

REFUGEE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Washington Union.

SENDING AN ABOLITIONIST TO COV- ENTRY.

There are few questions on which Southern men have differed more widely than that which involves the propriety of sending a great people in the various parts of the globe to the aid of the oppressed. Mr. Clay was of opinion that it was best to receive their petitions, consider them calmly, and refute their positions by reason and argument. Other Southern men have doubtless a total aversion to showing this much respect to the petitioners, or to their prayers. The latter extraordinary course of Mr. Sumner in the Senate, in regard to his view of the obligations under the Constitution, has revived the question. In the special case stated by Mr. Clay, of Alabama, in his late withering denunciation of Mr. Sumner, it seems to us to be difficult to see how any doubt could exist as to the answer that ought to be given. At the same time, we are bound to say that we do not doubt the policy of giving such notice to Mr. Sumner as was given to him in the late debate in the Senate. And, without discussing this question, we invite attention to the remarks of Mr. Clay, of Alabama:

"Excuse me one moment. I am not in the habit of trespassing upon the Senate, Mr. President. I would not have shown this in this report to sustain the original report of the reporter; and what is it? Why, sir, that notwithstanding this qualified denial, the Senator from South Carolina treated it as a positive denial of the Constitution of the United States. Now, I ask, does any intelligent man believe, that if the Senator had qualified that denial in the manner in which it appears in the report, that the Senator from South Carolina would still have maintained that he refused to obey his oath—that he had refused to sustain the Constitution? Does any one believe that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Mason] would have repeated the charge? Does any one believe that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Pettit] would also have repeated it? Certainly not. Then there is intrinsic evidence in the report itself, that these words were interpolated—that they were not uttered."

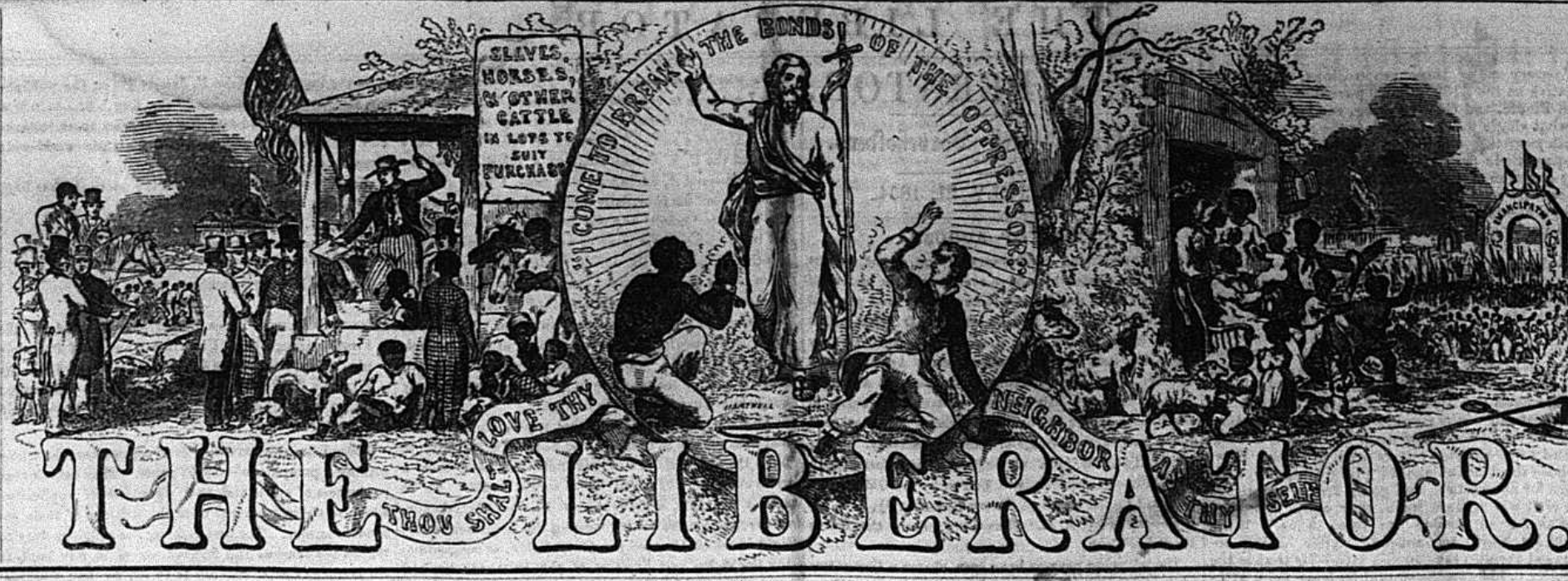
Mr. President, I have a few more words to say, which I utter with great diffidence, and with the profoundest deference to older Senators on this floor. We have no means of preventing these violations of the dignity and proprieties of the Senate. There is no penal statute which can reach a man who only avows his willingness to commit a crime. But, let me ask, suppose a private citizen, however wealthy and well-born, however highly cultivated his mind, however great his talents, or rich his acquisitions, should openly avow his readiness to commit moral perjury; should day by day evince a disposition to instigate other men to crime, which, from want of personal courage, he did not dare perpetrate himself; should daily encourage other men to violate the rights of his neighbors, to steal their property, to kidnap their slaves, and to refuse to return them; should daily assail the feelings of his neighbors by wanton, rude, and unprovoked assaults upon their characters, and when rebuked for it in the harshest, most offensive, and opprobrious language, like the spaniel, should quietly submit to be quartered, but never repair the wrong, or resent the insult—a sneaking, sycophant, snake-like poltroon, who would violate all the rights of associates or friends, and never make reparation or acknowledgment of error, and who held himself irresponsible to all law, feeling the obligation neither of the divine law, nor of the law of the land, nor of the law of honor: I ask you how would such a miscreant be treated? Why, if you could not reach him with the arm of the municipal law, if you could not send him to the penitentiary, you would send him to Coventry. You would exclude him from the pale of society; you would never extend him the courtesies that are shown gentlemen, nor permit him to offer such a salute to you. You would tell him that he was shunned like a leper, and loathed like a filthy reptile; and you would sooner render him as impotent for evil as he was disinclined for good.

Such characters, though rare, may be found, and have been known. I can give, from memory, the general outlines of one portrayed by Mr. Dickens in his novel, "David Copperfield"—that of Uriah Heep. Uriah was mean, yet affected honor; was malignant, yet feigned benevolence; presumptuous, yet affected humility; investigated others for violence he dared not commit, yet assumed an air of meanness; suggested crimes and incited others to their commission, yet bore himself with studied amity of manners, and choice expressions of benignity. We have such a character on this floor. I have suggested our means of rebuking, if we cannot disarm him; of disabling, if we cannot disarm him. If we cannot check individual abuses, we may preserve the dignity of this body. Uriah cannot restrain or prevent his terms. He is upon the feelings and rights of Southern gentlemen, we may rob the serpent of his fangs. We can paralyze his influence by placing him in that nadir of social degradation which he merits. I am surprised, but especially Southern men, should so far forget their rights and those of their constituents, and their duties to them, as well as to themselves, as to lend any countenance to such a character as I have portrayed.

THE CONSTITUTION ONCE MORE IN- SULTED IN THE NATIONAL SENATE.

If the State of Connecticut is not dishonored among her sisters by the machinations of the next Congress, it will be because the person sent to the Senate to fill out the remainder of the term of the Legislature of Connecticut, is not equal to the most scandalous and revolting act which the Constitution of our beloved country has ever known. We refer to Mr. Gillette, and more particularly to his shameless and inflammatory speech in the Senate on the 6th of July last. Mr. Gillette is one of the senatorial twins born of the last marriage between the Whigs and Abolitionists of Connecticut; and he comes here to perform his part of this base covenant. He comes here to attack the Constitution, to assail the South, to libel his country, and to defy the lessons of her holy past.

