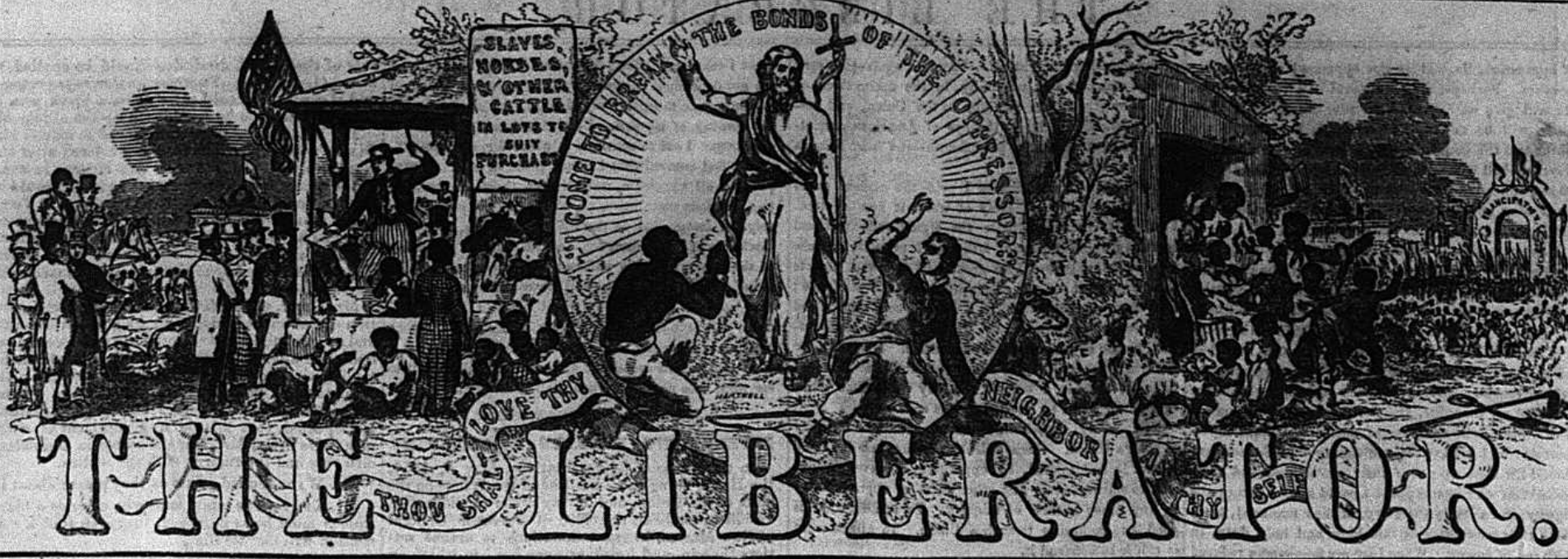


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In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of  
every question are impartially allowed a hearing.



No Union with Slaveholders!  
THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH  
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL!  
Yes! It cannot be denied—the slaveholding  
lords of the South proscribed, as a condition of their  
assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to  
SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR  
SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,  
of preserving the African slave trade; the second was  
THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an  
engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,  
delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal  
to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-  
sentation for SLAVES—of 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.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.  
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NO SLAVERY IN NEBRASKA—NO SLAVERY IN  
THE NATION—SLAVERY AN OUTLAW.

SPEECH OF GERRIT SMITH,  
ON THE NEBRASKA BILL,  
U. S. House of Representatives, April 6, 1854.

Mr. Chairman, the slavery question is up again! up again, even in Congress! It will not keep down. At no bidding, however authoritative, will it keep down. The President of the United States commands it to keep down: indeed, he has, hitherto, seemed to make the keeping down of this question the great end of his great office. Members of Congress have so far humbled themselves, as to pledge themselves on this floor to keep it down. National political conventions promise to discontinue, and even to resist, the agitation of slavery, both in and out of Congress. Commerce and politics are as afraid of this agitation as Molech was of the ghost of Banquo; and many titled dignities, taking their cue from commerce and politics, and being no less servile than merchants and demagogues, do what they can to keep the slavery question out of sight. But all is of no avail. The slavery question will not mind them. To repress it in one quarter, is only to have it burst forth more prominently in another quarter. If you hold it back here, it will break loose there, and rush forward with an accumulated force, that shall amply revenge for all its detention. And this is not strange, when we consider how great is the power of truth. It were madness for man to bid the grass not to grow, the waters not to run, the winds not to blow. It were madness for him to assume the mastery of the elements of the physical world. But more emphatically were it madness for him to attempt to hold in his puny fist the forces of the moral world. Can'te's folly, in setting bounds to the sea, was wisdom itself, compared with the so much greater folly of attempting to subjugate the moral forces. Now, the power which is, ever and anon, throwing up the slavery question into our unwilling and affrighted faces, is truth. The passion-blinded and the infuriated may not discern this mighty agent. Nevertheless, Truth lives and reigns for ever: and she will be, continually, tossing up unsettled questions. We must bear in mind, too, that every question which has not been disposed of in conformity with her requirements, and which has not been laid to repose on her own blessed bosom, is an unsettled question. Hence, slavery is an unsettled question; and must continue such, until it shall have fled for ever from the presence of liberty. It must be an entirely unsettled question, because, not only is it not in harmony with truth, but there is not one particle of truth in it. Slavery is the basest and biggest lie on earth. In reducing man to a chattel, it denies that man is man, and, in denying that man is man, it denies that God is God—for, in His own image made He man—the black man and the red man, as well as the white man. Distorted as are our minds by prejudice, and shrouded as are our souls by the spirit of caste, this essential quality of the varieties of the human family may not be apparent to us all. Were we delivered from this prejudice and this spirit, much of the darkness which now obscures our vision would be scattered. In proportion as we obey the truth, are we able to discern the truth. And if all that is wrong within us were made right, not only would our darkness give place to a cloudless light, but, like the angel of the Apocalypse, we should stand in the sun.

But to my argument. I am opposed to the bill for organizing the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, which has come to us from the Senate, because, in the first place, it insults colored men, and the Maker of all men, by limiting suffrage to white men. I am opposed to it, because, in the second place, it limits suffrage to persons who have acquired citizenship. The man who comes to us from a foreign land, and declares his intention to make his home among us, and acts in harmony with such declaration, is well entitled to vote with us. He has given one great evidence of possessing an American heart, which our native could not give. For, whilst our native became an American by the accident of birth, the emigrant became one by choice. For, whilst our native may be an American, not by preference for America, the emigrant has proved that he prefers our country to every other.

I am opposed to the bill, in the third place, because it is so drawn as to convey the deceptive idea, (I do not say intentionally deceptive,) that the bill recognizes the doctrine of non-intervention. I call it deceptive idea; for, in point of fact, the bill does not recognize the doctrine of non-intervention. It dictates to the territories the form of their government, and denies to them the appointing of their principal officers. The bill is itself, therefore, the most emphatic intervention. One hundredth as much intervention on the part of the Federal Government with a State Government, would be condemned as outrageous and intolerable intervention.

But I must be frank, and admit that, if the bill did really recognize the doctrine of non-intervention, I should still be opposed to it—say, and for that very reason. This whole doctrine of Congressional non-intervention with our territories I regard as perfectly absurd. Congressional intervention with them is an imperative and unavoidable duty. The reasoning to this end is simple and irresistible. The people of the United States acquire a territory. Being theirs, they are responsible for its conduct and character; and, being absolutely bound, to govern the territory. So long as the territory is theirs, they can no more abdicate sovereignty over it, than a State can abdicate sovereignty over one of its counties. But the people of the United States govern through Congress; and hence, in respect to what is the people's, there must be Congressional intervention. In the nature of the case, this must be so. But the Constitution also shows that it must be so. The Constitution declares the fact of the government of the nation by itself; and it also recognizes the fact of the government of a State by itself. But nowhere does it so much as hint at the government of a territory by itself. On the contrary, it expressly subjects the regulation of government of territories to Congress, or, in other words, to the whole people of the United States.

I add, incidentally, that in the light of the fact of the American people's responsibility for the conduct and character of their territories, it is absurd to claim that New Mexico and Utah are to be exempt from slavery

because the Mexican Government had abolished slavery. Whether there can be legal slavery in those territories turns solely on the character of the Constitution—turns solely on the question whether that paper is anti-slavery or pro-slavery. Again, in the light of this same fact, we see how absurd it is to claim that there could, under the continued force of the French or Spanish laws, be slavery in the territory of Louisiana, after we had acquired it. If, after such acquisition, there was, or could be, legal slavery in the territory, it was solely because the Constitution—the only law which held that territory attached to the territory—authorized it. What if, when we acquired the territory, there had been in it, among the creatures of French, or Spanish, or other law, the suttee, or cannibalism—would it not have been held that these abominations were repugnant to the Constitution, and, therefore, without legal existence? Certainly.

I spoke of the Constitution as the only law which attaches to our territories. I was justified in this, because it is the only law of the people of the United States, when they are taken as a whole or a unit. When regarded in sections, they have other laws also. The people of a State have the laws of their State, as well as the laws of their nation. But, I repeat it, the people of the United States, when viewed as one, have no other law than the Constitution. Their Congress and Judiciary can know no other law. The statutes of the one and the decisions of the other must be but applications and interpretations of this one organic law.

Another incidental remark is, that it is wrong to charge the opponents of this bill with denying and dishonoring the doctrine of 'popular sovereignty.' Holding, as we do, that to the people—the whole people—of the United States belong both the land and the sovereignty of their territories, we insist, that to shut them out from governing their territories, would be to deny and dishonor the doctrine of 'popular sovereignty.' It is the friends of the bill, who provided it is, as they claim, a bill for non-intervention, are to be charged with violating the doctrine of 'popular sovereignty,' and the principles and genius of democracy. I close, under this head, with saying, that should real non-intervention obtain in regard to these territories, it would be a very great and very astonishing change from our present policy. The inhabitants of a territory have no vote in Congress. Nevertheless, real non-intervention would vest them with the exclusive disposal of important affairs, which are now at the exclusive disposal of Congress. It would compensate them for their present political disabilities with an amount of political power greatly exceeding that enjoyed by an equal handful of the people of a State.

To prevent misapprehension of my views, I add, that I am not opposed to making inhabitants of the territory officers of the territory. As far as practicable, I would have none others for their officers. But, whilst the territory is the nation's, all its officers should be acknowledged to be officers and servants of the nation.

I proceed to say, that I am opposed to this bill, in the fourth place, because it looks to the existence of slavery in these territories, and provides safeguards for it. In other words, Congress does, by the terms of the bill, open the door for slavery to enter these territories. The right of Congress to do so I deny. I deny it, however, not because the compromise of 1820 denies it. Believing that compromise to be invalid, I cannot honestly claim any thing under it. I disclaim all rights under it, for the simple reason, that a compromise conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity can impart no rights—the right reason, that a compromise which annihilates rights cannot create rights. I admit that the compromise of 1820 concedes the inextinguishable right of manhood north of the line of 36 30, excepting in Missouri. But, on the other hand, it atones for this concession to truth and justice by implicitly leaving men south of that line, and in Missouri, to be classed with brutes and things. I admit, too, that they who are enjoying the share of slavery under this compromise, and who, now that freedom was about to enter into the enjoyment of her share under it—I admit, I say, that they are estopped from joining me in pronouncing the Missouri compromise invalid. They must first surrender their share under the compromise—they must first make restitution to Freedom—are they can, with clean hands and unblinking faces, ask her to forego the enjoyment of her share. 'But this condition is impracticable!' will some of my hearers say? O, no! nothing is impracticable, that is right. Exclude slavery from Missouri and Arkansas for thirty-four years, and then freedom and slavery will be on an equal footing, and they can make a new bargain. [Laughter.]

Nor do I deny the right of Congress to open the door for slavery into these territories, because the compromise of 1820 virtually denies it. I say that compromise virtually denies it, because it distinctly and approvingly recognizes the compromise of 1820. The compromise of 1820 is as rotten as the compromise of 1820; and as incapable of imparting rights. And here let me say, that I rejoice to see the pro-slavery party pouring express contempt on the compromise of 1820, and virtual contempt on the compromise of 1850. And why should not all men pour contempt upon these compromises, and upon all other compromises, which aim at 'splitting the difference' between God and the devil? [Great laughter.] By the way, we have striking proof, in the instance of this bill, that, in the case of such compromises, God's share and all are, in the end, very likely to be claimed for the devil. [Renewed laughter.]

I have said on what grounds it is not that I deny the right of Congress to open the door for slavery into these territories. I will now say on what ground it is. I deny it on the ground that the Constitution, the only law of the territories, is not in favor of slavery, and that slavery cannot be set up under it. If there can be lawful slavery in the States, nevertheless, there cannot be in the territories.

In the fifth and last place, I am opposed to the bill, because it allows that there may be slavery in the States which shall be formed from these territories.

