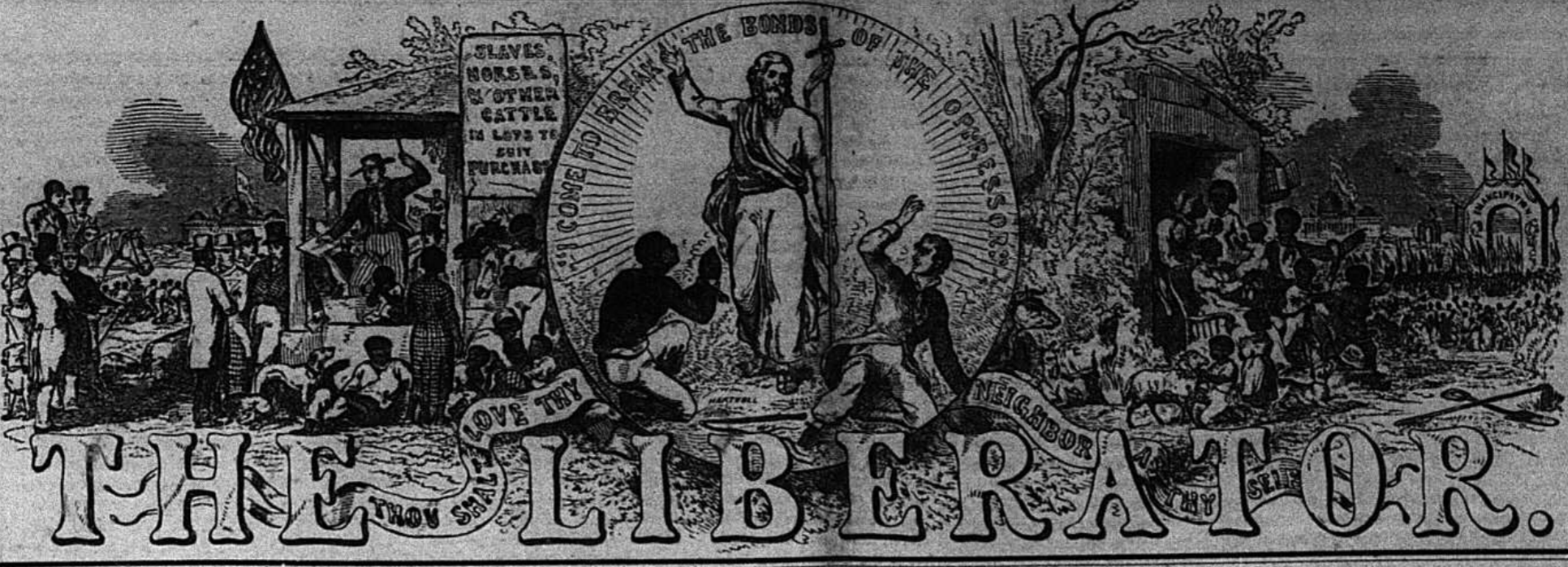


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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILLIPS, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.



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

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. **J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.**
VOL. XXVII. NO. 34. BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, 1857. WHOLE NUMBER, 1389.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Boston Courier.
LETTER FROM THE SOUTH.
 Richmond, Va., July, 1857.

MR. EDITOR—In my last, I stated some reasons why Christian men here regard with suspicion every thing said or done at the North about slavery. I thought they read the history of this agitation for the last thirty years, they saw that it has steadily progressed to one result—the dissolution of our union and the order to abolish slavery.

