumptive powers of States—the canals, the railroads, the ships, of the North, had, to the philosophical mind, determined the result, long before statistics came in to silence debate. Boston itself is said to contain one eighth part of the capital of the nation! With a poor soil and a harsh climate, she has outstripped the forces of nature, instead of her fellow-man, to her will. 'Free Schools' have allowed her workmen to avail themselves of the mechanical powers, of chemistry, of electricity, of the winds, of the waters, and of steam. In Maine, in Vermont, in New Hampshire, in Connecticut, in Massachusetts, wherever manufacturing towns spring up, you will find Massachusetts cities. Her railroads extend into every land, and her ships sail on every sea. All the South, with her superior climate, quality and extent of soil, variety of production, and facility for railroads and canals presents, in approximation even, no such city as Boston.
'Cured be Canaan!' and he is—master and slave! Who shall deliver them from this death! In intellectual and moral improvement, there is more room for controversy. Yet the conclusion is not far off, when the defenders of Slavery denounce the new-sprung press and common schools as 'damnable engines' of progress, and in conflict with all true conservatism. The many 'isms' in social, political, moral and religious science of the North, which are so much rallied at by the slave-propaganda, are the evidences of intellectual life—the scales which are wastefully thrown off from the stimulated mind and passions, while man is being transformed into better metal and nobler structure. The conservatism of the South is the quietude and homogeneity of the unwrought ore, which lies forever unchanged in the dark mines of ignorance and despotism.
When all these arguments are pressed home upon the South, the advocates of the 'peculiar institution' venture to take refuge in the alleged superior courage and gallantry of Southern men. It is not my part, myself a Southerner, to draw invidious distinctions, in this respect, between the North and the South. There are noble elements of character in both people. But the annals of these noble warriors to the South to claim a superiority of courage, were fought the first and bloodiest battles; and those ever-memorable sea fights where, if anywhere, it can be said of America, 'Eripuit seipsum tyrannus!' Neither is the 'Logic of History' in favor of the prowess of slaveholding States. The warlike tribes who overthrew the slaveholding and more civilized nations of Europe, during the decline of the Roman Empire, were not the slaves of arrogant tyrants, but stern freemen, following, voluntarily, the standard of elected leaders. So later history bears us out: and nations are now powerful in proportion as they are free. Sentiments of Liberty only impart heroism to the soul; and equality and dignity of labor only give that energy and capability of physical structure, which are alike necessary to success in peace and war. So long as nations have been free in their municipal organization, they have rarely fallen under foreign conquest. Only when the masses of the people have become servile, has it been that they care no longer to choose between masters, and that their subjection has been sure.
These, gentlemen, are the views which, as a citizen of a slave State, I have so often and earnestly urged upon the South. As an Anti-Slavery question, it can only be legitimately settled by the slave States themselves. There the founders of the Republic placed it, and there the wise men of the whole nation have ever been willing to leave it for a solution.
But the necessary sequence of its toleration has elevated this from a 'sectional' to a 'national' issue. It is no longer a question of 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery,' but of Liberty and Republicanism on one side, and 'Divine Right' and Despotism on the other. The Slavery propaganda have reopened the problem solved by the evolution of the constitution, and ignore 'a law of nature' which our fathers of 1776 simply 'reinstated' in terms in the immortal Declaration. The viper, warmed into life by our mistaken sympathies, recovers its ancient venom, and threatens to drive from the home of the United States Constitution the rightful owners of the hearthstone! Slavery, which was left