Hitherto, when the slavery question has been brought up in Congress, it has been alleged, (I say not how truly or untruly,) that the anti-slavery party has brought it up, and for the purpose of checking slavery. But, now, it is confessedly, on all hands, brought up by the pro-slavery party, and for the purpose of extending slavery. In this instance, the pro-slavery party is, manifestly, the instrument which Truth has wielded to subvert her purpose of reawakening the public mind

to the demands and enormities of slavery. Most sincerely do I rejoice that the pro-slavery party is responsible for the present agitation.

A MEMBER. I do not admit that it is.

Mr. SMITH. Strange! Here is a movement for the immense extension of slavery. Of course, it is not the work of the anti-slavery party. And if the honorable member who has just interrupted me is authorized to speak for the pro-slavery party, it is not the work of that party either. I took it for granted that the pro-slavery party did it. But, it seems it did not. It puts on the innocent air of a Molech, and looks me in the face, and exclaims: 'Thou canst not say I did it!' [Laughter.] Well, if neither the anti-slavery party, nor the pro-slavery party, did it, who was it, then, that did it? It follows, necessarily, that it must be the work of the Lord, or the devil. [Laughter.] But it cannot be the work of the Lord—for the good book tells us: 'Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty'—liberty, not slavery. So, this Nebraska business must be the work of the devil. [Great laughter.] But, logical as is this conclusion, I am, nevertheless, too polite to press it. I prefer to repudiate the alternative that puts the responsibility on the Lord or the devil, and to return to my original assertion, that the pro-slavery party, and not the anti-slavery party, is responsible for the present agitation. Do not understand that I would not have the anti-slavery party agitate. I would have it agitate, and agitate, and agitate for ever. I believe that the agitation of the elements of the moral world is as essential to moral health, as is the agitation of the elements of the physical world to physical health. I believe in the beautiful motto, 'The agitation of thought is the beginning of truth.' I was very happy to hear the honorable gentleman of Pennsylvania [Mr. WAIGHT] express his faith and pleasure in agitation. Not less happy was I to hear the honorable gentleman of North Carolina [Mr. CLAYMAN] approve of the discussion of slavery. Such good abolition doctrine from such surprising sources was very grateful to me. Perhaps these gentlemen will continue to move forward in that blessed upward way, on which they have happily entered; and, perhaps, ere the session shall close, they will have reached that table-land of abolition, on which it is my privilege to stand. Let me assure them, for the purpose of cheering them onward, that, when they arrive there, they shall not lack my warm greetings, and the cordial grasp of my hand. [Great laughter.] Sir, you must permit me to indulge some hope of the conversion of these gentlemen. Indeed, when I heard the honorable gentleman of North Carolina speak of himself as 'an independent'—as a party of one—as in that lone condition in which he had so recently heard me say that I found myself—I was not at liberty to imagine that he was throwing out a sly, delicate hint to my ear, that he would like to 'join teams' with me, and so make up a party of two? [Repeated roars of laughter.] I do not forget, that, at the close of his speech, he said some very hard things against us naughty abolitionists. But how could he be sure that he did not say these hard things for no other purpose than to blind all around him, save of course, my own apprehensive, because kindred and sympathizing, spirit, to that fraternal union with me, which I have supposed his heart was then meditating?

I said, a little while ago, that I rejoice that the pro-slavery party is responsible for the present agitation. I add, that I am half reconciled to this attempt to extend the dominion of slavery, because it affords us so inviting an opportunity to inquire into the title of slavery. If my neighbor tries to rob me of my farm, he, at least, affords me an occasion for inquiring into the tenure by which he holds his own farm. Freedom having been driven by slavery, until she has surrendered to her pursuer nine new States, and until slavery claims, as we see in the present bill, equal right with herself to overpread all the unorganized territory of the nation, it is, in my judgment, high time for her to stop, and to turn about, and to look slavery in the face, and to push back the war—ay, and to drive the aggressor to the wall, provided she shall find that slavery, in all its progress and history, is nothing but an aggression upon liberty and law, and upon human and divine rights; and that, in truth, it has no title to any existence whatever, on any terms whatever, any where whatever. This is a proper stage of my argument for saying, that we all know enough of freedom and slavery to know, that they cannot live together permanently. One must conquer the other. American slavery lacks but two things to make sure of her victory over American liberty: and, from present indications, she is determined to lack them no longer. One of these two things is its conceded right to overpread all our unorganized territory; and the other is its conceded right to carry slaves through the free States. Let slavery succeed in these two respects—let the bill we are now considering become a statute; and let the final decision in the Lemmon case\* sustain the claim to carry slaves through the free States—ay, and even to drive coffles of slaves through them, whip-in-hand; this breaking down the public sentiment of those States against slavery, and debauching and wasting it, by familiarizing it with the demands and exhibitions of slavery;—and then, I admit, the way will be clear for slavery to make a quick and easy conquest of liberty.

I, again, acknowledge my partial reconciliation to this attempt of slavery to get more—this bold push for all that is left, so far as unorganized territory is concerned. We have now the best of opportunities for trying the title of slavery, not only to more—but, also, to what it already had. And, now, if slavery shall come off as badly as the dog, who, in opening his mouth to seize another piece of meat, lies in the deceitful and shadow-casting stream, the piece he already had, it will have no one to blame for its folly but its own voracious self. It should have been content with the big share—the lion's share—which it already had.

But to return from this digression. I said, that I am opposed to the bill, because it allows that there may be slavery in the States which shall be formed from these territories. Why, however, should I be, therefore, opposed to it? I will, without delay, come to the reason of my opposition. My time, being so precious,

because so limited, I will waste none of it in apologies, circumlocutions, or skirmishes. But I will, at once, 'take the bull by the horns,' and declare that I deny the right of Congress to look to the existence of slavery in the States that shall be formed within these territories, because I deny that there can be constitutional slavery in any of the States of the American Union—future States, or present States—new or old. I hold that the Constitution not only authorizes no slavery, but permits no slavery; not only creates no slavery in any part of the land, but abolishes slavery in every part of the land. In other words, I hold that there is no law for American slavery.

I had not intended a moment's further delay in entering upon my argument to prove, that the Constitution calls for the suppression of all American slavery. But I must, before entering upon it, beseech the Committee to hold no other member of Congress responsible for it. Let the reproach of this argument—of this foolish argument, if you please—may, of this insane argument, if you prefer that epithet—fall on myself only. Blame no other member of Congress for it. I stand alone. I am the first, and perhaps I shall be the last, to declare within these walls, that there is no law for slavery. I say that I stand alone; and yet, I am not alone. Truth is with me. I feel her inspirations. She glows in my soul; and I stand in her strength.

[Mr. Smith proceeds to argue, at considerable length and with unusual ability, that slavery in this country is an illegal institution; that it finds no support or countenance in the U. S. Constitution—commending to members of Congress the arguments of William Goodell and Lyander Spooner on this subject; but as the readers of THE LIBERATOR are familiar with Mr. S's treatment of this view of the case, and as we are obliged to curtail his speech on account of its great length, we omit this portion of it.]—Ed. Lib.

I must say a few words to protect what I have said from the misapprehension that I counsel trampling on all wrong legislation. I am very far from giving such counsel. No wrong legislation, that is at all endurable, would I resist. And I add, that I would be patient with almost every degree of wrong legislation, provided it is legislation in behalf of what is lawful, and of what it is competent to legislate upon. Imprisonment for debt is wrong legislation—very wrong and very cruel legislation. But, inasmuch as the relation of debtor and creditor comes within the cognizance of the legislature, I will not treat such legislation as void. The legislature has a right in view. It is to help the creditor get justice. Its error consists in selecting wrong means to this end, and in putting a wrong remedy into the hands of the creditor. I am to treat this action of the legislature as a mistake—and a mistake which I am not to go beyond the limits of persuasion to seek to correct. The paying of one's debt is justice—law. Enactments to enforce this justice and this law, some of them, be improper—such as compelling payment by the terrors of imprisonment. But, as they are enactments to enforce justice, and what is itself law, I must be very slow to denounce them as no law. So, too, if my Government declare war against a nation, I am not to treat the Government, nor the declaration, however unjust it may be, with contempt. I must remember, that Government has jurisdiction of national controversies, and that the redress of national wrongs is justice—in law. Government may err in its modes of redress. It may resort to the sword, when it should confine itself to the exertion of moral influence. The cause, nevertheless, which it is prosecuting, may be one of unmingled justice. Like every good cause, it may itself be law, and, therefore, Government would not be chargeable with impertinence and usurpation for taking it in hand. But, how different from all this is it, when Government sets up slavery! In that case, the subject matter of its action is, most emphatically, not law. In that case, most emphatically, it has gone beyond its province. To Government belongs the adjustment of the relations between creditor and debtor; and it is for Government to dispose of national controversies. But when Government undertakes the crime and absurdity of turning men into things—of chattelizing, instead of protecting, a portion of its subjects—it is, then, as far out of its place as it can be. To such an outrage, no submission is due. It is to be resisted, at every hazard. To trample upon such lawlessness is to be law-abiding, instead of law-breaking. To rebel against such a Government is not to be revolutionary and mobocratic. The Government itself is the revolutionary and mobocratic party. If the decree should go forth from our Government, that our Irish population be murdered, the decree would, of course, be trodden under foot. But who denies that it should be as promptly and indignantly trodden under foot, were it a decree for their enslavement?

My argument to show that there is no law for American slavery, but that there can be no law, either for American, or any other slavery, is ended. It is in place, however, to say, that the recognition, by the American people, of slavery as law, is, of itself, sufficient to account for their loss of reverence for law. This reverence is, necessarily, destroyed by the habit of confounding sham law with true law—by the habit of accepting, as law, the mere forms of law, where justice, truth, reason, and every element which goes to make up the soul of law, is lacking. This reverence must soon die out of the heart of the people, who treat, as law, that which they know is not law; who, in the holy and commanding name of law, buy and sell, or sanction the buying and selling, of their fellow-men; and who, in all their life, live out the degrading lie, that so monstrous and diabolical a thing as slavery is entitled to the shelter and honor of law. This reverence is little felt by those who yield to the absurdity, that law and nature are opposite to each other, and that whilst, by nature, a man is an immortal, by law, he may be but a thing. It is little felt by those who regard law as a mere conventionalism, which may be one thing in one place, and another in another; one thing at one period, and another at another. They, and they only, have adequate and adoring conceptions of law, who believe that it is one with nature, and that it is the same in every part of the earth, in every period of time, and 'eternal in the heavens.' They, and they only, have such conceptions, who, instead of regarding law as synonymous with all the enactments of foolish and wicked men, identify it with unchangeable and everlasting right.

Now, for instance, can the American people perceive the beauty and preciousness of law, whilst recognizing,

as law, the fugitive slave act?—and whilst stigmatizing and persecuting the handful of men who have the integrity and the bravery to resist it? Why should not that handful fly as swift to the rescue of their brother, who is in peril of being reduced to slavery, as to the rescue of their brother who cries—'Murder'! Ten thousand enactments for murder would not hinder them in the latter case. Ten thousand enactments for slavery should not hinder them, in the former. In each case, the rescue would be not by a mob, but from a mob.

It has now been shown that the American Government has authority, both inside and outside of the Constitution—as well in natural and universal law, as in conventional and national law—to sweep away the whole of American slavery. Will it avail itself of this authority to do this work? I ask not whether Government will show pity to the slave—for I look not to Government to be pitiful to the slave, or to any other man. I look to Government for sterner qualities than pity. My idea of a true Government is realized only in proportion as the Government is characterized by wisdom, integrity, strength. To hold even the scales of justice among all its subjects, and between them and all other men, and to strike down the hand that would make them uneven—this, and this only, is the appropriate work of Government.