This Mr. Gillette is one of our moral masters, a respecter of the Bible, a lover of religion, and a vehemently moral man, no doubt. He embarks against slavery as against an unchristian and God-defying institution—to put down which, all the good men are to combine; and, as he is one of these good men, he begins his task with a bold,



THE LIBERATOR.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1854. WHOLE NUMBER 1044.

no more fetes; and when the populace of New York decline to celebrate the Fourth with fireworks, and noise, and every demonstration of popular glee, then we may look anxiously forward to the future. But so long as such scenes as Tuesday mark the recurrence of our National Anniversary, we may safely leave the State to the guidance of fortune, and smile at the impotent violence of the actions.

It has already become a desperate struggle to keep the anti-Nebraska sentiment alive. It requires a tremendous organization of illegal violence at Boston to prevent its demise some weeks back; and more recently, a Senator of the United States has been employed to galvanize fresh vigor into the moribund, at the sacrifice of his own character for honor and truth. But even these desperate remedies do not seem to be attaining any satisfactory end. Nebraska and its organization are fast dying out of men's memories. We have too much to do in the present day to fight or weep over by-gones. If anything could have given a semblance of vitality to the party led by Mr. Seward and his organs, it would have been some demonstration on the 4th. The event we commemorate on that day is the root and origin of the grievances of the abolitionists. The same members of that body cannot pretend that their views are consistent with the Constitution; they must admit—as many of them have done—that they are radically opposed to that compact itself, and that their aim, in one word, is to undo the work which was begun on the 4th of July, 1776. For these men, therefore, to join in celebrating the anniversary of that day is the rankest inconsistency. They should spurn the thought of such a thing. For them, the 4th of July ought to be a day of weeping and sorrow. All the miseries they bewail took their origin in the concerted action of the thirteen colonies; and if they seek to achieve anything at all, they must begin by convincing the public that the action of those colonies was an error to be deplored and corrected, not an exploit to be exalted and magnified. It is impossible for a conscientious abolitionist to walk on the morning of the 4th of July, without intense feelings of regret and anger.

SELECTIONS.

KOSSUTH—SANDERS.

Our resident Consul at London, G. N. Sanders, a native of Kentucky, has resided much at the North, and caught some of the Northern feeling in behalf of European freedom, and thereby obtained the confidence of Mazzini and Kossuth. He is a violent partisan in all pro-slavery schemes in America. Sanders felt himself implicated by Mazzini's late letter to the English Abolition Society. In the absence of Mazzini, he indited a letter to Kossuth, deprecating the disturbance of the slavery question in the United States, and charging the evil all on England. Kossuth replies to him as follows:

21 ALFA ROAD, REGENT'S PARK, LONDON, Saturday, June 3, 1854.

DEAR SIR: Upon carefully reading your letter, I regret to find that you are laboring under a misconception. My principles are against foreign interference with the domestic affairs of another nation. Besides, though he is from natural repugnance, he is from the impassivity of his leading statesmen, the United States do not yet appear conscious of their competent position; still, I consider the strength and prosperity of the only republican power on earth so important to the future destinies of the world, that I certainly never would contribute anything to its internal division. Nay, true to my principles, I cannot recognize any division in America: I look to the brotherhood of the great Republic as a whole, and have too high a respect for the American people as one undivided body of sincere republicans, as not to believe they will of themselves, with all the light before them, make their nation a model for every other.

You are quite right in your belief that Mazzini's letter has no reference to the present agitation in the United States; this is made certain by the fact of its being an old letter.

With high regard and sincere esteem, yours respectfully,
L. KOSSUTH.

THE MAN OF EXPEDIENCY AND THE MAN OF PRINCIPLE.

Our readers will remember the letter which appeared in the Standard of the 17th ult., addressed to the President of the North of England Anti-Slavery Association, by JOSEPH MAZZINI, the expatriated leader of the Republicans of Italy, which that noble, clear-sighted advocate of Universal Liberty, in their struggles for the overthrow of chattel bondage. That letter, full of the inspiration of freedom, disturbed not a little the man who, in the capacity of American Consul, represents our slave-driving Democracy in the British metropolis. So apprehensive was he lest the influence of Mazzini should strengthen the anti-slavery party of the United States, that, in the absence of that devoted friend of Universal Liberty, he made an appeal to Kossuth and the other Representatives of European Republicanism in London, begging them to furnish an 'explanation,' which, being promptly sent to America, might serve to assure the slaveholders that the advocates of Liberty in the Old World indulged in no fanciful sentiments in respect to the 'peculiar institution,' and cherished no purpose of interfering with the privilege, always exercised by American Democrats, of interrupting their own negroes. The letter of the vigilante Consul and the answer of Kossuth will be found in their appropriate places on the first page. The correspondence is a scandal upon the cause of European Liberty, an impertinence bordering upon insult to Mazzini, and a disgrace to both the parties concerned therein. It more than justifies all that the Abolitionists of the United States have ever said of Kossuth, proving him to be only a Man of Expediency, a political trimmer, ready to sacrifice the sacred rights of millions of men in America in order to secure the political enfranchisement of his native land. This may be patriotism, according to the popular standard; it may be statesmanship, as that word is generally understood; but these are only other names for injustice, selfishness, and cruelty. Kossuth, if he had been a true friend of Liberty, would have regarded the letter of Sanders as an insult alike to his understanding and his heart, and scorned to write a word which could be understood, even by implication, as an approval of its objects. The very fact that he recognized Sanders, the abject tool of the Slave Power, as a friend of European Liberty, is of itself a proof either of mental and moral blindness on his part, or of deliberate treachery to the cause he professes to serve. His avowal of a determination to regard the American people, slaveholders not excepted, as one undivided body of sincere Republicans, and to recognize no division amongst them, exhibits the folly of a blind theorist, not the wisdom of the statesman, still less the clear moral perception of the Christian.

A CONSISTENT PATRIOT.

DEAR SIR: On behalf of the Anti-Slavery League, I have much pleasure in sending you for publication, a copy of a letter lately received from Mr. Mazzini by our chairman, the Rev. Dr. Beard. As we have judged it best, in the present temper of the public mind, to postpone indefinitely the holding of the meeting to which the letter refers, we deem it advisable longer to delay the appearance of so eloquent and so faithful a testimony to that great cause of freedom, which, as M. Mazzini sees, is the same in the dominions of the slaveocracy of America as it is in the priest-ridden States of Italy. It is the source of such gratification that M. Mazzini possesses so much clearer perception of human rights than does Kossuth; and that, unlike the distinguished Hungarian, he will not allow the arts and blandishments of republican slaveholders to cause him to swerve one inch from the straight path of duty. I have sent to Mr. Garrison a copy of his noble letter for publication in the Liberator, and I

No Union with Slaveholders!
THE U.S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL!
"Yes! I CANNOT BE DECEIVED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to ensure 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 REFUGIUM TO SURRENDER POSITIVE 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 representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. . . . In fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed. . . . To call government thus constituted 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 PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT."—John Quincy Adams.

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here, not in the employ of the Executive. It is this—the North is thrown upon her defence; not only the liberties of her citizens, but her very political existence is at stake; and, at any and all hazards, she must be defended.

KIDNAPPING IN OHIO—HORRIBLE MUR- DER OF A COLORED MAN.

On Thursday, May 25th, about noon, a colored man was passing on the Columbus and Xenia pike near Cedarville; he was of middle age, and of respectable appearance. He was alone, and was suspected of being a fugitive slave. Poor man, he little thought how near the end of the journey of life he had arrived. Perhaps he was a fugitive, the labor of whose life had been another's, and who was struggling to realize the dream of his life, the enjoyment of liberty. But, alas for his dream, the eye of the man-thief was upon him!—alas for our Christian country that legalizes the theft!