All Anti-Slavery Agitation Hastening to one Result. In this opinion, the Southern mind is daily more united. It sees that even the more conservative anti-slavery feeling of the North is fast growing into sympathy with the ultra and infidel school of doctrine—that the evangelical pulpit of the North is becoming auxiliary to the godless philosophy, the godless philanthropy, of that school. I do not suppose that the evangelical anti-slavery ministers of the North will admit this, or that even the pulpit of the Church of the Puritans, on the whole, will admit what is so evident to others. I do not suppose that the Southern mind is daily more united. It sees that even the more conservative anti-slavery feeling of the North is fast growing into sympathy with the ultra and infidel school of doctrine—that the evangelical pulpit of the North is becoming auxiliary to the godless philosophy, the godless philanthropy, of that school. I do not suppose that the evangelical anti-slavery ministers of the North will admit this, or that even the pulpit of the Church of the Puritans, on the whole, will admit what is so evident to others. I do not suppose that the Southern mind is daily more united. It sees that even the more conservative anti-slavery feeling of the North is fast growing into sympathy with the ultra and infidel school of doctrine—that the evangelical pulpit of the North is becoming auxiliary to the godless philosophy, the godless philanthropy, of that school. I do not suppose that the evangelical anti-slavery ministers of the North will admit this, or that even the pulpit of the Church of the Puritans, on the whole, will admit what is so evident to others.

SELECTIONS.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.
 B. 'Are you honest, Cudjoe?'
 C. 'What you give me, Massa?'

A National Convention of the advocates of Compensated Emancipation—that is, of the abolition of Slavery throughout our Union on the basis of charging the cost of such Emancipation on the People of both the Free and Slave States—is called to meet in Cleveland, Ohio, on the 20th of August.

The undersigned, belonging to different political parties, being persuaded that it is very desirable that some practicable and equitable plan should be brought forward, by which the people of the North may cooperate in a generous and brotherly spirit with the people of the South, and share with them the expense necessary to the extinction of slavery, would respectfully and earnestly invite those of their parties and sections of the Union who entertain the same opinion, to meet in Cleveland, Ohio, on the 20th, 25th and 27th of August next; there to discuss and develop some plan of emancipation which shall fully recognize the principle and policy of a fair and honest compensation to the slaveholders for the manumission of their slaves:

Eliphaz Nott, Schenectady, N. Y.; Mark Hopkins, Williamstown, Mass.; George Betune, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Leonard Bacon, New Haven, Ct.; Dudley A. Tappan, Philadelphia, Pa.; Abel Stevens, New York, N. Y.; Joseph Brooks, St. Louis, Mo.; Thomas C. Upham, Brunswick, Me.; Gerrit Smith, Ferrisburgh, N. Y.; George P. Magraw, Danversport, Vt.; John W. Harford, Ct.; Theodore North, Elmira, N. Y.; J. B. Bittiger, Cleveland, Ohio; Augustus W. Smith, Middletown, Ct.; John F. Eberhart, Dixon, Ill.; Elijah Coffin, Richmond, Ind.; Timothy Cooley, Graffville, Mass.; Nicholas St. Johnsbury, N. Y.; William W. Ellsworth, Hartford, Ct.; and others.

[As no society has yet been organized in connection with this movement, those desiring any additional information in reference to the Convention, may address their communications to Elihu Burritt, New Britain, Conn., up to the 20th August.]

In subordination to the above, we notice that a meeting to choose delegates was recently held at Schenectady, and that Dr. Nott, Platt Potter, and other respected and influential citizens, united in the call. We infer that the general call given above will soon appear with a long and strong list of signatures appended. It is our earnest, indefatigable desire, that every man, woman and child, who has a heart for the oppressed, and who is desirous to see the cause of the oppressed, should be present at the Convention. We understand that over a hundred signatures have been obtained in the State of Delaware alone.