I asked whether the American Government will abolish slavery. I confess that my hope that it will is not strong. The slave-owners have the control of this nation, and I fear that they will keep it. It is true, that they are a comparative handful in the vast American population; and that, numbering only three hundred thousand, their calling themselves 'the South' is an affectation as absurd and ridiculous as it would be for the manufacturers of the North to call themselves 'the North,' or the rum-sellers of the North to call themselves 'the North.' It is true, that their interests are alien as well from the interests of the South as from the interests of the North, and that slavery is the deadly foe, as well of the white population of the South as of its black population. Nevertheless, in the present corrupt state of the public sentiment, the slave-owners are able to control the nation. They are mighty by their numbers. Divided they may be in every thing else—but they are undivided in their support of slavery. The State and the Church are both in their hands. A bastard democracy, accommodated to the demands of slavery, and tolerating the traffic in human flesh, is our national democracy; and a bastard Christianity, which endorses this bastard democracy, is the current Christianity of our nation. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man—ideas so prominent in a true democracy and a true Christianity—are quite foreign to our sham democracy and our sham Christianity. American religion is a huge hypocrisy. Whilst in the immeasurable sinfulness of that system which forbids marriage and the reading of the Bible, and which markets men as beasts, it is blind as a bat, it nevertheless, draws down its stupid face, and pronounces the shuffling of the feet to music to be a great sin. The different States of Christendom, as they advance in civilization and the knowledge of human rights, are, one after another, putting away slavery. Even the Bey of Tunis puts away this most foul and guilty thing; and says that he does so, 'for the glory of mankind, and to distinguish them from the brute creation.' But America, poor slavery-ridden and slavery-cursed America, retrogrades. Whilst other nations grow in regard to human rights, she grows in contempt for them. Whilst other nations rise in the sunlight of civilization, she sinks in the night of barbarism. Her Congress sets up slavery in her very Capital. Her Congress regulates and protects the coastwise trade in slaves. Her Congress wages unprovoked and plundering wars for the extension of slavery. Her Congress decrees that slaveholders shall have the range of all America in which to reduce men, women and children to slavery. And her President, who calls slavery an 'admitted right,' was shameless enough to say, in his Inaugural, that the Fugitive Slave Act, which his predecessor was shameless enough to sign, should be 'cheerfully enforced.' In short, the Federal Government is now, and long has been, at large, more to uphold slavery than to do any thing else, or even all things else. The great slave-catcher—the great watch-dog of slavery!—these are its most fitting names, in its present employment and degradation. And, yet, notwithstanding all this devotion of the Federal Government to slavery, and the iron determination of the slave-owners that the power of the whole nation shall be exerted to uphold it; there, nevertheless, can be no remonstrance from the North against slavery, which is not immediately followed by the truthless and impudent reply, that the North has nothing to do with slavery! That the American people and American Government have fallen to what they are, is not to be wondered at. It is but the natural and necessary result of their having fostered and fed, for more than half a century, the monster slavery. Time was, when we might have crushed this monster. But now, it has crushed us. It has corrupted us to such an extent, that there is scarcely a sound spot left in us, at which to begin to rally opposition to it. On no cheaper condition than this can slavery be clung to. If we will be slaveholders—and such are the Northern as well as the Southern people—for, if the slave-owners are at the South, the people of the North are, nevertheless, more emphatically, because more efficiently, the slaveholders, than are the people of the South—if, I say, we will be slaveholders, we must take the evil consequences upon our own understandings and hearts, and not be surprised at them. Men cannot bind the degrading chain of slavery around their brothers, without at the same time binding and degrading themselves with it.

How melancholy upon our country, and, through her, upon the world, has been the influence of American slavery! In the beginning of our national existence, we were the moral and political light-house of the world. The nations 'which sat in darkness saw the great light,' and rejoiced. Sad to say, we were the first to dim that light! The principles which we then enunciated electrified the nations. Sad to say, we were ourselves the first to dishonor those principles! Nothing, so much as American slavery, has gathered darkness upon that light. Nothing, so much as American slavery, has brought disgrace upon those principles. All other causes combined have not stood so effectually in the way of the progress of republicanism, as the glaring inconsistency of our deeds with our professions. In the house of her friends, Liberty has received her deepest stain. All our boasts and falsehoods to the contrary notwithstanding,

there is no Government on the face of the earth so quick as our own to dread and to oppose popular movements in behalf of liberty and republicanism. On our Government, more than all other causes put together, rests the responsibility of the stopping of the Revolution in the Spanish American States. We were wont to say, that the people of those States were incompetent to perfect that Revolution. This is a piece of our hypocrisy. The instructions of our Government, and the discussions in our National Legislature, in regard to the Congress of Panama; our threat of war against Colombia and Mexico; if those States persevered in carrying forward the Revolution; and, above all, our base supplication to Russia and Spain to join us in stopping the wheels of that Revolution; prove conclusively, that though our lying lips were for liberty, our hearts, all the time, were concerned for the protection of slavery. And, in the case of Hayti—how deadly, from first to last, has been the enmity of our Government to the cause of liberty and republicanism! To learn the extent of that enmity, we must not confine our eyes to the haughty and persevering refusal of our Government to recognize the independence of Hayti. We must look at other things also, and especially at the servile compliance of our Government with the impudent and arrogant demand of Napoleon to carry out his plan of starving the Haytiens into submission.

Our Government made a display of sympathy with the European Revolutions of 1848. But who is so stupid as to accord sincerity to that display, when he recalls that the very first fruit of the very first of these Revolutions was the unqualified abolition of all French slavery—and a part of that slavery in the neighborhood of our own? So eager was our Government to appear to be on the side of Hungary, that it sent out a ship for Kossuth. But, long ere he had reached our shores, and, especially, whilst he was making his speeches in England in behalf of the equal rights of all men, our government found out that it had got more than it contracted for. Kossuth's principles were too radical. Their scope was quite too sweeping. They no more spared slavery than any other form of oppression. Yet, Government could not stop Kossuth on his way. Having started for America, he must be suffered to come to America. But how great his disappointment, on his arrival! 'He came unto his own, and his own received him not.' The poor man was willing to compromise matters. A thousand pities that he was. He was willing to ignore slavery, and to go through the whole length and breadth of the land, seeing, in every man he met, nothing else than a glorious freeman. Alas, what a mistake! The policy of the government to 'give him the cold shoulder' was fixed; and no concessions or humiliations on his part could suffice to repeal it. Kossuth left America, and he left it, no less abundantly than painfully convinced, that America is one thing in the Declaration of Independence, and another in what has succeeded it; one thing in her professions, and another in her practice. Will Mazzini need to come to America to learn this lesson? And, if he comes, will he stoop to repeat Kossuth's mistakes? Thank God! Mazzini has already identified himself with the American abolitionists. May he find himself rewarded by their cordial identification of themselves with the oppressed of Europe!

I confessed that my hope is not strong that the American Government will abolish American slavery. Far otherwise would it be, however, did none but slave-owners justify slavery. They would soon be converted, were it not that the mass of the American people fall in with them, and faster than they, and cry peace, when there is no peace. This is our great discouragement in the case. The advocates of total abstinence are not discouraged; they would be, however, if they found the mass of the sober justifying drunkards, and telling them that drunkenness is right.

I said, at an early stage of my remarks, that the present attempt of slavery to clutch all the unorganized territory of the nation affords a favorable opportunity to freedom to push back the war into the realm of slavery. I, however, did not add, that the opportunity would be improved. Nor do I add it now—for I am far from certain that it will be. For many years, I have had scarcely any better hope for American slavery than that it would come to a violent and miserable end. Their habit of courting and worshipping the Slave Power, and of acquiescing in its demands, has corrupted and paralyzed the American people to such a degree as to leave little room to hope that they will bring slavery to a peaceful and happy termination. I confess some little hope of such termination has been kindled in me by this new, surprising, and enormous demand of the Slave Power. I confess, that I have thought it possible that this demand might arouse a spirit which could be appeased by nothing short of the overthrow of the whole system of slavery. Should, however, such a spirit be aroused, I fear it will not pervade the masses, but will be confined to a few. It is true that meetings are held all over the free States to protest against the passage of this Bill, and that the press of those States is almost universally against it. But neither in the meetings nor in the press do I see repentance. They abound in indignation toward perdition—but they reveal no sorrow of the North for the crimes of the North against liberty. On the contrary, the meetings and the press do well universally justify the Compromise of 1820, and, in the great majority of instances, the Compromise of 1850. 'Fugitive Slave Act' and all. Even in sermons preached against the Nebraska Bill, I have seen the Fugitive Slave Act justified. Now, the idea that they who can approve of either of these Compromises, and especially that they who can, possibly, acquiesce in the chasing down men, women and children, for the purpose of casting them into the pit of slavery—the idea, I say, that such persons will perseveringly and effectively resist slavery, and do faithful battle for its overthrow, is, to my mind, simply absurd. They, and they only, are to be relied on for such service, who so loathe slavery, that they would rather perish than do any of its biddings, come those biddings from Congress, or from any other source.

Am I bid to strengthen my hope by looking at the rapidly multiplying abolitionists? I do look at them; and this cheering sight is all that, under God, keeps my hope alive. But I fear that they are too late. I fear that the disease is past cure. And I fear, too, that, even if they are yet in time to kill the Demon of Slavery, our false and pro-slavery education makes us so hesitating and timid in his terrific presence, that we shall not wage direct, deep, and fatal war upon him,



but shall waste our energies, and our only and swiftly passing away opportunity, in ineffectual skirmishes and disgraceful doings. A few abolitionists are consistent; and, were they not so few, they would be formidable; they know no law for any fraud; and, therefore, they will not know it for the most stupendous fraud. They know no law for any oppression; and, therefore, they will not know it for the most sweeping oppression. Such abolitionists are Garrison and Phillips, Goodell and Douglas. But most abolitionists impliedly, if not directly, tacitly if not openly, acknowledge that slavery can have, and actually has, rights; and they are as respectful to these supposed rights as if the subject of them were one of the greatest earthly blessings; instead of one of the greatest earthly curses.

It is true, that there is a political party in our country organized against slavery, and that it numbers some two hundred thousand voters, among whom are some of the noblest men in the land; and yet, I look well nigh with as much sorrow as hope to that party; for, so long as it recognizes slavery as law, I fear that, notwithstanding its high and holy purposes, it will do scarcely less to sanction and uphold slavery than to reprobate and cast it down. Again, so long as this party is swayed by such words of folly and delusion as 'SLAVERY SECTIONAL: FREEDOM NATIONAL,' its admissions in favor of slavery cannot fail to go far to outweigh all its endeavors against slavery.

A law for slavery! What confessed madness would it be to chain a law for technical piracy, or a law for murder? But what piracy is there so execrable and deplorable as slavery? And, as to murder, who would rather have his dearest friend in the grave—say, in the grave of the murdered—than under the yoke of slavery?

'SLAVERY SECTIONAL: FREEDOM NATIONAL!' And, therefore, according to the friends of this motto, the nation, as such, must not concern itself with the great mass of slavery, because that great mass, instead of being spread over the whole nation, exists only in sections of it. Not less foolish would it be to neglect the small-pox, because it is only in sections of the city that it prevails. Indeed, it would not be less mad to leave the fire unextinguished, because, as yet, it rages but in sections of the city. Slavery, if not extinguished, is as certain to spread, as is the fire, if not extinguished. The past attests this; and the present exhibits very glaring proof of it. If we would save the city, we must put out the fire. If we would save the nation, we must put out slavery—say, put it out in all the nation. I said that slavery is now spreading. It may not go literally into Nebraska and Kansas, either now or ever. Nevertheless, slavery will be spreading itself over our country, at least, in its influence and power, so long as the nation forbears to abolish it.

'SLAVERY SECTIONAL: FREEDOM NATIONAL!' A poor flag would 'Murder sectional: Anti-Murder national' be to go forth with against murder. But not less poor is the other to go forth with against slavery. Very little inspiration could be caught from either. Nay, would not their limited toleration of the crimes neutralize their influence against the extension of the crime? How unlike to these poor words would be 'NO MURDER—ANY WHERE!' 'NO SLAVERY—ANY WHERE!' Under such earnest and honest words, men could do battle with all their hearts. But, under the other, they are laughed at by the enemy; and should be laughed at by themselves.

There is a political party at the North, called the Liberty Party. It aims to go for every political truth, and to realize the idea of an every way righteous civil Government. It is a little party. Its handful of members are scarcely more numerous than were the primitive disciples, who were gathered in the upper room at Jerusalem. That little party will not disown what I have said on this occasion. Every other party will. That little party has, already, lived some fifteen years. It will continue to live. Perhaps it will not grow. Perhaps it will. The 'little cloud, like a man's hand,' may yet spread itself over the whole heavens. Of this much, at least, do I feel certain, that no party of essentially lower or other principles than those of the Liberty Party, will suffice to bring down American Slavery. Happy country this—happy North—happy South—if the present aggressive movement of the Slave Power shall result in bringing triumphant accessions to the Liberty Party!

My fear that the American Governments, State or National, will not abolish slavery, is, in no degree, abated by the fact, that several European Governments have, in the present generation, abolished it. It must be remembered, that those Governments were exterior to, and independent of, the Slave Power; and that they were not trammelled by slaveholding constituencies. It is true, that slavery in Mexico was abolished by the Government in Mexico; and that slavery in the South American States was abolished by the Governments in those States. But it is also true, that all this was done to promote the success of their Revolution, and their deliverance from the Government of Spain. I doubt not that even we, closely as we cling to slavery, would, nevertheless, abolish it, if urged to do so by the exigencies of war.

To hope that, because the English Government abolished slavery, our Governments will also, is unwise, in another point of view. Comparatively disentangled with slavery as England, slavery, nevertheless, exerted well-nigh enough power over her Government to prevent its successful action against slavery. The party in the interest of slavery was barely defeated.