THE UNION—SLAVEHOLDING DESIGNS.

[Correspondence of the North American and United States Gazette.]
WASHINGTON, July 1, 1854.

I can hardly describe the tone of alarm and gloom and foreboding which pervades the minds of Northern men in both Houses of Congress. Yesterday, a distinguished Democratic member of the House of Representatives told me that, after long observation and reflection upon the events of the last few years, and more especially upon those of the last six months, he was satisfied that 'nothing could now avert a civil war or a dissolution of the Union. This gentleman is a politician of long experience; is a man of wealth, and of the highest social standing; has, or has had, close and confidential relations with a part of the administration, although he stands in no need of its favors. He is also a brave and firm man, who is not startled by shadows. He is a conservative and moderate man, so much so, that he felt obliged to stop short of the extreme length of parliamentary opposition that would have defeated the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It is the deliberate opinion of such a man that Southern policy and Southern measures are driving this nation to intestine war or a separation. The impression that such is the tendency of public events is becoming a confirmed conviction of the most conservative men, and the profoundest thinkers from the North, who have been personal observers and participants in the scenes that have passed on this central theatre of action for the last six months. They now believe the sectional quarrel cannot be settled, because the South, with that small squadron of Northern allies which official patronage and a natural servility of sentiment secure to the South, will not allow it to be settled. They are determined to push the free States to the wall.

The Nebraska bill, the schemes for further territorial expansion, and the Gadsden treaty, with the open avowal of the object connected with these measures, have caused a complete revolution in the minds and feelings of that powerful class of Northern citizens, who, from 1850 to 1852, exacted acquiescence and compliance with the compromise measures of the former year. The 'Union men,' the 'Castle Garden Committees,' 'National Men,' 'Silver Grays,' 'Hunkers,' and nearly all the men of wealth and great business connections, now deny, and give up the effort to reconcile the peace. They entered upon the task of reconciling the public mind of the North to the Fugitive Act, the gift of ten millions to Texas, and the Toombs proviso applied to Utah and New Mexico, upon the solemn assurance that these were the last exactions the South would make upon the North, that the compromise measures were a settlement in principle and substance of the slavery compromise. The South has broken faith with them, and has recommenced an agitation, which they had made unequalled sacrifices to quell, because they believed it endangered the Union. They can do no more. Nay, they do not wish to do more. As a conservative power between the North and South, this class of men is annihilated. But if their influence were undiminished, it would not now be exerted on the side of the South, for that has proved to them the cause of treachery, ingratitude, and sectional dishonour.

There being no mediator between the North and South, and the South having entered upon a system of aggression which must lead to the suppression of the liberties of the North, and finally to the absolute extinction of their State Government, the question has arisen, how shall the North best defend itself!

The purpose attributed to the South by a majority of Northern representatives in Congress, may be summed up as follows:

1. The acquisition of Cuba, and its annexation to the Union as two slave States.
2. The conquest of Hispaniola; the reduction of its million of inhabitants to slavery, and the introduction of Dominica and Hayti into the Union as two slave States.
3. The admission of Porto Rico as a slave State.
4. The conquest or purchase of Mexico, and its admission as a slave State, to the number of ten or twelve.
5. The re-establishment of the African slave trade.
6. The passage of a session law by Congress, which will prohibit public discussions on the subject of slavery.
7. The repeal of all laws of the free States, prohibiting the taking of slaves, and holding them thereby by citizens of slave States. This object may be accomplished by a decree of the Supreme Court, in the Lemmon case, affirming the claim of Virginia and Georgia in that case.
8. The destruction of the Democratic element in the government, as incompatible with the safety and the interests of the South and her institutions. This proposition involves the abolition of the House of Representatives.
9. An extension of the powers of the Senate, and a limitation of the number of Senators by cutting off the representation of a part of the States.
10. A modification of the form of government, as will assimilate it to that of Venice, in which the patricians, represented by the Senate, shall exercise legislative and executive power.

It is probable that few men out of Washington will attach the slightest credence to a list of aggressions as astounding as the foregoing; and yet, having carefully, candidly, and impartially studied the policy of the South, in its relation to the general government for the past twenty years, I am compelled to believe that an attempt will be made to carry out the vast scheme of encroachments in all its details. The very men who will most loudly scout the suggestion of any such design as chimerical and visionary, will do much to carry it into effect. It is certain that nearly the entire Democratic party, North and South, are prepared to aid in the acquisition of all the territory embraced in the above schedule of measures. Expansion Southward is a peculiar doctrine of the Democracy. The South will thus gradually be clothed with power to enforce all her demands.

There is but one sentiment among Northern men

From the Dublin Nation.

T. P. MEAGHER AND JAMES HAUGHTON,
35 ECCLES STREET, 8th May, 1854.

DEAR SIR—I have only this evening seen Mr. Meagher's reply to my letter. It appears in the New York Citizen of April 28th, and it is dated from New Orleans; from that city in which the indignant British sailor said to his brother tar, 'If the devil takes no notice of what is going on here, there is no use for a devil.' There is no greater hell upon earth than New Orleans; and yet it is there that the eloquent Irish patriot; the Belgian; the Roman; and the world-wide reformer, declares he will wait three long years before he pronounces judgment on the question of slavery in a land which he is about to honor by making it the place of his residence the rest of his days. He denounces 'right to require from him any expression of his sentiments on African slavery.' If he were the troubled man I believed him to be, he would be only too glad that I had put him in mind of a duty which he had forgotten to perform. He has not even displayed the magnanimity of John Mitchell. It requires no great gift of prophecy to predict, that these two men have no great future before them. Their sun is set; and although the genius with which they were indubitably gifted, may prevent their falling into utter contempt among men, their admirers will be the vulgar herd, who, like moths, are caught by glare, not having the capacity to discern what is truly excellent, a soul guided by the steady light of principle towards high and lofty pursuits for human advancement.

Ireland willingly makes these men a present to America; and I am satisfied that I speak the almost universal sentiment when I say, that we rejoice that no bastard from, such as they intended, was obtained a few years ago, and even would have placed the destiny of our country, even for a brief period, in the care of men who entertained such unworthy ideas of freedom. Of course, I speak hypothetically, concluding that these two men would,—had success attended the efforts of the patriot party,—have had a prominent position in

the affairs of our country; and judging from their late developments, their influence could only be for evil.

It is well for freedom that there is ever springing up a youthful race, buoyant with hope of the future, and in nowise depressed by the disappointments which cast a shadow in the path of experience.

I now feel more assured than ever, that Irishmen need a much nobler teaching than they have yet received. Too many of them are degraded by their country in America, by their unjust treatment of their colored fellow-citizens. We shall not be deriving the blessing of perfect liberty, until we feel in our souls that all men are alike entitled to its enjoyment.

Having been instrumental in obliging Messrs. Mitchell and Meagher to exhibit themselves in their true colors, I now leave them to the judgment of mankind. If I wished them ill, which I do not—

I could not desire to place them in a more unenviable position than they have placed themselves. Let them, if they would sink themselves even lower, pursue their ignoble work of teaching Irishmen that hatred of England is more worthy to be cherished in their souls than a manly resistance to misgovernment or oppression: because freedom, and the right to its blessings, are unalienable, and should be shared alike by all.

The day is passed, where a foolish assertion of our own advancement is a sufficient justification for striving to overthrow unjust institutions. The attempt was always futile when such was the motive. Men are always pressing onwards, but always retarded in their upward flight, because they do not adhere steadily to principle.