We rejoice that this Convention is to be held, and trust it may be numerously attended. Let Slavery, like any other great social wrong, be discussed in every practicable light, and every possible measure and measure be thoroughly considered. We will not say that some measure of National compensation to slaveholders may not ultimately, and wisely, be adopted. Certainly, if the slaveholding class were this day to make the offer—'Give us the Public Lands, and we will abolish Slavery; or, 'Give us Twenty Millions' per annum for fifty years from the Federal Treasury, and we will abolish Slavery to-morrow,' we should be inclined to answer, 'Take the Lands, or take the money, and let our country be a Republic as well as a slave State.' We will not say that some measure of National compensation to slaveholders may not ultimately, and wisely, be adopted. Certainly, if the slaveholding class were this day to make the offer—'Give us the Public Lands, and we will abolish Slavery; or, 'Give us Twenty Millions' per annum for fifty years from the Federal Treasury, and we will abolish Slavery to-morrow,' we should be inclined to answer, 'Take the Lands, or take the money, and let our country be a Republic as well as a slave State.'

THE TRACT SOCIETY'S SOUTHERN FAIR.

The managers at the Tract House, while treating with utter neglect all the appeals and remonstrances of such of the Northern supporters of the Society as desire them to publish something against slavery, appear to be busily engaged in conciliating the slaveholders at the South, and convincing them that the resolutions of the Committee of Investigation, which Dr. Thompson, of the *Independent*, so promptly accepted and endorsed, did not mean anything in particular, and therefore that the Society had no objection to do. And now we have before us the *Independent* (Md.) *Star* of the 7th ult.—a journal published in the very hotbed of the domestic traffic in slaves—in which we find a communication signed, officially, by the General Agent of the Society for Maryland, District of Columbia, and Virginia. It is the reply to some criticism that had appeared in the *Star*, and concludes as follows—

'You will therefore permit me to say, that the *Contributors* of the American Tract Society are not permitted to sell or distribute any other books than those issued by the Society.

'2. Of the 250 millions of publications that have gone out from the Tract House, there has not been one word on the subject of the slave trade.

'3. I have the assurance of the officers of the Society, that they will abide by the Constitution, and publish only what is agreed to by the constitutional Convention all over the country.'

G. W. Kennedy,
 Genl. Agt. A. T. S., Md., D. C. & Va.
 TRACTS, Talbot Co., Md.

The slave-trading Christians (!) of the Chesapeake, thus reassured, will doubtless indicate their gratitude by their usual liberal contributions to the Society's treasury.—A. S. Standard.

WHOM COMPENSATION IS DUE.

Extract from the 'Declaration of Sentiments' of the National Anti-Slavery Convention, adopted in Philadelphia, December, 1833—

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the holders of slaves, for their manumission. Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man.

Because SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THEREFORE IT IS NOT AN ARTICLE TO BE SOLD;

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim;—freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to the right owner;—it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave;—restoring him to himself;—Because immediate and general emancipation would only amputate a limb, not real property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers; and

Because if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

WHERE LIES THE INDEBTEDNESS.

Extract from a speech delivered by GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., in Manchester, England, before the abolition of British West India slavery:—

I am very friendly to compensation. I should like the negro to be compensated. (Applause.) I should like them to show how much we owe the negro for his hitherto uncompensated toil; what debt we owe to Africa, where no wind for ages has gone over her plains, without gathering up the sighs and blood, broken hearts and general emancipation would only amputate a limb, not real property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers; and

Because if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

NO COMPENSATION TO SLAVEHOLDERS.

Extract from the Declaration of Principles, drawn up by WILLIAM GOODALE, and adopted by the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Convention in 1836—

We cannot consent to offer the slave master a compensation. We know of nothing that he has done, or is desired to do, which should entitle him to any. It cannot be for having used his neighbor's services without wages—it cannot be for any of the things embodied in the slave code, or revealed in the practical operation—it cannot be for the protection afforded the slave by the slave laws—it cannot be for having forbidden the slave to learn to read the Bible—it cannot be for having separated wives from their husbands and infants from their mothers—it cannot be for any or for all these things that the slave master is entitled to a compensation. Nor can it be for ceasing to do these things, in the case of emancipation. Men should never be hired to abandon such disgraceful practices, nor will men of true Christian honor receive such a compensation.