Let me not be misunderstood. Let me not be supposed to fear that American slavery will not come to an end. My fear is, that it will not be brought to an end by Government. I have no fear that it will not be abolished. It will be abolished—and at no distant day. If the Governments fail to abolish it, it will abolish itself. The colored people of this nation, bond and free, number four millions, and are multiplying rapidly. They are all victims of slavery; for if the free are not in the *umbra*, they are, nevertheless, in the *penumbra*, of slavery. Hence, then, as well as by identity of race, they are bound together by the strongest sympathy. Moreover, if not carried along as rapidly as others, nevertheless, they are carried along in the general progressive knowledge of human rights. Such being the case, it is not to be supposed that they can be held in their present condition for ages longer. They will deliver themselves, if they are not delivered. He must be blind to history, to philosophy, to the nature of man, who can suppose that such a system as American slavery can have a long life, even in circumstances most favorable to its continuance. In the most benighted portions of the earth, the victims of such a system would, in process of time, come to such a sense of their wrongs, and their power also, as to rise up and throw off the system. But that, here, such a system must be hurried to its end, is certain. For, here, it is entirely out of harmony with all the institutions around it, and with all the professions of those who uphold it. Here it is continually pressed upon by ten thousand influences adverse to its existence. Nothing, so much as American slavery, stands in the way of the progress of the age. A little time longer, and it must yield to this progress, and be numbered with the things that were. The only question is, whether it shall die a peaceful or a violent death; whether it shall quietly recede before advancing truth, or resist unto blood.

God forbid that American slavery should come to a violent end. I hold, with O'Connell, that no revolution is worth the shedding of blood. A violent end to a American slavery would constitute one of the bloodiest chapters in all the book of time. It would be such a reckoning for deep and damning wrongs—such an outbursting of anger and pent-up revenge—as living man has never seen. Can this catastrophe be averted? Perhaps it cannot. Perhaps God will not let off this superlatively wicked nation on any easier terms than to serve a war—a war, we must remember, that will be very likely to bring within its wide sweep, the whole black population of this continent and the neighboring islands—a population already numbering some ten or twelve millions. Perhaps, since we would be a nation

of oppressors, He will let the oppressed smite the oppressors. Perhaps, since we would be a bloody nation, He will give us 'blood, even unto the horse-bridles.' There will be no such catastrophe, however, if the North and the South, equal sinners in the matter of slavery, shall hasten to mingle the tears of their penitence; to say from the heart, 'We are verily guilty concerning our brother'; and to join their hands in putting away their joint and unshared sin.

I shall be blamed for having treated my subject in the light of so severe a morality. It will be said, that economical views of it would have been more suitable and statesmanlike; and that I should have dwelt upon the gains to the slaveholder, and the gains to the country, from the abolition of slavery. I confess that, had horses and oxen been the subject of my speech, the field of economy would have been wide enough for the range of my thoughts, and the course of my argument. But I have been speaking of men—of millions of immortals; and I have been claiming that Government should lift them up out of their chattelhood and their association with brutes; and I could not disparage the dignity, and so sully the glory, of their manhood, as to claim the performance of this high and holy duty, in the name of money. When I see my fellow-man reduced to a slave, I demand his deliverance, simply because he is a man. I cannot so wrong his exalted nature and my own, and the Great One who made us in his own image, as to argue that money can be made by such deliverance. I would as soon think of making a calculation of pecuniary gains my argument in dissuading from the crime of murder.

In saying that I would not suffer the duty of delivering the slave to turn upon the question of pecuniary gains and economical advantages, I utter no peculiar doctrine. Who would suffer it thus to turn, in any case, where he regards such victims as men? But, with me, all men are men. Are the skin and the mind of my fellow-man dark? 'A man's a man, for a' that.' I still recognize him as a man. He is my brother, and I still have a brother's heart for him. Suppose the Government of Pennsylvania had, the last week, reduced all the white people of Pennsylvania, who have light hair, to slavery. Would Congress let the present week expire without seeking their release? No! Would Congress stoop to ply that Government with arguments drawn from political economy, and to coax it with prospects of gain? No!—a thousand times no! It would demand their release; and it would demand it, not in virtue of feeble arguments and humble authority, but, Ethan Allen-like, in the name of God Almighty and the Congress.

I shall be blamed for not having brought out a plan for getting rid of slavery. I confess that I have no other plan for getting rid of it but its abolition—its unconditional, entire, and immediate abolition. The slave is robbed of his manhood, of himself, and, consequently, of all his rights. There is no justice then—there is no God then—if the restoration of his rights and his restoration to himself can be innocently conditioned on anything, or innocently postponed.

I shall be especially blamed for not having proposed compensation. I do not repudiate—I never have repudiated—the doctrine of compensation. Compensation for his services and his sufferings would be due from the slaveholder to the slave; but, clearly, no compensation for his restored liberty would be due from the slave to the slaveholder. I admit, however, that a great debt would be due, from the American people, both to the slaveholder and the slave. The American people are responsible for American slavery. It is the American people who, in the face of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, have made as religion and reason, God and humanity, have made themselves the responsible enslavers of millions. Departed generations of slaves have gone to the bar of heaven with this accusation upon their lips; and nothing short of the repentance of the American people can prevent its being carried there by the present generation of slaves. There is, then, a great debt due from the American people to the American slaves. But they owe one to the slaveholders also. Men become slaveholders, and continue slaveholders, and extend their investments in human flesh, on the faith of the professions, legislation and policy of the American people, and, I may add, on the faith of the Constitution and religion of the American people, as that people interpret their Constitution and religion. Again, non-slaveholders, as well as slaveholders, feed and clothe themselves upon the cheap (cheap, because extorted and unpaid for) products of slave labor. They enrich their commerce with these products; and, in a word, they unite in making slavery the cherished and overshadowing interest of the nation. Now, for the American people, in these circumstances, to abolish slavery, and refuse to pay damages to the slaveholders, would be a surprise upon the slaveholders full of bad faith. For the American people to share with the slaveholders in the policy and profits of slaveholding, and then terminate it, and devote the whole loss of its termination on the slaveholders, would be well-nigh unparalleled injustice and meanness. If I have encouraged and drawn men into wickedness, I am, it is true, not to stand by them in their wickedness—of for that both they and I are to repent; but I am to stand by them in their loss, and share it with them. The English people gave to the masters of eight hundred thousand slaves a hundred millions of dollars. I would that the American people, after they shall have abolished American slavery, might give to the masters of four times that number of slaves, four times the hundred millions of dollars; and, far more, would I that they should provide liberally for the humbler and cheaper, but infinitely more sacred needs of the emancipated. 'Then,' my now darkened and guilty country! 'shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee: the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward.'

I am well aware that, in reply to my admission, that the American people should thus burden themselves, it will be said that slavery is a State, and not a National concern, and that it is for the State Governments, and not for the National Government, to dispose of it. I certainly do not deny, that if slavery can be legalized in our country, it must be under the State Governments only. Nevertheless, I hold that every part of American slavery is the concern of every part of the American people, because the whole American people and the American Government have, though in defiance of the Constitution, made it such. And, as they have made it such, the denationalizing of slavery (as the phrase is with the Independent or Free Democrats) is not the whole duty to which we are called. We will not have done our whole duty, when we shall have abolished all the slavery which exists within the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress. For slavery, under the State Governments also, has been fostered and established by the whole American people and the American Government; and I add, by the way, that, had it not been so fostered and established, there would, at this day, have been no slavery in the land.

If John Smith has built a distillery; and if he has, also, encouraged his neighbors to build half a dozen more; and, especially, if he has patronized and profited by the half dozen distilleries; then, his work of repentance is not all done when he has broken up his distillery—and, none the more is it all done, because it was contrary to law that he had a part in getting up and sustaining the half dozen distilleries. The denationalizing of all this distillation, and of all the drunkenness, that has resulted from it, obviously falls to cover the whole ground of his duty, unless, indeed, as is proper, the denationalizing is interpreted to mean the breaking up of all these distilleries and their resulting drunkenness. So, too, the denationalizing of slavery, unless it be thus broadly and justly interpreted, falls short of the measure of the duty of the nation. The nation, whether constitutionally or unconstitutionally, has built up slavery; and, therefore, the nation should pay to end it.

I said, that I shall be blamed for speaking unwisely on the subject of slavery. I add, that I shall be blamed

for speaking on it at all. To speak against slavery, in any manner, and, especially, in the national councils, is construed into hostility to the Union, and hostility to the Union is, in the eye of American patriots, the most odious of all offences—the most heinous of all crimes.

I prize the Union, because I prize the wisdom, courage, philanthropy and piety of which it was begotten. I prize it, because I prize the signal sufferings and sacrifices which it cost our fathers. I prize it, because I prize its objects—those great and glorious objects that prompted to the Declaration of Independence; that were cherished through a seven years' war; and that were recited in the Preamble of the Constitution, as the objects of the Constitution. I prize it, for the great power it has to honor God and bless man. I prize it, because I believe the day will come when this power shall be exerted to its end.

Now, surely, opposition to slavery cannot be hostility to such a Union. Such a Union is not assailed, and cannot be endangered, by opposition, however strenuous, to slavery, or to any other form of oppression, or to any other system of iniquity. To attack what is good is to be hostile to such a Union. To attack what is evil is to be friendly to it.

Nevertheless, the opposition is persisted in, that to attack slavery is to attack the Union. How are we to account for this persistence in this absurd position? It is easily accounted for. The position is not absurd. There are two Unions. There is the Union of early times—that which our fathers formed, and the most authentic record of the formation of which, and of the spirit and objects of which is to be found in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution. This is the Union openly based on the doctrine of the equal rights of all men. This is the Union, the avowed purpose of which is 'to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty.' Then, there is the other Union—the Union of later times—of our times—manufactured, on the one hand, by Southern slaveholders, and, on the other, by Northern merchants and Northern politicians. The professed aims of this new Union are, of course, patriotic and beautiful. Its real, and but thinly disguised aims, are extended and perpetual slavery, on the one hand, and political and commercial gains on the other. The bad character of this new Union is not more apparent in its aims than in its fruits, which prove these aims. Among these fruits are Union Safety Committee Resolutions; Baltimore platform; pro-slavery pledges of members of Congress; Resolutions of servile Legislatures; contemptible Inaugurals, in which, now a Governor, and now a President, can go all lengths for slavery; and, above all, or rather, below all, Union-saving and slave-catching sermons of devil-deluded and devil-driven Deacons of Divinity. To this list is now to be added the stupendous breach of faith proposed in the Bill before us. This Bill, which lays open all our unorganized territory to slavery, is a legitimate fruit of the new Union. The consecration of all the national territory to freedom, sixty-five years ago, was the legitimate fruit of the old Union. Which is the better Union? By their fruits ye shall know them.

Now, the matter is not explained by saying that this new Union is but a misinterpretation of the old. Misinterpretation cannot go so far as to change the whole nature of its subject. O no, it is not a misinterpretation; but it is distinctly and entirely another Union, with which its manufacturers are endeavoring to supplant the Union given to us by our fathers—and this supplanting Union is as unlike the precious gift, as darkness is unlike light, as falsehood is unlike truth.

When, then, we, who are laboring for the overthrow of slavery, and for the practical acknowledgment of the equal rights of all men, are charged with hostility to the Union, it is, indeed, pretended by those, who make the charge, and for the sake of effect, that we are hostile to the original and true Union. Our hostility, nevertheless, is but to the conjured up and spurious Union. Our only offence is, that we withstand the base appeals and seductive influences of the day. The only cause for the abundant reproach which has befallen us is, that, in our honesty and patriotism, we still stand by that good old Union, which is a Union for justice and liberty; and that we bravely oppose ourselves to those artful and wicked men, who would substitute for it a Union for slavery, and place and gain; and who are even impudent enough to claim, that this trampled-up Union is identical with that good old Union. Yes, wicked, artful, impudent indeed must they be, who can claim that this dirty work of their own dirty hands is that veritable work of our fathers, which is the glory of our fathers.

I have done. Methinks, were I a wise and good man, and could have the whole American people for my audience, I should like to speak to them, in the fitting phrase which such a man commands, the words of truth and soberness, remembrance and righteousness. And yet, why should I—for, in all probability, such words would be of little present avail. The American people are, as yet, in no state 'to hear with their ears and understand with their heart'—for 'their heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing.' Yet awhile, and he who should speak to them such words, would, like Lot, 'seem as one that mocked.' This is a nation of oppressors—from the North to the South—from the East to the West—and, what is more, of strong and successful oppressors; and, hence, there is but little room to hope that she will listen and repent. This nation holds, in the iron and crushing grasp of slavery, between three and four millions, whose poor hearts writhe and agonize no less than would ours, were their fate our fate. And yet, she is not content even with these wide desolations of human rights and human happiness. On the contrary, she is continually seeking to extend the horrid realm of slavery. It is not enough that she purchased Louisiana, and gave up by far the most valuable part of it to slavery; nor that she purchased Florida, and gave up all of it to slavery; nor is it enough, that there is so much reason to fear that the mighty and sleepless efforts to spread over slavery the whole territory of which she plundered Mexico, will prove extensively, if not, indeed, entirely successful. Nor is it enough, that there is imminent danger that Nebraska and Kansas will be wrested from freedom, and added to the domain of slavery and sorrow. All this is not enough to satisfy the desire of this nation to extend the reign of slavery. Her glowing and covetous eyes are constantly upon the remainder of Mexico; upon Cuba, St. Domingo, and other 'islands of the sea.' All these she is impatient to scourge with that most terrible of all forms of oppression—American slavery.