Of course, a nation or individual is justified in agitating for the largest amount of liberty, but entirely undeserving of success, if their aspirations be bounded by their own wrongs. Such ever appear to have been the aim of those Irish-American men, who have so often, in their sentiments, and their abundant reason is afforded for the failure of their attempts.

Success could never wait on such unworthy motives. Irishmen must learn, and apply this truth, before they shall gain respect for their opinions at home or abroad. Just in proportion as they repudiate the teachings of John Mitchell and T. F. Meagher, and all others who would unworthily stimulate their fierce and angry passions, will be the real respect in which they shall be held in America.

Glowing eloquence, poured out like a flood—and like a flood destructive by its force—will not move masses of men in the present day to the performance of any great deeds; we must have good and solid reasons to guide us, and not frothy appeals to our passions; for, with all our folly and thoughtlessness, there is yet sufficient good sense at the bottom to cause men to reject, in the end, wild theories, which keep the world in hot water, and lead to no permanent good results.

Messrs. Mitchell and Meagher have done more, by weakening men's faith in human virtue and honor, to retard the progress of truth and justice in Ireland, than even our young men shall live to see done away with by truer patriots and more consistent men. Yet I would say to all my countrymen, despair not; for, in despite of all drawbacks, man goes onward in freedom, in civilization, and in virtue.

I am, my dear sir, very truly yours,
JAMES HAUGHTON.

P. S. The publication of this letter was deferred, because of Mr. Meagher's sad bereavement just at the time it was written. May the sorrow which has been awakened in his heart arouse him to higher and nobler sentiments, and cause him to devote his talents in future to sustaining the rights of the colored man as well as of the white man in the land of his adoption.

From the National Era.
TERRITORIAL EXPANSION—THE POSITION OF THE HON. GERRIT SMITH.

In his speech on the Gadsden treaty, and in reply to a remark of Mr. Benton, Gerrit Smith said: "But, with all deference to that distinguished gentleman, who is even more full of learning and experience than I am, I am willing to admit, that the more land we get from Mexico, (by righteous means,) the better. I would that the treaty gave us whole provinces; yes, even all Mexico.

Poor Mexico needs to be brought under radically transforming influences. Indeed, she is perishing for the lack of them. It is for her life, that she cease to be an independent nation; and not only so, but also, that she become a part of our nation. For, say what we will of its faults and crimes, (and I look with very great sadness of heart upon some of them,) our nation is the mightiest of all the civilizing and renovating agencies that are at work in the world."

An abstract declaration or aspiration, in itself praiseworthy, uttered in certain circumstances, without proper qualifications, may prove decidedly mischievous. We fear Mr. Smith has illustrated the truth of this remark in the foregoing paragraph. It might be beneficial to Mexico, were her several States at liberty to-day to act upon a proposition for their admission as States into this Union—and we should apprehend no danger, under such circumstances, of the extension of slavery. Those States, having excluded the institution, would not tolerate it. But, there is no question of this kind before either country. No such policy is dreamed of.

The policy proposed by the Slave Interest is, to secure a Southern route for a railway to the Pacific, so as to forward schemes for selling the continent, and establishing an extensive trade route, and to obtain from Mexico, through some pensioned agent like Santa Anna, from time to time, so much of her territory as is fit for slave labor, and may be assimilated readily with the slaveholding section of our republic. This is the only practical question in regard to territorial acquisition, so far as our relations with Mexico are concerned. Now we submit, that the unguarded declarations of Mr. Smith, in the foregoing paragraph, so far from militating against, must give aid and encouragement to, this policy. Had General Cass uttered them, they would have been in keeping with the doctrines of that school of progressives, who claim that territorial acquisition, no matter how or for what purpose made, is always to be welcomed. Mr. Smith does not belong to that school; but his philanthropy conducts him practically to the position to which Gen. Cass is led by his patriotism.

To every one of these propositions, except the negative on the \$100,000,000 purchase, Gen. Cass, Gen. Pierce, and Gen. Cushing, say yes and amen. In what single point, then, does the position of Mr. Smith practically differ from theirs? We will not compare their motives, or their principles. The only question regards their policy, and here they practically reach the same conclusion—with this exception—they are willing to give two hundred millions, or more, for Cuba, which would not give a hundred millions. Slavery is no insurmountable objection to Mr. Smith, while it will stand a better chance for abolition under our institutions than under Spanish institutions! Slavery is no insurmountable objection to them, for what reason. Heaven knows; all we know is, that to their special friends at the North, they would assign the very reason Mr. Smith does. Have we forgotten that the annexation of Texas was urged by R. J. Walker upon the North for a similar reason?

The refusal of the consent of the Spanish Government would be no bar upon Mr. Smith, if Cuba wished to be annexed; it is none to them. Now, suppose the Cubans should plainly signify their desire for annexation, and go so far as to engage in a civil war against Spain, they would then have gone as far as possible "to come to us." What would Mr. Smith recommend? After having encouraged them to take such a step—for that is the very object of his speech—would he leave them without aid? But an attempt to extend them a helping hand would involve us necessarily in a war with Spain.

We put the question—suppose all the Anti-Slavery men of the country should take Mr. Smith's position in regard to Mexico and Cuba, and territorial acquisitions generally, where should we be? What restraint would trammel this Administration? Full ruin would be given to the Slave Power, and its wild dreams of conquest and aggrandizement would speedily become realities.

In special reference to Cuba, we have a few words to say. We have certainly not succeeded so well in the management of slavery in this country, that we can afford to add to our embarrassments, by complicating with it Cuban slavery. Under our institutions, since the organization of the Government, our slaves have increased from six hundred thousand to three millions; and now, when the public opinion of the North is retrograding, and much that it advocates the system on Principle, instead of excusing it on the plea of necessity, the proposition is, to add six hundred thousand more slaves to those we have—so evidently "short-lived" is the evil in this country!

Great Britain has abolished slavery in Jamaica and her island Colonies. France, moved by the generous throes of Liberty at home, has put an end to the evil in her possessions. Spain, under the impulse of another storm of European Revolution, always imminent, would commence a similar work for Cuba. The connection of that island with the European system, naturally subjects it to vicissitudes of European Revolution. In fact, its separation from that system and its annexation to ours, have been urged again and again, upon the ground that the institution of Slavery is safe and stable only under the safe-guards of the American Union.

And yet Mr. Smith would annex Cuba, even with slavery, because there is a better prospect for its abolition under our institutions. Consummate such annexation peacefully, without the abolition of slavery, and we know what would take place at once. The Slave Power would secure a clear preponderance in the Senate, independently even of its Northern allies. It would secure one of the greatest commercial marts in the world. It would embrace its prestige of success already so prevailing over our politicians, and the support of the African slave trade would aggravate the American, increasing the price of slaves in Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, giving new impulse and new strength to the Slave Interest in those States, and multiplying the pecuniary reasons for perpetuating the system.

There are times for all things—a time to theorize, and a time to practice; a time to indulge the luxury of noble sentiments, and a time to discharge hard and severe duties. We would like to see the whole of the North American continent, with the adjacent islands, under one government, a government of Law, Liberty and Peace,—but this is not the Question of the Hour.

Let us delight ourselves with aspirations for a glorious Future, but the only way to secure their fulfillment is, to do the present duty. That duty is, to hallow the scheme of Slavery-Propagandism, to confine the system to its present limits, to break the power of all efforts to extend it, to give birth, to place the Federal Government on the side of Human Liberty, and to take care that all its acquisitions of territory shall be made honorably, honestly, in conformity with the Laws of Nations, and for the purpose of extending the blessings of Freedom. This accomplished, then indeed would slavery be a "short-lived" institution, and the way would be fairly opened for the establishment of a Union, comprehending in its ample embrace the whole Continent, with the adjacent islands, and dedicated to Justice, Liberty, and Equality.