Besides, slaveholding is either a profitable practice, or otherwise. If it is profitable, then the profits of the slave's own labor must have paid the master long ago for the original purchase money, even if he were entitled to be refunded for it. The Greeks and Romans, like the modern Spaniards, always allowed the slave to go free as soon as he had paid for himself his purchase value. If slaveholding were profitable, then surely two centuries of service must have sufficed for the compensation of the slaveholder, if not for the admission of his claim. But if slaveholding be not profitable—if the keeping is worth as much as the labor—then the property in the slave is merely nominal, and of no real value! The master can suffer no loss in giving up such property! How much should be paid to a man for the damages done him in taking away a horse, which could earn no more than his keeping? We see no foundation, then, for the compensation of the master in this case. If he loses, it is not by emancipation, but by the unprofitable purchase, in the first place. Let him be entrusted to make a better investment in future. Again—

Emancipation destroys no property—it breaks no bones—it unstrings no muscles; the slave can earn as much money after emancipation as he ever could. There is no property destroyed. And if it be taken from the wrong claimant, and given to the right owner, there can be no compensation due to the wrong claimant, on account of the transfer. On the other hand, the slave is entitled to compensation for his unrequited labor. This was required to be done, under the law of Moses, by which the servant was directed to be set free at the Jubilee, with a 'compensation' from his master.

Further—The history of former experiments amply prove that, by emancipating their slaves, and paying them fair wages, the masters gain money, instead of losing it. They save the immense expense of drivers and overseers, iron collars, whips, chains, and thumbcuffs! Slave labor is wasteful and unprofitable in the long run, and the Southern States would be enriched, not impoverished, by emancipation.

Above all, we cannot offer the master a compensation for the slave, because it contradicts the fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. THE LIBERATOR, FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, 1857. VOL. XXVII. NO. 34. BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, 1857. WHOLE NUMBER, 1389.

DIVISION OF THE UNION.

My attention is attracted by THE LIBERATOR and other papers, to a 'Call' for a Convention of delegates from all the free States, to be held in October, &c.

Impressed with these views of the Convention, I desire, by this communication, to prepare the minds of those who may see it, and who may be called to attend, for a well-considered discussion.

Nothing is more apparent, or would probably be more generally agreed to, than that the pro-slavery sentiment of the South has vastly increased since the Revolution; and, on the other hand, that the anti-slavery sentiment of the North has, within a few years, acquired a rapid extension and intensity.

I next consider the expediency, or, perhaps, as I hope to show, the necessity for measures on the part of the free States for a peaceful division of the Union.

That a separation of the free from the slave States would effect a total abolition of slavery, and in a shorter time than in any other mode, may be easily shown.

Having shown the probability and expediency of a separation of the States, I have now to consider the practicability of a movement for that purpose.

persons in the North, and perhaps of a majority of those at the South. So sacred is the Union considered by the mass of our citizens, that the fear of its dissolution has induced many of the sincere friends of freedom to withhold their efforts for its predominance.

Other considerations than those relating to the abolition of slavery may be adduced for the separation of the Union. They may be introduced by asking the question—Of what value to the people of the free States is their political connection with the South.

I am aware that the vast extent of dominion possessed by the United States is a subject of pride to American citizens, who anticipate a condition which shall make our government not merely a first-rate power, but the very highest among nations.

Still, the ambitious patriot, who glories in the magnitude of his country, and deprecates the exclusion of any part of it, may console himself for such a loss by the expectation that it will be only temporary.

A reunion, then, of all the States, present and future, blessed with entire deliverance from the curse of slavery, and with the extension to all parts of the educational system of the North, and with a Constitution which should better guard against the danger of centralization, rapidly increasing in population and settlement, which a free soil only encourages.

Having shown the probability and expediency of a separation of the States, I have now to consider the practicability of a movement for that purpose.

the slave, was first enunciated, that the cause of freedom went forth with energy and power, producing, in a brief period, such a change in Parliament, as to ensure on the part of Great Britain, as to ensure on the part of the people of Great Britain, as to ensure on the part of the people of Great Britain.