Said I not truly, then, that there is but little ground to hope for the repentance of this nation? Must she not be well-nigh dead to every conceivable attempt to bring her to repentance? But she will not be so always. The voices of truthful, tender, faithful admonition, now unheard or despised by her, will yet reach her heart. She may, it is true, (Heaven spare her from the need of such discipline!) have, first, to pass through foreign wars, and servile wars, and still other horrors. But the day of her redemption—or, in other words, of her broken-hearted sorrow for her crimes—(for such sorrow is redemption, whether in the case of an individual or a nation)—will, sooner or later, come. And when that day shall come, the moral soil of America, watered with the tears of penitence, shall bring forth fruits to the glory of God and the welfare of man, rivaling in abundance, and infinitely surpassing in preciousness, the rich harvests of her literal soil. On that day, our nation shall be worthy of all that God and good men have done for her. Her material wealth, surpassing that of any other nation, shall be no greater than her moral wealth; and her gigantic and unmatched power shall be only a power to bless.

What I have just said is, indeed, but prophecy—and the prophecy, too, of an ignorant and short-sighted man; and it may, therefore, never be fulfilled. My anticipations of a beautiful and blessed renovation for my beloved country may never be realized. She may be left to perish, and to perish for ever. What then?

Must I cease my efforts for her salvation? Happily, I am not dependent on prophecy for the interpretation of my duty, nor to sustain my fidelity, nor to encourage the opening of my lips. I am cast upon no such uncertainty. I am to continue to plead for my country, and to feel assured that I do not plead in vain. If prophecy is all uncertain, nevertheless, there are certainties, gracious certainties, on which it is my privilege to rely. I know, that in the Divine Economy, no honest discharge of the conscience, and no faithful testimony of the heart, shall be suffered to go unrewarded. I know, that in this perfect and blessed Economy, no sincere words in behalf of the right are lost. Time and truth will save them from falling ineffectual. To time and truth, therefore, do I cordially commit all that I have said on this occasion; and patiently will I wait to see what use time and truth shall make of it.

INTERESTING DEBATES IN CONGRESS.

In the House of Representatives, May 3, 1854, the House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration 'a bill to establish the office of Surveyor General of New Mexico, to grant donations to actual settlers therein, and for other purposes,' to which an amendment offered by Mr. Howe was pending, to strike out of the second section the words 'white' and 'American,' and so modify the clause as to make it read:

'That to every male citizen of the United States, or to such person as shall declare his intention to become a citizen of the United States,' &c.

Mr. Disney moved to amend the amendment, by striking out the words, 'or who has declared his intention to become such,' and to insert after the word 'years' the words, 'who has declared his intention to become a citizen,' so that, if the amendments prevail, the section will read:

'That to every white male citizen of the United States, over the age of twenty-one years, who has declared his intention to become a citizen,' &c.

The question pending being upon the adoption of the latter amendment.

Mr. SMITH, of New York, said: I have not risen to make a speech. There are several subjects coming before us, on which I wish to speak to considerable length. Among them are the Post Office and the Pacific Railroad. Hence I do not feel at liberty to consume more than a few minutes on this occasion.

I have risen, sir, to say that I must vote against the bill in its present shape, and I wish my constituents to have my explanation for my vote. I cannot vote for the bill, if the word 'white' is retained in it. I believe that every person is bound to esteem his religion above everything else. Be his religion true or superstitious, rational or spurious, he must give it this preference. My own religion is very simple. It consists in the aim to deal impartially and justly with all men. On the authority of the Savior, the commandment to do unto others as we would have others do unto us, comprises the whole sum and substance of Christianity.

I hold, sir, that we should regard the whole world as one family, and every man entitled to seek his home in any part of it. If I wish to make my home in Africa, I am to be allowed to do so; and if I am there shut out from benefits made common to others, I am wronged, deeply wronged. Under the Jewish ceremony, even the fugitive servant (fugitive slave as many render it) was to be allowed his choice of a home anywhere within the gates of Israel.

There is but one true standard of conduct, and that is the Divine conduct. We are to make our own moral character resemble that of our Maker as nearly as we can. But, as no one believes that our Maker can approve of the odious and guilty distinction under consideration. No one believes that the incarnate Son of God, were he among us, would vote for this distinction. Says the Apostle Peter—and I am sure that my learned and Catholic friend from Pennsylvania (Mr. Chandler) will not disparage the authority of that Apostle, on whom his church is built—'God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted by him.' In every nation, in every nation of red and black men, as well as white men.

I often meet with gentlemen who appear to believe that black men have not the same nature, the same sensibilities, as white men. On such occasions, I am wont to recall the words of Shylock, the Jew: 'Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? If you wrong us, shall we not revenge?' How careful, sir, should we be, not to commit wrongs; seeing that revenge so naturally follows wrongs! And if we have committed them, how careful should we be to prevent revenge by repentance! Let it not be said, sir, that Shylock is poor authority, because he loved money. His having a great money is no proof that he belonged to the human brotherhood, and had experience of our common nature.

I would, sir, that some black Shylock might be allowed to enter this hall, and to plead for the striking out of this word 'white.' He might be more successful in his plea than the white Shylock. I would, sir, that that noble man, Frederick Douglass, could be allowed to stand up here, and pour out the feelings of his great heart, in his rich, and mellow, and deep voice. I refer to him, as being a Jew, a Christian, a man of color. He was held in cruel bondage until he was some twenty years old. Then he escaped from his tormentors. He was never at school a day in his life; and now he is, confessedly, one of the ablest public speakers and writers in this country. I feel sure, sir, that, could he be heard, he would be able to bring the Committee to repent of its purpose (if such is its purpose) to retain the word 'white.'

All we never cease from this prejudice! Born and bred as I was, among negroes and Indians, as well as whites, and respecting and loving all equally well, this insane prejudice is well nigh incomprehensible to me. I am happy to recognize in every man my brother—my, another self; and I would that I could infuse my education at this point into every one who is without it.

But, sir, I promised not to make a speech. When on this prolific theme of our wrongs against the colored man, I hardly know where to stop.

Mr. HOWE said it would be unjust to discriminate against color, whether pure Castilian or mixed race, provided the people were citizens of New Mexico at the time of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. But whether citizens or not, he was not disposed to discriminate against them; because we deny political equality to colored men, it did not follow that they should be denied the right to live. The discrimination proposed was unworthy of the age. He understood colored men are citizens of Vermont, Massachusetts and New York. If in his power, he would extend the provisions of the bill to all persons.

Mr. DISNEY, of Ohio, said it seemed to him all this discussion was about mere phraseology, and that it was a small affair. The gentleman ought to know it was not competent for Congress by an act to deprive the people of New Mexico of rights guaranteed by the treaty, because our organic law declares treaties shall be the supreme law of the land. In reply to what was said about negroes being citizens, he would content himself with remarking, that it was incompetent for a State to declare negroes citizens within the terms of the Constitution. As to the States, although a State may extend citizenship within its own jurisdiction, he believed with the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. Keitt, that this is a Government of white people, and made by white people for white people.

Mr. HARK INQUIRED will this bill operate practically to exclude any persons formerly Mexican subjects.

Mr. DISNEY replied it was intended to extend to every white citizen, as contemplated by the treaty. Mr. WADE, of Ohio, did not suppose this government had any particular color.

Mr. DISNEY (in his seat) said, yes it has.

rule of the Church discipline should be applied to him. (Laughter.) The Constitution says persons, and if gentlemen could satisfy him a black man is not a person, then he would give up the argument.

Mr. WASHINGTON, of Maine, moved to amend Mr. Disney's amendment by inserting colored after the word white. Colored men are citizens in some of the States, and he did not see how they could be constitutionally excluded from the rights in Territories granted to white citizens. Southern gentlemen claim the right to take their slaves with them; they deny the right of colored citizens to go there. This is their equality of rights. What a miserable sham it is!

Mr. KEITT, of South Carolina, said a certain section of this country violated the rights of the South, and seduced their slaves under the pretence of freedom, and after doing this, now ask public lands for the fugitives to settle on. Southern men claim the right to carry their slaves to territories as property, not as citizens. No argument could be plainer. He repeated that the government of white men. He asked Mr. Wade whether in Ohio black men vote and intermarry with the whites.

Mr. WADE replied, Just as they please about it.

Mr. KEITT—The white man who marries a black woman must be degraded, that even such a connection will elevate him.

Mr. WASHINGTON's amendment was rejected.

Mr. GIDDINGS moved one, adding the words, 'or more than half white.' He said a number of Democrats of the Union descendants of Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of American democracy, have not more than half white blood. These should be permitted to settle on lands in the territory. In Washington to-day, there are descendants of the much venerated Martha Washington, with black blood in their veins, and are as white as he and his colleague, Mr. Wade. Should these, too, be excluded from the benefits of this act? Some of the members of the Convention who formed the Constitution were elected by the votes of colored men. Does not the gentleman from South Carolina hold his seat by virtue of colored men?

Mr. KEITT—No.

Mr. GIDDINGS resumed, saying the gentleman held his seat by the aid of colored men, than by white, and would he exclude the former from participation in the benefits of the territory? It would be unjust to do so.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, wished to ask a question of the gentleman from South Carolina: If white men do not intermarry with the blacks of South Carolina, in what way, consistently with a correct state of morals, came so many mulattoes there?

Mr. DISNEY's amendment adopted.

Mr. KEITT, in reply to Mr. Campbell, said in his legislative experience he had ever extended to gentlemen the utmost kindness and propriety, but when an individual inquiry was made, he would treat it as such. As to South Carolina morals, his answer was this: If there are so many mulattoes in that State, it is owing to associations with Free Soilers.

The CHAIRMAN, Mr. Phelps, said the gentleman was not in order.

Mr. CAMPBELL—I hope he may have full latitude.

The CHAIRMAN—Must I enforce the rules.

Mr. CAMPBELL—I should like to understand the gentleman.

Mr. CONYER—You'll only get up a fuss.

The bill was then laid aside, to be reported to the House.

SENATE, Thursday, May 4, 1854.

Mr. SEWARD presented a remonstrance, numerously signed by citizens of the city of New York, against the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise.

Also, a similar remonstrance, signed by 800 citizens of Ohio, city of New York.

Mr. SUMNER said he had been requested to present a memorial of citizens of Missouri and Wisconsin, upon the subject of spiritual manifestations. He said that he had the highest respect for the right of petition, but, in presenting the petition, he desired not to be understood as expressing any opinion upon its merits. Like the memorial upon the same subject presented by the Senator from Illinois, it asked for an examination by a select committee. As that memorial was laid on the table, he moved this one also to be laid on the table.

Mr. SHIELDS said that he had been much censured for not having the memorial presented by him referred to a select committee, and he had been accused of having another the petition. The Senator, by moving to lay this memorial on the table, would possibly become liable to similar imputations. He would be glad to serve on a select committee, with the Senator as chairman, to investigate the subject.

Mr. SUMNER said he was but following the lead of the Senator from Illinois. The letter in which he was requested to present the memorial contained no request to him to move the raising of a select committee, as was the case when the Senator received the memorial which he moved to lay on the table.

The subject was then laid on the table.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, May 4, 1854.

The Speaker laid before the House a communication from somebody in New York, transmitting a book, and asking aid in its circulation, the countenance of the House, &c., as a patriotic measure in those days of fanaticism.

Mr. COBB—If it is a spelling-book, I am for it. The Clerk, (reading)—It is a book on oratory.

Mr. COBB—We have too much of that already. I object.

Mr. RICHARDSON, from the Committee on Territories, reported a joint resolution authorizing the proper accounting officer of a Treasury Department and settle the expenses of a Board of Commissioners appointed by the Territorial Assembly of Utah to prepare a code of laws; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole, and ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. Lane, the House, at fifteen minutes past twelve, went into Committee of the Whole, and resumed the consideration of the bill to amend the act approved September 27, 1850, to create the office of surveyor in the public lands in those States of Oregon, &c., and also the act amendatory thereof, approved February 19, 1853.