From the Free Presbyterian.
BEHOLD! HOW THEY LOVE ONE ANOTHER!

Anthony Burns was a regularly-licensed minister of the Gospel, in the ranks of our Baptist brethren, and belonged to the same church with Col. Suttle. The Mohammedan law declares that the shackles on the slave of the whole of the Old World, are to be removed, and a proselyte to the faith of Mecca is left for Christianity to witness and to sanctify the holding of one church-member in bondage by another.—*Congregationalist.*

Yes, and it is left for the Congregational Churches of New England, of which the *Congregationalist* is the organ, to denounce such things in words, and yet hold the most amicable ecclesiastical relations with the men and churches that perpetrate these libels on Christianity. On the reverse of the page that records the above item, we find the proceedings of the Congregational Association of Connecticut, and just opposite to this notice of Burns, we find this announcement:

"THE SERMON—Before the Association was preached by Rev. Mr. Weed, of Stratford. The introductory services were conducted by Rev. Dr. PALMER, of Baltimore, delegate from the Presbyterian (Old School) General Assembly.

Of this notorious individual, we find the following antecedent in an old document. Speaking of the anti-slavery movement in this country, he says: "A few things are perfectly clear to my mind. 1. The more speedily, united, firm and solemnly resolve and temperate the expression of public opinion on this subject in the whole South, the better it will be for the North, for slaveholders, and generally for the slave."

"If abolitionists will set the country in a blaze, it is but fair that they should have the first warning at the last."—Abolitionists are, like infidels, wholly undisciplined to martyrdom for opinion's sake. Let them unhesitatingly say that they will be content, if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out of our way. There is not one man among them who has any more idea of shedding his blood in this cause, than he has of making war on the Grand Turk. Their universal spirit is to stand off and bark and growl at men and institutions, without daring to march for one moment into their midst, and attack them with apostolic fervor.

With sentiments of great respect, I remain yours,
WM. S. PLUMER.

It is further to be noted that this same Dr. Plumer was for many years supported as a pastor in Virginia, by the labor of slaves, belonging to the church, and hired out on every Christmas to the highest bidder.

Yet while the Congregationalist, and the churches which it represents, extend the right hand of fellowship to this embodiment of a slaveholding and slave-catching religion, they lift their hands in pious horror when a practical exemplification of his doctrine is given them in the recapture of Burns.

In reading such cant as the above from the *Congregationalist*, we are irresistibly reminded of a certain unmentionable character described by Solomon, who "catcheth and wipeth her mouth, and saith, I have done no wickedness."

THE FOURTH. The 4th of July was celebrated in the right way by the friends of freedom at Chicago, and the people were delighted with Cassius M. Clay's address. Nine cheers were given to him, and three rounds of groans for Senator Douglas. Joshua R. Giddings made a straight-forward, telling speech to a large audience at Providence; and John P. Hale addressed an immense out-door assembly at East Livermore, Me., with great effect.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JULY 21, 1854.

FIRST OF AUGUST.
The approaching Anniversary of one of the noblest and holiest deeds which have ever graced the history of Nations and of our Race,—the voluntary and peaceful EMANCIPATION OF EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND slaves in the British West India Islands,—will be duly commemorated by the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, by a Mass Meeting at the beautiful Abington Grove. Let us so fitly use the occasion, as largely to swell that popular feeling, whose rising tide shall soon sweep away every vestige of American Slavery.

SPECIAL TRAINS, at half the usual fares, both for adults and children, will be run by the Old Colony Railroad Co. on that day. Leave Boston at 9 A. M., Plymouth at 9 A. M. Returning, leave the Grove about 5 o'clock.

The following persons have been chosen a Committee of Arrangements: FRANCIS JACKSON, SAMUEL MAY, JR., BOYDRE SPOONER, THOMAS J. HUNT, LEWIS FORD, PHILADELPHUS SHAW, BRIGGS ARNOLD, ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, SAMUEL DTEK.

Among the speakers on the occasion will be WENDELL PHILLIPS, THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, EDMUND QUINCY, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, STEPHEN S. and ABY K. FOSTER, NATHANIEL H. WHITING, &c.

In case the weather should prove stormy, the meeting will be held in the commodious Town Hall, adjacent to the Grove.

CELEBRATION AT HOPEDALE.

Under the auspices of the Hopedale Community, it is proposed that a general Mass Meeting of the Friends of Universal Freedom be held at some suitable place upon the domain of said Community, on the First Day of August, ensuing, for the purpose of expressing their gratitude and joy for that noble act of the British Government, by which eight hundred thousand "chattels personal" were at once converted into human beings and free men.

Our motto is that of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies: "NO UNION WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS"—no union with them in STATE, zone in CHURCH—none anywhere, or in any way, which involves a voluntary support of their great iniquity.

But we invite to join us in our proposed celebration, the true lovers of Liberty, of every name and party, promising such as may accept the invitation a cordial reception upon a broad and free Platform. We hope to see many friends present from different and even distant parts of the State; and that Worcester county and all our adjoining towns, particularly, will be fully represented on the occasion.

Aside from ADIN BALLOU and other members of the Hopedale Community, and neighboring anti-slavery ministers, we are hoping to have eminent and eloquent speakers from abroad, whose names will be duly announced in the *Liberator*, *Practical Christian*, &c. In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements,
WM. H. FISH.

THE "COVENANT WITH DEATH."

The *Commonwealth* reiterates its statement, that "the burning of the Constitution [at Framingham, July 4th,] was witnessed with disgust and indignation by a large number of those who were assembled" on that occasion. Be it so—the act was not performed to please any one, except the actor, who has a habit of doing what he conceives to be his duty, without stopping to inquire how many or how few will approve his conduct. But it was not so. A few outliers were made by some half-dozen interlopers who were rowdily inclined, and rightly described last week; but, fading they could get no sympathy, and were strongly rebuffed by those around them, they slunk away, covered with "shame and confusion of face"—especially after the scathing castigation given to them by Mr. Remond and Mr. Cluer. The deed was ratified by a general shout on the part of the great assembly—an assembly never surpassed for intellectual and moral worth. I have no doubt there were some excellent friends of the slave present, who were taken by surprise at the novelty of the transaction, and who gave no audible sanction to it; it may have made them serious and reflective, but they manifested neither "disgust nor indignation." Those feelings were exhibited only by some vile persons already sufficiently characterized. As neither of the editors of the *Commonwealth* was present, they cannot testify as eye-witnesses. I am only desirous that the truth should be known—not to prove that, for once at least, I had the voices of the multitude with me.

The *Commonwealth* kindly informs us that it knows of no one who objects to my burning the Constitution, provided I get up a private bonfire on my own account; but the offence was, in doing the deed "before all Israel and the sun." It was "insulting (!) the convictions of others, whose views of the Constitution are as honest, and perhaps as sensible, as my own. I should have retired to some corner, and burned it on my own private and particular hook, without outraging the feelings of my audience!"—The meeting was not a meeting for the purpose of hearing or proclaiming the *Liberator's* opinions, any more than any other's anti-slavery opinions.

Beautiful freedom of thought and speech! And so, at an anti-slavery gathering, no one had a right to express his anti-slavery opinions, lest they might clash with the opinions of some one else! They might "fire at nothing," and hit it, if they could; but they must use nothing but blank cartridges! Otherwise, somebody might be wounded—as in the present case.

Let me tell the *Commonwealth*, that slavery is a public, not a private concern—a national, not a local system; that it is silly and impertinent to suggest privacy of action against it; that, in the struggle for its overthrow, I neither seek nor take advantage of any man unfairly; that my testimonies, in whatever form given, are for the nation, not for the chimney corner.