only to die with decency, 'has become the vital and animating spirit of the National Government.' The oligarchy of the three hundred thousand slaveholders no longer conceal their purposes or deny their assumptions. Not only the blacks, but the whites of the South have lost their liberties. Notionally free, they have long since ceased to be a 'third estate' in the slave States. They have no social equality—no political force—no moral influence. Slipped in ignorance and poverty, the privileged class neither respect their position, nor fear their power. The ostensible representatives of the people, in obedience to their masters, have not only reduced the laboring masses to servitude, but add insult to injury, by openly avowing that Slavery is the rightful state of the laborer everywhere, white and black! All the guarantees of English Liberty which we inherited before the Revolution are stricken down. The reign of terror has done its fiend work; from the press, the pulpit and the stump, there comes no word of remonstrance. The horrors of mob law have crushed out the spirit of the once gallant yeomanry of the South. Despair has seized upon the brave hearts; weeping, bleeding, dying, we sink down into our voiceless woe!
Marching from the field of home conquest, the three hundred thousand take possession of the National Government—plant their flag upon the capitol of the Union—and they are no longer content with bringing to the block the treasonable advocates of Republicanism! The slaveholders have from the beginning been in secret rebellion against the Government of our fathers; but now, seconded by atrocious servility in Church and State, they avow their supremacy and defy resistance. They control our foreign and domestic policy, make war and peace, enact and trample under foot laws and treaties and constitutions, as suits their despotic will. Their awards are no less insulting than their acts are insufferable and despotic. In the temple of Liberty, Liberty herself is derided. In the Senate of the United States, the dicta of its founders are denounced as a lie. The celebration of the Fourth of July, in all the States, is looked upon as little else than a treasonable emule. The laws of Congress and the constitutional privileges of the citizens of the several States are alike denied validity when conflicting with the opinions or interests of the Oligarchy. Courts of justice, which are denied in one State for the liberation of a citizen, are converted in another to the destruction of the liberties of all. The great writ of habeas corpus, which we vainly imagined the sheet anchor of our freedom from arbitrary power, has been turned by our highest justices into a most facile and terrible instrument of irresistible despotism. The right of petition and remonstrance against these judicial tyrannies, once forbidden by the people, is now no less effectually struck down by proscription. The defenders of the rights of man are deemed unfit for place outside of Congress—as 'belonging to an unhealthy organization,' they are excluded from honorable position in it.
'The friends of Liberty, driven from the capital, take refuge in the States; but even there their tankiness of spirit and ignoble obscurity cannot shield them from renewed insult and determined persecution. Laws, monstrous and unconstitutional, pursue them through their homes, strip them of their sacred hearthstone, and compel them to complicity in the greatest of wrongs which is capable of being inflicted upon human nature. If the codes of antiquity were justly denounced as bloody, which, for one crime inflicted one penalty, by the hard deprivation of one right, what shall be said of this statute, which, without crime, exhausts all penalty, and leaves the bleeding, mutilated, dying slave, once forbidden by the people, is now no less effectually struck down by proscription. The defenders of the rights of man are deemed unfit for place outside of Congress—as 'belonging to an unhealthy organization,' they are excluded from honorable position in it.
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POETRY.

THE GREATER DAY.

For the Liberator. THE GREATER DAY. BY G. W. PUTNAM. 'Twas a great day for earth; the tyrant's fall Had threated the wheat, and flung the shaft on high; A world was on the deep—the Mayflower's sail Loomed in the winter sky.

THE LIBERATOR.

A CHOICE SPECIMEN OF PRIESTLY AROGANCE AND BIGOTRY.

A copy of the following correspondence having accidentally fallen into our hands, during our recent visit to Auburn, (N. Y.) we take the liberty to publish it, as one of the 'richest' exhibitions of priestly avarice and bigotry, on the part of the Rev. WALTER AYRAULT, Rector of St. Peter's Church, who have seen for some time past. Mr. Mellen, who replies to his letter, is now settled, we believe, over the Universalist Church at Gloucester, Mass.—Ed. Lib.

APPETITE FOR TOBACCO A GIANT.

I have known men, when out of tobacco, pick and chew the very threads of their pockets, once saturated with its power. I have known a victim of the weed say, with tears in his eyes, he wished tobacco a thousand dollars a pound, so that the price would place it beyond his reach. I have known men chew their quid over and over again some half a dozen times, when 'short cut;' as they say.

Dr. J. C. Jackson presided at the informal meeting, and Mrs. C. A. Joy over the organized Convention.