After a brief time, this bill was ordered to be reported to the House, and the Committee entered upon the consideration of the bill to establish the office of surveyor general of Utah, to grant donations to actual settlers therein, and for other purposes, reported by Mr. Latham, from the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. BERNHISEL moved to strike out a proviso excluding any man having more than one wife from the benefits of the bill.

measures of justice to all. For weeks and months from the commencement of the discussion on the Nebraska question till now, not a Southern man had spoken but who had censured and condemned and repudiated all attempts to interfere with the domestic institutions of any territory. He did not understand this changing of position, first to the right, then to the left, at the command of some dull independent question, but he never would consent for a slave territory to form its institutions as pleasure to the dominant persons to go to Nebraska with hundreds of thousands of men, and not let the people of Utah do as they choose. The Mormons were respectable—some of them had been our constituents. (Laughter.) When a Mormon man does it openly, acknowledges the legitimacy of his children, and schools them. He does not sell his wives and children. No—God forbid! The member from Virginia, Mr. Smith, said upon the South contract marriage. Was he to be allowed to take the millions of slaves and enter into this relation? The South contract marriage would sell his slaves to-morrow or to-day. There is no law to protect colored families from the outrage of a brutal master. If you will exclude all the moralities, I will go with you, but I will never consent to admit a slave State, or to legislate to give unlimited power over slaves in the territories, which you restrict the Mormons.

Mr. PHILLIPS would not reply to the language of Mr. Giddings. Respect for himself and for the House would forbid it. He opposed the restriction, as tending to centralization. Congress had no power to control the morals of the people.

Mr. GERRIT SMITH was gratified when any man existed to protect the marriage institution; and if the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Smith) could convince him that the marriage of slaves is a thing in the slave States, he would waive his objections to slavery.

Mr. JONES, of Tennessee, could tell the gentleman that recently he had known of a case where a slave-owner in Maryland refused to sell three or four negroes, unless the priest who married them could go with them.

Mr. SMITH. And I can point the gentleman to a trial in Maryland, on record, in which a slave was acquitted of the charge of big



NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Annual Meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Boston, in the Muzzey Rooms, on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, May 23rd and 24th, and June 1st, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

No trumpet-call, especially in a crisis like the present, is deemed necessary in order to bring together, on this occasion, those who are sincere, earnest and uncompromising in their hostility to slavery, and also such as are honestly inquiring, for the first time, what are their responsibilities and duties in regard to that hideous system. Knowing that the platform of the Convention is free for all, whatever may be their peculiar views on the subject, and rejoicing that another favorable opportunity will be afforded to arouse the Northern mind, and to give a staggering blow to that Democratic Power which rules the land, they will rally about the manner of '76, but with no sectional or personal feelings, and with a desire to save all, to destroy none.

Up, then, for Freedom!—not in strife, Like that our sternest fathers saw— The awful waste of human life— But break the chain—the yoke remove, And smite to earth Oppression's rod, With those mild arms of Truth and Love, Made mighty through the living God.

FRANCIS JACKSON, President. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Sec.

LETTER FROM EDWARD SEARCH.

Not having received anything, for some time, till now, from the pen of our old, attentive, and highly valued London correspondent, we have been apprehensive that his health has been seriously affected; and we find confirmation of our fears in the following letter, which has just come to hand, though it is gratifying to learn that he is now on the recovery. We specially appreciate his kindness in sending the first available opportunity to communicate with the readers of THE LIBERATOR.

LONDON, April 21, 1854.

DEAR GARRISON:

I have been, since I last wrote, and am now, very much indisposed, and I write to say so. I am reading, which is all I can do now, and taking an interest in what appears in the Liberator and Anti-Slavery Standard, and in the cause of Abolition and the Woman's Rights Question, and can only sympathize in the efforts of the friends of the slave, and in the general cause of progress.

I am glad that you have dealt with the brawling Irishman Mitchell. He and those like him have long been understood, by the judicious here, as men who were doing their country harm, by looking at every movement as intentionally wrong, and inquiring into it as to its original measures, and not into the measures themselves.

Mitchell found himself in possession of the gift of words, and he exercised it without reflection, and elevated his countrymen from seeing the truth, by eloquence, and shutting out deliberation, which, with an impulsive people, is the sure way to mislead them.

He looked at what might be said against any measure, not at what should be said; he looked, as all mere politicians do, at measures politically, and not also socially—how they would tell for party, and not how they would tell for man. The Liberator, merely as such, at least, so it has been in Ireland,—merely looks at the authors of a measure, and not at the thing itself. Can any good come out of Nazareth? is his cry, instead of looking at the thing; and he assumes its quality and tendency, and condemns it as bad; they look at it with green spectacles, instead of looking at it socially, and asking if there is any good in it. Ireland has had the worst of a bad Government, and one that had driven all patience out of the impulsive blood of the people, and when that blood was chasing through a brain like Mitchell's, to whom God had given more than a usual quantity of words, the words came first, the reflection afterwards, and led him wrong, and those who took him as an expositor.

Your country supplies to man the great test, because to all, except the poor African, who are, as it will yet be found, a superior race, it gives political liberty, and then men soon manifest the root that is within them, and test each other; they show into what soil the seed has fallen, and are soon put in their own place by the operation of political liberty, upon others who try them, as the abolitionists have tried Mitchell, and have showed him wanting, and in what. I am glad to see Henry C. Wright acting in this.

We English had the same bad Government to struggle up under, but though not a quiet people, we were not so impulsive, and therefore not quite so rash; nor had we the same knowledge to struggle with, and to raise our sense of right and wrong, before we had the wisdom to possess it.

Many of our English errors, during the eighteenth century, could be pointed to, that would show us guilty of many political sins; but we had to be made perfect through sufferings, as far as we have been made so.

Dating from the Union of Ireland with England, (1800,) we had not had the flood of principles before the mind's eye of the world, which the French Revolution of 1789 set adrift. That Revolution was the result of ignorance and the antecedent injustice of the men who had engendered, and then exploded amongst the after-comers, leaving them the task of leavening the lump of society, and gaining the knowledge it was intended that man should gain from it, through suffering, and the consequent experience.

Mitchell was not torn then, and his race had not read in their boyhood and adolescence by the glare of principles which they could not apply distinctly, because the lurid light by which they read them was not chastened. It was not subdued by religion. I do not mean theology or priestcraft, but Christianity as taught and practiced by Jesus.

We, very few of us, understand the philosophy required to set out the wisdom of 'Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you.'

But I am getting into a train of reasoning that would lead me to the vexed question in morals, whether permission and causation are not the same thing with God. I think I am, and I do not mean to enter upon it; for I have not found, and I have made up my mind that I shall not find, a writer who knew the beginning and end of things, and who can in my judgment solve it. We must therefore guide ourselves by the best light our reason gives us here, and wait the great teacher, death; feeling assured, that if we honestly guide ourselves by the light given to us here, we shall find ourselves in the right path, when our perceptions are enlarged to see more of God's works and purposes.

We, the mass of us, are all very busy urging on each other the war with Russia! The present active generation know not of its miseries practically.

Our aristocracy, all of whom are fearing the consequences of a much longer continued peace, the progress of mind, and of the desire of reform and of rational views of it which are rapidly spreading amongst the people, would, therefore, in the hope of arresting the spread of equal rights, rather resort to war, and seek to cover the advocates of peace with ridicule and abuse; in this I fear they will be successful; at all events, they have got us into the expense, and they know we must pay it when it is incurred; and the greatest portion goes into the pockets of the officers, who are of their class, and comes out of the pockets of the masses who pay it in taxes upon what they eat and drink, for

here the taxes are not raised out of the wealth realized, but out of what the people eat, drink and use. And that you may have a specimen of how the system is used by the aristocracy, who have the appointments, I mention that we have two and a half Generals to each regiment, and besides their pay as Generals, each, it is well understood, gets £1000 from the clothing of his men, when made colonel of a regiment, and those who have most interest get them. Prince Albert has one.

You abolitionists, most of whom abominate war, need not wonder at the madness of the many for the gain of the few, seeing that the few are the influential, and have the power and the interest.

EDWARD SEARCH.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

NEW RECIPES FOR COOKING. By Miss LESLIE. Comprising all the New and Improved Methods for preparing all kinds of Soup, Fish, Oysters, Terrapins, Turtle, Vegetables, Meats, Poultry, Game, Sauces, Pickles, Sweetmeats, Cakes, Confectionary, Puddings, Corn Meal, Pies, Rice, &c. With lists of articles in season suited to go together for breakfasts, dinners and suppers; and many new receipts, and much valuable information on all subjects whatsoever connected with general housewifery. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 102 Chestnut street. pp. 629.

Handsome printed, bound and lettered as this volume is, it will present no attractions to our vegetarian friends, who, happily, will find nearly all that they can desire in the excellent Hydropathic Cook-Book, by Dr. R. T. Trall, recently published by Messrs. Fowler & Wells—a book worthy of careful consultation and a wider circulation. The present volume is a sequel to a former book by Miss Leslie, which is extensively known, entitled 'Directions for Cooking,' and claims to be 'the best and most complete Cook Book published in the world, as, in addition to Cookery, of all kinds and descriptions, its receipts for making cakes and confectionary are unequalled by any other work extant.' It also gives directions in regard to perfumery, laundry work, needle-work, washing thread laces of all kinds to make them look equal to new, preserving autumn leaves, Chinese embroidery, letters, additional receipts, &c. &c. It is an elegantly printed duodecimo volume of 620 pages, in which may be found more than one thousand new receipts. Price \$1.00—for which a copy will be sent by the publisher to any person, by return of mail, free of postage, on that sum being remitted to him in a letter post-paid.

It is for sale by Phillips, Sampson & Co., Washington street, Boston.

A FAREWELL EPISTLE.

My dear friend, farewell! I am sorry I cannot be with you and share your labors; but my heart is with you. I shall watch the battle from afar, and rejoice in your successes. I shall bespeak for you the aid of my friends wherever I may go. I will try to make them feel the importance of the struggle in which you are engaged, and to enlist their sympathies in your behalf. I am sorry I have done so little in the cause of truth and freedom while I have been in the country; but it is no light matter to change worlds—to tear up a family from the spot where it grew, and plant it afresh in a foreign soil. Besides, my onerous work in England had destroyed my health; and fast, or a change of labor, was needed to its renewal. I am better now, and if spared to return to America, I hope to do more for the cause of humanity. It shall be my all; my tongue, my pen, my property, my life. I know nothing else worth toiling for—I know nothing else worth living for, but the freedom, the improvement, and the happiness of mankind. I despise not the man who plows the field, or plants the corn, or cuts the grass; but I should look on the labors of the field with much more pleasure, if I saw them undertaken with an eye to the general good. If I saw the farmer, the manufacturer and the merchant toiling, not merely to gain a living, or to make a fortune, but to obtain the means of spreading truth, and blessing the world, I should look on their labors with ten-fold pleasure. For long, all labors have seemed to me to be but low and little, unworthy of man, which aimed at nothing higher, or at nothing farther, than a man's own earthly interests. For long, the only men that have seemed to do honor to humanity, or to deserve the approbation of their fellows, are the philanthropists and reformers, the men who live and labor for the freedom, the elevation, the happiness of their race. I love and honor such men above all others. I loved and honor none else compared with them. They are the good, the great, the glorious. I court no higher honor for myself—I desire no greater good, no richer heritage for my children,—than the consciousness of having served the oppressed and plundered, and helped on the improvement and welfare of the world. My greatest grief is, that I have done so little for mankind, and that I have done that little so ill. My greatest joy is, that I have done something,—that I have done what I could. It makes me sad when I think of the years I spent groping my way out of the darkness and horrors of sectarianism and superstition. Oh! how happy it would have been, had I been born near the realms of light, instead of coming into being so far away back in the regions of darkness! Here I am, old and gray-headed, and I have only just begun to live. The best of my days are past. The freshness of my life and the fulness of my strength are gone; yet the work of life seems only to be just begun. Oh! young men and young women, born in a happier age, and blest with a happier lot, how gladly should you give yourselves to the cause of truth and freedom! Oh! my children, I would give the wealth of a continent to begin my life afresh, with the light that shines upon you.

O terge, quaterque beati, una si bona norint.

How happy should I be, if might I but see you giving up yourselves to the cause of human improvement, and zealously working for the salvation of the world. How happy shall I be, if spared to return to this country, now my home and the home of my children, and to spend what is left of my life and strength in the cause of the neglected and wronged! Sickness and pain and losses I will count as nothing, if I may but live, and have the pleasure of aiding, to a good old age, the cause of human progress. No other cause shall divide my mind, no other toils shall share my strength, but the cares and toils of philanthropy. My plowing and planting shall have no more of my time than is necessary to health. The pulpit, the platform and the press shall have the rest.

Once more I say, Farewell! I commit myself to the deuring sea, and to the raging elements, not knowing what awaits me. But I go, a believer in the power of truth, and in the progress of humanity. I carry with me the assurance, that superstition, slavery and wrong shall fall, and knowledge, freedom and righteousness prevail over all. If I go down to the depths, I shall die in hopes of a glorious lot for man in the future, hearing, by anticipation, while the waters of the ocean close upon me, the joyous shouts of an emancipated world. If I cross the deep in safety, then shall I toil as well as hope, and live in expectation of seeing the fall of error and iniquity, and sharing with my friends the joy their downfall shall awaken. Amen.