This attempt of the *Commonwealth* to dictate what should have been my course, or that of any other participant in the proceedings, at Framingham, is not merely criticism, but sheer impertinence. That meeting was called by the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in behalf thereof—and in their usual liberality of spirit, all desirous of the abolition of slavery were invited to be present, and to give free utterance to their views, as time might allow. It was composed, however, mainly, of those whose battle-cry is, "No Union with Slaveholders!" Were they bound to use only a penny-whistle, instead of a ram's-horn on the occasion, because there was a sprinkling of Free Soilers in the assembly, whose ears could not endure a rousing blast? Was no flame to be kindled, because the eyes of a few were too weak to bear the light? Yes, says the *Commonwealth*—it was "a gross act of discourtesy" for dissentients to avow themselves to be such in the presence of those whose sweet voices are for "our glorious Union"—to burn what they conscientiously believe to be "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell!" They should have been more polite—the question being one of *propriety*, and not of *conscience*, the *Commonwealth* being judge. Besides, what right had they so to speak and act as to "increase the odium [say, there's a word the shoe pinches with compromising Free Soilers] under which all true anti-slavery men have to labor?" Is it not time for us all to grow a little more respectable?

What idea of moral consistency, or fidelity to principle, does the *Commonwealth* cherish? It says—"Mr. Garrison was presiding officer, but that position gave him no right to insult any sincere anti-slavery men who were present." This imputation is equally ridiculous and unjust. I neither designedly nor undesignedly insulted any man on the occasion, whether sincere or insin-

cere, whether anti-slavery or pro-slavery in spirit. Was I not true to my own convictions? Was there any moral or logical defect in my reasoning or conduct? If, for almost a score of years, on all occasions, I have branded the U. S. Constitution as a blood-stained instrument—and if, during all that time, I have disfranchised myself for conscience and the slave's sake, under it—it was it to "insult" any one for me to reduce my verbal impetuosity to a positive act, in order to make my position palpable to the dull vision—viz: by burning a few leaves on which that Constitution was printed, as a token of my utter abhorrence of it? The objection is too absurd to require a serious refutation. Manifestly, the *Commonwealth* is either incapable of comprehending the utility of a "burning" testimony against legalized villany, or too sensitive to popular odium to carry out boldly what it knows to be right.

Ah! but "suppose," says that paper, "some person had been chosen to preside, who had felt it his duty to burn the *Liberator*? Would not that have been a gross outrage and insult? To be sure it would." To be sure it would, in my reply—and I would have honored the man for the act, if, viewing the *Liberator* in the light in which I regard the Constitution, as compromising the rights and liberties of the enslaved, he had avowed it his duty thus to bear his testimony against it. But there is this difference between the two cases:—the *Liberator* is anti-slavery, the Constitution pro-slavery—the *Liberator* is fire-proof, the Constitution has already been burnt to ashes.

Ah! but there were anti-slavery men at Framingham, "who hold that the Constitution of the United States furnishes no aid whatever to slavery." Do they indeed? Well, what then? Am I to substitute their convictions for my own? If they have discovered an anti-slavery Constitution, they know I did not burn that, (why should I?) on the occasion referred to. How many such were present, I do not know—probably not a "baker's dozen" in that assembly of three thousand. I burnt a PRO-SLAVERY Constitution, in my judgment, in the judgment of the nation ever since its adoption, and therefore was faithful to the slave in so doing; and not one of his "sincere and true friends" will ever reproach me for the deed—the light of which shall be seen long after "this mortal shall have put on immortality."

The *Commonwealth* thinks it proves nothing that all the pro-slavery journals in the land unite with it in denouncing my act. It strikes me, nevertheless, as exceedingly curious, adulatory and significant. How does it happen?

The *Commonwealth* says it has "no ill-will" against Mr. Garrison, but, on the contrary, the highest admiration for his steadfast anti-slavery character." Its method of manifesting its friendship and respect has been very remarkable—as much like contempt and disparagement, from time to time, (for which it has had no provocation,) as any thing else. I have allowed its flattery to pass unnoticed, and sought to avoid any controversy with it. Manly criticism is one thing—personal spleen another. The *Commonwealth* can use whatever weapon it chooses.

THE REDEMPTION OF BURNS.

Redemption they call it. That is a harmless word, and therefore not the right one in this case. It means to yield up—to surrender—to send back. But to do this is, in many cases, and pertaining to many things, both a patriotic and a moral duty. In the case of poor Burns, it meant simply kidnapping—MAN-STEALING—and so ought ever to be designated and understood. By creation and destiny, by his deathless nature, and the purpose of God, he was a free man, and, as such, had a right to safety and protection wherever he might choose to abide in all the earth. He was no more Col. Suttle's property than was Governor Washburn or Mayor Smith, who conspired to kidnap him. Such an act perpetrated in benighted Africa would be branded by the whole nation as piracy; in enlightened Massachusetts, it is the test of patriotism and virtue! Those who stole him, or were accessories to the act, deserved to be hanged rather more summarily than pirates are usually dealt with, for various reasons. In that case, if justice had been meted out, where would be the Boston police, or Maj. Gen. Edmunds and his Regiment, or the company of U. S. Marines, or the "hollow square" ruffians, or the Governor of the Commonwealth, or the Mayor of the city, or Commissioner Loring, or Attorney General Hallett, or the editors of the *Post*, *Courier*, *Times* and *Mail*, and so on to the end of the long catalogue of kidnappers? Under the ground, not above it—out of the body, not in it.—But we are opposed to capital punishment in all cases, and so only desire "that they may turn and live," and bring forth "fruits meet for repentance."

They say, in self-defence, that they were constitutionally bound to seize and return Burns to bondage—that it was necessary to preserve the Union. If they lie, then they add falsehood to kidnapping. If they speak the truth, then the Constitution deserves to be burnt, and the Union to be dissolved. Whether truthful or otherwise, every one of them is a kidnapper before God, and men of honor and self-respect should shun their company.

It is best to "strike while the iron is hot." Since Burns was carried off, we have devoted a very large portion of our paper to his case, which admits of endless amplification, illustration, and reflection. The essays, speeches and sermons elicited by it, have been multitudinous, and they still continue to multiply. We have published as many of these, or as many extracts from them, as our limits would permit, and their variety has been remarkable—otherwise, the repetition of even so thrilling a story might have become trite. In our present number, we give an address on this subject, delivered at the Anti-Slavery celebration at Framingham, on the 4th of July, by HENRY D. THOREAU, of Concord—and also extracts from a sermon delivered at Montague, (Mass.) June 25th, 1854, by Rev. CLAUDIUS BRADFORD, formerly pastor of a Unitarian church in Bridgewater. They are both characterized by vital earnestness and a brave manhood. Mr. THOREAU'S address is peculiarly original and ray, and full of sharp points. Thanks to Mr. BRADFORD for his pungent testimony.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

SUNNY MEMOIRS OF FOREIGN LANDS. By Mrs. HARRIET BECHER STONE, Author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Illustrated from Designs by Hammett Billings. In Two Volumes. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1854. pp. 325-432.