A very well written address was read by Dr. Harriet N. Austin, which will be printed in tract form. Resolutions of thanks to Hon. Gerrit Smith, for the able and fearless expression of his views on Dress Reform, and other Resolutions, embodying many of the strong points in his letter on that subject, were adopted with great unanimity.

It is a little remarkable that the Observer and the Liberator should stand side by side in attacking my speech.

It is a little remarkable that the Observer and the Liberator should stand side by side in attacking my speech. Did not Mr. Garrison relect upon these facts? Is it probable that he could be right when agreeing with the Observer? He has not been wont to live in such company, and should look well to his steps. The Observer is not a safe guide. But the case is more favorable to the Liberator than to the Observer. The Liberator does not believe in fighting, (except in a moral way.) The Observer does. The Liberator does not believe in physical self-defence. The Observer does.

Here is a morsel that is richly Loughborough, containing lessons of wisdom, which is one of his best characteristics.

Never jump a sheep that's frightened Over any fence whatever. Over wall, or fence, or timber. But a second follows after. And a third upon the second. And a fourth, and fifth, and so on. Till they all see the quack succession. One by one have got clear over. So misfortunes, almost always, Follow after one another. Seem to watch each other, always. When the air the fall uplifted. As the sorrow leapteth over. So they follow, thicker, faster. Till the air of earth seems darkened With the tails of sad misfortunes.

Emphatically 'A Home Book!' FOURTH THOUSAND! GLANCES AND GLIMPSSES; Or, Fifty Years of Social, comprising Twenty Years' Professional Life. BY HARRIOT K. HUNT, M. D.

THE TRIAL OF THEODORE PARKER For the Memorial of a speech in Faneuil Hall, in the United States, at Boston, April 8, 1850. Trade supplied by JOHN P. JEWETT & CO.

REMOVAL. THAXTER & BROTHER, Opticians, (successors to John Pierce), have removed to 139 WASHINGTON STREET, Two doors south of School st. October 19.

JOHN OLIVER, CARPENTER, No. 43 GOUGH STREET, BOSTON. Champoning and Hair-Dyeing SALOON.

DR. H. W. MASO, DENTIST, 49 TREMONT STREET, BOSTON. (OVER LEONARD & CO'S AUCTION ROOM.)

COLORED PATRIOTS OF THE American Revolution, WITH SKETCHES OF SEVERAL DISTINGUISHED COLORED PERSONS; To which is added a brief survey of the Condition and Prospects of Colored Americans.

KNOW THYSELF. R. P. WILSON, Psychometric Delinquent of Character and Clairvoyant Physician, 282 Seventh Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Worcester Hydropathic Institution, On Arch and Fountain Streets, WORCESTER, MASS.

UNCLE TOBY.

GERRIT SMITH'S APPEAL TO A DEAR BOY ON TOBACCO. MY DEAR GEORGE,—I could have went, the other day, when I saw you smoking a cigar. You are fourteen years old, and already at you poison your body and your soul with tobacco!

THE OBSERVER AND LIBERATOR.

When the Boston Liberator and the New York Anti-Slavery Standard Bearer us for advocating force in the defence of Kansas, we cannot but accept it with respect, though we do not concede the doctrine of non-resistance upon which they stand.

THE REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

EAST BRIDGewater, March 2, 1856. FRIEND GARRISON: I was not a little surprised to see an article in last week's LIBERATOR, from our friend Everett, in favor of the abolition of the 'Refuge of Oppression' from the paper.

REPORT IN THE DRESS OF WOMAN.

GLEN HAVEN, March 1st, 1856. DEAR GARRISON: Doubtless many of your readers will be interested to know some particulars of a Convention, having for its object the advancement of reform of woman's dress, that met at Glen Haven Water Cure, on the 21st and 22d ult.

LITTLE THINGS.

Do something for each other— Though small the help may be; There's comfort oft in little things, Far more than others see!

THE CONFLICT.

Our fathers to their graves are gone; Their stripes are o'er, their triumphs won; But nobler conflicts wait the race That rises in their honored place;

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