I hope, if spared, to write to you every week while away. The world is all excited, the old as well as the new. On both sides the Atlantic, and on every continent, humanity is struggling for a better lot. In Asia, as well as in Europe and America, freedom and tyranny, truth and error are battling. The old and the new are striving for the mastery; and in all, the old is giving way and the new is gaining ground. There never were times more stirring. Never did they seem big with greater events. The pen of the chronicler need never be idle. The scribe can never want subjects. Strange tales are ever reaching us, from every part of the world; and new discoveries and wondrous deeds come thick and fast upon us. And greater and more startling things are near; and good in all.

With a heart overflowing with love to you, and to all who are toiling for the salvation of mankind, I am, Yours, for ever,

JOSEPH BARKER.

P. S. We leave in the Arabia on Wednesday, the 10th inst. We hope to land at Liverpool before the 24th. If we can get through our work, we shall start back early in August. Who can tell what changes shall take place in those three months? Where will be the Nebraska Bill in August? Where will be the President? Where will the armies of Russia and Turkey be? Where the armies of France and England?—Where will be their fleets? Where will Kossuth and Mazzini be? Where the crowns of Europe? Where Australia? Where the British power in India? Will Russia conquer? Will the rulers of France and England let loose the people? Will the people break loose, without imperial or royal leave? Will Hungary rise? Will Italy? Will Poland? What strange events three months may bring forth! How few of the events which many are looking for may happen! How often Time mocks men's expectations! How much he promises, and how little he gives! How often he is like the mountain, shaking with thorns, then bringing forth a mouse! How sternly things move on! A year is wasted in fruitless negotiations. A quarter of another goes in tardy preparations. Now a decisive battle is looked for, and a skirmish only takes place. And thus are the hopeful and the timid disappointed. Happy the man who looks only for opportunities of telling the truth and doing his duty, quietly waiting Nature's own time for the birth of great events.

An excellent discourse on 'The Signs of the Times,' preached at Scituate, Fast Day, April 6, 1854, by Rev. FREDERICK BARRETT, will appear in our next paper.

ERRATUM. In Treasurer's Report, in Liberator of May 6th, for Levi Bartlett, Charlestown, read Levi B. Pratt.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF JAMES W. WALKER.

At a meeting of the Rootwood and Edinburgh (Ohio) Anti-Slavery League, on Sunday, the 16th ult., the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted, in regard to the recent decease of JAMES W. WALKER:—

Resolved, That we are deeply impressed with a sense of the great loss sustained by us, who are lovers of and laborers in the great work of human redemption, and that not only have we lost one of the most affectionate companions, but the slave has lost one of his ablest and most earnest friends, Humanly a noble advocate, and the world a savior of whom it was not worthy.

Resolved, That the loss the Anti-Slavery Society has sustained in the decease of our brother, is more to be regretted than the failure of any political scheme, or the breaking up of any or all ecclesiastical organizations.

Resolved, That if consistency be commendable, or self-sacrifice a virtue, or devotion to an unpopular cause for conscience sake be a mark of rare purity and goodness, then do we have, in the life and character of JAMES W. WALKER, an example worthy of imitation.

Resolved, That an Anti-Slavery Temperance and Peace lecturer, he was talented, faithful and discreet, and well calculated to fill the post assigned him.

Resolved, That we tender to the bereaved family our warm sympathy, and should circumstances require it, we will gladly render them assistance, both out of respect for the deceased, and from that higher consideration of duty that we owe to the widow and fatherless.

ERASTUS CASE, Chairman.

ARIEL CASE, 2d Secretary.

A GOOD MAN DEPARTED.

We have lost an old and valued subscriber in the decease of the venerable STEPHEN SMITH, on the 23d ultimo, at Syracuse, N. Y., in the 78th year of his age. He was honored and beloved by all who knew him—a friend to the friendless, a foe to injustice and superstition, a believer in human progress and mental independence, an advocate for the widest range of thought and inquiry, and an excellent specimen of modern 'infidelity.' The Syracuse Chronicle, edited by the Rev. Mr. Raymond, pays the following merited tribute to his memory:—

'Uncle Stephen' is no more. We are sure his nearest relative will not resent this free public use of a souvenir which was in everybody's mouth—from the oldest to the youngest,—and constitutes one of the best indications of the respect and affection with which, in the days of his life, he was universally regarded. From a sense of the propriety of a comparative stranger adopting a term of endearment, which seemed only to befit the most familiar lips, we long resisted the tendency to join in this tribute of affection to the white-haired, kindly, beautiful old man,—but the distant and formal 'Mr. Smith' thawed out and melted from the tongue in his going presence, and gave place to the more affectionate address that would go forth to greet him.

'Yes, he was everybody's'—'Uncle Stephen,' and we doubt not that, to-day, while a whole community are mourning his death as an irreparable loss, they who stand nearest his hier will find their chief consolation in the thought that there are so many to claim the privilege of mingling their tears in this tribute of sorrow to one who was a father and a friend to all. It is needless to dwell upon the virtues of the deceased. Hundreds, we trust, will have caught by personal acquaintance with him the inspiration of his public and private virtues, and will emulate the spotless probity, the cheerful firmness, the uniform serenity which lit up his life with a memorable beauty, and crowned its close with such tributes of love and sorrow as are only shed upon the good man's grave. The life of Stephen Smith may be safely imitated; the speculative peculiarities of his taken as a rule, when they were so obviously exceptional and inexplicable.

For more than thirty years he has been among us and of us; pursuing steadily and steadfastly a life of remarkable correctness and noble liberality. His unswerving integrity and irreproachable moral character, his high and noble aims, his unflinching courage, while his unpretending and kindly manners have endeared him to all who knew him. The announcement of his death will send a pang to the heart of all who knew him, and bring a tear to the eye of many, to whom he has been a benefactor and a friend.

His death, like the later years of his life, was peaceful and calm. Patiently and quietly suffering much, without a murmur, he has been for many weeks waiting for the grim messenger—but showing no signs of dread or fear of the change, which he knew was approaching. Although his mind was so constituted, that he thought that there are so many to claim the privilege of mingling their tears in this tribute of sorrow to one who was a father and a friend to all. It is needless to dwell upon the virtues of the deceased. Hundreds, we trust, will have caught by personal acquaintance with him the inspiration of his public and private virtues, and will emulate the spotless probity, the cheerful firmness, the uniform serenity which lit up his life with a memorable beauty, and crowned its close with such tributes of love and sorrow as are only shed upon the good man's grave.

The Nebraska Villany.—In the House of Representatives, 8th inst., Mr. Richardson moved to go into Committee of the Whole, avowing his intention to be, should the motion succeed, to move to lay aside all preceding business, and take up the Nebraska bill. Carried by a vote of 102 yeas to 83 nays. The House then went into Committee, Mr. Olds in the chair. After some discussion, all the preceding business, including the Deficiency Bill, was laid aside, by an average vote of about 99 to 33 on each bill, and after some tumultuous proceedings, and several impugned motions for the Committee to rise, the Nebraska and Kansas bill was taken up, when Mr. Richardson said he proposed to offer a substitute for the bill, which would be substantially the Senate bill, with the omission of the Clayton amendment, and the addition of a few other immaterial amendments.

A debate followed in which Mr. Hibbard supported the bill, and Mr. Lyon, of New York, opposed it in a long and characteristic speech, during the delivery of which he was frequently applauded.

A motion to lay the bill on the table was defeated by a vote of 105 to 85.

A change of six votes in favor of the bill is generally conceded, but still, its opponents are sanguine that their chance is the best on any vote that may be taken.

The Cincinnati papers contain an account of the arrest, at Louisville, Ky., of a free colored girl of that city, as a fugitive slave. She had visited New Orleans with her uncle, and was on her return in charge of a Mr. Anderson of Cincinnati. At Louisville, several police officers boarded the steamer, and, without authority, seized the girl as a fugitive slave, and, against the protestations of the clerk, and without Mr. Anderson's knowledge, dragged her off the boat, and to the jail. Her freedom was subsequently established by witnesses, and an attorney sent from Cincinnati, but at considerable expense to her friends.

The Flood.—In consequence of the flood at Hartford, from one to two thousand persons have been thrown out of employment, and the damage in the city has been roughly estimated at \$100,000.

By the fire in Broadway, New York, on the night of Tuesday last week, it is now ascertained that thirteen lives were lost, and twenty-one persons were wounded, many of them seriously.

News from Hayti reports that the Emperor Souleouque is enlisting men, and making great preparations with his fleet and army, for his invasion of the Dominicans, both by sea and land.

Charles Gavan Duffy publishes a scathing letter in the New York Times, addressed to John Mitchell, which is, to the latter, perfect annihilation.

Late Mexican advices say that Madam Song was received, on her arrival in that country, amid great cheering, and that she was escorted through the streets in a carriage drawn by six horses.

Mr. A. B. Payne is in court at Petersburg, Va., charged by Miss Williams with having 'black-guarded her, vilified her reputation, and ruined her character and the front door of her residence.'

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

The undersigned respectfully invite ALL citizens of New England who believe in the right of laborers to control their own earnings; All who believe in a fair day's wages for a fair day's work; All who believe in the equal right of all children in the community to all public provisions for education; All who believe in the right of human beings to determine their own 'proper sphere' of action; All who believe in the right of all to a trial by a jury of their peers; All who believe that 'taxation without representation is tyranny'; All who believe in the right of adult Americans to have a voice in electing the Government whose laws control them; To meet in Convention, at Boston, on FRIDAY, the 2d of June next, to consider whether these rights shall continue to be limited to one half the members of this Community.

Paulina W. Davis, Sarah H. Earle, Samuel W. Wheeler, David A. Wasson, Anna Fairbanks, S. Crosby Hewitt, Anna Talbot Fairbanks, Harrietta C. Ingraham, Thos. Wentworth Higginson, Joseph Henry Allen, James Freeman Clarke, Amory Battles, Lucy Stone, Mary Ann Laughton, A. D. Mayo, B. P. Deane, Harriot K. Hunt, Mary F. Deane, Anna Q. T. Parsons, Sarah H. Pillsbury, Wendell Phillips, P. B. Cogswell, Ann G. Phillips, C. I. H. Nichols, William L. Bowditch, Gertrude H. Burleigh, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Paulina Gerry, Adin Ballou, Lucy H. Ballou, N. B. Will editors friendly to the cause please copy.

PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

This Association will convene for mutual help and edification, and for the discharge of its appropriate duties as a religious body, in the meeting-house at Old Kent, Chester County, on First day, the 21st of Fifth month, 1854, at 11 A. M., and continue, by adjournment, from day to day, as long as necessity may require.

Creed-making forms no part of the objects of this Society. Disclaiming all ecclesiastical authority, and avoiding the tangled controversies by which the popular churches are perplexed and bewildered, it seeks to unite mankind, not by agreement in theological opinions, but through oneness of spirit in respect to the practical duties of life, the communion of soul with soul, in a common love of the beautiful and true, and a common aspiration after moral excellence. Its platform is broad and comprehensive. It invites the cooperation of all who recognize the equal brotherhood of the human family, without regard to sect, color or condition, and who acknowledge the duty of defining and illustrating their faith in God by lives of personal purity, and works of beneficence and charity to mankind.

We therefore affectionately invite all sincere inquirers after truth, who may be attracted by the principles of our organization, and who, weary of the strifes of sect, are looking for higher and purer manifestations of the religious sentiment, to meet with us at the time above specified, and to give us the benefit of their counsel and cooperation.

WILLIAM BARNARD, JOSEPH A. DUDALE, THOMAS GARRETT, C. M. BURLEIGH, SIDNEY PERCIE, BENJ. C. BACON, B. FUSSELL, ROWLAND JOHNSON, JONATHAN LAMBORN, EDITH PENNING, HENRIETTA W. JOHNSON, Committee of Arrangements.

THE GUARDIAN OF FRIENDLESS GIRLS.

We ask your cooperation in a work of great importance. Our streets are full of children, wholly idle, or engaged in trifling occupations. Many of these are girls. Experience shows that idleness and vagrant habits lead them into temptation, and they soon become guilty of slight offences against the laws. If left unprotected by the police, they ripen into profligate and degraded offenders. If arrested and committed to jail or the House of Correction, they are, after a few months, rendered back to the community worse than before.

For boys, the State has provided fitting and ample support in the WESTBURY REFORM SCHOOL, of whose abundant success we need not speak. This Association aims to protect the girls, until something of the same kind, or something equally effectual, be set on foot by the State. Its object is to take charge, where it is possible, of those who have not yet become offenders, and, with permission of the Courts, to take possession of those arraigned for crimes; to provide them a temporary home in the city, instruction in some means of getting a living, and obtain homes, for such as need them, in families residing in the country towns of New England.

Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT will act as Agent of the Association in the Courts and elsewhere, becoming bail for such as he thinks proper subjects for his assistance. The Committee solicit from their fellow-citizens, interested in the object, funds to support the movement. An Agent, a home, means for clothing some of the girls, for sending them into the country, for correspondence with friends out of the city, willing to cooperate in the object,—all these, and similar expenses, must be incurred; and for these, the Association rely on the liberality of a community never appealed to in vain in behalf of a worthy object.