In company with a great multitude of curious readers and philanthropic spirits on both sides of the Atlantic, we have been for some time impatiently waiting for the publication of this work, and are at length gratified. A thorough perusal of it has brought us to the conclusion, that it cannot fail to meet the high expectations of the public; that it is characterized by wit, humor, imagination, keen observation, critical taste, spontaneity of feeling and expression, rare good sense, a modest self-forgetfulness, a most catholic spirit and a most genial disposition, remarkable descriptive power, an "evangelical" piety without cant or moroseness, and a most "sunny" aspect from beginning to end. Considering that the ground over which she travelled has been so frequently trodden, and the scenes she witnessed so often described, by tourists ad infinitum, it is surprising with what freshness and interest she invests every thing she touches, from the simplest incident to the sublimest object. It is evident that she made the most of her time and strength, and allowed nothing to escape her observation. The first sixty pages are occupied with the proceedings at some of the principal reception meetings given to Mrs. Stone in England and Scotland, which are of great value, as indicative of the religious feeling of those countries on the subject of slavery,—and which are marked by the most Christian and friendly spirit toward the United States, and by deep pathos and rare eloquence. The "Journal," kept by her brother, Rev. CHARLES BECHER, is exceedingly ray, and makes an agreeable variety. The two volumes are handsomely executed; but we

miss the imprint of John P. Jewett & Co., the publishers of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the Key, &c., to whose anti-slavery zeal and business enterprise those remarkable works were largely indebted for their world-wide circulation.

Mrs. Stone has fairly fulfilled the motto she has happily chosen from Shakespeare—
"When thou haply seest
Some rare, note-worthy object in thy travels,
Make me partaker of thy happiness."

Extracts in future numbers.

CHRISTIAN DUTY. Three Discourses delivered in the First Congregational Unitarian Church of Philadelphia, May, 28th, June 4th and June 11th, 1854, by WILLIAM H. FURNESS—with reference to the recent Execution of the Fugitive Slave Law in Boston and New York.

These Discourses are models of conciseness, the whole making a pamphlet of only 42 pages. They exhibit that tenderness of spirit and that directness of application which so strongly characterize the writings of their estimable author. The first enforces the religious duty to regard the crushed and fettered slaves in our land as the lambs of Christ who are to be fed by us; whereas, the terrible fact is, 'so far from feeding them, we are exerting the whole associated power of this land to keep them from being fed: I suffer this great flock of the Lord Jesus to be treated as chattels, bought and sold like loads of burthen, hunted and lacerated by dogs and wild wolves.' The second urges to heroic self-sacrifice in the cause of bleeding humanity—inculcates the non-resisting spirit of Jesus against evil-doers, and therefore dissuades from the shedding of blood, even in a righteous cause. "Force stirs up force in return: shed the blood of the injured, and then sympathy is transferred to them, and the cause of the injured is weakened, and you have lost power. If violence is used in behalf of the oppressed, it has no authority from the example of Christ. There is a higher and more precious need than the rescue of one or of a thousand fugitives, and that is, the growth and increase of the humanity and valor of the Christian disciple, the revival of the spirit of Christ in the world." The third discourse shows that it is not enough to know that a great duty is to be performed, and to be sentimentally affected thereby, but, "if ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them."

It claims for the anti-slavery enterprise that "it is the most powerful means of grace and salvation appointed in the providence of Heaven, for the present day and generation—more *religious than churches and sabbaths*. It is full of sermons. It is a perfect gospel, a whole Bible of mind-enlightening, heart-cleansing, soul-saving truth. It is proving itself to be all-related. It is extending its influence through all classes, and to all interests among us. It enters and shakes in pieces the mightiest ecclesiastical associations. It summons the teachers of religion to their duty by thousands. It tries the temper and quality of men standing the highest in culture, in position, in office, and as they stand the test, they rise or fall. It pleads with the universal soul of the world, and confuses the councils of the nations, and breaks the peace of cities. As in Christ Jesus, so in this cause, are hid treasures of wisdom, and sanctification, and righteousness, and redemption."

All honor to this noble witness for the truth in this corrupt and oppressive land!

WESSLEY: A Story without a Moral. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1854. pp. 302.

The author of this volume chooses to remain incog. Who he is, we know not; but we think he must be satisfied, by this time, in view of the many commendations that have been bestowed upon his work, and the many readers it has already found, that he has no occasion to hide his face or to suppress his name. He says of his story, truly enough, "The moral I can discern in it, is, that, if a young gentleman gets into a row, and is sent away from college, he will be rewarded with the most charming of young women as a wife. But I really think this is too violent a generalization; and I would earnestly entreat the academic youth of America not to act upon it as a settled principle." It is overflowing with wit and humor—portrays its characters with admirable distinctness and spirit—and though without plot or contrivance to perplex or bewilder the reader, is sufficiently ray and exciting to make one who begins its perusal unwilling to lay it down until its completion. If its wit were somewhat less exuberant, and its tone somewhat more serious, where really serious things are concerned, we should like it still better. Its author has a gift for story-telling, and we hope will not allow his exercise to stop here.

PASTOR'S WEDDING GIFT. By William M. Thayer, Author of "Hints for the Household," "Spots in our Feasts of Charity," &c. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1854.

This is an elegantly printed volume of 111 pages, containing—I. The Pastor's Address to the Bridal Pair. II. Duties of the Conjugal Relation. III. Dedication of the Bridal Home. IV. Last Words with the Bridal Pair. Poetry. There are some things enjoined in it, as religious duties, which, in our opinion, only gender superstition and formalism, and utterly conflict with the spontaneity and freedom of the soul. It contains some good suggestions, but they are not specially pertinent to the state of marriage. For a "Wedding Gift" of a most useful and practical kind, we beg leave to recommend the work of HENRY C. WRIGHT on MARRIAGE AND PARENTHOOD. Though not agreeing with the author in all his positions, or forms of statement, we regard his work as pre-eminently adapted to promote the sanctification of both soul and body.

FRUITS AND FARINACEA THE PROPER FOOD OF MAN.—Being an attempt to prove, from History, Anatomy, Physiology, and Chemistry, that the Original, Natural and Best Diet of Man is derived from the Vegetable Kingdom. By John Smith. With Notes and Illustrations, by R. T. Trall, M.D. From the Second London Edition. New York: Fowlers & Wells, Publishers, 308 Broadway. 1854. Boston: 142 Washington street.

This work has evidently been prepared with much care and research. "Reason, Revelation, Human Experience, Natural History, Chemistry, Anatomy, and Physiology have been searchingly investigated, and their evidences lucidly recorded; while an immense amount of important statistical data has been compressed and presented in an admirably systematic manner." It is to be published in numbers—25 cts. each. The first number occupies ninety-six pages, and has thirty engravings, to illustrate and enforce its doctrine of Diets. Whether an exclusively vegetable diet is the proper food for our race, or not, flesh-eating is manifestly indulged to a most injurious extent; and if this work shall do nothing more than stimulate to a more general cultivation and consumption of "fruits and farinacea," it will be of priceless value. The price of the entire volume, substantially bound, will be \$1.25.

THE FREELING BAPTIST QUARTERLY. Conducted by an Association. July, 1854. No. III. Vol. II. Providence: Williams, Day & Co. 1854.

The following are the contents of the present number:—I. Ministerial Education. II. Nature and Extent of the Atonement. III. Union with Christ: A Source of Life and Power. IV. Obstacles to Revivals. V. Politics and the Pulpit. VI. Unitarian Developments. VII. Discourses and Sayings of Christ. VIII. Nebraska and the New Issues of the Slave Power. IX. Contemporary Literature. X. Periodical Literature.

Terms, \$2.00 per annum in advance. Orders for the work, and remittances of money should be sent to A. D. Williams, Pawtucket, R. I.

OF Mr. Hildreth's recent publication, "DESPOTISM IN AMERICA," this Quarterly says—"Here is a book for the times, written by a strong, earnest man, who has deep patriotism, and makes his readers hate it; who loves liberty, and compels us to be sad over her wounds. We wish the whole North would read it." So do we.

LETTER FROM AN ENGLISH UNITARIAN OLDERGYMAN.