There were great apprehensions of the rising of those who were to be emancipated under this Act. There were men and women at that time fearful that, sooner than the slaves should become free, they would rise, and scatter death and devastation through the land.

We are not here to rejoice only in this event; for while it is our duty to give due attention to this, let us not be so foolish as to forget that, in our own country, there are four millions of beings enduring a bondage even worse in some of its features than that from which the British slaves were delivered.

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

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

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Intelligence is received of the death of Eugene Sue, author of 'The Mysteries of Paris' and 'The Wandering Jew.' Also, of the death of the venerable Thomas Dick, LL.D., of Scotland.

My sympathies, if I understand my heart, are on the side of the oppressed, and of that great cause of Anti-Slavery whose interests we have met to-day to promote. I wish to lend my influence in hastening on the time when the shouts of joy and gladness shall come up from the oppressed in our own land, as they did from the isles of the sea.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

The undersigned again call on all interested in the cause, the cause of Freedom, so deeply important, not only to the three millions of American slaves, but to the American nation and to entire humanity.

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

Our principle is too well known to need more than a mere statement. It is, immediate, unconditional emancipation, without expatriation, and by peaceful means. From a growing conviction of the justice and necessity of this work, for the good and honor of all concerned, every measure possible to be taken will inevitably spring without delay.

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

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THE NINTH WORCESTER ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

To be held in Worcester, during Cattle Show Week, September 31-32, 1857.

The eight years during which this Bazaar has been held in this city have witnessed continued developments of the Slave Power more startling in their character than any that have preceded them.

For all these things, who are responsible? Certainly, not merely the Legates of the Southern plantations, the victims of a degradation that will well quench every spark of their moral nature.

Our controversy with the Church is because we think the Church is false to her trust, when, starting with the professed mission of saving souls, she enters into a complicity with that system which robs the suffering bondman of both body and soul.

Whatever product of taste, ingenuity or labor, whatever money or refreshment any one may wish to be graciously appropriated. Communications may be sent to any member of the Committee.

- SARAH H. EARLE, EMILY BARRETT, LUCY CHASE, ADELINE H. HOWLAND, HANNAH M. ROGERS, ABY B. HUBBARD, SARAH L. BUTMAN, HANNAH RICE, OLIVE LOVELAND, MARY C. HIGGINSON, of Worcester; ELIZA A. STOWELL, of Warren; SARAH R. MAY, of Leicester; EMMY W. WATSON, of Boston; MARY E. HODGES, of Dorchester; FRANCES H. DRAKE, of Leominster; POLLY D. BRADSHIGH, of Upton; KATHERINE E. FARNUM, of Waterford; MARIA P. FAIRBANKS, of Millville; NANCY B. HILL, of Blackstone; ABY B. HUBBARD, of Lancaster; LOUISA F. HALL, of Upton; SUSAN B. EVERETT, of Princeton; MARY ANN GRIFFIN, of Princeton; ELIZA HOWE, of Princeton; CAROLINE WATT, of Hubbardston.

WAKING UP FAMOUS. Mr. Alger having treated the solid Aldermen and Councilors of Boston to a 4th of July oration, which had some reference to slavery that they didn't like, that grave body refused to pass the usual vote of thanks, whereupon every one began to read the oration, to see what there was in it.

SLAVERY IN OREGON. The New Orleans Delta has the following extract from a letter written by a gentleman in Oregon, who is thoroughly posted on such matters:—'Oregon will be the next slave State. I was in the whole political campaign, and nothing but slavery seems to be the go. Mark my word—her Constitution will be adopted with the slave clause. It is a condition which the inhabitants are all Missourians or Kentuckians, and get their death on the old issue.'