We ask your aid, either by counsel, by pecuniary contributions, or by making known to the Agent the names of worthy persons disposed to aid us by receiving any of these neglected children.

Address REV. JOHN T. SARGENT, Pecuniary contributions may be sent to L. E. MERRIAM, 35 India street. Furniture will be sent for, if notice be given to any of the Committee.

TO YOUNG MEN.—PLEASANT AND PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT.—Young Men in every neighborhood may obtain healthful, pleasant and profitable employment, by engaging in the sale of useful and popular Books, and canvassing for our popular Journals. For terms and particulars, address, post-paid,

FOWLERS & WELLS, 308, Broadway, New York.

REV. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:— At Seventh Day Baptist Meeting:— Saturday, May 18. house, Mystic, Conn. Sunday, May 19. At Floral Hall, Mystic River. Sunday, May 15. Head of Mystic, Baptist meeting:— Monday eve, May 15. Grosvenor Centre, Conn. Tuesday eve, May 16. Poquonnoc Bridge, " Wednesday, " 17. Noank, " Thursday " 18.

NOTICE. An address will be delivered by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, on Monday evening, 15th inst., in Belknap Street Meeting-house, at 8 o'clock.

After the address, there will be a Levee for the benefit of the Church and Society. Tickets 50 cents. A collection will be taken to help pay for the use of the house. The public are invited to attend.

In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, GEORGE W. BROWN, Chairman. Boston, May 12.

WANTED. Several colored girls in families out of the city. A journeyman barber in a neighboring city, on such good references will find a desirable place. Men on Farms. A porter's situation in the city. WM. C. NELL, Please apply to At his Registry for Help, 21 Cornhill.

IMPROVED METHOD OF CHAMPING AND HAIR-DYEING.

MADAME CARTEAUX having established herself over the Comb, Toilet and Perfumery Store of A. S. Jordan, No. 121 Washington street, (entrance in Norfolk Avenue,) would avail herself of this medium for tendering thanks to the Ladies of Boston and vicinity for the liberal patronage awarded her, and would respectfully assure them that, by unremitting endeavors to please, she hopes for a continuance of their favors.

Her arrangements for cutting and dressing Ladies' and Children's Hair, for Dyeing and Champing, are such as win the tribute of praise from all. She has a Hair Restorative which cannot be excelled, as it produces new hair where baldness had taken place.

Her chemical researches have developed an imitable Hair Dye, warranted not to smut, (as desideratum looked for. (Her *À la Plus Ultra*, for renovating the complexion, removing freckles, &c., is fast commending itself to favor. For all her compounds and their application the warrants satisfaction, or demands no pay.

Ladies can be waited on at their own residences, or at her room, which will be open from 8 A. M., to 7 P. M. She has numerous recommendations from the fashionable circles of Boston, Providence, and elsewhere, which can be seen by those who desire.

Boston, May 18.

To Young Mothers!

OLD UNCLE JERRY Has at last permitted the compiling and publishing of his celebrated and valuable Letters to YOUNG MOTHERS. The volume is edited by Mrs. Ann E. Porter. It is a book of most excellent counsels, which, if heeded by all young mothers, would save infinite trouble and sadness, and innumerable family discomforts. Its contents are as follows:

- 1. Trials of Young Mothers. 2. Bathing and Dressing of Infants. 3. Physical Training of Children. 4. Food best adapted to their Growth. 5. Fresh Air, very necessary. 6. Treatment of Diseased Infants. 7. Moral Training. 8. Importance of forming the Habit of Obedience Early. 9. Punishments—what kinds should be avoided. 10. Danger of Brightening Young Children. 11. Going to School. 12. Intellectual Training of Children. 13. How to Enforce Habits of Order, &c. 14. Religious Instruction of Children. 15. Letter from an Aged Lady on Training Little Ones. 16. Light Carving, his Life and Death. 17. A Few Days in Uncle Jerry's Family. 18. A Few Thoughts for Husbands and Wives. 19. Neglect of Wife and Family. 20. Self-Reproach. 21. Reunion. Price, 38 cents.

PUBLISHED BY JOHN F. JEWETT & CO., BOSTON.

JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

For sale by all Booksellers. April 28.

40,000 COPIES IN EIGHT WEEKS.

THE LAMPLIGHTER; Uncle True and Little Gerty.

WE HAVE PUBLISHED, IN EIGHT WEEKS, FORTY THOUSAND COPIES OF THE Great American Romance,

One of the most fascinating and elegantly written volumes ever issued from the AMERICAN PRESS. This is the universal testimony of Readers and Reviewers, East, West, North and South. The immense demand continues without abatement.

JOHN F. JEWETT & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS, CORNHILL, BOSTON.

And for sale by all Booksellers. April 28.

Despotism in America.

BY RICHARD HILDRETH, ESQ. AUTHOR OF 'HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES,' 'THE WHITE SLAVE,' &c. &c.

This is a new edition, very much enlarged, and brought down to the present time, of a work published ten years since. It is a most timely publication, showing, as it does, in a manner not to be gainsaid, the regular, systematic and constant encroachment of THE SLAVE POWER.

From the adoption of the Constitution to the NEBRASKA INIQUITY.

Reader, would you know what despotism may exist under the stars and stripes of a Republic, peruse with care this masterly work.

PUBLISHED BY JOHN F. JEWETT & CO., BOSTON.

JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

April 28.

40,000 the First Year!

THE SHADY SIDE; OR, LIFE IN A COUNTRY PARSONAGE.



POETRY.

SELECTIONS.

WHEN SHALL SLAVERY'S CURSE REMOVE?

O! when shall Slavery's curse remove, And Freedom's songs be sung, And the broad banner that we love, Be o'er the captive thrown?

UNCLE TOM'S GRAVE

Beyond the boundaries of the plantation, George had noticed a dry, sandy knoll, shaded by a few trees; there they made the grave.

Waves the pine-tree o'er the grave Of the faithful martyr'd slave, But he dwells his Lord beside, Saved, and blest, and glorified.

CLAIM OF THE SLAVE

The World's in debt to me.—SOLIMAN TRUTH. For all the years that I've been scourged To unrequit toil, For all the blood and tears I've poured Upon my native soil,

PRIZE ODE

Sung at the re-inauguration of the Crystal Palace, New York, May 4, 1854. BY W. BOSS WALLACE. Lo! the transitory darkness From our Palace floats away; Lo! the glorious gems of Genius Glitter in the rising day.

TO UNTIMELY WINTER

BY THE LATE MARY SHERIDAN, OF WISCONSIN. Begone, old Winter! thou white-bearded thief, Blustering tormentor of the lovely Spring;

STANZA—FROM THE CHINESE.

To seek relief from doubt in doubt, From woe in woe, from sin in sin, Is but to drive a tiger out.

THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

The Southern Convention, assembled at Charleston, has at length adjourned. We had a reporter present during its sessions, who diligently forwarded an account of everything said and done, including the debate with regard to his own exclusion as the reporter of the Tribune.

THE FUNCTION OF THE GOSPEL

In a Discourse recently delivered at Washington, by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, the speaker said:—It is the function of the Gospel to remove all evil in the moral world.

THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1854. Yesterday, Mr. Smith of Virginia, made a most unwarrantable attack upon the character of John Quincy Adams, in the House of Representatives.

J. R. GIDDINGS AND GERRIT SMITH.

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1854. A new kind of whale has been made known to the world by the Scientific Convention now in session in this city.

JOHN MITCHELL.

In the slave States, mysterious silences succeeded the original brazen blast which announced the entrance of John Mitchell into the lists in defence of slavery.

ties, and with as much self-approbation as he could have evinced, had none of his ancestors ever swallowed poor old Jonah!

The success of the Slave Power in the House, in the way of brow-beating and bullying, has thus far been shockingly meagre, and confidence in its efficacy is decidedly weak.

The speech of Mr. Gerrit Smith, recently delivered in the Nebraska question, has appeared in the Daily Freeman, making seventeen columns in small type. Of course, it was not uttered in an hour.

I never beheld Gerrit Smith until the assembling of the present Congress, and I was then prepared from what I had heard, to look upon an ascetic dogmatist, an arbitrary man of crank notions, and eccentricities.

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necessity—alarmed expediency—may take notice of him, and all base men, and things that wear the form of men, join to do him the empty honor of their applause.

They hung a man in Pittsburgh last month, under the mistaken notion that the State could stop people killing each other by killing one itself.

Our people are now prettily thoroughly convinced that hanging a man will not prevent the selling of spirituous liquor to madden others, young men drinking it, nor drunken ruffians from cutting the throats of their fellow-men.

On Friday, 24th ult., David Jewell was hanged for murder—and before two weeks had elapsed, our columns recorded no less than seven persons strangled, one of them since dead, and another mortally injured!

Such is an outline of the cutting and slashing in our city during the week immediately following the execution—what the thousand really believed would strike terror to the bowdies of this community!

We often hear grave, prudent, conservative citizens shake their heads over the folly of conceited youngsters, who will try experiments aimed at the improvement of social relations or conditions which they ought to deny will fail, because such always have failed.

CHRISTIAN FORGIVENESS. In Pittsburgh, Penn., a man named Jewell was recently hung by the neck till he was dead, for killing another man while drunk.

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The times demand more courage, more fidelity and more enthusiasm.

The signs are propitious that a better day is dawning. It is always darkest just before day. The Church must come and take sides against wrong and evil.

THE GLORIOUS RESCUE.

The Kansas Telegraph proposes that either Mr. Watkins, Mr. Booth, or some one occupying a similar position, should be chosen as the next Representative of the Massachusetts district in Congress.

God bless you, and He will bless you. Your letter, this morning, has filled me with joy. You are aware that a responsible part I took in the rescue of Jerry. I determined, from the first, that were I indicted, I would not give bail—I would go to jail.

A New Underground Railroad to Canada.—Mr. Mary Adick was arrested in Louisville on the 7th ult., and tried on a charge of aiding a negro to escape. The slave belonged to Dr. Gross. The Courier gives the following account of the method of procuring passage over this new underground railroad:—Tickets are bought at the Jefferson railroad office.

An honest confession is good for the soul. The Hon. Samuel Houston, Ex-President of Texas, and now one of her Senators, is reported to have said:—The acquisition of Texas constitutional? No, sir, it was not.

Southern Convention.—This body, in its action, was a comedy. It talked largely, and acted 'smallly.' It excluded a reporter of the New York Tribune—determined to hold a railroad in the Pacific by force—declared it would print its own books—determined to have the Amazon river open—advised a commission, composed of Gen. Scott, Senator Butler, of South Carolina, and Millard Fillmore, to act as peace-makers between the South and the North.

The newspapers have given currency to a rumor that Henry Ward Beecher was about to take charge of a Congregational church in Washington. In noticing this rumor, the Star, a newspaper published in that city, threatens him with a coat of tar and feathers.

The Dublin Nation has quite turned on its old friend, John Mitchell.—His good name appears to have turned, his heart to have grown hopelessly malcontent in exile, and he sees the world again only to scoff and sneer, and make it echo with his egotism.

The Slave Ship.—The examination of the five parties arrested on board the alleged slave brig, Glamazon, was had to-day, and resulted in their commitment for trial at the United States Court.

Senator Douglas's Letter.—It is stated that Senator Douglas's letter to the clergymen of Chicago was a model *jeu d'esprit*, being published too soon. The project had been sent to Congress. The correct resolutions, as published, did not refer to the name of Almighty God, but simply as Ministers of the Gospel.

FOR SALE at the Liberator's Office, and by Bela Marsh, 21 Cornhill, the Great Discussion on the Origin, Character and Tendency of the Bible, between Rev. F. B. D. D., of Philadelphia, and Joseph Barker, of Ohio, in January last. Price, 25 cts. single—\$100 or 4 copies.

MAY 12

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MOTORPATHIC CURE. DR. H. HALSTED, formerly of Haled Hill, Bost., is now in New York, well known as the author of the system of Motoropathy, and by his great success in the cure of chronic and female diseases, has recently purchased and removed to the celebrated ROUND HILL WATER-CURE ESTABLISHMENT, at Northampton, Mass., with improved facilities, he will continue the practice of his peculiar system, in connection with the Hydropathic Treatment.

FACTS FOR INVALIDS! 1. The most explicit testimony ever borne against drugging has come from intelligent Physicians, who have declared that the present practice does more harm than good.

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THE RELIGION OF MANKIND; or, The Age of Thought. By Dr. J. H. Robinson. Price, 60 cts. The Philosophy of Creation: unfolding the Laws of the Progressive Development of Nature, and Explaining the Philosophy of Man, Spirit, and the Spirit World. By Thomas Paine, through the hand of Horace W. Wood, Medium. Price, 38 cents.

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