BRIDGEWATER, (Eng.) June 25th, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR: I write to condole with you, for your heart must indeed be weighed down with sorrow and pain just now! So much distress heaped upon Boston, such a stain upon the shield of Massachusetts! I had hoped, I confess, that the Nebraska villany would have roused the feelings of the North, at any rate, of New England, too much to permit such a crowning disgrace to fall upon it. Burns is taken from Boston. I never was a peace man myself, and I wish heartily that anything had been done to prevent this sad triumph of the Slave Power. We ought to write from here to cheer you and to comfort you, but what can we say, when we see such accounts, and read such news, from the place where, if any where in the States, we looked for comfort. I never did think the prospect could look so dark, and that is all my consolation, for the night is darkest before the dawn. I had hoped that the good seed sown by your pioneering Society, watered by the blood of Joseph Tom's Cabin, I had hoped that there was good in store for the slave; but now that Congress has passed the Nebraska Bill, and Boston has given up another fugitive, now tell me honestly, what hope can we Englishmen have for America for a long, long while to come? I feel quite down-hearted and despondent. I think that we have labored without fruits, and it requires all my faith in God's justice to prevent my giving up the whole thing as useless. I only wish I could be with you in the States, to share your burthen there. It seems so easy to talk here, and to write here, and to call upon you to sacrifice yourselves, that I do not like to say all I think to you. I have given poor PARKER Pillsbury a dose this morning in a letter, and you more quietly sit down to write to you, and tell you how defeated though you have been now, and sympathize with you still with the true-hearted abolitionists. If the man who shouted their applause to WENDELL PHILLIPS and THEODORE PARKER had but adhered to their principles, this mischief would never have been done. You Americans, indeed, talk of our not being as free as you now and then sneer at Germany, and France, and Italy. Why, the most degraded people of the continent are ruled by cannon, and would be free, were it not for the bayonets of their tyrants; and in this they are only like the citizens of Boston. Frenchmen, and Germans, and Italians have died upon the barricades for hours, and

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

TO CARRIE.

On reading her Poem, 'Captives of Burns.' Thou hast spoken bravely, Carrie!

L.V.

Of all the 'divines' in this country, we do not know of one who is quite so swollen with self-conceit, piousness and jargon in manner and matter.

THE FOURTH OF JULY—1854.

BY REV. S. H. COX, D. D.

America, hail! happy land of the West, For freedom and glory forever the best;

A LYRIC OF THE FOURTH OF JULY.

BY WILLIAM ROSS WALLACE.

Day of the Soul! when Valor's hand Rolled back the darkness from our land—

THE LIBERATOR.

SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

AN ADDRESS.

Delivered at the Anti-Slavery Celebration at Framingham, July 4th, 1854.

By HENRY D. THORNTON, of CONCORD, (Mass.)

I lately attended a meeting of the citizens of Concord, expecting, as one among many, to speak on the subject of slavery in Massachusetts; but I was surprised and disappointed to find that what had called my townsmen together was the destiny of Nebraska, and not of Massachusetts.

They who have been bred in the school of politics fall now and always to face the facts. Their measures are half measures and make-shifts, merely. They put off the day of settlement indefinitely, and meanwhile, the debt accumulates.

As I had no opportunity to express my thoughts at that meeting, will you allow me to do so here? Again it happens that the Boston Court House is full of armed men, holding prisoner and trying a man.

I listen to hear the voice of a Governor, Commander-in-Chief of the forces of Massachusetts. I hear only the creaking of crickets and the hum of insects which now fill the summer air.

Three years ago, also, when the Simms' tragedy was acted, I said to myself, there is such an officer, if not such a man, as the Governor of Massachusetts.

I have read a recent law of this State, making it penal for any officer of the Commonwealth 'to detain, or aid in the detention, any where within its limits, of any person, for the reason that he is claimed as a fugitive slave.'

I had thought that the Governor was in some sense the executive officer of the State; that it was his business, as a Governor, to see that the laws of the State were executed.

They do not always say what is true; and they do not always mean what they say. What I am concerned to know is, that that man's influence and authority were on the side of the slaveholder, and not of the slave—of the guilty, and not of the innocent—of injustice, and not of justice.

Three years ago, also, just a week after the authorities of Boston assembled to carry back a perfectly innocent man, and on whom they knew to be innocent, into slavery, the inhabitants of Concord carried the bells to be rung and the cannons to be fired, to cele-

brate their liberty—and the courage and love of liberty of their ancestors who fought at the bridge. As if those three millions had fought for the right to be free themselves, but to hold in slavery three millions others.

The joke could be no broader, if the inmates of the prisons were to subscribe for all the powder to be used in such salutes, and hire the jailors to do the firing and ringing for them, while they enjoyed it through the grating.

This is what I thought about my neighbors. Every humane and intelligent inhabitant of Concord, when he or she heard those bells and those cannons, thought not with pride of the events of the 19th of April, 1776, but with shame of the events of the 12th of April, 1851.

I wish my countrymen to consider, that whatever the human law may be, neither an individual nor a nation can ever commit the least act of injustice against the obscure individual, without having to pay the penalty for it.

I hear a good deal said about trampling this law under foot. Why, one need not go out of his way to do that. This law rises not to the level of the head or the reason; its natural habitat is in the dirt.

Recent events will be valuable as a criticism on the administration of justice in our midst, or, rather, as showing what are the true reasons of justice in any community. It has come to this, that the friends of liberty, the friends of the slave, have shuddered when they have understood that his fate was left to the legal tribunals of the country to be decided.

It is to some extent fatal to the courts, when the people are compelled to go behind them. I do not wish to believe that the courts were made for fair weather, and for every civil case merely.

Among human beings, the judge whose words seal the fate of a man furthest into eternity, is not he who merely pronounces the verdict of the law, but he, whoever he may be, who, from a love of truth, and unprejudiced by any custom or enactment of men, utters a true opinion or sentence concerning him.

I am more and more convinced that, with reference to any public question, it is more important to know what the country thinks of it, than what the city thinks. The city does not think much. On any moral question, I would rather have the opinion of Roxbury than of Boston and New York put together.

Among measures to be adopted, I would suggest to make as earnest and vigorous an assault on the Press as has already been made, and with effect, on the Church. The Church has much improved within a few years; but the Press is almost, without exception, corrupt. I believe that, in this country, the press exerts a greater and more pernicious influence than the Church did in its worst period.

is a Bible which we read every morning and every afternoon, standing and sitting, riding and walking. It is a Bible which every man carries in his pocket, which lies on every table and counter, and which the mail, and thousands of missionaries, are continually dispensing.

Let each inhabitant of the State dissolve his union with her, as long as she delays to do her duty. The events of the past month teach me to distrust Fame. I see that she does not finely discriminate, but coarsely hurra.

Covered with disgrace, the State has set down coolly to try for their lives and liberties the men who attempted to do its duty for it. And this is called justice! They who have shown that they can behave particularly well may perchance be put under bonds for their good behavior.

Could slavery suggest a more complete servility than some of these journals exhibit? Is there any duty which their conduct does not lick, and make fustler still with its slime?

Are the Americans? are they New Englanders? are they inhabitants of Lexington and Concord, and Framingham, who read and support the Boston Post, Mail, Journal, Advertiser, Courier, and Times?

It is not to be wondered at, that the friends of the slave, the friends of the free man, have shuddered when they have understood that his fate was left to the legal tribunals of the country to be decided.

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union with the slaveholder. She may wriggle and hesitate, and ask leave to read the Constitution once more; but she can find no respectable law or precedent which sanctions the continuance of such a Union for an instant.

Let each inhabitant of the State dissolve his union with her, as long as she delays to do her duty. The events of the past month teach me to distrust Fame. I see that she does not finely discriminate, but coarsely hurra.

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