Loss of the Bark Monaca—Fifty-four Persons Drowned.—On the 21st of July, the bark Monaca, Capt. Dalley of Warren, Maine, was totally lost on the coast of Newfoundland, while on her way from Gottenburg to New York. She left Gottenburg June 18th, with 61 Swedish passengers, and a crew of 12 persons. On the night of the 21st the bark was overtaken by a high rock on Corbin Head, N. F., and soon after went down, head foremost. By this disaster, 64 Swedish passengers perished.

Full Steamboat Disaster.—About 2 o'clock on Sunday morning the steamer Metropolis, bound from Fall River to New York, just after passing the Falkland Islands, encountered the Propeller J. N. Harris under full headway, cutting her in two amidships, and causing her to sink immediately. Twelve of the passengers and crew were picked up, and the remainder, sixteen in number, were lost. The steamer, which was but slightly injured on the bow, remained about the scene of the disaster for nearly three hours, and her boats were several times sent out in various directions, but after the first half hour, no trace of life was discoverable.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The fifteenth Anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society will be held at ALLIANCE, Stark County, Ohio, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., on Saturday, the 5th of September, and remaining in session several days.

Every succeeding year brings with it new evidence of the strength of the Slave Power, and records new instances of its manifold aggressions. And this, not because there is not at the North power enough to successfully resist its encroachments, but because the anti-slavery feeling of the people has been made to subserve the purposes of those whose measure of moral duty has been limited by mistaken views of political expediency.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION FOR THE STATE.—The annual Barnstable County Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in EXCHANGE HALL, HARBOR, on Saturday and Sunday, August 29 and 30.

CHARLES L. REMOND, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture in Barnstable county, as follows:—Montpelier, Friday, Aug. 21; Watsefield, Saturday, " 22; Montpelier, Monday, " 24; West Topsham, Tuesday, " 25; Topsham, Wednesday, " 26; Groton, Thursday, " 27; Peacham, Friday, " 28.

WM. WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture on Slavery at the following places:—Warren, Mass., Thursday, August 27; Pittsfield, " Friday, " 28; Rome, N. Y., Saturday, " 30; Binghamton, N. Y., Wednesday, Sept. 2.

DR. WM. SYMINGTON BROWN will lecture on Temperance in Greenwood Hall, (S. Reading,) on Sunday, August 23. Subject.—The Mental Causes, Manifestations, and Consequences of Drunkenness.

DIED.—In Smyrna, Chenango Co., N. Y., eighth month, 6th, WILLIAM COLLINS, formerly of Huntington, R. I., aged 87 years. He was a man of strict integrity, and without his long life, his sympathies were always with the oppressed and down-trodden. In the remembrance of a well-spent life, he met the change without fear, and with bright hopes for the future. R. I. papers please copy.

Eagleswood School.

THIS School opens on the 1st of October, and closes on the 31st of July. The School consists of four quarters, of ten weeks each. There are three vacations—a week at Christmas, a week at the end of the third quarter, a week at the close of the School year to the 1st of October.

POETRY.

AN EVENING SCENE IN GALLERIE, EIGHTEEN CENTURIES AGO. Around the long summer day the increasing crowd...

REFLECTIONS.

'Tis a pleasant day in summer, And I'm in my country home, Listening to the birds' sweet singing...

The Liberator.

ANOTHER CIRCUMLOUTION OFFICE.

MR. GARRISON.—It has been my good fortune to attend the New York State Teachers' Convention...

From the Newburyport Herald. THE REPUBLICAN SCHOLAR OF NECESSITY AN AGITATOR. This was the theme of Wendell Phillips's oration...

From the Independent. The oration proceeded the poem, as the dinner preceded the dessert. What shall we say of the oration?

From the Boston Traveller. The people here are in much excitement about Wendell Phillips and his Phi Beta oration on Agitation...

From the Boston Traveller. Dr. Rock at the Music Hall. This eloquent advocate of human rights delivered two very able and interesting lectures...

NEW ENGLAND.

NEW MUSIC.

LEGAL VOTERS.

OTHER PERSONS.

TRUE HONOR.